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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

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

Bradford-upon-Avon.¹

By the Rev. WILLIAM HENRY JONES, M.A.,

Vicar of Bradford.

THERE are few towns in Wiltshire more interesting to the archæologist or the student of Natural History than Bradford-upon-Avon. Though it has never been the scene of great stirring events like other places in its neighbourhood, and has never assumed a position of much political or perhaps even of social importance, there are nevertheless incidents in its history which invest its consideration with a more than ordinary charm. Its situation is beautiful; lying as it does at the eastern extremity of the valley of the Avon, and being shut in on the north and west by hills covered with vegetation, and contributing at once to the shelter and picturesque appearance of the town. There is, moreover, a quaint, almost romantic, look about its buildings, rising one above another in successive ranks up the slope of the hill on the north side, that gives a peculiar character to the place, by no means unpleasing to the antiquary. In its immediate vicinity are many geological treasures; some of the rarest and most curious fossils

¹ The substance of this paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the Wilts Archæological and Natural Society at Bradford, in August, 1857.

I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to those friends who have afforded me assistance in the preparation of this paper, either by giving me information, or replying to enquiries, or allowing me access to documents. Amongst others I would especially thank Mr. J. Waylen, the Rev. E. Wilton, Mr. W. Merrick, Mr. C. E. Davis, (of Bath,) and our excellent Secretary, the Rev. J. E. Jackson.

W. H. J.

being found in the Bradford clay. In the ancient buildings too, one of them perhaps of a date anterior to the conquest,—in the deep ecclesiastical imprint that may be traced everywhere, the lasting memorial of those five hundred years during which the manor appertained to a great Religious House,—in the mansions, one of which has been restored of late, and remains as a proud evidence of the ample means as well as the pure taste of its original builder,—in the manufactures, in times past the source of the wealth of more than one ennobled family,—there is abundant material for those who delight in tracing out the actual life and habits of by-gone generations, and this not simply as a matter of barren curiosity, but as a means, indirectly at least, of self-discipline and self-improvement.

The parish of Bradford is situated at the north-western side of Wiltshire, its limits forming for some miles the boundary line of that county, and separating it from Somersetshire. It contains no less than 11,272 acres, and had, according to the census of 1851, 8958 inhabitants. It is divided into ten tithings, and has within it seven churches, a new one, that of Christ Church, having been erected about sixteen years ago. All these churches were originally united in one benefice, and held under the Vicarage of Bradford; indeed, for the purpose of the poor rate assessment, all the tithings are still the constituent parts of one parish. Since the year 1846, however, the various chapelries have been, for all ecclesiastical purposes, distinct benefices. The BOROUGH and TROWLE tithings have been attached as a district to the Church of the Holy Trinity, *i.e.* the Parish Church;—those of LEIGH, WOOLLEY, and CUMBERWELL form the district of Christ Church; HOLT, with its church dedicated to St. Catharine, has become a distinct benefice; ATWORTH and WRAXHALL with their two churches, the latter of which is dedicated to St. James, have been united into one benefice; and, in like manner, WINSLEY and LIMPLEY STOKE have been joined together under one Incumbent, with their churches dedicated, the one to St. Nicholas, the other to St. Mary the Virgin.¹

¹ The above description of the various divisions of the parish is accurate for the most part, though not perfectly so, inasmuch as the tithings do not in all cases correspond with the several ecclesiastical districts. A part of Winsley

It is the object of this paper to give a sketch of the history of the two first named districts; the tithings forming them comprising the town and its immediate neighbourhood. The history of the other tithings will only be alluded to so far as such reference may be necessary for the purpose of illustrating our narrative.

Our plan will be, first of all, to give a general history of Bradford from earliest times to the present, and this as far as possible in chronological order, interweaving with the narrative such materials as we have been able to collect on subjects more or less directly connected with it. In separate sections we shall afterwards lay before our readers information on several topics of interest and importance.

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 80.

John Aubrey in the Preface to his *Natural History of North Wilts* describes in the following terms its probable condition in earliest times. "Let us imagine what kind of country this was in the time of the ancient Britains, by the nature of the soil, which is a *gour*, woodsere land, very natural for the production of oaks especially; one may conclude that this North-Division was a shady, dismal wood; and the inhabitants almost as salvage as the beasts, whose skins were their only raiment." There have been some persons in recent days, who have come forward as the apologists for the old Britons, and have claimed for them a far greater degree of civilization than is implied in Aubrey's words. But all, we should suppose, are agreed that he is perfectly right in his opinion concerning the general character of this part of the country in the remote times of which he is speaking. No doubt it was covered with forest; here and there a small portion was cleared away to afford habitation for the native population, few comparatively in number, perpetually at war amongst themselves, and frequently shifting their abode from one locality to another. Indeed, the site

tithing, *e.g.* and some small portions both of Leigh and Woolley, as being in the town or its immediate vicinity, form part of the Parish Church district. Other small portions of the Winsley tithing are attached to the district of Christ Church.

of Bradford is, as a glance at an old map will shew at once, just between two large forest-ranges, the one, the Coit-mawr or Selwood, *i.e.* the 'Great Forest' as Asser interprets the name, extending to the south by Wingfield, Pomeroy, Frome, &c., and the other, to the north east, through Holt, Blakemore, Pewsham, and so on through Wilts, as far as to Braden Forest. It will appear more than once in the course of this paper, that in olden times, the woodland bare a far greater proportion than now to what was arable or pasture land in our parish. The same thing, indeed, may be observed, though of course in a lesser degree, by inspecting maps of comparatively modern date, that is, of not more than a hundred and fifty years ago.

The question naturally arises, "Have we any traces or memorials in our immediate neighbourhood of these, its earliest inhabitants?" As yet none have been found to which we can, with anything like certainty, assign so great antiquity. The habits of our British forefathers were such, that it is hardly likely they would leave behind them any lasting tokens of themselves, except in the names of places, or in their places of sepulture, their cromlechs or barrows, as they are called. Our river still bears its British name,—the *Avon*. We are at no great distance from some works which are undoubtedly British, as, for example, the Celtic burial-ground at Wellow, and Stanton Drew, one of their ancient hypæthral temples—a '*locus consecratus*'—which, to those who occupied the western part of the province of the Belgæ, was what Stonehenge was to those who lived in the eastern part.¹ But within the limits of our parish we have discovered no remains at present of so distinctive a character, as to warrant us in definitively pronouncing them to be British. In a field which forms part of the Belcomb estate, called Temple Field, lying on the high ground to the north-west of the town, there are sundry large stones, ranged together on the brow of a hill, in such a manner as may at first sight seem to warrant a conjecture, that

¹ On the subject of British remains within a few miles of our town, the reader is referred to an interesting paper on 'Ancient Earthworks in the neighbourhood of Bath,' communicated by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., to the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, June 1857, p. 98.

has been formed, that they are vestiges of our Druidical forefathers. Certainly they appear to have been placed in their present position by design, and can hardly be accounted for by natural causes, such as the washing away of the soil by successive rains. At the same time, unless, by digging out a few feet of earth near some of the stones, we discover more palpable evidences of the site being that of an ancient burying-place, we must hesitate before we commit ourselves to such an opinion. As archæologists, we must be doubly sure before we venture upon a judgement which a little more investigation may overthrow, and hence, we cannot help thinking that in the case before us, the wiser, and certainly the safer, verdict would be, —“*Not Proven.*”

FROM A.D. 80—A.D. 450.

There is no mention either in Cæsar, or in the Itinerary of Antoninus, or in the later work attributed to Richard of Cirencester, of any place that at all corresponds with Bradford. We are in the neighbourhood of many Roman remains. They have been found (as is well known) in great abundance at Bath, that city having been from very early times a favourite resort for military commanders and other persons of rank in search either of pleasure or of health. They have been discovered too at Box and at Warleigh. In the last named place there was a Roman Villa, the capital of one of its columns being still preserved by Mr. Skrine. In a field near Iford, the remains of a villa were opened in 1822, and on a hill near Stowford are some portions of an earthwork and camp. None of their great roads, however, passed very near to the site of our present town. The Via Julia, which ran through Bath to Silchester, came no nearer to us than Medleys,¹ a

¹“There is a single cottage near Neston, called *Medleys*, which as the Roman road there divides the parishes of Corsham and Atworth belonged to neither of them. It struck me that this *Medleys* might have been a *Mansio* on this road, and so a corruption of the Latin word “*in medio.*” Having afterwards discovered the site of Verlucio (at Highfield, near Sandy lane), this road was measured between Bath and Verlucio, and the distance found to be 15 miles, and this *Medleys* was precisely the half-way house between them.”—MS. note by Mr. Leman, at p. 470 of Horsley’s ‘*Britannia Romana,*’ in the library of the Bath Literary Institution.

cottage near Neston, so called, as Mr. Leman ingeniously conjectures, because half-way (quasi *in medio*) between Bath and the Roman station of Verlucio, at Highfield near Sandy lane. The other great road, which ran from Old Sarum to Uphill, was of course at a much greater distance from us. The Fosse-way which crossed these two, running from Ischalis (Ilchester) to Durocornovium (Cirencester), came no nearer to us than Bath, through which it passed, intersecting at that point the Via Julia.

We are not without some clear proofs that, during a part, at least, of those three centuries and a half during which they held Britain, the Romans were settled in this locality. They were accustomed to record their various conquests in a manner peculiarly their own, and admirably calculated to perpetuate their fame to the remotest ages. They issued large number of coins, and these were—we might almost say, still *are*—their gazettes, proclaiming the success of their arms and the reduction of rebellious provinces to submission. These coins are found in considerable numbers in the upper part of the town, in what is called Budbury.

No coin of the Roman period has been found, so far as we are aware, in or near Bradford, to which we could with any certainty assign a very early date. One or two of ANTONINUS PIUS have been discovered, about the date, that is, of A.D. 150. The earliest, however, that has been found in any number, is a small brass coin of VICTORINUS, who was commissioned by the Emperor Probus, with whom he was a great favourite, to subdue a revolt in Britain about A.D. 275. Several have been found also of TETRICUS,—of VALENS,—and of CONSTANTINE the Great, the first who assumed the imperial purple in Britain. A few of CRISPUS; several of CARAUSIUS, the admiral of the Roman fleet, who secured for himself at one time an all but independent sovereignty in Britain; some of ALLECTUS, first the friend, then the betrayer, of Carausius; many of CONSTANTINE Junior, and also of the URBS ROMA coin, with the reverse of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf; a few of CONSTANTINOPOLIS. This enumeration brings us down to the latter part of the fourth century.¹

¹ The following coins, amongst others, have been sent to the writer within the last few months, and have all been found in the neighbourhood; and for

From the facts that have been thus detailed we may gather two *probable inferences* :—

valuable help in deciphering the legend, &c., he is indebted to his friend, the Rev. H. M. Scarth, of Bath. About the year 1819, a small silver coin of CARAUSIUS, and a brass one of ALLECTUS, both well preserved, were found in a field called 'The Hams,' (close by Winsley,) which passed into the hands of Mr. H. L. Tovey, whose collection of coins was sold by auction in 1852.

- VICTORINUS. (c. A.D. 250.) *Obv.* Head crowned with five spikes in crown. *Leg.* IMP C VICTORINVS AVG. *Rev.* Female figure with cornucopia. *Leg.* PROVIDENTIA AVGG.
- TETRICUS. (267-272.) *Obv.* Head crowned as above. *Leg.* IMP TETRICVS P F AVG. *Rev.* Female with a fillet in her hand and a child at her feet. *Leg.* SALVS AVGG.
- CARAUSIUS. (287-293.) *Obv.* Head of Emperor crowned. *Leg.* IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG. *Rev.* Female figure. *Leg.* PAX AVG. (?) *much defaced.*
- CONSTANTINUS. (311-327.) *Obv.* Head of Emperor laureated. *Leg.* SOLI
 . . . Magnus. INVICTO COMITL. *Rev.* Male figure with radiated crown. Letters TR one on either side. On the exergue PTR (*Pecunia Trevisensis*); struck at Treves.
- . . . Maximus. *Obv.* Head of Emperor. *Leg.* CONSTANT MAX AVG. *Rev.* Two foot soldiers holding each a spear and child and standing opposite a trophy. *Leg.* GLORIA EXERCITVS. Exergue. TRP.
- CRISPUS. (317-326.) *Obv.* Head of Crispus laureated. *Leg.* CRISPVS NOB CAES. *Rev.* An altar surmounted with a globe (?) inscribed VOTIS XX. *Leg.* BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. In the field P.A. In the exergue PLO. (*Pecunia Londinensis.*)
- VALENS. (c. 330.) *Obv.* Head of Emperor. *Leg.* N VALENS P F AVG. *Rev.* Female figure with banner. *Leg.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE.
- VALENTINIANUS I. (c. 370.) *Obv.* Head of Emperor laureated. *Leg.* DN VALENTINIANVS P F AVG. *Rev.* Victory marching. *Leg.* SECVRITAS REPVBLICAE. In exergue SMAQ.
- CONSTANTINUS Jun. (340.) *Obv.* Head of Constantine helmeted. *Rev.* Altar with the word VOTIS. *Leg.* BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. In the exergue PLON.
- Aug. *Obv.* Head of Constantine galeated. *Rev.* Altar with globe and three stars above, inscribed VOTIS XX.
- Jun. *Obv.* Head of Emperor with a wreath. *Leg.* CONSTANT JVN NOB CAES. *Rev.* Soldiers with trophies. *Leg.* GLORIA EXERCITVS. A great number of these are found; one has on the *reverse* two figures of Victory.

In addition to these, we meet very constantly with the 'Urbs Roma' coin, described above, and one with the Legend CONSTANTINOPOLIS and the head of an Emperor helmeted with a sceptre in his hand on the *Obverse*; and on the *Reverse* a winged female figure with a spear in one hand and the other resting on a shield, having in the exergue T.B.P. of the date probably of the latter part of the 4th century.

1st. That the Romans began to visit our locality about 80 or 90 years after the final subjugation of Britain by Claudius (A.D. 62); that the period when they were most numerous here was from about A.D. 250 to within some thirty years of their leaving Britain altogether; and that about the end of the fourth century, they began to leave our immediate neighbourhood.

2nd. That as most of the coins alluded to have been found in the upper part of the town, in what is now called Budbury, the Roman settlement was *there*.

This spot, situated at the top of a hill, almost inaccessible at that time on the south or west, was just such an one as we should, from the customs of the Romans, have expected them to select; and it was the nearest point to Bath, in which place, we know, they clustered in great numbers. There is still, in a field in this locality, evident appearance of earth-works, and these, a few years ago, were distinctly traceable in some of the adjoining pieces of ground, before they were portioned off as garden-plots, and then levelled. The common name that is given to the field is the "Bed and Bolster," which, if our hypothesis be true, may be a homely, but certainly not altogether an inexpressive, description of the "*callum*" and its corresponding "*agger*" in a Roman encampment.

Though the Romans were in our immediate neighbourhood, more or less, for some 300 years, yet they have left no traces, except in these few particulars, behind them in Bradford. There is hardly, in the Borough or its vicinity, the name of a single place which is necessarily derived from the Latin tongue.

FROM A.D. 450—650.

Hitherto we have been almost entirely in the region of conjecture. We now come to a period to which we can with certainty trace our town, though even yet we have but *glimpses* of its history. The kingdom of Wessex, which ultimately comprised, amongst others, the present counties of Wilts, Hants, and Dorset, was established, in A.D. 519, by Cerdic, who, after defeating the Britons in several engagements, made Wintan-Ceaster (or Winchester) the capital of his newly acquired kingdom. In the course of some 40

or 50 years his successors gradually extended the limits of their dominions; and in the year A.D. 577, Ceawlin gained an important victory over three British kings at Deor-ham (Derham) in Gloucester, which was followed by the surrender of the three important cities of Glevum (Gloucester), Corinium (Cirencester), and Aquæ Solis (Bath). Now it is from this period (about the end of the sixth century) that we should be inclined to date the name, and perhaps the permanent establishment, of our town; though still but a small and thinly populated place for many years afterwards. Within 50 or 60 years of this time, it is spoken of as the scene of a sort of civil war, between Cenwalch, then King of Wessex, and some of his disaffected subjects. The name is pure Anglo-Saxon; it means simply the *Broad Ford* over the river Avon, an appellation perfectly intelligible to those who visit our town during the summer months, especially after a long drought. Indeed, to a comparatively modern date, the Ford was used for all carriages, the bridge having originally been much narrower than now, and probably only intended for foot passengers. By looking at the two sides of the bridge you will perceive that they are of very different date, and it is said that after the road is somewhat worn, you may distinctly trace the point at which the newer is joined to the older work.

Cenwalch, of whom we have just spoken, became King of Wessex in the year A.D. 642. He at first, we are told, refused to embrace Christianity. He had been married to a sister of Penda, King of Mercia, but no sooner did he succeed to the throne than he ignominiously dismissed her. Penda, to avenge himself for the insult offered to his sister, entered Wessex, and after defeating Cenwalch, chased him out of his dominions. The exile found an asylum in the territory of Anna, the virtuous king of the East Angles, and during his three years' residence there, was induced to abjure heathenism. At the end of that time he recovered his throne by the assistance of his nephew Cuthred. It was, however, by no means held as yet on a secure tenure, for he had to contend with the disaffection of the native population, always seeking an opportunity for revolt. This disaffection broke out at last into an open flame,

and the conflict at Bradford, in the year A.D. 652, was its result. It terminated in a decisive victory gained by Cenwalch over the Britons. This conflict, and a subsequent one (a few years later) at Pen, in Somersetshire, attended with a similar result, seated him firmly upon his throne, and gave him opportunity to carry out his wishes with regard to inducing his subjects generally to follow his own example in abjuring heathenism. Of his own zeal he had already given proof, by building a church and monastery at Winchester, the size and magnificence of which astonished his countrymen. The battle at Bradford, though but barely mentioned by the Chroniclers, becomes of much interest, especially to ourselves, if thus viewed as a subordinate link in that chain of providential circumstances by which the blessings of Christianity were conferred on the kingdom of Wessex.

FROM A.D. 700—850.

Within some fifty years of this time the fact that Christianity was the religion of Wessex was brought home palpably to the inhabitants of this spot. For Ina, who had succeeded to the throne, not only granted to Aldhelm (afterwards Bishop of Sherborne), permission to build a monastery at Bradford, but also bestowed some lands for its support. The gift, at least, seems to imply that the manor of Bradford, in early times, belonged, like those of Chippenham, Corsham, Melksham, and others in our neighbourhood, to the kings of Wessex. Of Aldhelm, we are told that he was of illustrious Saxon descent. From his youth he was addicted to letters, and increased his store of knowledge by travels both in France and Italy. For some time he was under the direction of Maidulf, the Scotch Anchorite, who kept a kind of college at Maidulfes-Burg, afterwards softened down into Malmsbury.¹ He subsequently became a monk of the Benedictine order, built a monastery at Malmsbury, and was either first or second abbot. He was also abbot at Frome and at Bradford, and a letter is still extant, in which he mentions these dignities in such a way as would seem to imply that he was also the founder of them both. It is an epistle concerning the

¹ Wright's 'Biograph. Britan. Liter.' i. 213.

liberty of elections granted to all congregations under his government. After a preface, he says, "Hence it is that I Aldhelm after having by the divine goodness been enthroned in the episcopal office, unworthy as I am, secretly resolved within myself that *my* monasteries of Malmsbury, Frome, and Bradanford over which as Abbot I long presided, should receive an Abbot selected by the spontaneous voice of my establishment. The pious determination of my monks opposed this my resolution; and when I had several times mentioned this in assemblies of my brethren, none of them would listen to my wishes, but said 'As long as you are alive we will most humbly submit to the yoke of your government, entreating only that you will by deed secure to us, that, after your death, no king, or pontiff, or any authority claim dominion over us, except with our voluntary consent.'" He then makes the arrangement requested, and the act is confirmed by King Ina.¹

The bishopric to which Aldhelm was appointed A.D. 705 (and which he held only for the short space of four years), was one of two sees constituted out of the old Bishopric, of the West Saxons, in the same year. He is spoken of in the Saxon Chronicle as Bishop 'west of Selwood.' His see comprised the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. For more than three centuries the see was continued at Sherborne; then it was removed, first to Wilton,—then to Old Sarum,—then to Salisbury.

Few, from all that we read of him, deserved more fairly to be canonised by the Church of Rome than Bishop Aldhelm. The Chroniclers bear ample witness to his life of earnestness and devotion. He was an elegant writer, and left several works. He was also an accomplished musician, and in many other respects an able and learned man. The name is still preserved in 'Hilmarton,' originally written, as indeed we find it in Domesday Book,—*Aldhelmertone*.²

The monastery founded in Bradford by St. Aldhelm, is said by William of Malmsbury, to have been dedicated to St. Laurence.

¹ The document is printed in the first volume of Kemble's 'Codex Diplom.' under the year 705.

² Gibson's 'Camden's Britannia,' i. 196.

Its site was most probably near the north-east end of the present Church, a spot of ground there still bearing the name of the Abbey yard. It is just possible that a portion of what is now the Charity or Free School formed part of it, for you can see, at a glance, that what is now the entrance to the School is a modern addition to a more ancient building. Further and more careful investigation may enable us to speak more confidently than we wish to speak at present of the probable date and original purpose of this building. The ancient part of it, when severed from the modern additions with which it is hemmed in, assumes the shape of a Church or Chapel, with its Nave, Chancel, and North Porch: and it stands east and west. In opening the ground immediately adjoining the building for drainage or other purposes, stone coffins have been discovered, thus identifying the surrounding site as a place of sepulture. Within the building, moreover, there are the remains of an arch just at the point where, if our hypothesis be true, there would be an entrance from the nave to the chancel. All, however, that we will venture for the present to say, is, that we certainly here have the remains of very early, possibly of pre-Norman, work.

Several well versed in architectural knowledge have felt no difficulty in pronouncing it to be one of the most ancient, and consequently most interesting, buildings in Wiltshire.

FROM A.D. 850—950.

During the next century, Bradford rose to be a place of some importance. Whether we were ever favoured with a visit from Alfred, that greatest of English kings, the Chroniclers do not tell us. He was often in our neighbourhood, and fought some of his most decisive battles against the Danes at no very great distance from this spot. This, however, we know for certain, that within about 50 years of his death, a great council of the "Wytan" was held at Bradford, at which Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, one of the best endowed of the religious houses, was appointed Bishop of Worcester. In those early days prelates were nominated to vacant sees by the king and his great council, the "Witena-gemote." The latter body comprised many of the most eminent of the clergy, and the

laity were fairly represented by the secular members of the great council.¹ At this time, no doubt, the monastery of St. Laurence was still standing. Perhaps Dunstan's election in this place to a bishopric was accidental, but it is not a little remarkable when we bear in mind the great reverence that he had for St. Aldhelm. Amongst what William of Malmsbury deems his good deeds he mentions expressly this, that 250 years after St. Aldhelm's death he disinterred his remains, which had been buried at Malmsbury, in the Chapel of St. Michael, built by himself, and enshrined them with great solemnity.

FROM A.D. 950—1000.

It has been supposed by some, that towards the close of the tenth century, there was a Mint established at Bradford. In early times, the money circulated through the kingdom was struck at various towns to which the privilege was granted by the Crown, who appointed certain officers or moneyers to ascertain that the coins were of proper weight and that the king received his dues. The county of Wilts is deficient in records relating to its local mints. The only towns known, or conjectured, to have had mints, are Bradford, Cricklade, Malmsbury, Marlborough, Sarum, and Wilton. The claim of Bradford rests upon an extremely slight foundation. Ruding² mentions a coin of Ethelred II., on which appears the word BARD, and, for want of a better locality, he supposes that there may have been a transposition of letters—that the word ought to have been BRAD, and the town possibly Bradford. The town was a place of some consequence in Anglo-Saxon times, and *may* have had a mint; but, in the absence of any corroborating evidence, it is rash to assert it upon the ground of a conjectural emendation of the reading of a single coin.

We have spoken in previous pages of the little traces that the Britons or the Romans left behind them in the names of places. Not so, however, with regard to the Anglo-Saxon settlers here;—they have left abundant tokens of their presence. There are

¹ Kemble's 'Saxons in England.' ii. 221.

² Annals of the Coinage of Britain. iv. 400.

but few names of places in our parish which are not to be traced to an Anglo-Saxon source. A few instances taken from the names of the tithings, and some of the principal places in the parish, will soon prove the truth of this statement.

TROWLE is spelt in old deeds *Treowle*. It does not look unlike an abbreviation of *Treow-lege*, and so an equivalent to Wood-leigh, a name not unknown in Wiltshire, and recently adopted by one of our neighbours for his house; the Anglo-Saxon word for tree being *treow*. In like manner Bishopstrow, near Warminster, is clearly *bisceopes-treow*.

WOOLLEY in old deeds is written *Wylf-lege*. Amongst the holders of land, in the time of Domesday, was one VLF, who possessed a *hide* of land (about 100 or 120 acres) in *Bode-berie* (now *Budbury*), a much larger tract of ground bearing that name in older times than now. It may possibly have embraced a portion of what is now in the Woolley Tything. The tything itself, therefore, may perhaps have been called from his name.

LEIGH and HOLT respectively denote the flat pasture land and the wood land part of the parish, for such is the original meaning of the Anglo-Saxon words.

WINSLEY we find written in Domesday Book *Wintres-lege*, that is, the cold or *wintry* Leigh. Its situation corresponds with its name, being upon perhaps the highest ground in the parish. The name of a tract of ground situated at the top of Grip wood (also *very high* ground) is still *Winder Lease*, or, as it is sometimes spelt, *Winter Lease*.

ATWORTH is in old documents written *Atan-wurthe* or *Atten-worthe*. This may well be supposed to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon words, *Atan-weorð*, that is, *Oat-village*; the latter of the Saxon words meaning a farm, manor; or estate. *Oat-lands* is not an unknown name in the parish of Bradford. It was the name of one of the royal residences at the close of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth century. King James's proclamation enjoining conformity to the Book of Common Prayer was issued from the royal "manor of *Otelands*," July 16, 1604.¹

¹ Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii. 60.

STOKE (A.S. *stōc*) means simply a 'place,' and here a 'village.' In some old documents we meet with it as Winsley-Stoke. The usual prefix now is *Limpley*. This name is not old, though it occurs in deeds of the latter part of the seventeenth century. As yet no satisfactory explanation can be given of it.

A considerable tract of land to the north-west of the town is called BERRIFIELD and often contracted into *Bearfield* or *Scrfield*. This in old deeds is spelt as it would be in Anglo-Saxon *Bere-feld*, and this compound would be pronounced Béré-feld, (like the form first above written,) as in Anglo-Saxon final vowels were sounded. Now Bere signifies *barley* (sometimes *corn* in general) and is the root of the words *Beren* now BARN, and of *Bere-tún* contracted in BARTON, the name of the principal farm in Bradford; the buildings of which formed part of what in old documents is spoken of as the 'grange' of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. *Bere-feld* thus interpreted would mean *corn-field* or arable land.

FRANK-LEIGH was so called, most probably, from the fact of foreigners settling in that part of the parish. The term *Francigena* in olden times included every alien, whether Dane or Norman. We have good proof of the settlement of foreigners in this locality. At CUMBERWELL, as we shall presently see, the names of those represented as holders, are clearly indicative of their foreign origin;—they are *Lecenot* and *Pagen*. In the vicinity of Frank-leigh moreover are the farms called "The Hays,"¹ or as the word is sometimes written "Haugh;" and the name of "William le Corp de la Haghe" is often met with in ancient deeds: this word is clearly not of Anglo-Saxon derivation.

ASH-LEY is so called, no doubt, from the *ash trees* which once abounded there. Though little esteemed now, the ash tree was much prized by the Anglo-Saxons. In their time of heathendom it was deemed a sacred tree, and always afterwards a favourite with

¹ From the French 'Haye' a 'hedge' or 'enclosure.' There was an officer called the *Hay-ward*, whose duty it was to preserve the *fences* and grass of enclosed grounds from injury. After the ascendancy of the Danes in England we frequently meet with mention of the *Hæig-werds*. (Ancient Laws and Instit. of England. i. 441.) The name and office still exist in Bradford. The appointment to it is made in *Court Leet* by the Steward to the Lord of the Manor.

them. As late as the time of Edward IV. it was used for bows, every Englishman under seventeen, being directed, by an act of that reign, to furnish himself with a bow of his own height, made of ash or witch-hazel, to save the great consumption of yew.¹

BUDBURY, or as it was anciently spelt *Bode-berie*, is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon words *béd*² i.e. prayer, and *burh* a town or enclosed place. This portion of our parish which was, as has been already intimated, of much larger extent once than now, may have been so termed from the '*chapel*' built on part of it, and which in Anglo-Saxon would have been called *béd-hús*, that is, *prayer-house* or oratory. The word *beads* for prayers is not an unusual one. Amongst documents issued by Archbishop Cranmer in 1534, is one which is entitled "An order taken for preaching and *bidding of the beads* in all sermons to be made within this realm."³

In some cases we have preserved almost the exact form of the Anglo-Saxon words. *Michel-mead* (or, as it is sometimes written, *Muchel-mead*) a considerable tract of meadow land in the Holt Tithing, close to Staverton, is simply the Anglo-Saxon *mycel-mæd*, that is *great meadow*. In like manner *Yea-mead*, spelt in old deeds *Ee-mede* and *E-med*, is simply the Anglo-Saxon *ea mæd*, that is *water meadow*; this is a portion of land on the banks of the river lying to the south of Bradford Wood, near Lady Down Farm. *Culver-close*, moreover, which is the name given to a field immediately adjoining Barton Farm House is so termed from the Dove-cot that was formerly situated in or near it, from the Anglo-Saxon word '*culfre*' which signifies a 'dove' or 'pigeon.'

These examples are enough to show how abundant, in the names of places, are the traces of the Anglo-Saxon occupation of our Parish. We will now return from our digression to the regular course of our narrative.

FROM A.D. 1000—1086.

The last great person we spoke of as incidentally connected with

¹ Brand's Popular Antiquities. ii. 260, note.

² It has been suggested to me that if the word '*béd*' be taken in a secondary sense, to mean, that is, 'watching' instead of 'prayer,' the whole word may mean '*Watch-tower*.' Its situation on the highest point of the hill gives some colour to the supposition, but I incline rather to the one suggested above.

³ Remains of Archb. Cranmer, p. 460. Parker Society edition.

our town was the famous Abbot of Glastonbury. We are next to be introduced to the head of another religious house; this also being one of the best endowed in the kingdom. And our acquaintance with the Abbess of Shaftesbury is not to be a transient one like that with St. Dunstan, but one that is to last for more than five hundred years. Fuller tells us, in his Church History, that so wealthy were these two communities, that the country people had a proverb that "if the Abbot of Glastonbury might marry the Abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would have more land than the King of England". What was the history of Bradford Monastery during the fifty years that elapsed between Dunstan's election here to the Bishopric of Worcester, and the commencement of the eleventh century, it is not easy to say. Probably the monks of St. Laurence at Bradford, like their brethren at Frome, (a monastery also founded by Aldhelm) were dispersed during the Danish wars, which raged fiercely in this part of the country, and were never afterwards re-assembled. At all events we find that in A.D. 1001 Ethelred materially increased the possessions of the Abbess of Shaftesbury by bestowing upon her the Monastery and Vill (*i.e.* the Manor) of Bradford; such a gift implying that at this time the manor was in the hands of the king. It was given, to use Leland's words, "for a recompence of the murdering of S. Edward his brother;" of which deed, though it was carried out by the orders of Elfrida, Ethelred was supposed not to be wholly guiltless. The Charter, by which he granted to the Abbess this addition to her revenues, is still in existence. It is to be found among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and has been printed both by Dugdale¹ and Kemble.²

The charter is an interesting document, as it gives us an account not only of the specific object for which Ethelred bestowed Bradford upon the Abbess, but also distinctly marks out (insomuch that we can for the most part trace them now) the boundaries of the Vill and Manor, or, as we should say, the *Parish*. On the former point Ethelred states that "he gave to the Church of St. Edward at

¹ Monast. Angl. ii., 471.

² Codex Diplom. iii. No. 706.

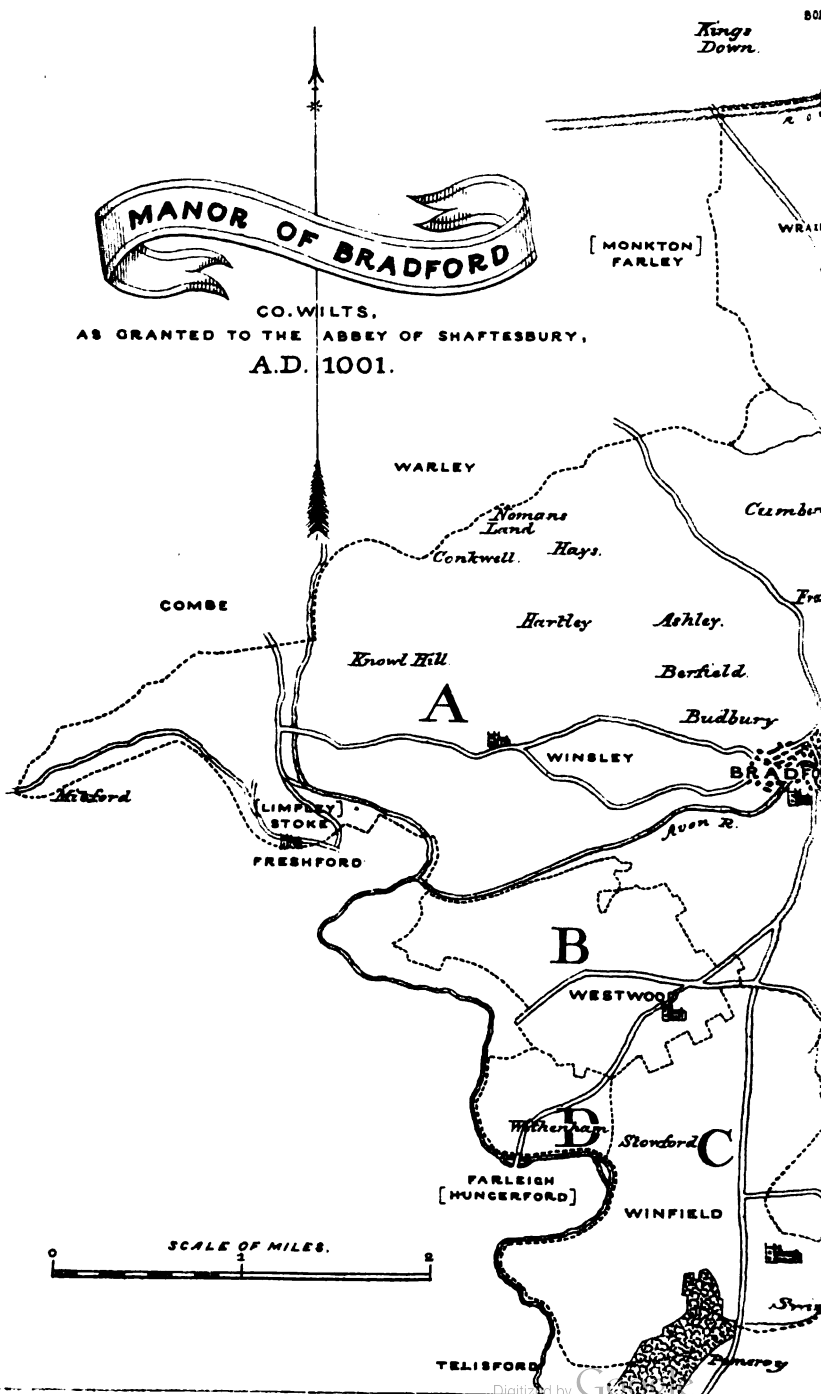
Shaftesbury the monastery and vill of Bradford, to be always subject to it, that therein might be found a safe refuge (his exact words are "*impenetrabile confugium*") for the nuns against the insults of the Danes, and a hiding-place also for the relics of the blessed martyr St. Edward and the rest of the saints," He expresses moreover his wish "that on the restoration of peace, if such were vouchsafed to his kingdom, the nuns should return to their ancient place, but, that some of the family should still remain at Bradford if it be thought fit by the superior." It was indeed at an eventful crisis that he granted this charter. The miseries of his troublous reign seem to have well nigh reached their culminating point. Again and again had meetings of the Witena-gemote been held, their deliberations issuing only in the fatal step of buying off with large sums of money the opposition of their dreaded foe. In this very year of which we are speaking, the Northmen devastated Waltham, Taunton, and Clifton, and were only induced to desist from further ravages by the immense bribe of £24,000.

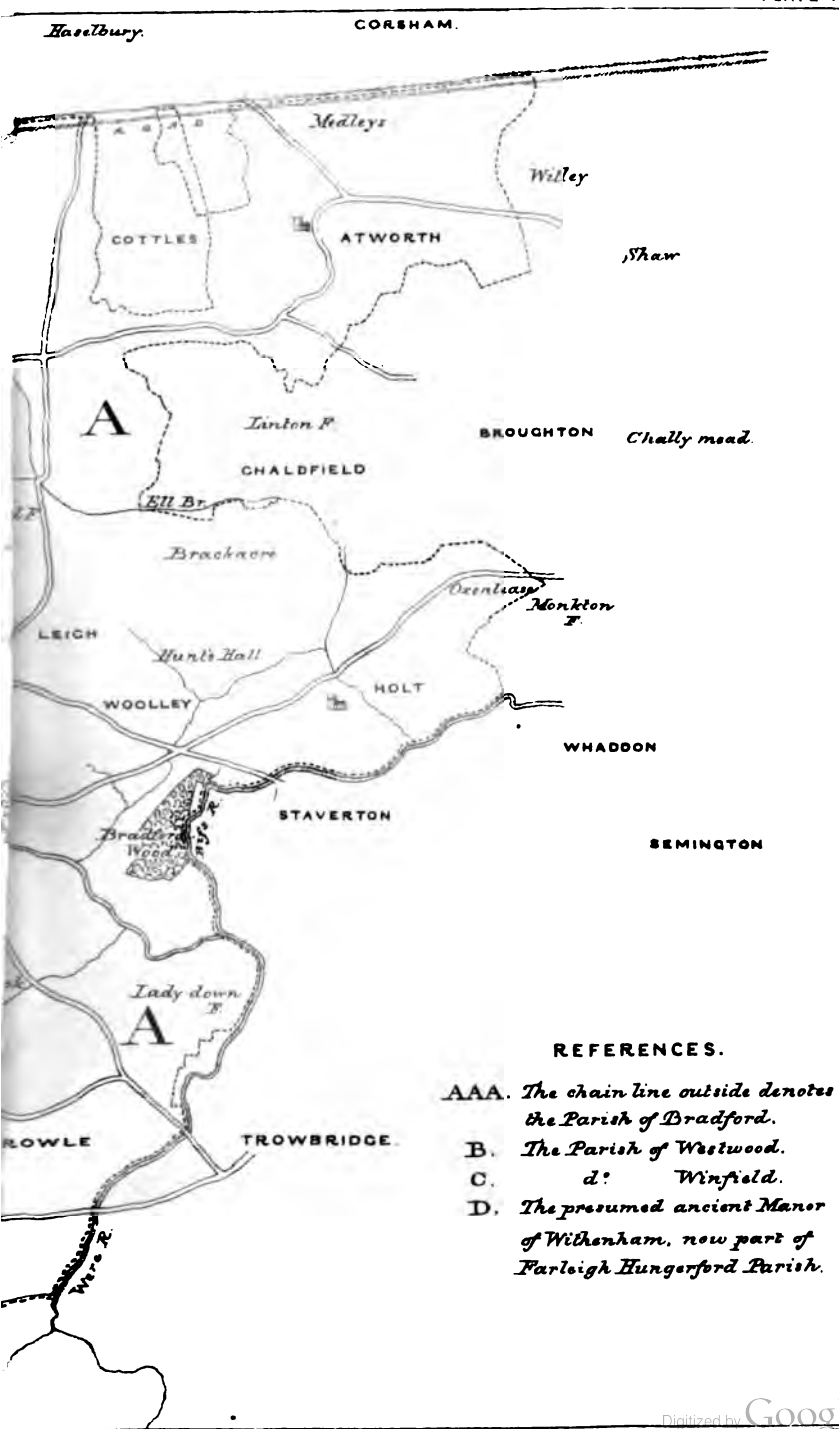
What was precisely meant by Bradford being called "*impenetrabile confugium*" is not very clear. Probably it was by no means easy of access to a large armed force, and, in the event of their approach, the surrounding woods would furnish a secure hiding-place for the members of the sisterhood. However, hither the Danes came, and within a few years at most from this time, the monastery is said to have been levelled with the ground. That most treacherous act of Ethelred, by which, on St. Brice's day, A.D. 1002, he ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the Danes, who, trusting to his promises, deemed themselves living at peace with him, exasperated them to madness, and they spared nothing. It is not improbable that either in the year 1003, when Sweyn laid waste to Wiltshire, or in 1013, when, at Bath, he received the submission of the Ealdorman Ethelmar and the rest of the Western Thanes, our monastery fell. After 1016, the date of the accession of Canute, the Dane, to the throne of England, it was not likely that the Northmen would destroy what then they might fairly reckon as their own.

On the second point,—viz., the limits of the Manor of Bradford,—the charter is very explicit. This portion of the deed is not written,

MANOR OF BRADFORD

CO. WILTS.
AS GRANTED TO THE ABBEY OF SHAFTESBURY,
A.D. 1001.





as the remaining parts of it, in Latin, but in Anglo-Saxon, and that of a very late period and consequently of an impure character. We append a copy of it, together with a translation, side by side. Kemble's text, which has been adopted, is the nearest probably to the original, but even this, being a corrupt transcript of the Semi-Saxon period, presents so many difficulties, in addition to those usual in Anglo-Saxon boundaries, that the translation must be received, in several instances, only as a conjectural approximation to the true reading.

In the accompanying map, (Plate i.) all included within the dotted line represents the original manor, as described in the following extract from the charter.

<p>Ærest of seuen pirien on ðere here wai, ðe schet súðward wið-úten acceslegle wurð út wrindes holt and swá anlang Herewines (? here-weges) tó Ælfwines hlipgate; fram ðane hlipgate forð be is landschare inne Auene; swá forð be stréme inne byssi; swá úppe bissy on wret; swá onlong-</p>	<p>First, from seven pear trees on that military way that shoots southward without Acceslegle¹ farm out of Wrindes holt² and so along the military way to Ælfwin's stile (<i>leap-gate</i>); from the stile forth by his balk to the Avon; so forth by the stream to the Biss;³ then up the Biss on the</p>
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¹ *Acces-legle* farm. The original meaning of this word was *Oak's-leigh*. In our word *a-corn* (A.S. *ác-corn* i.e. the *seed of the oak*,) we have preserved the original spelling. By degrees *Oak's-leigh* was corrupted into *Ox-ley*, and now into *Oxen-leaze*, the present name of the farm. It is situated in the Holt Tithing at the eastern extremity of the parish of Bradford, just where the road branches off to Melksham. These *seven pear trees*,—(by the way, one is tempted to read *wiðien*, that is, *withies*, instead of *pirien*, *pear trees*, the words being easily mistaken for one another when written in Anglo-Saxon characters)—were planted as landmarks, to denote the spot where the parishes of Broughton, Melksham, and Bradford met. Kemble notices the frequency with which the *withy* is mentioned in describing boundaries in A.S. charters. (Cod Dip. iii. Introd. p. xli.)

² *Wrindes holt* i.e. *wood*. A great part of this Tithing, as its name denotes, was no doubt originally *wood-land*. May *Wrindes holt* have been corrupted first of all into '*Runt's Holt*' and, in course of centuries, into '*Hunt's Hall*'? The situation of the last-mentioned place sufficiently corresponds with the description in the charter to give some colour to the supposition.

³ *The Biss*. This river, on which Trowbridge is situated, enters the Avon by *Lady Down Farm*. The meadow at that point is called *Biss-Mouth Meadow*.

hes wret ðat it comet tó Bris- right; so along on the right till
 nódes landschare scu . t . n you come to Brisnode's balk¹ (the
 (? sceo-wyrhtan); forð be is land- shoe-maker's?); forth by his balk
 schare inne Swinbróch; forð be to *Swinbrook*;² forth by the brook
 bróke inne Pumberig; út þurh to *Pomeroy*; out through Pome-
 Pumberig inne Telleforð; forð roy to *Tellesford*; forth with the
 mid stréme ðat it cumet tó Ælf- stream till you come to Ælf-
 werdes landimare at Wutenhám; werd's landmark at *Wutenham*;³

¹ *Brisnode's balk*. By this word, which has not yet passed out of use in Wiltshire, we translate the Anglo-Saxon '*land-schare*,' which denotes the ridges or other boundaries, by which one estate was divided from another. This *land-share* must be on the eastern side of Trowle common, commencing possibly from the point where the road from Bradford to Trowbridge leaves the former parish. In Andrews and Dury's map (1773) the stream which flows into the Biss at this point is called 'The Were,' and is represented as rising near Southwick. This may perhaps explain Camden's statement, that Trowbridge is situated on the Were. [Britannia (Gibson's edition), i. 199.] In the accompanying map, the Were is represented as forming the south eastern boundary of Bradford parish. This is not the case with respect to the *present* boundaries, several portions on the eastern side of the stream being in Trowbridge. Originally all this part was *common* land. As from time to time the common has been enclosed, allotments of various portions of it have been made to the different parishes, whose inhabitants had the right of pasturage upon it. In olden times, possibly the stream formed the boundary of 'the Manor.'

² *Swinbrook*. This name has now been lost. I can have little doubt however, that it was the original name of the brook which forms, for the most part, the southern boundary of Winfield (now spelt *Wingfield* or *Winkfield*) parish. This brook rises in *Pomeroy*, and flows in a south-eastern direction, till it empties itself into the Were. Winfield, in Domesday Book is written *Wine-fel*. Does the name of the brook give us the key to the *original* name of the parish? In the immediate vicinity are several fields that bear the name of *Hook-woods*, which looks very much like a corruption of *Hog-woods*, a name still preserved at Hinton Charterhouse, about three miles from the spot in question.

³ *Wutenham*. This name is now lost. We meet with the name 'Withenham,' however, in the Wilts Institutions, several presentations to the Church of that parish being therein recorded. The Church stood, most probably, half-way between Westwood Church and Farleigh Bridge, at a point where four roads meet. Tradition preserves the fact of there having been a church there, and a separate hamlet and parish, called Rowley *alias* Withenham. In 1428, the church being dilapidated, Walter Lord Hungerford obtained permission to unite "Withenham *alias* Rowley" Church and parish with Farleigh. This is the reason why, to this day, Farleigh Hungerford parish stands partly in Somerset and partly in Wilts. There were two distinct manors. *Withenham*, held by the Hungerfords under the Lord Zouche; *Rowley*, held by them under the Abbess of Shaftesbury. The name and manor of Rowley still survives. Captain Gaisford's property,

ðannes of wigewen bróke forð be Leófwines imare innen Auene: forð be Auene ðat it cumet tó Ferseforð ðes abbotes imare innen Mitford; of ðánne forde gyet be ðes abbotes imare; eft into Auene; swo in ðér be Auene ðat it cumet eft tó ðes abbotes imare tó Werléghe; swá be ðes abbotes imare tó Ælfgáres imare at Farnléghe; forð be is imare oð ðat it cumet tó ðes kinges imare at Heselberi; forð be ðes kinges imare ðat it cumet tó Ælfgáres imare at Attenwrðe; ford be is imare ðat it cumet tó Leófwines landimare at Cosehám; of ðán imare tó ðes aldremannes imare at Wítlége; forð be ðánne

thence from *wigewen*¹ brook forth by Leofwin's boundary to the Avon; forth by the Avon till you come to *Freshford* the boundary of the Abbot in *Mitford*; from the ford you go by the Abbot's boundary; then back to the Avon; so on there by the Avon till you come to the Abbot's boundary at *Warleigh*; so by the Abbot's boundary to Ælfgar's boundary at *Farleigh*; forth by his boundary till you come to the King's boundary at *Haselbury*;² forth by the King's boundary till you come to Ælfgar's boundary at *Atworth*; forth by his boundary till you come to Leofwin's landmark at *Corsham*; from that boun-

called Wiltshire Park, is part of it, and a lane there is still called Rowley lane. Withenham was probably on the Winfield side of the lane, as in Domesday Book it is mentioned next to *Wine-fel* and was held by the same person. It most likely spread over that portion of ground which lies between the cross in the lanes, already alluded to, and Stowford.

¹ *Wigewen* brook. There is no name at all like this, (the literal meaning of which is 'war-chariot,') given to any brook in the direction indicated, at the present time. Andrews and Dury designate a portion of the stream '*Iford Brook*.' The present boundary line of the parish of Westwood leaves the river at Iford (which is partly in Westwood and partly in Freshford parish) and bearing first of all to the west and then to the north-east, reaches the Avon very near to the point where the river Frome empties itself into it. In a charter of Ethelred (A.D. 987,) printed in Kemble's Cod. Dipl. iii. 229, we find Iford spelt *Ig-ford*, that is, '*island ford*,' from which we may infer that there was, no doubt, a brook or rivulet formerly, though we have lost the trace of it.

² *Haselbury*. This is now the name of a Farm-house, with spacious premises, the remains of its former importance, in the parish of Box. John Leland was entertained there by John Bonham in 1541. Formerly there was a Church at Haselbury, though all traces of it have now been lost. The estate belongs to the Northey family. [See vol. i. p. 144, of this Magazine.] The name of *King's Down*, which is in the immediate vicinity of Haselbury, preserves the memorial of the fact recited in the charter that the Crown formerly had possessions there.

imare ðat it cumet tó Ælfwiges
 imare at Broctúne tó ðanne wude
 ðe ierað intó Broctúne; eft at
 seuen pirien; forð be Ælfnódes
 imare innen Æðelwines imare at
 Chaldfelde; of his imare innen
 Ælfwines imare ðe Horderes;
 forð be his imare innen Ælph-
 wines imare at Broctúne; eft
 intó ðe pyrien.

dary to the nobleman's boundary
 at *Witley*; forth by that boundary
 till you come to Ælfwy's bound-
 ary at *Broughton* to the wood¹
 that runs into Broughton; again
 at seven² pear trees; forth by
 Ælfnode's boundary to Æthel-
 win's boundary at *Chalfield*; from
 his boundary to the boundary of
 Ælfwine the Treasurer (?); forth
 by his boundary to Ælphwin's
 boundary at Broughton; back
 to the pear trees.

It will be seen, that as far as we can trace with accuracy the description given in the charter of the extent of the 'vill of Bradford,' it includes, not only the present boundaries of the parish, but the parishes of Winfield, Westwood, and a part of what is now in the parish of Farleigh Hungerford. Of Westwood we may say, in passing, that, though in a different hundred from Bradford, and in many respects quite independent of it, it has from time immemorial been held jointly with Bradford. As early as 1299, in the reign of Edward I., it is spoken of as the 'Chapel of Westwode in the parish of Bradford,' one "John de Waspre" being named as "Patronus"; and "Robert de Hauvyle" as, "Clericus."³ It must have been severed from the manor of Bradford no long time after the date of this gift to Shaftesbury, for we find it bestowed on Winchester Bishopric by Queen Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor.

¹ *The Wood that runs into Broughton.* Though most traces of this wood have disappeared, yet there is no doubt that the north-western part of this parish was, in early times, thickly covered with wood. Several portions of ground in that part of Broughton still bear names which indicate this fact, such as, Broughton Woods, Light Woods, &c.

² *Seven pear-trees.* These can hardly be the same trees already alluded to. These trees were no doubt planted at the point where the parishes of Broughton, Chalfield, and Bradford (Atworth) met.

³ Wilts Institutions, sub anno 1299.

FROM A.D. 1001.—1100.

We have brought our narrative down to the commencement of the eleventh century. Then followed the most complete and the last conquest of England. In a few years the country presented the singular spectacle of a native population with a foreign sovereign, a foreign hierarchy, and a foreign nobility. Domesday Book was completed in 1086, just twenty years after the battle of Hastings, and that remarkable record shows how the country had been portioned out among the captains of the invaders. In Bradford, however, we seem to have been comparatively favoured. The Abbey at Shaftesbury is still spoken of as possessed of Bradford; and amongst those who held lands here, by military service under the King, are several whose names are clearly Anglo-Saxon.

Domesday Book contains the following entries concerning Bradford and its dependencies.

Under the head of Lands of the Church of Shaftesbury we have the following¹:—

(Ch. xii. § 3.) “The same Church (Shaftesbury) holds *Bradford*. It was assessed in the time of King Edward at forty-two hides. Here are forty plough-lands (*caracutæ*). Thirteen of these hides are in demesne, where are eight plough-lands, and nine servants, and eighteen freedmen (*coliberti*). Thirty-six villagers (*villani*) and forty borderers (*bordarii*) occupy the other thirty-two plough-lands. There are twenty-two hog-keepers. Thirty-three burgesses (*burgenses*) pay thirty-five shillings and ninepence. And one of the holders pays seven quarts of honey. Two mills pay three pounds. The market pays forty-five shillings. Here is an arpen² (*arpenna*) of vines and fifty acres of meadow. The pasture is one mile and three furlongs in length and three furlongs broad. The wood is three quarters of a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad.

§ 5. “To the same manor of Bradford belongs *Alvestone*.³ It was assessed in the time of King Edward at seven hides, besides the above mentioned forty-two

¹ Wyndham's Domesday Book for Wiltshire. p. 150.

² An *Arpen* was perhaps something less than an acre. It varied in different districts.

³ *Alvestone*. It is not easy to explain how *Alvestone* was first reckoned as parcel of the Manor of Bradford, nor when it was severed from it. The exact place alluded to even may be matter of doubt. There are two places in Gloucestershire, about ten miles from Bristol, one called *Olveston* and the other *Alveston*, which till lately were held as one living, and the Rectory impropriate of which now belongs, as does that of Bradford, to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol.

hides. Here are six plough-lands. Four of the hides are in demesne, where are three plough-lands. The whole of Bradeford with its appendages was and is valued at sixty pounds."

There are also to be found under the head of 'Lands of Odo and other Thanes who hold by military service under the King,' several entries, which seem to have reference to our parish, though it is difficult in some instances to identify with anything like certainty the places alluded to. Thus, Brictric is said to hold one hide in *Trole*¹;—Vlf one hide in *Bode-berie*²;—Ulric three yard lands *Wintreslie*³ and one yard land in *Tuder-lege*⁴;—Ulward four hides in *Wintreslie*.

In this same record, CUMBERWELL is mentioned, in Cap. xxvii., under the lands of Humphrey de L'Isle, the Lord also of Broughton and of Castle Combe. In § 5 it is said,—

"Pagen holds *Cumbrewelle* of Humphrey. Levenot held it the time of King Edward and it was assessed at four hides. Here are five plough-lands. Two plough-lands and a servant are in demesne. Two villagers and four borderers occupy the other three plough-lands. Here are four acres of meadow and five acres of wood. It is valued at three pounds. The King has one hide of this manor in demesne where there is no land in tillage. And an Englishman holds half of it of the King, which is worth eight shillings."

It is not easy, for many reasons, to draw any very accurate conclusions from these entries in Domesday Book. If we presume that the first extract gives us a general summary of the whole parish, we have returned as *arable* land nearly 5000 acres, for such would be the extent of the 'forty plough-lands' (*carucatae*) mentioned. If Cumberwell be not included in this summary, and as it is so specifically mentioned, it *may* be reckoned separately, there will be an addition to this estimate of 'five plough-lands' more, or some 600 acres. In the former case there would be more than *two-fifths*, in the latter about *half* the land under the plough. Taking even the lesser calculation it gives us a large proportion of arable land in the parish, and one much above the average. It may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that it was Church land. For as Turner

¹ § 4. This is now *Trowle*; but as part of what is so called belongs to *Trowbridge* parish, it is impossible to assign the hide of land held, as above, to Bradford with certainty.

² § 59. Conjectured to mean *Bud-bury*.

³ § 61. *Winsley*, see above, page 14.

⁴ § 61. *Turleigh* (?)

remarks, "The Domesday Survey gives us some indications that the cultivation of the Church lands, was much superior to that of any other order of society. They have much less wood upon them, and less common of pasture: and what they had appears often in smaller and more irregular pieces; while their meadow was more abundant, and in more numerous distributions."¹

The meadow and pasture land is reckoned at about *four hundred* acres; the wood at about *one hundred and forty* acres. The small amount of the former is perhaps accounted for by the fact of there being in these early times a very large portion of common land unenclosed and uncultivated, which is not included in the Domesday reckoning. The latter calculation may relate principally, if not entirely, to what is now called Bradford Wood, and does not include many pieces of wood-land or coppice, that even to this day remain. If so, Bradford Wood, which is now *seventy* acres in extent, must formerly have been double that size, by no means an improbable supposition, as, in a survey of 1785 it is described as "about 105 acres," and within the memory of many now living, parts of it have been grubbed up and tilled. Indeed, nothing is more evident than that in olden times there was a much larger extent of wood-land than now. This is true of comparatively modern days. In a schedule of lands and tenements leased out under the manor in the eighth year of Charles I., hardly more than 200 years ago, there was one tenement described as being in "Pepitt street, near Bradford wood." The wood alluded to must have come right down almost into the middle of the town.²

We may from the Domesday return, form a tolerable conjecture as to the population of our parish, or manor, as it would have been

¹ 'History of Anglo-Saxons,' vol. ii. p. 552 (8vo edition, 1836.) See also on this subject Hallam's 'Europe in the Middle Ages,' vol. iii. p. 360.

² In 1840, the estimated quantity of land then cultivated as arable, meadow or pasture land, or as wood-land, or common land, was as follows:—

Arable land	4362 acres.
Meadow or Pasture land	5956 "
Wood-land	399 "
Common land	209 "

Since that time, however, 201 acres of common land have been enclosed and brought into cultivation.

called in these early days. Reckoning those named as resident at Cumberwell, and assuming, in addition to those specifically mentioned, a man for every mill, pasture, house, &c., (the plan adopted by Rickman and Turner,) we have enumerated in all some 175 persons in various employments. Supposing these numbers to have reference to the heads of families only, and taking four as the average of a family, it would give us a population of about 700. Many of these would, of course, live near the lands which they cultivated, so that the population of the town could hardly have been more than from three to four hundred at the most.¹

FROM A.D. 1100—1300.

We know as yet very little of the history of Bradford for the two centuries immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest. Our neighbourhood was the scene of frequent and deadly conflicts, and, no doubt shared in some of the misery that abounded on every side during the reigns of William Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen. In the reign of the last named king it was that the sound of war was heard almost within our borders, for after obtaining possession of the castles of Salisbury, Malmesbury, and Devizes, Stephen himself laid seige to the Castle of Trowbridge, then belonging to Humphrey de Bohun, a partizan of the Empress Matilda, but retired after several unsuccessful attempts to take it.² The fact of a large Church having been built in Bradford about the middle of the twelfth century, would seem to imply increasing wealth and population, and a comparative immunity from those desolating scourges with which other parts of the country were visited. With reference to the Church, we will for the present only state, that the oldest part of it, which no doubt formed the original building, consists of a Chancel (about two-thirds the length of the present one) some 34 feet long, and a Nave a little more than twice the length of the Chancel, both of them being of a proportionate width, built in the Norman style of architecture. Though the Norman features have

¹ The whole number of heads of families in Wiltshire, according to Domesday, is 10,749. This, according to the calculation above, would give a total population of about 42,000 souls. See Turner's 'Anglo-Saxons,' vol. iii. p. 255.

² William of Malmesbury's Chronicle, (A.D. 1139.)

been for the most part obliterated, yet in the buttresses on the south side of the building, and in the outlines of the old windows in the Chancel, and also in one part of the south wall of the Nave, (though the last has long since blocked up with masonry,) you can detect sufficient indications of the probable age of the Church.

And yet the few glimpses that we have been able to gain of the state of Bradford in these early days, do not disclose a condition of much peace and security. In the time of Richard I. (about A.D. 1190), we find the Hundred of Bradford "*in misericordiâ*" as it is was termed,—that is, placed at the *mercy* of the king and liable to a heavy '*amerciament*,'¹ or fine, in consequence of the murder of a woman named Eva within their boundaries. To escape the penalty they were obliged to put in proof of *Engleceria*,² that is, evidence that the party slain was of English and not foreign descent. This was in pursuance of a law enacted originally by Canute, in order to put a stop to the frequent murders of the Danes, the purport of which was, that if an Englishman killed a Dane, he should be tried for the murder, or, if he escaped, the town or hundred where the deed was committed should be amerced sixty-six marks to the king. In the present instance, a woman named Agatha was charged with the murder by the father and mother of the deceased woman, and imprisoned at Sarum. Thence she subsequently escaped with other prisoners, the "Earl John" having "broken open the prison" and so liberated the captives.³

¹*Amerciament*, (from the French *merci*) signifies the pecuniary punishment of an offender against the king or other lord in his court, that is found to be *in misericordiâ* i.e. to have offended, and to stand at the *mercy* of the king or lord. Jacob's 'Law Dictionary.' In the records of Court Leet, any one fined for any offence, is said to be '*in mercy*' to the amount of the penalty inflicted.

²*Engleceria* Angl. Englecery or Engleshire;—an old word, signifying the being an Englishman. Where any person was murdered he was adjudged to be *Francigena*, that is a foreigner, unless it was proved otherwise. The manner of proving the person killed to be an *Englishman*, was by two witnesses, who knew the father and mother, before the coroner. By reason of the great abuses and trouble that afterwards grew by it, this *Englecery* was taken away by Stat. 14 Edward III., s. 1. c. 4. Jacob's 'Law Dictionary.'

³Abbreviatio Placitorum. "Hundred de Bradeford in misericordiâ. In villa de Bradeford fuit quædam fœmina occisa Eva nomine et Agatha fuit capta per appellum matris et patris mortuæ et incarcerata apud Sarum. Et quando Comes Johannes fregit gaolam tunc evasit cum aliis prisonibus et nun-

Indeed, it must have been but on a precarious tenure that, in these early days, the Abbess of Shaftesbury held her possessions in Bradford. More than once she seems to have been deprived of them, no doubt in order that their revenues might supply the need of the reigning monarch. The charters by which they are confirmed to the Abbess, one by Stephen and another by John, Kings of England, allude to a claim having been put forth by Emma, Abbess at the commencement of the twelfth century, "in the presence of King Henry and his barons" to sundry possessions, amongst which were reckoned those "at Bradford and Budbery." And the expressions of the charters imply an acknowledgment of the justice of the claim. The charter of confirmation by King John was granted May 23, 1205, in the seventh year of his reign.¹

A few years after the date of this charter, Bradford was honoured with a brief visit from royalty. Ever wandering about from place to place, as it has been said, "like the wild Arab *nescius stare loco*,"²

quam post fuit visa. *Engleceria* fuit presentata ad terminum." The 'Comes Johannes' was, it is conceived, afterwards King John, who during his brother Richard's absence in the Holy Land siezed several of his castles, and sought to obtain for himself the supreme authority. In this same record, from which we have just quoted, we find also the following entry of the same date: "Walterus de Chaudefield appellavit Nicholaum et Willielmum quod *assultaverunt eum in pace Domini Regis &c.*" Such records, brief as they are, do not imply an over peaceable state of things at Bradford in the reign of Richard I.

¹ See *Monastic. Angliæ*. ii. 482, where both these charters are given. One is almost a counterpart of the other. "Sciatis nos *intuitu justitiæ* et amore Dei concessisse simul et *reddidisse* Deo et Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ et S. Edwardi de Scaffesbiri in dominio libere et bene possidendas, terras illas omnes quas *in præsentia regis Henrici et baronum suorum* Emma Abbattissa apud *Eaylinges* *disrationavit*."* In another place we have "Concedimus quoque hidam et dimidiam quam dedit Aiulphus camerarius pro anima uxoris suæ *in Bradeforda et Budeberia*."

² Bowles' 'History of Lacock,' p. 106. In Hardy's 'Calendar of Close Rolls,' (i. 285,) there is a list of deeds, &c., signed at Bradford by King John. They were about 20 in number, and some had reference to the confiscation of the lands of those Barons and others who had revolted from their allegiance to him. In one he orders twenty-two shillings to be paid to the Prior and Monks of Farlegh "pro piscaria nostra de Gerna quam de eis habemus ad firmam *p. xxii. sol singulis annis eis inde reddend.*" In another he makes over certain lands possessed by his enemies to the Abbey of Romsey.

* *Disrationavit*. Ducange defines this word,—"*Litigare, causam suam rationibus comprobare. Rem aliquam rationibus sibi vindicare.*" Its primitive meaning is to *disprove*. In the charters it is used with reference to the claims advanced by the Abbess, the effect of which went to *disprove* the right of the Crown, and so to *prove* the right of her Abbey, in these lands.

King John came to this town. He was here on the 29th and 30th of August, 1216. The king had often been in Wiltshire before, his brother William de Longespee (the natural son of Henry II. by the 'Fair Rosamond') having, though his marriage with Ela Countess of Sarum, obtained the Earldom and with it the office of Sheriff of the County. At the time of the king's visit to Bradford, however, the Earl had thrown off his allegiance, though till within a very short period previously he had been among John's most faithful supporters.¹ Among the deeds signed at Bradford by King John is one which directs the confiscation of part of the Earl's possessions at Hinton. It was not long that the king had to endure the mortification of the desertion of his brother, for within two months of his visit to Bradford he closed his miserable and turbulent reign.²

Our materials are very meagre for the 56 years during which Henry III. reigned over England. It is well known that during that long and disturbed reign many abuses crept in. The large concessions from the Crown which the barons had already won, made them wish for more, and, as a natural consequence, whenever they had the opportunity, they began to take more. So much were the royal revenues diminished by these encroachments, that at the commencement of the reign of Edward I., a commission was set on foot for the purpose of enquiring into all such abuses. A jury of each hundred and town were impanelled to enquire, amongst other things, what losses the Crown had sustained by tenants 'in capite,'

¹ The Earl of Salisbury was with the king on March 28th in this year at Plessey in Essex, and on the 31st received favours from the king. On August 17th he was amongst the king's enemies, just twelve days before John's visit to Bradford. (Rot. Lit. Clausar.)

² We might perhaps infer that Bradford was but a small place in these early times, from the fact that it is not mentioned among the towns in Wiltshire on which rates were levied (14 Henry II.) "to marry the king's daughter" to the Duke of Saxony,—(from which union, by the way, is lineally descended the present royal family of England,)—nor among those from which 'aid' was taken (33 Henry II.) by the King's Justices. The towns mentioned in the former case are Chippenham, Melksham, Calne, Malmesbury, Wilton, Salisbury, Heytesbury; in the latter, in addition to those already named, (and with the exception of Heytesbury) Marlborough, Combe, Devizes, Bedwin, and West Combe. Madox 'History of the Exchequer,' i. 568, 634.

whether ecclesiastics or laymen, alienating without licence,—or usurping the right of holding courts, and other *Jura Regalia*,—or by divers exactions under the colour of law. Like others, our Abbess was summoned to give an account of the way in which she had administered the affairs of her manor at Bradford.

Now we do not mean to say that the Abbess, our Lady of the Manor, claimed *more* than her rights, but she certainly took care to get no *less*. No doubt, up to the confirmation of her rights by King John, the proceeds from her manor, if indeed she got anything at all, must have been very precarious. Evidence produced before the commissioners seemed to imply that one king (Richard I.) had been polite enough to relieve her of the trouble of managing her business matters, and with the trouble, no doubt, took some little share of the profit. However, complaint was made against the Abbess on two grounds:—

1st. That the men who lived in the suburbs of Bradford (so I understand the term "*forinseci homines*"¹) used to attend twice a year at the Hundred Court of the King at Melksham, but that, in the time of King John, the Abbess Mary caused them to withdraw themselves from that hundred, and attached them to her own hundred of Bradford.

2nd. That the Abbess had usurped rights which belonged to the King over the manor of Bradford.

On the former point the commissioners seem to have acquiesced in the decision of the Lady Abbess, but on the second an inquiry took place at Wilton. The King's attorney, William de Giselham, pleaded that King Richard had exercised all the rights of chief lord, and put in evidence to that effect. The Abbess, through her attorney, however, demanded that the whole matter should be fairly tried before a jury of twelve men (whose names are given to us), as to whether she or the king had the greater right to the manor

¹ '*Forinseci homines.*' Jacob (Law Dictionary.) defines '*Forinsecum Manerium*' as "the manor as to that part of it which is *without* the town, and not included within the liberties of it. '*Placita forinseca*' are, in similar manner, pleadings in other counties.

of Bradford. The result was a verdict in favour of the Lady Abbess; the cause was adjourned *sine die*.¹

FROM A.D. 1300.— 1500.

We have now arrived at the close of the thirteenth century. From this period to the Reformation (but little more than two centuries and a half), Bradford rose gradually in prosperity, and consequently in importance. It may be called the era of the *Halls* of Bradford, for members of that family were more or less men of wealth and influence from this time down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the last member, John Hall, dying in 1711. This family may be traced back as early as Henry III.'s reign; for there is in existence a copy of a deed² by which Mary, Abbess of Shaftesbury, for the consideration of twenty-five marks paid to her by Agnes, relict of Reginald de Aulâ, cedes her rights of wardship and marriages over their children, and Mary³ was Abbess from 1247 to 1252, i.e. from the 30th to the 36th year of King Henry III. In fact, there is in existence a valuable series of deeds relating chiefly to property held by the Hall family in this and the neighbouring hundreds, and extending from the early period we have named, down to the 13th year of Henry VII. They are all written out apparently by the same hand, probably in the troublesome times of Henry VII., when, it is possible, the originals were deposited somewhere for safe custody. A few of the originals were found, together with a beautiful court sword of Spanish steel, which formed one of the objects of interest exhibited in the Museum

¹ Rotuli Hundred. p. 236. Placita de quo warranto p. 797. The enquiry was held "apud Wylton coram Salomone de Roff' et sociis suis Justic' dni ibidem itinerantibus in octab Pasche anno regni Regis Edwardi nono." The names of the Jury who were impanelled to try the cause were "Johannes de Staverton, Gulielmus de Leycester, Walterus de Chaufefeld, Robertus de Lusteshall, Johannes . . . , Thomas le Rus, Robertus de Meyly, Robertus Mauduit, Johannes de Perham, Ricardus de Hyweye, Galfredus de Wrokeshall, et Henricus de Cerne."

² The deed is called "Charta concessionis quitolaim. et confirmacionis per Mariam Abbatiss. Shaston. facta Agneti relictæ Reginaldi de Aulâ et heredibus suis de custodia et maritagio heredum Reginaldi de Aulâ in manerio de Bradford." In the deed we read "pro hac concessione predicta Agnes nobis dedit vinginti quinque marcas sterlingor."

³ See the New Monasticon (under "SHAFTESBURY") for a list of the Abbesses.

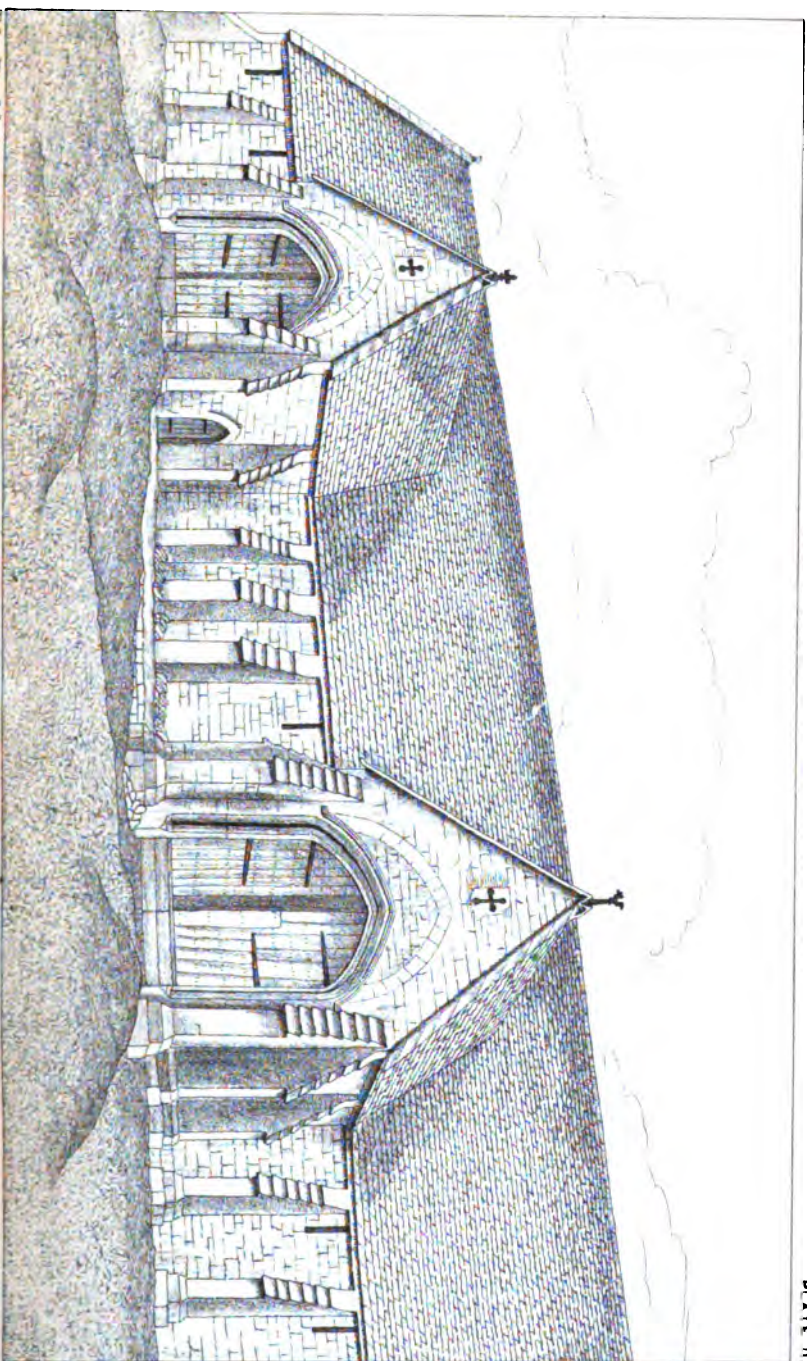
at Bradford, in Kingston House in 1851, during the progress of some extensive repairs, and an account of them was given in our *Archæological Journal* for November 1854. These deeds are nearly 100 in number, and throw much light on matters of interest connected with our town. The names of the chief landowners;—of the principal inhabitants;—of the old streets;—of the various churches;—of the Chantry-Priests;—the customs of the manor,—these are a few of the points on which this series of deeds gives much information.

We have spoken of this era, commencing with the time of Edward I., as one of increasing prosperity for Bradford. There are many indications of this in the large buildings which were now erected. That remarkable barn, called Barton Barn (see pl. ii.), well known to architects for its Early English roof, so framed from the ground as to be independent of the walls,¹ was certainly built in the earlier part of this period. By whom the barn was built is matter of doubt. Very little can be made out of Aubrey's observation that he saw in 1670, at the point of one of the gables, the hand and battle-axe, the well known crest of Hall. It is quite possible, moreover, that Aubrey's eyes may have rather deceived him, for certainly among the present ornaments of the gables there is not one that looks at all like the remnant of the hand or battle-axe.

To a little later date also in this period we owe the lengthening of our chancel, and the insertion of the large east window (the tracery of which has been lately restored);—also those two recessed tombs, one on the north and the other on the south side, the former containing the figure of a female, the latter of a cross-legged knight. Till lately one of these was completely walled up, all the label and pediment, with its ornamental crocketing, having been completely cut away to admit of the wall being flat enough to receive some large monuments; the other was sadly mutilated:—the last-named one has been restored (see plate iii.), and it is hoped that some day we may be able to restore the other.

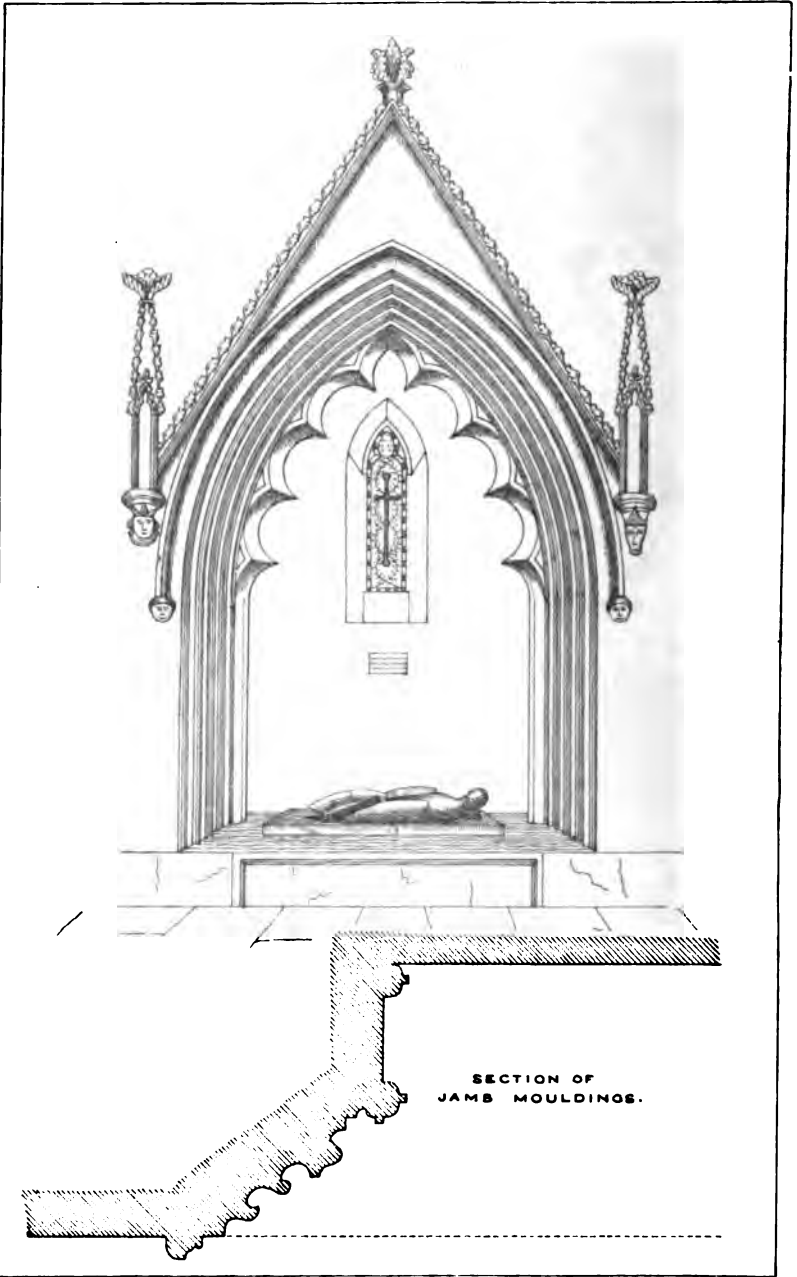
Whose tombs they are is not at all known. The only two

¹ There are barns of similar character and about the same date at Peterborough and Ely. See Parker's 'Glossary of Architecture,' under (Roof.)



Barton Barn, Bradford, West Yorkshire, 1858.

Barton Barn, Bradford, West Yorkshire, 1858.



SECTION OF
JAMB MOULDINGS.

A. W. F. Spragg, del.

Edw. Hite, anastat.

Recessed Tomb, Bradford Church, Wilts. 1858.

knights whose names we meet with in the deeds of this period are Sir John de Comerwell and Sir John de Holte, the latter of whom was Sheriff for Wiltshire in the year 1314. The tomb on the north side may be that of some female benefactor to the church, or the founder of some one of the chapels that we now find existing in divers parts of the town or parish.

We must not forget to mention, moreover, another evidence of the growing prosperity of our town in these early days. In the year 1295 (the 23rd of Edward I.) Bradford, then called a 'Burgus,' or borough, was called upon to send two members to Parliament. The names of our representatives, which occur several times in the earlier part of the series of deeds to which we have already alluded, were Thomas Dendans and William Wager. Though it does not appear that our town exercised this right more than once, it is something to know that the Parliament to which Bradford sent representatives was one of more than ordinary importance. In a writ of summons addressed with reference to this same Parliament to the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is recited that the King of France, "not satisfied with his treacherous invasion of Gascony, had prepared a mighty fleet for the purpose of invading England, and effacing the English language altogether from the face of the earth." By the English language the King meant the English nation, but what we have given, is a strictly literal translation of the words of the writ.¹ The Archbishop is commanded "*in fide et dilectione*" to appear in person at Westminster on Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, 13th November, 1295, with the King and Prelates, the Nobles and other inhabitants of the realm, to deliberate upon, and ordain, in what manner the impending dangers might be obviated.

Why Bradford discontinued to send members to Parliament we are not told, though a tolerable conjecture may be formed. In those early days the distinction of having representatives in the legislature, so far from being considered a privilege, was deemed a

¹ Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. xlv. The words are "linguam Anglicanam, si conceptæ iniquitatis proposito detestabili potestas correspondeat, quod Deus avertat, omnino de terra delere proponit."

burden. The trading *municipia* had as yet acquired no weight in the national council, and all that they desired was to be let alone. With regard to all except chartered boroughs or towns which were the actual or ancient demesne of the Crown, it was left to the discretion of the sheriff to issue writs to such unincorporated places as could afford to defray the expense of their representatives, and had a notable interest in the public welfare. The wages of burgesses were *two shillings* a day—a sum which at that time, when a quarter of wheat sold for 4s., and a sheep was considered rather high at 1s., would be equivalent to about 16 times as much now;—and they were allowed a certain number of days for going and returning, about 35 miles being reckoned a day's journey.¹ It was really rather a costly luxury to the good burghers of Bradford, and no doubt, here, as elsewhere, the necessary sum was raised with reluctance by men little solicitous about political franchise. Other towns in Wiltshire seem to have been of the same mind, and to have induced the sheriff to omit them from his list. Thus, in the 12th Edward III., the sheriff of Wiltshire, after returning two citizens for Salisbury, and burgesses for two boroughs, concludes with these words,—“There are no other cities or boroughs within my bailiwick;”—and yet, in fact, eight other towns had sent members to preceding parliaments.²

It was no doubt during this period that churches began to multiply in Bradford. There is still remaining a fragment of the chapel on Tory—(so termed, it is conceived, because the highest part of the town,³ from the Anglo-Saxon word *Tor*, which signifies a

¹ John Halle and William Hore received for their services, as Burgesses for Salisbury, in Parliament for 163 days, the sum of £32 12s.—a sum equivalent now to £326!—See Duke's ‘*Prolusiones Historice*,’ p. 306.

² See on this subject, Hallam's ‘*Europe in the Middle Ages*,’ iii., 113.

³ It is to this chapel Leland alludes when he says, “Ther is a chapelle on the highest place of the toune as I entered.”—Leland entered Bradford from Wraxhall. His road lay through a part of Berrifield, then through the Conigre, and so down by the east end of Tory and Middle Rank into what is now called New Town. Mason's lane, now the chief thoroughfare, did not then exist. As he emerged from the Conigre his attention would be naturally attracted by ‘the chapel’ on Tory. In 1743, as appears from a map of the Methuen property at the time, there are represented only *five* houses on the east side, and *two*, which



Remains of Torp Chapel, Bradford, Wilts. 1858.

high hill or tower)—dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, just above the spring which supplies the town with water; the locality beneath it still being called *Lady Well*, and the adjoining premises *Well-Close*. There is still standing the east wall with its window, and also a niche of very chaste design. (Plate iv.) The tracery of the window seems to point it out as the work of the latter part of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, though it is by no means impossible that the present building may itself have been originally a restoration, a previous chapel having stood on the same spot. The churches of Wraxhall and Holt, and (to judge from what remains of the original church have been left) of Winalley, are all to be traced to this period. Aubrey, moreover, tells us that the chancel window of the church at Atworth, as he saw it, seemed to be of the date of Edward III.

In the town, moreover, we had a chapel dedicated to St. Olave, which stood at the corner of the lane leading up to White Hill, the street leading from that chapel to the river, or to Mull street, (now Mill street), being called *Frog-mere* street. By degrees St. Olave street became contracted into 't *Olav* street, and then corrupted into *Tooley* street, its name within the last seventy-five years. Since that time it has taken the name of the tything, and been called *Woolley* street. As a confirmation of the truth of this opinion, as to the origin of the name, it may be mentioned that the street in Southwark, in which St. Olave's church now stands, is still called *TOOLEY* street.

It is probable, also, that there was a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine, and that it formed part of what is now called the Old Women's Almshouse, situated at the southern extremity of the town, at what used to be called Clay acre, now Clay farm. That there was a chapel at this spot we can have no doubt. Aubrey, in fact, who visited us 200 years ago, says expressly, "A little beyond the bridge is a chapel and almshouse of ancient date." When the

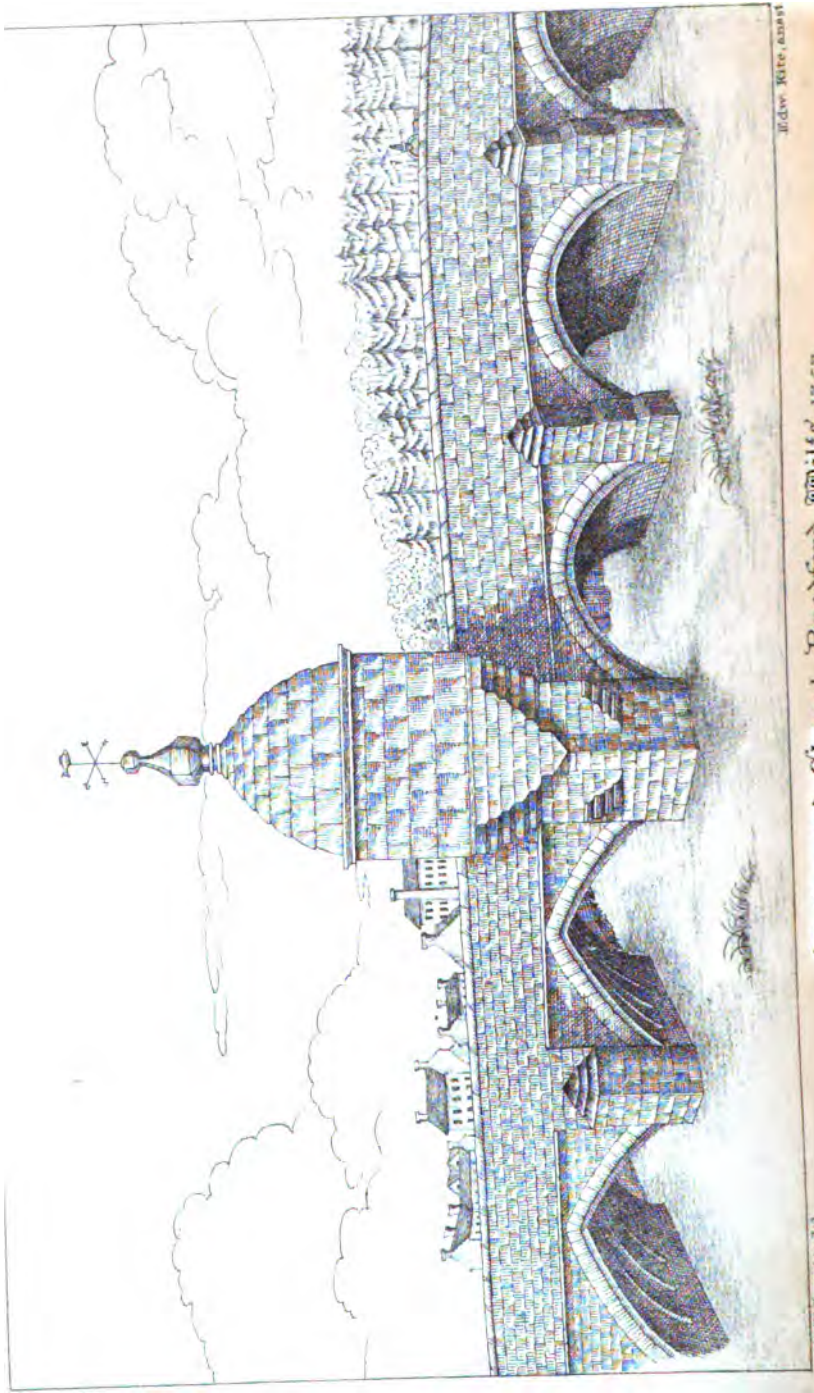
comprised the buildings connected with the chapel, at the west end of Tory, or Top Rank as it is called. On the same map 'the chapel' is called 'the Hermitage.

Charity Commissioners visited our town, about 25 years ago, they elicited from some old people a little information respecting it, and in their report they state their belief that there was truth in the tradition that then prevailed (as it still does to the present day) that the chapel-bell was removed to Winsley Church. Now the hospital at the foot of the bridge is called, in old deeds, the Hospital of St. Margaret,¹ and its memorial is preserved in the street which is still called St. Margaret street, and in Morgan's Hill, which, as late as 1724, was called St. Margaret's Hill. From the same deeds, confirmed by later documents, we find that the street leading from about where is now the entrance to the railroad station to the Old Women's Almshouse was called St. Catherine street,² probably from the dedication of the chapel in question. In Andrews and Dury's map of Wiltshire (1770), we find a spot marked as "*The Chapel*," though from the way in which those words are printed, it is difficult to point out with exactness the precise spot indicated.

It may be mentioned, as confirmatory of this opinion, that there is still the remnant of the observance of a holiday on St. Catherine's day. Within a few years only, cakes called *cattern-cakes* were made in considerable numbers and sent by the bakers to their customers. Many of the old people reckon their ages by the festival of this Saint. A very short time ago an old bed-ridden woman said to the writer of this paper in true Wiltshire, and, we may add, very

¹ By a deed dated 37 Henry VI., Philip Stone conveys to Nicholas Hall one acre of arable land, lying "in fine ville de Bradeford juxta grangiam Dne Abbatiss. de Shaston ex parte orientali," and which is further described as being between two pieces of land belonging to the said Nicholas Hall, one of which "abuttat super *le Longhogge*," and the other, "super viam quæ ducit versus *hospitale Ste Margarete*." In the will of Henry Long, Esq. of Wraxhall, 1490, he bequeaths,—"*pauperibus Domus Sancte Margarete de Bradford, vi^o viij^o d.*"

² The following extract is from an account of lands, &c., belonging to the manor (c. 1720).—"*Katherine Street*. John Harvey holdeth by copy dated 5th May, 1716, granted him by Hon. Ann Lady Powlett during the lives of John Harvey and others, and during the widowhood of Ann relict of Robert Harvey, one Cottage, Barne, and Reek Barton: the Highway east and Culverclose west." This sufficiently indicates the correctness of the statement above, as to where *St. Catherine* street lay. [For this and other valuable information the writer was indebted to the late Mr. John Bush.]



Bradford and Chapell, Bradford, Whitt's. 1858.

fair Anglo-Saxon—(and really they are often convertible terms),—“I’ll be vower-score come Katterntide, and I beant yeable now to doff or don myself,” which in modern English meant, “I shall be four-score next St. Catherine’s-tide, and I am not able now to undress (*do-off*) or dress (*do-on*) myself.”

It is not improbable also, that there was a chapel near Ashleigh. There is a field still called the Church-field, belonging to the Misses Bailward, in which a stone coffin, still to be seen, was dug up, and where there have been found many evidences of its having been an old burial-ground. At Cumberwell, also, there was a chapel; it is mentioned expressly in the deeds by which Henry VIII. bestowed the Rectorial Tithes and the Advowson of the Churches and Chapels on the Dean and Chapter of Bristol.

Whilst on the subject of chapels, we may as well speak of the *Chapel* on our bridge.¹ Leland, who visited our town in 1540, speaks of the bridge, which he says, had “nine fair arches of stone,” but does not allude to the chapel. There have been some who have thought that this was merely a toll-house for the collection of *pontagium*—a contribution for the maintaining or re-edifying a bridge. Aubrey, however, (who wrote 200 years ago) says expressly, “Here is a strong and handsome bridge, in the midst of which is a little chapel, as at Bath, *for masse*.” So that no doubt its object was to contain the image of the patron saint, and to receive at once the devotions and alms of passers-by, the latter being probably given to the support of the Hospital at the Bridge-foot. The chapel itself is built on the centre pier on the eastern side of the bridge. (Plate v.) It is almost square in plan, and rests on some good and bold graduated corbelling overhanging the ‘cut-water’ of the pier. The eastern end appears to have projected still further into the stream so as to form a recess, for the figure, perhaps of the patron saint. Concerning the dedication of the Bridge Chapel we

¹ Of this chapel on the bridge, J. C. and C. Buckler in their ‘Remarks on Wayside Chapels’ say, (p. 25)—“This little room, which still retains its doorway on the footpath, and is domed over with ribbed stone-work, appears to have been partially altered or wholly rebuilt from the level of the floor. The supporting corbels which spring from the faces of one of the angular piers, and overspread each other, finally terminating in a square platform, present perhaps an almost unequalled specimen of ingenious construction.”

have no authentic information at present. The "fish" which forms the vane at the top of the chapel is, probably, the old ecclesiastical emblem of our Blessed Lord—the *ichthus*,¹—the letters of which are the initial letters of other Greek words, signifying "JESUS CHRIST, the SON OF GOD, OUR SAVIOUR."

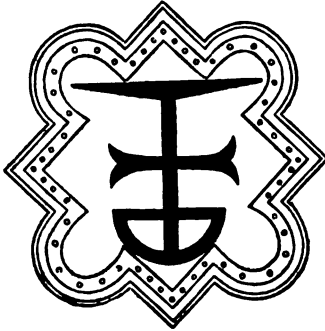
In the deeds, which have been already alluded to, we meet with the names of some of the Chaplain Priests. Adam Atte-well and John Middleton were two of them. By a deed dated 7 Henry V. (A.D. 1420), Reginald Halle provides for the endowment of a chaplain to serve at the altar of St. Nicholas in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Bradford.² A few years later we find Thomas Horton founding a Chantry, and probably building, if not the whole, at least part of the south aisle of the church, the date of that portion of the church being towards the close of the fifteenth century. The fact of this same Thomas Horton,³ we may remark in passing, having been a 'merchant of the staple,' is recorded by the 'merchant's

¹ See Parker's Glossary, under ('VESICA Piscis.')

² The words of the deed are,—"*Volo quod ospellanus idoneus inveniatur . . . ad celebrandum in Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Trinitatis de Bradford ad altare Sancti Nicholai pro anima mea, anima meæ matris,*" &c.

³ Leland visited Bradford (1538-40), and in his Itinerary, ii. 54, (printed in the Wilts Archæological Mag., i. 148,) speaks of a rich clothier named 'Horton,' who (his words seem to imply) died no very long time before, his wife being yet alive. He may allude to the same person as the founder of the Chantry. He dwelt, according to Leland, in a house built by himself "at the north est part by the Chiroh." He also built "a goodly large chiroh house *ex lapide quadrato* at the est end of the chiroh yard without it." I can have no doubt that the present work-shops, in what is called the Abbey yard, belonging to Messrs. Edmonds, formed part of Horton's house, the situation exactly according with Leland's description, and having within unmistakable evidences of having been formerly a dwelling house. The 'Church House,' which is also said to have been built by Horton, is still standing; it is situated in Church street, and is now the property of Mr. Butterworth. Both these buildings are of about the same date, and the similarity of their oak ceilings strikes you at once. The Church House, which, in a map of 1743, I have seen distinctly marked out as the building alluded to, was the place in which, before the days of rating, meetings were held for raising funds for church repairs, the poor, &c. The order of these meetings seems to have been "business first, pleasure afterwards," for no sooner had they attended to the wants of others than they had a little care for themselves, and indulging first of all in a little good cheer, then betook themselves to various kinds of festivities. The memory of one of their amusements is still preserved in the name—(happily now it is no more than a name)—of the *Bull Pit*, where they used to witness the then popular sport of bull-baiting.

mark' which may still be seen on a brass in the Church, and a representation of which is here given.



Before we leave the subject of Chantries we may mention, that according to the enquiry made in the reign of Henry VIII., just prior to the Reformation, two Chantries are reported as connected with the Parish Church; probably the two of whose foundation we have just given an account. They were each of them valued at £10 per annum, one of them being held by *William Bryd* (or *Birde*) who was also the vicar, and the other by *Thomas Horton*.¹ In the time of Edward VI. the Chantry, which, like all others, had by the authority of Parliament been granted to the king, was sold by the Crown to *Horton*, a member, no doubt, of the family of the original founder.²

¹ Valor Ecclesiasticus, ii. 81. Who this *Thomas Horton* was it is difficult to say, the more so as in the account given of the deductions from the gross value of the Chantry is the following entry:—“Unde in operibus charitatis ex ordinacione sua per annum liv' iv'.”—As the founder of the Chantry was a merchant, and a married man, it cannot allude to him. The only plausible conjectures that can be formed are, either that the founder died before he drew up his ‘ordinatio’ and left that task to a relation having the same christian name; or that in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, *Thomas* is a mistake for *James*, who according to the Pedigree in the Visitation both for 1585 and 1623, is called a ‘priest’ and a brother of a *Thomas Horton*, and who might be living in 1635; both of them being sons of John Horton, described as of Lullington, Co. Somerset. This may be the *James Horton*, Clerk, mentioned in this Magazine, i. 296. But all this is mere conjecture.

² Augmentation Office “A. Bundle H. ii. No. 19. Immediately adjoining the vicarage garden, which itself is close to the church, is a large field called *Chantry Field*, and the house that is built on it is called *Chantry House*. Probably the land was itself originally the endowment of the Chantry. An older house, moreover, perhaps stood on the site of the present one, in which the Chantry Priests resided.

FROM A.D. 1500—1600.

We have now arrived at the time of the Reformation. Our Abbess' rule, which had lasted in all for more than 500 years, was to come to a close. In 1535 the smaller monasteries were surrendered to King Henry VIII. Five years afterwards the royal exchequer was filled to overflowing by the addition of the estates of the larger monasteries. Shaftesbury was surrendered March 23rd, 1539, and with it, of course, went Bradford and its dependencies. The king, who had thus been immensely increasing some of his earthly possessions, had meanwhile been getting rid of others—divorcing *one* wife, beheading a *second*, and losing a third shortly after giving birth to a son. Perhaps it was a happy escape for our Wiltshire fair one, Jane Seymour, that she was thus early removed from her high, yet perilous position. The king, we are told, was inconsolable, and "continued in real mourning for her even all the festival of Christmas." Two months, however, *before* Christmas, he had offered his hand to another.

But his queens were not the only persons who got into trouble with Henry VIII. A worthy Vicar of Bradford, William Byrde by name, fell under his Grace's high displeasure. He was chaplain to the Lord Hungerford. The reason alleged for his getting into disgrace was, that he said to one that was going to assist the king against the rebels in the north,—“I am sorry thou goest; seest thou not how the king plucketh down images and abbeys every day? And if the king go thither himself, he will never come home again, nor any of all them which go with him, and in truth, it were a pity he ever should come home again.” And at another time, upon one's saying,—“I ween all the world will be heretics in a little while,”—Byrde said,—“Dost thou marvel at that? I tell thee it's no marvel, for the great master of all is a heretic, and such a one as there is not his like in the world.”

By the same act the Lord Hungerford was attainted. The crimes specified are, “that he, knowing Byrde to be a traitor, did entertain him in his house as his chaplain; that he ordered another of his chaplains, Sir Hugh Wood, and one Dr. Maudlin, to use conjuring,

that they might know how long the king should live, and whether he should be victorious over his enemies or not."¹

Such charges as these seem to us frivolous. Perhaps, however, there was more in these so-called chemical experiments than appears at first sight. The king, we know, for years lived in fear of the Roman Catholics, and he may have suspected a conspiracy against his life, carried on under such a pretence. As far as the result was concerned, our vicar fared better than his patron. My Lord Hungerford lost his head,—William Byrde only his living.²

After Vicar Byrde's removal, the living of Bradford was held for some time by Thomas Morley,³ suffragan Bishop of Marlborough. Of Bishop Morley little is known. He held at the same time with Bradford, the living of East Fittleton, void also in 1540 by the attainder of William Byrde. He died in 1553.

Soon after the dissolution of the monastery at Shaftesbury the king bestowed the prebendal Manor of Bradford, together with the advowson of the various churches,⁴ on the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, one of the new ecclesiastical corporations that he created and endowed out of the proceeds of some of the suppressed religious houses. They still retain both the patronage and the prebendal manor.

The lay manor was for a time retained by the Crown in its own hands. It was afterwards leased out by Queen Elizabeth to Henry Earl of Pembroke. In the eighteenth year of her reign, the same

¹ Burnet's 'History of the Reformation,' Part i. B. iii. sub. anno 1540.

² There was a William Bird, 'Prior of Bath,' of whom Wood (Fast. Oxon. i. 71.) says that he died 22 May, 1525, in poverty, having expended too much in "building and in chemical experiments to which he was extremely addicted." He rebuilt the Church at Bath (See Collinson's 'Somerset,' i. 56). They cannot be the same person, as William Byrde, Vicar of Bradford, was not deprived till 1540. Wood, perhaps, has made some confusion between the two, but if there were two, and both of them chemists, the coincidence is curious. About that period, the strange science of Alchemy was very popular.

³ Wilts Institutions, 1540. The appointment was made by the king, and is thus entered, "Thomas Morley sedis Merlebergen. Episcopus Suffraganus per attincturam Willielmi Byrde *de alta proditiōne.*"

⁴ The Churches are thus enumerated in the grant which bears date 34 Henry VIII.—"ac etiam omnes illas Rectorias et Ecclesias de Bradforde, Wynnesleigh, Holte, Attworth, Wraxhall, et *Comerwell,*" &c. All traces of the church at Cumberwell have been lost.

queen granted the reversion of the manor to Sir Francis Walsingham, one of the principal Secretaries of State. Sir F. Walsingham had one only daughter, Frances, who was married to Richard, fourth Earl of Clanricarde,¹ of the kingdom of Ireland, (afterwards Lord St. Alban's), and their daughter, Honora de Burgh, in 1633, married John Powlett, Marquis of Winchester. The Earl, before the marriage, settled the Manor of Bradford upon the Marquis of Winchester and his heirs by Honora de Burgh. There were born to them, in course of time, four sons and three daughters. The Lord Francis Powlett, second son of the said Marquis, by surviving his elder brother, became entitled to the manor and premises, as well as by a settlement of the manor and lands made on him and the heirs of his body, by the Marquis of Winchester in his life-time. The Lord Francis Powlett's daughter was married to the Rev. Nathan Wright, of Englefield, county Berks, second son of Sir Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper, and through her he obtained the Manor of Bradford. From him it descended to his son, Mr. Powlett Wright, of Englefield. In the year 1774, Mr. Powlett Wright sold the same, except the farms called Barton Farm and Lady-Down Farm, sundry houses and dispersed lands, and a right of fishing, to Paul Methuen, Esq., of Corsham, the ancestor of the present Lord Methuen, free from a Crown rent of £13 16s 8½d, with which it was chargeable, but subject to an annual payment of 38s, out of the said manor to the old alms-house. From the Methuen family, it was obtained through purchase by the Hobhouse family, the representative of whom, the present Lord Broughton, still holds it. It is still subject as before to the annual payment of £1 18s. to the alms-house.

It is not generally known that out of the proceeds from Bradford there was left a sum of £10 12s. 7d. per annum (equal to at least £100 now) for the establishment of a school for the education of our youth. The fate of this endowment is curious. Together with the Trowbridge fund, of still greater amount, it was coaxed out of Queen Elizabeth by the City of Salisbury, in 1559, the Mayor and

¹ This lady had been twice previously married, first, to Sir Philip Sidney, and secondly, to Elizabeth's unfortunate favourite, the Earl of Essex. Burke's *Peerage*, under, 'Clanricarde.'

Corporation of Salisbury urging that their city was a more convenient situation for such a school; Bradford and Trowbridge, on the other hand, being described as "*upland towns, with scanty populations*¹ and a limited resort of gentlemen and merchants; for which reason," the petitioners urged, "there was no need of such schools, nor any profit in good learning." The establishment was therefore shifted to Salisbury, where it shared the fate which so often attends unpurchased favours. It was systematically neglected, and by the year 1608 had so declined as to require a committee of investigation. Next we hear of it occupying some rooms at the Old George Inn, (still standing,) till it was driven to the Castle Inn. The following entry, in the Corporation Books for 1624, will show how highly the good citizens of Salisbury esteemed education:—"Ordered, that the school be shifted from the George, that it may no longer be chargeable and burdensome to the Corporation." The burgesses who voted for no *school* were quite willing to have plenty of *play*, and so we find the next entry to be this:—"Ordered that the comedians shall from henceforth have their plays at the George."

Through this interference of the burgesses of Salisbury, our *upland* Town was, as far as our present information extends, without provision for the education of its youth till the year 1715, a period of more than 150 years. In November, 1715, the Rev. Nathan

¹ A rough estimate of the population a few years later than this date (1559), may be formed, by taking the number of burials registered and reckoning them as averaging *two per cent*, of the whole population. This is, of course, a very low average, but it allows for any accidental omissions in the Register and gives us probably the *maximum* amount. The calculation, of course, extends only to those inhabiting the town and its neighbourhood, exclusive of the chapeltries, each of which had its place of interment. On this estimate the following results are obtained:

For the	Average Burials	Probable	
10 years ending	per annum,	population,	
1590,	31·8	1590	
" 1600	" 34·3	" 1715	
" 1610	" 33·9	" 1695	
" 1620	" 29·	" 1450	
" 1630	" 23·8	" 1190	

This gives an average population for the 50 years ending 1630 of from 1500 to 1600. The area of this population was at least *six thousand* acres, so that probably not more than half the number of inhabitants lived in the town. This might fairly be deemed a "*scanty population*."

Wright of Englefield, in the county of Berks, to whom, in right of his wife, as has been already mentioned, the Lordship of the Manor of Bradford had descended,—“for the encouragement of learning and good manners within the parish of Bradford, demised unto William Methuen and eight others, the building adjoining the Church-yard of Bradford, commonly called the *Skull-house*, and then converted into a *Charity School-house*, to hold the same for the term of 1000 years, without impeachment of waste, paying a pepper-corn rent, upon trust that the said Trustees should use the aforesaid edifice or building as a *Charity School-house*,” &c. The building referred to, is the very ancient one to which we have already alluded. (Plate ii.) It was probably used at one time as a Charnel-house, and hence the name it bore—*Skull-house*—at the time of its conveyance to Trustees for the purpose of being used as a School-house.

A notice of Bradford would be incomplete without a few words on the subject of the wool-trade, in which, from an early period, some of its principal inhabitants were engaged. For many centuries, the words of Leland have been true, “Al the toun of Bradeford stondith by clooth-making.”¹ Any one who has at all studied the early history of our country, must be well aware that, at one time, the trade in wool was of the greatest importance; in fact our commerce was almost confined to the exportation of wool, the great staple commodity of England, upon which, more than any other, in its raw or manufactured state, our national wealth has been founded. So that Fuller was quite right when he said, “Well might the French ambassador return ‘France, France, France,’ reiterated to every petty title of the King of Spain; and our English ‘*wool, wool, wool*’ may counterpoise the numerous but inconsiderable commodities of other countries.”²

Originally our wool was exported to Flanders for the most part, and there made into cloth. In the time of Edward III, however, a different plan began to be adopted. In 1331, he took advantage of the discontent among the merchants of Flanders to invite them as settlers in his dominions, and they brought hither some manu-

¹ Itinerary ii. 54.

² Fuller’s ‘Worthies.’ Wiltshire (*Introduction*).

factures of cloth, which up to that time had been unknown in England. He thus became the Father of English Commerce, a title not more glorious, but by which he may perhaps claim more of our gratitude, than as the hero of Creecy. From that time the occupation of a merchant became honorable; immense fortunes were made, and in many instances nobly spent, for we owe some of our finest churches, best endowed schools, and other charities, to merchants of the staple. As the duty on wool still formed a principal source of the king's revenue, by an act passed in the 27th year of his reign, certain towns were appointed as *staples* or markets for wool, and to one or other of these all wool was henceforth to be taken, that there the tax on it might be duly collected.¹ Our staple or wool-market was at Bristol. So profitable was the trade that some of the nobles were even tempted at times to engage in it. In the earlier parts of the 15th century, we find amongst those who indulged in this speculation the august names of the then Duke of Suffolk, the Prior of Bridlington, and Margaret of Anjou, the spirited Queen of Henry VI.²

Whether any of the Hall family, like their namesake John Hall of Salisbury, were merchants of the staple, we cannot say, but it is not improbable. As years rolled on, they wondrously increased their wealth and their possessions. At the close of the 15th century (as appears by a deed dated 21st Edward IV.) Henry Hall, who then had lately succeeded to the estates of his father, Nicholas Hall, had lands in Bradford, Lye, Troll Parva, Slade, Ford, Wraxhall, Holt, Broughton, Marlborough, Okebourn Meysey, in Wilts, and at Freshford, Iford, Mitford, Frome, Fleete, Widcombe, Portishead,

¹ This statute, 27 Edward III. Stat. 2 (1353), provided that the *Staple* of wools, leather, woofels and lead should be held at the following towns,—Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and *Bristol*. Before this time, Calais had been the *staple* town to which all such commodities from England were exported, and where the duties of the Crown were received. The above named statute was passed however, as the preamble sets forth, in consequence of "the damage which hath notoriously come as well to us, and to the great men, as to our people of the realm of England, &c., because that the staple of wools, leather, and woofels have been holden out of our said realm, and also for the great profits which should come to the said realm if the staple were holden within the same and not elsewhere."

² Duke's 'Prolusiones Historice,' p. 69.

and other places in Somerset. At all events, we know that both Horton and Lucas were thriving clothiers here before the Reformation. And the words of Leland, already quoted, imply, that in the middle of the sixteenth century 'cloth-making' was very general here; the means, in fact, by which the town was supported. And from that time to the present, the history of our town is little more than a record of steady and often successful pursuit of the clothing trade; of large fortunes made, and frequently generously spent; in more instances than one, of coronets obtained by descendants of our wealthy manufacturers. Of some of them we shall speak presently; meanwhile we must resume the regular course of our narrative.

FROM A.D. 1600—1700.

The seventeenth century, at which we have now arrived, was an important one in the history of our town. At the beginning of this period, we have the erection of that beautiful mansion, now called Kingston House, which has recently been so well restored by its present owner, Mr. Moulton. As its history has been so fully elucidated in a paper contributed to this Magazine¹ by our Secretary, Canon Jackson, it is unnecessary to say more than that it was probably built by John Hall, the head of the family at the time. For the same reason we need only mention that through the marriage of Elizabeth Hall (the heiress of another John Hall, grandson of the one who probably built the house, and who was Sheriff of Wilts in 1670) with Thomas Baynton of Chalfield, and the subsequent marriage of their daughter, Rachel Baynton, with the son of Evelyn, Duke of Kingston, the property came into the possession of that ducal family, and from that time the mansion has been called Kingston House. The issue of this marriage was the second and last Duke of Kingston, the father having died before he came to the title. The second Duke married Elizabeth Chudleigh, *alias* the Honorable Miss Chudleigh, *alias* Mrs. Harvey, *alias* the Countess of Bristol, a lady whose career, to say the least, was not irreproachable. As they had no children, the property passed to the Duke's sister, Frances Pierrepont, who married

¹ Wilts Archæological Magazine, i. p. 265.

Philip, eldest son of Sir Philip Meadows. Their son became the first Lord Manvers. He sold Kingston House in 1802, to Mr. Thomas Divett, who, with a keener eye for profit than architectural beauty, used it as a store-house for wool, teasels, &c. In 1848, the premises were sold to Mr. Moulton, and to him we owe the complete restoration, in such excellent taste, of all that remained of the North Wilts Hall of John Hall.

Of the troublous times which ended in the death of King Charles I. we have several reminiscences. True throughout to the fortunes of the falling monarch, many of our leading men were obliged to compound for their estates on the establishment of the Commonwealth. SIR THOMAS HALL, Knight, who at the commencement of the war had acted as Commissioner in Wilts for pressing men into the king's service was, in 1649, fined £660. He asserted on petition that he undertook the office of Commissidner through threats from the king and the Earl of Forth, and that he had used his influence to save his neighbours from free-quarter. This, however, did not exempt him from a heavy penalty. At this time, he held the Manor of Bradford under the Marquis of Winchester, with demesnes, woods, and a watermill, altogether valued at £160 per annum. He also had house property in Bath.

EDWARD YERBURY was another royalist who compounded in 1646, his fine being £190. He belonged more especially to Trowbridge, but he is mentioned here because a petition was got up from Bradford to prove his leniency and good neighbourhood whilst exercising the office of King's Commissioner. The petition was signed by Paul Methwin, John Earle, George Godwin, George Grant, Walter Grant, Thomas Maltman, and Matthew Smith. The Yerbury family were afterwards implicated in the revolt against the Protector's government, known as the Penruddock rising in 1655, but contrived,—how it is not easy to say,—to escape the punishment that then overtook so many gentlemen in the south of Wilts.

We must not omit to mention also, MICHAEL TIDCOMBE, the Devizes attorney, who spent the latter part of his life in this parish, in which he possessed some little property, and whose tomb is in our parish church. He first got into trouble in December, 1643,

when the king opening an assize at Salisbury, indicted several of the Parliamentary Commanders, and amongst others the Earl of Pembroke, for high treason. It was Michael Tidcombe who drew out the forms of indictment, and the Parliament never forgave him. In 1646, he had to pay a fine of £450 for his estates, which lay at Great Ashley, in our parish, and also at Bishops Cannings and at Devizes.

Of two or three occurrences during the seventeenth century, we must make specific mention.

The first, in point both of time and importance, was the introduction of a change in the manufacture of cloth, which exercised for many years afterwards a great influence on the trade, and consequently the prosperity of our town. Hitherto only a coarse kind of cloth,—a sort of drugget,—had been made in Bradford, but in 1659, Paul Methwin, the leading clothier of the time, obtained from Holland some ‘spinners,’ as they are termed, for the purpose of obtaining, through them, the secrets of manufacturing the finer kinds of cloth. Before, however, the foreigners had been long in Bradford, the parochial officers required a bond of indemnity in the sum of £100 to be entered into by Paul Methwin, lest they might become chargeable to the parish. The deed recites, that—“whereas Paul Methwin for *his own proper gain and benefit* did fetch, or was at charge to fetch or bring, out of Amsterdam in Holland into the parish of Bradford, one Richard Jonson, *otherwise* Derricke Jonson, spinner, with Hectrie his wife and several small children,”—that, therefore, lest such persons, as, it is intimated, was not unlikely, should become a burden on the inhabitants of the parish, the churchwardens and overseers, for the time being,¹ thought it right to require security from Paul Methwin in the sum above-mentioned, that he would—“from time to time, and at all times hereafter clearly acquit, save harmless, defend and keep the inhabitants of the said parish for ever free, and discharged from all manner of trouble, expense, costs, charges, and damages whatsoever that they may be put unto, or charged with, by the said Richard Jonson, &c., for

¹ The *Churchwardens* were John Smith and Walter Perry; the *Overseers*, John Crooke, Augustine Perry, and Richard Baylie.

and towards the maintenance and breeding up of them or any of them.”¹

The name of the place in which these men from Holland lived, is still called the “*Dutch Barton*.”² it is situated at the west end of Church street, on the right hand side of the passage leading to the Abbey yard. The house at the corner and the large adjoining malt-house occupy the site on which stood, formerly, some of the cottages in which the foreigners lived. Memorials of their residence amongst us are often found in those *Flemish* or *Nuremburg Tokens*, as they are called, a kind of spurious coin, which they brought with them from their native country, and specimens of which are very abundant.

Whilst speaking of coins, we may allude to the issue of Bradford Tokens which was made during this century by many of the inhabitants of the town, employed in trade of one kind or other.

¹ I have searched in vain for the original of this deed in the Parish Chest. I was indebted for the loan of a copy of it to the late Mr. John Bush. In looking for this deed, however, I met with another of precisely similar character, dated a few years later (1674), and endorsed,—“Mr. Wm. Brewer his bond of £100 to save harmless the Parish of Bradford *against the Dutchmen*.”—The deed recites that “whereas att the desire and request of the said William Brewer of Trowbridge, and for his benefitt and profit in his trade of a clothier, three straungers called by the names of Adolfe, Gregorius, and Jone, Dutchmen by nation, or of Powland, are suffered and permitted to abide in the parish of Bradford as workmen to the said William Brewer,” &c., that, therefore, a bond has been taken from him to hold the parish harmless in the event of any of them or their families becoming “for or by reason of poverty, sickness, lameness, or impotencie” chargeable to it. The ‘William Brewer,’ above alluded to, is spoken of by Aubrey (*Natural History of Wilts*, p. ii. ch. xii.)—“Now (temp. Jacobi ii.) Mr. Brewer of Trowbridge driveth the greatest trade for medleys of any cloathier in England.”

² In the year 1721 a resolution was passed in Vestry to purchase from Anthony Methuen, Esq., a portion of the ‘Dutch Barton’ for a Parish Workhouse. Before that time there was nothing but ‘*out door*’ relief. The Poor-house, as it was called, was afterwards removed to a spot close to the present railway station, the Vestry having resolved 25 June, 1754, ‘to hire and take the houses called ‘*the Catch*’ for the purpose of a Workhouse.’ The premises were afterwards taken down for the construction of the railway, and the Workhouse removed to Avoncliff. In an account of lands and tenements belonging to the Prebendal Manor of Bradford in 1767 the premises are still described as “A house called ‘*The Catch*.’” Of the meaning of this term, I can, as yet, offer no satisfactory explanation.

During the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. the practice became prevalent of tradesmen issuing their own half-pennies and farthings. The want of small change had long been felt as an inconvenience, so that in the language of several petitioners to Parliament the poor man often "lost his penny," an expression which, whatever may have been its precise signification, implied great inconvenience. Mr. J. Y. Akerman¹ has drawn up a list of the several tokens issued in Wiltshire, and amongst them, of course, those belonging to Bradford. He gives us the following list, of the first two of which we give drawings. Specimens of most of them are not uncommon in Bradford.

(1). *Obverse*. PAULE . METHWIN, and three mullets. A coat of arms. Crest, a cross. *Reverse*. IN . BRADFORD, and two mullets. In the field a cross between the letters P. M.



Obverse.

Reverse.

(2). *Obverse*. JOHN . COOKE . AND . JOSHUA . FARRAND. a mullet. In the field a lion rampant. *Reverse*. OF . BRADFORD . THEIR . HALF-PENY. and a mullet. In the field, three bugle horns.



Obverse.

Reverse.

(3). *Obv.* DANIEL . DEVERREL. and a cinquefoil. A regal crown of the period. *Rev.* IN . BRADFORD . 1663. and a cinquefoil. In the field D. D. four pellets, and two cinquefoils.

(4). *Obv.* JOHN . COOKE. a cinquefoil, 1666, and another cinquefoil. In the field, HIS . HALF-PENY. a cinquefoil, and two pellets. *Rev.* OF . BRADFORD. Two cinquefoils and a mullet.

¹ List of Tokens issued by Wiltshire Tradesmen in the 17th century. London, 1846.

In the field, two cinquefoils, the stems interlaced; between them the letters I. M. C.

(5). *Obv.* WILLIAM. BAILY. MERCER and a quatrefoil. In the field, the bust of an ancient queen, like that on the shield of the Mercers' Company. *Rev.* IN. BRADFORD. 1668. and three cinquefoils. In the field, a horse's head¹ couped bridled between the letters W. B.

(6). *Obv.* THOMAS. IBBOTSON. and three mullets. In the field, HIS. HALF-PENNY. and six pellets. *Rev.* MERCER. IN. BRADFORD. Three flowers, the stems twisted in a knot, between the letters T. I.

(7). *Obv.* WILLIAM. CHANDLER. and a mullet. The Grocers' arms. *Rev.* IN. BRADFORD. 16 . . . In the field, W. C. and two cinquefoils.

(8). *Obv.* IACOB. ELBEE. OF. and four cinquefoils. In the field, two tobacco pipes crossed, saltier-wise. *Rev.* BRADFORD. 1665. two cinquefoils and a mullet. In the field, I. E. three cinquefoils and four pellets.

(9). *Obv.* JOHN PRESTON, OF. A shield of arms. *Rev.* BRADFORD 1666 and a cinquefoil. In the field, HIS HALF-PENNY, and a cinquefoil between two pellets.

(10). *Obv.* JOHN GAGE, OF. The bust of an ancient queen, like that on the shield of the Mercers' Company. *Rev.* BRADFORD 1649, a mullet, and two pellets. In the field, the letters I G divided by a pellet.

It was, moreover, during the period that we are now considering that we had a visit from our old friend, John Aubrey. He had at this time (to use his own expression) his 'Essay towards the Natural History of Wilts' "*upon the loom,*" and certainly his wits must have been *wool gathering* when he came into this neighbourhood. His notice of our town is most meagre, and abounds with good intentions, which, like many others, were never carried into effect. Thus, for instance, he says of the Parish Church,—“Mr. T. G[ore]² assures

¹ Baily of Stowford and of Staverton, had three horses' heads for their arms. See coat over door of mansion house, near Staverton Church.

² This was Thomas Gore, Esq., of Alderton, a great friend and neighbour of Aubrey's, to whom, on subjects, especially of heraldry or genealogy, he perpetually referred. See an account of him in this Magazine, vol. iv. p. 107.

me that in the Church here is nothing of antiquities to be found," and so, trusting implicitly to the word of his friend, Aubrey did not himself take the trouble of looking into it. He speaks, moreover, of a large house in Pippet street, which is still standing,— "In this towne is a faire old built house of the family of Rogers¹ of Cannington; here are many old escutcheons (which see); now it is the seat of Mr. Methwyn² the cloathier." However, so far as any record of the house, as it then was, is concerned, Aubrey, if he even did visit it, might as well have staid away, for he says not a syllable about it. He adds further, "On the top of the North Hill above Mr. Methwyn's is the finest hermitage³ I have seen in England: several rooms and very neat chappel of good free-stone. This high hill is rock and gravel, faces the south and south west: therefore is the best site for a vineyard of any place I know: better in England cannot be." On the same subject in his 'Natural History of Wilts,' he says, (ch. ix.) "Elders grow everywhere. At Bradford all the side of the high hill, which faces the south, above Mr. Paul Methwin's house, is covered with them. I fancy that that pent might be turned to better profit, for it is situated as well for a vineyard as any place can be, and is on a rocky gravelly ground. The apothecaries well know the use of the berries, and so doe the vintners, who buy vast quantities of them in London, and some doe make no inconsiderable profit by the sale of them." All else that

¹ Rogers of Cannington.—This was a junior branch of the family of Rogers of Bradford, the first of whom, Sir Edward Rogers of Cannington, in Somerset, was Comptroller of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, and a Member of the Privy Council. Thomas Rogers of Bradford, was a Serjeant-at-Law, 1478, and married one of the heiresses of William Besil of Bradford; the other heiress, Margaret, being married to Nicholas Hall. The ultimate heiress of the elder branch of the Rogers family, viz., Dorothy, daughter of Anthony Rogers, married Sir John Hall, Knt. of Bradford (circ. 1570). Arms of Rogers, Arg. a chevron between three stags courant sab.

² This house is still commonly called by the older inhabitants '*Methwins*,' and they pronounce it, as though it were spelt, '*Methins*.' Within the last few years the name of '*The Priory*' has been chosen for it. As there is no trace of the house ever having been used, in olden times, for any religious society, it is almost to be regretted that a name has been adopted which after a few years might be calculated to mislead enquirers.

³ The *Hermitage*. Aubrey here alludes to the '*Tory Chapel*' which we have described in page 35.

Aubrey relates concerning our town, besides one or two very brief notices of buildings, to which we have already referred, is contained in what he calls a "simple old woman's prophetic of old Mother Bloker of Bradford." Though he inserts it in his manuscript, yet, in a letter,² still preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, addressed to his friend Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Tanner, he says, "Pray doe me the favour to blott it out," deeming it too modern for insertion. However, here is the old dame's prediction; it may amuse some of our readers.

"Bristowe shall sinke and Bath shall swimme,
And Bradford be a Haven-towne."

At present there are no signs of its accomplishment.

It was, moreover, towards the latter end of this century that THOMAS BEACH, an attorney of Woolley, contrived to keep the good people of Bradford in a state of excitement by some of his performances.³ He has been already noticed in the pages of this Magazine (vol. iii. 370) as having urged the apprehension of a certain Lawrence Braddon, whom he saw stopping "at an inn door at a town called Bradford to drink a glass of cider," on what may now seem to us rather insufficient grounds, viz., that he "looked like a disaffected person, by wearing bands and cuffs, and therefore, in that dangerous time, ought to be examined." No long time afterwards, however, the said Thomas Beach, who is said to have been "an attorney notorious in his country and generation," himself got into trouble. In January, 1677-8 (30th Car. II.), in conjunction with Simon Deverell, bailiff of Bradford, he committed a breach of privilege in assaulting and wounding Mr. Hall, a member of the House of Commons, and also Mr. Hall's servant, threatening at the same time to do him further mischief. This occurred during a sitting of Parliament. Mr. Beach was accordingly placed immediately in the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms.

On the 22nd of February he acknowledges his offence, and craves

¹ Tanner MSS. Bodleian. 126.

² Thomas Beach was ancestor of the Beach family at West Ashton and Woolley. His wife was one of the 'Martyns' of East Town in the parish of Steeple Ashton. He was buried at Steeple Ashton.

forgiveness of the House, but, being very sick—(perhaps we might say *indisposed*)—is unable to attend at the bar of the House.

On the 25th he kneels at the bar of the House, and Mr. Speaker informs him that he is discharged upon condition of making an acknowledgment and submission for his offence at the next General Sessions for the County of Wilts. Whilst however the House is willing to *forgive* the said Thomas Beach, Mr. Speaker reminds him that he must not *forget* to pay the customary fees.

It was during the latter part of this century also that the Monmouth rebellion took place. One is sorry to throw any doubt on the truth of the tradition which still exists in our town that the Duke of Monmouth lodged at what a few years afterwards was called Kingston House, during one of his progresses amongst the gentry of the West of England. It is not impossible, perhaps we might say improbable, that the Duke, whose popularity in the West of England is well known, may have been received by John Hall, as well as by his brother-in-law Thomas Thynne, at Longleat. As yet, however, we have found no specific mention of the fact in any history of the times. The night after a skirmish at Philip's Norton, Feversham, who commanded the king's forces, fell back to Bradford, and a tradition of their visit, and of some circumstances attending it, is still preserved amongst the old people in Bradford. But of a visit from Monmouth himself there is no actual proof. The story may perchance have taken its rise from another circumstance which certainly *did* take place. So devoted were the people to the unfortunate Duke, that, even after his execution, many continued to cherish a hope that he was still living,—in fact, that a substitute had represented him on the fatal scaffold. In 1686 a knave who pretended to be the Duke, made his appearance in our neighbourhood, and probably levied contributions *here*, as he had already in several villages in Wiltshire. At all events, at Bradford our *soi-disant* Duke was apprehended, and was afterwards whipped at the cart's tail, from Newgate to Tyburn.¹

We have in our parish a memorial in some sort of the Duke of Monmouth. After the fatal battle of Sedgemoor (1685), an officer

¹ Macaulay's 'History of England,' i. 625. (3rd edition, 1854.)

in his army left in the house of Mr. Davison of Freshford, a pair of holster-pistols. Through a daughter of Mr. Davison who married the present Colonel Yerbury's grandfather, the pistols came into the possession of that family. They were sent for exhibition in the temporary Museum formed on the occasion of the Meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society at Bradford, in August last.

FROM A.D. 1700.— 1800.

We have now arrived at the commencement of the eighteenth century. By this time Bradford had considerably increased in population and in importance. Indeed, during the last quarter of the seventeenth century men and women flocked in from all quarters to obtain employment here. It was the custom in those days, that every such artizan, who might possibly become chargeable to the parish, before settling in Bradford should exhibit a certificate signed by the minister and churchwardens, and other public officers of his own parish, acknowledging his claim on them in the event of his falling into distress, and in such a case also covenanting to hold the parish in which he might settle harmless from all charges. A very large number of such certificates bearing date from 1670 downwards, are still preserved in the parish chest. And even with this precaution, the parishioners of Bradford do not always seem to have been satisfied. They were evidently not a little jealous of the irruption into their borders of so large a company of 'straungers.' And hence the leading clothiers of the town often had to give an additional guarantee to the parishioners to prevent the possibility of their being put to any expense, even in the removal of the non-parochial residents. Two deeds are now lying before the writer of these pages, one of them relating to a certain "Ann Lowden, of Bulkington," who came hither in February, 1677-8, endorsed,— "Memorand: That Mr. Paul Methwin on Friday, Feb. 22, promised the parish of Bradford to pay, at any time, for the removing of the sayd Anne Lowden to Bulkington;"—and the other relating to a certain "John Emling of Standerwick, in the county of Somerset," who is described as a "*wooll-breaker*," and who is said to be desirous of settling in Bradford, because 'worke is more plenty

there,' and which is endorsed,—“ July the 6th, 1677. Mr. Anthony Methwin promised the payment of 3s. 4d. for caution money.”

The energy of the ‘Methwins’ and the ‘Cams’ bore good fruit in the great increase of the trade of the town;—indeed Aubrey¹ bears witness that “ Mr. Paul Methwin of Bradford was the greatest cloathier of his time.” Nor should we forget to mention Anthony and William Druce, whose name is still preserved in ‘Druce’s Hill’ (before called ‘The Green’), a spot of ground no great distance from the church-yard, and who belonged to the Society of Quakers, then numerous here as in other towns in Wiltshire; and John Curll, whose memory must ever be held in affectionate esteem in a parish whose poor inhabitants benefit yearly through his munificence.² By the efforts of these and others Bradford enlarged to a very great degree the extent of its manufactures. Cottages sprung up in every quarter, each one furnished with its loom, and plenty of work to secure its constant employment. Our town, in fact, became a steady-going,—business-like,—money-making place. Cloth-making was lucrative, and so a large amount of capital was year by year invested in it. In the year 1723, we find no less than twenty-five clothiers in the parish of Bradford, the greater part of them in the town itself, and the value of their stock-in-trade was computed at £40,000, a sum relatively much larger than it would be deemed at present, but one which, even thus reckoned, would bear a small proportion to the capital employed at the commencement of the present century. Amongst the clothiers of that day, we find the well known names of Heyleyn,—Thresher,—Methuen,—Druce,—Baskerville,—Halliday,—Shewell,—Shrapnell,—Bush,—Self,—and Yerbury.

The rest of the history of our town may be shortly told. From the middle of the last century till within some *sixteen* years ago, it is hardly more than a continued record of successful industry. In

¹ ‘Natural History of Wilts,’ p. 113.

² John Curll bequeathed to the poor of Bradford, not usually receiving alms of the parish, £30, to be paid annually out of the proceeds of land at Chirton, near Devizes, and to be distributed in *Crowns* amongst 120 such poor persons on St. Thomas’ Day in each year.

the course of years one improvement after another was introduced into the manufacture of cloth. Trade increased,—our manufacturers became wealthy,—employment attracted numbers to our town. So abundant, indeed, was employment, that the wool after having undergone various processes to fit it to be spun into yarn was carried for that purpose to spinners residing not only in all the neighbouring villages, but as far as Salisbury Plain. The names of Tugwell,—Atwood,—Head,—Bethel,—Strawbridge,—Stevens,—Phelps,—&c.;—names not yet forgotten in the town,—bear ample testimony to the success that in the latter portion of the last century attended the spirit and industry of the clothiers of Bradford.

Then came the introduction of machinery, and with it the Factory System. Then the weavers and others employed in the manufacture of cloth, instead of plying their craft, as heretofore, in their own cottages were collected into large buildings, many of them erected for the special purpose of receiving them. At the commencement of this century, no less than thirty-two of these were at work in our town, every building, in fact, which could be converted to the purpose being made one of these hives of industry. Even the "Chapel of our Lady" on Tory could not escape such a doom in an age, when utility, so far as money-making was concerned, was the sole standard by which all things were judged. And yet what more striking monitor could there be than the ceaseless 'click' of the 'weaver's shuttle' that life is far too short, too uncertain, to allow us safely to engross our energies in the pursuit of earthly riches!

It was not, indeed, without a struggle that the employers thus brought in a new order of things. On the introduction of the spinning jennies, and the carding machines, no disturbance had arisen, however much men may secretly have murmured against them. But when a step further was taken, then their murmurs broke out into open resistance. On the evening of May, 14, 1791, a tumultuous mob of nearly 500 persons assembled before the house of Mr. Phelps¹ an eminent clothier of the town. The matter of

¹ He lived in the first large house on the right hand after passing the bridge, on the road from Bradford to Trowbridge. The house is now occupied by Mr. George Spencer. There are still to be seen in the garden wall facing the street traces of the holes through which Mr. Phelps and his friends fired upon the rioters.

complaint was, that he had converted one of his old carding engines into a scribbling machine, which the hand-scribblers believed would eventually throw them out of employ. A demand was, therefore, made by the mob that Mr. Phelps should deliver up the machine into their hands, or else pledge himself never more to work it. On his refusing to do so the rioters began to throw stones, whereby many who by this time had come to the assistance of Mr. Phelps were seriously wounded. They continued their assault until not only all the windows of the house were broken, but much of the furniture damaged. Feeling that their lives were in danger, Mr. Phelps and his friends fired on the mob, and a man, a woman, and a boy were killed, and two others dangerously wounded. Still the tumult was unappeased, and, as the only means whereby to save the further effusion of blood, Mr. Phelps surrendered the obnoxious machine into their hands, and they burnt it upon the bridge. Some of the principal rioters were subsequently captured, and sent to take their trial at the ensuing assizes. The coroner's inquest which sat on the slain bodies, returned a verdict of 'justifiable homicide.'¹

FROM A.D. 1800—1858.

The check given by these disturbances to the onward progress of our town was but momentary. For half a century after that time the stream of prosperity flowed steadily on. The parish during that period numbered more than 10,000 souls within its borders.

At last the tide began to turn. In the year 1841, the failure of the local Bank and of several of the largest manufacturers threw hundreds out of work, and cast an abiding gloom over our town, the effect of which has hardly yet passed away. Then no less than 400 were forced to seek shelter within the walls of the workhouse, a number much beyond the capabilities of the then existing buildings properly to accommodate, and the limit allowed by law. Added to these, 300 able-bodied men were employed in out-door labour, in making roads or other parochial improvements. For the

¹ The prisoners' names were Samuel Norman, James Bryant, William Greenland, and Benjamin Derrett. Against Derrett no bill was found. The rest were acquitted.

payment of these last-named poor persons, for some time no less than £70 was required weekly. Poor rates rose to *ten shillings* in the pound; distress was universal. Many noble efforts were made to meet the exigencies of the distressed weavers. An emigration fund of large amount was formed, by which many of them were enabled to seek in foreign lands employment which here was no longer to be obtained. By degrees others were helped on their way to Wales or to the North of England, or to other places more in our immediate neighbourhood, that there they might earn subsistence by the labour of their hands for themselves and their families. For several years there was in some sort an 'exodus' of its working population engaged in manufactures from the town of Bradford. In the short space of ten years its population had decreased nearly 25 per cent.,¹ and in 1851 the number of factories at work was less than a fifth of those at work in fifty years before. It was a dark period of depression, and yet one marked by several deeds worthy to be remembered, one of which certainly was the erection, at his own expense, of those excellent schools attached to the District Church of Christ Church, (which had itself been built but a few years before,) which will be a lasting memorial of one whom it was indeed a privilege to count amongst our fellow-townsmen, even though for a comparatively short period, the late Captain S. H. Palairt.

Within the last three years, however, our townsmen have given good proof that public spirit is not yet extinct amongst them, for in 1855 they erected at the cost of several thousand pounds a large and handsome Town-Hall, in which it gave them all sincere pleasure, to welcome, and that, too, heartily, the members of the Wilts Archæological Society in August, 1857.

¹ According to the Census, the population of the *whole* parish was

In 1831.....	10,102
In 1841.....	10,418
In 1851.....	8,958

This represents a decrease in the *whole* parish (including the chapelries) of some 17 per cent. In the rural districts, however, there was probably little alteration between the numbers in 1841 and 1851. On this calculation the population *in the town* and immediate neighbourhood which, in 1851, was 5331, was ten years before no less than 6781, thus showing a decrease in that short period of nearly *one fourth*, or some 25 per cent.

There are several subjects, on which much interesting information might be collected together, with reference to Bradford. On four of them, we will place before our readers such materials as we have been able to gather for the purpose. The subjects we select for illustration are ;—

- I. THE MANOR.
- II. THE PARISH CHURCH.
- III. THE PAROCHIAL CHARITIES.
- IV. THE WORTHIES OF BRADFORD.

THE MANOR.¹

It was, indeed, a goodly portion that Ethelred bestowed on the Abbess of Shaftesbury when he gave her the monastery (*cænobium*) at Bradford, with all the surrounding lands. She held this gift in *frankalmoign*—(*in liberâ eleemosynâ*)²—or free-alm, as it was termed, a tenure which exempted those who held lands under it (as was the case with most of the ancient monasteries and religious houses) from all fealty to the king as their superior lord, on the ground of their rendering spiritual and higher services. The words of the charter,³ in fact, are most explicit as to the nature of the gift. Three services only were required of the Abbess, as, indeed, of all who held under a like tenure, viz., help in repairing the highways and bridges, in building castles, and repelling invasions.

Though in reality but the tenant '*in capite*' under the king, yet

¹ My obligations are due to the Right Hon. Lord Broughton for permission to inspect documents relating to the Manor, as also, to Mr. Phelps, his Lordship's Steward. The like privilege was granted to me with reference to the Prebendal Manor by Mr. Bessell, the Steward of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. For many interesting extracts relating to similar subjects, I have been indebted to Mr. H. C. J. Groves.

² "Abbatissa de Sco. Edwardo tenet manerium de Bradeford, Attworth, Wrokeshal, Holte, Trulle, Winsleg, Wlfleg (*Woolley*) et Ludington de rege *in pura et perpetua eleemosina* de veteri feufamento." Testa de Nevill, p. 153.

³ The words of the charter are, "præscripta villa (sc. Bradeford) cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, campis, silvis, pascuis, pratis, *ita sane ut ego ipse illum in usus possederam proprios* venerabili supradictæ familiæ Christo sanctoque martyri incessanter famulanti *semper subjugetur liberrima*, tribus tantummodo exceptis communium laborum utilitatibus; si contingat *expeditionem promoveri, arcem pontemque construi.*" Codex Æv. Sax. iii. 319.

for all practical purposes she was the *Lady Paramount* in the Hundred of Bradford. To her Court Baron, all who held lands within the Hundred, by whatever tenure, were obliged to do suit. Some, indeed, of the tenants must have held their lands *immediately* under the Abbess, as in Domesday no less than *thirteen* out of the *forty-two* hides at which the manor was assessed, are said to have been *in demesne*, that is, kept in the hands of the Abbess herself (*terræ dominicales*). The revenue derived from the whole possessions bestowed by Ethelred in this charter was large. Bradford with its appendages is valued in Domesday Book at £60, a sum which, if we are to adopt Wyndham's plan of calculating its relative value in the present day, would amount to more than £4000.¹

Of others holding lands under the Abbess more or less directly, there were some that held by tenure in *Villinage*, that is, according to the custom of the manor, or otherwise, at the will of the Lady of the Manor, on condition of doing her *villeine*² service;—again, there were others that held by tenure in *Burgage*, on condition, that is, of paying to the Abbess a certain rent by the year for the tenements they occupied, this last being the same as the tenure in *Socage*³ among the Anglo-Saxons. Of the former Domesday Book mentions 36,—of the latter 23.

Though the authority of the Lady Abbess thus extended over the Hundred of Bradford, there were, nevertheless, sundry others

¹ See Wyndham's 'Domesday Book for Wiltshire.' Introd. p. 20. "The Domesday shillings and pounds are first multiplied by three which will reduce the ancient money to the present weight. The sum is then multiplied by 7½, to make it accord with the modern value of gold and silver. To this is added another multiplication by 3, because the real value of the land is now three times as much as formerly, without any consideration of the plenty or scarcity of money." This brings the whole multiple to 67½. Thus £60 × 67½ = £4050.

² This word is now used only in a bad sense. It had no such meaning originally, though it always denoted, of course, an inferior. "It is derived," says Coke, "from the French word *villaine*, and that *à villa, quia villa adscriptus est*: for they which are now called *villani*, of ancient times were called *adscripti*." Coke upon Littleton ii. 11. § 172. "The *villani* were the originals of our present *Copyholders* and held their lands by doing the services of husbandry on the lord's demesne, which were, in after times, commuted for what is now called a *Quit* rent." Wyndham's 'Domesday,' Introd. p. 10.

³ Coke upon Littleton, ii. 10. § 162.

who exercised a similar jurisdiction in various parts of the manor. Those who held lands immediately under the Abbess as tenant 'in capite,' by degrees granted out portions of them to inferior persons, and so,—as they became *lords* with respect to these under-tenants, though still themselves *tenants* with regard to the chief lord,—they were called *mesne* (i.e. middle or intermediate) lords. In course of time, nearly every one of the tythings into which Bradford was divided had its Lord of the Manor, each of whom held his court, at which the various tenants were required to do suit and service. We often meet in old deeds with references to "the court of Anthony Rogers, Esq., at Holte." In one of the documents found at Kingston House, an account of which was given in this Magazine (vol. i. 290), of the date 1545, by which one 'Richard Drewis of Holte' has certain lands 'in the Parke, Lowsly and Holes in Holte, and also a tenement in Little Holte' granted to him by lease, it is expressly added,—“to sue (i.e. to *do suit*) at Roger's Court at Holte.” To this day, moreover, there is a payment due annually from the proprietor of the Manor House at Winsley, with which is held the Lordship of that Tything, of *twenty-five shillings and eight-pence*, to the Lord of the Manor of Bradford, a traditional acknowledgement of 'the suit and service' owed by him, as well as by all *mesne* lords, to the chief lord.

But besides these *mesne* Lords of Manors in the Hundred of Bradford, there were others who, though not exercising any jurisdiction within the Hundred demanded fealty, and perhaps rather more substantial acknowledgements, from some of the tenants within the domain of our Abbess. The Manor of Cumberwell, for example, was held under the Barony of Castle Combe, and Humphrey de Lisle (*Hunfredus de Insula*) the Lord of that Manor claimed from the tenant at Cumberwell—(in early times one named *Pagen*)—suit and service for the same. The Prior of Monkton Farleigh, moreover, who held the Lordship of that Manor, claimed payment for lands in this parish:¹—there is in existence a deed (of the time of Edward I.) by which Walter Fayrchild of Wroxale grants to Alice la Loche,

¹ As early as 1397, we find Sir Thomas Hungerford giving to Monkton Farleigh Priory 'a house and two ploughlands at Bradesford.'

amongst other lands and tenements, some called "Clifcroft and Bradcroft, and a croft above Haneceleye paying 13d. per annum to the Lord Prior and Court of Farlege, viz., at Hockeday 12d. and at Michaelmas 1d."¹ To this day certain property in the town of Bradford is held under the Manor of Monkton Farleigh. A field called 'the Conigre,' (one of several pieces of ground bearing that name in the parish) just behind the house occupied by Mr. Adye, in Woolley street, and some houses in St. Margaret street, nearly opposite the present Railway Station, are still held under leases granted by the lessee of "the Manor of Monkton Farleigh and Cumberwell," as it is termed.

Since the date of the grant of the Manor and Hundred to the Abbess of Shaftesbury, certain changes have taken place. In a previous page we have explained at some length its original boundaries (pp. 18-22). Westwood, which at the first clearly formed part of it, has been removed; and the parishes of Broughton, Chalfield, and Monkton Farleigh have been added to it, for they do not seem to be included within the limits described in Ethelred's charter. The removal of Westwood, though so intermixed with the other lands, and not on the confines of the domain, into a distinct Hundred, that of Elstub and Everley, is not easily accounted for. In the time of Domesday, Westwood belonged to the Priory of St. Swithin, Winchester, to which it had been given by Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor, and its revenue was allotted for the sustenance of the monks of that society, (*pro victu monachorum*).² The Lordship of the Manor of Westwood now belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.

The Abbess of Shaftesbury held not only what is now called the *Lay* Manor of Bradford, but that also which is termed the *Prebendal* Manor. She held, in fact, the impropriate Rectory of Bradford. Amongst the valuations of the ecclesiastical revenue of Bradford (of which there are several) the portion of the Abbess is always reckoned.³ A certain quantity of glebe lands and

¹ Wilts Archæological Magazine, i. 281.

² Wyndham's 'Domesday,' p. 60.

³ Thus in the '*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*,' under Pope Nicholas (1287), we have the following entries,

Ecclesia de Bradforde cum capell	46	13	4
Vicar. in eadem	5	0	0
Porcio Abbisse de Sco Edwardo in eadem	6	13	4

income was allotted to the Vicar for the time being, and to those who discharged the spiritual duties of the parish in the various chapels belonging to it, the remainder of the *tenth* of the produce belonged to the society of St. Edward at Shaftesbury. Their portion of the proceeds of the living was leased out from time to time to various persons, and the '*firmarius ecclesie*' as he was termed—(afterwards the *Lord Farmer*, now the *Lessee* of the Great Tithes)—exercised the right of presenting to the Vicarage. As early as 1312, we find one 'Gilbert de Middleton,' (the same, it is believed, who was Archdeacon of Northampton, and Prebendary Rector of Edington, Co. Wilts,) called "*firmarius ecclesie de Bradeford*,"¹ and, as such, presenting to the living in that year.

But though the Abbess was to all intents and purposes in the place of the chief Lord of the Manor, she was, nevertheless, regarded as herself holding her possessions under the king as *Suserain*. It was, indeed, the main principle of all feudal tenures that they were held primarily of the king, however many successive *mesne* lords there might be; in fact, all lands "were held mediately or immediately of the king."² Hence we find such entries as the following,—"Thomas of Atteworth holds in Atteworth the fourth part of a knight's fee of the abbess, and *she of the king*."³—A special statute, called '*Quia Emptores*' was passed in the time of Edward I., recognizing this principle, by which it was enacted (with a view of protecting the interests of chief lords, who, by the multiplied sub-infeudations were losing many of their privileges, such as escheats, fines on alienations, &c.)—that, with regard to all lands so granted out by feoffment, as it was termed, the feoffee should hold the same, not of the immediate feoffor, but of the next lord paramount, of whom such feoffee himself held, and by the same services.

Hence, when lands were held by high and honourable tenures, such as GRAND SERJEANTY,⁴ which could be held only of the king,

¹ Wilts Institutions (1312). See also 'Madox Formular.' p. 386, (9 Edw. II.)

² Jacob's 'Law Dictionary,' under 'Tenures.'

³ Testa de Nevill, p. 153.

⁴ Grand Serjeanty. "Tenure by Grand Serjeantie" says Littleton, "is, where a man holds his lands or tenements of our Sovereign lord the king, by

it was so expressed in the recording document, even though the lands were held *mediately* under the Abbess of Shaftesbury. The following examples will explain our meaning. They are taken from a survey of the Manor and Hundred of Bradford (1629-1631), long, of course, after she ceased to hold the Lordship:—they will, however, suffice for illustration.

“JOHN LONG,¹ Esq^r. holdeth freely one half yardland in Wraxall as of the said Manour by *Serjeancye*, viz., to make out all somons in the Hundred and Court of the Manour of Bradford, which belong to the King as Lord of the Manour before the Kinges Ma^{ties} Justices, and at the Countie, and to somon all the men of Wraxall to do the Lords workes, and to have his drinking when the Lords Steward shall keep the Hundred Courts and Courts of the Manour, and to do all executions which pertain to the said Hundred at his proper costs and charges besides his drinking.”

“DANIEL YERBURY holdeth freely one half yardland in Wraxall as of the fore-said Manour by *Serjeancye*, viz., to attend the Bayliff of the Hundred of Bradford, to take distresses throughout the Hundred, to make somons and to bear witness to the Bayliff.”

It would seem that there were occasions in which the Crown asserted its rights as Chief Lord. On the appointment for instance of a newly elected Abbess, the King not only gave his formal sanction to it, but directed the Sheriffs of the various counties, in which lands belonging to the Abbey were situate, to deliver seisin of the same to the Abbess so appointed. This was the case on the election of ‘Amicia Russell’ in the year 1225.²

such services as he ought to do in his own proper person to the king, as to carry the banner of the king, or his lance, or to lead his army, or to be his marshall or to be one of his chamberlaines of the receipt of his exchequer, or to do other like services.” Coke, in his commentary on this last clause, adds, “or, by any office concerning the administration of justice, quia justitiâ firmatur solium.” Coke upon Littleton, ii. 2 § 153.

¹ In another part of this MS. we have this entry;—“John Long, Esq^r. is Bayliff of the Hundred by right and tenure of certain lands he holdeth in [MS. illegible] (Wraxhall?) as is before set forth.”

² The document is printed in Hardy’s ‘Calendar of Close Rolls,’ i. 553. The following is a translation of it.—“The King to the Sheriff of Dorset; Health,—Know ye that we have given our royal consent and approval to the election of Amicia Russell, a nun of Shaftesbury, as Abbess of Shaftesbury. Wherefore we direct you without delay to deliver full seisin to her of all lands, rents, chattels, and other possessions belonging to the said Abbey. Witness, Henry, the King, at Evesham, July 3, 1223. The Bishop of Sarum is commanded to do his part in this matter;”—viz., of instituting the Abbess to the ecclesiastical rights pertaining to her office.

We have already observed that great as were the privileges and exemptions of the Abbess she was bound nevertheless to assist in some public works, and more especially to provide a certain number of fighting men to attend the King, her chief Lord, in his wars undertaken for the protection of his dominions. Agnes de Ferrar who was Abbess from 1252 to 1267, and Juliana Bauceyn, her successor, were both called upon for such help by Edward I. in his expeditions against Llewellyn, King of Wales. To enable her to provide such help, the Abbess, like all other tenants in chief, exacted from those who held a certain amount of land within the Manor the same free service which the king exacted from her. The portions of land held under such conditions were called *Knights' Fees*. The annual value of a knights' fee in England was fixed at £20, and every estate supposed to be of this value, or assessed at that amount, was bound to contribute the service of a soldier, or to pay, in the stead of this, a proportionate amercement called *Escuage*. The length of service demanded, or the amount of payment required, diminished with the quantity of land. For *half* a knight's fee 20 days' service was due, for an *eighth* part but 5; and when this was commuted for the pecuniary assessment above alluded to, a similiar proportion was observed. We have many instances of tenures by *Knight-Service* within the Manor of Bradford. In the record for 1629—John Hall, at Bradford,—John Blanchard, at Great Ashley,—Sir William Lisle, at Holte,—Daniel Yerbury, at Wraxall,—and others are said to have held lands by this tenure.

Every tenant within the Manor by *Knight-Service* was bound to render *fealty*, if not *homage*, to the Abbess. From both these obligations, she, as the head of a religious house, was exempted, and as the latter could only be received by the Lord in person, and the affairs of the Abbess were managed through her *Steward* or *Seneschall*, (as he was termed), it is conceived that an oath of fealty was all that was demanded from the superior tenants within this Manor. What was implied in this service is best explained in the words of Littleton—"Fealty is the same that *fideltitas* is in Latin—And when a free-holder doth fealty to his Lord, he shall holde his right

hand upon a booke, and shall say thus:—‘Know ye this, my Lord, that I shall be faithfull and true unto you, and faith to you shall beare for the lands which I claime to hold of you, and that I shall lawfully doe to you the customes and service which I ought to doe, at the terms assigned, so help me God and his saints;’ and he shall kisse the booke.”¹

But in addition to this obligation which was thus binding on the higher order of Tenants within the Manor, all the vassals, of whatever degree, were bound to attend the Lord’s courts, and ‘*do suit and service*,’ as it was termed. Of the courts themselves we shall speak presently: all that we will now say is that in course of years this practice fell into desuetude, and was commuted into a money payment instead of personal attendance. Hence we find such entries as the following, shewing to what a late period these payments to the Lord of the Manor were continued. The extracts are of the date 1629-1631.

“Freeholders fines for Respite of Suite to the Courts.

Sir William Lisle payeth yearly for Suite fine	0	2	0
Sir William Eire payeth yearly for the like	0	1	0
John Hall, Esq ^r for the like	0	0	8
William Powlett, Esq ^r for the like	0	1	0
Thomas Westley, Gent ^r for the like	0	1	0
Thomas Barnfield, Gent ^r for the like	0	0	8
Samuel Yerbury	0	0	4
In toto	0	6	8 ^d

In the following extract from the same record we have similar charges made on the several Tythings and Parishes within the Hundred. In the case of one Tything, Leigh and Woolley, it seems that through their ‘*Tythingman*’ they were wont, even as recently as two centuries ago, to render *personal* service and suit of Court.

“Yearly payments paid at the Law-days by the Tythingmen.

“The Tything of Attford payeth by the Tythingman at the Lady-day Leet, in the name of Law-day silver, 2s. 6d., and at Michas Law-day 2s. 6d., and for respite of suite to the Three-Weeken Court yearly at Michas Law-day 12d. in toto per ann.	0	6	0
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¹ Coke upon ‘Littleton,’ ii. 2, § 91.

"The Tything of Holte payeth by the Tythingman the like sum, and in manner as before.....	0	6	0
"The Tything of Ligte and Wooley yearly payeth by the Tythingman at Lady-day Leet, in the name of certain money as Law-day silver, 2s. 4d., and Michas Law-day, 2s. 4d, but <i>nothing for respite of suite to this Court, because he commonly appeareth in person</i>	0	4	8
"The Tything of Trowle by the Tythingman payeth yearly at either Law-day, 21d., and at Michas for suite of Court, 12d. in toto.....	0	4	6
"The Tything of Winnesley and Stoke by the Tythingman payeth yearly at either Law-day 4s. and at Michas 2s. for suite fine, in toto	0	10	0
"More the said Tything payeth yearly at Michas a payment called <i>Vel-noble</i> *.	0	6	8
"The Tything of Wraxall payeth yearly by the Tythingman at either Law-day, 2s. 4d., and at Michas for suite fine, 16d.....	0	6	0
"The Tything of Winkfield and Rowleigh payeth no Law-day silver, but at Michas for suite fine, 12d.	0	1	0
"The Tything of Chalfield payeth nothing.....	0	0	0
"The Tything of Comerwell payeth no Law-day silver, but at Michas for suite fine.	0	0	8
"The Tything of Broughton also payeth at Michas only 16d. yearly, for [MS. illegible] (suite fines?).....	0	1	4

Som paid, 46s. 10d."

The whole spirit of the Feudal Tenures was based on the subjection of the vassal to the Tenant *in capite*, and hence we commonly find inserted in old deeds some special service due to the chief lord of the fee. These services were often merely nominal; still they preserved the memorial of the relation in which the various undertenants, however numerous, stood to the Lady of the Manor. A very frequent condition is the gift of "*a rose at the festival of the nativity of St. John Baptist*:"—sometimes it is "*one halfpenny paid at the same time, or at the festival of St. Michael*" (*unum obolum domino capitali feodi*):—in other deeds we find mentioned, "*two capons at Michaelmas*,"—"a pair of gloves and one farthing,"—half a pound of *cummin*,—one pound of *pepper*,—one pound of *wax*. In other cases, moreover, it is some service in husbandry to be performed for the lord, the original condition of the *tenure of villenage* of which we have already spoken, the last, however, being ulti-

* *Vel-noble*. Elsewhere this is called *Veal-Money*. Formerly the tenants of the Manor at Winsley had to pay this assessment in kind; afterwards it was commuted for 6s. 8d., the value of a '*noble*;' hence the name *Vel-noble*. In the margin of the MS., quoted above, we have the following entry, "The Homage of the copyholders gathereth within themselves yearly, to be paid at one payment, *vis. viiid.*"

mately commuted for a money payment. The following extracts from the record of 1629 will illustrate our remarks.

"WALTER GRAUNT holdeth by *fealty, suite of Court*, and 4s. 1d. rent, and 1*lb.* of wax;—one burgage in *St. Olaves Street* pr rent 13d.,—one message with a Dovecote in the same street pr rent 12d.,—and one other house, sometimes a backhouse, pr rent 2s.; in all 4s. 1d."

"DANIEL YERBURY holdeth freely [certain lands therein described at Wraxall] by Knight-service, and 13s. rent, and one *mounctuary** viz., one horse with his harness, suite of Court to the Hundred and Court of the Manor, and 2s. yearly for certain works to be done yearly in *earinge*† of two acres of the Lord's land at seed time, and *carriage of three load of hay for the Lord from Michel Mead to Barton Farme*, which work were time out of mind turned to [deest] rent pr ann. in lieu thereof."

"ELIZABETH BLANCHARD, SUSAN BLANCHARD, and JOANE BLANCHARD, sisters and coheirs of JOHN BLANCHARD . . . hold freely, one message and four yardlands with their appurts called Great Ashley, by the service of a *fourth part of a Knight's fee* and 10s. rent, and 2s. for *earings four acres of the Lord's land* yearly, and by suite of court to the Court of the Hundred of Bradford from three weeks to three weeks, and yielding a *mounctuary*, viz., one horse with saddle and bridle after the death of the tenant: and also one other message and four yardlands with the appurts, called Budbury, as of the foresaid manour by the like service of the *fourth part of a Knight's fee* and 20s. rent, and for *Larder Money*‡ 5s., and suite of Court and mounctuary as before."

One payment to the Lord, for the time being, it is not easy to account for. Among the items of revenue we find entered 'Money called *Palmson* money, paid yearly at Easter.' This would appear to be 'Palm Sunday' money, a payment due on or about that day. It seems to have been levied on all the Tythings except the Borough and Trowle. Were it simply an ecclesiastical payment due to the Rector or Vicar, or Churchwardens, we could the more readily understand it. In Churchwardens' accounts in olden times we often find among the disbursements, the cost of fitting up the Church against *Palm Sunday*, and offerings were made by the people for

* Mounctuary i.e. Mortuary. This was a payment made on the decease of a tenant. The difference between a *Mortuary* and a *Heriot*, was, that the latter was paid as a token of subjection to the feudal Lord, the former as a supposed compensation for tithes omitted to be paid to the Rector. As our Abbess occupied both of these positions in Bradford, she, of course, enjoyed both privileges. Hart's 'Ecclesiastical Records,' p. 305.

† *Earinge* i.e. ploughing; as in Exod. xxxiv. 21, "In *earing* time and in harvest thou shalt rest." *Yrð-land* or *Earð-land* is an expression often used in Anglo-Saxon charters for ploughed land.

‡ *Larder Money*, (*lardarium*); this payment, which seems to have been peculiar to this Manor, is said to have been a final yearly rent paid by the tenants for liberty to feed their hogs with the mast of the Lord's woods, the fat of a hog being called *lard*. Or it may have been a commutation for some customary service of carrying meat to the Lord's *larder*, as this was called 'lardarium' in old charters. Jacob's 'Law Dictionary,' 'Larding Money."

the expenses of processions and other ceremonies on that day. A remnant of the observance is still kept up at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, where to this day the custom is retained of strewing the Church with rushes on Palm Sunday. But how this payment came to be regarded as a portion of the revenue of the Lord of the Manor it is difficult to say, though possibly from the Monastery of Shaftesbury having been so many years in possession of the Lordship, it may have had some ecclesiastical origin in the first instance. Brand (*Popular Antiquities*, i. 121) mentions an example from which we learn the high antiquity of offerings similar to the one in question. He says,—“In the Domesday survey, under Shropshire, i. 252, a tenant is stated to have rendered in payment a bundle of box twigs on Palm Sunday, —“*Terra dimid. car. unus reddit inde fuscem buxi in die Palmarum.*”

But our Abbess enjoyed from her Manor some *more substantial* advantages than any of these just described. From what have been called ‘Feudal Incidents,’ she, like other tenants *in capite* derived considerable emoluments. The principal sources from which such advantages were derived were the following:—

1. RELIEFS;—these were certain sums of money which a tenant, on his entrance on a fief by the death of his predecessor, and being of full age, paid to the Lady of the Manor. Before the conquest there were no reliefs, but *Heriots*, paid *in kind* to the Tenant *in capite*, such as horses, arms, &c., of which we have just given some examples.
2. FINES ON ALIENATION;—these were sums of money paid by every tenant to the Lady of the Manor whenever he had occasion to make over his land to another.
3. ESCHEATS and FORFEITURES;—these happened in cases in which either a tenant died without leaving behind him any heir who could, according to the terms of the original grant, enter upon the *fief*, or in which he committed some act in violation of his duty towards his Lord, such as rendered him unfit to be trusted as a vassal. In either case the gift, being determined, reverted to the giver.

4. **WARDSHIPS**;—the Abbess as Lady of the Manor had the wardship of the tenant during minority. By virtue of this right she had both the care of his person and received to her own use the property of the estate. This right was exercised in the case of some members of the Hall family in the time of Edward I., by the Abbess of Shaftesbury. (See above, p. 31, note.)
5. **MARRIAGES**;—another right given to the Lady of the Manor was that of tendering a husband to her female wards, while under age, whom they could not reject without forfeiting the value of the marriage; that is, as much as any one would give the guardians for such an alliance. This was extended afterwards to male wards, and became a lucrative privilege. In early deeds relating to the Hall family we have instances of this privilege being claimed, or, (which is much the same thing,) of its being renounced in consideration of a certain amount paid to the Abbess.

Of course the Manor of Bradford had its peculiar *Customs*;—that is, certain observances concerning the tenure of land, &c., at first regulated, perhaps, by the will of the chief lord, but at last, by long usage, acquiring the force of law. The following account has been compiled from a careful collation of several copies kindly furnished from various sources to the writer of this paper. The exemplifications in each case are commonly given in contracted Latin, a specimen of which is seen in a foot-note on the next page; these parts are translated and included within brackets.

THE CUSTOMES belonging to and concerning the landes that belong to the late Monastery of Shaftesburye, as appeareth in an antient Register thereof (whereof Bradford is parcell). Dated Monday next after the Feast of St. Hilary, in the **xxvth** year of King Edward the Third, (1343).

- I. *Imprimis*.—If a man take a holde to himselfe and his Wyfe, as in this case;—[To this Court came John at Style and gave for a fine *four pounds* to the Lady of the Manor for an estate to be had in one messuage, and one yardland, with the appurtenances, to hold to himself and Alice his wife for the term of their

lives]"¹—and the said Alice happen to survive her husband, yet shall she have no better estate than widowhood, *videlicet* while she lives sole and chaste:—and if her husband survive her, and marrye again, none of his wyves shall have widowes estate for that his first wyfe was named in the coppie.

II. Item.—If a man take a bargaine to himselfe and Alice his wyfe jointly as thus;—[To this Court came John at Style and Alice his wyfe, and gave for a fine *ten pounds* for their estate and entrance into five messuages, and five yardlands, with their appurtenances, to be had to them for the term of their lives]—if this Alice do survive her husband and do fortune to marrye again, yet she shall have this bargaine during her lyfe for that she was purchaser.

III. Item.—If two persons take a bargaine jointly together, as thus; [To this Court came John at Style, and John at Oake, and gave for a fine *four pounds* for estate and entrance to be had of and in five messuages, and five yardlands, with their appurtenances, to be had to them for the term of their lives]—the first purchasers wife shall have no widowes estate, except he do survive the purchaser joined with him; whosoever doth survive the other of the two joint-purchasers, his wyfe shall have the widowes estate.

IV. Item.—If a man take a bargain in possession (*in esse*) as thus;— [To this Court came John at Style and gave for a fine *four pounds* for entrance and estate to be had in five messuages and five yardlands, to hold to himself and Thomas his son for the term of their lives]—then the said Thomas the sonne must needs have it if he do survive his father, because his father John at Style died seised of the bargaine.

V. Item.—If a man buy the revercon of a bargaine, as thus;— [To this Court came John at Style, and gave for a fine *five pounds* for the revercon to five messuages, and five yardlands, with the appurtenances now in the tenure of John Dale, to hold to him

¹ In the original document it is,—“ Ad ist. cur. venit. Joan. at Style et dat Dne de fine iijl p. ingress. et stat. habend. in un. messuag. et un. virg. ter. ac pertin. Tenend. sibi et Alic. uxi ad term. eor. vit.”

and his brother for the term of their lives]—and if it fortune that this John at Style do dye before this revercon do fall unto him (so that he dye not siesed thereof) then the grant made to the said Thomas being in the *Habendum* or sequill of the coppye is clearly void and frustrate, for that the purchaser dyed not seised of the bargaine.

VI. Item.—Any man that is named in the *Habendum* or sequill of any coppye, altho' he be Tennte and dye seised of the bargaine having a wyfe, yet this wyfe shall have no widowes estate, because he is no purchaser.

VII. Item.—If any man buy a bargaine as thus;—[To this Court came John at Style and gave for a fine *four pounds* for entrance and estate in one messuage and one yardlard with the appurtenances, to hold to himself and John his son for the term of their lives, and either of them longest living successively]¹—the same John at Style may sell and alienate his bargaine when he lyst, with the consent of the Ladye, and come to the Ladyes Court and surrender up his estate, and by that surrender he maketh the estate of his son John to be clearly voyd and of none effect.

VIII. Item.—If two buy a bargaine jointly either in revercon or possession as thus;—[To this Court came John at Style, and John at Oake, and gave a fine of *six pounds* for the reversion of one messuage, and one yardland, with the appurtenances, to have the same for their lives and either of them longest living successively]—if the same John at Style do sell his estate to any other person, and make surrender thereof, yet he may not make the estate of John at Oake voyd or frustrate, for it shall stand in force straightway upon the surrender for that he is joint-purchaser with him.

IX. Item.—If two persons take a bargain jointly in revercon as thus;—[To this Court came John at Style, and Robert his son, and gave a fine of *ten pounds* for the revercon of one messuage and one yardland with the appurtenances, now in the tenure of John Dale, to hold to the said John at Style and Robert his son, and Thomas another son for the term of their lives, and the longest liver of them successively]—if the first purchaser dye before he

¹ In the original it is, "Et eorum alterius diutius viventis successive."

be in possession of the said bargain yet shall the second purchaser enjoy it when it doth fall: but if the said purchasers dye before either of them be in possession, then shall Thomas that cometh in the *Habendum* or sequill of the coppie lose his title thereof.

- X. Item.—If any customary tenant lett forth any parcel of the ground of his Coppyhold, then the tenant which is in revercon of the same tenement by custom shall have the same paying reasonably for it, because he, being in possibilitye of the holde, will use it better than a straunger.
- XI. Item.—If a man take a bargain to himself and to his son, not naming his wife, as thus;—[To this Court came John at Style and gave a fine of *ten pounds* for entrance and estate in one messuage, and one yardland, with the appurtenances, to hold to himself, and Thomas his son, for the term of their lives, and either of them longest living successively]—if the said John at Style marry two wyves, yet the last-named shall have widowes estate for that he named no wyfe.
- XII. Item.—Any Tenant that dyeth siesed of any yardland, half yardland, or ffarthinge land, shall after his decease pay for a *Heriot*,¹ his best quick Cattle: also, every Widowe shall pay after her death the like *Heriot*.
- XIII. Item.—If any Widowe clayminge widowes estate do marry without the Ladies license, or live incontinent or unchaste, and be so found by the Homagers, she doth upon that fact forfaite her estate, and shall after such forfeiture pay a *Heriot* in form above said.
- XIV. Item.—If any Tenant let fall his house, or suffer his house to be in great decay upon commandment or payne sett by the

¹ Heriot;—This was a customary tribute of goods and chattels payable to the Lord of the fee on the decease of the owner of the land. Thorpe in his Glossary to the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes,' derives the word from *Here-geatu*, which means literally *army equipments*, and denoted those military habiliments which, after the death of the vassal, escheated to the Lord, to whom they were delivered by the heir. By degrees others besides this class of tenants were required to pay this charge, which commonly consisted of the best quick (i.e. *live*) beast that the tenant died possessed of. This, like all other customary dues, was ultimately commuted for a money payment.

- Steward and Homage and will not mend it, then the said Tenant shall forfeite his estate of such tenement as he shall holde of the Ladye, and shall pay a Heriot in form above said.
- XV. Item.—If any Tenant dye between Michaelmas and Ladye-Day then his Exors shall occupy the tenement until Ladye-Day paying all rents and duties and also shall enjoy such wheat as is sown upon the same, and if he dye after Ladye-Day then to occupie the tenement until Michaelmas, paying and doing as aforesaid; neverthelesse the next claymer shall have at Midsomr. the Hay, the Fallow, and the Sheepe-Leases.
- XVI. Item.—Every Tenant of custom shall at his first entry receive a corporal oath to be a true tenant and beare true faith to his Ladye, to pay and do all rents, fines, and customs belonging to his tenure, and to yield with the Homage and be justified by the Ladyes Court.
- XVII. Item.—If any Tenant do dwell from his Coppingholde so there be a dwelling house upon it without a license expressed in his graunt, then he be put in payne xx shillings, x pounds, or more, and if upon these paynes he will not be resiant, then he to have a payne of forfeiture by judgment of the Homage and Steward.
- XVIII. Item.—No customary Tenant shall retayne or fine any other than the Ladye, unless he have a copy of lycense; then having a lycense his undertenant must in all things supply his place.
- XIX. Item.—If any Tenant by verdict of the Homage be found that he hath not sufficient goods and chattels to answer the Ladyes rent and reparacons, then the said Ladye may require pledges of the same Homage; and if the tenant cannot find them pledges, then it shall be lawful for the Ladye to take the same tenement into her own hands.
- XX. Item.—Any customary Tenant may take House-bote,¹ Fire-

¹ *House-bote*, &c.; the Anglo-Saxon word 'bot' signifies 'recompence' or 'compensation' and is synonymous with the word 'estovers' (from 'estoffer' to furnish) which is of more frequent occurrence in legal documents. *House-bote* and *Fire-bote* were, respectively, a sufficient allowance of wood to repair or burn in the house;—*Plough-bote* was an allowance of wood to be employed in repairing instruments of husbandry. We meet also with *Hay-bote*, an allowance of the same kind for the repairing of *hays*, i.e. hedges, or fences.

bote, Plough-bote, according to the custome belonging to his Coppingholde; also any offence or trespass done amongst the tenants ought to be tried in the Ladyes court.

XXI. Item.—If any Tenant make spoil or waste, or cut down any timber tree without license of the Ladyes officers, then he shall forfeit his estate if the Homage find it, and if the Homage do not present it when it is made to appear to them, then if two or three witnesses do come into court and testifye upon their oaths, it is sufficient.

XXII. Item.—It hath been used and accustomed that the Ladye or her officers shall make grants of any coppingholde or customary tenement out of Court, either at Shaftesbury or elsewhere, at their pleasure, and also may take surrenders out of the Court at any place, if there be *three* or *four* of the Ladyes tenants present to witness.

XXIII. Item.—If any two persons holding or clayming any coppingholde by virtue of one graunt or coppinge, the one being admitted and in possession according to the custome, and the other in the sequil of the coppinge or joined in takinge, yet the Ladye or her officer may graunt the revercon of them both to any other person or persons as they will.

XXIV. Item.—The custome is, that any woman may take the revercon of her husband or of any other person, and also take any hold in possession.

XXV. Item.—The custome is, that the Ladyes officers may graunt any coppingholde for the term of one lyfe, two lyves, three lyves, or fower lyves, either in possession or revercon.

XXVI. Item.—Every Tenant must, upon a reasonable warnenge, serve to the Courts twice by the year, or oftener if the cause so require, and also must do all their custom workes, unless they be dispensed withall, and pay their rents at fower times in the year, if they be demanded.

Other customes there be used, which continuance of time doth stablish, and which be not here written.

We have spoken in a previous page (p. 61) of the value of the Abbess' possessions and emoluments in Bradford at the time of

Domesday Book. Five hundred years after that date, just before the dissolution of Monasteries, a valuation was again made of her property here as well as elsewhere. The record is preserved, and the following is abstracted from the original Roll in the Augmentation Office.¹

COMPUT. MINISTROBUM DOMINI REGIS TEMP. HEN. VIII. (1539-40.)

Bradeford. Redd. lib. ten. (Rents of free-tenants).....	6	8	6
Atworth.....	0	16	3
Troll.....	9	10	1¼
Stoke.....	2	6	0
Leigh.....	2	5	0
Wroxall.....	3	10	0
Wynsleigh.....	2	3	11½
Bradeford. Redd. cust. ten. (Rents of customary tenants i.e. copyholders).....	7	15	0½
Stoke.....	12	9	0¼
Atworth.....	6	13	10
Leigh.....	7	4	3¼
Wroxall.....	6	7	3¼
Holte.....	11	6	10¼
Wynsleigh.....	19	7	7½
Bradeford. Firm. Maner (Farm of the Manor).....	26	16	8
Perquis. Curie (Profits of the Court).....	4	14	4
Bradeford Hundred. Perquis. Curie.....	4	9	4
Bradeford Rector. Firm. Decim. Garb. &c. (Farm of Rectorial Tithes, &c.).....	57	6	7½
	£191 10 8½		

This sum, brought to its relative value in the present day, would represent, at least, £2300. This is, in actual amount, much below the previous estimate. It must, however, be borne in mind, that there is no account here of the value of 'Alveston,' in which, at the former valuation, the Abbess held *four* hides (about one fourth of the land so held by her) in *demesne*, and the language of Domesday Book plainly implies that this was added to the general estimate. Moreover, it is well known that the valuation of lands belonging to the various dissolved Monasteries was made, by the 'King's Ministers,' at as low a rate as possible. Making allowance for these deductions, there need be no very great discrepancy between the estimate of 1086 and that of 1540.

¹ Printed in the New 'Monasticon,' under the head of 'Shaftesbury Abbey.'

There are no documents known to be in existence of sufficiently early a date, from which exact information can be obtained respecting the Courts held within the Manor during the days of the Abbess of Shaftesbury. We have, however, authentic records of the proceedings of such Courts within thirty years of the dissolution of Monasteries, and no doubt they were formed on the same model, and carried out with similar formalities, as those which existed previously to that period.

It is implied in the document that we have cited in the previous page, that there were held under the authority of the Abbess, either directly or indirectly, at least two distinct Courts, one for the *Manor* and another for the *Hundred*, as the profits derivable from each of these are reckoned in the estimate given of her revenue. There appears to have been a separate Court for the *Borough*, held most probably at the same time and under the same presidency as the Court for the Hundred. The first-named Court was the COURT BARON, the other two came under the denomination of COURTS LEET. In the former was transacted business more especially of a *civil* character, and hence the Court was held solely in the name and under the authority of the Lord for the time being;—in the latter, matters of a *criminal* nature were allowed to be considered, and the Court was accordingly held under the authority of the King. Hence the Homagers, or Free-holders, or others, as the case might be, were summoned by the Steward to attend the “Court Leet and View of Frankpledge of our Lord the King, and Court Baron of ————— Lord of the said Manor, Hundred, and Borough of Bradford.”

I. THE COURT BARON.

This was the court at which all business relating to the Manor was transacted. The customary tenants or copyholders attended, and through their Homage, a selected body of themselves chosen at the meeting of the court surrendered or were admitted to their holdings, paid their quit rents, and managed all business matters relating to their several tenures. The Homage presented all cases in which the Lord's interests had suffered damage, such as by

trespass on his soil or waters;—the instances in which copyholders, contrary to the customs of the Manor, had suffered their tenements to fall into decay,—the heriots and other charges due to the Lord,—the repairs necessary to be done to hedges or fences,—in fact all matters relating generally to their own estates, and that of the Lord. They had power to levy fines, with the assent of the Lord given through his Steward, on those copyholders who were found neglectful of the duties incumbent upon them. Two of their number were appointed as *Affeerers*,¹ and these had to settle, or moderate, the ameracements to be levied on such transgressors.

But under the head of COURT BARON must be included another court which, though held under the authority of the Lord, is in a measure distinct from that which we have been describing. This in old documents is called the THREE WEEKEN COURT. This was a court of common law, and held before the freeholders who owed suit and service to the Manor, the steward being rather the registrar than the judge. It was, in fact, the free-holder's court, and was composed of the Lord's tenants, who were bound by their feudal tenure to assist the Lord in the dispensation of domestic justice. It was formerly held *every three weeks*, and hence its name. Its most important business was to determine, by writ of right, all controversies relating to the right of lands within the Manor. It might also hold plea of any personal actions, of debt, trespass on the case, or the like, when the debt or damages did not amount to *Forty shillings*. The following extract from the survey of the Manor in 1629-31 is interesting, as explaining in few words the nature of the Court;—of the officers mentioned therein we shall speak presently.

“Two *Three-Weeken* Courts are held in Bradford, the one for the Hundred and the other for the Borough, for pleas between partie and partie under 40 shillings. At which Courts some of the Tythingmen do and ought to appear at the Hundred Three-Weeken

¹ “*Affeerers*—(from the Fr. *affier*, to affirm, or *affeurer*, to set the price or assize)—are those who in Courts Leet, upon oath, settle and moderate the fines and ameracements; and they are also appointed for moderating ameracements in Courts-Baron.”—Jacob's ‘Law Dictionary.’ In Bradford there were also appointed two ‘*Affeerers*’ for the Borough, and the like number for the Hundred, with duties similar to those above described.

Courts to present all Wayfes, Estrayes, and Trespasses committed within the Hundred, and do other services of the Court. And at the Three-Weeken Court for the Borough the *Portreeve*, and with him the *Burgesses* of the Town, ought to appear to witness with him his presentment. The other Tythingmen with their *Reevemen*, which dwell more remote from the place where the Hundred Three-Weeken Court is kept, do pay yearly, at Michas Law-day, fines for respite of their suite to the said Courts by custom."

II. THE COURT LEET, AND VIEW OF FRANKPLEDGE.

The Courts which we have hitherto been describing took cognizance of matters more or less connected with the Lord's interest. The Courts Leet, however, had to deal with matters involving the interests of the entire community. They are said to have derived their distinctive appellation from the Anglo Saxon word '*teód*,' which signifies 'people,' as though the '*populi Curiaë*,'—the 'Folk-mote'—in contradistinction to the 'Hall-mote' (or Court Baron), so designated because the free-tenants, being generally few in number, often held their meeting in the Lord's hall. 'View of Frankpledge'¹ meant originally the examination, or *riew*, of the '*frið-borh*' i.e. the '*peace-pledges*,' or guarantees for his good and peaceable behaviour, of which every man, not especially privileged, was obliged anciently to have nine, who were bound that he should always be forthcoming to answer any complaint. "In all Vills throughout the kingdom, all men are bound to be in guarantee by tens, so that if one of the ten men offend, the other nine may hold him to right;"—such, in a few words, in the language of the laws attributed to Edward the Confessor, is a description of this system of 'mutual guarantee' for the peace and good ordering of those who lived within the Hundred. "Its object was," as Kemble well expresses it, "that each man should be in pledge or surety (*borh*) as well to his fellow man, as to the state,

¹ "The corruption of the word *Frið-borh*, that is, '*pacis plegium*' or *peace-pledge*, into *Freo-borh* which was soon translated '*liberum plegium*,' that is, free pledge or *frank-pledge*, explains how the present form of the word has been adopted. To understand the institution, it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction between these words."—Kemble's '*Saxons in England*' i. 249.

for the maintenance of the public peace; that he should enjoy protection for life, honour and property himself, and be compelled to respect the life, honour and property of others; that he should have a fixed and settled dwelling where he could be found when required, where the public dues could be levied, and the public services demanded of him; and that, if guilty of actions that compromised the public weal or trespassed upon the rights and well-being of others, there might be persons appointed to bring him to justice, and if injured by others, supporters to pursue his claim and exact compensation for this wrong." In later years, of course, all that was implied in the 'View of Frankpledge' was an enquiry by the Steward into the general good and peaceable conduct of those living within the jurisdiction of the Court, and receiving presentments concerning any matters of which the Court was empowered to take cognizance.

As in the case of the 'Three Weeken Court,' so here there seems to have been one Court Leet for the Borough, and another for the Hundred, which, though held at the same time and place, were, nevertheless, distinct from each other. At the former, the Jury were chosen from the householders of the Borough, at the latter, from the inhabitants of the Tithings. From those not 'warned' specially to attend the Courts, the 'Essoign'¹ money was collected, as it is, indeed, to this day, at the rate of 'one penny' for each householder. As late as 1629, as appears from the Manuscript from which we have made several extracts, the 'Leets' or 'Law-days' were held twice in the year,—at Easter and at Michaelmas. For a long time, however, there has been but one Court-Leet, held at Easter in each year.

The jurisdiction of this Court was extensive. Even petty treasons and felonies were presentable, though not punishable in it, the course pursued being to certify the presentment in some superior court, where the offender might be prosecuted and punished.

¹ 'Essoign' money (from the Fr. *Essoine*, an excuse,) was the sum paid by those who did not attend the Lord's Court, and, in consideration of this payment, were excused. The old people in Bradford have abbreviated the term, and pronounce it as though it were written, 'sign-money,' or, as they more commonly say, 'sign-pence.'

On all such matters as the following the Jury had to enquire;—how far the constables had done their duty;—whether the stocks, ‘the tythingman’s prison,’ were in repair;—whether any one had wilfully assaulted and maliciously drawn blood from the person of another;—what persons kept places for carding, dicing, skittle-playing, and the like unlawful games within their tythings;—who were scolds, brawlers, raisers of quarrels, eaves-droppers, and news-mongers;—whether any persons had used false weights or measures;—whether any have been forestallers, ingrossers, or regrators;¹—whether any cottages had been erected contrary to law;—whether the highways were out of repair;—whether any public nuisances had been committed to the injury of the community. On all these and kindred subjects the Jury had to entertain presentments, and the Court Leet had power to punish transgressors, not only by fine, but in some cases by imprisonment.

In Courts Leet the Steward always presided as Judge. Here also, as in the previous case alluded to,² two persons were chosen—(usually two of the ‘most substantial and knowing’ tenants of the Manor)—as *Affeerers*, to whom the following oath was administered:—“You shall well and truly affeer the several americiaments and fines here made, and now to you remembered. You shall spare no one out of love, fear, or affection, nor raise or enhance any one out of malice or hatred, but impartially shall do your duties herein.”

One very important duty that devolved on these Courts was, the appointment of the various officers of the Manor, the Hundred, or the Borough of Bradford. Three distinct Juries were appointed, the first consisting of copyholders under the Manor, (which was called the Homage Jury,) the other two of residents within the Hundred or Borough respectively, and on these was imposed the task

¹ *Forestallers* are they who buy, or cause to be bought, any corn or other victuals whatsoever, that is carrying to the fair or market to be sold, before it be brought into the fair or market. *Ingrossers* are they who buy corn growing upon the ground (otherwise than by demise or grant) or any butter or cheese, or other victuals, with intent to sell the same for unreasonable profit. *Regrators* are they that in open fair or market buy and get into their own hands, corn or other dead victuals, and sell the same again in some other fair or market within four miles of the same place. Jacob’s ‘Court Keeper,’ p. 34.

² See above p. 79.

of nominating persons qualified to serve in the several offices within the jurisdiction which they represented. From lists so furnished, the Steward of the Lord of the Manor selected those, who, for the year then next ensuing, should hold these offices.

The following list of officers has been compiled from an examination of documents relating to the Manor, bearing date at different periods during the last 240 years. The various records do not exhibit strict uniformity in their lists of officers: in later times some, which were originally distinct, have been merged into others, whilst some have been rendered unnecessary by the legislature having provided other means for the performance of the duties that once appertained to them. Since the year 1774, when, as we have already stated (p. 42), the demesne lands of the Manor were sold, by the Lord for the time being, to various persons, there appears to have been no formal summoning of the Homage Jury at the usual time of holding the Courts of the Manor. At present there are hardly more than a sufficient number of Tenants (which must be two at the least) holding under the Manor, to preserve the Lord's rights and privileges in the same.

I. OFFICERS OF THE MANOR:—1. Bailiff,—2. Hayward.

II. OFFICERS OF THE HUNDRED:—1. Bailiff,—2. Two Constables,—3. Haywards, (one for the Hundred generally, and one for each of the Tythings,)—4. Tythingmen, (one for each Tything).

III. OFFICERS OF THE BOROUGH:—1. Portreeve,—2. Two Constables,—3. Hayward,—4. Two Sealers and Searchers of Leather,—5. Two Coroners of the Market,—6. Cryer.

The office of 'BAILIFF,' especially that of the Hundred, which seems in Bradford at one period to have been annexed to the tenure of certain lands, (see p. 65 note,) was formerly of much importance. Latterly the duties of this officer consisted chiefly in giving "summons and warning to all Freeholders, Customary and other Tenants, Resiants and Inhabitants who owed suit and service to the Lord of the Manor" to attend his Courts, and further, in carrying out the decisions of the Courts by exacting the fines or ameracements, and, where necessary, serving writs and levying executions.

The duty of the 'CONSTABLES' consisted generally in preserving the peace of the neighbourhood, by 'arresting felons, pursuing hues and cries according to law, and apprehending rogues, vagrants and sturdy beggars.'

The 'TYTHINGMEN' were a kind of petty constables, appointed for the several Tythings, to assist those just alluded to in the execution of their office. They had also to make presentments at the Law-days of offences cognizable at Court Leet, to give the names of 'foreigners' living within their portion of the Manor, and to collect the Lord's accustomed dues within their several Tythings. It was their duty also to hand in lists of 'Resiants,' that is, of inhabitants, qualified to serve in like office with themselves, and from these were appointed their successors in the manner we have just described.

We have already alluded to the general duties of the 'HAYWARD' (see p. 15). He had, in the discharge of them, to see that the cattle neither broke nor cropped the hedges and inclosed grounds, and to keep the grass from hurt or destruction. He had to look to the fields and impound all 'estrayes,' (that is, cattle that trespassed,) to inspect that no pound breaches be made, and if any, to present them at the Leet. When there was a large unenclosed portion of common land in the parish, the duties of the Hayward were neither few, nor unimportant. The Haywards of the several Tythings had first of all to put stray cattle into the pound belonging to their own Tything, and then, if not claimed by the owner within three days, to bring them to the Hayward of the Hundred, to be placed by him in the Hundred Pound. After a certain time, if still unclaimed, they were sold to pay expenses that had been incurred, and the surplus, if any, belonged to the Lord of the Manor.

The name 'PORTREEVE' given to the principal officer of the Borough, especially when coupled (as in the extract given in p. 80) with 'Burgesses,' would seem almost to imply the existence of a charter of incorporation for our town. There is a tradition which has often been repeated to me by old people, that Bradford was formerly a chartered town with all the usual privileges, and amongst

others, with a 'Portreeve' as the chief municipal officer, but that, the inhabitants having been almost swept away by a desolating pestilence, the exercise of their rights fell into abeyance, and was never afterwards resumed. Other particulars are related, but they are evidently so distorted a form of the real facts of the case, whatever they were, that it is not worth while to repeat them. Possibly there may be a glimmering of truth in these local traditions, which future research may enable us to interpret more accurately. In our 'Portreeve' we may preserve the name of an officer of some importance formerly, though many of the duties once performed by him have long fallen into desuetude. At present, and for many years past, his duties have been very analogous to those of the Bailiff, already described, inasmuch as to him was addressed the precept from the Steward of the Lord of the Manor, directing him to summon and warn those inhabitants who were appointed to serve on the Borough Jury in Court Leet. He had also,—(and in this, the duties performed in other cases by the Tythingmen devolved on him)—to "deliver into Court a list fairly written out of the Freeholders, Free Suitors, Tenants and Resiants within the Borough, who owed suit and service to, and at, the Court". No doubt in ancient times, like the Anglo-Saxon '*Portgeréfa*,' from whom the name is derived, this officer had in Bradford, as in other small towns, to witness all transactions by bargain and sale, and probably derived some emolument from the proceeds of tolls and fines levied within his district.¹

For many years one person has been appointed 'Portreeve and Hayward,' as to one united office. No doubt as buildings increased in Bradford, the duties of the last named officer gradually became nominal. In the record of Court Leet for 1747, however, the offices are distinct, two different persons having been appointed, one as the 'Portreeve' and the other as the 'Hayward' for the Borough.

The 'LEATHER SEALERS and SEARCHERS' had to look after the Tanners and Curriers, to see that they exposed no leather for sale

¹ On the '*Portgeréfa*' or '*Portreeve*' who seems originally to have been the chief officer of the smaller, and commercial, towns, see Kemble's '*Saxons in England*,' ii. 173.

that had not been properly tanned and dried. All such goods approved by the officers were *sealed* with a stamp, the impression of which was very much like that which shoemakers now put on the soles of shoes, consisting of three or four small concentric circles. From the following extract, it appears that the tanners were kept in tolerably strict order—"If a tanner put to sale leather before it is searched and sealed according to the statute, he forfeits 6s. 8d. a hide, and for a dozen of sheep-skins 3s. 4d. besides the hides and skins, or value thereof, and if not sufficiently tanned and dried, he forfeits the whole."

The 'CORONERS OF THE MARKET' had to see generally, that provisions exposed for sale were good in quality and sufficient in quantity; that the weights and measures were up to the standard; and, in case of the bread or meat being unfit for food, they had power to order it to be thrown away, and to inflict a fine on the offending bakers or butchers. The using false weights or measures incurred a forfeiture of double the quantity of grain or thing sold, and in some instances led to imprisonment.

Formerly there was a separate officer called the 'ALE-CONNER' who had to look to the goodness and assize of ale and beer. For very many years no such special officer has been appointed, those just described exercising the general supervision of all things vendible by weight or measure.

So well known are the duties of the 'CRYER' that we need not attempt to describe them. In Bradford there was one task that he was sometimes called upon to perform, that seemed hardly to belong to him: but as *Five Shillings* were allowed for his services, he did not stand upon ceremony. He had to officiate, when some young offender was ordered, for petty pilfering or other like transgressions, to receive a public *whipping*!

The meetings of Court Leet were ordinarily held in olden times in the Town Hall, or Market-House. As early as 1715 however we find a Court held at 'the sign of the Swan' (*apud signum Cygni*). The old Town-Hall was a plain and unpretending building that stood in the centre of the Town,—(the surrounding site is still called the 'Old Market Place')—and joined the block of houses which consti-

tute the 'Shambles.' The mark of the gable-line is still perceptible on the blank wall against which it formerly stood. It was oblong in shape, about 25 feet long and 15 feet broad, and was supported on two sides by a row of stone pillars, all the space below being open, and appropriated principally to butchers' stalls. Between pillar and pillar was inserted some wooden palisading. Above, on the first floor, there was a room in which the Courts were held and the business of the Manor transacted. Hard by, were the pillory and the stocks, the upright post of the former probably serving as a whipping pillar to which young culprits were bound. The stocks were afterwards removed to the foot of the Bridge, on the south side, whence they have now disappeared altogether. Not a few are there among our ancients who regret that the days are passed, in which a little summary punishment checked the onward progress of crime, without the necessity of consigning the young offender to a gaol, and thus branding him with a mark of disgrace that no length of time can obliterate.

With all these relics of bygone days, the old Town Hall, as we have just intimated, has itself passed away. It had long been in a decaying state for want of repairs. Again and again had presentments been made concerning it, as a place not only 'unfit but unsafe to transact the Lord's business in.' Once at least the Borough Jury were bold enough to present the Steward, for not attending to their presentments in this particular. No attempt however was made to sustain the tottering fabric, and one night the building fell. Whether its fall was caused by accident or design,—rumour strongly asserts the latter,—men cared not to enquire. The person is now living who carted away the materials of the 'Old Town Hall' of Bradford, which he previously purchased for the sum of *Twenty Shillings!*

A few words may be added on the PREBENDAL MANOR which for the last three hundred years has been held separately from the LAY MANOR, to which more especially the remarks in the previous pages have had reference.

The 'Prebendal Manor' was, at the Dissolution, bestowed, as we have already stated, (p. 41.) on the Dean and Chapter of Bristol by

Henry VIII. In this gift was included all that hitherto had appertained to the Abbess as 'Rector' of Bradford. They hold the glebe farms and lands, (the latter lying dispersedly in small portions throughout the whole parish),—the houses built on them in the town itself,—perhaps the site of the old Hospital of St. Margaret,—the great Tithes,—the advowson of the living. The land possessed by them amounts to some 530 acres, more than half of which is in the Tithing of Winsley. On the impropriate Rectory there are the following charges,—“Payment (it is called *Pensio*) to the Bishop of Sarum, £2.”; and “Pension to the Dean and Chapter of Sarum 13s. 4d.”

From a Parliamentary survey made in 1649, the original manuscript of which is still preserved among the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, we extract the following information, and with this we will conclude our remarks on the 'Manor of Bradford.' “*Memorandums.* There is a Court Baron belonging to the Mannor of the Rectorie of Bradford to be kept at the will of the Lord within the said Mannor.

“The Tenants of the said Mannor are to performe their suit and service at the Court aforesaid.

“*Customes.* The Lord by the Custome of the Mannor may graunt estates for three lives by cobby of Court Roll.

“The Widdow of the purchaser only to enjoy the lands that her husband shall happen to dye siezed of and not otherwise.

“The Lord of the Mannor aforesaid can have no Herriott by the custome of the said Mannor but such as shall be expressed in the Tenants cobbye by agreement between Lord and Tenant.”

(To be continued.)



Travel and Crag

26

5

LI°

OMSEY STA.

OMSEY

27

55

28

25

Longitude West 55 of Greenw

E.

Geology of Wiltshire.

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

IF attempting a popular sketch of the Geology of Wiltshire for the readers of this Magazine, it will scarcely be advisable to assume that they are all acquainted with even the rudiments of the science. Those, therefore, who already possess this information will, I trust, excuse my commencing with a brief notice of the general series of Rock Formations, of which our county presents on its surface only a portion.

The science of geology is known to have for its object an examination of the materials which compose the solid surface of the earth, with the view to deduce from thence some notions of its history, that is to say, of the successive physical changes it has undergone.

In the course of their investigations geologists have discovered a very remarkable similarity (though by no means an identity) in these materials, throughout every known part of the globe; that is to say, they observe in almost every country a succession of the same, or nearly the same rocks, or beds of solid matter, composed of nearly the same minerals, and having nearly the same structure and disposition.

These matters, however, are readily distinguishable by their principal characters into two primary classes, viz. :—

1. The **IGNEOUS**, or Crystalline rocks, which appear to form the base and solid scaffolding of the whole crust of the globe, and to have been in many places forcibly thrust up from beneath (whence they are also called Hypogene) through that surface, in a more or less imperfectly liquid state, and at an extremely high temperature, by Volcanic, or as it is often called, 'Plutonic' agency. These comprehend the varieties of Granite and Porphyry, Gneiss and

Mica-schist, Trachyte and Basalt, or what are often called the Trap rocks, volcanic lavas, &c. Of this class of rocks we have no example in our county.

2. The Aqueous or Stratified and Fossiliferous rocks, which are usually found above, or leaning against, the former class, often broken through, tilted up and bent, or even squeezed into folds, by the eruption, or subterranean expansion of these, and which are disposed evidently by the agency of *water* in strata (or beds), and generally (as their name implies) contain *fossils*, that is, the remains of organized beings, vegetable or animal. These Stratified (or as they are sometimes called Sedimentary) rocks, consist of slates, shales, puddingstones, sandstones, marbles, limestones, or clays, marls, sands, and gravels, of different qualities; for even these last, though loose in texture, are classed as *rocks* by geologists. Of these beds the hardest and most compact, generally speaking, lean against, or rest immediately upon, the crystalline rocks, and the looser and softer lie above them. Mountain ranges, for example, are usually found to be composed of a central axis, or back bone, of Hypogene crystalline rock, while the sides are formed of strata of slate, sandstone or limestone, lying one over the other and sloping, or as it is called, *dipping* away from the axis towards the plains below, which are formed of nearly horizontal beds of sand, clay, and gravel, such as the rivers or seas form in the present day out of the worn and ground-down fragments of the harder rocks.

This, however, is only a general, not an universal rule, for the stratified rocks are occasionally found, as has been said already, carried up to very high levels, or tilted and set on end, or broken and twisted, evidently by some violent heavings or expansions of the crystalline matter below. And when this has happened, the strata above these are usually seen to lie across the broken or worn edges of the former, or 'unconformably,' as it is called, in contrast to the conformable or parallel disposition in which strata are usually found, and in which they were for the most part deposited.

For (as I should perhaps have just said) all the stratified rocks are shewn by their composition to have been formed out of sand, clay, mud, or chalky matter *deposited* by water, either as drift or

as sediment at the bottom of the ocean or of some lake, or in the beds of rivers, (whence they, are said to be of Aqueous origin); and the harder kinds owe this quality either to a kind of setting (or imperfect crystallization) like that of concrete, or in some cases probably to the enormous pressure to which they have been subjected, especially after being lifted out of the water, in others it would seem, to the baking influence of the heated igneous crystalline rock below them.

The aqueous origin of even the most solid stratified rocks is proved by their being often made up of water-worn pebbles, gravel, sand, or matter like hardened mud or clay, arranged in layers, sometimes even ripple-marked, like those which the sea or rivers form before our eyes. It is also still more conclusively shewn, perhaps, by their containing great numbers of fossil shells, bones of fish or other animals, marine, freshwater, or terrestrial, and the remains of vegetable matter likewise, such as rivers still carry down in great quantity into lakes or seas. These 'organic remains' have also been found most serviceable as a test of the age in the history of the world at which the several strata where they are met with were deposited. Because it has been found by a long experience and very widely extended researches, to the satisfaction of all geologists, that the strata which lie lowest (and therefore must be the oldest, having been necessarily deposited at the bottom of the waters, before those which lie above them) contain the remains of races of animals now altogether extinct, and which are farther removed in character from any now living upon the earth than those found in the upper beds; while these approach more nearly to existing races, or shew a larger number of genera and species belonging to existing races, in proportion as they appear from their position to be of more recent formation. On this kind of evidence i.e. according to the character of the organic remains contained in them, which has been called Palæontological, (Palæontology being the study of ancient races of vegetable or animal life), geologists are now generally agreed to class the various stratified rocks which are found more or less over the whole globe, rather than according to their mineralogical composition or aspect. And upon this evi-

dence they divide the whole series of stratified rocks chronologically, into the following groups, beginning with the oldest, that is the lowest in the series.

TABULAR VIEW OF FOSSILIFEROUS STRATA.

Primary (i.e. earlier) Fossiliferous Strata.	{	1. The <i>Cambrian</i> ,	consisting in Britain of the slates, flags, grits, and limestones of North Wales.
		2. The <i>Silurian</i> ,	Slates of Scotland; limestones and black slate of Bala; shales, sandstones, and limestones of Shropshire.
		3. The <i>Devonian</i> , (or old red sandstone.)	Slates of Caithness, sandstones of Fife, Elgin, and Arbroath in Scotland, of Devonshire in England.
		4. The <i>Carboniferous</i> ,	Sandstones and limestones, containing beds of coal, in England and Scotland, and including the mountain limestone.
		5. <i>Permian</i> , or <i>Magnesian limestone</i>	Limestones of Durham and Yorkshire, and sandstones of North of England.
		6. <i>Trias</i> , (formerly called New Red Sandstone.)	Limestone and shales of Cheshire and Lancashire.
Secondary F. Strat.	{	7. <i>Lias</i> ,	Blue limestone and marlstones of Somerset and Gloucestershire, &c.
		8. <i>Oolite</i> , or <i>Jurassic system</i> .	divided into <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lower oolite. 2. Upper or great oolite. 3. Oxford clay and Coral rag. 4. Kimmeridge clay. 5. Portland stone and sands. 6. Purbeck beds.
		9. <i>Cretaceous System</i> ,—divided into	
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wealden. 2. Lower green sand or 'Neocomean.' 3. Gault. 4. Upper green sand. 5. Lower and upper chalk.

Tertiary Strata.

10. Eocene—lower, middle, and upper—London clay, Bagshot sands, &c.
11. Miocene.
12. Pliocene—Crag of Norfolk and Suffolk Diluvial drift, &c.
13. Post-Pliocene, or recent alluvial gravels, sands, brick earth, peat, &c.

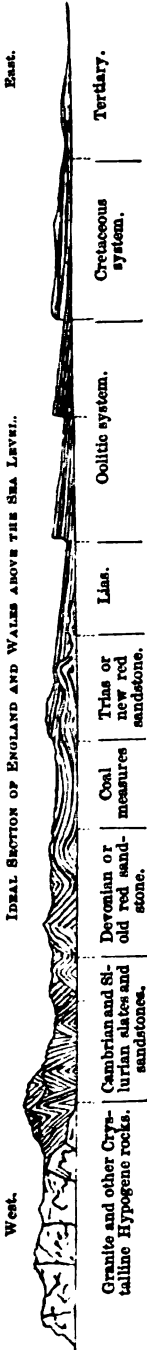
It may be asked "Were all these strata at any time continuous and arranged like the coats of an onion, over the whole globe?" The answer is no, nor even over all our island. Many divisions of the series are wanting in many places, and this is what my readers will see on consideration would be most probable, because, while there have evidently been frequent changes of level in the surface of the earth, those parts which at one time were below the sea or lakes having been raised into the air, and others which were once dry land having sunk below the waters, there was, without doubt, at all times (and therefore at any one definite period) *some* land above the water level, and of course, no aqueous or stratified deposits could during that period be formed *there*, (except the mere sands or gravels of its river-beds). And in these high and dry geographical areas, the beds which were at *that time* in process of sedimentary deposition in the adjoining oceans or lakes are necessarily absent. Moreover, even below the waters in certain situations, such as the deltas at the mouths of rivers, &c., beds of shingle, sand, gravel, or mud will have been deposited, containing the remains of shells or animals, suited to live in such situations, while at the same time a different kind of sediment will have been deposited, tranquilly perhaps, in the ocean depths at a considerable distance, where very different races of shell-fish or animals lived and left their remains. These considerations, with others which it would consume too much time to dwell upon in this mere sketch, account easily for the fact, that the different strata mentioned in the above Table, are not only not found uniformly everywhere, but are nowhere all found of uniform appearance and composition, or containing *precisely* the same set of fossils. Still there is great similarity of character, even in the structure and composition of the groups of strata which are supposed to be of contemporaneous origin in all parts of the globe,

and sufficient identity or resemblance in the organic remains which they contain to justify geologists in adopting the chronological classification above given.

As one example of this fact, I may mention the coal-bearing strata—so valuable for the uses of man. It is well ascertained that the true coal in every quarter of the globe, with scarcely an exception, belongs to one and the same age in the history of the earth. It is composed of almost identically the same fossil plants, is buried in the same beds of rolled pebbles, and stone and shale, or indurated mud; and overlies and is covered by strata containing the same kinds of fossil shells.

It will have been observed in the Tabular view given above, that speaking generally of this our island of Great Britain, the oldest stratified rocks appear on the extreme west, and that as we proceed thence towards the east, we pass in succession over the newer rock formations. This is owing to the fact, that the high mountain ranges of the island lie to the west, where, at some early period, the expansion of subterranean masses of hypogene crystalline rock, portions of which shew themselves in the granite and trap rocks of Devon and Cornwall, of Anglesea, the Hebrides, and the Grampians, have tilted up the stratified rocks on the western side of the island to a higher level than they generally range at on the eastern side. It was thought the violence accompanying this process, no doubt, that the older western strata were broken, bent, and doubled up into folds, in the manner we see them, and also that the general 'dip' or slope of the strata is found to be from west to east, each successive formation terminating towards the west in a step-like escarpment or break, from under which the older beds crop out in the manner indicated in the section here given.

Our county of Wiltshire lying about midway between the east and west of the island, we find it, as might be expected from what has been said, to be composed, for the most part, of the middle series, or secondary strata in the above Table. Its geological formation is, indeed, of a very simple character. It contains no older rocks than the upper beds of the Lias, nor any newer than the chalk, except a few patches of clay and gravel belonging to the



Eocene Tertiaries upon the surface of its chalk downs, and the alluvial beds of its existing river valleys. Moreover, these strata appear to have suffered comparatively little disturbance; the whole series lying, 'conformably,' that is, in parallel beds, one over the other.

On the other hand, within this limited range the structure of our county exhibits a most instructive and interesting variety of sedimentary and fossiliferous strata, well displayed and easily studied, and which, owing to the happy accident of their having attracted at an early period the attention of some of the first and ablest geologists and palæontologists, have been recognized throughout Europe as types of the different formations to which they belong. Indeed, Mr. William Smith, the very founder of the science of modern geology, if not a Wiltshire man, was long a resident in the county, and engaged as a surveyor in the construction of the canals which traverse it, at the time of those researches into the structure of the country which led him to establish, upon the basis of the facts he there observed, that theory of the regular arrangement of strata containing similar organic remains in an order that is never reversed, which forms the leading principle of the science. (Phillips and Conybeare, Preface, xlv.)

These facts Mr. Smith represented in a series of Geological Maps, published by him between 1815 and 1820, one of which is reprinted to accompany this paper, as it is in a convenient form for general use, and the divisions and nomenclature employed in it, have been very slightly varied by more recent geologists; Smith's own nomenclature of rocks having, as before stated, been generally adopted by subsequent geologists. Where any material change has occurred, a corresponding correction has been introduced into the plate. The coloured areas represent-

the different beds composing the surface rocks are an accurate copy of the details given in the Ordnance sheets, very recently issued from the Geological Survey, as the much smaller scale of the map would admit of, and are consequently more to be relied on than those given in Smith's original map. I subjoin a Table of the

ASCENDING SERIES OF ROCKS (IN WILTSHIRE),					
According to latest divisions of Geological Survey.		SIR C. LYELL'S CLASSIFICATION.			
	1. Lias shale, clay, or Marlstone	1	Lias.		
Lower Oolitic group.	{	2. Sand of inferior oolite	}	2 Inferior Oolite.	
		3. Limestone of do.			
		4. Fuller's earth	}	3 Great or Bath Oolite.	
		5. Great oolite			
		6. Forest marble			
Middle Oolitic group.	{	7. Cornbrash	}	4 Oxford clay.	
		8. Oxford clay			
		9. Calcareous grit			
Upper Oolitic group.	{	10. Coral rag	}	5 Coral rag.	
		11. Kimmeridge clay		6 Kimmeridge clay	
		12. Portland sand		}	7 Portland beds.
		13. Portland stone			
Cretaceous group.	{	14. Purbeck	}	8 { lower, mid- dle, upper. } Pur. beds	
		15. Lower Green sand		9 Lower green sand	
		16. Gault		10 Gault	
		17. Upper Green sand		11 Upper green sand	
		18. Chalk		{ ¹² Lower White without flints. ¹³ Upper White } Chalk	
Lower Eocene.	{	19. Plastic clay	}	14 Lower Eocene	
		20. London clay		15	
Middle Eocene.	}	21. Lower Bagshot sand	}	16 Middle Eocene	
		22. Bracklesham sand			
Alluvium.	}	Mammalian Drift	}	17 Post Pliocene	

On referencè to the map it will be seen that nearly a full half of the surface of the county consists of chalk, with or without a thin coating of Tertiary, or yet more recent sand, clay, and gravel. This mass of chalk forms our Down-country, being the western por-

tion of the high chalk platform, which constitutes also the greater part of Hampshire, and sends out four several embranchments, one to the south into Dorsetshire, another to the north-east into Berks and Oxfordshire, and two towards the east, which form respectively the 'north and south downs,' by which the intermediate vale country of the Weald of Kent and Sussex is, as it were, embraced. The Wiltshire part of this great chalk platform is penetrated by three wedge-shaped depressions or valleys, having their broader openings to the west, and gradually narrowing to an acute angle towards the east; viz., the Vale of Pewsey, which divides what are usually called the Marlborough Downs from those of Salisbury Plain, and those of Warminster and of Wardour. To the north the chalk hills overlook the still broader Vale of Swindon, continued to the east in that of the White Horse, to the south-west in that of the western Avon. All these vales, of course, occupy generally far lower levels than the chalk district, and consist of strata of earlier formation which 'crop out,' as it is called, one from beneath the other as we travel to the west or north from the chalk escarpments. Whether the chalk ever extended continuously over the whole of these vales, may be disputed, but, without doubt, it did over a considerable portion of their area, and has since become removed by denudation, that is, by the wash and sweep of water, probably in part that of ocean currents before or during the rise of this area of the island from below the sea, partly of the rain to which it has been exposed ever since. And the 'detritus' or fragmentary matter carried away from these excavations went to form those beds of flint gravel, tertiary and post-tertiary, which we find strewed over the hills and almost filling the valleys of the Avon, the Thames, and other rivers in the East of England.

The strata exposed in the Vales of Pewsey and Wardour chiefly belong to the Upper Green sand, which also shews itself through the entire width of the upper Vale of the Wily, between Warminster and Maiden Bradley. The great northern vale is more varied in its composition, the several beds of the oolitic series cropping out successively from beneath the Cretaceous group, and shewing themselves through its whole length from Shrivenham

and Highworth in the north east, to Bradford and Westbury at the south western extremity. The softer beds of the series, called the Oxford and Kimmeridge clays, being more easily worn down and carried away by rains, naturally occupy the lower levels of the vale; while the harder beds (Coral-rag, Forest marble, and Oolitic limestone) form successive terrace-like ridges or ranges of hill, stretching nearly north-east by south west across the north-eastern corner of the county.

I will now briefly trace the situation and distinguishing characters of these different strata, beginning with the oldest, or *underlying* beds on the western boundary of the county.

It has been said that the oldest strata in the county are the upper lias shale and marlstone, which are by many geologists considered to belong to the same group as the oolitic, or (as it is termed by continental geologists, from its composing the mass of the Jura mountains) the Jurassic series. But these lias marlstone beds only occur in the bottom of the deep valley of Box, where it joins that of the Avon, barely within the boundary of the county. They are immediately covered by the sands and limestone beds of the inferior oolite, which form the substratum of the entire range of the Cotswold hills, bordering the Vale of Severn from Bath northwards through Gloucestershire into Worcestershire. In Wiltshire the inferior oolite only shews itself in the escarpments of the valleys of Box and Bradford, being immediately covered by beds of marl and clay, called 'Fuller's earth,' and these by the 'great oolite' or Bath freestone, which caps the hills about Bradford, Box, Colerne, and Castle Combe, and is in turn very soon overlapped by the more fissile limestones, which are called Forest marble and cornbrash. The united thickness of these beds composing the lower oolitic group of the the Geological Survey, varies, perhaps, from 300 to 500 feet. Some beds of the middle part of the great oolite are several feet in thickness without a joint, and from them are quarried those magnificent blocks of cream-coloured freestone, which are now transported by railway from the neighbourhood of Box to London and many other parts of England. In the mere sketch, for which alone we have room in this place, it is impossible to give full lists of the fossil

shells which are abundantly found through these strata. An opportunity may, perhaps, be taken for this in subsequent numbers. It is sufficient here to say, that in the lias marls and sands many species of *Ammonites* and *Nautili* are found, as well as of *Belemnites*, *Gryphæa*, *Modiola*, *Arca*, *Cypricardia*, *Trigonia*, *Terebratula*, &c. The

Fig. 1. (401 Lyell)



Gryphæa incurva, Sow. (*G. arcuata*, Lam.) Lias.

most frequent, perhaps, is a species of oyster, or *Gryphæa*, from the abundance of which the lias has sometimes been called Gryphite limestone. The shells of the inferior oolite chiefly belong to the species of *Lima*, *Pecten*, *Avicula*, *Hinnites*, *Ostrea*, *Arca*, *Trigonia*, *Terebratula*, *Thecidium*, *Nerinea*, *Cerithium*, *Natica*, *Trochus*, &c.

Among the most characteristic shells of the inferior oolite may be instanced *Terebratula fimbria* (fig. 2). *Rhynchonella spinosa*, Fig. 2 (387).



Terebratula fimbria. Inferior Oolite.



Rhynchonella spinosa. Inferior Oolite.

(fig. 3). *Pholadomya fidicula*, (fig. 4.) and *Ostrea Marshii*, (fig. 5). Some beds contain beautifully preserved specimens of Sea-urchins or *Echinodermata*, with their spines. The Fuller's earth abounds in the small oyster, represented in fig. 6. The great oolite in *Terebratula digona* (fig. 7). *Patella rugosa*, (fig. 8.)

Fig. 4 (389).



a. *Pholadomya fidicula*. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. Inf. Ool. b. Heart-shaped anterior termination of the same.

Fig. 5 (396).



Ostrea Marshii $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. Middle and Lower Oolite.

Fig. 6 (386).



Ostrea acuminata. Fuller's Earth.



Terebratula digona. Nat. size. Bradford clay.

Fig. 8 (370.)



Nerita costulata, Deah. Great Oolite.



Patella rugosa, Sow. Great Oolite.

and *Nerita costulata*, (fig. 9). In many of the lower as well as in the upper strata of the series the shells are much broken. The middle beds of freestone, or great oolite, are almost wholly a true oolite; that is, a rock entirely composed of small rounded grains, resembling the roe of fish, which appear to have been formed from successive coatings of carbonate of lime upon a nucleus, consisting of a minute grain of sand or a fragment of shell. If we imagine such small grains to have been kept for some time in gentle motion by slight undulatory movements at the bottom of a sea in which much carbonate of lime was being slowly deposited, we may obtain a notion of the mode in which this oolite rock was formed. Near Bradford thick beds of clay occur, interstratified with the oolitic limestone beds, and in these are found many Crinoideans or stone lilies, with their roots or bases still attached to the rock on which they evidently grew undisturbed for years before they were enveloped (or, as it were, potted) in the clayey mud, which has preserved them for our admiration. The wood-cut below, from Sir C. Lyell's Manual, gives a representation of these remarkable fossils.

Fig. 10 (365).



Apiocrinus Parkinsoni, or Pear Encrinurite; Miller. Fossil at Bradford, Wilts.

- a. Stem of *Apiocrinus*, and one of the articulations, natural size.
 b. Section at Bradford of great oolite and overlying clay, containing the fossil encrinurites. See text.
 c. Three perfect individuals of *Apiocrinus*, represented as they grew in the sea on the surface of the Great Oolite.
 d. Body of the *Apiocrinus Parkinsoni*.

The slaty or flaggy beds of the Forest marble (much quarried for roofing tile) are also often interstratified with clay or sand, and their surfaces frequently shew the ripple mark produced by the ripple of the waves upon them as they were being deposited on what was evidently, at the time, a shallow calcareous and sandy

shore, upon which clayey mud was dropped here and there by alternating currents—probably tidal. Many of these rippled surfaces exactly resemble the sands left dry by the receding tide on our present coasts, and like them, are strewn with drifted shells and bits of wood, and the casts of Annelidæ or sea-worms, and the tracks of crabs or other crustaceous animals. It is clear, therefore, that this entire range of hills at the time of the deposition of the oolitic beds that compose them, formed the shore of an island or continent lying to the westward of the sea in which these testacea lived. Some beds of the great oolite contain many fragments of coral, and appear formed by the breaking up of coral reefs by the waves. In some spots portions of the reef itself are seen to remain in place. The bones, teeth, palates, and scales of fishes are frequently met with in the oolite, especially in the Forest marble, as well as the remains of some of those extraordinary amphibious Saurians, or gigantic lizards, which abound in the Lias beneath, and of whose supposed forms representations are to be seen in the Crystal Palace gardens. A few fragments of bones have also been found in oolitic strata belonging, it is supposed, to mammiferous animals. And as this is a fact of considerable importance, if clearly made out, it is desirable that all such specimens as may be hereafter discovered, should be carefully examined by competent zoologists.

Above and eastward of the Lower oolitic group we find a thick deposit of bluish clay, usually called the Oxford clay. This forms the wide surface of the vale of the Avon from Westbury northwards to Bradon forest, and thence eastward to that of the infant Thames at Cricklade and Castle Eaton. It has some hard fossiliferous limestone beds near the bottom, where it rests on the Cornbrash, which from their occurring at Kelloways, near Chippenham, have been called the 'Kelloways Rock.' This is the bluish grey clay and shale, in some places 400 or 500 feet thick, which caused, and still causes, so much trouble to the contractors of the Great Western Railway, by the slips which take place in the cuttings through it, west of Wootton Bassett. It contains great numbers of 'Cephalopoda' of the genera Ammonite and Belemnite. Some specimens

Fig. 12 (363).



Belemnites Puzosianus,
D'Orb.

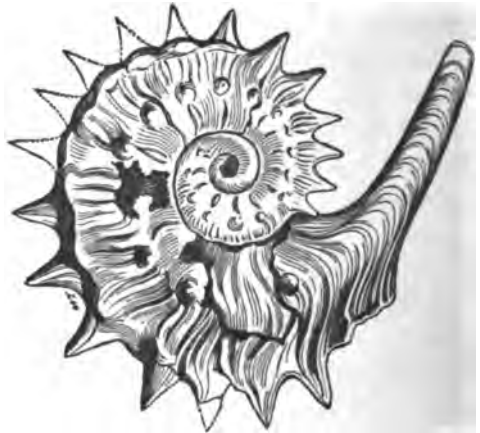
Oxford clay, Christian Malford.
a, a. projecting processes of the shell or phragmocone.

b, c. broken exterior of a conical shell called the phragmocone, which is chambered within, or composed of a series of shallow concave ocells pierced by a siphuncle.

e, d. The guard or osselet, which is commonly called the belemnite.

of both kinds have been found very perfect where the clay is fine and seems to have quietly enveloped them. They retain the delicate elongated processes, which generally are wanting. An example of each is given below from Sir C. Lyell's Manual. The large development of the upper shell of the Belemnite, in which the animal (an extinct kind of cuttle-fish) lived, is particularly remarkable. There are few fossils probably more generally known to my readers than the Belemnite, (vulgarly called thunderbolt.) It must be interesting to them to know the kind of animal to which they belonged. Probably the use of the spike at the bottom was, being weighted, to keep the whole shell in a vertical position while floating in mid water.

Fig. 11 (362).



Ammonites Jason, Reinecke. Syn. *A. Elizabetha*, Pratt.
Oxford clay, Christian Malford, Wiltshire.

The Oxford clay is overlapped on the east by beds of a calcareous grit, or sandstone, and sandy beds, which, with the overlying strata of a ragged and crystalline limestone

generally full of coral, and thence called Coral rag, compose a range of low hills that stretch across the whole county, in a N.E. and S.W. direction from Westbury through Steeple Ashton, Rowde, Calne, Lyneham, and the Lydiards, to Highworth. This range is crossed by the Great Western Railway at Wootton Bassett, through the same depression as the Wilts and Berks Canal. In many parts it preserves still the aspect and structure of a marine Coral reef; which it no doubt once was. The Corals belong chiefly to the genera *Thecosmilia*, (fig. 13). *Protoseris*, and *Thamnastroea*. The *Ostrea gregarea*, (fig. 14,) is also very characteristic of this portion of the oolitic series in England as well as on the continent. So also is the *Cidaris coronata*, (fig. 15).

Fig. 13 (354).



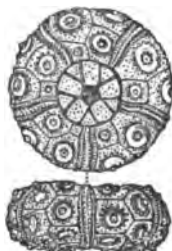
Thecosmilia annularis, Milne
Edw. and J. Haime.
Coral Rag, Steeple Ashton.

Fig. 14 (356).



Ostrea gregarea.
Coral rag, Steeple Ashton

Fig. 15 (360).



Cidaris coronata.
Coral rag.

This range of coralline oolite separates the vale of Oxford clay from a corresponding vale composed likewise chiefly of clay, generally dark coloured and bituminous or peaty, called by Smith Oak-Tree or *Kimmeridge* clay, from a place of that name in Dorsetshire where it is prevalent. In our county it occupies a nearly continuous depression parallel on the east to the coral rag range just described, and lying between it and the escarpment of the chalk, from Westbury to Rowde, and again after an interruption of six or seven miles, from Calne by Highway to Swindon and Shrivenham. At Swindon, and again in the Vale of Wardour, and also near Potterne, this clay is overlaid by strata of sand and limestone,

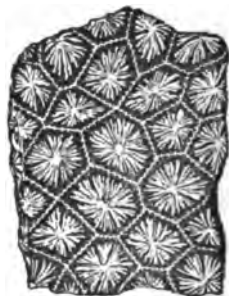
which, from the large development their continuation obtains further south, in the isle of Portland, are called Portland oolite or sand. These beds are extensively quarried at Fonthill, Tisbury, and Chilmark in the Vale of Wardour, whence was extracted the stone of which Salisbury Cathedral is built. Here there appears a considerable fault or fracture in the strata along the southern foot of the chalk escarpment, and the beds of Portland stone have been tilted up by subterranean disturbance. Some of them dip at an angle of about 40 degrees towards the north and east. The Kimmeridge clay is a considerable formation, having a thickness of from 300 to 400 feet. The *Ostrea deltoidea* is one of its most characteristic fossils. In the Portland stone and sand are found numerous specimens of the *Trigonia gibbosa*, (fig. 16), and occasionally corals, such as *Isastræa oblonga*, (fig. 17).

Fig. 17 (345).

Fig. 16 (346).



Trigonia gibbosa. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.
a. the hinge.
Portland Stone, Tisbury.



Isastræa oblonga, M. Edw. and J. Haime.
As seen on a polished slab of chert from
Portland Sand, at Tisbury.

The organic remains contained in some of the strata immediately above the Portland stone, are referable to species that must have inhabited fresh, or at all events brackish water. They were, therefore, probably, deposited in an estuary, forming the mouth of some river. In the isle of Purbeck in Dorsetshire, this freshwater character is more strongly marked than in any of our Wiltshire beds, and in the Weald of Sussex and Kent a great series of beds, consisting of limestones, sandstones and clay, are met with belonging to this geological period; but this 'Wealden' formation, as it is called, is wanting in Wiltshire. The Portland beds and Kimmeridge clay form the highest of the *Oolitic* series, the Upper oolite of the Geological Survey.

Next in order of succession proceeding eastwards, we find a purely marine formation of sands and sandstone, which from containing many Chloritic particles, giving it, occasionally, a dirty yellow or greenish colour, has been called the Lower Green sand, and is now often styled the Neocomian, from its large development at Neuchatel, in Switzerland. It underlies another thick band of marly clay, called Gault, which is separated from the chalk above it by other sandy beds, to which the name of Upper Green sand is given. These several formations, with the chalk, compose the Cretaceous group of the Geological Survey.

In some parts of South Wiltshire, especially along the north side of the Vale of Wardour, the Upper Green sand, owing, probably, to the hard cherty character of some of its beds, rises into a ridgy range of hilly eminences, projecting themselves in front of, and parallel to the chalk escarpment behind. One of these at Stourhead, on the summit of which Alfred's tower is built, reaches an elevation of above 800 feet above the sea. In North Wiltshire this formation occupies a slightly prominent step or terrace below the foot of the chalk hills. Both the Upper and Lower Green sands are remarkably rich in fossils, and especially in Alcyonites and otherspongiform Zoophytes. The fine collection formed, chiefly from these strata, by the late Miss Ethelred Benett, (now dispersed) was well known to geologists; as is also that belonging to our excellent Secretary, Mr. Cunnington, at Devizes. Almost the entire Vales of Pêwsey and of Wardour, which penetrate far into the chalk platform, as well as that smaller indentation about Warminster and the Deverills running up the Vale of the Wily to Norton, are hollowed out of the Upper Green sand. Overlapping these sandy beds rise the steep slopes of the chalk hills, which compose, as has been already said, the eastern half of our county, and reach, in the instances of Hackpen, St. Anne's Hill, and Martin's Hill among the Marlborough Downs, to an elevation exceeding 1000 feet above the sea.

The lower beds of chalk are generally marly, from containing clay, and often form a sort of lower terrace at the foot of the chalk slopes. The upper and thicker chalk consists of that pure white calcareous mass, so well known to most Wiltshire-men, usually too

soft for building stone, but sometimes passing into a more solid state. It consists almost wholly of carbonate of lime. The stratification is often obscure, except where rendered distinct by layers of flint a few inches thick, sometimes in continuous beds, but oftener in separate nodules. The matter of which chalk is composed was, no doubt, once a soft white mud, such as is now being slowly deposited in the depths of tranquil seas wherein corals abound and shell-fish browse on them; and the flints, probably, resulted from a slow separation of the siliceous particles contained in the mass, which being heavier and finer than the chalk, filtered through it to the bottom of each bed, and settled. The flinty particles seem to have arranged themselves by preference about the sponges, which while living, contained much silex. Hence in many gravels composed of flint from chalk, nearly every pebble will be found to contain a specimen of some such zoophyte. Among the fossils of chalk, besides corallines, *Echinoderms* are very numerous, as well as *Pectens*, *Terebratulæ*, *Belemnites*, and many forms of oyster. Teeth and palates of fishes also are frequently imbedded in it, but no bones of land animals, nor any terrestrial or fluviatile shells. All the appearances lead to the conclusion, that white chalk was deposited in an open sea of considerable depth. Figs. 18 to 30, represent some of the most characteristic fossils of the chalk.

Fig. 18 (285).



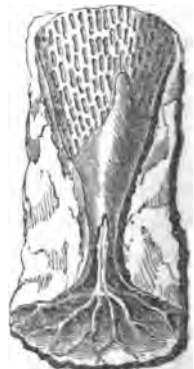
A branching sponge in a flint, from the white chalk.
From the collection of Mr. Bowerbank

Fig. 20 (277).



Ostrea carinata. Chalk marl, Upper, and
Lower greensand.

Fig. 19 (284).



Ventriculites radiatus.
Mantell.
Syn. *Ocellaris radiata*,
D'Orb. White chalk.

Fig. 31 (276).



Ostrea columba.
Syn. *Gryphæa columba.*
Upper greensand.

Fig. 22 (273).



Plagiostoma spinosum, Sow.
Syn. *Spondylus spinosus.*
Upper white chalk.

Fig. 23 (271)



Pecten 5-costatus.
White chalk, Upper,
and Lower greensands.

Fig. 24 (268).



Tereratrula bicipitata
Sow. Upper Cretaceous.

Fig. 25 (264).



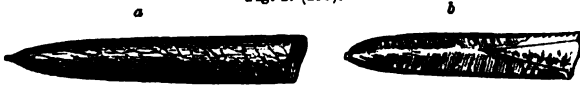
Tereratrula DeFrancii.
Upper Cretaceous.

Fig. 26 (261).



Scaphites aequalis. Chalk and
Upper Green sand.

Fig. 27 (256).



a. *Belemnites mucronatus.*
b. Same, showing internal structure.

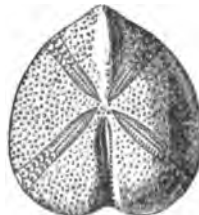
Fig. 28 (255).

Upper and Lower chalk.

Fig. 29 (254)

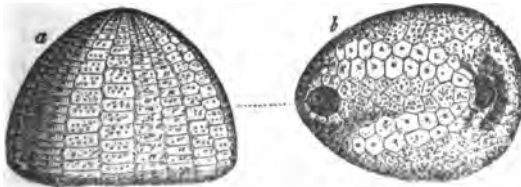


Galerites albogalerus, Lam.
White chalk.



Micraster cor anguinum.
White chalk.

Fig. 30 (253).



Ananchytes ovatus. White chalk, upper and lower.

a. Side view.
b. Bottom of the shell on which both the oral and anal apertures are placed;
the anal being more round, and at the smaller end.

The hills composed of chalk are so porous, owing to the loose texture and numerous crevices of the rock, that the rain falling upon them sinks into the mass, and rarely runs upon the surface. Hence its general dryness, and the number of dry combs or hollows by which its surface is scored, and in which water seldom flows. The mass of chalk is, however, very retentive of moisture, and acts, probably, like a great sponge, holding it long in its pores and crevices, and giving it out by degrees in the springs which gush out at low points, to which the uneven surface of some bed of the underlying clayey gault may direct its flow. And hence the river waters of the chalk district, being thus slowly filtered, are usually very clear, fine, and equable. It is, also, a circumstance worthy of remark, that the rivers which drain all the large area of the chalk district, do not flow in the direction which would seem most natural, namely, that of the great vales which open out from it towards the west, but through narrow channels that cut across the whole breadth of the chalk platform from N. to S., or from W. to E., and which, probably, had their origin in cracks or fissures broken through this tabular mass of chalk strata at the time it was elevated to its present high level above the sea in whose depths it was deposited. Such are the valleys of the Kennet in the North, and of the Bourne, Avon, Wily, Nadder, &c., in the South. The same fact is observable in the chalk districts of the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex. Each of these valley cracks is, probably, coincident with an anticlinal axis, or saddle-back arrangement, of one of the secondary, or transverse curvatures of the elevated chalk strata.

The Lower Green sand in Wiltshire rather deserves the name of Iron or Ferruginous sand, since it generally contains so large a proportion of that metal, as to render many of its beds workable as smelting ores. This has long been known, and, indeed, traces are frequent of old smelting furnaces within the Lower Green sand area, from Seend to Bromham and Sandy-Lane. But the process could only be carried on successfully, so long as the neighbouring forest of Pewsham supplied the necessary fuel. That consumed, the ore, however rich, became valueless, until the railway pierced this district, and by offering facilities for the conveyance either of

coal to the ore, or of ore to the coal, made its extraction once more profitable. And now smelting furnaces are, as my readers of course know, being built for the purpose at several spot where the ore is easily obtainable, and speculation is sanguine as to the results. In the neighbourhood of the Westbury station the ore occurs in the upper beds of Coral rag. Here, as well as near Trowbridge, there are several *faults*, which bring up the Oxford clay and Cornbrash and Forest Marble into contact with the Green sands, as well as the Kimmeridge clay and Coral rag. At Seend again many of these several formations are brought by disturbances into close contiguity. A *fault*, I must explain to my non-scientific readers, is a disturbance of strata which has dropped the beds on one side of a more or less vertical crevice or crack, or raised those on the other, so that they no longer range together. It is one of the commonest accidents of the process of elevation which has raised the marine sedimentary beds into high and dry land. The thickness of the entire Cretaceous group is very great; perhaps, from 500 to 1000 feet.

On many parts of the summit levels of the great chalk platform, both in the North and South Downs, are found beds of clay, sand, and gravel, called by geologists, '*Plastic Clay*.' These are outlying portions or patches of a great Tertiary marine deposit, of the age called '*Eocene*,' from its being a period when some few shell-fish existed of the same species as those now inhabiting the ocean, (the word *Eocene* being derived from two Greek words, meaning 'the dawn' of the same,) and there is reason to believe that these beds once covered the whole surface of chalk, but were for the most part swept off or denuded by the wash of waters which, probably, accompanied the forcible elevation of these hills from the bottom of the sea. In the lower levels of the New Forest and Hampshire to the South, and in Berkshire, Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex to the East, these clays, gravels, and sands cover a much larger area than in Wiltshire, and they are distinguished by geologists into three principal thicknesses. 1st. Plastic clay proper, containing beds of flinty pebbles in sand and clay, sometimes called Thanet sands. 2nd. Mottled clays with sand beds, called by Mr. Prestwich the Woolwich and Reading series. 3rd. London clay. 4th. Bagshot

sands. 5th. Bracklesham sands. In our county they are generally thin, often reduced to a mere sprinkling of flinty pebbles over the surface, and rarely containing any fossils, except occasional beds of an oyster (*Ostrea Bellovacina*) not very unlike our edible species.

In some of the hollows of the downs about Marlborough and Kennet, are found those well known and singular masses of hard, white, siliceous grit, almost saccharine (i.e. crystalline like sugar) known by the provincial names of Sarsen-stones, Grey-wethers, or Druid sandstone, from their having been employed in the construction of the supposed Druidical fanes of Abury and Stonehenge. It is the opinion of Mr. Prestwich, that they are relics of concretionary masses formed in beds of pure white sand belonging to the Lower Tertiary strata that formerly covered the chalk of this neighbourhood, these masses having been left stranded in the hollows when the the looser materials of the beds were swept away. Other geologists think they were similarly left from the Bagshot sands, a higher series of beds in the tertiary scale. They are almost peculiar to the Wiltshire Downs. In some places, such as Clatford and Dean bottoms, there is a remarkably thick trail of them.

On the whole, we may safely conclude, that these Eocene beds were deposited in littoral and shallow water, and the chalk on which they rest must have been brought up very near the surface of the sea before, or about, the time of their formation.

These are the most recent marine strata occurring within the county. Since its elevation into dry land, the bottoms of its valleys have been more or less covered or filled with drift or alluvial deposits of gravel, flint and chalk rubble, and brick earth in the chalk districts, of these, together with oolitic gravel in the north. In them are found many land and fresh-water shells, bones of red deer, ox and horse, and even of elephant, hippopotamus, and rhinoceros, probably some of the earliest inhabitants of the land. This is the 'Mammalian Drift' described by Mr. Cunnington in a recent number of this Magazine; to which I refer my readers for a more full and interesting account of its distribution and contents.

To him and other scientific readers of this mere general sketch of

Wiltshire Geology, I must apologize for its imperfect character. My object has been to excite a popular interest in the subject, which may lead to further inquiry, rather than to enter into those details which would only be understood by such readers as have already made it their study. It is not to those only who specially occupy themselves with scientific pursuits that the geology of their neighbourhood should be a matter of some importance. In an agricultural point of view, a knowledge of the nature and disposition of the subsoils or strata underlying the vegetable mould of our fields may often throw light on the value of land, its most fitting system of cultivation, the depth and direction of drainage, the probable supply of waters from wells, of building or roofing stones, of clay for tileries, of limestone for burning, of sand for household use, and other matters of economical value. The railroads with which our county has been recently furnished, will in many cases, perhaps, now give facilities for utilizing minerals formerly of little or no value from defective means of conveyance. The iron ores of Seend and Westbury now about to be smelted on a large scale by the coal of Wales or Somersetshire, may prove not the only example of this class of benefits. A correct knowledge of the position of the coal-bearing strata, not themselves within the limits of our county, but which approach very near to its western border, and probably underlie the oolitic range of the Cotswolds, though at far too great a depth to be workable, must be serviceable, if only in a negative sense, by preventing such useless expenditure as took place some years back near Malmesbury in the vain search for coal, where a geologist would know it could scarcely by possibility be met with. These considerations will satisfy my readers that some acquaintance with geology may be practically useful to them.

But there are, probably, few among them who will not also take a speculative interest in the historical view of physical events to which the portion of the earth they inhabit has been subjected, set before them by the geological facts above described. They will learn that in ages far remote, but yet by no means the earliest that geology has made known to us, the sea washed the shores of some great continent then existing to the west of us, and threw up its spoils on a

long line of coast running in a N.E. and S.W. direction across this island, (the lower oolitic group.) Eastward of this coast and separated from it by a deep deposit of mud, was formed, at a later period, a long parallel range of coral reef, (the Oxford clay and Coral rag). These coralline ranges were, probably, for some time sinking below the level at which the insects formed them (as is believed to be the case at present with the coral reefs of the Pacific,) and were in part covered by another vast thickness of clayey sediment (the Kimmeridge clay,) and by other calcareous strata (the Portland beds;) after which a new elevation of this area must have occurred, bringing up the surface above the sea-level, so as to give rise to the formation of the Purbeck beds in fresh or brackish water. Another depression must have then taken place, during which the sands of the lower Cretaceous group accumulated, and which, probably, reached its maximum in the period when the thick mass of white chalk was slowly and quietly settling at the bottom of a 'deep deep sea.' Then this district rose again so near the sea-level as to receive the littoral gravel, clays, and sands of the lower and middle Eocene groups. And the rise seems to have continued until these marine beds, with the chalk on which they rest, not only became dry land, but reached the elevation at which we now find them of 1000 feet above the sea.

That all these several changes occupied periods of immense duration, is proved not merely by the enormous thickness of the various beds thus heaped one over the other, but still more by the changes of animal life which accompanied their deposition—thousands of species having become extinct one by one, and succeeded by other thousands as gradually brought into being;—those found in the more recent or highest beds becoming by degrees more and more like those which are now in existence, until some few at first, and afterwards a large proportion, appear identical with them. By what secondary causes the changes in animal life were brought about, remains (and will probably always remain,) a mystery. The same may be said, perhaps, of the contemporary changes of superficial level. Both processes were, undoubtedly, gradual and continuous through countless ages. And during all that time not

a vestige of Man was impressed upon any portion of the earth's surface. We are apt to pride ourselves on the possession in our county of the remains of some of the earliest human inhabitants of the island. But long before the first aboriginal 'ran wild' in our 'woods,' all the changes I have rehearsed had ceased, the surface of the country had assumed its present form—its chalk hills, and their outlying patches of tertiary sands and gravels stood at their present high levels; its valleys had been excavated, and covered by land floods with more recent gravels of terrestrial origin filled with bones of elephant, hippopotamus, and other animals now foreign to England, and its surface occupied by the races of the vegetable and animal creation now existing here. These, be it remembered, are not imaginary speculations, but *facts*, attested by evidence quite as strong as that which proves the early occupation of our hills by the unknown builders of Stonehenge, Abury, and the races whose remains fill our barrows. The strata that compose those hills and the vales at their foot, are, indeed, the mausolea of countless generations of the ancient living inhabitants of this area of the world's surface. But they are chiefly of marine origin, and testify to the predominance of the ocean over dry land in this district throughout the earliest ages to which its geological structure carries us back. Thus is seen to arise the alliance between two of the subjects with which our Society occupies itself. Geology takes up the history of our district at the point where the local annals of its human inhabitants are obscured by the mists of antiquity, and carries it backward through infinite cycles of ages to an equally misty beginning, by the light of 'Palæontological' evidence disentombed from the bowels of the earth. No one can assert that this branch of our studies has not its own special attraction to every inquiring mind. I hope that the rude sketch here offered of its chief points, may recommend it to the attention of some who have not yet become alive to the interest it is fitted to command.

The Flora of Wiltshire,

COMPRISING THE

Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to the County;

By THOMAS BRUGES FLOWER, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c., &c.

No. II.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

WILTSHIRE one of the south-western counties of England, is bounded north-west, and north by Gloucestershire; north-east by Berkshire; south-east by Hampshire; south-west by Dorsetshire, and west by Somersetshire. The form, or outline of the county is nearly that of a quadrangle, having its angles respectively, near Lechlade, Sopworth, west of Malmesbury; Stourhead, west of Mere; and Cadnam, on the verge of the New Forest. Its utmost length from north to south is almost 54 miles, and its extreme breadth east and west, nearly 37 miles.¹ The area is estimated at 1352 square miles, and it lies between the parallels 50° 55' and 51° 43' north latitude, 1° 29' and 2° 21' west longitude.

The surface of the county is varied and undulating throughout. It includes lofty hills, spacious valleys, extensive irrigated cornfields (both upland and plain), and open downs, presenting very bold and commanding views. On a general survey, Wiltshire will be found to present as great a variety of scenery as any inland county in the kingdom. In some parts the naked downs impart a wildness to the prospect, which is strikingly contrasted with the numberless beauties scattered over the face of the county by the hand of art; while the hills, aspiring to the bold character and picturesque

¹ From a recent survey, the greatest dimension or length of the county, measured north and south, is from the border of Gloucestershire, between Cirencester and Fairford, to the border of Dorsetshire near South Damerham, between Cranbourne in Dorsetshire and Fordingbridge in Hampshire. The greatest breadth from east to west is from the junction of the three counties of Hampshire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire at Inkpen Beacon, to the border of Somersetshire at Midford Bridge, south of Bath.



scenery of mountains, gradually decline into richly wooded dales and plains in a high state of cultivation.

There are Two Divisions of the County. The first, or Southern, includes all the Wiltshire Downs, with their intersecting valleys, and is separated from the Northern by an irregular line running round the foot of the chalk hills, from their entrance into the north-east part of Berkshire, to their south-west termination at Maiden Bradley. The Downs are an elevated table land intersected by valleys, which gives the surface a broken appearance, the air on them being keen, and healthy to robust constitutions; the valleys although more sheltered from the sweeping winds from the Atlantic, partake of this keen air, which is drawn along their course in currents. The soil on the Downs varies little, being thin, and uniformly resting on the chalk, it produces excellent short herbage, very well suited for sheep pasture, a small portion being only converted into arable land, and that chiefly on the borders of the valleys. As we descend from the Downs into the valleys, the soil generally becomes less mixed with flints and of a more loamy nature, in consequence of the waters washing down portions of the upper soil of which the finer particles are deposited on the sides of the hills, and form what is called white land. The level part of the valleys, nearest the rivulets, consists of flints washed down lower and mixed with fine earth.

The Second, or Northern Division, differs greatly from the southern. The subsoil in this part of the county, instead of being chalk, consists chiefly of flat broken stone, called provincially *corngrit*, being the same as the Cotswold Hills. The top soil is a reddish calcareous loam mixed with irregular flat stone, and commonly called *stonebrash*. In some places a stratum of clay is interposed between the rock and the top soil, which may easily be known by the oaks which thrive there, whilst on the other parts the elm thrives best.

SKETCH OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE STRATA OF WILTSHIRE.

With the exception of some unimportant outliers of the tertiary beds,¹ the strata of Wiltshire belong to two great geological divi-

¹ The tertiary strata of Wilts have not been, as yet, fully examined, but it is hoped that we may ere long be favoured with a detailed account of them by Mr. Prestwich, Treasurer of the Geological Society.

sions, the *Cretaceous* and the *Oolitic*. The difference between these is strongly marked, and the beautiful undulations of our chalk downs with their simple clothing of fine turf, contrast very remarkably with the rich wooded valleys and pastures of the middle oolites. The chalk may be considered, from its extent, as the most striking geological feature, occupying fully one half of the whole area of the county, forming as it does the extensive downs, which over-spread the eastern, central, and southern parts; and there can be but little doubt that a stratum so extensive and differing so much as it does, both *chemically* and *mechanically* from most of the oolitic beds, will be found to possess certain peculiarities of Floral distribution. This we expect will prove to be the case as our knowledge of the botany of the county becomes more extended.

The *Cretaceous system*, includes, besides the Chalk, the Upper Green sand, Gault, and Lower Green sand, and in this county these usually follow with considerable regularity. The outliers of the chalk escarpment form terraces or gentle slopes along the bases of the hills.

The Lower Green sand has not hitherto been observed in the southern division.

The Cretaceous strata of Wilts are comprised in the following Table.

STRATA.	EXAMPLES.
Upper chalk or chalk with flints,	Near Salisbury, Marlborough, and on most of the higher chalk hills.
Lower chalk and chalk marl,	Towards the bases of most of the chalk hills, as at Bishop's Cannings, Cliff Wancy, Warminster, &c.
Upper Green sand,	Devizes, Warminster, Pewsey.
Gault,	Devizes, Crockerton, Rowde.
Lower Green sand,	Seend, Spye Park, Calne.

Wiltshire furnishes examples of most of the members of the Upper and Middle oolites, and the following Table exhibits a list

of the strata and of the localities, where in quarries or in natural sections they may be most easily studied.¹

STRATA.

Purbeck beds,
Portland beds,
Kimmeridge clay,
Calcareous grit,
Coral rag and pisolite,
Oxford clay,

Kelloways rock,
Cornbrash,

Forest marble,

Bradford clay,
Great oolite,
Fullers earth,

LOCALITIES.

Swindon, Tisbury.
Swindon, Tisbury, Crookwood.
Near Devizes, Wootton Bassett.
Calne, Seend, near Steeple Ashton.
Calne, Steeple Ashton, Westbrook
New Inn near Devizes, Chippen-
ham, Trowbridge.
Kelloways, Chippenham.
Chippenham station, Lacock, Cor-
sham, Trowbridge.
Lacock Abbey, Atford, Stanton
St. Quintin.
Bradford.
Bradford, Box, Monkton Farley.
Near Box.

RIVERS AND COMMUNICATIONS.

The county is included in the three basins of the Thames, the Severn, and the Christchurch or Salisbury Avon. The northern chalk district, and the northern part of the county are included in the basin of the Thames. The southern chalk district, with the Green sand district which begirts it, the Vale of Pewsey east of Devizes, and Market Lavington with the Vale of Wardour, belong to the basin of the Salisbury or Christchurch Avon. The western side of the county south of Warminster belongs to the basin of the Severn, and the south-western border about Stourhead and Mere is drained by the Dorsetshire Stour, being included in the basin of the Avon, with which the Stour unites in Christchurch haven.

The Thames rises in the south eastern slope of the Cotswold

¹ It may here be remarked, that the strata of Wiltshire generally abound in fossil organic remains, and the works of modern palæontologists, have been much enriched by Wiltshire examples. Some large local collections have been made, and it is to be hoped that our Society may ultimately be able to exhibit a good illustration of the County Geology.

Hills, and first touches the county at Cricklade Bridge; it flows by Castle Eaton a distance of four miles to the border of the county, separating Wiltshire from Gloucestershire, and quits Wiltshire altogether a little above Lechlade. It receives in its course the Key, which rises in the northern escarpment of the northern chalk district; it runs northward passing to the west of Swindon, and close to the little village of Water Eaton near Cricklade, and has a course of about ten miles, receiving several brooks by the way.

2nd. *The Cole*, which has three principal sources, one between Swindon and Chisledon in the Green sand, a second near Chisledon also in the Green sand, and one in the chalk escarpment near Bishopstone, close to the Berkshire border; it flows northward on the border of the county which it separates from Berkshire, and flows into the Thames a little beyond the border of the county. The most important feeder of the Thames in this county is the Kennet, which rises in the Green sand district near its outer-edge, between Cliffe Pypard and Yatesbury; it flows south and south-east by Yatesbury and Avebury to Silbury Hill; it then turns eastward by East Kennet, Manton, Marlborough, Mildenhall, and Chilton Foliot just below which it touches the border of the county, separating it from Berkshire, and then at Hungerford quits it altogether. The course of the Kennet within Wiltshire is about 20 miles.

The Salisbury or Upper Avon rises in the southern slope of the northern chalk district, in the neighbourhood of Devizes, and flows east south-east along the Vale of Pewsey. At Salisbury it is joined on the right by the Wily, united with the Nadder. A little lower down, it is joined on the left bank by the Bourne, and afterwards flows southwards by Standlynch House to Downton, a little below which it quits the county. Its length from the neighbourhood of Devizes to the border of the county is about 42 miles.

The Wily rises in the Downs north of Mere in the south-west part of the county, and flows first east, then north by the Deverills to Warminster, near which it bends to the east south east and flows past Heytesbury, Wily, Steeple Langford, Stapleford, Ditchampton, and West Harnham to Fisherton, where it joins the Avon. Its whole course is about 27 miles. Near Quidhampton

on the right it is joined by the Nadder, which rises close to the Dorsetshire border near Shaftesbury.

The Bourne rises just within the northern boundary of the southern chalk district, and flows southward by Collingbourn Kingston to Shipton, where it crosses a corner of Hampshire, Cholderton, Allington, Idminster, the Winterbournes, and Laverstock near Salisbury, below which it joins the Avon. Its whole length is about 23 miles.

A very small part of the county about Mere, in the south western corner, is drained by the upper waters of the Dorsetshire Stour which rises at Stourhead. The Stour and the Salisbury Avon unite just above their outfall into the English Channel at Christchurch. That part of the county which belongs to the basin of the Severn is drained by the Bristol or Lower Avon, the sources of which are in the Cotswold Hills, at Horton near Chipping Sodbury in Gloucestershire, and in the hilly districts in the northern part of Wiltshire, the united stream is joined at Malmesbury by a stream eight miles long from Tetbury and Brokenborough. From Malmesbury the Avon flows in a winding channel south-west by Lacock, Melksham, Bradford, and Limpley Stoke to the border of the county, and enters Somersetshire between Bradford and Bath.

The Marden rises in the Green sand hills, Compton hill above Compton Basset, flows by Calne, and after a course of 9 miles flows into the Avon.

The Were is formed by the junction of several streams, which rise in the escarpment of the chalk down about Westbury.

The Frome belongs to Somersetshire, but some part of its course is on the borders of the county. Few of the rivers of Wiltshire are navigable, and only for a short distance, which is owing to its central position and comparative elevation. This is partially supplied by *canals*, of which *three* are connected with the county.

1st. *The Thames, and Severn Canals*, which in its course from the Thames at Lechlade, to the Stroudwater Canal at Stroud, connecting the rivers Thames and Severn, crosses the northern part of the county near Castle Eaton and Cricklade.

2nd. *The Kennet and Avon Canal*, which also connects the Thames with the Severn, by means of their respective tributaries, the Ken-

net and the Bristol Avon. This is about 57 miles long, it commences at the head of the river Kennet at Newbury in Berkshire, and terminates in the river Avon at Bath. About 41 miles of its course is in Wiltshire, which it enters near Hungerford. It passes Great Bedwyn, Devizes, and Trowbridge, and quits the county 4 miles from Bradford, at the Dundas Aqueduct.

3rd. *The Wilts and Berks Canal*, which connects the Thames near Abingdon, with the Kennet and Avon Canal, at Semington between Devizes and Bradford.

BOTANICAL DIVISIONS.

In arranging a county into divisions and districts for purposes of Natural History, no doubt the principle of adhering to watersheds as boundary lines, so rigidly carried out in the excellent "Flora of Hertfordshire," is the sound one, viz., that each tributary, even the smallest streamlet, shall be taken with the main stream into which it runs. But practically this becomes exceedingly inconvenient, the lines of demarcation being unmarked on maps, and difficult to find on the real ground.

A more convenient course and one as applicable to the actual distribution of plants is to seize upon some good visible boundaries, however artificial, which approximate to the watershed lines, although not very exactly. Of this kind are canals, large streams, railroads, and highroads, being evident on the ground, and usually traced on maps. These will, therefore, be taken as being best adapted for dividing the county into districts for botanical study; for all Floras should be sectional, they should be not only a small whole in their local uses and purposes, but also a part of something larger and wider, and such a part as may be united, uniformly and congruously with the other parts, into the one greater whole.

The Kennet and Avon Canal is, therefore, fixed on as one very visible boundary, right across the county, and tolerably well corresponding with its most important watershed, that namely, which cuts off the southern from the northern portion of the county.¹ The

¹ See map of 'The Botanico-Geographical Districts of the County,' accompanying this paper.

northern portion will again be divided into *two* districts, by tracing the highroad from Devizes through Calne and Wootton Bassett to the Cheltenham railway; the line of which is kept from Minety to Tetbury. The southern portion will be divided into *three* districts. The river Avon from the borders of Hampshire traced up to the Kennet and Avon Canal near Bishops Cannings, cutting off the south-eastern district; and the railway from Salisbury through Warminster and Trowbridge to the Kennet and Avon, cutting off the south western district. There will consequently be *five* leading Botanical districts, thus,

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 5. North eastern. | 2. South western. |
| 4. North western. | 3. Middle. |
| 1. South eastern. | |

All these are tolerably well separated by lines of demarcation, are easily found on the land or on the map, and will be quite numerous enough for the arrangement of localities, and most other purposes of Geographical Botany. More numerous and minute sub-divisions have one use, namely, as a means of showing the relative frequency of species, by reckoning the number of the small districts in which each species occurs.

1. SOUTH EASTERN DISTRICT.

This district comprehends the basin of the Bourne, with the whole of the south-eastern portion of the county; its area being about 226 square miles. It has the Kennet and Avon canal, from Bishops Cannings to Hungerford for its northern boundary; the borders of Hampshire furnishing its eastern and southern, and the river Avon, traced up from the borders of the county to the Kennet and Avon canal, forming its western boundary. Its whole area is cretaceous, with the exception, of the outliers of the Tertiaries, (as at Silbury Hill and Bedwyn), and of the more regular beds of the same deposits in the south-eastern corner of the county; a good example of which occurs at Alderbury, where the cuttings of the Southwestern Railway have exposed good sections. This district is principally drained by the rivers Avon and Bourne, with their tributary streams. The principal eminences are Upavon, Easton,

and Pewsey Hills, all commanding the Vale of Pewsey, and crowned with ancient earthworks; also Sidbury Hill, Beacon Hill, 690 feet high; Mizmaze, Ashley Hill, and numerous others. The earthworks of Old Sarum are also very conspicuous, being above 339 feet above the level of the sea, presenting from their summit some varied and beautiful scenery. It was on the ruins of its walls that Mr. Dawson Turner and Mr. Sowerby discovered the rare "*Sedum sexangulare*," the only locality known for it in England. This district will be found by the botanist remarkably rich in plants. And the author is not without hope that its "Flora" may yet be much enlarged by further additions. Dr. Southby of Bulford, and James Hussey, Esq., claim his especial thanks for the assistance they have afforded him.

2. SOUTH WESTERN DISTRICT.

The south-western district has for its northern boundary the Kennet and Avon canal: its eastern being formed partly by the Upper Avon, and the railway from Salisbury through Heytesbury, Westbury, Warminster, and Trowbridge. The counties of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, respectively, form its southern and western boundaries, including an area of about 272 square miles.

This district contains two small areas of oolitic beds, viz., that to the west of Trowbridge, and northwards of Westbury Leigh, and the insulated mass of Purbeck and Portland deposits near Chilmark and Tisbury in the Vale of Wardour; the Cretaceous series, including the Upper Green sand tracts,¹ at Warminster and Horningsham, celebrated for containing fine fossil sponges and other organic remains, make up the rest of this district. This district is drained by the Salisbury Avon, Nadder, Wily, and their tributary streams.

From the summit of many of the hills magnificent views are obtained. On Cley Hill (900 feet high) the eye ranges south over the woods of Longleat, eastward along the boundary of Salisbury Plain, and on the west over a cultivated country to the distant

¹ These are here well represented, the whole series of beds of which it is composed rising abruptly on the north side of the valley, and forming a narrow ridge of unequal height. The thickness here is as much as 50 or 60 feet, and the upper beds contain Chert.

heights about Bath, and the indented line of the Mendips. Long Knoll, 973 feet above the sea, being the extreme west point of the chalk of Salisbury Plain, occupies a magnificent point of view. In addition we have Prospect Hill, Whiten Hill, Titherton Hill, Rodmead Hill, Whitesheet Hill, and Morley Combe Hill. Alfred's Tower occupies Kingsettle, one of the loftiest of the Green sand hills (800 feet above the sea).

This district possesses considerable variety of soil and surface, and is in many respects a remarkably favourable one for the botanist, its Flora having, from time to time, been well investigated by many excellent observers, viz., the late Aylmer Bourke Lambert,¹ Professor David Don, and William Peete, Esq., who have each discovered plants of great rarity. For a list of most of them (in addition to the author's own researches), with many valuable remarks, he was indebted to the kindness of the lamented Professor Don.

3. MIDDLE DISTRICT.

The middle district has its northern boundary defined by the Kennet and Avon canal, its eastern by the Salisbury Avon, and its south-western by the railway from Salisbury through Warminster, Westbury, and Trowbridge, the area being about 220 square miles.

This district has a small portion of the oolitic strata in the neighbourhood of Trowbridge, Steeple Ashton, Seend, and Poulshot. The coral rag is particularly well developed at Steeple Ashton, (a classical spot to palæontologists,) and the surrounding neighbourhood. Here the corals of the coral rag are found in greatest abundance and perfection, showing that this part of our island, at the time of the deposit, clearly existed in the condition of a coral island in an open sea. The thickness of the bed is about 400 feet, large portions of it being frequently made up of the remains of a single species. An earthy calcareous freestone full of fragments of shells, rests immediately upon it, surmounted by a fine grained ferruginous sandstone, slightly oolitic in structure, and containing a few fossils

¹ It is to be hoped that a memoir of this eminent Wiltshire Naturalist will ultimately appear in the pages of the Society's Magazine, with memoirs of others who have been from time to time resident in, or connected with the county.

that mark the close of the middle oolitic period.¹ The rest of the district is cretaceous, embracing the major part of Salisbury Plain, forming an elevated platform. It also includes a considerable breadth of Upper Green sand, ranging westward from Devizes round the foot of the chalk hills, towards Westbury. This district is principally drained by the Upper and Lower Avon, the Wily, and Wily Bourne rivers.

The scenery in this district is wild, consisting of a range of bleak downs and deep valleys, mostly bare of wood, presenting to the eye a surface checkered with cornfields and rich pastures. From Catley Hill we have one of the finest panoramic views in the county.

The author's list of plants for this district, the result chiefly of his own observations, is numerous, but much yet remains to reward any botanist, who will give it the careful and diligent examination which it deserves.

4, THE NORTH WESTERN DISTRICT.

The north western district is bounded north by the Gloucester and Cheltenham Railway, commencing at Purton station, passing Minety to the station at Tetbury, and by the adjoining county of Gloucestershire; the counties of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, respectively, forming its western boundary, its southern being formed by the Kennet and Avon canal, commencing at Freshford and terminating at Devizes, whilst its eastern is formed by tracing the highroad from Devizes through Calne and Wootton Bassett, to the Cheltenham railway. The area occupies about 255 square miles.

The road from Devizes to Calne, cuts off some small portions of Gault and Lower Green sand at Rowde, Spye Park, Bowden Hill, and Sandy Lane. With this exception, the north-western district is oolitic, and has examples of all the strata, from the Kimmeridge clay to the Fuller's earth inclusive. The Oxford clay is of considerable importance in this part of Wilts, occupying extensive levels round Melksham, Broughton Gifford, Chippenham, &c. It

¹ The average height of the coral rag hills seems to be about 400 feet above the level of the sea.

may also be recognized by the oaks which thrive there, whilst on other parts the elm thrives best. Mineral waters occur in this formation at Melksham, Holt, and Seend near Devizes. The two former are impregnated with purgative salts, the latter contain iron and carbonic acid. This district is principally drained by the Bristol Avon, the Isis, Marden, and their tributary streams.

In addition to the author's own observations in this district he is greatly indebted to the labours of Miss L. Meredith, Dr. R. C. Alexander, and Mr. C. E. Broome, whose lists have been kindly placed at his disposal. The northern portion of this district also has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

5. NORTH EASTERN DISTRICT.

The north-eastern district is bounded on the north by the adjoining county of Gloucestershire, on the east by Berkshire, the southern boundary being formed by tracing the Kennet and Avon canal at Hungerford to Devizes, and its western by following the high road from Devizes through Calne and Wootton Bassett to the Cheltenham railway, which separates it from the north-western district, including an area of 308 square miles. This district includes the extensive area of chalk north of the Vale of Pewsey, but the rest beyond Swindon is oolitic. There are considerable levels of the Kimmeridge and Oxford clays in the neighbourhood of Wootton Bassett. Broad bands of the coral rag extend from Calne, Hilmarton, and Wootton Bassett, towards the north-east, and these are succeeded by the Cornbrash, Forest marble, &c., &c. There are some patches of Tertiary gravels in Savernake Forest and Froxfield, north of Hungerford. The principal eminences are Charlbury Hill above Little Hinton, Beacon Hill above Liddington, (690 feet above the level of the sea,) Barbery Hill, Hackpen Hill above the Winterbournes, Beacon Down above Heddington, Roundaway Hill above Devizes, with Easton Hill, St. Anne's Hill, and several others. This district is principally drained by the rivers Kennet, Isis, and Avon, together with their tributary streams.

From the variety of strata occurring in this district, its Flora will be found remarkably rich in plants, and, although the author's

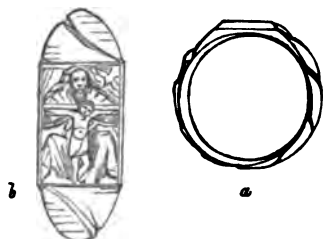
lists are numerous, yet he is still desirous of receiving further additions, more especially for the neighbourhood of Marlborough, as yet but little investigated by botanists generally.

Such then are the districts into which it is proposed to divide Wiltshire, for the better study of its "Flora;" and as previously mentioned, the species will be severally traced through each division and district, so far as ascertained to occur in them. With a tabular summary of the numerical results, we gain an amount of positive information, and a probable test of negative information, such as we should be unable to extract from any other local Flora written in the ordinary method. Again, when this series of papers is brought to a conclusion, they will comprehend five several Floras, which will be more or less complete catalogues of species for as many different sections of the county. Also two distinct Floras for larger tracts formed from the union of minor sections. The author will then be better prepared to enter somewhat more fully, than he otherwise could have done, into the causes which govern the distribution of the various species of plants throughout the county generally.¹

¹ For the sake of uniformity with the "*Cybele Britannica*," (the catalogue of British plants, published by the Botanical Society of London,) the fifth edition of which has just made its appearance, has been used as an index of nomenclature and arrangement.

Account of a 'Trinity' Ring

FOUND IN FELLING AN OAK AT CHUTE, WILTS.



a Side view of the ring, actual size.
b Enlarged view of upper surface.

THE Society is indebted for the accompanying engraving to the liberality of Miss Wickins, of the Close, Salisbury, a lady whose pencil has been frequently and ably employed in the illustration of the archæological remains of the county.

This ring, which is of very pure gold, is of small size, suitable to the finger of a female. It is of good design, although not of very elaborate workmanship. The etching on the facet represents the Holy Trinity—the Supreme Being holding a crucifix, and having on the right a dove; in the left corner is a palm branch. The outside of the ring is of a simple twisted pattern. Inside are engraved, apparently in a more modern style, the words "Pensez bien." It is now in the possession of T. E. Fowle, Esq., of Durrington, Wilts. A larger gold ring, of very similar design, was found last year in a garden near Salisbury, and is now in the possession of Mr. Cunnington, of Devizes.

Trinity Rings of more elaborate workmanship, found at Orford Castle, Suffolk, and within the precincts of Lewes Priory, are described and engraved in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. vii. p. 89, 322. They are attributed to the early part of the fifteenth century.

W. C.

Contributions to the Museum and Library.

The Committee feel great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following articles, presented to the Society:—

Twenty-two Roman silver coins of the following reigns, Nerva—Faustina, Jun.—Titus—Sabina—Faustina—Vespasian—Marcus Aurelius—Trajan—Domitian—Antoninus Pius—and Hadrian; found at Mere, Wilts, in 1856. (DUCHY OF CORNWALL.)

By the REV. J. LOCKHART ROSS, *Vicar of Avebury*:—A Black letter Bible, said to have been discovered during the last century in a hollow tree at Berwick Bassett, Wilts. The reason for its concealment is unknown. It afterwards came into the hands of a grandson of "Tom Robinson," (the Abury stone breaker mentioned by Dr. Stukeley,) in whose family it has continued until the present time.

By G. POULETT SCROPE, Esq., M.P., *Castle Combe*:—"The Geology and Extinct Volcanos of Central France," by the Donor, 1858.

By MR. CUNNINGTON, *Devizes*:—Large Ancient British Funereal Urn, a bronze penannular Ring, a bronze armet, and a bronze chisel (?), also an iron instrument, found at Oldbury, 1858.

By MR. J. CLARK, *Heddington*:—Large Roman leaden Coffin, found at Heddington.

By MR. J. ELLEN, *Devizes*:—Impression of the Great Seal of Charles II.

Wiltshire Notes and Queries.

WILTSHIRE DURING THE CIVIL WARS; or, a Political, Military, and Domestic History of this County, during the Stuart controversy, embracing a period of one hundred years, that is to say, commencing with the outbreak of the war in 1640, and terminating with the rebellion of 1745. This, which has already, in part, appeared in the *Wiltshire Independent*, J. Waylen proposes to re-publish in a thick imperial octavo, with additions, and illustrated with numerous engravings; price not to exceed a guinea. Subscribers' names to be sent to Mr. N. B. Randle, or Mr. H. Bull, of Devizes. In furtherance of such a scheme, the loan of, or privilege of access to, original documents, such as warrants, inquisitions, parish entries, and private letters, will be esteemed a favour, and will be duly acknowledged.

As the work will contain an elaborate account of the estates of the royalists in the county on the one hand, and lists of the Parliament's friends on the other; it is conceived that the genealogists will find many an unexplored field. The engravings to be principally historical groups.

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The late Mr. BRITTON, not long ago, remarked in a letter to a friend, that a good History of Devizes might and ought to constitute the nucleus of a body of facts highly interesting to the entire county. Such an object, the publisher hopes very shortly to realize. But, besides this, the work will contain much exclusively local matter which has never yet been published, relating especially to the period of the Civil Wars, and will moreover be illustrated by a variety of woodcuts and steel engravings.

~~~~~

•• Gentlemen wishing to become Subscribers will oblige by forwarding their names to Mr. H. BULL, Bookseller, St. John Street, Devizes, the Printer and Publisher of the above work.

[Specimen page over.]

Bishop Roger's Castle.



THE reign of the first Henry is described by William of Malmesbury as a period of great outward prosperity to England. Many a Saxon thane, no doubt, still winced under the galling yoke of his Norman master, but even the national prejudices were in great measure allayed by the two-fold fact, that the King himself was English-born, and his Queen a descendant from Edmund Ironside. Foreigners resorted hither for security of traffic, towns and abbeys arose, and the royal treasury could boast of, what the historian terms "a boundless store," £100,000 in coin, besides cups of gold

ERRATA.

- Page 94, line 9. For "and stone" *read* "sandstone."
" " line 23. For "thought" *read* "through."
" 95, line 30. Dele comma after "employed in it."
" " last line. For "represent" *read* "representing."
" 96, first line. For "are an accurate copy" *read* "are as accurate a copy."
" 109, line 3. For "spot" *read* "spots."

A G E N T S

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NOVEMBER, 1858.

VOL. V.

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MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



DEVIZES:

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Subscribers' Names received by the Publisher, Mr. J. F. HOPE,
16, Great Marlborough Street, London.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR, lately Published, DRUIDICAL TEMPLES AT ABURY,
WILTS, Devizes: H. BULL, St. John Street.

The Committee desire to express to G. P. SCROPE, Esq., in the name of the Wilts Archæological Society, their best thanks for his liberality in providing at his own expense, the excellent, but they fear, costly Geological Map of the County, which accompanied his Paper in No. XIII.

THE
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No. XIV.

NOVEMBER, 1858.

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

The Flora of Wiltshire,

COMPRISING THE

Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to the County;

By THOMAS BRUGES FLOWER, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c., &c.

No. III.

1. VASCULAR OR PHANEROGAMOUS PLANTS.

CLASS 1. DICOTYLÉDONES OR EXÓGENÆ.

ORDER. RANUNCULACEÆ, (JUSS.)

CLEMATIS. (LINN.) VIRGIN'S BOWER.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *Clema* (Gr.) a vine branch, which its long shoots resemble.

1. *C. Vitalba.* (Linn.) Comp. *vitis* and *alba* (Lat.) white vine. *English Botany*, t. 612. *Reichenbach's Icones Floræ Germanicæ*, iv. 64.

Locality. Hedges on a chalky or gravelly soil, frequent throughout the county. In many places our hedges are completely festooned by the oppressive luxuriance of this very ornamental climber. *Sh. Fl.* July, September. *Fr.* October, November. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, Salisbury.
2. *South Middle District*, Devizes.
3. *South-west District*, Warminster.

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, Chippenham.
5. *North-east District*, Swindon.

Gerarde says it is called 'Travellers' Joy,' because of its decking and adorning the ways and hedges where people travel. In Wilt-

shire, and in many parts of England, it is called Old Man's Beard, from the hoary aspect of the long feathery awns of the seeds, which remain attached to the plant throughout the winter, and contribute to enliven the leafless hedges at that dreary season. In the absence of trees to cling to, it will run down the sides of stone quarries and chalk pits like long ropes, which its twisted fibrous stems greatly resemble. The slender flexile branches are sometimes used in this county, for binding copse-wood, and as a substitute for the more costly pipe or cigar to our young rustic smokers. The elegant term *Viorna*, implies that it is an ornamental wayside plant, being derived from *Via* a way, and *orno* I adorn. In France the twigs when stripped of their bark are worked into baskets, beehives, and other light articles. Desfontaines remarks that the young shoots are not corrosive while they are tender and herbaceous, and a very good paper has been made from the feathery parts of the seed. In a fresh state I have found the leaves and fruit acrid and vesicant.

The North American "*C. Virginiana*," frequently seen in gardens in Wiltshire, and greatly resembling this species, has ternate leaves, dicecious flowers, and a less woody texture.

THALICTRUM (LINN.) MEADOW RUE.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name *Thalictron* (Gr.) from *thallo* to be green.

1. *T. flavum* (Linn.). Yellow or common Meadow Rue. *Engl. Bot. t.* 367. *Reich. Icones.* iii. 44.

Locality. Osier beds, banks of rivers and brooks, wet fields and ditches, not unfrequent in the county. *Perennial Fl.* June, July. Area 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, "By the river side at Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey*. "Marshy places in meadows at Downton, and ditch banks about Fisherton Anger," *Major Smith*. "Bulford," *Dr. Southby*.

2. *South Middle District*, "Devizes," *Miss Cunnington*. Erlestoke, Seend, and Trowbridge.

3. *South-west District*, "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler*. "Boyton and river Nadder," *Mr. Rowden*.

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, "Chippenham and its neighbourhood," Dr. R. C. Alexander. Melksham, Bromham, Bradford, Castle Combe, and Box.

5. *North-east District*, Swindon, Cricklade, Purton, and Marlborough.

T. *Majus*. (Smith) *Engl. Bot. t.* 611. "*T. flexuosum*." (Fries) not Jacquin, is stated on the authority of the late Dr. Maton to grow by the side of rivulets about Salisbury. *Watson's Bot. Guide*, p. 45. This was an error, as I was afterwards informed by the late Professor Don: a larger form of "*T. flavum*" (Linn.) having been mistaken by Dr. Maton for this species. A more careful study of this difficult group, including "*T. flavum*" and its allies, is still required from our English Botanists. The fruit would I think furnish good permanent characters.

May we not have two or three forms grouped under the name of *T. flavum* (Linn.)?

ANEMONE. (LINN.) ANEMONE.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name *Anemone* (Gr.) derived from *Anemos* (Gr.) the wind, because the species delight in exposed situations.

1. *A. nemorosa* (Linn.) wood anemone. *Engl. Bot. t.* 355. *Reich. Icones*, iv. 47.

Locality. Woods, groves, and thickets, common in all the districts throughout the county. *P. Fl. March, May*. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*. Frequent about Salisbury.

2. *South Middle District*. Devizes.

3. *South-western District*. Warminster.

North Division.

4. *North-west District*. Chippenham.

5. *North-east District*. Swindon.

A beautiful purple variety of the *A. nemorosa flore purpureo* is not unfrequently met with in different parts of the county. The wood anemone is the most generally diffused of the very few

species found in Britain, of this eminently continental genus, of which Sweden alone can boast no less than seven (including *Hepatica* and *Pulsatilla*), whilst it is doubtful whether more than two are really indigenous to this country. The present species is found throughout Britain and in all parts of Europe, from Italy to Lapland. It also inhabits Siberia, and a slight variety is common in the United States and Canada. The plant being extremely gregarious, it is a great ornament to our woods in early spring, when the but yet half clothed soil is spangled with the profusion of its starry blossoms. Mr. Henry Turner of the Botanic Garden, Bury St. Edmunds, remarks a high degree of fragrance in the flowers of the wood anemone. And the late E. J. Vernon, Esq., states that the blossoms emit a delicate almond scent, as in some kinds of *Clematis*.

The *A. Pulsatilla* (Linn.) or Pasque flower, so called by Gerarde from its flowering about Easter. Mr. Cunnington informs me that a specimen has recently been sent to Miss L. Meredith from Salisbury. Two or three years since this species was reported to me from Westbury and Warminster Downs, but specimens obligingly sent were merely the "*A. nemorosa flore purpureo.*" I have not as yet seen any Wiltshire example: specimens in my own Herbarium are from Cambridgeshire. It has been found at Streatley in Berkshire, the adjoining county.

ADONIS (LINN.) PHEASANT'S EYE.

Linn Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name. The flos Adonis, or Adonidis of the old herbalists, from an idea of its being the flower fabled to have sprung from the blood of Adonis.

1. *A. autumnalis* (Linn.) Corn Pheasant's Eye. *Engl. Bot. t.* 308. *Reich. Icones*, iii. xxiv.

Locality. In cornfields, but not common in the county. *Fl. May*, October. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Cornfields on Bishop's Down near Salisbury, plentifully," *Major Smith* and *Mr. James Hussey*. "Cornfields near Pitton," *Dr. Maton*, in '*Hatcher's History of Salisbury.*'

"Durnford," Rev. T. Bree. "Amesbury," Dr. Southby, and on Salisbury Plain.

2. *South Middle District.* Cornfields near Stonehenge.

3. *South-west District.* Great Ridge and Fonthill. "Warminster," Mr. Rowden.

This species, at present, appears confined to the *South Division of the County*, having no reliable authorities for its occurrence in the Northern portion, nor do I recollect meeting with it in my Botanical excursions. And here I would remark that I should feel particularly indebted to Botanists, whether resident or non-resident in the county, who may discover any species in those districts which are left blank, (that is distinguished by an asterisk in the line which shows the area of the species,) if they would communicate the information; and the request may be extended to any other information calculated to supply omissions, or to correct errors, in the Flora which will be published in a supplement on its completion. On carefully examining this species, the Botanical student will find it more closely allied to *Ranunculus* than to *Anemone*, differing from the former mainly in the want of nectaries on the petals, and from the latter by the absence of an involucre. The flowers when the plant has been for some time dried for the Herbarium lose their fine scarlet colour, becoming white and diaphanous like goldbeaters' skin. The Adonis appears quite naturalized in the *Southern Division of the County*. In the fourth volume of the '*Phytologist*,' p. 617, Mr. James Hussey has penned some excellent practical remarks in favour of retaining this ornament of our cornfields upon the list of our truly native plants; to which I would refer the student. This was the plant that our great Ray, during his Botanical excursions through Wiltshire in company with his friend Aubrey, tells us they found "*inter segetes*."

The "*A. æstivalis*," mentioned on the authority of *Withering in Turner and Dillhoyn's 'Botanist's Guide'*, and figured in *English Botany* as growing in cornfields on Salisbury Plain, near the road leading from Amesbury to Everley, was only a variety of *A. autumnalis*. Sir James E. Smith in the third volume of his '*English Flora*,' p. 44, states that the *A. æstivalis* (Linn.) under

which the "*A. miniata*" and perhaps *flammea* of Jacquin, *Fl. Austr. t.* 354 and 355, may be ranged is a very distinct species, known by its mostly fine narrow scarlet petals, long and slender spike of seeds, and less bushy habit. This has never been found in England, for specimens sent by my late worthy friend Dr. Withering, shows his "*estivalis*" to be but a starved and paler "*autumnalis*."

MYOSURUS (LINN.) MOUSETAIL.

Linn. Cl. v. Ord. vii.

Name. From *mus* (Gr.) a mouse, and *oura* a tail, which the spiked receptacle resembles.

1. *M. minimus* (Linn.). Very little mousetail. *Engl. Bot. t.* 435. *Reich. Icones*, iii. i.

Locality. Fields on a moist gravelly soil, rare. *A. Fl.* June, July. *Area.* 1. * 3. * 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Berwick St. John," *Mr. James Hussey.*

3. *South-west District.* "Cornfields in the neighbourhood of Warminster," *Mr. Rowden.*

North Division.

5. *North-east District.* "Cultivated land on Roundway Down," *Miss Cunningham and Mr. Coward.*

These are the only localities I find recorded among my Botanical notes on the Flora of the county. From its small size, averaging from *two to four inches high*, it may be readily passed over unless diligently sought for. I am more particularly desirous of having *Districts 2 and 4* filled upon competent authority, but any localities that may be hereafter detected in the county, are particularly requested for future publication.

RANUNCULUS (LINN.) CROWFOOT.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *Rana* (Lat.) a frog. Growing in moist places.

1. *R. heterophyllus* (Fries). Comp. *Heteros*, and *phullon* (Gr.) having leaves differing from the regular form. Water Crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 101.

Locality. Pools, ditches, and shallow stagnant waters, common. *P. Fl.* May, July. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. South-east District. Salisbury.
2. South Middle District. Devizes.
3. South-west District. Warminster.

North Division.

4. North-west District. Chippenham.
5. North-east District. Swindon.

This species, the *R. aquatilis* of English Botany, *Batrachium heterophyllum* (*Prodromus Fl. Batav*), is plentifully distributed in all the districts throughout the county, but less so on elevated ground. When the floating leaves are not produced, but are all multified and setaceous, it is the *R. aquatilis var. pantothrix* Fries, the plant being similar in all other respects. Both states are frequently to be found in the same place. In swift streams it sometimes much resembles "*R. fluitans*" (Lam.) *Flor. Fr.* iii. 84. *Reich. Icones*, iii. t. 2. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2870: (a plant, sufficiently distinguished by the structure of its whip-shaped leaves, but which has not as yet been noticed in this county), and forms a transient but very elegant ornament of our rivers and brooks during the month of June, copiously expanding its large pure white blossoms, and gracefully undulating its bright green elongated stems, and hair-like leaves, in the rapid and shallow currents, strikingly reminding us of the "tresses fair" of Sabrina, alluded to in *Milton's Comus*:—

" Sabrina fair,
 Listen where thou art sitting
 Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave,
 In twisted braids of lilies knitting
 The loose train of thy amber dropping hair."

The *R. pellatus*, (Fr.) *R. floribundus*, (Bab.) *R. trichophyllum*, (Chaix) and *R. Drouetii*, (*F. Schultz.*) have not as yet been observed in the county. Those students who are interested in the study of these "*Batrachian Ranunculi*," I would refer to Mr. Charles C. Babington's excellent paper in the "*Annals and Magazine of Natural History*," for December, 1855.

2. *R. circinatus* (Sibth), rounded-leaved Water Crowfoot, (never with floating leaves). *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2869. *Reich. Icones*,

iii. t. 2. *R. aquaticus* albus, circinatus tenuissime divisus foliis, floribus ex alis longis pediculis innixis. Raii Syn. ed. 3. 249.

Locality. In canals and marsh ditches, also in ponds, which preserve an uniform level. *P. Fl.* May, June. *Area.* * 2. * 4. 5.

South Division.

2. *South Middle District.* In the Kennet and Avon Canal near Devizes.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In the canal near Bradford and Chippenham.

5. *North-east District.* In the canal leading from Swindon to Cricklade, also at Purton.

The above localities are the only ones I quote for this plant as noted in my Botanical rambles. It will be probably met with in all the districts, but the *pantothrix* form having been frequently mistaken for it by many of my correspondents, there appears much uncertainty respecting many of the localities sent me, and I therefore hesitate to quote them for the present. This plant which was first distinguished as a species by Professor Sibthorp in his *Flora Oxon*, may be known from the true *R. aquatilis*, as Mr. Babington well remarks, by its small sessile flat leaves, which are all divided into finely capillary rigid segments, disposed in one orbicular plane. In *R. aquatilis* the leaves are stalked, the submersed ones very much divided into threadlike segments, spreading in all directions, so as to form a spherical mass, whilst in *R. fluitans* (which has not as yet been noticed in Wiltshire), *R. fluvialis* of Sibthorp, the leaves are stalked, but the submersed ones are divided into a few very long repeatedly forked segments, which lie parallel with each other in the water. The leaves of this latter plant are often many inches in length, and retain the same structure even when growing in stagnant ponds and ditches. I have observed the leaves of "*R. circinatus* coated with earthy particles, in the same way as those of *Chara*, though less extensively.

3. *R. caenosus* (Guss.) Mud Crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2930. Only observed as yet in small quantity on mud, by the road-side near Marston Meisy. I should be greatly obliged for any additional

localities for this species; especially when accompanied by *specimens* of the plant so named. It is probably not uncommon in the county, but the above locality is the only one I have as yet noticed.

3. *R. hederaceus* (Linn.) Ivy leaved Crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2003. *Reich. Icones*, iii. t. 2.

Locality. Shallow ponds and on mud, not unfrequent in the county. *P. Fl.* June, August. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Bemerton, near Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Ditches near Alderbury, and also near Downton," *Maton in Hatcher's 'History of Salisbury.'*

2. *South Middle District.* "In the neighbourhood of Devizes," *Miss Cunningham.* Rowde, Seend, Erlestoke, Trowbridge, and Westbury.

3. *South-west District.* "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.* "Heytesbury, *Mr. Rowden.* Park at Longleat and Boyton.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Chippenham," *Dr. R. C. Alexander,* and *Mr. C. E. Broome.* "Bromham," *Miss L. Meredith.* Melksham, Bradford, Corsham, and Malmesbury.

5. *North-east District.* Swindon, Purton, Cricklade, and Marlborough. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

"*R. cœnosus*" (Guss.) being sometimes mistaken for this species, a careful examination in its native localities will always be desirable.

4. *R. Ficaria* (Linn.) pilewort, Lesser Celandine, from *ficus* a fig, fig-like tubercles of the root. *Engl. Bot. t.* 584. *Reich. Icones.* iii. t. 1.

Locality. Woods, banks, meadows, and in wet places abundantly wherever it can obtain sunshine in winter, and shade in summer. *P. Fl.* April, May. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the Districts.

5. *R. Flammula* (Linn.) flame-leaved crowfoot, Lesser Spearwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 100. *Reich. Icones.* iii. 10.

Locality. Ponds and ditches, on moorish or gravelly ground, not unfrequent in the county. *P. Fl.* June, August. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. South-east District. Salisbury.
2. South Middle District. Devizes.
3. South-west District. Warminster.

North Division.

4. North-west District. Chippenham.
5. North-east District. Swindon.

Examples of "*R. flammula* B. *reptans* of Lightfoot reported to have been found at Swindon and in other parts of the county, are merely referable to "*R. flammula*." Linn. Lightfoot's plant is much smaller, with a creeping filiform stem, observed only on the margins of the Highland Lakes, in barren stony places.

6. *R. Lingua* (Linn.) tongue-leaved crowfoot. Great Spearwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 100. *Reich. Icones.* iii. 10.

Locality. In marshy places. *Very rare* in the county. *P. Fl.* June, August. *Area.* * * * 4. *

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In a bog behind the Old Horse and Jockey, Kingsdown. This is the only locality at present recorded in the county for this very local plant, where it was first discovered by the late Rev. Benjamin Richardson and William Sole, Esq. of Bath, in 1798. Two other localities have been reported me, but the specimens are merely large examples of "*R. flammula*."

7. *R. Auricomus* (Linn.) Goldilocks from *auri* (*Lat.*) gold, and *coma*, a lock of hair. Wood crowfoot. Sweet crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 624. *Reich. Icones.* iii. 12.

Locality. Bushy places and borders of woods. Common, often without petals, in which state it has been mistaken for *Anemone ranunculoides*. *P. Fl.* April, May. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the Districts throughout the county. This plant has none of the acrimony of the other crowfoots, hence its name of *sweet crowfoot*.

8. *R. acris* (Linn.) acrid upright crowfoot butter-cup. *Engl. Bot. t.* 652. *Reich. Icones,* iii. 17.

Locality. Meadows and pastures, common. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all Districts. The double flowered variety is not uncommon in rustic gardens, and not inelegant.

9. *R. repens* (Linn.) Creeping (scions) crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 516.

Locality. In meadows, moist pastures, shady waste places, and neglected gardens, very common over the entire county. *P. Fl.* May, August. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the Districts.

10. *R. bulbosus* (Linn.) bulbous rooted crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 515. *Reich. Icones*, iii. 20. ●

Locality. Meadows and pastures, everywhere. *P. Fl.* May. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the districts. This species is acrid, though commonly eaten along with other herbage by domestic cattle. It increases plentifully by seed and is of slow growth, though of long duration. A double variety sometimes seen in gardens is figured by the old herbalists.

11. *R. hirsutus* (Curt.) pale hairy crowfoot.

"*R. philonotis*" (Ehrb.) Koch, loving moisture. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1504. *Reich. Icones*, iii. 23.

Locality. Waste ground, on damp but sandy soil that is liable to be overflowed. *A. Fl.* June, October. *Area.* 1. * 3. * 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*, Cornfields on Salisbury Plain.

3. *South-west District*, "In cornfields near Warminster," *Miss L. Meredith* and *Mr. Rowden*.

North Division.

5. *North-east District*, "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett*.

This plant as yet has only been observed in three of the five districts of Wiltshire. It may not prove to be unfrequent in the county, when attention has once been directed to it. The seeds, especially towards the margin, are bordered with an irregular double or triple row of small sharp prominences, first observed by my late friend, Edward Foster, Esq. These clearly distinguish it from our other common crowfoots, with which it has been confounded, and likewise prove the "*R. parvulus*," of *Linnaeus*, to be but a starved variety of the same species.

12. *R. sceleratus* (Linn.) hurtful, celery-leaved crowfoot, the most virulent of its genus. *Engl. Bot. t.* 681. *Reich. Icones*, iii. 11.

Locality. Marsh ditches and dirty pools, frequent. *A. Fl.* June, September. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Bemerton near Salisbury," *Major Smith* and *Mr. James Hussey.* "Ditch banks at Fisherton," *Maton* in *Hatcher's 'History of Salisbury,'* and "Bulford," *Dr. Southby.*

2. *South Middle District.* "About Devizes," *Miss Cunningham.* In ditches at Seend, Erlestoke, and Trowbridge. "Westbury," *Mrs. Overbury.*

3. *South-west District.* "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.* "Heytesbury and Boyton," *Mr. Rowden.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Ditches in the neighbourhood of Chippenham," *Dr. R. C. Alexander.* Spye Park, Melksham, Staverton, Bradford, Corsham, South Wraxhall, Box, Slaughterford, and Malmesbury.

5. *North-east District.* Common at the edges of stagnant pools at Swindon, Marden, Purton, and Bradon. "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

Easily known by its erect much branched stem, very small pale flowers, and conical heads of ovaria, in this last respect resembling "*Myosurus minimus.*" The bruised herb is said to raise a blister, leaving a sore which is not easily healed, and by which strolling beggars sometimes excite compassion.

13. *R. parviflorus* (Linn.) small flowered crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 120. *Reich. Icones*, iii. 22.

Locality. Hedge banks and cornfields, less commonly in fields, on a loamy soil, rare. *A. Fl.* May, June. *Area.* * * 3. 4. 5.

3. *South-west District.* "Cornfields at Heytesbury and Warminster," *Mr. Rowden.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Cornfields near Bromham," *Miss L. Meredith.* Kingsdown and Monkton Farley avenue.

5. *North-east District.* "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

Only as yet observed in the above districts, and in these only partially distributed, ultimately it may not prove to be rare in the county. This species is by no means unfrequent in the adjoining county (Hampshire) as I learn from my late valued friend, Dr. Bromfield, who informed me it was principally confined to the temperate maritime and Western parts of Europe.

14. *R. arvensis* (Linn.) arable, Corn-crowfoot. *Engl. Bot. t.* 135. *Reich. Icones*, iii. 21.

Locality. Cultivated fields, abundant, and a troublesome weed, in clay soils, but less frequent on chalk and gravel. *A. Fl.* June. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the districts.

Easily known by its large prickly pericarps, which has doubtless obtained for this plant the opprobrious name it bears in the county of Devil's claws. It often completely over-runs many of our corn-fields, proving a most troublesome weed, and possesses the acrid and poisonous properties of its tribe in a high degree. The species of this genus are, in fact, remarkable from the widely different properties secreted by their different organs, an example of which is seen in the "*R. acris*," for if the leaves are bruised and applied to the skin it soon produces inflammation, and at length ulceration, while from its flowers there is exhaled a harmless but agreeable odour. There are many other tribes of plants which furnish much more striking examples; this, however, may be sufficient to excite the student's enquiry as to what is the peculiar organization of the different parts of the plant, thus to produce secretions so opposite in their properties; and why the same plant should secrete in one part a harmless and odorous substance, and in another a pungent or virulent one. But as Wordsworth says,

"By contemplating these forms,
In the relations which they bear to man,
He shall discern, how through the various means,
Which silently they yield, are multiplied
The spiritual presence of absent things.
Trust me, that for the instructed time will come
When they shall meet no object but may teach
Some acceptable lesson to their minds,
Of human suffering, or of human joy."

CALTHA. (LINN.)

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *kalathos* (Gr.) a cup form of flower.

1. *C. palustris* (Linn.) Marsh marigold. *Engl. Bot. t.* 506. *Reich. Icones*, iv. 101.

Locality. Marshy meadows, boggy streams and ditch banks, in open places, common. *P. Fl.* April, June. *Fr.* May, June. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

General in all the districts, edging willowy copses with a belt of gold.

In some of the rural villages in Wiltshire, I have not unfrequently heard the inelegant name of Horse blob applied to this plant, and the Northamptonshire peasant bard, Clare, remarks,

“———’ neath the shelving banks retreat,
The Horse-blob swells its golden ball.”

In America the garish blossoms of this rank, acrid, but showy plant, are brought to market as a Spring nosegay, under the name of our far more elegant, though less pretending cowslip.

AQUILEGIA. (LINN.) COLUMBINE.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. iii.

Name. From *aquila*, (Lat.) an eagle, the nectaries being shaped like the claw of that bird.

1. “*A. vulgaris*,” (Linn.) Common Columbine. *Engl. Bot. t.* 297. *Reich. Icones*, iv. 114.

Locality. Woods and bushy places, not uncommon. *P. Fl.* May, June. *Area.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* “Brickworth near Salisbury,” *The Hon. J. Foz Strangways.* “Winterslow,” *Mr. James Hussey.* “Clarendon wood,” *Maton in Hatcher’s ‘History of Salisbury.’* “Amesbury,” *Dr. Southby.*

2. *South Middle District.* “Woods about Devizes,” *Miss Cunningham.* Woods at Erlestoke, Rood Ashton, and Westbury.

3. *South-west District.* “Warminster,” *Mr. Wheeler.* “Norridge wood near Corsley,” *Miss C. M. Griffiths.* Woods at Longleat, Stourhead, and Great Ridge.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Chippenham, Dr. R. C. Alexander. In the wood on the right hand side of the Kingsdown road beyond Bathford, Colerne Park, Collett's Bottom, Spye Park, Bowood, and near Ford.

5. *North-east District.* "In the neighbourhood of Great Bedwyn," Mr. William Bartlett; also Marlborough Forest.

Extended research will probably prove the aquilegia to be not unfrequent in this latter district, and in other parts of the county not as yet sufficiently explored by the collecting botanist. Double varieties of our common columbine with white, pink, or dark crimson flowers are often to be seen in gardens. The singularly close resemblance in the flowers of this plant to a group of birds, has given rise to the English name of Columbines, from Columba, a dove, and the Latin generic one of Aquilegia may with as much probability have been intended to designate a gathering together of eagles, from the same bird-like conformation and grouping. There is, however, reason to suppose that the term aquilegia may be simply the old Latin word aquilegium, slightly altered in termination, and which signifies a gathering or collecting of water (dew or rain), from *aqua* and *lego*, a purpose for which the hollow or tubular processes, or spurs, (nectaries) of the petals seem well fitted, and in fact they are seldom found without a self-secreted honied fluid which, in earlier times, may have been mistaken for such aqueous deposit. Rejecting these etymologies, it will be difficult to account for the length of the derivative from so simple a root, assuming the allusion to be merely to the resemblance as, has been asserted by no means obvious, of the blunt nectaries to the sharp claws of a bird of prey. The word aquilegia as altered and applied to our plant is not of classical antiquity, though the species must have been well known to the Ancients by some other name, as it is a native of most parts of Europe.

"*Delphinium Consolida* (Linn) and *Aconitum Napellus* (Linn.) have been observed occasionally in the county, the former in a cornfield at Bromham, by Miss L. Meredith, where it has been probably introduced with foreign seed; it can only be considered

an occasional straggler.¹ The latter I have generally seen growing on rubbish heaps and other suspicious looking places in the vicinity of gardens, where it has been cultivated from time immemorial. It is therefore not surprising that it should occur spontaneously in situations analogous to its native places of growth. In the adjoining county (Somerset), it has the appearance of being truly wild, in watery ground on both sides of a brook at Ford near Milverton, occurring at intervals for a distance of three miles, as well as in other similar situations in that neighbourhood, as I learn from my friend, Mr. Thomas Clarke of Bridgwater, who has kindly presented me with specimens for my herbarium.

HELLEBORUS, (LINN.) HELLEBORE.

Linn. Cl. xiii. Ord. ii.

Name. From *helein* (Gr.) to cause death, and *bora* food, from the poisonous nature of the plant.

1. *H. fetidus*," (Linn.) stinking hellebore. Bearsfoot. Setterwort. *Engl. Bot. c.* 13. *Reich. Icones*, iv. 103.

Locality. In woods, thickets, and stony bushy places along hedge banks, rare in the county. *P. Fl.* March, April. *Area.* 1. * 3. 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Clarendon woods near Salisbury," *Major Smith* and *Mr. James Hussey*.

3. *South-west District.* "Chapmanslade near Warminster," *Miss C. M. Griffiths*.

¹ At the February Meeting, 1858, of the Thirsk Natural History Society, Mr. J. G. Baker has satisfactorily proved that the "*Delphinium consolida*" of English Botany is in reality "*Delphinium Ajacis*." The two species may be easily known from one another by various characters, amongst others, by those of their capsules. "*D. Consolida*" a *glabrous* follicle, and as it is probable that both species may ultimately be observed in the county, I would direct attention to this circumstance. According to the Floras, "*D. Consolida*" (Linn.) extends from Lapland southward throughout Scandinavia, and is generally diffused in Belgium and France. "*D. Ajacis*" (Linn.) is frequently spontaneous in Belgium, and occurs in France in sandy tracts in many of the departments. For a more detailed account of these two species, together with "*D. Orientale*" (Gay) which may sometimes be noticed as an occasional straggler, I would refer to the excellent description of them given in *Greuter and Godrons 'Flore de France tome,'* p. 45.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Slaughterford, about Cloud Quarry, Stoke woods, and in fields on the way to Farleigh Castle. "Woodman's Quarry, Pickwick near Corsham, and in a wood at Weavern's Mill," *Dr. R. C. Alexander.*

This species may I think be considered a true native in the county. The late Dr. Bromfield, during his Botanical rambles in Wilts, inclined to a similar opinion; he was probably the best authority on the subject. The broad deeply cleft leaves with their rigid evergreen character, and long petioles sheathing the short caudex, impart to "*H. fetidus*" somewhat of the aspect of a dwarf fan-palm or palmetto. The species is often seen in cottage gardens, being a rustic remedy for worms in children, but the employment of so violent a medicine in unskilful hands has too often been followed by serious consequences, and its use is now abandoned in regular practice. It is from the use of the root as an issue for horses and horned cattle, that the term Setter Wort is derived, the word "Settering" being in use with farriers to denote the insertion of a seton or issue, and is probably a corruption of setoning. See *Churchill's Med. Bot.* also *Gerarde.*

2. *H. viridis* (Linn.) green Hellebore. *Engl. Bot. t. 200. Reich. Icones, iv. 105.*

Locality. In woods and bushy places, on a chalky soil, rare. *P. Fl. March, April. Area. 1. * 3. 4. 5.*

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Borders of Clarendon wood, near Salisbury," *Major Smith.*

3. *South-west District.* "Berwick St. John," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Hedges at Fonthill Gifford," *Miss L. Meredith.* "Warminster," *Mr. Wheeler.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In an old stone quarry at Monkton Farley, and in Stoke woods. "Ashwick, and North Wraxhall," *Dr. R. C. Alexander.* "Woods at Castle Combe," *Miss C. M. Griffiths.*

5. *North-east District.* "Great Bedwyn," *Mr. William Bartlett.*

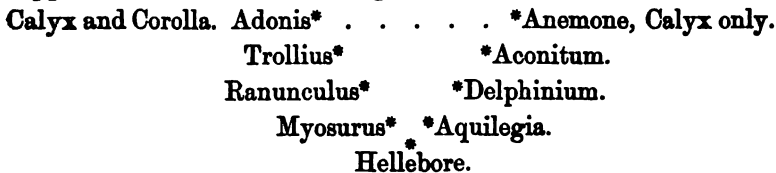
The localities for this species are all I fear of too suspicious a

character for it to be considered truly indigenous to the county. Further observations on its distribution in Wiltshire are still desirable, *H. viridis* having been not unfrequently recorded for *H. fetidus*, hence arises much confusion with regard to their respective stations. Haller reckons up all the reputed virtues of Hellebore under this species, which, indeed, seems to be what German practitioners have substituted for the true plant of the Ancients, *H. officinalis*, (*Sibth*) in *Fl. Grac. t. 523*.

To the botanical student the Hellebore affords an excellent illustration of some of the more important doctrines of *modern botanical science*. The flowers of most plants possess *two series* of envelopes, which surround and enclose the fertilizing organs. The outer envelope being generally green and somewhat of a leafy appearance, is called the *calyx*, whilst the inner one is variously and beautifully coloured, and receives the name of *corolla*. Example, *Rose, Primrose, &c.* Some plants, however, as the *Tulip, Mezereon, Hellebore, &c.*, are furnished but with *one envelope*, which is variously understood and differently named by *Linnæan* and *Jussieuan* botanists. The *former* considering the nature of the plant in question to be determined principally by its colour, describe the *Tulip* and *Mezereon* to have a *corolla only*, whilst the *latter* regarding the colour and appearance of the plant as unimportant, consider it wholly in *reference* to its situation and *structure*. Hence these botanists describe the *single floral envelope* of the *Tulip* and *Mezereon, &c.* as a *calyx*, the *corolla* being *entirely absent*. Some botanists, as *Hooker, Mirbel, and Brown*, unwilling to enlist themselves on either side, have adopted the convenient term *Perianth*, (*peri* about, and *anthos* the flower,) to describe the single envelope of the *Tulip, Mezereon, &c.*, and describe its parts as *petaloid* or *calycoid*, according as they are coloured and resemble a blossom, or are green and leafy like a *calyx*. *De Candolle* has proposed the term *Perigonium*, (*peri*, and *gone*, a Greek word used in botanical writings, to signify the stamens and pistils,) for the single *envelope*, whatever may be its *appearance*, and calls the separate parts of which it consists *Tepals*, in contradistinction to the *petals* of the *corolla*, and the *sepals* of the *calyx*. I shall now endeavour to point out the principles by which the botanical

student is to be guided in extricating himself from this labyrinth of conflicting statements and opposing terms, and which will also enable him to conduct future investigations in cases of doubt and difficulty.

An attentive consideration of the varied forms of natural objects, will convince him that bodies exhibiting the greatest apparent dissimilarity are connected together by intermediate gradations of structure which thus present a chain of appearances, each link of which but slightly differs from its fellow, though its extremes are so unlike. In the present instance the flower of the *Hellebore* which is considered by Linnæan botanists (*Smith, Withering, &c.*) to possess no calyx, but to have petals only with nectaries enclosed, is described by *Hooker, Lindley, &c.*, as consisting of an outer envelope, which is the calyx, the nectaries being real petals. This difficulty is at once removed and the true nature of the structure made intelligible, by considering *Hellebore* together with *Trollius*, "*Myosurus*," *Ranunculus*, *Aquilegia*, *Delphinium*, and *Aconitum*, as intermediate gradations of structure, extending from the extreme of *Adonis* to that of *Anemone* or *Caltha*, the two former genera being furnished with perfect flowers, composed of calyx and corolla, whilst the two latter have the calyx only, the corolla being entirely absent. With this view I would explain the structure of the floral organs in the British genera of the Ranunculacæ, by considering *Hellebore* to occupy theoretically the apex of an inverted triangle, from which the different genera rise to the extremes of the series which may be supposed to occupy the other angles.



(This diagram is merely intended to illustrate the relations which the allied genera bear to each other.)

Commencing then with an examination of the flower of *Hellebore*, we find just within the outer envelope a whorl of little tubular bodies, each having the external (with respect to the axis of the

flower) margin of the tube longer than the inner. The next stage is *Myosurus*, in which the disproportionate length of the external margin is much increased, forming a *petal* with a tubular claw. Next the *Ranunculus* shows the *expansion* of the outer and *diminution* of the inner margin, proceeding to the formation of a *petal*, with a minute scale at its base. In *Ranunculus auricomus*, this scale is absent, the nectary being merely a naked pore, thus showing an approach to the next genus, *Trollius*, in which the scale is permanently obliterated, the claw of the petals exhibiting merely an obscure depression. Finally, in *Adonis* all traces of the *Helleborine* tube are obliterated, the external portion being fully expanded into a perfect petal.

Commencing again with *Hellebore* and proceeding to *Aquilegia*, we find that the tubular petals have undergone a change of a different description, having been expanded above by the dilatation of the external margin, and produced below into a hollow horn-shaped spur. In this plant the petals are five in number, corresponding to the five sepals of the calyx, but in the next stage, *Delphinium*, one is obliterated, and of the other four, two are elongated behind into spurs and inclosed in the process of the calyx. In *Aconitum Napellus*, two more petals are obliterated, and the two remaining ones are become slender curved bodies (usually called nectaries), inclosed under the helmet-shaped sepal of the petaloid calyx. In the last stage, *Anemone*, &c., all the petals are *entirely absent*, the obliteration having been perfected. The flower now possesses but one envelope, which is a *calyx* and *not a corolla*, as (in consequence of its being beautifully coloured) it is *usually and erroneously* considered by *Linnæan botanists*, *Smith*, *Withering*, &c. We now see how improperly botanists of this school describe *Aconite* and *Larkspur* to possess a corolla of five petals, the parts which they describe as such, being merely the *sepals* of the calyx beautifully coloured, the corolla existing only in the form of the singular rudimentary petals, which are usually considered as *nectaries*. As an additional proof of the correctness of these views, I may remark, that a perfectly formed large *membranous petal* has been found in the flower of the *Aconitum*, occupying its proper situation between the two

anterior sepals. In this case only the two lateral petals remained absent. The botanical student will now see that the *tubular nectaries of Hellebore are real petals*, and that the *outer envelope* of this flower, as well as the simple and beautifully coloured one of *Anemone, Caltha, &c.* is a *real calyx*, additional proofs of which lie in the facts that *Helleborus niger*, which possesses the tubular petals, has its calyx as much and as delicately coloured as the *Anemone nemorosa*, and that in *Ranunculus auricomus* the real petals are, in cold backward seasons, sometimes entirely wanting; the calyx being dilated and more coloured than usual, so as to supply their place. If such a flower of the *R. auricomus* be compared with that of *Anemone ranunculoides*, their true relation will be evident, and the propriety of considering the beautifully yellow coloured floral envelope of the latter as a *true calyx*, cannot fail to be *recognized*.

Druidism in connection with Wiltshire.

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CHAPTER I.

PYRAMIDAL STONES AND CIRCLES, THE EMBLEMS OF THE PATRIARCHAL RELIGION.

“Nobilis est lapidum structura.”

FROM the earliest ages it has been the custom of mankind to pay divine worship to the Supreme Being, the first intimation of which is given in the book of Genesis,¹ where we are informed that “Then began men to call on the name of the Lord.” After the calling of Abraham and Jehovah had appeared to him, it is related, that “he builded an altar (near Bethel in Canaan) unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord.”²

“These altars,” says Dr. Stukeley, “were the Patriarchal temples like those of our Druids, the places of public worship; and invoking in the name of Jehovah is a form of speech importing public worship on Sabbath days, equivalent to our saying—to go to Church

¹ Gen. iv. 26. ² Gen. xii. 8.

on Sundays. Invoking was the ordinary method of devotion on Sabbath days; sacrificing was extraordinary.”

It was the custom of Abraham wherever he took up his abode, to build one of these temples, as he did afterwards in the plains of Mamre by Hebron,¹ and at Beersheba where he planted a grove, and invoked in the name of Jehovah. This appears to have been the practice of all his successors, of which numerous intimations have been given in Scripture. Isaac builded an altar in Beersheba and invoked in the name of the Lord Jehovah, who personally appeared to him.² Jacob set up the anointed pillar at Bethel,³ and in Shechem he erected an altar.⁴ At Bethel he erected another pillar where Jehovah personally appeared to him and blessed him; this he anointed, and poured on it a drink offering or libation.⁵ In Exodus it is related that Moses arose early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and *twelve pillars*. “These” says Dr. Stukeley, “we have no reason to doubt were set in a circle, as the like was done after the Israelites were settled in Canaan, till the temple of Solomon was built: for Samuel when he dwelt at Ramah, built there an altar to Jehovah, in order to celebrate the public offices of religion.”⁶

These open circles or temples were commonly erected on plains and rising grounds, conspicuous and commodious for multitudes or a whole neighbourhood to assemble in. Public worship is commonly described in Scripture with reference to such places of assemblage, as by the prophet Isaiah, “In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord.”⁷

The Druidical religion subsisted from a very early period in Gaul and Britain, and Dr. Stukeley conceives that as the Druids were so eminently distinguished for their use of groves, this probably intimates a more particular relation to Abraham, and that they derived this custom more immediately from him. The name Druid, is derived from a Greek word signifying *oak*, and denotes a priest of the groves which were formed commonly of oaks, where their

¹ Gen. xiii. 18. ² xxvi. 25. ³ xxviii. 18. ⁴ xxxiii. 20. ⁵ xxxv. 14, 15.

⁶ 1 Sam. vii. 17. ⁷ Isaiah xix. 19.

worship was originally celebrated; and the name *temple* is derived from another Greek word, signifying a place cut off, enclosed, and dedicated to sacred use, whether an area, a circle of stones, a field, or a grove. These temples were usually encompassed by a ditch, which one of the ancient writers, Pollux, terms a *Peribolus* or dyke surrounding the circle. The ancient temples were also generally circular, designed to represent in some measure the deity. Porphyry, another heathen writer, conceives the circle to be dedicated to eternity, for which reason he says, "they anciently made temples round:" and Pausanias relates that the Thracians were in the habit of building their temples circular and open at the top.

When these ancient temples came to be perverted to Idolatry, they were many of them dedicated to the sun, as resembling his appearance, and the pyramidal stones set in a circle were designed to represent his rays. All the ancient temples in Britain are in a circular form, and of a threefold description: 1. Simple round temples of upright unhewn stones: 2. Serpentine temples or Dracontic (as at Abury, Wilts,) *i.e.* with the figure of a snake annexed: and 3. Alate or winged, having the appearance of wings annexed to the circle. These are supposed to have been the figures or symbols of the Patriarchal religion, like the symbol of the Cross which is regarded by ourselves as an emblem of the Christian Faith.

CHAPTER II.

STONEHENGE.

"*Deorum gloriosa domus.*"

Stonehenge is supposed to have derived its name from the Anglo-Saxon, and literally means the "hanging stones," from the hanging parts, architraves, or rather imposts:—pendulous rocks are now called *Henges* in Yorkshire. The Ancient Britons or Welsh termed Stonehenge *Choir gaur*, "which some," says Dr. Stukeley, "interpret *choreu gigantum*, the giant's dance: I judge more rightly *chorus magnus*, the great choir, round church, or temple." He proceeds to state that the Cymbri or Welsh believed Stonehenge to be a sacred place, though they did not profess themselves to be the builders; and he considers them to be the remains of a Celtic

colony that came over from the Continent, who inhabited the South of England, when it was invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæsar. They are in all probability the remains of the Belgæ, of which Stukeley considers the name Welsh to be a corruption, *Ouelgai* in Greek, Belgischen and Welschen, in German: and he mentions that Strabo alludes to their manufacture of flannel, called *lainae*, for which the Welsh are to this day celebrated. The Picts, Scots, Gauls, Irish, and inhabitants of Cornwall are the remains of the ancient Phœnician colony and primitive Celts; everything ancient is denominated Irish by the Welsh to this day. They are perfectly aware that they were not the Aboriginal inhabitants of England, who were driven at different periods northward and westward into Scotland and Ireland, and probably after the invasion of the Romans. "The Irish therefore, or ancient Scottish," says Stukeley, "is the remnant of the *Phœnician* language, mixed with old *Biscayan* and Gallic, dialects of Celts; and some Oriental,—Arabic in particular,—as Mr. Toland (in his history of the Druids) observes. They are the descendants of the people who built Stonehenge, and the like works; whence spring the strange reports of these stones, coming from Egypt, from Africa, from Spain, and from Ireland, as retaining some memory of the steps, by which the people who preceded their ancestors, travelled; nor they themselves nor even the Belgæ pretending to be the builders of this wonderful work. For the Belgæ could not be ignorant of their own coming from the Gallic continent."

Cæsar informs us in his Commentaries,¹ that among the Druids one has the supreme authority, and when he is dead the next in order succeeds, (by the votes of the Druidical college, if there be several candidates,) and is called the Archdruid." At a certain fixed time of the year the Gaulish Druids meet, in the territories of the Carnutes, which country is in the middle of Gaul, in a *consecrated place*. Hither all persons from all quarters come, who have any controversy, and stand to their determination. *The discipline of the Druids arose in Britain, and is said from thence to have been brought into Gaul: and now they who design to be more thoroughly initiated therein, go over (to Britain) to learn.* On this statement Dr.

¹ Book vi. 13.

Stukeley remarks, that "the elegant and magnificent structure of Stonehenge was as the metropolitical church of the Chief Druid of Britain," and that "this was the *locus consecratus*," (*locus* not *lucus* as some copies have it) where they met at some great festivals in the year, as well to perform their extraordinary sacrifices and religious rites, as to determine causes and civil matters. "The very building of Stonehenge," he adds, "to say nothing of other like works here, shows it was not in vain, that the youth of Gaul came to learn of men, who could contrive and execute so mighty a work."¹

"This celebrated monument of antiquity," says Clarke in his 'Wonders of the World,' "stands in the middle of a flat area near the summit of a hill, six miles distant from Salisbury. It is enclosed by a double circular bank and ditch, nearly thirty feet broad, after crossing which an ascent of thirty yards leads to the work. The whole fabric was originally composed of two circles and two ovals. The outer circle is about 108 feet in diameter, consisting, when entire, of sixty stones, thirty uprights, and thirty imposts, of which there now remain twenty-four uprights only, seventeen standing, and seven down, three feet and a half asunder, and eight imposts. Eleven uprights have their five imposts on them by the grand entrance: these stones are from thirteen to twenty feet high. The smaller circle is somewhat more than eight feet from the inside of the outer one, and consisted of forty smaller stones, the highest measuring about six feet, nineteen only of which now remain, and only eleven standing. The walk between those two circles is 300 feet in circumference. The *adytum*, or cell, is an oval formed of ten stones, from sixteen to twenty-two feet high, in pairs, and with imposts above thirty feet high, rising in height as they go round, and each pair separate, and not connected as the outer pair: the highest eight feet. Within these are nineteen other smaller single stones, of which six only are standing. At the upper end of the *adytum* is the altar, a large slab of blue coarse marble, twenty inches thick, sixteen feet long, and four broad: it is pressed down by the weight of the vast stones which have fallen upon it. The whole number of stones, uprights and imposts, comprehending the altar,

¹ Stukeley's 'Stonehenge, vol. i. p. 10.

is 140. The stones, which have been by some considered as artificial, were most probably brought from those called the *grey wethers* on Marlborough Downs, distant fifteen or sixteen miles: and if tried with a tool, appear of the same hardness, grain, and colour, generally reddish. The heads of oxen, deer, and other beasts, have been found in digging in and about Stonehenge; and in the circumjacent barrows human bones. From the plain to this structure there are three entrances, the most considerable of which is from the north-east; and at each of them there were raised, on the outside of the trench, two huge stones, with two smaller parallel ones within."

Mr. Grose, the antiquary, is of opinion that "Dr. Stukeley has completely proved this structure to have been a British temple, in which the Druids officiated. He supposes it to have been the Metropolitan temple of Great Britain, and translates the words *choir gaur*, 'the great choir or temple.' The ancients distinguished stones erected with a religious view by the name of *ambrosie petrae*, ambre stones, the word ambre implying whatever is solar and divine. According to Bryant, Stonehenge is composed of these ambre stones; and hence the next town is denominated Ambresbury."

Stukeley himself states that he is "sufficiently satisfied from considering the different effect of the weather upon Abury and Stonehenge, the great diversity in the manner of the works, and some other considerations, that Abury must be above 700 years prior to Stonehenge:" and that while Stonehenge was probably coeval with the building of Solomon's temple, the temples at Abury must have been erected about the Patriarch Abraham's time, or soon after the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings from Egypt.

Between the temples of Abury and Stonehenge there is undoubtedly a marked distinction, and the ruins of the latter with its imposts indicate a very marked advancement on the primitive architecture observable in the former. Stukeley has assigned several reasons founded on the variation of the compass, which he justly supposes was known to the ancients; this we shall not now however consider, but prefer giving the following account from Strabo of the

form of the more ancient temples in Egypt. "The arrangement of the parts of an Egyptian temple is as follows: in a line with the entrance into the sacred enclosure, is a paved road or *avenue* about a hundred feet in breadth, or sometimes less, and in length from three to four hundred feet or even more. This is called the *dromos*. Through the whole length of this *dromos*, and on each side of it, sphinxes are placed, at the distance of thirty feet from one another, or somewhat more, forming a double row, one on each side. After the sphinxes you come to a large propylon and as you advance you come to another, and to a third after that; for no definite number either of propyla or sphinxes is required in the plan, but they vary in different temples as to their number, as well as to the length and breadth of the drome. After the propyla we come to the temple itself, which has always a large and handsome pronaos or portico, and a *sekos* or cell of only moderate dimensions, with no image in it, at least not one of human shape, but some representation of a brute animal. On each side of the pronaos, and in front of it, are what they call wings. These are two walls of equal height (with the temple?), but their width at the base is somewhat more than the breadth of the temple measured along its basement line. The width of the *wings*, however, gradually diminishes from the bottom to the top, owing to the sides leaning inward towards one another, up to the height of seventy-five or ninety feet."¹

Referring to the ancient City of Thebes in Egypt with its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer, Denon remarks that there are two temples on its eastern and western side, on the site of which the modern villages of Karnac and Luxor are built. The *avenue* from Karnac to Luxor, a space of nearly half a league in extent, contains a constant succession of sphinxes and other chimerical figures to the *right and left*, together with fragments of stone walls, *small columns*, and statues.

The avenues here described, and the wings of the temples mentioned by Strabo discover a striking affinity to some of the Druidical

¹ Kitto's Illustrated Bible, vol. i. pt. 2. p. 166, on the Egyptian temple at Edfou.

temples, and especially the dracontic temple of Abury. Stonehenge appears to have been neither of the dracontic nor alate description of temple, but merely of a circular form with ordinary avenues or approaches. In this respect it resembles more nearly Gilgal and many other ancient open temples, both in Britain and other countries, in various and unconnected quarters of the world.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST COLONISTS OF EGYPT.

“Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations.”

Let us now endeavour to trace some connexion between the builders of Stonehenge and the patriarchal age.

Much difference of opinion has prevailed with regard to the locality of Eden and the residence of Noah and his family after the deluge. There is reason, however, to believe that the situation of both Paradise and the residence of the Patriarch were rather in the neighbourhood of Caucasus than the Caspian. Eden is supposed by some reliable writers to have been an extensive region to the North of India, and Kedem, whence the descendants of Noah emigrated, to have been the most easterly province of the Persian Empire. In the neighbourhood of this district were probably Ashur, Cush, Sephar, and many other places mentioned in Scripture. Kedem signifies ancient, primary, the origin, or original residence of man.

The Brahmins have a tradition that Shem, the son of Noah, inhabited the district east of Persia. The City Bamiyan is described in their sacred books as the source of holiness and purity, and is there also termed Shem-Bamiyan from the Patriarch Shem, by whom according to the Baudhists (or Budhists) it was built: it is situated between Balac and Cabul, and consists of a vast number of apartments and recesses cut out of the rock, some of which for their magnitude are considered to have been temples.

Persian writers have affirmed that this ancient City Bamiyan existed before the flood, but the Budhists have a tradition that it was built by a “most religious man called Sharma;” who appears from other circumstances to have been Shem, and that it was

inhabited for many generations by his descendants. Hence Bálkh-Bámiyan is said to have been the original residence of Abraham, who, the Scriptures and the Hindoo books agree in stating, removed westward to a distant country with Terah his father. There is reason to believe that Shem (who, as some think, was Melchizedek,) removed also to Canaan where he blessed Abraham his descendant after his victory over the kings, the forerunners of the predatory tribes who at a later period dispossessed the original inhabitants of Canaan and Egypt.

It is related in the Padma-Purana¹ (a Hindoo sacred book), that Satyavrata (or Noah) whose miraculous preservation from a general deluge is related at length in the Matsya (or *Fish-avata*r), had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Jyapeti, or 'Lord of the earth;' the others were Charma and Sharma, which last words are, in the vulgar dialects, usually pronounced *Cham* and *Sham*, as we frequently hear Krishyn for Krishna. The royal patriarch, for such is his character in the Puran, was particularly fond of Jyapeti, to whom he gave all the region to the north of Hiamalaya, or the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend from sea to sea, and of which Caucasus is a part: to Sharma he allotted the countries to the south of those mountains; but he cursed Charma, because when the old monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, Charma laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.²

We are afterwards informed that "the children of Sharma travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the river Nila or Cali, in Egypt, and that their journey began *after* the building of the Padma-Mandira, which appears to be the Tower of Babel, on the banks of the river Cumudvati, which can be no other than the Euphrates. On their arrival in Egypt, they found the country peopled by evil beings, and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitation,"—and then by the command of Padma-Devi or the goddess who resides on the lotos, (a spirit who floated on the

¹ From Wilford's 'Egypt and the Nile,' *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii.

² Some doubt is entertained concerning the genuineness of this tradition.

waters,) they erected a pyramid in honour of her on the very spot where they were encamped. This pyramid was called Padma-Mandira from the name of the goddess, which signifies a *temple* or *palace*, and Padmo-Matha (which means a college or habitation of students, where she instructed Sharma and his family in the most useful arts, and among other things Yascha-Lipi or the writing of the Yacshas, a race of superior beings, among whom Cuvera was the chief.

This Padma-Mandira was probably the town of Byblos in Egypt, now called Babel, or rather Babel in the first instance, and afterwards changed into Byblos by the Greeks. Thus it would appear two Babels were founded about the same time, on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile.

These descendants of Shem thus appear to have colonized Egypt and were regarded as Devatas, Elohim, or Demi-gods, a name also given to the Yacshas of the Puranas, who are met with in the mountains of India and Ethiopia. They were followed by several other tribes, of the same race probably, from Persia or *Misir* in India, the most powerful of whom were the Pallis or Shepherd kings, who under the name of Titanes were engaged in continual contests with the first colonists the Elohim or Devatas who inhabited Upper Egypt, for two hundred years. After expelling the Shepherd Dynasty who occupied Lower Egypt, the Elohim remained in possession of the whole of that country till they were themselves conquered by another body of colonists (descendants of Cush the eldest son of Ham) from the east, who gave their name to Hindostan, and who after occupying Canaan, compelled the original descendants of Shem to retire into the mountains, perhaps of Ethiopia and Abyssinia. The Titanes, or Shepherd Dynasty had previously withdrawn from Egypt to Tyre and the coasts of the Mediterranean, to whom we shall presently have further occasion to refer.

CHAPTER IV.

ABRAHAM'S DESCENT, AND CONNECTION WITH CANAAN AND EGYPT.

"Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood, even Terah the father of Abraham, and they served other gods."

Abraham is represented in Scripture as having been called by God

out of Ur of the Chaldees: this Ur or Aur we have strong grounds for believing was a country or district rather than a city or town, and that it was situated between Persia and Hindostan. "By enquiring," says Taylor in his continuation of Calmet, "who were the Babylonians, we may somewhat approach to determining who were the Chaldeans; and if we look to Gen. xi, 7., we shall find that the inhabitants of this country journeyed from the East, from Kedem, which Kedem we have fixed in the neighbourhood of Caucasus. We are next to remember that these Chaldees worshipped fire and light, under the name of Aur, Ur, Ar, or Our, all words of the same sound, and varied only in spelling or in writing, by different nations; so that whether we find Auritæ or Ouritæ, the meaning is the same. The following are testimonies to our purpose:

"Upon the banks of the great river Ind
The southern Scuthæ dwelt: which river pays
Its watery tribute to that mighty Sea,
Styl'd Erythrean. Far removed its source,
Amid the stormy cliffs of Caucasus:
Descending thence through many a winding vale,
It separates vast nations. To the west
The *Oritæ* live.

"Meaning that the Auritæ live west of the source of the Indus, in Mount Caucasus; which the reader will find agrees with our position of Kedem. This is Mr. Bryant's version of a passage in the poet Dionysius.¹ Mr. Bryant says,² 'The Chaldeans were the most ancient inhabitants of the country called by their name; there are no other principals, to whom we may refer their original. They seem to have been the most early constituted and settled of any people on earth, and to be the only people who did not emigrate at the general dispersion. They extended to Egypt west, and eastward to the Ganges.'

"But we think, by means of Capt. Wilford's account of Caucasus"³ (formerly referred to), "we may conceive without much danger of error, of the Sanscreeet Chasas, C'hasyas, and the Scripture Chasdim as being closely related, if not the same people,

¹ Anc. Myth. vol. iii. p. 226.

² Obs. 253.

³ Which extended from India to the shores of the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas.

originally; for we learn that 'they are a very ancient tribe,' and are mentioned in the Institutes of Menu; and that their ancestor *Zeus Cassios* is supposed to have lived before the flood, and to have given name to the mountains he seized. Their station then is Caucasus. But when a considerable division of mankind withdrew to Shinar, they were accompanied by a certain proportion of C'hasyas or Chasdim, who being a *superior caste*, or inheriting stations of trust and dignity, that is priests, if not governors also, and out of which body the kings were elected, therefore the Babylonian kingdom is called the kingdom of the Chasdim or C'hasyas.

"Somewhat of this distinction is connected with the Patriarch Abraham; we know he was of *Kedem*, not of Babylonia; yet Eusebius says, 'Abraham was a *Chaldean by descent*.' Admitting then the Chasdim to be descendants in the direct line of Shem, a priest himself, this branch of his posterity might retain their right to the priestly office transmitted from father to son, in succession, according to their custom."

In order to prove the resemblance between the Chaldean astrologers and priesthood with the Druids of Europe, whom we shall hereafter consider, the following account of these ancient and priestly Literati from Diodorus Siculus,¹ quoted by Taylor, may not be uninteresting.

"The Chaldeans are descended from the most ancient families of Babylon, and they have adopted a manner of life resembling that of the priests of Egypt. For in order to become more *learned*, and more equal to the *service of the Gods*, they continually apply themselves to philosophy, and have procured above all a great reputation in astronomy. They study with great care the art of divination. They foretell the future, and believe themselves able to ward off evils, and to procure benefits by their expiations, by their sacrifices, and by their enchantments. They have also experience in presages by the flight of birds, and are versed in the interpretation of dreams and prodigies. Besides this they consult the entrails of victims, and infer predictions which are considered as certain. Among the Chaldeans this philosophy remains constantly in the

¹ Lib. ii. c. 21.

possession of the same family, passing from fathers to sons, and this only they study. Whereby, having only their parents for their masters, he who instructs conceals nothing through jealousy; and he who learns brings all his docility to receive instruction. Moreover, having commenced these studies from the earliest period of life, they acquire a perfect habitude in these matters, whether from the facility of learning which is natural to youth, or from the length of time which they have employed in it. The Chaldeans consider matter as eternal, neither needing generation, nor subject to corruption. But they believe that the arrangement and order of the world is the effect of Divine intelligence, and that all which appears in the heavens or on the earth, is the effect, not of a causal or of a fatal necessity, but of the wisdom and power of the Gods."

After proceeding to shew the extent of their astronomical and astrological knowledge, Mr. Taylor remarks, "The reader will compare this description with that given in the *Devâtêr* of the system of the ancient Persian Magi. The Interpreter stars of one are evidently the Mediator stars of the other: the messenger stars are the watchers of Daniel, or analogous to the Satan of Job: and on the reports of such messengers no doubt, the Counsellor-gods formed their decrees, as in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar." From this account we are enabled to understand why the Babylonian monarch applied to the Chaldeans as wise men and astrologers to explain the revelations which he had received from the celestial protectors of his kingdom.

Philostratus also informs us¹ that the "Indi are the wisest of all mankind. The Ethiopian (*i.e.* the Oriental Ethiopians) are a colony from them, and they inherit the wisdom of their forefathers. The hieroglyphics on the obelisks, says Cassiodorus,² are Chaldaic signs of words, which were used, as letters are, for the purpose of information. Zonaras³ says, the most approved account is, that the Arts came from Chaldea to Egypt; and from thence passed into Greece. The philosophy of this people was greatly celebrated.

¹ Vit. Apollon. Lib. ii. quoted in Taylor's Fragments.

² Lib. iii. Ep. 2. 51.

³ V. i. p. 52.

Alexander visited the chief persons of the country, who were esteemed professors of science. Consider the pre-eminence given to Solomon,¹ beyond the wisdom of all the sons of Kedem, and beyond all the wisdom of *Misraim*: and with this character compare that of the *Chaldeans*, as above, and that of the original *Indi*, who are Chaldeans and sons of Kedem too. We find they worshipped fire, so that they were *Aurite*, and in short, that Ur of the Chaldees might be the residence of such professors, and such devotees; for which reason Abraham was directed to quit it. Ur was probably terrestrial fire; aerial ignited vapour, rising naturally from the earth, as that at Baku, worshipped as the terrestrial representative of the great celestial luminary.

“On the whole,” says the author of the above passage, “we may consider the Chasdim or Chaldeans as the *philosophic or priestly order* among the Babylonians, and rather a *caste* among a nation, than a nation of themselves: much as the Bramins of India (a race by their own acknowledgement not truly Indian) are at this day, who preserve knowledge, if any be preserved; who perform religious functions, and are supposed to maintain the truth of religion officially; and whose order sometimes furnishes kings and nobles. Inasmuch that, if we should say of Abraham—he came from Ur a city of the Bramins: or if we should say—the Bramins were the wisest of all mankind, yet Solomon was wiser than they were; though we should certainly offend against terms and titles, yet we should possibly be near to a fair notion of the Chasdim of Scripture, and of their character.”

Now we have previously observed that Abraham was an inhabitant of Kedem which was the most eastern district of Persia, and not a native of Babylonia, yet he is described by Eusebius as having been a *Chaldean* by descent, that is, belonged to the philosophical and priestly order. Mr. Taylor is of opinion, in his *Fragments* which we have previously cited, that the Mesopotamia where God appeared to Abraham, before he dwelt in Haran, which is in Mesopotamia on the Euphrates, must have been another Mesopotamia more to the East, of which Abraham was a native; and that he

¹ 1 Kings iv. 30.

fled at the command of God to another Mesopotamia at a considerable distance from his native place for safety, of which he could not have been assured had he only removed to Mesopotamia near the Euphrates, which is no great distance from what is in general described as Chaldea. "It is generally agreed," says Taylor, "that Abraham is described as the *righteous man* who came from the East,¹ where the word is not *Kedem*, but *Metzarach*, which signifies the rising-sun, and certainly denotes a remote region." "If then," he proceeds to infer, "the same word, *Metzarach* denotes the same country, or nearly the same, then the 'righteous man' Abraham, came from a country far *east* of Babylon, and consequently far *east* of that Mesopotamia to which he fled from the face of the Gods of his native country;—which was, as it should seem, the original seat and establishment of idolatry." Without further pursuing this enquiry, it is sufficient to remark that it has been our object to prove the connexion of Abraham with the principal body of the Chasdim or Chaldees, and to have acquired from them, as a member of their body that philosophical and astronomical knowledge for which he has been celebrated throughout the East. This knowledge he is supposed to have afterwards communicated to the original inhabitants of Canaan and Egypt, both of whom we have endeavoured to shew were also descendants of Shem. From this Patriarch accordingly, and afterwards from his descendant Joseph, the Egyptians obtained most probably their knowledge, which they afterwards communicated through Cadmus to the Greeks, and which has been since through the Tyrian Hercules and the Druids conveyed to the other nations of Europe, and formed the foundation of our literature and science. Whether then as a temporary resident in Canaan and Egypt, in his intercourse with Abimelech King of Gerar, or with the Kings of Egypt, there is little reason to doubt that Abraham instructed these descendants of their common ancestor Shem in not merely philosophy and astronomy, but in the religion of that God who had called him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and from the idolatry of the Chasdim and his countrymen in Kedem. And it is evident we think, that Abraham could

¹ Isaiah xi. 1. 2.

never have lived on those friendly terms with either the ancient inhabitants of Canaan or the Egyptians, unless their language and religion had been the same, which from various incidental circumstances mentioned in the sacred narrative, they appear to have been. Thus it would appear that Abraham when resident in Canaan was among a people of similar origin with himself, which illustrates the expression in Genesis of the "Canaanite being then in the land," implying that Canaan had not then been overrun by another race of foreigners, who afterwards obtained possession of both Canaan and Egypt, and are supposed to have come from *Mis*¹ in India, which they had formerly colonized as the descendants of Hind the eldest son of Ham.

"In proof of this Oriental invasion it may be supposed," says the author of the Fragments, "very justly, that if the Hamite conquerors of Egypt subdued and occupied Canaan and Arabia, they would leave memorials of various kinds, both of their idolatry, and of their industry; and this no doubt, they have done in the towns they built, and in the names they gave them. But such histories of the origin of their towns as have lately reached us are related in language peculiarly figurative; for instance—war is called a *fire* or conflagration; enemies are described as long grass, or thickets, or thorns, consumed by fire; and after the conquests of these enemies, the erection of places of worship becomes the immediate object of the history, and is considered as the origin of towns. Moreover, instituting the figure or rite of an idol in such town, is described as the birth, origin, &c., of that deity; indeed, it might be the original invention of such a figure, or the primary adoption of such a symbol, for the purpose of employing it as an idol." The account in Diodorus Siculus of the conquests of Ninus, who overran the whole of the East and propagated the Hindoo religion, which is described

¹ This word, according to Taylor, is applied by the Arabs to Egypt and its Metropolis, and it seems to be clearly derived from the Sanscreeet. Not knowing however its origin, they employ it in speaking of any large city, and gave the appellation of Al-Mizran in the dual to Cufa and Basra: the same word is also used in the sense of a boundary or line of separation. Of Mizr, the dual and plural form in Hebrew are Misrain and Mizrim, and the second of them is often applied in Scripture to the people of Egypt.

in their Purana by the Hindoo Historians as a conflagration of the long grass with which the universe was then covered, "mark to what extent idolatrous worship at that period prevailed: and by its shewing the origin and establishment of those cities which the Bible History notices after the Exodus of Israel, we shall better understand against what manner of superstition the servants of Jehovah had to contend, with the causes of its prevalence over that land especially, which had been tolerably free from idolatry in the days of Abraham."¹

As we are informed in Scripture that Abraham successfully resisted an earlier incursion of some of these Hamite invaders, when Lot and his family had been taken prisoners, we have less reason to be surprised at their expulsion at a subsequent period by his descendants, who thus by a righteous retribution avenged at once their own oppression in Egypt and the iniquities of which these usurpers had been guilty in Canaan. Thus the promises of God to the Patriarchs and his punishment of the Canaanites were in the fulness of time literally fulfilled.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HYCSI OR TITANS.

"Titans,—our Sire's progenitors."

The expulsion of the Titans from Lower Egypt, supposed by

¹ We may place the following events during the time that Israel was in Egypt. In Gen. xiv. we read of an irruption and conquest by the Kings of Persia, Babylonia, &c., who overran Canaan, which continued in subjection during twelve years; and though they were by God's mercy defeated by Abraham then, yet it is clear, (1) that from the eastern provinces armies had easy access to Canaan, where they had probably many partizans; and from Canaan they might at pleasure invade Egypt, as Nebuchadnezzar, Cambyses, and other Babylonian monarchs did in after ages. (2) That when Jacob and his family were gone down into Egypt, the land of Canaan appears to be entirely relinquished to whatever might befall it; and we have no history of it during the interval from its being left by Jacob, to its being re-entered by Joshua. (3.) Nevertheless, the numerous names of towns which occur in Joshua and are clearly idolatrous, evince the prevalence of idolatry: and (4.) The seizure of Egypt by these foreigners during this period, is sufficient proof of their establishment in Canaan not long before. (See *Taylor's Fragments*, vol. iii. p. 97.) This invasion of Egypt is probably referred to by the Sacred Historian, when he acquaints us "that another king (or dynasty) arose which knew not Joseph:" thus slightly are civil matters and revolutions alluded to in Scripture, when they are unconnected with the designs of the Spirit of God.

many writers to intimate the downfall of the dynasty of the Hycsi or Shepherd Kings, has given rise to much diversity of opinion, not merely in modern but also in ancient times. Originally inhabitants of Canaan, they are supposed to have followed Mizraim to Egypt, and to have dwelt in that country for a time on friendly terms with another branch of that family (who adopted the name of their leader), by whom they were ultimately expelled. This event Stukeley supposes to have taken place A.C. 1859, when the Hycsi or Royal Shepherds came over to Britain, under the guidance of their King Hercules or Assis, from Tyre. These Hycsi or Shepherd Kings he supposes had retained possession of Lower Egypt for 200 years, being engaged during that period in constant warfare with the Mizraimites, another branch of Indian colonists or emigrants, who inhabited Upper Egypt. The Hycsi were termed Titans or Fenmen by way of reproach, (from living on the banks of the Nile) by the Mizraimites, who called themselves Elohim or Gods, and inhabited the more mountainous regions; and on a compact with Tethmoris the Mizraim monarch, in 2120 A.M. they were finally compelled to quit Egypt to the number of 240,000, under Assis their King. These struggles for dominion between the Titans and Mizraimites, both originally of Eastern origin, have in all probability given birth to the fable of the wars between the Titans and the Gods, or the inhabitants of Lower and Upper Egypt, in which the latter were victors. The Titans seem after their expulsion to have colonized the coasts of the Mediterranean, and subsequently Cornwall and Britain. We extract the following remarks from Mr. Penn, upon those fragments of tradition which connect the original occupants of Greece with the Celtic stock.

He demonstrates that "Celtic terms are still preserved in the *Orphic Hymns*, and quotes the following authorities, in which the Titans are acknowledged as the old inhabitants, and which prove, that in them we find the parents of the Celtae.

"TITANS, illustrious sons of earth and heaven,
Our sire's progenitors."

Orph. H. 36. 1.

"Against the Greeks, then shall a future race
Of Titans, pouring from the utmost west,

Raise the barbaric sword and Celtic war."—*Callim. H. in Delph.* 172.

"To this I may add, that the old poets regarded the Titans as the original and primitive race of mankind. Hence Orpheus says,

"From you are all the tribes throughout the world."—*H. in Titanas.*

"Some call the *Titans* the first race."—*Arati Phenom. Sch. in loco.* 18.

"The names by which they were known, *Terrigenæ*, sons of the earth, imply that generally speaking they were *Indigenæ*: *Titanes* may be a synonymous term.¹ *TIT*, in *Hebrew* and in *Celtic*, signifies *earth*, and in the latter *Hanu*, *Geni*, *Eni*,—to spring forth, to be born.

"These Titans, the sons of the heaven and the earth, or of the climate and the country, and the parents of the *Celtae*, according to *Hesiod's* account, were driven into the *lower parts* of the *earth* (Lower Egypt?), into a land already inhabited by some of their brethren. They must, therefore, have been such branches of the family as had stayed behind, and had, by force, kept possession of a land, intended only as a thoroughfare, but were compelled at length" (probably by the inhabitants of Upper Egypt or *Mizraimites*) to follow, as 240,000 other Titans did, the rest.

"The descendants of the Titanian *Japetidae* may, I think, be recognized in the *Waldenses*, the *Irish*, and the *Brigantes*. Many proofs may be given that a *Celtic* dialect, allied nearly to the *Irish*, once prevailed in *Thrace*."

Dr. Murray states that the "primary tribes of Europe are, as is generally admitted, 1st, the *Celtae*, ancestors of the *Irish*; 2nd, the *Cymri*, progenitors of the *Welsh*, *Cornish*, and *Armoricans*. In the west of *Gaul*, and in *Britain*, there is evidence to presume that the greater part of the population consisted of the division of the *Celtic* race whose posterity now possesses the name of *Cymri*" (a name not known in *Cæsar's* time, but of modern date); "but in *Ireland*" (and in the *Scottish Highlands*) "the population was wholly *Celtic*, of that original stem which had penetrated in the earliest ages into *Gaul*, *Spain*, and the *British Isles*."²

¹ This is doubtful, if we receive the statement given elsewhere, that they inhabited the banks of the Nile in Lower Egypt, and were by way of reproach called *Fenmen* or *Titans*, by the inhabitants of Upper Egypt.

² From a work by *Christⁿ. Anderson*.

As some of our modern philologists seem inclined to repudiate Stukeley and to disclaim any connection between our national or local names and words and the Phœnician or Celtic language, it may be proper to remark, that the term *Hycsi* remained in Worcestershire in the time of the Romans, and, as Stukeley informs us, "even to the time of the venerable Bede." The natives of Worcestershire were called "*Huiciu* to which *Orduices* and *Vigorniensis* is synonymous." All these three words denoted shepherds or persons addicted to a pastoral life, such as the *Hycsi* in Lower Egypt and the ancient Canaanites in Abraham's time are known to have been.

In reply to some philological *heresies* of this kind, an excellent antiquarian and admirer of Stukeley, lately made the following remarks in connection with the word *Sarsen*, whose Phœnician derivation had been denied. He suggested a much nearer source than Phœnician (in the first instance at least), the county namely in which these *Sarsen* stones are chiefly to be found. "The Anglo-Saxon word for a rock or stone," according to Mr. Falkner, (of Devizes,) "is *Ses*, in the plural *Sessen*, *Sessan*. The letter *e* is sounded as *e* in *there*, or in *fair*, and as *e* in *après*. The people where the stone is found" (on the Marlborough Downs) "call them *Sasens* or *Sassens*, so that perhaps the word *Sarsen* is no other than the Anglo-Saxon word for rock *properly* pronounced, as many other words from the same origin are, in the present day. This makes good the remark of some writer, that the illiterate, in their pronunciation and use of words, both in the present times and the past have not gone from us, but we from them. *Sesse* in Anglo-Saxon is a settle or seat, which brings to mind the stone seats in church porches, called *settles*."

It is more than probable, however, that Stukeley's conjecture is correct, and that *Sarsen* and many other words have descended to us through the Anglo-Saxon from a more primitive and general language, such as the Phœnician or Celtic. No one asserts Anglo-Saxon to be a primitive or very ancient language, and philologists are in general agreed that the Greek and Roman and all the modern dialects have a common and primitive source.

“Determined,” says Huddleston,¹ “to probe the matter to the bottom, I devoted my serious attention to the history, antiquities, and language of the *Celts*. The result was that I found it established by the most *unquestionable authorities*, that the Celtic language was a *dialect of the primary language of Asia*; that the *Celts were the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe*, and that they had among them, from the most remote antiquity, an order of *LITERATI NAMED DRUIDS*, to whom the *Greeks and Romans ascribe a degree of philosophical celebrity inferior to none of the sages of antiquity*.” From the Celtic language which has a remarkable affinity with the Sanscrit, and is therefore the aboriginal language of Europe which they colonized, are derived all our modern languages, viz.: the Gothic or German; Phœnician or Moorish in Spain; the Italian from the Gothicized Roman (the Roman and Greek being both derived from the Sanscrit); the French from the Celtic, Roman; and Gothic; and the old British (a dialect of the Celtic), whence has been formed the present English after various transformations from the Saxon and other languages. The *Celts* (and of course their *Literati the Druids*) are descended from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, the eldest son of the Patriarch Noah, who was the progenitor of the *Gomarians* in Asia, the *Sacæ*, the *Titans*, the *Cimri* or *Cimmerians*: and also of the *Celtae* who were better known by the name of *Gauls*.²

In proof of the correctness of this view, we shall conclude this chapter with a comparison of the Celtic and Greek in the Lord's prayer. “The Lord's prayer in Greek, (says Maclean) if put into the Roman character is pretty intelligible to a Celt of the nineteenth century! There we have ‘*ouranois*,’ for the Celtic *auran*, heavens; ‘*to onoma sou*’ for *do ainmsa*, thy name; ‘*to thelema sou*’ for *do thoilsa*, thy will; ‘*ton artón*’ for *an t-aran*, the bread; ‘*ofeilemata*’ for *oilpheum*, offence, crime, where we may perceive the palpable transposition; ‘*peirasmon*’ for *beer-as*, or *buaireas*, temptation; and ‘*poneron*’ a Cabalistic term equivalent to our *Jpheron*, hell, &c. Transposition has multiplied terms, not confounded them. What in Joshua xix. 8, is *Baalet* or *Bolet*, is in 1 Kings xvi. 31,

¹ In his preface to Toland's History of the Druids, p. 670.

² Pezron in his ‘Antiquities of Nations,’ quoted by Maclean.

Eth-Baal, or *Et-Bol*. *Ain-Ath*, whose temple in Canaan was styled *Bith-Anath* (*Bu-Ain-Tan*), is found often reversed, and styled *Ath-an*. What matters it whether we say, *Rih-Gille*, or *Gille-Rih*?"¹

CHAPTER V.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

"Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyrus."—*Tibullus*.

As we have alluded to the probable connection of the Titans with the Phœnicians after their expulsion from Egypt, and also the affinity of the latter with the Chaldeans, it may be desirable to give a brief account of that enterprising people who made Tyre the metropolis of commerce for so many ages. Such an enquiry is important from the commercial intercourse of the Phœnicians with this country and their colonization of Ireland, whose present inhabitants and language discover their Tyrian original. Though there has been considerable difference of opinion concerning the origin of the Welsh, the Cornish, and Armoric or French British, (to whom may be added the Belgæ), some deriving their extraction from the Teutoni or Goths a German people, and descendants of the Cimbri who inhabited Jutland or the Cimbric Chersonesus in the North of Europe, there has never been a doubt respecting the Irish, who with the Erse or Scottish Highlanders and the Manks, were generally admitted to be of Celtic origin.

We are informed by Tacitus,² that Ireland was more frequented by merchants for the purpose of commerce than Britain, though the latter country was visited by Phœnicians on account of its tin. This Roman historian in another of his works³ acquaints us that Celtic Europe was first colonized by navigators or emigrants *in ships*. "The Germans," he says, "there is reason to think are an indigenious race and the original natives of the country, without any admixture of adventitious settlers from other natives. In the early ages of the world the adventurers who issued forth in quest of new habitations, did not traverse extensive tracts of land:

¹ Maclean's History of the Celtic Language, pp. 256, 257. ² In *Agricolâ*.

³ Tac. de *Moribus Germanorum*, quoted by Sir W. Betham.

the first migrations were made by sea in ships. Even at this day the northern ocean, always inimical to navigation, is seldom traversed by ships from our part of the world." From the same writer we further learn that some of the German tribes were of Celtic origin and particularly addicted to commerce and mining: and Cæsar states that Mercury the patron of merchandize was the principal deity of the Celtæ, which strongly confirms the derivation of the Celts* from the Phœnicians, the merchants confessedly of the ancient world.

"We have no certain history," says Sir W. Betham,¹ "of the period when the Celtæ first fixed their residence in Europe. Herodotus was acquainted with the fact of the Phœnicians having traded to certain islands beyond the pillars of Hercules for *tin*. Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Strabo, and Plutarch, knew little more. The most ancient of the Greek writers say, that Hercules (that is the Tyrians) sailed beyond the pillars of Hercules, and subdued the giants Albion and Bergion among the Celtæ, *i.e.* conquered those islands: and Aristotle says the Phœnicians formed settlements in the British islands. From all which, the affinity of the Irish and Phœnician languages, and the remains constantly found in Ireland,² we can scarcely err in concluding the Celtæ to have been a very early Phœnician colony, who, like their modern imitators, first formed settlements in Spain, Ireland, Britain, and Gaul, for commercial purposes, and afterwards sent military expeditions to conquer and secure these colonies." From the description of the

¹ Ulster King of Arms, and author of the Gael and Cymbri, &c.

² Numerous mines evidently worked at a very remote period, as also specimens of elaborate workmanship in gold, silver, copper, bronze, &c., are constantly discovered in the bogs in Ireland. "Mr. Griffith," says Sir W. Betham, "personally inspected almost every mine in Ireland, and from the office he held, was peculiarly qualified to supply valuable and important evidence, both as a mineralogist and metallurgist. He tells us that the mines were extensively worked in *almost every part of Ireland, and that an ardent spirit for mining adventure must have pervaded this country at a very remote period. And further, that the ancient Irish possessed skill in metallurgy, we have abundant proofs from the numberless articles in gold, silver, copper, brass containing zinc, bronze containing tin, and other mixed metals, that have been discovered in every part of Ireland, many of which display beautiful forms and exquisite workmanship.*"

Phœnicians in the prophecies of Ezekiel, A.C. 590,¹ and Isaiah, A.C. 700,² it is clear that the inhabitants of the two maritime cities of Tyre and Sidon, had been for ages distinguished as navigators and merchants, and were therefore quite competent to send forth colonies to the Northern European nations as well as to other countries, as Carthage and other maritime nations. In Ezekiel, the merchants of Tarshish (supposed by Betham to be the Western ocean and the countries situated upon it) are said to have traded at this "fair on account of the great variety of all kind of these riches, and brought silver, iron, tin, and lead to this market:" and again, "Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the isle; is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days." Now according to Sir W. Betham, tin exists not in any part of Europe but in Britain, therefore that island must have been at least part of Tarshish, which signifies the Western ocean and the adjacent countries; and as Tarshish is also the name of a precious stone the Beryl (or Chrysolite) mentioned in Exodus,³ and is not itself of Hebrew derivation or a Hebrew word, so the same writer conceives that it was obtained from the district whose name it bears, or some of the countries situated in Tarshish or the Western ocean, which would thus make these countries known to the Phœnicians, the only navigators of antiquity, at least 1500 years before the Christian era. And he adds, "it is worthy of remark that Cæsar says the Britons had not only mines of silver, iron tin and lead, but that they imported brass," with which metals according to Ezekiel, Tyre alone was supplied by the ships of Tarshish; that is, the vessels which were employed in trading to Ireland and Cornwall. We proceed now to the origin of the Phœnicians before they settled in Tyre and on the Syrian coasts.

"The most learned Persians," says Herodotus,⁴ "in the history of their country, attribute to the Phœnicians the cause of the enmity between them and the Greeks. They say that *being come from the neighbourhood of the Red Sea to the coast of (the Mediterranean) our sea, soon after they had established themselves in the country*

¹ Ezekiel xxvii. and xxviii.

² Isaiah xxiii.

³ Exodus xxvii. 29.

⁴ Quoted by Sir W. Betham.

which they now inhabit, they undertook long voyages by sea, and carried the merchandize of Egypt and Tyre to many countries, and among others, to Argos, a city which surpassed all others at that time in Greece. They add, that the Phœnicians being arrived, set about selling their goods. Five or six days after their arrival, the wind being low, a great many women, and among them the king's daughter, whose name was Io, the daughter of Inachus, a name also given to the Greeks, went down to the shore to purchase such things as were agreeable to their taste, near the stern of the ships; the Phœnicians rushed up and seized them, and forced the princess and some others on board the vessels, and having made sail proceeded to Egypt."

The Phœnicians are supposed by other authors to have emigrated from the Persian gulph or from that direction, and Strabo seems to have adopted this view: referring to the Sidonians, he says, "it is not known whether we should understand by the *Sidonians* those who inhabit the Gulph of Persia, or those of our neighbours, who are a colony." Dionysius the Periegete, is of the same opinion as Herodotus; "The Syrians," he says, "who live near the sea, and are called Phœnicians, are descended from the Erythræans: they were the first who traversed the seas in ships." Hence, Sir W. Betham concludes that "the Phœnicians were not Canaanites, except by residence, that is, they were not descendants of Canaan: and if they came from the Persian Gulph, they were a colony of Chaldeans; therefore the similarity of their *language, religion, and customs* to the Indians, who borrowed so much from that people, is not so very wonderful."

In the reign of Pharaoh-Necho, King of Egypt (who reigned about 600 years before Christ) we learn from Herodotus,¹ that the Phœnicians were directed by that monarch to "circumnavigate Africa, and return by the Pillars of Hercules, in the northern seas, and so to return to Egypt." Accordingly Herodotus relates that "the Phœnicians embarked in the Erythræan (or Red) Sea, sailed into the southern ocean, and when autumn was come, they went ashore, in that part of the coast of Africa which they had reached, and

¹ Melpomene, ch. 42.

sowed corn; that they waited till harvest, and when they had obtained supplies of provision, again put to sea. Having thus navigated for two years, in the third they arrived at the Pillars of Hercules, (the Straits of Gibraltar) and returned safely to Egypt. They stated on their return that they had sailed entirely round Africa, and *had the sun on their right hand.*¹ *This fact appears to me incredible, but it may not to another.* It was in this manner Africa was known for the first time."

When this historical event, (which has been ascribed to the enterprise of the Portuguese about two thousand years afterwards, and which discovered the way to India by sea), is coupled with the superiority in numbers of the Phœnician fleet which accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece, all doubt as to the ability of the Phœnicians to discover and hold commercial intercourse with Britain and Ireland is removed. We can now better comprehend the glowing description of the prophets in regard to Tyre, "Say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles:"—"the ships of Tarshish did sing in praise of thy commerce, and thou wert replenished and made glorious in every part of the ocean."—"When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou fillest many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and thy merchandize."²—"Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the *beryl*, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes."³ And similar is the language of Isaiah; "Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the *crowning city*, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth."⁴

It cannot be doubted that the Phœnicians, according to the custom of antiquity, introduced their religious worship and deities into the countries which they colonized, on the Red Sea, the coasts of Syria, and afterwards among the Celtæ, particularly in Ireland and Britain. Their divinities and the worship which they rendered to

¹ Or to the North.² Ezekiel xxvii.³ Do. xxviii.⁴ Isaiah xxiii. 8.

them, were afterwards adopted by the Canaanites and Jews, namely Bel or Bael-Peor, the sun, and Astaroth *i.e.* Juno or the moon; also Dagon, supposed to have been Saturn the inventor of husbandry; and others, as Moloch and Remphaim, which are frequently alluded to in the history of the Jews. Under the name of *Chon* and *Rephain* it is supposed Hercules is meant, which is the appellation given him by the Egyptians. By some the name Hercules is derived from a Hebrew word *Haircal*, *the giver of all light*: *Rephain* is derived from an Hebrew term signifying giants. Porphyry, however, supposes the twelve labours of Hercules to be the twelve signs of the zodiac, through which the sun passes in his annual course. It may be further remarked, that the Phœnicians celebrated their worship in groves like the Druids; the priests of Baal being described as priests of the groves, when summoned by Jehu, four hundred and fifty of whom were destroyed.

Some remarks must now be made on the language of the Phœnicians as identifying them with the Celtae, whose extraction is to be traced to those ancient navigators. It would be tedious, however, to enumerate the different cities and rivers on the Mediterranean coasts which clearly owe their names to a Phœnician origin: a list of them is given in Sir W. Betham's 'Gael and the Cymbri.' In mentioning one of the Spanish rivers *Mondoneda*, which he derives from *maon*, heroes, and *onadai*, unfortunate, he relates the following anecdote. "This river, and the Episcopal city in Galicia, take their name from some event. I had proceeded thus far when a friend, a Spanish officer, told me of a regiment of infantry in Spain, now called *Espinados Mondonedoes*, of which there is a tradition. He then proceeded to relate that this regiment, having successfully resisted a conspiracy against an ancient Spanish monarch, (though only thirty out of three hundred survived) obtained as a recompense the distinction of being the hereditary royal guards in all time to come, which they have remained ever since. "*Mondonedoes*," he adds, "has no meaning in Spanish, nor is there any period fixed for the event; it must, therefore, be one of the events of remote antiquity, when the Gaelic was the language of the country, *i.e.* the ancient language of Phœnicia." In Erse or Celtic, this would mean the 'unfortunate Heroes.'

The Phœnician language has an intimate affinity also with the Hebrew, which accounts for the intercourse of the spies of Joshua and the Israelites with the Canaanites. The Phœnicians were not, it must be remembered, the original inhabitants of Canaan, nor were they ever conquered by Joshua, they were merely colonists, and derived, like the Israelites their origin from the Chaldeans.

“It has escaped all observation,” says Sir W. Betham, “as far as I have discovered, that the country about Tyre and Sidon, as far as Acre, anciently bore this name of *Gahlee, or country of the Gael on the sea coast*; this very name, *Gael*, the Phœnician colonies in Europe called themselves, and gave to their settlement in Europe. The facts which support this deduction appear to me so strong that they force themselves on my judgment, and are also supported by the probable and apparently natural and reasonable course of events. The conclusion appears irresistible, that the Gael were a Phœnician colony” (probably ejected from Egypt), “who conquered and settled Celtic Europe at such *remote antiquity, that when they were found by the Romans in Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, they had forgotten all but a tradition of their original country,*¹ their gods, their religion, and their language.”

The identity of the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Celtic (*i.e.* Irish, Gaelic, and Manx) languages, has already been mentioned. As nothing more clearly proves the affinity of different races than their language and religion, we shall conclude this account of the Phœnicians with an extract from a passage in Plautus, which shews the identity of the Hebrew, Punic, and Irish dialects. From the similarity of language it will appear, that not merely the Phœnicians and the Israelites were entitled to deduce their origin from the most ancient of people the Chaldeans, (with whom also the Bramins of India, and the Magi of Persia are similarly connected), but that the Celtae, judging from their religion and language, can trace their original to the same source; and that their priests and philosophers the Druids, are almost identically the same with the Chaldeans, the Bramins, the Magi, and the ancient

¹ The use of war chariots by the ancient Britons, proves their Syrian and Eastern origin.

Egyptian Priesthood, with whom Joseph the great grandson of Abraham was connected by marriage.

The following collation of the Phœnician and Irish languages will shew their affinity or even the identity of these two dialects: the specimen of the former being taken from a Carthaginian speech in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, Act v. Sc. i., and published by General Vallancey from the MSS. of O'Neachtan a celebrated Irish scholar. It is the address of a father to the Deities of the country to restore his daughters and nephew who had been taken prisoners by pirates.

PHŒNICIAN.

“Nyth al o nim va lonuth sicarathissi me oom syth,
Chim lach chumyth mum ys tyal myothi barii imschi.
Lipho can ethyth by mithio ad adan benuthii,
Byr nar ob syllo homal o nim! ubymis isyrthoho.
Byth lym mo thym noctothii nel ech an ti daise mïachon,
Ys i de lebrim thyfe lyth chy lys ohon temlyph ula.”

“Bochart,” says Betham, “thinks the speech in Plautus is partly Punic and partly Libyan. The first lines (given above) he says are Punic, and he thus describes them in the *Hebrew*.

HEBREW.

“Na eth elgonim veelgonath sechorath iismecun zoth,
Chi malachai jitthemu: maalia middabarehen iski.
Lepburcanath eth beni eth gad udi ubenothen
Berua rob sellahem elgonim ubimesuratiben.
Beterem moth anoth othi helech Antidamarchon
Is segada il; Beram tippel eth chele sechinatim leophel.”

LATIN: by Bochart.

“Rogo Deos et Deas qui hanc regionem tuentur
Ut consilia mea compleantur: Prosperum sit ex ductu eorum negotium meum.
Ad liberationem filii mei manu praedonis, et filiarum mearum.
Dii per spiritum multum qui estis in ipsis, et per providentiam suam.
Ante obitum diversari apud me solebat Antidamareonus,
Vir mihi familiaris; sed is eorum costibus junctus est quorum habitatio est in caligine.”

IRISH.

“Niaith allo nimh uath lonnaithe! socruidhse me comsith,
Chimi lach chuigh! muini is toil, miocht beiridh iar mo scith.
Liomphtha can ati bi mitche ad éadan beannaithe,

Biar nar ob siladh umhal; o nimh! ibhim a frotha!
 Beith liom! mo theine nootaithe, neil ach tan ti daisie mac coinne;
 Is i de leabhraim tataach leith chi lis oon teampluibh ulla."

English translation of the Irish version of the Punic in *Plautus*.

Omnipotent much dreaded deity of this country! assuage my troubled mind,
 Thou the support of feeble captives! being now exhausted with fatigue, of thy
 free will guide to my children.

O let my prayers be perfectly acceptable in thy sight.

An inexhaustible fountain to the humble; O Deity! let me drink of its streams!
 Forsake me not! my earnest desire is now disclosed, which is only that of re-
 covering my daughters.

This was my fervent prayer, lamenting their misfortunes in thy sacred temple.

From this collation it would appear that the Punic or Libyan of
Plautus is no other than the Irish or Celtic. The affinity of the
 Irish and Punic to Hebrew is another point of interest, which has
 induced us to give it insertion.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF DRUIDISM.

"Tantum Religio potuit."

"Druidical monuments," says Grose,¹ "consist of Obelisks, being large stones or pillars set up perpendicularly, carnes or carnedes, (hence cairns or stones of all dimensions in a conical form) cromlechs or cromleches, stones not closed up at the end and sides, Kist Vaens or Stone Chests of four flags or thin stones, Rocking Stones, Tolmen or Stones of Passage, Rock Basons and circles or ovals, similar to the temples at Abury and the smaller one on Overton Hill." "The great temple at Abury in Wiltshire," says Taylor, "it is said, described the figure of a seraph, or fiery flying serpent, represented by circles and right lines. Some," (as Abury) "besides circles, have avenues of stone pillars: most, if not all of them, have pillars or altars within their penetralia or centre. In the article of magnitude and number of stones, there is the greatest variety; some circles being only of twelve feet diameter and formed only of twelve stones, while others, such as Stonehenge and Abury, contained, the first one hundred and forty, and the second" (or Abury) "six hundred and fifty-two, and occupied many acres of ground."

¹ Quoted by Taylor in Calmet, vol. iv. 502.

Previous, however, to the erection of temples, and coteremporaneous with obelisks and stone pillars, to which reference has previously been made, "the name of Jehovah was frequently invoked" by Abraham and others of the early Patriarchs under an oak or in groves, which usually were erected on eminences, or in Scripture language, on "high places." In open plains or countries, as was frequently the case in the East, where there were few trees, plain unhewn stones on which no tool had been employed were dedicated to the worship of the Deity instead of oaks or groves from which Druidism derives its name. "Every thing," says Taylor, "leads to the conclusion that the religion of mankind was originally the same, in its objects, its principles, and its rites: and that, to wherever the original tribes of men emigrated, with their natural fathers at their head, or wherever they settled, they retained those religious customs, notions, and references, which they had received as part of their patrimony, in the land of their primary residence. This is of some consequence to us, because Scripture being in many passages very concise, or merely employing allusions, the writers in numerous instances taking things to be too well known to need explanation (as indeed they were to their original readers), we are glad to avail ourselves of whatever may contribute to a better understanding of those concisenesses, those non-explanations, which puzzle and perplex readers of the present day. We naturally turn with a feeling of general interest to our own island; and especially, when any remains of that original religion which we have attributed to the first families of mankind are discovered in it, we embrace with pleasure the opportunities they afford of inquiring what relation they bear to subjects incidentally noticed in Scripture. When among the national antiquities of Britain, some great stone raised into an upright position presents itself, as a memorial, we recollect that Jacob raised a stone as a memorial too; when our notice is attracted by many stones forming heaps, the heap of many stones formed by Jacob and Laban recurs to recollection; stones of great magnitude ranged with labour, effort, and skill, in a circle, remind us that Joshua directed the men of Israel to range a circle of great stones; and when the idea of a holy place, a place of worship, is

connected with such a structure of stones, we inquire whether something similar were not the character of Gilgal, so often and so solemnly mentioned in holy writ—the ‘QUARRIES,’¹ which may perhaps receive explanation from Druidical remains still extant in this island. Was Abraham a Druid? He was as fond of the oak as any Druid could be.² Was Joshua a Druid? He certainly conformed to that character, when he raised a great stone under the oak, at which stood the tabernacle at Shechem; and when he observed that the venerable stone “had heard the words of the covenant,” &c.³ Was Samuel a Druid? When he erected his *Ebenezer*,⁴ his ‘stone of help,’ he did that which a Druid would have done. Did Moses forbid the use of iron, the contact of which would be a pollution to the stones of the altar? The same did the Druids; they also might say, ‘an altar of earth, or of rough stones, stones in their natural state shalt thou raise.’”⁵

The twelve stones taken out of Jordan, and erected by Joshua after the passage of the Israelites and entrance into Canaan, were evidently placed in a circle, and were intended for a memorial of this event. “When your children,” says Joshua, “ask their fathers in time to come, saying, what mean ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them, that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the Covenant of the Lord; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever.”⁶ The name Gil-gal signifies *round*, or circles; and the yearly circuits of Samuel to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, all of which were pillars or stones of commemoration, imply a sacredness attached to these erections as places of public assembly, courts of justice, or stations of sacrifice and worship.⁷ This we afterwards learn was the case, as burnt offerings and peace offerings were dedicated at Gilgal.⁸ Saul was made king by the Israelites “before the Lord” in Gilgal,⁹—the very Stonehenge of the Hebrew nation: Agag was destroyed by Samuel “before the

¹ English translation.

² Gen. xii. 7, 8. xiii. 4, 18. xxi. 33. ³ Joshua xxiv. 27. ⁴ 1 Sam. vii. 12.

⁵ Exodus xx. 25. ⁶ Joshua iv. 5, 10, 20, to the end. ⁷ 1 Sam. vii. 16.

⁸ 1 Sam. x. 8. ⁹ 1 Sam. xi. 17. xiii. 7.

Lord" in Gilgal:¹ David on his restoration to the kingdom was received by the people at Gilgal:² and lastly, we find that a college of priests and prophets existed at Gilgal, which seems to have been the customary residence of the prophet Elijah.³

"When we recollect therefore," to cite again the editor of Calmet, "that the Druidical circles of stones were temples; that the greatest Druidical circle of stones in our island, was the place of assembly for the whole people, as it were; that here were solemn compacts made, solemn treaties ratified, and national faith pledged, to say nothing of the administration of public worship, &c., the conformity to certain ideas which prevailed among the Hebrews in their early commonwealth, is striking; and those ideas their greatest prophets and magistrates were so far from reproving, that they rather countenanced and supported them. The lesser erections of stones, their masses, their forms, their application, which appear most clearly in the earliest Scripture ages, support the acknowledgement of a similitude no less striking between the remote islanders of the West, and the patriarchs of Palestine in the East. The sons of Japhet, unquestionably, derived many of their institutions from the same sources as the more favoured sons of Shem; and those resemblances confirm the proposition that 'God has made of one blood all nations of men.'" And in conclusion he remarks, "We need say no more in support of our proposition, that the religion which caused these circles of stones to be constructed, in so many and so distant places, was once very general among mankind. We have traced them in India, in Persia, in Western Asia, in Greece, in Northern Europe, in the British Isles: farther proof is unnecessary; the evidence is sufficient, and the inference is most just, that their origin may safely be placed in those remote ages when the patriarchal religion maintained itself in much of its primitive simplicity, and while the different tribes of men retained the rudiments, if not the vigour, of those principles which had been communicated from their highly venerated, and not very distant, primæval ancestors."⁴

¹ 1 Sam. xv. 33. ² 2 Sam. xix. 13, 40. ³ 2 Kings ii. 1.

⁴ Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. iv. pp. 507, 510.

However pure may have been the patriarchal religion when first introduced into Britain by the Druids, who had probably after their expulsion from Egypt, been brought to this country by the Tyrian Hercules¹ so far back as the time of Abraham, it cannot be denied, that like other religions, Druidism degenerated in after ages, and became not merely corrupted in doctrines but cruel and infamous in worship. It is not unlikely that later colonists from Phœnicia may have brought along with them the worship of Baal and Ashtaroth (or the sun and moon) the divinities of the Phœnicians at a later period. Baal (or the sun) was the most ancient deity of the Canaanites, and perhaps of the East, and was frequently worshipped by the Israelites, who like the Phœnicians offered human sacrifices and erected altars in *groves*, and on *high places*. Some, however, have thought that Baal was the Phœnician or Tyrian Hercules a god of great antiquity in Phœnicia, and perhaps this opinion may not be inconsistent with that of his being the representative of the sun, who is supposed to have been the first divinity worshipped in the East after mankind had ceased to invoke the name of Jehovah." "The worship of Bel, Belus, Belenus, or Belinus (originally applied to Jehovah) was general," says Taylor, "throughout the

¹ The Tyrian Hercules or Assis is said to have been one of the kings of the Shepherd Dynasty in Egypt, and to have written or been acquainted, says Cicero, with the Phrygian letters. He was afterwards surnamed Ogmios by the Celts whom he instructed, which is a word in their language having reference to his knowledge and eloquence. This knowledge, Dr. Stukeley supposes, Hercules Ogmios or Assis, the Pastor King of Egypt may have acquired from Abraham in the East, and that he brought a knowledge of letters along with our Druids into the extremest west, in this very early age of the world; for that they "had letters, we have Cæsar's express testimony." This Pastor King, as previously observed, is said to have been expelled from Egypt, which he quitted by an agreement with Tethmoris (the founder of a new, or restorer of the former dynasty) A.M. 2120, and carried with him 240,000 followers, which enabled him, as the great navigator Hercules of Grecian antiquity, to transport colonies to various parts of the Mediterranean and the ocean, and to bring the Phœnician Druids into Britain. From him, in all probability, the Druids obtained a knowledge of philosophy and religion, for which both in Gaul and Britain, as well as elsewhere, they were afterwards distinguished. From erecting pillars and temples, Hercules obtained the surname of Saxanus; and for founding Serpentine or Dracontic temples, arose, probably, the fable of his destroying two serpents in his cradle.

British Islands ; and certain of its rites and observances are still maintained among us, notwithstanding the spread and establishment of Christianity during so many ages." Of this he gives several proofs in different districts of England and Scotland ; and a kind of libation was offered, and eggs and milk, &c., were partaken (till lately) by parties of young people yearly on Palm Sunday on the summit of Silbury Hill, which, as we have observed, is connected with the temples at Abury in Wiltshire.

The original system of the Druids was gradually corrupted and debased by the contaminating influence of the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, with whom they were connected by extraction and commercial intercourse. Hence probably were derived those cruel and abominable rites, such as human sacrifices and the burning of infants, which have latterly been ascribed to them, and possibly with justice, though the Romans, in their hostility to the Britons, have probably coloured or aggravated many of their religious rites. Even at this later period, we have the testimony of Cæsar, that, while the religion of the Gauls and most of the Germans was Druidical, the children of their chief men were usually sent over to Britain to be instructed by the Druids in general and religious knowledge, who had at that time a celebrated round temple and other buildings (probably at Stonehenge in Wiltshire), where laws were enacted and administered, youth were instructed in philosophy and the mysteries of religion, and divine worship performed by an arch-Druid and a college of Druidical priests. As far as we can ascertain with any degree of certainty, the following were the leading principles of the Druidical system:—

1. The Supreme Being was to be honoured and worshipped as the Creator and Ruler of the universe ; but in the discharge of this latter office he was assisted by subordinate deities, who were supposed to act rather as angels or messengers than as possessed of any inherent authority of their own.

2. The people were instructed in the immortality of the soul, and also in its frequent transmigrations ; for they were unable to comprehend how virtue and vice were to be recompensed merely hereafter, and not also rewarded or punished in the present life.

3. They taught that all who were guilty of notorious blasphemy were to be capitally punished, and that the priests were the sole judges of such crimes.

4. That men should do unto others as they would be done by; and that they should neither injure their neighbour nor themselves.

5. They considered it wrong (like the Pythagoreans) to eat flesh, milk, or eggs, because human souls might perhaps have inhabited those bodies.

6. That the first appearance of the new moon was to be observed with the utmost reverence, as that planet was supposed to have great influence over the conduct of mankind.

Lastly. Those who committed injustice while inhabiting human bodies, were to be tormented in the bodies of snakes or other reptiles, till they had made an atonement for their sins, according to the directions of the priests.

The cruel and abominable rites of the Canaanites and Syrians were in latter times too faithfully followed by the Druidical priesthood in Gaul and Britain. They were accustomed to offer many of the captives taken in war, who were, by hundreds at a time, enclosed in a wicker machine, to which the arch-Druid, attended by his subordinate priests, set fire; and while their miserable victims were being consumed, the priests chanted hymns or anthems, and the people danced round the burning pile. The mistletoe was held in the highest esteem by the Druids, and was conceived to possess many medicinal virtues: it was sacrilege for any but the priests to cut it from the oak. In all their public ceremonies the priest stood with his eyes fixed on heaven, and his face towards the east. "This ceremony," says an author¹ to whom allusion has been formerly made, "was peculiar to all those heathen nations who lived westward of the Hellespont, as well as the ancient Britons; and although they had all formed the most unworthy notions of the Divine Being, yet the hope of a great person being born in the east seems to have prevailed everywhere among them. This un-

¹ Hurd's Ceremonies and Rites.

doubtedly was handed down to them by tradition; and there is great reason to believe that they expected (like Socrates¹ in Plato) he would rectify all the abuses that had crept into their religion, and that he would reign for ever among men. Thus in every nation we meet with something of a traditional hope of the coming of the Messiah, although some are ignorant of the character he is to assume."

Druidism, as a system, though some of its more innocent practices and temple-ruins still linger in our island, was finally abolished by the Romans under Suetonius, A.D. 62, owing to a rebellion of the Britons, who, goaded by Roman oppression, had taken up arms against their invaders. The Druids in a body withdrew to the island of Mona or Anglesea, in North Wales, where, after a sanguinary conflict with the Britons, in which most of them perished, the Romans took nearly four thousand Druids prisoners, and by a retributive justice (if the accounts of their barbarous practices are true), burned them alive on their own altars. Fires, it is said, had been lighted by the Druids in their groves, to consume the Romans, had the British arms, as they fully expected, been successful; these groves, both in Mona and other parts of England, were cut down by their conquerors, and their religion effectually destroyed. Many of the Druids had, however, previously removed to Ireland, where, and in the Highlands of Scotland, still exist the only pure descendants of the Phœnician colonists and Druids.

We can only briefly here refer to the high estimation in which Druidism was held for a long period in Europe, where it exercised a supreme authority over the political and religious affairs of the countries where it was established.² The antiquity of Druidism was ac-

¹ Plato, Alcib. ii.

² The following is a list of the countries where Druidism was established:—
1. Germans, Gauls, and Britons, of Celtic extraction. 2. Saxons, Danes, Swedes, Norsemen, Muscovites, Russians, Pomeranians, &c., chiefly of Scandinavian origin. The Laplanders are supposed to be a Tartar race. 3. Scythians, Getae or Goths, Thracians, Cymbrians or Cimerians, Lusitanians, of a mixed extraction, Tartar and Scandinavian. 4. Lithuanians, Polonians or Poles, Hungarians, Samogethians (whose country borders on Prussia, Livonia, and Lithuania): these last-mentioned nations, like the preceding, are probably partly Tartars and partly Scandinavians.

knowledged by most philosophical writers of both Greece and Rome. The Abbè Banier in his work on the Mythology of the ancients has the following remarks on this subject. "As I have already proved," he says, "that it is very probable the Northern Celtæ, the fathers of our Gauls, had derived a part of their doctrines from the Persians or their neighbours, so we may pronounce that the Druids had formed themselves upon the model of the Magi; and to be sure they have a more remarkable resemblance to them than all the other philosophers in the world. Accordingly several of the ancients were of this opinion, without troubling themselves to consider by what way the Persian religion may have penetrated into the extremity of the West. After all, the origin of the Druids is lost in the darkness of antiquity; and all we can know, is, that the Greek philosophers, Aristotle, Sosion, and others before them, by whom they are mentioned, (*for they were known in the earliest ages,*) speak of them as of a wise sort of people, *very knowing in matters of religion, and as consummate philosophers in speculation.* So high a notion had they of their knowledge, that Cicero says it was by them Mythology was invented, and consequently they ought to pass for the teachers of the Greeks and Romans."¹

The same writer proceeds to give some account of the Druidical office and authority. "So great was their authority, that no affair of importance was undertaken till they were consulted. They presided in the estates, determined peace or war as they pleased, punished delinquents, and their power sometimes went the length of deposing the magistrates, and even the kings, when they did not observe the laws of the country. They were the first of the nobility of whom the commonwealth was composed and all bowed before them. As they formed a body distributed through all the provinces of the Gauls, by means of their colleges, so they were entrusted with the education of the youth of first quality in the kingdom."²

¹ Banier's Myth. of Ancients. vol. iii. b. 6. p. 228.

² This subject is further referred to in a work entitled 'Traces of Primitive Truth,' (in the press) by the writer of this article: the connection of the Druids with Abury in Wiltshire is likewise referred to in a recent description of the Druidical Temples, &c., at Abury, by the same writer.

“To them belonged the right of creating an annual magistrate to govern in every city, sometimes with the name and authority of king or *vergobret*, who could do nothing without them, nor so much as assemble his council: so that, strictly speaking, it was they that actually reigned, and the kings were but their ministers, or rather slaves.

“Justice was administered only by them. Umpires in all the differences and interests of the nation, they equally decided public affairs and those of private persons, punished crimes, and in processes they adjudged a controverted property to him whom they thought entitled to it. Those who refused to yield to their decision, were anathematized; they were interdicted from all sacrifice, and accounted profane by the rest of the nation, none daring so much as to frequent their company.

“The Druids had the charge of the whole of religion, which also gave them an unlimited power. Thus sacrifices, offerings, prayers, public or private; the privilege of predicting future events, of consulting the gods; of giving responses in their names; of studying nature; the right of rejecting or establishing new ceremonies; of seeing to the observance of ancient laws; of making additions to them according to occurrences; of declaring war, and making peace; of confirming or annulling the election of kings and *vergobrets*; that is, those who in certain provinces of Gaul” (and the British Druids were the same in origin and authority) “were like the Archons of Athens, but only with an annual power; all these were their province.”¹

The doctrines and science of the Druids have been also described by Abbé Banier. “All the maxims of the Druids tend to make men wise and just, religious and valiant. The fundamental points of their doctrines were reduced to these three: To adore the gods, to injure nobody, and to be brave and courageous. Pomponius Mela speaking of their philosophy, says they professed to know the form and magnitude of the earth, and in general of the whole universe; as also the course of the stars and their revolutions; and that their retired life in the caves and woods, where they had

¹ Banier Myth. vol. iii. pp. 230, 231, 232.

their habitation, allowed them full time to meditate upon all these points.

“It is not,” adds the same writer, “to be doubted but the Druids, and in general the Gauls, believed the Immortality of the Soul; and it was this persuasion made them rush upon death, as a sure means of attaining a more happy life. Strabo further informs us that the Druids taught that all things were one day to be destroyed by fire and water.”

Abbè Banier is decidedly of opinion that the Druids did not obtain their philosophy or religion from Pythagoras or his disciples, both of which were known long before his birth in Egypt and almost the whole East, and had also been taught in Gaul by the Druids long before the time of that philosopher. In speaking of their funeral rites, Pomponius Mela states, “that the Gauls in burying their dead, or the ashes of those they burnt, put into their tombs their *moveables*, their *accounts*, and the *bills* of money which they had lent, to serve them in the other world; that they even wrote *letters* also to their dead friends; customs, say they, which they never would have observed, had they not been persuaded that their souls passed into new bodies. But is it not well known, that the partizans of the doctrine of Metempsychosis taught that it was not always immediately after death that the soul was introduced into a new body; that it first went to hell (or the invisible world) to expiate its faults; that from thence it often passed into the Elysian Fields, where after some stay, (as to the duration whereof they varied a great deal,) it drank of the water of Lethe which obliterated the memory of all that had passed, and then it returned into this world to inhabit a new body, more or less honourable, according to the merit of its actions? Nothing is more celebrated among the ancients than those expiations, whereof Virgil fixes the time to a thousand years. It was therefore to be of use to them in this interval, that the Gauls (*i.e.* Druids) put clothes, moveables,¹ and

¹ The barrow of Milbarrow at Monkton, Wilts, was recently opened in the presence of several highly respectable witnesses, and a Cinerary urn was discovered within under some large stones, where also a very ancient key was found, now in the possession of Mr. Falkner of Devizes, who has drawn up an account of the

bills, into the tombs of their dead, and *letters* which they had full time to deliver to those to whom they were addressed."

discovery, with the names of witnesses attached. The key which is very rusty and of an antique form, with three plain lateral prongs, bears every appearance of having been interred with the body *beneath* which it is said to have been found. With a salutary dread of such resolute scoffers at antiquarian speculations as Edie Ochiltree in Scott's celebrated Romance,* there seems in the present instance to be little doubt that this key was interred at a very remote period and formed one of the moveables which were sometimes placed in the sepulchres of the Druids. No clue can, however, be obtained in either the Classical writers or Druidical accounts of keys being ever, much less customarily interred with a body or Cinerary urn: still it may have been an occasional practice. The key in Scripture was the official symbol of authority and distinction, and as the badge of St. Peter, still adopted by the head of the Romish Communion, and even as a badge or attendant on royalty, the key still retains its place as an emblem of office; witness the gold and silver keys assigned to different members of our own Royal Court. In Holy Scripture, hell and the grave, and death itself are described as being locked, to which admission and release from its power belongs to none other than He who brought life and immortality to light. "I am the first and the last," said the Son of God; "I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and *have the keys* of hell and of death."† "These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, *he that hath the key of David*, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth."‡ Hence we learn that our Lord is the author and giver of life, that He is the resurrection and the life, of which the key is represented as the emblem in opening and shutting, that is restoring or taking away life. Again the place of torment is represented in the same book as being locked and opened by a key: "And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the *key* of the bottomless pit. And he *opened* the bottomless pit."§ "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the DRAGON, that OLD SERPENT, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season."|| Among the heathen deities, Mercury who conducted the dead to Hades, or the state of departed spirits, is represented as having a key as his badge of office, and Pluto who presided over the realms of the departed is also usually represented with two keys, intimating his power of "opening and shutting," of admitting and allowing the departure of the dead. Now there is at least some probability, that such a "moveable" as a key may have been intended to intimate the belief of the occupant of the sepulchre in a future state, and that the key buried along with his body or ashes indicated an expectation of the way in which his release was to be effected, by unlocking his tomb and the "gates of death," and opening or admitting him into a future state. Indeed, in connexion with the

* Antiquary, vol. i. ch. iv. pp. 47, 51.

† Rev. i. 17, 18.

‡ Rev. iii. 7.

§ Rev. ix. 1.

|| Rev. xx. 1, 2, 3.

“Such” says Abbé Banier, “were the sciences and doctrines which the Druids endeavoured to inculcate upon their candidates whose of term probation was very long.¹ When any of those candidates had a more happy genius for speculative sciences than their companions, the masters sent them into GREAT BRITAIN, for their improvement and further advances, for *the Druids of that Island were accounted the most accomplished of all*; whether it was that their being less taken up than the Gauls, gave them more time to study, or for the reason we have given above. Notwithstanding this distinction, they maintained regular correspondence together, and consulted one another upon all important emergencies.

“Besides the study of religion and philosophy, the Druids also applied themselves to medicine; but they owed all their reputation in this to the notion people had of their knowing perfectly the influence of the stars, and that they had insight into futurity: for as everything in man has a mixture of good and evil, so those sages who were so much revered, addicted themselves to astrology, divination, and magic; sciences so much to the taste of the people,

Scriptural emblem of the resurrection represented by a key or keys, as also the badges of the heathen deities Mercury, the conductor of departed spirits to the regions of the dead, and Pluto the inexorable monarch of these supposed dreary realms, there is room at least for conjecture that a key interred in a Druidical sepulchre may intimate an expectation of a future resurrection.

The Parish clerk at Abury, Mr. Lawrence Chivers, when digging a grave some years since in seemingly unopened ground in the Church-yard, at the east end of the Church, discovered an ancient key covered with rust, about five feet deep, lying with a “frame of bones,” which almost immediately crumbled into dust when exposed to the air. The grave must have been very ancient, and there was no mound to distinguish nor any stone to mark it. About fifty years since Mr. Chivers found a nearly similar key, very ancient and rusty, in another unmarked and undistinguished grave a little to the south of the South Porch of the Church: no clue could be obtained to this key, which is now lost.

¹ “As the Druids wrote nothing, and all their knowledge was digested into verse, they obliged their novices (like Pythagoras) to learn them by heart, and these verses were so numerous, that sometimes fifteen or twenty years were necessary to learn them. Julius Cæsar, who relates this fact, gives two reasons for it: the first is, that the doctorines of the Druids might not be known to any, and that it might appear the more mysterious; the second is, that the young people who were obliged to learn these verses, might be the more careful to improve their memory.”—Banier’s *Myth.* vol. iii. p. 235.

that though always deluded, yet they never recover from their prejudices. The Druids, 'tis true, made some use of botany, but they mixed with it so many superstitious rites, that it is easy to see they were no great proficient in it." As a necessary preparation for gathering the plant called Selago, which is thought to have been the black Hellebore, those employed were obliged to be "clad in white, to be barefooted, and to offer beforehand a sacrifice of bread and wine."

After the introduction of Christianity into Britain, as is commonly supposed by Lucius a British prince, a descendant of Carac-tacus, who had been taken with his family to Rome, the Druids very generally embraced the Christian faith, which many of their doctrines might predispose them to receive, and which, says Dr. Stukeley, "the Roman arms had been unable to destroy."

"They embraced," says he, "that religion to which their own opinions and rites had so direct a tendency; this is the sentiment of Origen.¹ And it is sufficiently evident, if we consider, that the first planters of Christianity in Ireland immediately converted the whole island, without the blood of so much as one martyr. Nay, the Druids themselves, at that time the only national priests, embraced it readily, and some of them were very zealous preachers of it, and effectual converters of others. For instance, the great Columbanus himself was a Druid, the Apostle of Ireland and Cornwall," &c. We need not be surprised at this, if we admit that these famous philosophic priests came hither, as a Phœnician colony, in the very earliest times, even as soon as Tyre was founded, during the life of the Patriarch Abraham or very soon after." If this be admitted, they would necessarily bring with them the patriarchal religion, which," says Stukeley, "was so extremely like Christianity, that in effect it differed from it only in this; they believed in a Messiah who was to come into the world, as we believe in him that is come. Further they came from that very country where Abraham lived, his sons and grandsons, a family God Almighty had separated from the

¹Comm. Ezek. iv.

gross of mankind, to stifle the seeds of idolatry; 'a mighty prince and preacher of righteousness.' And though the memoirs of our Druids are extremely short, yet we can very evidently discover from them, that the Druids were of Abraham's religion entirely, AT LEAST IN THE EARLIEST TIMES, and worshipped the Supreme Being in the same manner as he did, and probably according to his example, or the example of his and their common ancestors.¹

Should this view, however, be deemed overstrained, this much will at least be admitted, that the conquest obtained by Christianity over Paganism and the almost universal worship of the serpent in this country and elsewhere, is a striking fulfilment of the first prediction by the Divine Creator in Paradise, that the serpent's head should be bruised (or his worship destroyed) by Him "in whom," it was afterwards foretold, "all the nations of the earth should be blessed."²

¹ Stukeley's Stonehenge, vol. i. (fol.) p. 2.

² On the ancient Norman Font in Abury Church, there is a mutilated figure dressed apparently in the Druidical priestly garb, holding a crozier in one hand, and clasping an open book to his breast with the other. Two winged dragons or serpents are attacking this figure on either side. May not this be designed to represent the triumph of Christianity over Druidism, in which there was much veneration entertained for the serpent and serpent worship?

Edington or Hatton the Ethandun of Alfred's victory?

By R. C. ALEXANDER, Esq., M.D.

THERE has lately been renewed in the pages of this Magazine a question as to the march of Alfred, and the site of his victory in the year 878. All discussion on the subject is vague, unless we refer to the cotemporary authorities, and see what they say, and what they call the places mentioned, in their own language. The only two of the chroniclers upon whom reliance can be placed are the author of the Saxon Chronicle for that period, and Asser. The others wrote much later and copied from them.

The words of the Saxon Chronicle are, "Da on þære seofodan wucan ofer Eastron he [Ælfred] gerad to Ecgbyrhtes-stane be eastan Sealwuda, and him comon þær ongen Sumorsæte ealle, & Wylsæte and Hamtunscir, se dæl se hyre beheonan sæ wæs, & his gefægen wærun. And he for ymb ane niht of þam wican to Iglea, and þæs eft ymb ane niht to Æþandune, & þær gefeaht wið ealne þone here, and hine geflymde, & him æfter rad oð þæt geweorc, & þær sæt xiv. niht," &c.—Gibson's edition, p. 85. Ingram, p. 105. "Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Ecgbyrht's stone east of Selwood, and there came to meet him all the Somerset and Wiltshire men, and that part of Hamptonshire that was on this side the sea, and were glad of him [to see him]. And he marched after one night from that station [wic] to Iglea, and from this after one night to Æþandun,¹ and there fought against all the army and routed it, and rode after it to the stronghold, and sat there a fortnight."

The words of Asser are, "Eodem anno post Pascha Ælfred rex cum paucis suis adjutoribus fecit arcem in loco qui dicitur Æpelin-

¹ Our ancestors represented the two sounds of th by þ for that in *thorn* and *thistle*, and ȝ for that in *other*, *thy*, and *with*.

gaeg, et de ipsa arce semper cum nobilibus vassellis Sumurtanensis contra paganos infatigabiliter rebellavit. Iterumque in 7 ebdomada post Pascha ad petram Ægbryhta, quæ est in orientali parte saltus qui dicitur Selwudu, Latine autem *Silva magna*, Britannice Coitmaur, equitavit, ibique obviaverunt illi omnes accolæ Sumurtanensis pagæ & Wiltunensis, omnes accolæ Hamtunensis pagæ, qui non ultra mare pro metu paganorum navigaverant, visoque rege, sicut dignum erat, quasi redivivum post tantas tribulationes recipientes immenso repleti sunt gaudio, & ibi castra metati sunt una nocte. Diluculo sequenti illucescente rex castra commovens venit ad locum qui dicitur Æglea, & ibi una nocte castra metatus est; inde sequenti mane illucescente vexilla commovens ad locum qui dicitur Eþandun venit, & contra universum paganorum exercitum cum densa testudine atrociter belligerans, animoseque diu persistens, divino nutu tandem victoriâ potitus, Paganos maxima cæde prostravit, & fugientes usque ad arcem percutiens persecutus est, & omnia quæ extra arcem invenit, homines scilicet, & equos et pecora, confestim cædens homines, surripuit, & ante portas Paganicæ arcis cum omni exercitu suo viriliter castra metatus est.”—Walsingham’s edition, p. 16. “In the same year after Easter, King Alfred with a few of his partisans formed a stronghold in a place which is called Ætheling-ey, and from this stronghold continued indefatigably to wage war against the pagans at the head of the noblemen his vassals of Somersetshire. And again in the 7th week after Easter he rode to the stone [of] Ægbryhta, which is in the eastern part of the forest which is called Selwood, but in Latin, *Silva Magna*, in British Coitmaur; and there there met him all the inhabitants of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and all such inhabitants of Hamptonshire as had not sailed beyond sea for fear of the pagans, and upon seeing the king received him, as was proper, like one come to life again after so many troubles, and were filled with excessive joy, and there they camped for one night. At dawn of the following day he advanced his standard to a place which is called Æglea, where he encamped for one night. At dawn of the following day he came to a place that is called Eþandun, and fiercely warring against the whole army of the pagans with serried masses, and courageously

persevering for a long time, by divine favour at last gained the victory, overthrew the pagans with very great slaughter, and put them to flight and pursued them with deadly blows up to their stronghold, and all that he found outside of it, men, horses, and sheep he seized, immediately killed the men, and boldly encamped before the entrance of the pagan stronghold with all his army."

These two accounts, the Saxon of the Chronicle, and the Latin of Asser, which Wright maintains is of a later period, are clearly copied from the same document, or one from the other. The Latin seems to be an expansion of the Saxon, except in what it says of the Hampshire men flying beyond sea. The Chronicle seems to mean the part of the county, on this, the west side of Southampton water. The account given by the other chroniclers, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, and Simeon of Durham, will be seen in Giles's 'Alfred the Great,' Jubilee edition, i. p. 72.

The reader will notice in Asser's account of the victory the words '*belligerans,*' warring, '*diu persistens,*' persevering long, '*tandem victoria potitus,*' at last got the victory, expressions which imply a campaign previous to the blockade of the stronghold, rather than a mere battle, and are important in reference to the camps above Heytesbury, which if Bratton castle was the Danish fortress, were probably Alfred's entrenchments.

In the discussion upon the site of this most important event, which secured the preponderance of Wessex and its language and civilization, and but for which we should probably never have had any Anglo-Saxon literature to tell the tale of those times, there has hitherto been no attempt made to derive information from an analysis of the names of places mentioned. People have listened only to some fancied resemblance of sound between them and the names of some existing villages, and neglected to ask the meaning of the ancient terms, and whether it tallied with the supposed site of those places. In the following remarks I attempt little more than to call attention to the use of examining these names by analysis, and do not presume to suppose that I have settled anything.

We learn then from the passages quoted, that Alfred came on horseback, yrad, equitavit, from Æpeling-ey, the island of nobles,

now called Athelney in Somersetshire, through Selwood to his trysting place at a stone called by the different chroniclers, Ecgbyrht's, Ægbryhta's, Egbriht's, and Egbrich's. The incidental notice of Selwood being called in British *Coitmaur*, is interesting in reference to the etymology of Æþandun, as showing that that language was still spoken in Somersetshire 300 years after its submission to the Saxons. Who this Egbricht or Sword-bright was, is unknown. The spot is generally considered to be that now called Brixton Deverill. The latter name, Deverill, it has taken from its Norman owner after the Conquest. Brixton, there can be little doubt, is formed of the last two syllables of Ecg-brihts-stan, the *h* having in Anglo-Saxon the guttural sound of the Dutch *gh*. This station we may consider a point ascertained. Here he was met by levies from the neighbouring counties, and the question is, which way he marched with them. Perhaps the terms 'yrad,' 'equitavit,' imply that Alfred came with only his immediate retinue as far as Brixton. From this place he marched, 'for,' the next day to a place called variously Iglea, Æcglea, Ecglea, and Æglea, which all mean *island-meadow* or *flat*. The first syllable of this word, 'ig' has in composition the sense of *insular*. 'Æg' means the same. The letter *c* between the *æ* and *g* in Asser's account, is unusual, but I see no reason to doubt its being the common word 'æg.' It will explain the numerous variations in the spelling of this syllable to remark that in all the Germanic languages, the eye, an egg, and an island are synonymous: the eye having been used metaphorically for an island, as the nose, ness, for a promontory, the head for the top of a mountain, and the mouth for the *embouchure* of a river. Our own word *island* is in fact eye-land, and ought to be spelt so. The *s* has been taken from the French word *isle* in the same way as the silly *ue* at the end of *tongue* from the French *langue*. It has in fact nothing to do with *isle*, which is a corruption of the Italian *isola*, itself corrupted from the Latin *insula*. In Anglo-Saxon an eye is called æg, ægh, eæg, eah, eage, and ege, and the syllable, that in combination with land, lea, and such words, means *insular*, follows nearly the same variations, being properly speaking, like so many other expressions in ordinary lan-

guage, a monosyllabic comparison, and due originally to the poverty of the ancient vocabulary.¹ The 'ea' of ea-land, *island*, must surely also be contracted from eah, an *eye*, and not, as usually given in Dictionaries, mean 'ea,' *running water*. The differences of spelling may possibly arise from provincial dialect, but I suspect that in Anglo-Saxon a *g* following an *i*, *e*, or *æ* gave them all, as in Danish, the sound of a long *i* or *y*. In Danish *jeg* and *steg* are pronounced *yi* and *sty*: *mig*, *dig*, and *sig* as *my*, *dy*, and *sy*: *regn* as *ryne*, &c. This awkward way of writing a simple vowel sound most likely arose from the northern nations having learnt letters from the Italians, who had not the sound of long *i* or *y* in their own language. Agreeably to this rule *ig*, *eeg*, or *æg* would be merely different ways of speaking the same word, and be equally pronounced 'eye.'

The second syllable of *Æg-lea* means a *low lying pasture* in dis-

¹ It is curious to see the mutual interchange of meaning in the words used for eye, egg, and island in the Germanic languages.

	<i>Eye.</i>	<i>Egg.</i>	<i>Island.</i>
Ang.-Sax.	æg	æg	æg
English	eye	egg	i-and-ey in Iford, Ramsey, Waln-ey, &c.
Old Fries.	eag, eeg		age, ag, ach, oge
Low Germ.	oog		aeghe, aughe, oge, oog in Langer-oog, Spiiker-oog, &c.
Dutch	ooge	ei	ei
Old Saxon of the Heliand	oga	eg, ei	
High Germ.	auge	ei	ei- in eiland.

Here we see in Anglo-Saxon the same word *æg* in all the three senses, in Low German *oog*, and in English *ey* used for the *ey* and an island, and in High German and Dutch the same word *ei* for *egg* and island. Thus we have *æg* and *ei* in three senses and *oog* in only two. But the third meaning of the latter we find safely embalmed in the Latin word *ov-um* an egg. This word agreeably to the usual change of the northern *g* to a *v* or *w* is identical with the Low German *oog*, having merely the case-termination *um* added to it. Of this change of the *g* to a *v* or *w*, we have abundant instances in our own language as compared with Old Norse and German: e.g. low O.N. *lagr*; bow O.N. *bogr*, Germ. *bogen*; gnaw O.N. *gnaga*, Germ. *nagen*; plow and dawter from plough and daughter. The Greek *ὄον* (*oon*) is the same word as the Latin *ovum*, allowing for the digamma, and case-termination *ov* for *um*. The Latin *v* seems from its identity with the vowel *u* to have had the sound of a German *w*, or in some degree of our *w*, but not at all that of our *v*, and the Greek digamma the same. Festus, a critic of the third century, tells us that the *Ægean* sea was called so from the number of islands in it.

tinction from a hill. It is variously spelt *lea*, *leah*, *leag*, *legh*, *lega* and *ley*. It is chiefly, perhaps exclusively, used in composition. Its primitive sense, as seen in the Old Friesian words *lege* and *lech*, which mean *low*, (Germ. *niedrig*) is a *flat ground*. (See Richthofen's *Alt-Friesisches Worterbuch*.) *Leo*, without sufficient reason, explains it as a pasture among *woods*. Kemble thinks it meant originally a meadow lying fallow after a crop. *Cod. Dipl.* iii. p. 33. It is undoubtedly connected with the various verbs in the Germanic languages, which signify *lie down*. A.S. *liggan*, Germ. *liegen*, Dan. *ligge*. In Old Friesian, so valuable for the light it throws upon our own vocabulary, *lech* or *leegh* are constantly opposed to *hach* or *haegh*, high; like the Scotch 'laigh and hie.'

Our *Ig-lea* or *Æglea* then, as being an island flat, cannot be represented by *Clay Hill*, or by *Bugley*, which have no water near them. In what direction shall we find such an island? Now as *Alfred* was not marching at the head of an army fully appointed and ready for fight, but collecting and disposing his levies, as they came in, he could not have gone far the very next day after his arrival at *Brixton*, and we should expect to find this island at no great distance. It appears to me most probable that it was one of those in the *Willy* near *Heytesbury*, more particularly that at *Upton Lovell*. It is the general, but an utterly groundless assumption, that, if the battle was fought near *Edington*, *Alfred* must have marched round under the downs. But at a time when the low country was full of wood and marsh, it is more reasonable to think that he would have ascended the hill on the western side, and met the enemy upon level ground. In doing so he would cross the *Willy* somewhere at the point indicated.

From this island, *Æglea*, he advanced the next day to *Æþandun*. The derivation and meaning of this word *Æþandun* is extremely obscure, and after considering it with the greatest attention I am unable to give any from the Anglo-Saxon that is satisfactory. It is possibly taken from the name of some person called *Æþa*, and not resolvable into any elements with which we are acquainted. It is most likely to be derived from the Welsh *aeth*, a furze bush.

But let us try what can be made out of it from Anglo-Saxon before having recourse to a foreign language.

Dun is an open hilly pasture, a down. 'Æþan' would seem to be an adjective, whose simple form is æþ. This we do not meet with, but there is a common form of eað easy, namely æð. The letters þ and ð are so frequently confused, that perhaps there need not be much importance attached to whether one is used or the other. Indeed most editors of Anglo-Saxon works print þ at the beginning of a word, and ð at any other part of it, without regard to the manuscript. But beside this slight difference of spelling there is the objection, that we do not, I think, ever find æð applied to a hill, or bearing any such sense as 'easy of ascent,' or like its compound eaðfere 'easy to travel on.' With regard to the use of ð and þ it is likely that the confusion has arisen from dialectic difference of pronunciation, and that words which in Wessex were correctly spelt with the one letter, would in another part of England be as correctly spelt with the other. In Alfred's will the words ðe and ðat are thus written agreeably to the modern sound, but in Iceland the corresponding words are written and pronounced þ, as þessi 'this' for instance. It is also probable that the ð at the end of a word may, like the Spanish *d*, take the sound of þ. This derivation of Æþandun from æð, is, grammatically, the most obvious and easiest. The doubt is whether æð ever bears a meaning applicable to a down. There are several other conjectural derivations that have occurred to me, but, having no confidence in them, I will not occupy the pages of this Magazine, or tire the reader, by detailing them. Of the word 'hæðen' a pagan, a term that might be thought singularly appropriate to the camp of an *exercitus paganorum*, as Asser calls them, I will only remark that the importance of the letter *h* in all Germanic languages forbid us to think of it. From the oldest specimen of German in the Mæso-Gothic of Ulphilas to the modern dialects of England, Holland, and Germany, there is not I believe a single instance of the *h* being either omitted or adopted contrary to ancient usage, or occurring in the same word in one of those languages and not in the other, except in the case of the personal pronoun of the third person, (upon which some

remarks will be made in a subsequent part of this paper,) and some foreign words such as Ikenild-street, which is often spelt Hikenild. Other apparent exceptions will resolve themselves into transitive forms in *h* of neuter verbs, or nouns, with an unaspirated vowel, as haccan, hack, from *æx* an axe, hedan, feed, from *ede* flock, hærmian, injure, from *earm*, wretched, hyran, hear from ear, the ear, &c.

Of the Anglo-Saxon derivations of the word, that occur to me, the likeliest philologically is the above from *æð*, and I suspect that this word is connected with 'æ' water, and may imply *level* like the Latin 'æquus,' 'æquor,' which, no doubt, are connected with 'aqua' water, and represent a smooth water-levelled surface.

I think, however, that every reader will agree with me that the Welsh word 'aeth,' a furze-bush, pl. 'eithin,' offers a far more probable explanation of the name. I will here quote what Kemble remarks upon this adoption of British names by the Saxons.

"Before we proceed to notice these words in detail, it will be desirable to remark one circumstance which throws considerable difficulty in the way of their explanation: this is the extremely corrupt manner in which they are too often written, and which coupled as it frequently is, with peculiarity of dialect, sometimes renders it impossible even to settle their true form, *a fortiori* to decide upon their meaning. Nor is this the only difficulty which meets the inquirer. It cannot be doubted that local names, and those devoted to distinguish the natural features of a country, possess an inherent vitality, which even the urgency of conquest is frequently unable to destroy. A race is rarely so entirely removed as not to form an integral, although subordinate, part of the new state based upon its ruins: and in the case where the cultivator continues to be occupied with the soil, a change of master will not necessarily lead to the abandonment of the names by which the land itself and the instruments or processes of labour are designated. On the contrary, the conquering race are apt to adopt these names from the conquered; and thus after the lapse of twelve centuries and innumerable civil convulsions, the principal words of the class described yet prevail in the language of our people, and partially in our literature. Many then of the words which we seek in vain in

the Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries, are, in fact, to be sought in those of the Cymri, from whom they were adopted by the victorious Saxons, in all parts of the country; they are not Anglo-Saxon but Welsh (*i.e.* foreign Wylisc) very frequently unmodified either in meaning or pronunciation."—Cod. Diplom. vol. iii. p. 15.

It may now be enquired what down there is in the possible line of Alfred's march, to which the name of Furze-down would be appropriate. We do not usually find that bush on chalk downs, but on gravelly or sandy soil. Being unacquainted with that part of the country, I can form no opinion as to its probable site, but should conclude from the character of the booty captured, namely, sheep and horses, and not oxen or swine, so much more highly valued at that time, that it was some part of the Plain, if there is any to which the name is applicable. If I am right in supposing Iglea to have been an island in the Willy, then it is most likely that Alfred marched up over Heytesbury down. There are several camps there, Battlesbury, a very significant name, Scratchbury, Knook, &c.

Nor need we be surprized that the Danes should have quitted their winter quarters at Chippenham, and posted themselves on the down, for, independant of military reasons for doing so, the downs were at that time as valuable as the wooded marshy lands below. If we may judge from the hundreds not being larger on the Plain than elsewhere, they must have also been as populous.

The camp usually assigned to them, Bratton castle, would agreeably to the above reasoning be the right one. But as to Edington being identical with *Æþandun*, I have my doubts. There are many instances where in the carelessness of modern times the 'dun' which originally meant an open down, has been changed into 'ton,' which meant an enclosed farm or village, but it is more reasonable to think that there may have been both an Eding-ton and an Eding-dun.

It is not so easy to account for þan being changed into *ding*. In the Scandinavian and German languages the þ and ð have been replaced by *t* and *d*, but there is no tendency to this change in English. Far from it, a great number of words once spelt with *d* are

now spelt with *th*, as father, mother, hither, thither, which in Anglo-Saxon were fæder, modor, hider, þider. *Father* is a strong case in point, for in all Germanic languages it means, as in Greek and Latin, the *feeder*, and *feed* is always spelt with *d* and not *th*. For instance

1. Mæs. Goth.	fadan	feed	fadar
2. Angl.-Sax.	fedan	„	fæder
3. Old Fries.	feda	„	feder
4. Dutch	voeden	„	vader
5. Iceland :	fædi	„	fadir
6. Old Swed.	föda	„	födur
7. Danish	föde	„	föder
8. Old Saxon	ât	food	fader

Murder from the Anglo-Saxon *morðor* is the only instance where *ð* has become *d* or *t* before a vowel. There are a few like *Hadfield* and *Sutton*, where it has changed before a consonant.

As to the rival claim of *Yatton*, the distance appears too great for the first two days' march of unembodied levies, and in the state of forest, in which the intermediate country was then lying; but this is a strategical question with which I will not meddle. Those who have maintained this idea, which *Whitaker* first published, have taken *Highley* near *Melksham* for the *Iglea* where *Alfred* encamped the night before the battle. But *Highley*, in the first place, is not an island, and then the seeming identity of sound between the words is a delusion. How *Highley* was originally spelt, I cannot discover. There is no mention of it in old books and maps. But if since the *Conquest* it has always been spelt as at present, it is an entirely different word from *Ig-lea*, and in Anglo-Saxon times would have been written *Hig-lea*, or *Heah-lea*. The *H*, as before observed, was formerly in this, as in other Germanic languages, a most important letter. Among all the names in *Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus* that begin with *I*, *Æ*, or *E*, there is not one which in modern English has assumed an initial *H*; nor is there one beginning with *H*, which has dropped it. *Igfeld*, *Igford* (near *Bradford*), *Igset* and *Igtun* are now called respectively *Ifield*, *Iford*, *Eyset* and *Eyton*. This coupled with the fact that

an initial H has never been either assumed or dropped in any other Anglo-Saxon word, or in any word of any Germanic language, till recent days of cockneyism, seems to set at rest the question of Highley being Iglea. It is more likely to be a hamlet built in modern times upon a field called High-ley. The map inserted in Ingram's Saxon Chronicle represents the neighbouring brook as forming an island, but compared with other maps excites a suspicion that it is only with the aid of field ditches that the ground acquires an insular character, and, such as it is, Highley does not stand upon it. Against Westbury Leigh there is the same objection that it is not an island. Iford near Bradford, would have been much more plausible.

Next as to Yatton being *Æþandun*. The name means Gate-farm, or village from *geat* a gate, or rather gateway, pronounced *yat*, as it is still in the northern counties, a word from which a great number of other places have derived their names, the Yattons in Somerset and Herefordshire, the Yates in Gloucester and Lancashire, Yatehouse, Yately, Yatesbury, &c. Yatton could not possibly be derived from *Æþan*, for every English word beginning with *y*, if of Saxon, was formerly written either with *ge* or *iw*, or with *e* and some vowel after it. For instance, year, yoke, yard, yule were spelt gear, geoc, geard, and geol, although unquestionably pronounced as at the present day; and again Yalding, Yardley and York were spelt Ealding, Eardleah and Eoforwic; and yew, Yewden and Yewcomb, spelt iw, Iwden and Iwcumb. It does not appear that any truly English name that now begins with a *y* was ever spelt with an initial *æ* or *e*. Nor, as before observed, do I think that there is any instance in the English language of a *þ* before a vowel becoming *t*. It is not sufficient in these matters to say that the sounds are much alike and might pass into one another, as in other countries. We must humbly observe what actually has taken place in similar words, and not reason a priori, but from precedents.

We learn from Mr. Scrope's paper that Yatton was formerly called Eaton, and the downs near it Etton downs. That may very well be so. Geat-ton, Eat-ton and Yat-ton are only different spel-

lings of the same word, and Etton a shortened form of it. Ea-ton, with one *t*, would mean a village on a running stream, a name that would not have been given to Yatton, while the meaning of 'ea' was still known, but might easily enough have been corrupted from it in later times. But Eatton could scarcely be derived from *Æþan*, for the *æ* has no more tendency to become *ea*, than to become *ya*, and there is the same anomaly as in the case of Yatton, the change of a *þ* to a *t*.

With Slaughterford, as there is no mention of it in the ancient chronicles, we have in this present enquiry nothing to do. There may have been a battle with the Danes there, but we have no evidence that it was Alfred's battle of Eþandun.

Before concluding this paper, I beg to be allowed to say a few words upon etymological reasoning generally.

There is nothing more illusory than listening to vague resemblance of sound in words, and concluding upon their mutual connexion without regard to the laws which govern the changes of a language as regularly as the declension and conjugation of nouns and verbs. Those who are familiar with any local dialect will anticipate how a peasant will pronounce any word that is given to him; how surely in Wiltshire he will change *s* to *z*, and *f* to *v*, and will utter his *a*'s broadly, and give a coarse sound to his *l*'s and *r*'s after a vowel. The changes effected in our language since the Conquest have followed rules quite as constant, except perhaps in the case of *gh*, with which, since we lost its sound, we seem not to know what to do. Where a foreign nation learns a new language, and learns it imperfectly, there is no anticipating how capriciously words may be altered, but the development of a language in its native country, and by the race to which it belongs, is not a matter of chance.

And here I would explain what, for the sake of the argument, it was necessary to state broadly above in the question of Iglea and Highley, that an initial *h* has never been capriciously adopted or suppressed in synonymous words in any of the Germanic languages. The irregularity noticeable in the pronouns of the third person might seem to contradict this statement, for our word *it* is *hit* in Anglo-Saxon, *het* in Dutch, *es* in German, and *it*, (or here and

there in some of the manuscripts *hit*) in the Old Saxon. This however has not arisen from a mispronunciation of the word, or a disregard of an *h*, but from a confusion of two different demonstrative pronouns, which can only be explained by referring back to the oldest form of German extant, the Mæso-Gothic of Ulphilas's translation of the New Testament made in the 4th century. In this language we find *he* and *it* to be respectively *is* and *ita*, corresponding to the Latin *is* and *id*, and declined

M. Sing.	N.	M. Plural.	N.
N. is (Lat. is) he	ita (L. id)	N. eis (L. ii)	ija (L. ea)
G. is (L. ejus)	is	G. ize (L. eorum)	
D. imma (L. ei)	imma	D. im (L. eis)	im
A. ina (L. eum)	ita	A. ins (L. eos)	

These same words with an initial *h* prefixed to them take on the sense of *this*, as in 'himma-daga' *this day*, in our Lord's prayer, 'und hita' *until this time*, Mark xiii. 19., 'fram himma' *from now* John xiv. 7., 'und hina dag' *until this day*, Mat. xi. 23. The same power of an initial *h* prefixed to pronouns and pronominal adverbs, that of giving them the sense of vicinity in place or time, we see in the words *here*, *hence*, *hither*, and in the German *her* *hither*, *heute* *this day*, *heuer* *this year*, and in the Old German *hi-naht* *to-night*. We find it also in the Latin *hic* *this*, which, short as it is, seems also to be compounded of similar elements, *h*, *is*, and *ce*. An initial *th* prefixed to these pronouns seems on the other hand to have given them the sense of distance, as in *there*, *hence*, *thither*. But in the course of time their proper meaning was neglected, and *het* and *hit*, which meant *this*, and *det* in Danish which meant *that*, came to be used for simply *it*. How it is that since the Conquest we have gradually replaced the Anglo-Saxon *hit* with the older and purer *it*, is uncertain, but as the so-called Anglo-Saxon was in fact merely the dialect of Wessex, it is likely that *it* had been all along retained in other parts of England, and eventually came into use, just as the more correct *thresh*, *run*, and *grass* replaced the Wessex *thersh*, *yrn*, and *gærs*, words that are heard to this day in the West of Somersetshire, but in none of the continental forms of German. Horne Tooke's ingenious conjecture that *hit* and *it* are contracted

forms of *hight*, 'named,' is unfounded. It would exceed the limits of a paper upon a local subject to explain other apparent anomalies in the use and disuse of an initial *h*, but they are, I believe, all of them as clearly resolvable as *it* and *hit* into a misuse of terms, and not a mispronunciation of them.

As the identification of *Iglea*, upon which the direction of Alfred's march depends, turns upon the importance or unimportance of the initial letter being aspirated or not, I trust that these remarks will not be considered out of place or superfluous.

There are two objections usually taken to etymological studies—their uncertainty and their frivolous character. The first objection applies with equal force to geology and politics, and almost all branches of science, and undoubtedly did once apply most especially to etymology, "when," as Voltaire says, "the vowels were of no consequence at all and the consonants of very little." But since philologists have ascertained the laws and limits of change in the different dialects of the great Indo-European family, as well in regard to vowels as consonants, what was chaotic confusion before, is become a pleasing, satisfactory, and very instructive science. As in statistics nearly every event, taken separately, is a chance, and yet collectively such events afford data for safe inductions, so in Philology the probability that some certain word is the same as some other word in a different language, from a mere guess becomes a certainty, as more and more cases in point are found; and at length, what at first was only probable, is established as a general law. Many again look upon enquiries of this kind as mere literary curiosities, but conducted judiciously they throw the most unexpected and interesting light upon the history of a people's civilization, its ancient manners and modes of thought, and not unfrequently upon historical events, and in this point of view deserve the full attention of the local antiquary. I greatly regret that I cannot prove the latter assertion by more decisive testimony upon this question of *Æthandun*, but imperfect as this paper is, it may stimulate those who are better qualified than myself to investigate this and other points of county history by the same method, and follow them up to more satisfactory conclusions. I trust that I

shall not have occupied these pages of the Magazine quite uselessly, if I have only shown how little reliance is to be placed upon the mere chiming of names with each other without analysis of the intrinsic meaning of them.

R. C. A.

On the finding of *Carduus tuberosus* at Avebury.

By PROFESSOR BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S. &c.

IN reporting upon our Meeting at Avebury, Wilts, I took occasion to remark upon some interesting plants which I had obtained from the Druidical circle, and amongst notes upon others will be found the following:

“*Carduus acaulis*” (Linn.) Stemless Thistle, with (anomalous as it appears,) stems several inches high. This is one of the forms which has given rise to the many synonyms by which the true species is surrounded.¹

In July of the present year I found myself at the Avebury circles in company with my friend Edward Lees, Esq., when this thistle was by us more minutely examined, and upon carefully getting some specimens up by the roots, we were pleased to find that it agreed in this and other respects with the “*Carduus tuberosus*,” (Linn.) tuberous Plume Thistle, a specimen of which appears to have been sent by A. B. Lambert, Esq. to Sir J. E. Smith, and is figured in English Botany, t. 2562, to the description of which is appended the following habitat: “A copse wood called Great Ridge on the Wiltshire Downs, between Boyton House and Fonthill, abundantly, and Smith states that he there gathered it in 1819.” *English Flora*, vol. iii. p. 393.

For many years, however, this form appears to have become extinct in this its original habitat, and it was thought to have been entirely lost to our Flora, until within the last few months, when Mr. T. B. Flower of Bath fortunately discovered that a nurseryman in his neighbourhood had propagated the plant from its original stock, presented to the nurseryman by Lambert himself, and the

¹ Address to the Coteswold Natural History Club, October 6th, 1857.

two or three specimens thus handed down are now in Mr. William Cunnington's possession, and upon paying him a visit at Devizes on our way from Avebury to Stonehenge, I was gratified to see a specimen in full flower in his garden, as well as two dried examples in his Herbarium; and from an examination of these, I am enabled to declare their complete identity with those I had so recently gathered at Avebury.

Here then we have a curious example of a plant having been lost for many years in one locality, yet subsequently occurring in another: and though the collecting botanist may perhaps felicitate us upon restoring this to the British Flora, I have myself great hesitation in receiving it as a true and undoubted species: the grounds for which I would shortly sum up as follows. It occurs sparingly at Avebury, surrounded by the true "*Carduus acaulis*" (Linn.), and "*C. acanthoides*" (Linn.), in great abundance. Its most important distinctive character will be found in the radical tubers, which in full grown examples are somewhat large and fleshy, and unilaterally placed on the rhizome. In smaller specimens the roots are long and flexile, but not expanded into tubers, which is just the state in which they occur in the "*Carduus acaulis*" (Linn.)

It is true that it cannot be described as *acauline* as the stem is more than a foot in height, but this is also often the case with the true "*C. acaulis*" (Linn.), as we have now before us examples of this species several inches high.

From these circumstances in connection with the rarity of the tuberous form in a plant that seeds so abundantly, each head of flowers being capable of perfecting as many as one hundred and fifty seeds; taking also in consideration the well known sporting propensity of this genus, I cannot help thinking this to be a *hybrid*, and from the fact of the abundance of the two forms before indicated in its immediate vicinity, we may not unreasonably look upon them as the origin of our tuberous type. There is perhaps no genus of plants more perplexing to the botanist than that of "*Carduus*," which is now made to include *Cnicus*, and hence the variation in the number of species in our different floras, and thus Babington heads his descriptions of them with the following signi-

ficant note, "*Many hybrids occur in this genus.*"—*Manual of British Botany*, 4th edition. And my friend Lees has kindly furnished me with the following note upon another disputed species which directly bears upon this question.

"In August 1856, I found the "*Carduus Fosteri*," (Smith) in a field near Crowle, Worecstershire. In the same marshy field was a considerable quantity of *Carduus pratensis* (Huds.), and a very numerous growth of "*C. palustris*" (Linn.) so as to give rise to an immediate suspicion of its hybridity, and upon examination the characters shown by "*C. Fosteri*" (Smith), were exactly intermediate also. The leaves were much like those of "*C. palustris*" (Linn.), while the stem and flowers were in small clusters, instead of being single as in the latter. Indeed the result of my examination convinced me that *C. Fosteri* (Smith) could be only a hybrid, and this I stated in an account I sent to the "*Phytologist*," and which appeared in the September number of that Journal for 1856."

For the present then I must content myself with having offered presumptive evidence of the non-specific character of what is after all a decidedly distinctive form, and as I have brought home some specimens and planted them in my botanical garden, where I shall also introduce the "*C. acaulis*" (Linn.) and "*C. acanthoides* (Linn.), I shall look forward to the result of experiments with these with no little degree of interest, as in all probability like so many other experiments which I have been enabled to perform in the same direction, these may serve still more to perplex the question of, What is a species?

Cirencester, January, 1858.

Bradford-upon-Avon.

(Continued from page 88.)

THE PARISH CHURCH.

THE Parish Church of Bradford-on-Avon is dedicated to the 'Holy Trinity.' The memorial of the holiday originally kept in observance of the dedication of the Church is still preserved in an annual fair "holden in the Borough on the morrow after Trinitie Sunday."

Although the building, taken as a whole, has no great pretensions to architectural excellence, being a strange, and, to many eyes, discordant mixture of every variety of style, yet its very antiquity makes it interesting. . . Nearly eight hundred years have perhaps passed by since the original structure, much of which still remains, was erected. The additions that from time to time have been made to it seem to be a connecting link between the present and the past, and to tell silently, yet not unimpressively, the tale of by gone generations, who slumber now within its walls or beneath its shade, each of whom has left a memorial behind them. Its very irregularities, whilst they preserve the vestiges of the growth and tell the history of the building, mark also the successive changes in the parish itself, from times when wealth and devotion went hand in hand, and men vied with one another in their costly offerings to the Temple of God, to times when they measured all things by the narrow standard of a selfish utilitarianism, and, though they themselves 'dwelt in cedar,' suffered the House of God to be altogether unadorned, and to a great extent uncared for and neglected.

"A mother Church," says Bishop Kennett, "was the more honorable for being branched out into one or more subordinate chapels."¹ In this respect our 'old Church' was more than usually privileged, at least six, if not more, distinct chapels being dependent

¹ Parochial Antiquities, ii. 272.

*Parish Church, Cardiff, open from
1850 to 1855.*



upon it. These chapels were built originally, as we have intimated in a previous page (35), in the 14th or 15th century, to supply the wants of those who lived at a distance from the town, and the duties in them were performed by Chaplain Priests—(*Capellani* they are commonly termed),—who were under the direction and control of the Vicar.

The Parish Church, in its present state, consists of a Chancel,—Nave,—North Aisle,—a Tower at the west end,—a small Chantry Chapel at the south-east corner of the Nave,—and a South Porch.

The building seems originally to have consisted only of a Chancel, about two-thirds as long as the present one, and a Nave of the same dimensions as now. Judging from the appearance of the masonry, and the manner in which the present Tower is united at its south-east angle with the body of the Church, there would seem to have been also a Tower to the original building, a portion of what was probably the angular turret to carry the staircase still remaining. All this was no doubt the work of the *twelfth* century.

In the *fourteenth* century the Chancel appears to have been lengthened and the east and north-east windows to have been inserted, the characteristics of this portion of the Church enabling us to attribute it to the *middle-pointed*, or *decorated*, period of architecture.

Towards the latter portion of the *fifteenth* century, judging from the tracery of the window and other features of the structure, we should imagine that the present Tower was added to the Church.

No long time after, probably at the end of the *fifteenth* or the commencement of the *sixteenth* century, the North Aisle was added. We shall presently state our reasons for believing that this part of the Church was built at *two* distinct periods, though at no long interval probably between them.

A little later, possibly shortly before the Reformation, the small Chantry Chapel, now called the Kingston Aisle, was built; by whom, it is not known,—though perhaps by some member of the 'Hall' family, the proprietors at that time of the 'Mansion House,' by the owner of which, for the time being, it has always been held.

THE CHANCEL.

The Chancel is about 48 feet in length and 20 in width. Both externally and internally those features, which prove the original building to have been of Norman date, are distinctly traceable. The plain flat buttress, which seems but little more than thickening of the walls, ending in a gentle slope just below the parapet, is to be seen here. Moreover, though now blocked up with large monuments affixed to the wall, the traces of the long and narrow semi-circular headed Norman windows are plainly discernible. There appear to have been, as far as we can conjecture, two such windows in each of the side walls of the Chancel. Internally they were splayed very considerably. In carrying out some repairs about eighteen months ago, traces were found of illuminations, &c., on the walls. Over the head of the most eastern of the Norman windows, on the south side, was a scroll on which was written the first article from the Apostles' creed,—“Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem.” [the remaining portion of the inscription was defaced.] Probably the rest of the creed was inscribed on other parts of the Chancel walls.

In the *fourteenth* century, to judge by the style of the architecture, the Chancel was considerably lengthened. The windows, both at the east end, and at the north-east side of the Chancel, together with the external buttresses of this portion of it, belong to the middle-pointed or decorated style; as also does the battlemented parapet, which was no doubt, at the same time, carried round both sides of the Chancel, superseding the original, and simpler, Norman work.

Both of the windows just alluded to, are remarkable for the simplicity, yet chasteness, of their design. The altar window consists of five lights, all terminating, with semi-continuous tracery, in a circle at the head of the window, composed of six cusped triangles. Till lately the window was for the most part blocked up with stone, and the upper tracery cut away and filled with fragments of coloured glass, most of it of a very inferior description. The lower part within was, in accordance with the taste of the last century ‘ornamented’ with wooden panelling in a quasi-classical style, in the

centre of the whole arrangement being a large oil painting of the last supper by a native artist, that testified more to his devotedness than his skill. The painting has been removed to the vestry of the Church, and the window, after a complete restoration of the stone-work, has been filled with stained glass, executed by Messrs. O'Connor, of London. The subjects of the various paintings are (1.) The Nativity,—(2.) The Baptism,—(3.) The Crucifixion,—(4.) The Entombment,—(5.) The Resurrection; and underneath are inscribed the following words from the Litany:—"By thy birth,—By thy baptism,—By thy precious death,—By thy burial,—By thy glorious resurrection,—Good Lord, deliver us." The tracery at the head of the window contains emblems of the 'Holy Trinity,' in honour of whom the Church is dedicated.

The window on the north-east side of the Chancel consists of two lights. The tracery is semi-continuous. At the head of the window is a trefoil with double cusping. Possibly a window of similar design or character was at one time on the south-east side of the Chancel. If so, it must have been removed, and its place supplied by the larger one of four lights which is by no means a bad example of the Perpendicular style.

RECESSED TOMBS.—There are in the Chancel a considerable number of monumental memorials. For the present we will only speak of the two oldest and most interesting of them,—the recessed tombs,—one of which is on the north, and the other on the south side. They are formed in the body of the wall of the Church, and extend to within some eight or ten feet of what would seem to have been the original eastern termination of the Chancel. Judging from the style of architecture, the extension of the Chancel and the erection of these two tombs would appear to have been the work of much the same period.

Of the two recessed tombs, the one on the north side of the Chancel is perhaps the more ancient, though there is no long interval between them. Originally, like the one on the south side, it was surmounted by a canopy; portions of the original label, and of some of the crocketing of the pediment, having been discovered among the *débris*, whilst clearing away a large monumental tablet,

which had been fixed on the face of the wall immediately in front of it. The whole of the ornamental work had been previously destroyed, and the recess filled up, to enable the marble-mason to attach the slab in question to the wall. The effigy is a female figure, the costume of which,—(one feature being the *wimple*, or handkerchief round the neck and chin,)—fixes the probable date of it in the time of Edward I., or about 1280—1300. A small figure of the head of a female,—habited in like manner with the *wimple*,—was a short time ago discovered during the progress of some repairs to the tomb, which was clearly a corbel of the label that formerly went round the outer arch. As to whose tomb it may be, we have no certain clue at all. From the ancient deeds, to which reference has been made in a previous page (31), we might, in the absence of any definite information, hazard a plausible conjecture. Even at the middle of the 13th century the 'Hall' family, as they were in course of time designated, were persons of consequence and property in Bradford. Living, as we know they did, in the Town, and in a 'Mansion House,' on the site probably of the present Kingston House, it is not a little remarkable that there is no memorial in the Church, to which we can certainly point as referring to members of this family;—and yet nothing should we look for more naturally. As then we find, from a deed which bears date,—(for reasons which we have specified (p.31)—from 1247-1252, that at that time '*Agnes*' is represented as the 'relict' of '*Reginald de Aulâ*,' and seems, (we may also infer) to have been left a comparatively young widow, her children being under age, there is no improbability in the supposition that the tomb, of which we are speaking, may be hers. Till her children became of full age, she appears to have been the head of the family in Bradford. Though, of course, all is conjecture, still, the probable date of the tomb,—the high position she herself held,—the fact that she might well have been living at the close of the 13th century,—all lend colour to the supposition, that this recessed tomb on the north side of the Chancel may be that of '*Agnes de Aulâ*.'

Of the recessed tomb on the south side of the Chancel, with its elegant and cusped canopy within, and its curious gable and small

lancet window without, we have already given a drawing (pl. iii. p. 32), so that further description is unnecessary. The effigy itself is sadly mutilated, but enough remains to enable us from its costume, as well as from the mouldings and other details of the canopy, to assign its date to the beginning of the 14th century. Whose tomb it may be none can tell: the *crossed legs* may denote that the deceased was a person of authority, or office, under the King; for it is generally understood now that this attitude does not necessarily refer to the taking of the cross. It *may* be the tomb of Sir John de Holte, whose name occurs very frequently in deeds of the time of Edward I., and who, in the year 1314, was Sheriff of Wiltshire;—but this, of course, is mere conjecture.

Within the last eighteen months the whole of the Chancel has been fitted up with oak stalls and seats. A gallery erected in 1707 by Thomas Lewis, then Vicar, which stretched across the Chancel arch, and entirely shut out the view of the eastern part of the Church from the Nave, has also been removed. The Chancel Arch itself would seem to have been rebuilt about the end of the 15th century. There are evident traces of the *rood-screen*,—several fragments of it, together with an original bench end with its finial, were discovered during the progress of repairs. The *rood-loft* still remains. The Chancel Arch seems to have been illuminated, much of the colouring yet remaining where the thick coats of white-wash, which have been mercilessly laid on here, as in other parts of the Church, have been removed. The giving way of the south wall of the Chancel at some time,—(though certainly not within the last 220 years,)¹—has caused this arch to spread considerably. Further damage has been prevented by the insertion of iron bars, one of which of great strength, though concealed by plastering and white-washing, stretches across the Church just above the Chancel Arch, and ties the walls together.

¹ The Chancel Roof was ceiled with plaster in the year 1636. At that time the south wall had evidently given way, as the plaster cornice is carried round, and adapted to the curvature which the line of this wall had assumed. We cannot perceive any mark of cracks in the plaster which seems much in the state in which it was first put up, so that we may fairly conclude that for at least *two centuries* there has been no further *spreading* of the Chancel wall.

In removing some panelling which covered the wall, two small recesses, were discovered on the south side near the east end of the Chancel; one of them would seem to have been an 'Ambry,' and the other a 'Piscina.' The latter has been so mutilated, that it is almost impossible to say what was its original design.

THE NAVE.

The Nave is 88 feet in length and about 30 in width. The north wall has been removed for the insertion of arches, by which it is divided from an Aisle on that side. On the south we have still the original wall, the external buttresses, &c. and traces within of the long semi-circular headed windows which once existed, enabling us to pronounce it to have been of Norman date. The present windows are all of them later insertions; some of them indeed have been made in very modern times, and in the usual tasteless style of the 18th century. Two large windows are of Perpendicular date, and of these, the one at the west end, with a traceried transom, is particularly good: the other is filled with stained glass, the gift of Mr. John Ferret, collected, it is said, by him abroad, consisting of a number of medallions in which are depicted various scenes from the life of our Blessed Lord. The tracery is filled up with divers fragments of glass, some of which is hardly in keeping with that contained in the lower part of the window.

It may be mentioned that there appear, on either side of the present Porch, to be traces of an older door-way leading into the Nave. The Porch, as it now stands, it may be mentioned in passing, is of late date. The Niches, of which there are two,—one over the interior and another over the exterior door-way,—would seem to be earlier than the remaining part of this structure. They possibly formed part of an older Porch, and were inserted in the present one.

The Roof of the Nave is of the 16th or 17th centuries, and is of Elizabethan or Jacobean style plastered and panelled within.

THE AISLE.

The Aisle is 90 feet in length and about 15 feet in width. Though at a first glance the whole of this portion of the Church may well be

considered to have been built at the same time, yet an attentive examination of the fabric makes it very evident that such was not the case. Not only are each of the two eastern bays of less width than each of the remaining three, but there are differences, though small, to be observed in the mullions and tracery of the windows, that distinctly mark the present Aisle as of two periods. The eastern portion was probably built first, and this extended as far as the end of the second bay from the Chancel, in fact to a large block of masonry¹ that is still left standing, (and which is part no doubt of the original wall,) and forms a sort of division between the two portions of the Aisle. It is by no means difficult for an experienced eye to detect, at this point, evidences of an Aisle having once terminated here. Though the whole Aisle has had an oak-panelled ceiling, yet the design of the two parts of it is different, and the general character of the work, together with what our masons call the *angle corbelling* at the point in question, prove clearly that we are right in the opinion we have expressed as to the extent of the original Aisle. Externally too, you may trace distinctly the *toothing* of the masonry, the marks, that is, of the union of the older to the newer work; and, not only so, but the portions of the battlemented parapet to the east of the north door—(which is itself placed at the point which we are indicating)—vary materially in size from those on the western side of it, the former being smaller than the latter.

At the east end of the Aisle there was most probably an altar formerly, the sill of the window there being considerably higher than those of the other windows. A long squint, or hagioscope, extends from the south east angle of the Aisle, for many feet, and was originally brought out at the west corner of the recessed tomb in the north wall in the Chancel. There is also in the north wall,—in the part of the Aisle we have described as an addition to the original one,—a straight-headed panelled and ornamented recess which seems once to have contained a crucifix and to have been decorated with colours. It was probably the Reredos of an altar situated here. The lower part

¹ Behind this block of masonry are still to be seen the remains of an original Norman buttress, which proves that we are right in the supposition that the Church originally consisted only of a Chancel and Nave.

of it is at present shrouded with pews, but there appears to be some handsome stone work beneath. It may be that these two aisles, afterwards forming but one, were originally the two chantries, of which we shall presently speak, that we find existing at the time of the Reformation in connection with this Church.

THE KINGSTON AISLE.

By this term is now designated a small Chantry Chapel, *twelve and a half feet* in width and *sixteen* in length, at the south-east angle of the Nave, erected most probably by some member of the 'Hall' family, the maternal ancestors of the Dukes of Kingston, from whom the Aisle derives its present name. This part of the Church has been much injured by the failure of the adjoining wall. It has also been sadly mutilated in other respects,—by the addition of a high roof with a gable instead of the original flat roof,—the rebuilding of the parapets in wrong character,—and the introduction of a window on the south side, very inferior, without doubt, in design to the one for which it was substituted, and which, most probably, was similar to the window which, though blocked up, still remains in the east side. At the north-east corner there is a recess in the wall which has been recently opened, and which would seem to have been an 'Ambry.' There was no doubt, at one time, an altar at the east end. There are no traces of its having been ever used as a Mortuary Chapel. The Aisle was but a few years ago separated by some Jacobean screen work from the body of the Church, and over the lintel of the door-way were placed the arms of Hall. They were coloured—'*Sable, three battle axes, or,*'—and the side ornaments were of an arabesque character. The Aisle is kept in repair by the owner of Kingston House.

THE TOWER.

Judging from the upper windows of the Tower, this part of the Church seems to be the work of the latter part of the 15th century. It is a plain massive structure, square in form, with a turret staircase at its south-east angle. It is surmounted by a small steeple which hardly looks in proportion to the rest of the structure, and

gives to the whole a dwarfed appearance; though this may perhaps be owing to the low situation in which the Church stands, the houses all rising above it, on the north side, in successive ranks to the top of the hill. At one angle of the Tower there are evident remains of some of the original Norman work; the door-way and a small window, which is deeply splayed internally and formerly gave light to the staircase, being evidently much older than other parts of the present building. It has been already intimated that this was probably the angular turret which carried the staircase to a tower of earlier date:—indeed you can distinctly trace the junction of the older with the more recent work.

The Tower is united to the Nave by means of a handsome panelled arch of good proportions. The whole of this is excluded from view in consequence of a large gallery, containing an organ also of large size, extending across the west end of the Nave. The interior of the lower story of the Tower has some simple, yet good, groined stone vaulting in the roof, by which it is separated from the ringing-loft.

THE BELLS.—These are eight in number, and have been pronounced to be amongst the best and heaviest peals, of eight, in Wiltshire. The inscriptions upon them are as follows:—

1. Fear God; honour the King. A. R. 1754.
2. Love the brotherhood. A. R. 1754.
3. Thomas Yerbury and John Goldisbury, Churchwardens. 80 (sic for 1680.)
4. Thomas Yerbury and John Goldisbury, Churchwardens. R. P. R.
5. Honour the King. I. W. 1614.
6. Prosperity to the Town of Bradford. Ab: Rudhall, Founder, 1754.
7. Love thy neighbour as thyself. I. W.¹
8. Recast by Thos. Mears. Nov. A.D. 1842.

The Rev. Henry Harvey, Canon of Bristol, and Chaplain to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Vicar. Charles Timbrell, Esq., Churchwarden.

Sacred to God on high, and in this Temple rais'd,
May holy sounds from me be heard, and He be praised.

In the year 1553, according to the certificates of 'Sir Anthony Hungerford, William Sherington, and William Wroughton, Knights,' there were *five* bells belonging to the Parish Church. Unless we suppose any of them to have been broken and recast,

¹ Date 1614 is chalked on the bell.

we possess none of them at present, as the dates on the bells now in the Tower are all subsequent to the period of that enquiry. The entry to which we allude is contained in a document relating to 'Church Goods,' is to be found in the Record Office in Carlton Ride, and is as follows:—

"BRADFFORDE. Delivered to Robert Browne and to Richard Bundell i cuppe of ^ochallis by Indenture of xvi ounces and v belles.

In plate to the Kinges use v ounces.

It appears from the minute book of Vestry, that in 1735 there were already *six bells* in the Tower of the Parish Church. A resolution was passed, Aug. 19th, in that year 'That the Churchwardens have full power to agree with some Bell-founder for *two new bells*, (less than the present Treble) in order to make it a Ring of Eight bells, the said two Bells to be brought forthwith and sett up at the parish charge.' These bells cost, as appears from the accounts of the following year, the sum of £93 14s. 2½d., exclusive of the expense of hanging them in the Tower, and were supplied by a founder of the name of 'Cockey.' Neither of these bells appears to be in the Tower at the present time. The Vestry accounts of 1755-56 show that a considerable sum was then expended in alterations, &c., with regard to the bells, a founder of the name of 'Rudhall' having been employed for the purpose.

Of the *present* peal, the *fifth* and *seventh* were cast in the year 1614 at the foundry of John Wallis in Salisbury. The *third* and *fourth* were cast, in 1680, by Roger Purdue of Salisbury. In 1754 the *first*, *second*, and *sixth* bells were cast at the foundry of Abel Rudhall of Gloucester. When the original *tenor* was placed in the Tower is not known; it was broken about seventeen years ago, and was recast, in 1842, by Messrs. Mears of London.

Suspended in the Ringing-loft are the following lines, entitled 'The Bells, an address to the Ringers,' written by the late Vicar, the Rev. H. Harvey.

Sacred to GOD the LORD and in His House high raised,
 May holy sounds from us be heard, and He be praised;
 Bradford, when joy abounds, 'tis ours with gladdening voice
 Thy Sons newborn in CHRIST to bid in Him rejoice:
 And when by death assailed and sunk in whelming grief,
 'Tis ours to bid them mourn in Him, and find relief.

Alike we call to prayer, and when the Table's spread,
 'Tis ours the same to tell, that Souls may there be fed:
 We too around proclaim the quickly fleeting time,
 And songs of heavenly praise with tuneful notes we chime;
 Come then, on Avon's bank, a ransomed, pardoned, band,
 And strike, as well beseems, with saintly, reverent, hand;
 Come, Christian Ringers, come, and strike with godly fear,
 That all who hear our sounds, our sounds may love to hear.
 H. H. Dec. 10th 1842.

THE CHANTRIES.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,¹ which was made about the 25th Henry VIII. (c. 1533), we have an account of *Two Chantries* connected with the Parish Church. The one was held by 'William Byrde,' the Vicar, and was,—(after deducting £3 6s. 8d. to be expended for 'works of charity' in accordance with the direction of the Founder,)—of the value of £6 13s. 4d. The other was, according to the same authority, held by 'Thomas Horton,' as Chantry Priest, and was of the same *gross* value as the former, but liable to a deduction of £2. 14s. 4d. 'for works of charity'—in accordance, it is added, 'with *his own* appointment' (*ex ordinacione sua*),—from which it would naturally be inferred that the same person was the Founder and Chantry Priest. In a previous page (p. 39, note) we have entered on some of the difficulties connected with this statement, and have suggested explanations. The 'Thomas Horton,' who I presume to have been the founder of this Chantry, died at Westwood 14 August, 22

¹The entries are as follows;—(*Valor Eccles.* ii. 81.)

CANT'IA IN ECCL'IA P'OCHIAL DE BRADFORD.

Will's Bryd est Cant'ista.

	£	s.	d.
Valet p. annu	x		
Unde in operibus Charitatis ex ordinac fundat		lxvi	viii
		<hr/>	
Et reman' clare p. annu	vi	xiii	iv
		<hr/> <hr/>	

CANT'RIA IBIDEM.

Thomas Horton est Cant'ista.

	£	s.	d.
Valet p. annu	x		
Unde in operibus Charitatis <i>ex ordinac' sua</i> p. annu		liv	iv
		<hr/>	
Et reman' clare p. annu	vii	vi	viii
		<hr/> <hr/>	

Henry VIII. (1530;) his wife 'Mary' was living in 1538, but died in, or before, 1545.¹

The statements contained in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' are by no means confirmed by subsequent Records. Among the documents contained in the late Court of Augmentations (Carlton Ride) we have three returns to Commissions of enquiry on the subject of colleges and Chantries, &c., and in none of these is there any mention at all of the *former* Chantry in the Parish Church. Their statements are at variance moreover with the first-named record as to the *value* of Horton's Chantry. Possibly the *former* Chantry, which was in 1533 held by the Vicar, was but a *temporary* foundation, or was endowed with lands held on lives or on lease, the tenure of which was determined in due course and was not renewed. Of this character may have been the one we alluded to in a previous page (38), which was founded by Reginald Halle, as early as 7 Henry V. (A..D 1420.)

Of 'Horton's Chantry' we have full and detailed accounts. Of the Commission of Enquiry conducted in 37 Henry VIII. by 'John, Bishop of Sarum, Sir Thomas Seymour, Knight, Robert Chydley, Esquire, and Thomas Leigh and William Grene, Gentlemen,' we have *two* reports; *the one* being a complete account of all the lands and tenements belonging to the said Chantry together with the rents issuing therefrom, the names of the various tenants, the precise nature of the several tenures, &c.; and *the other* a summary of the principal matters relating to it, in the form of answers to certain articles of enquiry, to which the attention of the Commissioners was especially directed. Of a subsequent, and *third* enquiry, conducted by 'John Thynne and William Wroughton, Knights, Charles Bulkeley, John Barwycke and Thomas Chafynne, Esquires, William

¹ This last fact we learn from the leasing out of certain of the lands, which formed the endowment of this Chantry, situated at Kebyll (Keevil) in Wilts, to 'William Lucas' for the term of forty years, 'such term commencing from the decease of Mary widow of Thomas Horton,' who (the record goes on to say) is *now* (1645) dead;—('termino predicto incipiente post mortem Marie Hortus vidue que quidem e vita decessit.') 'Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, No. 59, Wilts,' among the Records of the late Court of Augmentations, belonging to the Court of Exchequer.

Thornhyll and Lawrence Hyde, Gentlemen,' in the second year of Edw. VI. (1548), we have an account in a Document entitled "The Booke of Survey of the Colleges and Chantries et cetera" [Com. Wiltes.]

From these various Records we glean the following information respecting the Chantry in question.

The gross revenue of the Chantry is said to have amounted to £11 13s. 4d. The lands and tenements from which it arose were situated at Allington, Chippenham, Winfield, Hullavington, Keevil, and Box, in the county of Wilts; at Whitcome, and Farleigh Hungerford, in the county of Somerset; and at Weston in the parish of Marshfield, in the county of Gloucester. There was also a house at Bradford, with a garden adjoining, known as 'the Mantyon house,' of 'the sayd Chauntre' which the Chantry Priest, for the time being, occupied, at a yearly rent of 3s. 4d.

The first named Commissioners reported concerning this Chantry,—

"There appears to have been no abuse in this instance inasmuch as the revenues and profits of the said Chantry are expended and consumed in accordance with the original foundation of the same."¹

From the report of the second Commission we learn that 'William Furbner' then (1548) 'of the age of lvi yeres' was Incumbent. They add the following particulars, which, as interesting, we print in full:—

"The plate belongynge unto the sayd Chauntre xvii ouz.

"The Goodis and Ornamentis belongynge unto the said Chauntre prised at xxiii^s iv^d.

"~~Item~~^{Item}. The sayd Incumbent is a very honeste man well learned and ryght able to serve a Cure albeit a very poore man and hath none other lvyngge but the sayd Chauntre, and Futhermore he is bounde by the fundatyon to *kepe a Free Schole* at Bradforde, and to gyve to the *Clerke*^s ther yerely xx^s to teache

¹ "Abusus nullus apparet eo q^d Revencones et proficua ejusdem Cantarie expenduntur et consumuntur secundum primam fundaōnem ejusdem."—'Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, Wilts,' No. 56. (Carlton Ride Office.)

² By the '*Clerke*' is here meant the '*Parish Priest*.' In the 'Particulars for the Sale of Colleges, Chantries, &c.,' after reciting that 'the Incumbent for the tyme beinge is bound by the foundation to *kepe a Gramer Schoole* at Bradforde,'—the record goes on to say,—'and to gyve the *Priest* ther yearlie xx^s to teche children to sing for the maintenance of Divine Service within the *Parish Church* ther.'

children to synge for the mayntenance of Divine Service, and also to distribute to the Poore yerely xiii^s iv^d all which things he hathe done accordnglye.

“Also the sayd Parishe of Bradforde is a greate Parishe within whiche be the number of dlxxvj people which receyve the Blessed Communion and no Preste to helpe the Vicar there in administracon of the Sacramentis savinge the sayd Chauntre Preste. Wherefore the Parishoners desire the Kinges mooste honorable Councill to consider them accordnglye.”

In a Record, bearing date a few months after the one just referred to, entitled—‘Particulars for the Sale of Colleges, Chantries &c.,’¹—we have the above circumstances again recited with the following additions:—

“*Memorandum*: to wright to the Receavor of Wilshere for payment of these folk as heretofore hathe ben used:

“*Memorandum*: ther is no Scole of Gramer ther.”

From the same document it appears that the property belonging to this Chantry, which here is valued at a sum slightly differing from that named in previous estimate, viz., at £11 18s. 3d.—(from which however was to be deducted the sum of 12s. 4. payable to the Lord Arundel out of the lands at Keevil,)—was sold (for twenty-two years’ purchase) at £248 10s. 2d. The purchasers seem to have been ‘Thomas Horton, Esquire,’ and ‘Richard Byllett,’—though the record is not specific as to the portion of the lands and tenements purchased by each of them.

THE VICARAGE.

It has been already stated that the Rectory of Bradford together with the advowson of the living belonged in olden time to the Abbess of Shaftesbury, and, since the Reformation, to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. The great Tithes of the whole parish, including in this the several chapelries, were commuted, in the year 1840, at the sum of £1507 2s.

The Vicarage now comprises only a portion of what formerly belonged to it. The tithes of the several chapelries have been annexed to the Incumbencies of their respective ecclesiastical districts, with the exception of Christ Church, Bradford, which is in part endowed

¹ Vol. 68, of the Series of books remaining with the Augmentation Records. (Carlton Ride Office.)

by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and has a portion of income also arising from pew-rents. About sixteen years ago the old Vicarage House, having fallen into decay, was taken down and a new house erected, the expense being defrayed by money borrowed, on the security of the revenues of the living, from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.

There are two Terriers in the Registry of the Bishop of Salisbury relating to the Vicarage, which, as they are very short, we print *verbatim*. They would seem to show that the land formerly belonging to the Vicar was of somewhat larger extent than at present. The former of these Terriers is as follows :—

“BRADFORD. A Terrier of the Lands of the Mother Church of Bradford made the 19 of Oct. A°. 1608.

“Imp. One Mansion or Dwellinghouse with gardens, orchards and other grounde belonging to the same to the quantity of *two acres*, or thereabouts, invironed by the Churchyard on the easte, and a grounde called Barton Orchard on the weste.

“Item. One littell Close in the Church [yard*] reaching from the Church geate to the very ground of the Garden, by estimation one halfe acre or more.

(signed)

“THOMAS READ, Vicar.

“JOHN BLANCHARD.

“PETER GODLEE.

The latter Terrier, made about a century later than the former, runs thus :—

“A True and perfect Terrier of the Gleab Lands, Houses and other Edifices in the Borough of Bradford, in the Deanery of Potterne and Diocesse of Sarum, belonging to the Mother Church and Vicaridge thereof.

“Dec. 20, 1704.

“Imp. One Mantion House, where the Vicar is resident, with one Stable or Outhouse.

“One other House where the Clark of the Parish Church now dweleth.

“One other House where the Sexton of the Parish Church now dweleth.

“One other House where one Cooper now dweleth, all erected and built upon the Church Yard or Gleabe thereunto belonging.

“Item. One Paroel of Meadow ground or pasture containing *Two acres*, or thereabouts, now converted into a public Garden with a House thereon built, and Three other gardens ;—and all other Dues usually belonging to any Vicaridge.

(signed)

“THO. LEWIS, Vicar.

“JOHN SHEWELL, } Ch.

“THO. CATOR, } Wardens.”

* MS. illegible : I can however have no doubt as to the original word being as supplied in the text above.

The following list of Vicars has been compiled, for the most part, from Sir Thomas Phillips' edition of the 'Wilts Institutions.' In a few instances omissions have been supplied from other sources. Of most of the Vicars we know little more than their names.

A. D.

1312. RICHARD DE KELVESTON; presented by Gilbert de Middleton, who is called '*Firmarius Ecclesie de Bradford.*' [For the meaning of this term see above p. 64.]
1348. RICHARD DE MERSCHTON; presented by Robert de Worth, who in 1320 became the Lessee of the Rectorial Tithes under the Abbess of Shaftesbury, and, as such, presented to the living.
- . . . ROBERT ALISANDER; presented by the same patron.
1349. JOHN GILLE; presented by the same patron.
- . . . WILLIAM BOTELEK. This name is not included in the list of Vicars, but in the following entry the fact of his Incumbency is implied.
1413. JOHN HAVYLE *alias* KING; presented by the Abbess of Shaftesbury on the resignation of William Boteler. [All the other Vicars, up to the time of the Reformation, were presented by the same Patron.]
1418. THOMAS SWAFFAM. He was Rector of Patney, in the patronage of the Bishop of Winchester, and exchanged with John Havyle.
1429. HENRY GAVELER.
- . . . ROBERT CARPENTER;* this name is not in the Wiltshire Institutions, but the following entry presumes the fact of his Incumbency.
1438. JOHN PALER; presented on the resignation of Robert Carpenter.
1463. JOHN FRANKLEYN; on death of J. Paler.
1464. THOMAS SHORTBRYGGE; on the resignation of John Frankeleyn.
1474. SIMON ELVINGTON; by exchange with Thomas Shortbrygge.
1481. JOHN BOSTOKK.
1491. WILLIAM BRYDDE OR BYRDE; attainted of high treason, and deprived of the living. (See above p. 40.)
1540. THOMAS MORLEY; presented by the King (Henry VIII.). He was Suffragan Bishop of Marlborough, and, in accordance with the provisions of 26 Henry VIII. † c. xiv. held also the living of East Fittleton. He was consecrated in 1537. In Dr. Pegge's‡

* Sir Thomas Phillips gives this 'Institution' thus,—"*1429. ROBERT LOKYNGTON by exchange with H. Gaveler;*"—probably referring to the same person, *e.g.*—"R. Carpenter of Lokyngton,"—as he came from a place so called.

† The act was entitled "An Act for nominating and consecration of Suffragans within the Realm." They were to exercise such jurisdiction as the Bishop of the Diocese should entrust to them, the term of their commission depending on his will. The object of this Institution,—(which, by the way, was not new in England, such Bishops having been appointed in this country as early as A. D. 1325),—was for 'the more speedy administration of the Sacraments and other good, wholesome, and devout things and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of God's honor and the commodity of good and devout people.' Each Suffragan Bishop was permitted to hold *two* benefices. Marlborough was the only Suffragan See in Wilts.

‡ This list is given in an Article on 'Suffragan Bishops' in vol. vi. of Nichols's 'Bibliotheca Topograph. Britan.' A reference is there made to the 'Wharton MSS.' in Lambeth Palace; No. 577, p. 358 and No. 589, p. 172.

list of Suffragan Bishops he is called Thomas Bickley *alias* Morley. He was instituted to the livings of Bradford and East Fittleton on the same day, (28 Sept. 1540).

- 1553 (?). THOMAS THACKHAM. Appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. This Institution is not entered in the Sarum Registers, but the probable date of it is supplied by the decease of Bishop Morley, which took place in 1553. In 1572 Thomas Thackham held St. Mary's, Wilton; and in 1573 became also Rector of Hilperton. This Vicar died at Bristol—(of which he became a Prebendary in 1590)—Sept. 23, 1592, and was, a few days afterwards, buried there. (Reg. Bur.)
1592. THOMAS READE. Presented by 'John Lacy' who obtained the patronage by grant from 'Robert Costlyn,' executor to Matthew Morrant, Gentleman, the grantee from the Dean and Chapter of Bristol.* This Vicar died at Bradford and was buried there March 22, 1634. (Reg. Bur.)
1634. NATHANAEL WILKINSON. Presented by William Porrett, Clerk, of Swell, Co. Somerset, and Edward Cradock, of Fordington, Co. Somerset, by virtue of a deed of assignment made by Edith, relict of John Wilkinson, Prebendary of Bristol. [In a deed, alluded to in a previous page (88), in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, it is said,—“There is no Incumbent at Bradford att present.” (1649.)—The name, however, of 'Nathanael Wilkinson' appears as 'Vicar' on a Subsidy Roll for 1642. In the 'Sarum Registers' the following Vicar, 'Thomas Lewis,' is said to have succeeded to the living by the decease (*per mortem*) of 'Nathanael Wilkinson.' It would seem, therefore, either that this Vicar had been displaced, or that, dying before 1649, his place had not been at once filled up. The 'Bishop's Registers' would not acknowledge of course the right of an intruder to the living, and therefore, even if Nathanael Wilkinson had been dead some years, would nevertheless, on the next legal institution to the Vicarage, speak of it as void through his decease. I have searched in vain to ascertain the facts of the case, and especially whether, in the event of the ejection of this Vicar by 'The Tryers,'—(who were in our neighbourhood in 1648-49,)—another was appointed to supply his place. We can glean nothing from our Parochial Registers, which are sadly defective between 1645 and 1660;—indeed, for the greater portion of that time there are none at all. Moreover, the Lansdowne MS. No. 459, which gives an account of Church Livings in Wiltshire (1654) does not allude at all to Bradford.]
1660. THOMAS LEWIS; presented by the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. De-

* In earlier times the Lessee of the Great Tithes, under the Dean and Chapter, seems also to have had the privilege of presenting to the living; at all events, the Patrons seem to have disposed of this, as well as of other parts of the emoluments and privileges, from time to time, to various persons. Since the Restoration, in 1660, the Dean and Chapter have always retained in their own hands the right of presenting to the living.

ceased December 1710; buried at Bradford. (Reg.Bur.) [From this time the presentations were uniformly made by the Patrons themselves.]

1710. JOHN ROGERS, M.A.; through the efforts of this Vicar, a School was, in January 1712, opened for his poorer Parishioners. Three years afterwards, by means of contributions from himself and others, and a grant of an old building, then called the 'Skull House,' (of which we shall presently give a more particular account) the school was placed on a permanent footing. For many years before this time (1715) there seems to have been no such provision for the education of the children of the poor. See above p. 44.
1754. WALTER CHAPMAN, D.D. Prebendary of Bristol, (1740) and Master of St. John's Hospital, Bath. His father, Walter Chapman, was Mayor of Bath in 1726. His brother John was subsequently elected Mayor of Bath seven times; another brother was in 1716 Rector of Walcot. He was not only a cotemporary and fellow collegian, but on terms of close intimacy with Dr. Samuel Johnson, Shenstone, and other literary characters. He was distinguished for his attainments as a scholar and for his eloquence as a preacher. He died at Shirehampton April 25, 1791, at the age of 80 years.
1791. JOHN AYLMER, M.A.; second son of the second Baron Aylmer, appointed Prebendary of Bristol September, 1750; died at Lower College Green, Bristol, 16 November, 1793.
1793. FREDERIC WILLIAM BLOMBERG, D.D.; a member of a family long attached to the Court, and educated in intimate association with the children of George III. Early in life he was appointed Chaplain and Secretary to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) and was instituted to the Rectory of Shepton Mallet in 1787. In 1790 he became a Prebendary of Bristol, and received the living of Bradford from the Dean and Chapter in 1793. In the year 1808 he was appointed Clerk of the Closet to the Prince of Wales, and shortly afterwards was nominated a Prebendary of Westminster. He subsequently received the Vicarage of Banwell from the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. On the death of the Rev. E. Bowles, he was appointed to Bradford a *second* time. He became in 1822 a Canon of St. Paul's, and in 1835 received from that Cathedral the valuable living of St. Giles', Cripplegate, in the Vicarage House of which he died March 23, 1847. He was celebrated as a musician, and especially as a violincello player.
1799. FRANCIS RANDOLPH, D.D. Prebendary of Bristol;—afterwards Vicar of Banwell.
1804. EDWARD BOWLES, M.A.; previously, Minor Canon of Bristol.
1808. FREDERIC WILLIAM BLOMBERG, D.D.; appointed a *second* time.
1835. HENRY HARVEY, M.A. Tutor to H.R.H. the present Duke of Cambridge, Canon of Bristol. In 1850 he was appointed Vicar of Olveston in Gloucestershire, where he died November 20, 1854.

1851. WILLIAM HENRY JONES, M.A.

CHURCH PLATE. The Communion Plate belonging to the Church of the Holy Trinity, Bradford-on-Avon, is as follows:—

- 1 Silver Flagon,—marked underneath the foot 1723.
- 1 Silver Flagon,—marked 58.16. J.F. 1764.
- 1 Chalice. Silver-gilt.
- 1 Chalice and Cover,—engraved “Ex dono Richardi Readé” and ‘The Communion Cup and Cover of the Parish of Bradford neare Bathes.’
- 2 Silver Chalices,—both marked J.F. 1764, one weighing 16.8, the other 15.12.
- 1 Silver Patine,—engraved ‘Donum Francisci Smith nuper de Bradford. Anº. Dom. 1705.
- 1 Patine, Silver-gilt,—small,—without inscription or date.
- 2 Silver Patines,—both marked J.F. 1764, one weighing 6.10, the other 9.11.
- 1 Perforated Ladle, Silver,—marked 1764.
- 1 Silver Alms Dish,—marked 34.15, and bearing the following Inscription:

“From an humble and grateful sense of the many and exceeding great blessings, it hath pleased the God and Father of all mercies to bestow on his unworthy servant, John Ferret; this Salver, with a Flagon, two Cups and Patines; a yearly supply of Bibles, Common Prayers, and other religious books for ever;—the Painted Glass in the East and South Windows of this Church and other benefactions were given to the Town and Parish of Bradford, Wiltshire, by him who was born there, in the year of our Lord 1702.”

CHURCH AND PARISH REGISTERS. The Church Registers commence in the year 1579. Those of *Baptisms* are perfect up to the year 1648,—from that time till 1661 they are wanting;—from 1661 to the present date they have been regularly kept.—Those of *Marriages* extend from 1579 to 1653, though for the last three years they are very defective;—from 1653 to 1661 there are none;—from that date they are in good preservation.—Those of *Burials* are imperfect from 1642 to 1647, and from that date to 1661 they are missing; in other respects they are well kept. The entries for the most part seem to have been made by the Vicar, or Minister, for the time being. In some parts they have been however evidently kept by a less educated person, possibly by the Sexton or Parish Clerk.

The Parish Chest contains little either of antiquity or of interest. I have met with no documents in it of an earlier date than the middle of the 17th century. They consist chiefly of apprentice indentures,—orders for removal,—certificates brought by ‘stran-

gers' who wished to settle in Bradford from the authorities of the Parish to which they belonged,—bonds of indemnity given by employers to save the inhabitants harmless in the event of any of the non-parochial artizans becoming chargeable to Bradford. The earliest Vestry Book in the Parish Chest dates only from 1725, and a volume containing the proceedings for some years previously to 1836 is missing. I am in possession of some extracts made from this Vestry Book not many years ago, so that I am in hopes it may yet be found and restored to the Parish Chest.

The Vestry Book (1725) to which I have alluded as the oldest known for a certainty to be in existence, has the following inscription on the first page, which, it is possible, *may* imply, that previous Churchwardens had not guarded, or handed down the Parish Records, with sufficient care.

“Edward Burkham and Edward Young, Churchwardens of Bradford in the County of Wiltes. A. Dom. 1725.

“May this Book be transmitted with care, successively, from one Churchwarden to another, under the rewards of such blessings as are promised to good men.”

There are very few entries in this or any other Vestry Minute Book that are worth transcribing. They contain, for the most part, simply a statement of the Income and Expenditure for the repairs of the Church, &c., from year to year. Amongst the last are commonly included the money paid for ‘foxes,’—‘martin cats,’—hedgehogs,—weasels,—and sparrows;—as lately as 40 years ago *one halfpenny* was allowed for every sparrow destroyed, and the amount so expended duly entered in the ‘Church Book.’ From the same record we learn that in 1729 the Organ was erected at the expense of the Parish,—that in the following year, the Nave was ceiled, and a new window inserted on the south side of the Church; that in 1731 a ‘Dial’ was placed on the Porch, and an ‘Hour-glass’ purchased. In 1732 there is an entry which proves that the position in which the pulpit stood till quite recently, viz., against the centre of the south wall of the Nave, was itself but one of modern adoption:—“Ordered that the Churchwardens do set back the old Gallery and put some ornament on the pillar that supports the pulpit.”—Three years afterwards, in 1735, we have the

present peal of *eight* bells completed, and, in 1737, the Tower Chimes erected at a cost of £27.

There is also contained in this same record an account of pews and sittings occupied from time to time by divers persons in the Church. In former days each parishioner, on having a sitting assigned to him, seems to have paid the Churchwardens *one shilling*, and his name was forthwith entered in the Church Book as the person entitled to that particular place in the Church. There is, according to the records of the Registrar's Office at Salisbury, but one '*Faculty Pew*' in the Parish Church. This is the one at the east end of the North Gallery, which was built by John Thresher, Esq. about the year 1730. By faculty granted to Benjamin Hobhouse, Esq. of Hartham House in the parish of Corsham, March 26, 1797, the seat in question was secured for ever 'to the present owner, and to the future owner of the Mansion House called the Chantry House, and the occupiers thereof for the time being.'

ANCIENT PAINTINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS. Many traces of these have been found on the walls of the Church, on removing the whitewash accumulated over them. We have already alluded to some of them. Traces of colour are very discernible in various parts of the Aisle; the Reredos of the Altar, already described, was evidently at one time beautifully illuminated. On the same wall, more towards the east, are still to be seen two Inscriptions in Black Letter, the one relating to the Sacrament of 'Baptism,' the other to that of the 'Lord's Supper.' The former is so imperfect, that it is only by conjecture that we could attempt to give it in its original form. The latter is tolerably perfect, and is as follows:—

Works of God's Ministers.			Works of God Himself
To Bless To Break To Give	Bread	The Body of Christ	To send Christ To make Him a Sacrifice To offer unto us Believers

These two inscriptions, judging from the form of the letters and the general style of ornament, can hardly be of an earlier date than that of James I. In the vacant space above there is, in the original, some ornamental scroll-work; and, in the second of the lower compartments, the representation of a 'loaf of bread.'

MONUMENTAL MEMORIALS.

EFFIGIES. We have already spoken of two recumbent stone figures within the recessed tombs in the Chancel. About twenty-five years ago in carrying out some alterations in the North Aisle another effigy was discovered, which had been, at some previous time, removed from its original place and used for part of the paving of the Aisle, the face of the figure having been placed downwards. It is now placed in the Chancel. It is a female figure, in a sort of bas-relief, with the hands joined together on the breast, as though in the act of prayer. The hair seems to be braided in a plait on each side the forehead; though from age, and rough usage, the stone is so worn as to prevent a very accurate description of those details from which its date might be ascertained. It belongs probably to the latter part of the 14th century, but in memory of whom it was at the first placed in the Church we are altogether ignorant.

BRASSES. There are two Monumental Brasses,—one to the memory of 'Thomas Horton and Mary his wife,'—and another to the memory of 'Ann, wife of Gifford Long.'

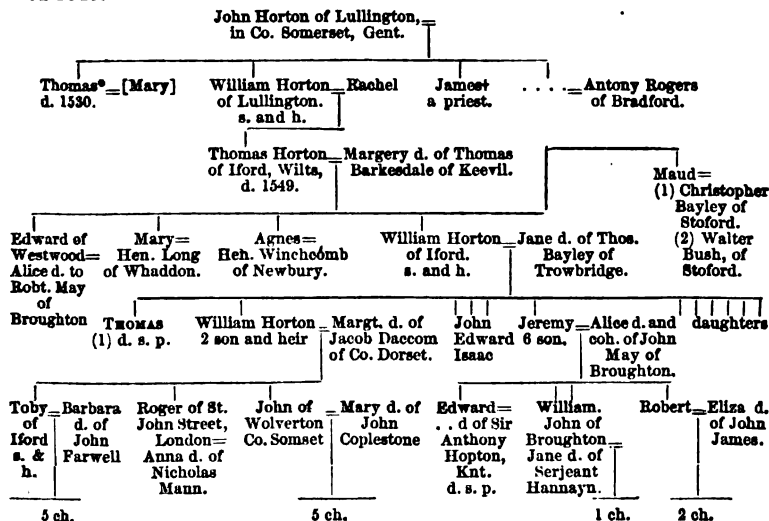
The former is near the east end of the North Aisle. It consists of a large black slab of stone inlaid in several places with brass. In the centre are two figures, about 13 inches in length, one male, and the other female;—the husband is habited in the Merchant's costume the beginning of the sixteenth century, the wife has the *kennel*, or triangular forehead dress, of the same period. There is a scroll above each of them,—the one inscribed 'Sancta Trinitas Unus Deus,'—the other 'Misereere Nobis.' Underneath is the following inscription:—

"Of yo^r charite pray for the soules of Thomas Horton and Mary
hys wyffe whych Thom̄ was s̄ntyme fundor of thys chauntry and decessid
the day of An^d D̄m̄ M^occcc^d and y^e sayd Mary decessid
y^e day of An^d M^occcc^d On whos soules Jhu have mercy."

There is also remaining the 'Merchant's Mark,' of which we gave an engraving (p. 39), and which does not look unlike the outline of a *cross bow*, which formed part of the armorial bearings of the Horton family. One piece of brass which is said to have contained a figure of our Blessed Lord on the cross, together with another figure traditionally deemed to have been that of St. Peter, —(from the circumstance of 'a cock' having been engraved close to it,)—measuring about 4 inches by 6, was wrenched off and taken away, shortly after the stone was placed in its present position. At each of the four corners of the slab there would seem to have been small inlaid pieces of brass; two of them are at present concealed from view by the pewing,—another has been removed,—the fourth has the inscription 'Lady Helpe.'¹

The second Brass is interesting as rather a late example of this

¹ I have already spoken of the difficulties of reconciling the various statements concerning the Founder and Chantry Priest of this Chantry. My remarks in the note (p. 39), will be better understood from the annexed copy of the principal portions of the 'Horton Pedigree' from the Visitation of 1623 (Harl. MS. No. 1443. fol. 189). The initials 'T.H.' over the Tower door at Westwood Church, and till a few years ago on a part of the panelled roof in the North Aisle, are possibly those of the 'Thomas Horton, of Iford,' who, as the pedigree shews, died 1549.



* The Founder of the Chantry (?)

† The Chantry Priest in 1536 (?)

kind of monumental memorial. It contains a female figure a little more than three feet in length, habited in the well known costume of the time of Elizabeth, with the large ruff, and high head-dress. Underneath is the following inscription:—

“HERE LYETH BURYED THE BODY OF ANNE LATELY SOLE DAUGHTER AND HEIRE OF JOHN YEWE OF BRADFORDE IN THE COVNTY OF WILTES, GENT, AND WIFE OF GYFFORD LONGE, GENT, WHO HAD ISSUE BY HER ANNE AND CATHERYN THEIR DAUGHTERS. SHE DYED THE XXVIth OF MARCH 1601. WHOSE KNOWNE GOOD LIFE SHEWETH THAT GOD HATH TAKEN HER SOWLE TO HIS MERCYE.”

At each of the four corners of the slab are shields containing the arms of ‘Long of Monkton,’—‘*Sable, a lion passant argent, on a chief of the second, three cross crosslets of the first.*’

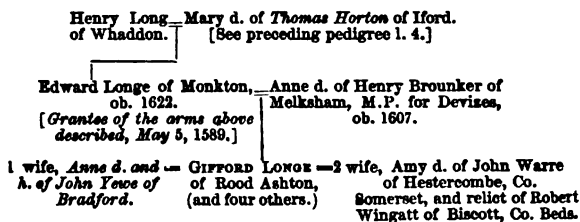
Of their two daughters Anne and Catherine, the one was baptised in the Parish Church in 1598, and the other in 1601. The former became, in 1630, the wife of William Bromwich.

Gyfford Long served the office of Sheriff of Wilts in the year 1624. By a second wife, Amy, relict of Robert Wingatt of Biscott, Co. Beds. and daughter of John Warre of Hestercombe, Co. Somerset, he left several children.¹

MURAL TABLETS, &c.²

The walls of the Church exhibit a considerable number of memorials, some of them being good specimens of modern sculp-

¹ The following extract from a pedigree of ‘Long of Semington, Trowbridge, and Whaddon,’ kindly furnished to me by C. E. Long, Esq., will shew that, through a *female* branch, there was a connection between the two families, to some members of which the two brasses in question were placed as memorials.



² My special obligations are due to my friend, the Rev. Edward Wilton, for valuable help,—as readily offered, as it is thankfully acknowledged,—in enabling me to give a complete account of the ‘heraldry’ in the Church. W. H. J.

ture. The principal persons and families commemorated on them, as well as on several flat stones within the Church, are as follows. For convenience of reference the names are placed in alphabetical order.

BAILY, WILLIAM; (d. 25 March, 1712.) A large panelled tomb in the North Aisle inscribed 'This burial place and tombe was erected by William Baily of this Towne, Mercer, An. 1695.'

In front of it the crest of Baily,—(*A horse's head sable*)—is placed over the arms of the Guild of Mercers, viz.,—'*Gules, a demi-virgin proper, full faced, crowned with an eastern crown, or.*'

BAILEY, EDWARD, of Ashley; (d. 18 Oct. 1760),—and **Ann,** his wife, (d. Dec. 29, 1759) daughter of William Harding of Broughton Gifford:—also, their daughters,—**ANN,** (d. Nov. 8, 1758) wife of the Rev. John Lewis of Whaddon, and **MARGARET,** (d. May 30, 1796) wife of William Fisher,—also **EDWARD,** son of the last-named William and Margaret Fisher, (d. April 5, 1761.)

The present representative of this family is the Rev. R. B. Fisher, of Basildon, Berks, to whom the estate at Ashley still belongs.

BAILWARD, MRS. ANN, (d. July 25, 1788). **SAMUEL,** her son, of Horsington, Co. Somerset, (d. April 9, 1800) and his wife, **ANNA MARIA,** only child of William Stevens, of Frankley House (d. May 21, 1837). **HENRY METHUEN,** son of the two last-named, of the Royal Navy (d. July 1, 1812), and **MARY ANN,** their eldest daughter (d. Aug. 18, 1825).

Arms on the monument.—*Or, a chevron between three bees volant in chief, and three torteaux in base, gules*—for **BAILWARD;**—on an escutcheon of pretence, *Or, on a chevron between three demi-lions rampant gules, three cross crosslets argent;*—**STEVENS.** Crest. *A bull's head erased.* The same arms, in the Widow's Lozenge, are on a hatchment near this monument.

BASKERVILLE JOHN; Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Wilts (d. March 15, 1800); and **HESTER,** his wife (d. Dec. 6, 1819); also **JOSEPH,** their second son (d. Oct. 7, 1812).

Arms. *Argent, a chevron gules, between three hurts;*—**BASKERVILLE;** impaling,—*Or, a cross quarterly counterchanged gules and sable, in the dexter chief quarter an eagle displayed, of the third;*—**WEBB.** Crest. *A wolf's head erased or, holding in its mouth a broken spear, staff or, head argent, imbrued gules.*

BASKERVILLE JOHN, eldest son of the above 'John' and 'Hester,' of Woolley, (d. Dec. 20, 1837.)

Arms and crest of 'Baskerville,' as before. Motto, '*Spero ut fidelis.*'

BETHELL GEORGE; a Magistrate for the County of Wilts, (d. March 26, 1795); and SARAH, his wife (d. Jan. 7, 1777); also ELIZABETH, their daughter (died in infancy).

BETHELL JAMES; of Lady Down (d. April 24, 1831), and ELIZABETH, his wife (d. Feb. 7, 1820);—also SAMUEL, their second son (d. Feb. 7, 1831).

It is with this latter family that Sir Richard Bethell, late Attorney-General, is connected; he being the son of Dr. Bethell—(a brother of the above-named 'James Bethell')—formerly of Bradford and afterwards of Bristol.

BOWLES, The Rev. EDWARD; Vicar of Bradford from 1804-1808 (d. Feb. 1, 1808). This Tablet is close to the western extremity of the North Aisle.

BROWNE, WALTER (d. Aug. 1, 1796). An oval Tablet at the south-eastern angle of the Nave.

BUSH, THOMAS; a Magistrate for Wilts and High Sheriff in the year 1801; (d. Nov. 20, 1809,) and MARY, his wife, (d. Jan. 16, 1824).

Arms. *Azure, a wolf salient argent, collared and chained or, in chief three crosses pattee fitchée of the second.* Crest. *A goat's head argent, attired sable.*

CAM, SAMUEL, of Chantry House; a Magistrate for the County of Wilts, (d. Nov. 7, 1792). His first wife, ELIZABETH, together with ten children, and a daughter, ELIZABETH, by his second wife, MARY, are buried in the same grave.

One of his co-heirs, Maria Theresa, a daughter by his first wife, married Isaac Hillier, and, by him, had several children. The other co-heir, Charlotte, a daughter by his second wife, married Benjamin Hobhouse, Barrister-at-Law, afterwards created a Baronet, and her son, succeeding to the title as Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., was, in the year 1851, created Baron Broughton, of Broughton de Gyfford, Co. Wilts.

CLUTTERBUCK, DANIEL (d. April 16, 1769).

Arms. *Azure, a lion rampant, and in chief, three escallops argent.*

CLUTTERBUCK, DANIEL; son of the above, of Bradford Leigh, (d. 17 June, 1821), and ELIZABETH, his wife, (d. 28 April, 1826).

Arms. CLUTTERBUCK as before, quartering,—'*Or a cross quarterly counterchanged gules and sable, in the dexter chief quarter an eagle displayed of the third,*'—WEBB; and impaling, '*Per bend sinister ermine and ermines, a lion rampant or.*'—EDWARDS. Crest on monument,

apparently, a dog, but it has been defaced. The usual crest of Clutterbuck is,—*a buck statant argent, [or séjeant] between two laurel branches, proper.*

COMPTON, DENNIS. On a black marble slab in the Chancel floor, on the south side of the altar, is the following inscription: "Here lyeth y^e body of Dennis Compton Jun^r., son of Walter Compton Eq^r of Hartpury, who departed this life y^e 16 May, 1714. He was Dame Mary Steward brother." [See 'STEWART' below.]

Arms. *Sable, a lion passant gardant or, between three esquires helmets argent, garnished of the second, with a crescent for a difference.*

This is the coat of the ennobled family of Compton. The Comptons of Hartpury bear different arms, in fact, those of Compton of Wilts and Gloucestershire, viz.,—*Argent, a fess nebulée gules, on a chief of the last, (sometimes in chief) a helmet between two lions' heads erased or.*

COTTLE, EDWARD; of Bradford Leigh, (d. Feb. 14, 1718), and ANN, his wife, (d. March 13, 1728), and two of their sons, &c.

Arms. *Or, a bend gules.*

This is the same coat which Aubrey gives to 'COTELE,' who, he says, 'had large possessions at Atford.' The name is preserved in 'Cottles,' or, as it was formerly called,—'*Coteles Atteward*'—or '*Coteles Atteworth.*'

CURLL, QUERINA, (*sic*), wife of John Curll, (d. 28 April, 1678), and WALTER, son of the same, (d. 30 April, 1677).

This is on a plain slab of black marble in the floor of the Chancel. John Curll was the founder of one of the most extensive of the parochial charities, and served the office of High Sheriff in 1699.

DAVIS, ROBERT, Surgeon, of Woolley Hill, (d. May 3, 1790), and SUSANNA, his wife, (d. Jan. 14, 1826), and several of their children.

DEVRELL, JOHN, of Frankley, (d. July 5, 1785), and MARY, his wife, (d. Jan. 25, 1802). Also JOHN, their son, (d. May 21, 1829), together with his wife and two of their children. [A large marble tablet against the north wall in the Nave.]

FERRETT, JOHN; a benefactor, in many ways, to the Parish, as will hereafter appear in the account of 'Charities.' The inscription on the Tablet contains the invocation;—"On whose soul O blessed Lord God have mercy,"—an unusual one towards the close of the last century. (d. May 12, 1770, aged 68 years.)

GAISFORD, CAROLINE, wife of William Gaisford of Seend, (d. July 1, 1813).

JONES. A small brass with the following inscription, "Hic sepultus est Johannes Jones de Bradford, nuper Pharmacopola, qui obiit sexto die Februarii A.D. 1709."

On a hatchment close by are the following arms,—'*Argent, a lion*

passant sable, on a chief of the second, a ducal coronet or;—JONES; impaling, Sable, a lion rampant within an orle of cross crosslets argent;—LONG. Crest. Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-lion sable.

This hatchment is placed over the grave-stone of Daniel Jones, Esq., of Frankley House, who married Ellen, daughter of Richard Long, Esq., of Rood Ashton, great grandfather of the present Walter Long, Esq., M.P. for North Wilts. Mr. Jones died in 1772, leaving an only son, Daniel Jones, who, by the will of the late Walter Long, Esq., of Bath, took the name of Long in addition to Jones, and the arms of Long, of Monkton, only. Mr. Jones Long died without issue in 1827.

METHUEN, ANTHONY, second son of Paul Methuen of Bradford, descended from the very ancient family of Methuen in the kingdom of Scotland,—(*antiquissimo stemmate de Methuen in regno Scotiae.*)—(d. May 10, 1717), and **GERTRUDE**, his wife, daughter and coheir of Thomas Moore of Spargrove, in Somerset, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir John Bampfylde, Bart., of Poltimore, in Devon, (d. July 20, 1699).—**THOMAS**, only son of the above Anthony and Gertrude, (d. Jan. 2, 1737), and **ANNE**, his wife, only daughter of Isaac Selfe of Beanacre, Wilts, by Penelope, daughter and coheir of Charles, Baron Lucas, of Shenfield, Co, Essex, (d. May 15, 1733).

The monument, which is a large and handsome one in marble, executed by Rysbrack, on the south side of the Chancel, was erected by Paul, only son and heir of Thomas and Anne Methuen. There are two shields, each bearing coats of arms, the one referring to the former, the other to the latter, members of the Methuen family, above commemorated.

SHIELD I. Arms. *Argent, three wolves' heads erased, proper,—METHUEN, and on an escutcheon of pretence, Argent, two bars engrailed azure, between nine martlets gules,—MOORE.*

SHIELD II. METHUEN, as before, quartering **MOORE**;—*impaling, First and fourth, ermine three chevrons gules,—SELFE, quartering, Argent, a fess between six annulets gules,—LUCAS.*

RENISON, JOHN. (d. 18 Nov. 1793.)

ROGERS, Rev. JOHN; Vicar of Bradford for 43 years. [See above p. 227.] On the monument is inscribed, "Obey them that have the rule over you," &c. Heb. xiii. 17. (d. April 20, 1754).

Arms. *Azure, a mullet argent, on a chief or, a fleur de lis gules. Crest. A fleur de lis gules.*

ROGERS, SUSANNAH. (d. May 1, 1755, aged 22 years): inscribed,—*"a truly pious, virtuous and affectionate good wife."*

Arms; on a Lozenge,—**ROGERS**,—as before.

SHRAPNEL, HENRY, Lieutenant-General, Colonel Commandant of the sixth battalion of Artillery, (d. 13 March, 1842).

The inventor of the 'Shrapnel Shell,' the most destructive implement of modern warfare. A large slab in the floor of the Chancel near the south door.

SMITH, FRANCIS, Lieutenant-General; Colonel of the eleventh Regiment of Foot. (d. Nov. 7, 1791).

Arms. *Azure, two bars between three pheons, or. Crest. Two arms embowed vested azure, cuff or, holding in the hands proper a pheon or.*

STEWART, CHARLES. (d. 11 July, 1698.)

This is a large and striking marble monument on the north side of the Chancel, near the east end. It contains a full length figure, habited in the well known costume of the time of James II. Who 'Charles Stewart' may have been is not known, but tradition says that he was of the royal line of 'Stewart,' (or 'Stuart,') though this may have arisen from the fact of his crest being a '*regal crown.*' The arms borne by him (as described below) are those of Stewart of Patteshull, Co. Northampton, though *their* crest is different;—indeed the '*regal crown*' is not given in the books of reference as the crest of any family of this name. He lived at Cumberwell, though whether as owner or simply occupier is uncertain. He married 'Mary Compton,' of the ancient family of that name at Hartpury in Gloucester; the arms he impales on his shield being the same as those borne by the Marquis of Northampton: though, as it appears from the note made after describing the arms on her brother's monument, the coat of 'Compton of Hartpury' is quite different from the one here impaled with 'Stewart.' A Latin inscription on his monument tells us that his death was in consequence of injuries received, in the first instance, by a fall from a horse. This costly monument was erected to his memory by his widow, a few years after his decease.

Arms. *Or, a fesse chequy argent and azure, within a border ermine, for STEWARD,—impaling, Sable a lion passant gardant or between three esquires' helmets argent, garnished of the second, for COMPTON. Crest. On a wreath or and azure, a regal crown proper.*

TAUNTON, ROBERT, L.L.D. (d. 17 July, 1797), and **FRANCES**, his wife, (d. 25 Nov., 1819), daughter and co-heiress of Leonard Cropp, of Co. Hants.

TAUNTON, FRANCES, second daughter of the above, (d. 24 May, 1803); ELIZABETH WEEKS, their eldest daughter, (d. 11 May, 1815); RICHARD HOBBS, their son, Lieutenant in H.M. 22 Light Dragoons, (d. 19 May, 1819).

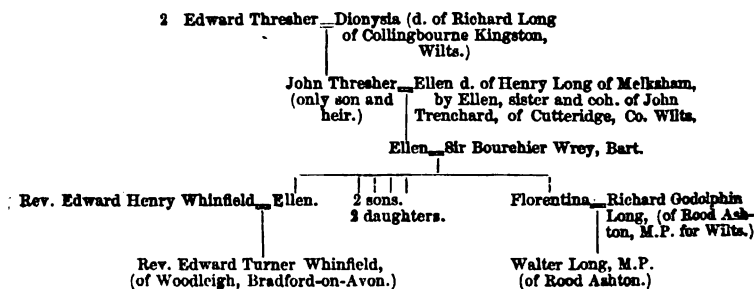
TAUNTON, JOHN HEARNE, another son, (d. 15 April, 1852).

THRESHER, EDWARD, (d. 18 Feb., 1725); JOHN, his son, (d. 17 Aug. 1741).

ARMS. *Argent, a chevron gules, between three boars' heads erect and coupé; Sable issuing from the mouth of each a cross crosslet fitchée of the second; THRESHER;—impaling, Sable, a lion rampant within an orle of cross crosslets argent; between two flaunches, ermine;—LONG. Crest. A demi buck salient, or.*

The 'Thresher monument' is a very large one of marble, and covers the whole of a Norman window on the north side of the Chancel. It was erected by Ellen, relict of John Thresher. From a long Latin inscription we learn, that EDWARD THRESHER was a successful clothier in Bradford, and that he took peculiar interest in the well-being of the town and neighbourhood.¹ We are further informed that on his decease, his son, JOHN THRESHER, who had been previously educated for the Bar, in which, it is intimated, he had earned some distinction for himself, came to reside in Bradford, and giving up his own professional pursuits, carried on in this town those commenced by his father, in which the well-being of others no less than of himself were concerned. He resided at Chantry House. He was the ancestor, on the female side, as the subjoined extracts from the family pedigrees will shew,² of two gentlemen whose names are familiar to us, the one as the member for our County, the other as a resident for many years in our parish.

¹ On the monument it is said,—“Commercium ad Parochiam de Bradford et villas circumjacentes *peculiariter respiciens*, (heu; priscam Anglicæ Gentis gloriam, vellus aureum), prosperis et honestis artibus excoluit, et sibi et patriæ.”



TIDCOMBE, MICHAEL. This is the oldest of the monuments now on the walls of the Church. It is inscribed,—“Neare this place lyeth the body of M^r. Michaell Tidcombe who deceased y^e 26 day of July An^o. Dom. 1662.

“Tidcombvs tvmvlo jacet hoc Michaelis in alto,
Sospes dvm clangit bvccina, ‘Svrge,’ manet.”

It also records the decease of a daughter, ‘SARAH,’ (d. 11 July, 1661).

In a previous page (47) some mention has been made of ‘Michael Tidcombe.’ We may here add a few supplementary particulars. He was one of the King’s (Charles I.) Commissioners for raising money in Devizes, of which town he was elected Mayor in 1643, and in consequence of his acting in this capacity, and of other deeds clearly shewing his Royalist sympathies, he was, when the Parliament triumphed, apprehended by the Serjeant-at-Arms ‘as an offender of a very high nature.’ For some time he was detained as a prisoner in Ely House. His petition to Parliament for pardon sets forth as pleas, *inter alia*, the fact of ‘his estates being sequestered, himself and wife and seven children unprovided for, and his being in debt at least £400.’ He passed the latter part of his life in retirement in this Parish, surviving ‘the Restoration’ by about two years. He married, 1626, Susanna, sister and one of the co-heirs of John Blanchard, of Great Ashley. [See above pp. 48 and 69.]

TIMBRELL, THOMAS, (d. 23 April, 1815), and **ELIZABETH**, his wife, (d. 8 March, 1805).

Arms. *Quarterly gules and argent, in the first and fourth quarters an escallop of the second. Crest. A lion’s head erased quarterly gules and argent.*

TIMBRELL, CHARLES, (d. 20 Aug., 1821), and **ANN**, his wife, (d. 29 Jan., 1831).

Arms. **TIMBRELL**, as before;—impaling, *Sable a chevron ermine, between three church bells argent*;—**BELL**.

TUGWELL, HUMPHREY, (d. 22 Aug., 1775), and **ELIZABETH**, his wife, (d. 7 June, 1801). He ‘carried on an extensive manufactory in Bradford for fifty years.’ This monument also records the decease of several of their children;—**FITZ-DANIEL** (d. 3 Dec., 1747);—**THOMAS** (d. 24 May, 1769);—**WILLIAM** (d. 25 Dec., 1774).

Arms. *Azure, three garbs or, on a chief argent, a boar’s head erased in fess sable*,—**TUGWELL**; impaling, *Argent, a lion passant sable, on a chief of the second a ducal coronet or*,—**JONES**.

TUGWELL, MAWBET, youngest son of William Tugwell, (d. 13 May, 1815). He was married to PENELOPE, fourth daughter of Daniel Clutterbuck, of Bradford Leigh.

Arms. TUGWELL, as before, impaling, CLUTTERBUCK, as before, (p. 236). Crest. *A buck's head erased proper.*

TUGWELL, GEORGE HAYWARD, of Crowe Hall, near Bath, (d. 19 Jan., 1839), and SARAH, his wife, daughter of Daniel Clutterbuck, of Bradford Leigh, (d. 31 May, 1853).

Arms. TUGWELL, as before; quartering, *Argent, on a pale sable, three crescents of the field*,—HAYWARD;—impaling, CLUTTERBUCK quartering WEBB, as before. [See Clutterbuck.] Crest, as before.

TUGWELL, THOMAS, of Woolley House, Bradford, a Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Wilts, (d. 18 April, 1833), buried in South Wraxall Church.

Arms. TUGWELL as before; impaling, *Sable, a stag statant argent, attired or, within a bordure quarterly ermine and erminois*,—JONES. Crest, as before.

TUGWELL, ELIZABETH, second daughter of Mawbey Tugwell, (d. Nov. 9, 1822).

THOMAS, only son of Mawbey Tugwell, (d. 25 Dec., 1840), buried at St. John's, Westminster.

WHATLEY, RICHARD, (d. 4 Nov., 1782), and ELEANOR, his wife, (d. 10 Dec., 1786), and several of their children.

YERBURY, FRANCIS, of Belcomb Brook, (d. 28 April, 1778), and MARY, his wife, (d. 18 Sept., 1775); also their children, FRANCIS, (eldest son) drowned (8 Oct., 1752);—RICHARD (d. Feb. 12, 1772);—JOHN WILLIAM, youngest son, (d. 8 Oct., 1824);—also HESTER, wife of the last named 'John William,' (d. 18 Nov., 1842).

Arms. *Party per fess or and argent, a lion rampant azure*,—YERBURY; impaling, *Or, on a fesse engrailed between three nags' heads erased azure, three fleur de lis of the field*;—BAILEY. Crest. *A lion's head erased, per fesse, or and argent.*

On sundry flat stones within the Church, are the following names, not yet mentioned:—BURCOMB,—GALE,—LEA,—WOOD.

DOLE-STONE.—In the Churchyard, opposite the south door of the chancel is an erection, which, at first sight, looks very much like an altar tomb. It is about two feet and a half high, and the ledger stone measures about seven feet in length and three and a half feet in width. Its sides are ornamented with panel-work; at the east and west ends there is a quatrefoil, in the middle of which is a Latin cross executed in rather bold relief. The ornaments and general character of the work, between which

and those on the sides and shaft of the font there is a striking similarity, would indicate them both as the work of the latter part of the 15th century, and possibly the productions of the same hand. An inscription in the Church on the monument of Vicar Rogers, which is fixed just above the Chancel door, would seem to point out this stone as being over the burying place of that Incumbent; and there were, till within a recent period, two white marble slabs let into the north side of it, in the place of two of the ornamental panels, on which this fact was recorded. These slabs fell out and are now missing, and the panels, as they appear on the north side of the stone, are quite plain. The tomb, however, if such it be, is certainly older than the middle of the last century, and by no means such an one as would have been probably erected at the period of Vicar Rogers's decease (1754). We venture therefore to suggest, from its being close to a door, and from its resemblance to many others of the same kind in Wilts, (as in the Church-yards of St. Mary Devizes, Potterne, Bishops Cannings, Poulshot, Edington, &c.) that it may have been originally a '*Dole-Stone*,' that is, a stone used for the distribution of alms, or *doles*, to the poor. When it was no longer employed for this purpose, the plot of ground under it, or it may be rather that on the north side of it, was used as a burial place for the family of the Vicar already alluded to, the ornamental panels on that side having been removed and the flat marble panels, with an inscription upon them, inserted in their place. The inscription is said to have been little more than a recital of the names of those who were buried at that spot, together with the dates of their decease.

About ten years ago so many of the tombs &c., in the Church-yard were in a state of decay, that, on the representatives of those who were buried beneath them, neglecting, after due notice given, to repair them, a considerable number were removed. On those that remain many of the inscriptions are illegible;—from others the metal plates, on which they were formerly engraven, have been removed. The principal names still remaining, exclusive of such as have been already mentioned, are,—Bassett, Baines, Beverstock, Budgett, Cayford, Collar, Coombs, Day, Earle, Gregory, Harris, Helps, Hendy,

Harvey, Merrick, Milsom, Notton, Palmer, Pearce, Porch, Spender, Stevens, Strawbridge, Tayler, Townsend, Webb, Wilkins, Wiltshere.

Of the inscriptions there are very few worth recording. One, in Latin, from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Knight, on the tomb of his daughter, is said to have been both correct and elegant, but it is now so defaced as to be illegible. The two following are the best of those that remain :—the *former* is from a mural slab on the east side of the Porch to the memory of a youth named ‘Edward Gibbons,’ who died at the age of 17 years;—the *latter* is on a flat stone in the western part of the Church-yard, beneath which are the remains of ‘Thomas Mills.’

“Short was my life, yet live I ever;
Death hath his due, yet dye I never.”

“Stay, sinner, stay ;— pause ere thou passest on,
Thou too must mingle with thy parent dust :
Forget my sins,—repent thee of thine own,—
And for forgiveness in thy Saviour trust.”

OLD CUSTOM IN THE CHURCH-YARD ON SHROVE-TUESDAY.

This would seem to be an appropriate place in which to mention an old custom which has hardly yet quite passed away, and which, until the Church-yard was enclosed, was strictly observed. On the morning of Shrove-Tuesday, from time immemorial, a bell has been tolled; the original purpose of such tolling has long of course been forgotten, though no doubt in olden times the people were thus summoned to confess their sins to the priest, or to ‘*shrive*’ themselves, as it was termed, the especial work of *Shrove*-Tuesday;—whence it derives its name. Shortly after the bell ceased, all the boys and youths of the town, both those from the Schools and those apprenticed to divers crafts,—(custom indeed had given the latter a sort of prescriptive claim to a holiday on the occasion)—clustered in great numbers in the Church-yard, and sought, by joining hands, entirely to encircle the Church. There was, of course, on the circle being completed, the usual quantity of jumping and shouting. They called this ceremony, ‘*clipping the Church*’;—the term, I cannot doubt, is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word ‘*clyp-pan*,’ which means, to ‘embrace,’ or ‘*clasp*.’ ●

What was the origin, or first intention, of this custom, it is impossible now to say. Were it observed at the time of the Festival kept in commemoration of the Dedication of the Church, namely on Trinity Monday, we should judge it to be the relic of the old sports and pastimes usual on such occasions. Fairs were commonly, in times gone by, held in Church-yards,—indeed, within these very few years, such have been held in that of St. James, Bristol,—when the people thought little of dancing about the Church.¹ In Malkin's 'Scenery and Antiquities of South Wales' (1804 p. 26.) we are told—"The custom of dancing in the Church-yard at their feasts and revels is universal in Radnorshire, and very common in other parts of the Principality. Indeed this solemn abode is rendered a kind of circus for every sport and exercise. They play at Fives and Tennis against the wall of the Church. They do not dance on the graves, but on the North side where there are no graves."—In the case of Bradford Church-yard the booths at the time of the annual fair were in olden times brought close to its limits, and the South wall of the Church Tower shews, unmistakable evidences of having been used for the balls of the Tennis players. The 'boys dance' round the Church however formed no part of the ceremonies of the 'Trinity Festival.'

It is *possible* that the custom we have been describing is the relic of some *very ancient* observances. Though we do not profess to rely on the facts we are about to mention as an explanation of this 'Bradford custom,' yet still they lend some colour to a conjecture that its origin may perhaps be sought in extreme antiquity.

In days when Baal (the sun) was the chief object of worship, as in ancient Britain, and many other countries, a *circular dance*, in allusion to the sun's supposed motion round the earth, formed part of the ceremony. The Hindoos also used the *Ráas Játra*, or 'dance of the circle,' in honor of Vishnu, (the sun). Many British monuments, moreover, are in *circular form*, as Stonehenge,—Abury, &c. Stonehenge was called the 'Giants' dance'; and a

¹ Medii Ævi Kalendarium i. 355. Brand's Popular Antiquities, ii. 459. [Bohn's edition.] This custom led to much scandal, and was, in due time, stopped.

circle in Cornwall is termed 'Dance Maine;'—dance stones. The Rev. W. Bathurst Deane¹ relates that at Carnac in Brittany, where there are remains of an immense stone avenue and circle, the villagers are accustomed, at an annual festival held on the day of the Carnival, to unite in a general dance. The dancers commence in a circle, and, having performed a few revolutions, wheel off to the right and left. They call this, *par excellence*,—'Le Bal.' This, he suggests, *may* mean nothing more than the ordinary French word '*bal*,'—or public dancing, Mr. Scarth,² however, intimates an opinion, that perhaps it may be after all *the vestige* of the sacred dance of Baal, though its original meaning may be forgotten. A tradition of this circular dancing appears in many fables respecting Druidical temples in England. The stones are said to have been human beings petrified in the midst of a dance, and all the temples to which such superstitions are attached are *circular*. At Stanton Drew the stones are called 'The Wedding,' and one of them is specially designated 'The Bride;' and here, tradition says, that they were all men and women turned into stone at their wedding-dance. At the St. John's Eve fires, moreover,—called in Ireland to this day, 'Bel-tan' fires,—they danced by night round them, carrying torches in their hands. A similar custom was observed in Cornwall.³

Though, as we have already intimated, such facts, as we have detailed, cannot be taken as any *positive* explanation of the '*Boys Dance*' round the Church on Shrove-Tuesday, yet thus much we may, perhaps infer from them; viz.—that our Bradford custom no doubt is *very old*, and that it *may* have arisen from some ancient usage of the kind.

It will be no inappropriate addition to the foregoing section on our 'Parish Church,' to give an account of two old buildings erected originally for the purpose of religious worship, one of which has long altogether ceased, and the other almost entirely,

¹ Archæologia, xxv. 217.

² Journal of British Archæological Association, June 1857, p. 110.

³ Brand's Popular Antiquities, i. 337.

to be used for the object for which they were built. The former is most probably an 'ANCIENT SAXON CHURCH,'—the other is called the 'GROVE MEETING-HOUSE,' and has some interest as being the first non-conformist chapel erected in Bradford.

THE SAXON CHURCH.¹

By this term we designate a very ancient building, standing near the north-east end of the Parish Church, which is now used for the purposes of a Free-School. The surrounding site is still called the 'Abbey-yard,' from which we may form a plausible conjecture, as intimated in a previous page (12), that the monastery founded in this place by St. Aldhelm, at the commencement of the eighth century, was erected on that site. Moreover, in opening the ground, a few years ago, immediately adjoining the present building, for drainage and other purposes, stone coffins were discovered,—thus identifying the surrounding site as a place of sepulture. There are no records believed to be in existence which could throw light upon the object and purpose of the building in ancient times. When a portion of it was conveyed to Trustees in 1715, as a School-house, it was described as—'a building adjoining to the church-yard of Bradford, commonly called the Skull-House,'—from the fact, most probably, of its having been used as a charnel-house.

Hemmed in on every side by buildings of one kind or another,—on the south-side by a sort of wing added to the original building (in which the schoolmaster's residence now is), and also by another building used as a coach-house;—on the north by a large shed, employed for the purposes of the neighbouring woollen manufactory;—the design and nature of the building escaped, till a very recent date, the notice of Archæologists. The fact, too, of the west front being entirely modern work, deceived them as to the nature of the whole, and every one considered it, at the first glance, to be a production of the eighteenth century.

Subsequent investigation, however, has convinced us, that, not-

¹ For valuable assistance, in drawing up the architectural details of this very interesting building, I have been indebted to my friend, Mr. C. E. Davies, F.S.A., of Bath.

withstanding the numerous alterations the building has undergone during succeeding ages, it bears unmistakable evidences of a very early foundation;—probably as early as the *eleventh century*. Seen from a distance, and from an elevated spot, it exhibits the usual form of a Church,—standing east and west,—and consisting of a Nave,—a Chancel,— and a Porch on the north side.

The building, as at first existing, was of three distinct roofs, marking the position of the three several portions, of which we have just spoken. That over the Porch, though not of the original elevated pitch, as is indicated on the side wall of the Nave, yet retains the same line of drip, but the others have been entirely altered. All the elevations, excepting that of the Porch which was only of two, were divided into three stages. The lowest was quite plain, with the exception, only, of a series of slight projections, which are so slight, indeed, that they can only be called pilasters, and not buttresses. These occur at regular intervals, and support a string-course, which runs all round the building, except where it has been recently destroyed. Upon this string-course runs an Arcade, consisting of a series of flat pilasters, partially moulded on the east, and formed by upright stones which however do not tail into the wall; and on these are square blocks of stone, slightly bevelled, which support, or rather *appear* to support, plain arches. The arches themselves are only surface decorations, and not at all constructive arches, as they are cut out of the stone, which runs, irrespectively of them, in regular courses. Around the Porch the pilasters do not support arches, but merely a tabling, which, on one side, is certainly original, and is built to receive the eaves. In the eastern gable of the Nave are the remains of an Arcade above the one already described, which was built to take the form of the pitch of the roof, being stilted in increasing height to the centre. A considerable portion, however, has been destroyed in the course of alterations made in the roof, and for the purpose of inserting flues. Above the tabling on the north side of the Porch, there would seem to have been a similar Arcade to that on the east end of the Nave, the central pilaster, which is moulded, yet remaining.



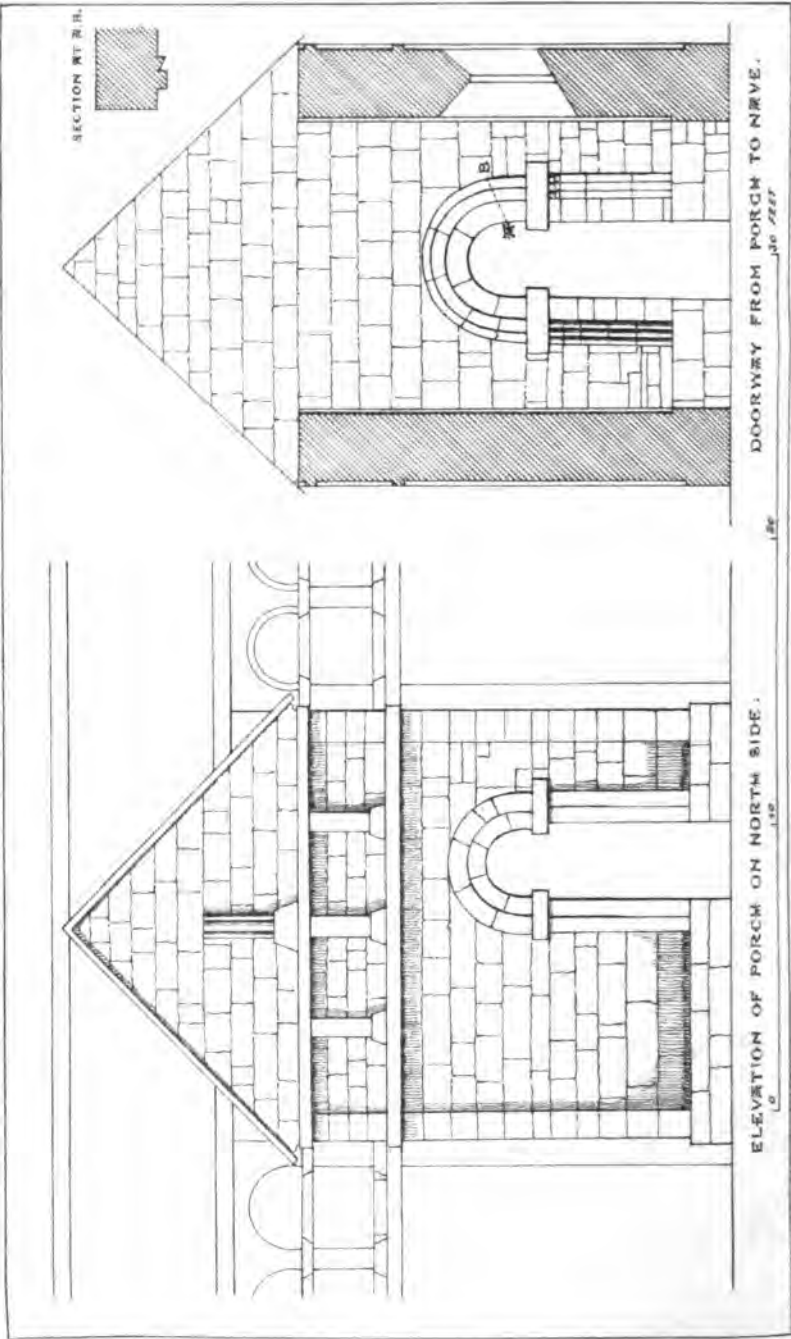
SOUTH-EAST VIEW.

Sketched by the Rev. J. L. Pettit, F.S.A.

Edw. King, engraver.

Ancient Church, Bradford-on-Avon.

PLATE VII

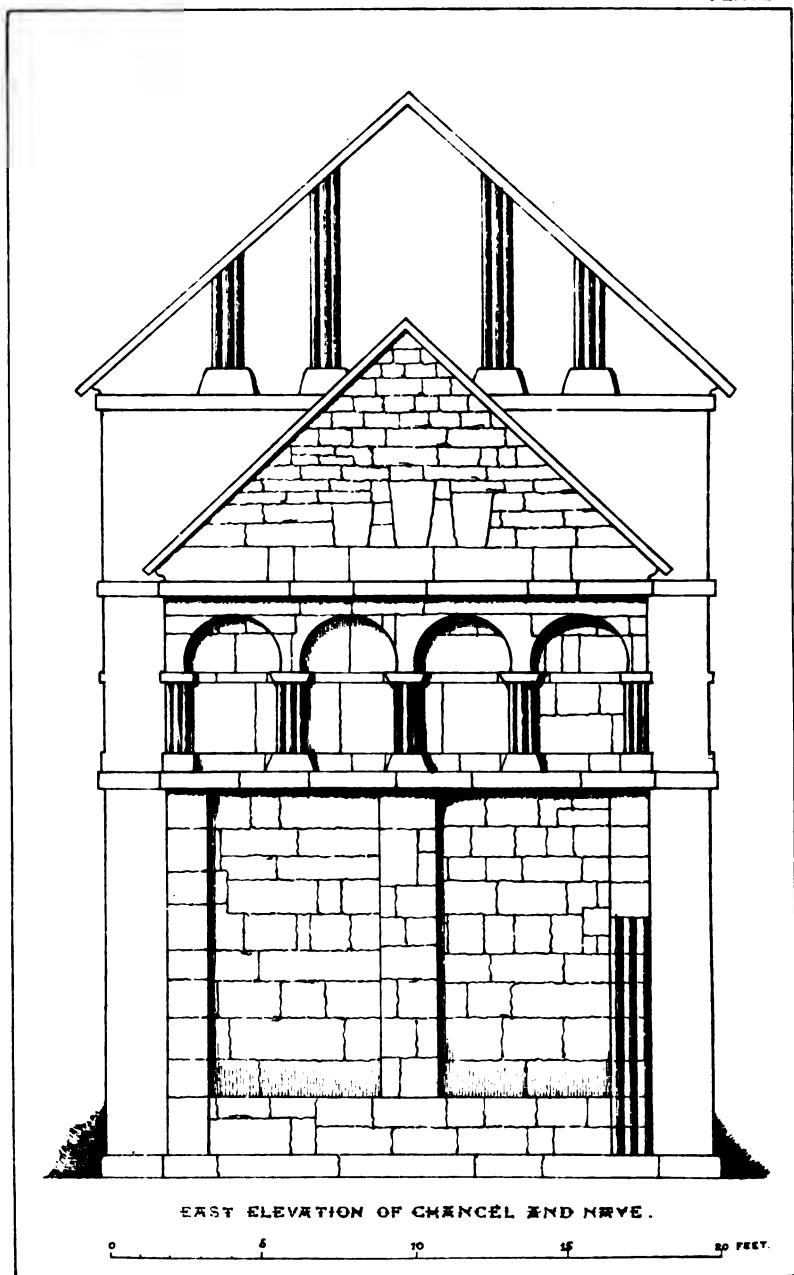


See W. C. Lomas F.S.A. del.

Edw. Johnston del.

Ancient Church, Bradford-on-Avon,

PLATE IV.



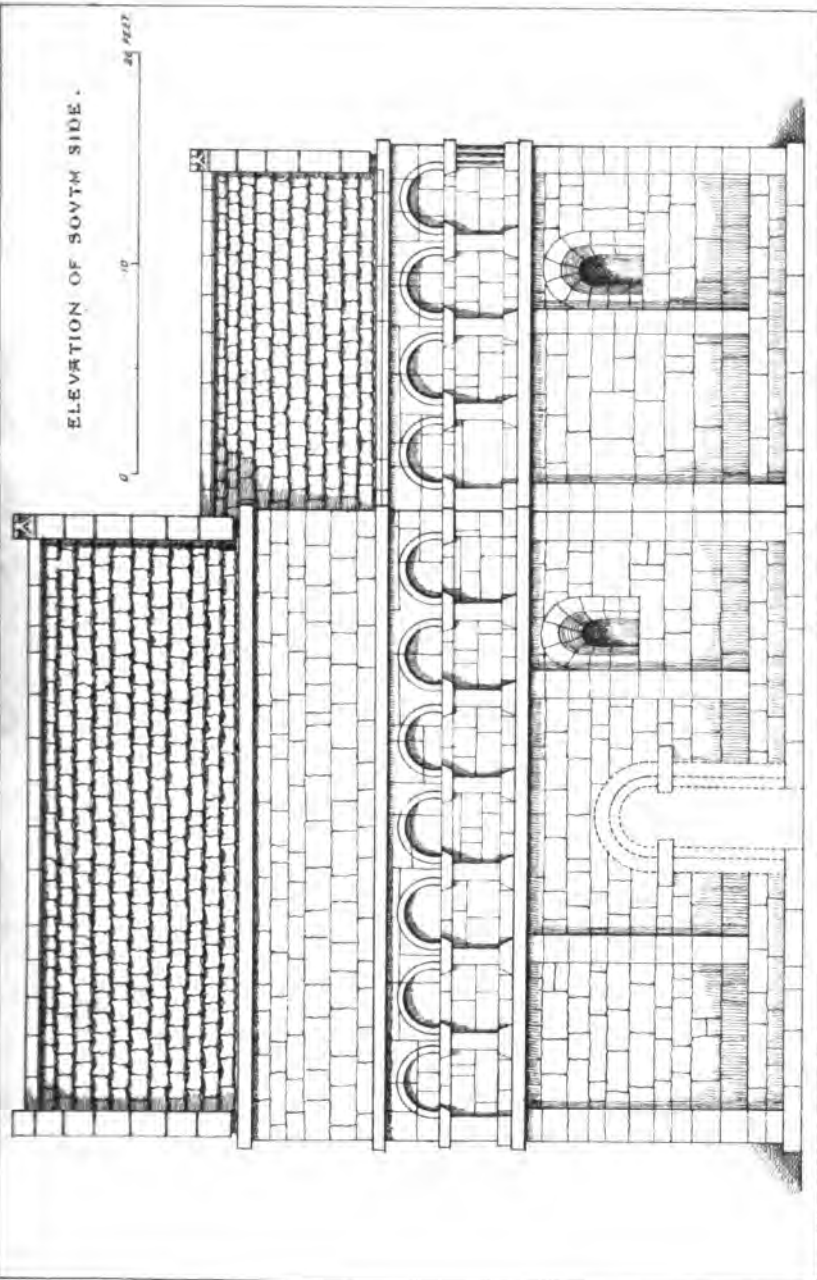
EAST ELEVATION OF CHANCEL AND NAVE.

0 5 10 15 20 FEET.

Rev. W. C. Lukis, F. S. A. del.

Edw. Kite, anast.

ELEVATION OF SOUTH SIDE.

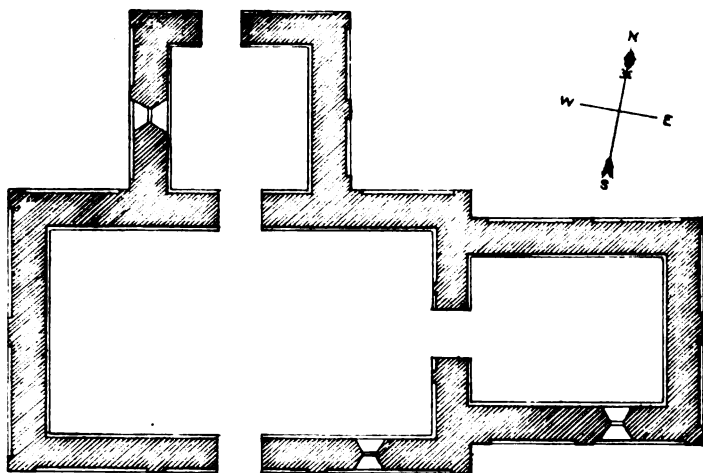


Rev. W. C. Lubbs, F. S. A. del.

Edw. King sculp.

Ancient Church, Bradford-on-Avon,

PLATE II

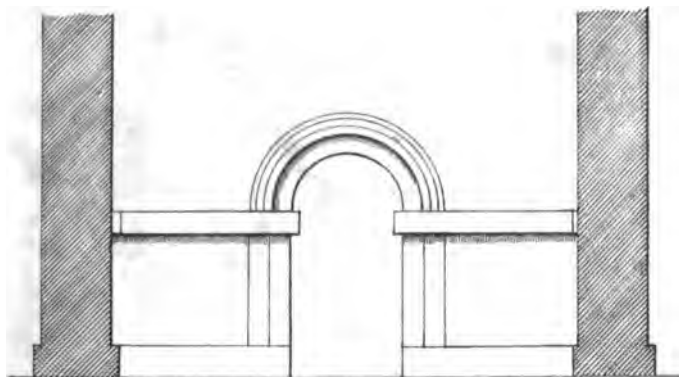


GROUND PLAN.

0 10 20 30 40 FEET.



FIGURES FOUND IMBEDDED IN THE WALL ABOVE CHANCEL ARCH.



CHANCEL ARCH.

0 5 10 15 20 FEET.

The CHANCEL is about *thirteen* feet in length, and *ten* feet in width. It was entered through an archway which could not have been wider than about *four feet six inches*, if indeed so much. There is still remaining the fragment of the arch, which springs from an impost and has the usual characteristics of ante-Norman work. Its vast disproportion, in size, to the height of the wall is very striking, and may be perceived by comparing it with the elevation, as shewn in Plate iv., both being drawn to the same scale. Above this arch, were found imbedded in the wall, two stone figures of angels, which are now placed over a modern porch, which has been erected as an entrance to the building on the west side. These figures are executed in a kind of low-relief;—the angels have their wings expanded, and around their heads is the ‘*nimbus*.’ They seem to be in the act of devotion, and, as they were found, one on either side, in the wall above the Chancel arch, it is conjectured that originally there was some central figure which was removed in order to make way for the large stack of chimneys now carried up through the centre of the building.

It may be observed that the pilasters on the east elevation of the Chancel are moulded into three depressed roundels, a very simple form of decoration,—in fact, the earliest form met with in this country. This work is therefore especially valuable as it seems to denote, first of all, the superiority of the eastern over the other elevations, where this ornament is not to be found, and so to increase the probability that the building is a Church;—and, in the next place, when considered together with the peculiar way in which the lesser pilasters, which support the arcade, are built, marks out distinctly the great antiquity of the structure.

There is still remaining a window, though blocked up with masonry, in the south wall of the Chancel. It is circular-headed, is splayed considerably externally,—and no doubt would be found to be splayed also *internally* if we were able to examine it,—and gives every evidence of being one of the original windows.

The NAVE is *twenty-five feet six inches* in length, and *thirteen feet four inches* in width. It was entered by an archway which still exists. The archway, which is not recessed, is *two feet ten*

inches wide and springs from an impost, which is itself simply a plain string-course stopping a slightly moulded pilaster formed by a series of segmental roundels. Above the impost, this is continued over the arch, as a hood moulding. This arch is certainly one of the earliest enriched or ornamented yet known. It may be remarked that the opening of this door-way is wider at the floor than at the springing,—one of those minor peculiarities which tend to confirm our opinion as to the antiquity of the work.¹

The western wall of the Nave is to a great extent the production of modern times, the larger portion of the original wall having been removed. It is very easy, however, to detect the remains of the original Arcade, which seems to have run round the entire building. A careful examination might perhaps shew how the west end was finished. It has been suggested, that possibly there may have been a small circular window somewhat high in the building.

In the south wall of the Nave traces of an old window are distinctly to be seen, a portion of the semicircular head still remaining. From the windows which still exist, or of which we have the trace, we should conceive that there was one window on either side of the Chancel, and two on the south side of the Nave, of similar form to those that remain.

The PORCH, on the north side of the building, is about *ten feet* square. Its front seems to have been decorated, there still remaining a moulded pilaster above the plain arcade already described. A window in the Porch on the west side is still used, and a glance at this shows it to have been the work of a very early date. It has all the characteristics of those we have already described. The Porch was entered by a door way, which, though closed up, still remains, and is almost immediately opposite the archway already described as the entrance to the Nave.

¹ There is a door-way, at Somerford Keynes Church, very similar to this one which we are describing. There is a drawing of it amongst the 'Mullings Papers' now in the Library of the Wilts Archæological Society at Devizes. It is drawn, by Mr. J. St. Aubyn, to the scale of *half an inch* to the foot. It is thus described;—"On the north side of the Nave is a curious and singular Saxon Door-way, now walled up, which appears to be of a date earlier than the Norman Conquest." In Rickman's work, (appendix on '*Saxon Architecture*,' p. 35) Somerford Keynes is reckoned among the Saxon remains in Wiltshire.

So early an example of a Porch,—especially on the *north* side,—is, we believe, not only most rare, but unique. A conjecture has been thrown out, that possibly the original Church was cruciform, a corresponding portion of the building—(in this case it would be a sort of transept)—having perhaps existed on the south side. A minute examination of the wall, however, reveals not the slightest trace of anything of the kind. Indeed, the approach to the building on the *south* side could only have been managed at any time by means of a flight of at least 12 or 14 steps, the ground sloping down towards the river. When we recollect, too, that the population of Bradford, in early times, lived probably all on the *north* side of the town, the older houses all being built in successive terraces on the slope of the hill which shuts in the town on that side, it would render it not unlikely that, for their convenience of access to the Church, there might be a deviation from what is acknowledged to be the general custom.

Without any existing records of the erection of this building we might perhaps hesitate to assign so early a date as the work seems to justify, but it certainly has as great a claim to be considered *eleventh* or even *tenth* century work, as any which assumes that honor, without any documentary evidence to support its pretensions. All the indications we have already mentioned, together with the great height of the side walls and the comparatively low pitch of the roof, point it out as belonging to what has been called the 'Saxon Romanesque' style, which is considered to have prevailed from the *ninth* to the middle of the *eleventh* century. No one indeed can thoroughly examine this little Church, without coming to the conclusion,—from the rough style of its masonry, and other indications,—that it never could have been built by the skilled workmen of Bristol Chapter House, Malmesbury Abbey, or St. John's, Devizes, but that it was certainly an earlier erection. The only other supposition, consistent with a later date, would be,—that it was erected by provincial workmen, uninfluenced by foreign refinements, or who rejected the improvements of the dominant race.

There can be no doubt that we have in this building one of the most interesting specimens yet remaining of Ante-Norman work.

Wiltshire is already rich in relics of our *British* forefathers. Fortified by the opinions of many well qualified to speak authoritatively on the matter, we can have little hesitation in pronouncing this building to have been a *Saxon Church*, of which indeed, as far as we know, it is, in its completeness, a unique specimen; and thus our County is also able to boast of remains, which, though somewhat less ancient than British, will hardly be deemed less precious.

THE GROVE MEETING-HOUSE.¹

This is the oldest Non-conformist place of worship in the town of Bradford. It is situated at the east end of what is called Middle Rank, and on the slope of the hill behind the house formerly occupied by the Methuen family. We have quoted in a previous page (52), Aubrey's description of 'the side of the high hill, facing the south, above Mr. Paul Methwin's house,' which, in his time, was covered with elder-trees. Hence the name of,—the '*Grove*' Meeting-House or Chapel.

There is something singularly picturesque in the present appearance of this structure. From long disuse it is fast hastening to decay. Its mullioned casement windows are now nearly hidden by luxuriant ivy-tresses, which enshroud the greater part of the building. It bears on its front an air of antique respectability, and is a fair type of the places of worship that sprung up quickly after the passing of the Toleration Act at the close of the seventeenth century, for the use of the Presbyterian and Independent Non-conformists.

The date of the erection of this Chapel, which was built for the use of those who inclined to Presbyterianism,—amongst whom, at one time, were numbered some of the principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood,—was about A.D. 1698.² It is believed that it owed its origin to the efforts of some of the Clergy, who,

¹ I have to thank Mr. J. Jeffery, of Bath, for much of the information concerning the '*Grove Meeting-House.*'

W. H. J.

² By a deed dated January 2, 1698, Anthony Methuen conveyed the ground, on which the '*Grove Meeting*' was shortly afterwards erected, to Francis Yerbury, the elder, of Ashley, Francis Yerbury, the younger, of Bradford, William Chandler, of Bradford, and Thomas Bush, of Bradford.

when the Act of Uniformity was passed, retired from the Established Church. Indeed, the Rev. T. Jones, who was ejected from Calne, is supposed to have assisted to found the Society which met at the Grove Meeting.

At the close of the 17th century a Mr. Dangerfield was the stated minister of this place of worship. In 1715 Mr. Thomas Barker filled that office, and continued to do so till 1729. He was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Joshua Read, who seems to have been associated in his office with a Mr. Wereat. The views of this last-named gentleman were in sympathy with what is commonly termed Arianism, and, in consequence of this, a secession took place of several who had been accustomed to attend the 'Grove Chapel.' Walter Grant, of Monkton Farleigh, and John Pitman, of Bradford, were the chief persons who retired, and through their instrumentality it was, that, in 1740, an Independent Chapel was built at Morgan's Hill, the first minister being the above-mentioned Dr. Joshua Read. This last-named chapel was subsequently endowed by Walter Grant and John Pitman, by will, with property amounting, when invested in the public funds, to £2144 13s. 2d., three per cent Reduced Annuities.

Immediately after this secession from the 'Grove Chapel,' we find Dr. Roger Flexman appointed as its minister. He remained there about eight years, when (in 1747) he removed to Rotherhithe, and was succeeded by Mr. Samuel Billingsley, a member of an old Presbyterian family of Ashwick in Somerset, the founders of the Meeting-House at that place. Mr. Billingsley resigned the office at the end of ten years.

In 1763 Mr. James Foot of Chard, a pupil of Dr. Doddridge, was minister of this chapel, and continued to be so till his death, (about 1777,) when he was succeeded by Mr. Williams of Calne, who died in 1810. This last-named gentleman was engaged in some kind of secular appointment, which was exceedingly distasteful to many of the old Presbyterian attendants at the chapel. Before his decease many of the more influential and wealthy of them had either conformed to the Established Church, or left the district, and the places of those who were removed by death were not sup-

plied by others. Those who remained were but few in number, and openly professed themselves,—Unitarians. In 1793 a Liturgy, similar to that used at the principal Unitarian Chapel at Manchester, was in use at the Grove Meeting-House.

On the decease of Mr. Williams, Mr. John Evans of Bristol for a short time acted as minister, after which the Meeting-House was let to a body of Trinitarian Dissenters for several years. This last-named body subsequently built a chapel for themselves, a Mr. Coombs being their minister.

In the year 1822, Mr. Richard Wright, who was the minister of a Dissenting congregation meeting at the Conigre, Trowbridge, re-opened the Grove Chapel, and for five years preached in it every Sunday morning. In 1827, Mr. Samuel Martin succeeded to Mr. Wright at Trowbridge, and for some time followed his practice with regard to a weekly service in the Grove Meeting. For many years past, however, the service has been very irregular. Latterly it has been held only once or twice in the year, for the purpose of securing a small endowment, hardly more than sufficient to keep the building wind and water tight. The endowment arises from the rents of two houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the chapel, and produces from £10 to £12 a year.

Few memorials remain either of former ministers or of attendants of this chapel. Of Dr. Roger Flexman, who was a man of some literary attainments, we are able to give a few particulars.

He was born at Great Torrington in Devonshire, in the year 1708, and educated for the ministry, among the Presbyterian denomination, by the Rev. John Moore. He was set apart for this work at Modbury by some of his Presbyterian brethren. After officiating at Chard and Crediton, he came to Bradford at the close of 1739. In 1747 he married Catharine the daughter of Mr. John Yerbury, one of the principal members of the congregation attending the Grove Meeting, and in the same year removed to another chapel at Jamaica Row, Rotherhithe. In 1783 he resigned his office from ill-health, but continued to fulfil the duties of Lecturer at St. Helen's, (to which he was elected in 1754) and preached there occasionally until his decease, at the age of 88, in the year 1795.

Of Dr. Flexman's sentiments we are told, by Mr. Walter Wilson, that "they coincided very much with those of Dr. Amory," whose opinions "with regard to both natural and revealed religion, nearly agreed with those of Dr. Samuel Clarke, and of the eminent divines who were coadjutors with that great man. He did not therefore fall in with the Socinian principles; neither did he reject the natural evidences of the life to come, or the notion of a separate state." Dr. Flexman, he adds, "was a strenuous advocate for the pre-existent dignity of Jesus Christ, and the personality of the Holy Spirit. He maintained the essential distinction between the soul and the body, and the liberty of the human will in opposition to materialists and necessitarians."

Dr. Flexman was well known in the literary circles of his day, and was especially noted for his accurate knowledge of English History. He was employed by the Government as one of the compilers of the General Index to the 'Journals of the House of Commons;' the eighth and three following volumes, containing the Parliamentary proceedings from 1660 to 1697, having been assigned to him. This elaborate work was commenced in 1776 and completed in 1780. He also published several Sermons and Tracts: amongst the most important of his productions were 'An account of the writings of Bishop Burnet,' and 'Critical, Historical, and Political Miscellanies,' containing remarks on various authors, amongst whom were Archbishops Potter and Secker, and Bishops Sherlock, Warburton, and Lowth. His abilities and attainments acquired for him the honorary degree of D.D. from the Marischal College of Aberdeen in 1770.

(To be concluded in our next.

A REPLY TO THE STRICTURES OF G. P. SCROPE, ESQ.,¹ ON

A paper relating to the Battle of Ethandun.²

By G. MATCHAM, Esq.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE."



SIR,—I have too great a regard for the interests of your Magazine and too much respect for the time of your

¹ See Vol. iv. p. 298.

² Vol. iv. p. 175.

readers, to enter so fully as I should otherwise desire, on the strictures made by Mr. Scrope on my paper relative to Dr. Thurnam's views of the site of the Battle of Ethandun. You may perhaps in justice, allow me to offer briefly a few remarks in answer to the charges with which I have been assailed.

With regard to the suggestions that I have (vol. iv. p. 177, l. 22) translated the Ethandun of Asser into "Edington;" and thereby seemed to beg the whole question, you are yourself aware, that I corrected the error of the press before the appearance of Mr. Scrope's objection; and your readers by substituting the page attached to your subsequent number, will be relieved from that and one or two more mistakes. With reference to the identity between the names Ethandun and Edington, to which Dr. Thurnam himself "on the ground of orthography" admits that "little difficulty exists," I am accused of rashness in making "the sweeping assertion" that the words *dun* and *ton* in Anglo-Saxon terminology are usually convertible terms. A reference, however, to my communication will shew that although I as fully admit the original distinction, as my opponent himself, I consider that frequently a change was effected in popular discourse which was afterwards embodied in written documents. But Mr. Scrope informs us, that he cannot find a single instance of the kind in the works he has consulted: and he fortifies his position by a list of places, all now preserving their original terminations. Advancing no further than his second example, we find a refutation of the writer's own theory, for according to Lysons, the town of "Abbundune now Abingdon," is "sometimes called Abington,"¹ and the list quoted is closed by the singular illustration of *Huntendune* now *Huntington*. My attention on this point has been called by a member of our Society,² to the collection of Saxon charters published by the late Mr. Kemble, from the index of which work, a sufficient number of instances has been extracted and given in the note below, which will not only "favour," but substantiate the idea of such convertibility.³ As the original Saxon terminations often remained invio-

¹ Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, vol. i. p. 216.

² H. J. Swayne, Esq.

³ *Æscodun* *Ascesdun* Ashton

Wilts.

late when the document called Domesday was compiled, the syllable *dun* being frequently written *don*, I subjoin further examples from that work where the same conversions have since occurred in modern orthography:¹ and upon these grounds I venture to disclaim the charge of rashness of which I have been accused. As the result of his proposition, Mr. Scrope concludes that if Edington had been mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle it would be as *Edentun* not as *Ethandune*; but as *Edington* is identified by Wyndham, Dr. Thurnam, and the writer himself as the *Edendone* of Domesday, and moreover as the same orthography is found to have prevailed in the reign of Edward III.,² and continued in the year

Ealdenedun	Aldington	Warwickshire.
Hwactedun	Wheaton	Gloucestershire.
Hwactedun	Wotton	Surrey.
Hwitandun	Whittington	Warwickshire.
Ossunaldesdun	Ossulston	Worcestershire.
Rigandun	Rigton	Suffolk.
Wassandun	Washton	Hants.
Unideandun	Withington	Gloucestershire.
So also, Loppendyn	Lopton	Suffolk.
and the dens, or deans of Kent and other counties have been transmuted into the same termination of ton, as		
Scarenden	Sherrington	Kent.
Snittingden	Snellington	Kent.
Deningden	Thorington	Kent.
Drislanden	Thurston	Hants.
Dristlingaden	Tristlington	Worcestershire.

¹ Examples from Domesday:—

Edendone	Edington	Wilts.
Nichendune, supposed	Nackington	Wilts.
Snendone	Sherington	Wilts.
Hanendon	Hanington	Wilts.
Cadendone	Caddington	Berks.
Herlingdone	Harlington	Berks.
Rochesdone or		
Rochestone (<i>sic</i>)	Roxton	Bucks.
Cottendone	Cheddington	Bucks.
Hortedun	Hartington	Derbyshire.
Hollandone	Hollington	Bucks.
Sithlingdone	Shellington	Beds.
Cadendon	Caddington	Beds.

² Carta regis Edwardi Tertii, qui concedit plurimas libertates monasterio fratrum (ordinis St. Augustini) de Edyndone in Co. Wiltsia. Dat. 20 die Septembris Anno regni sui 33. Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Harl. v. i.

1449,¹ Mr. Scrope's touchstone, as far as terminology is concerned, may be successfully applied to the identity of this place with the site of Alfred's victory. I could not therefore, (as has been stated vol. iv. p. 300) ridicule the notion that the terminating syllable of Ethandun can be used for a down, since it is proved so applicable both by natural feature and by ancient orthography to Edington; but to say that the Ethandun of Asser is represented by the Ettone of Domesday, is in my humble opinion to pass the usual boundary of even antiquarian metamorphoses.

To overcome this difficulty, Mr. Scrope following Dr. Thurnam arbitrarily attaches a duplicate termination, and presents us with the word Ettan-dun, Ethandun, quoting as an example the case of Ashdown. But here the two syllables respond to the Assedune of Domesday, and here also in accordance to ordinary custom, is the *single and distinctive termination*. If the battle of Ethandun had been fought at Yatton, the final syllable would as I conceive have been retained in subsequent documents, and we should have seen Yattendun² (not Yattondun as is suggested) marked on the map of Wilts, as it has been noted in that of the county of Berks.

Mr. Scrope conceives that he has answered my question "whether the compound Ettun-dun has ever appeared in writing or (perhaps) in common parlance;" because there was once a down included in the parish of Yatton, and the country-people (of course) referred to Yatton *down*, to distinguish it from that of the next village; but if we were to take this liberty with distinctive local appellations, the nomenclature of half the Wiltshire villages would be changed. And as I do not find Ettune-dun is a word which has even occurred in writing, or has even been so identified with "common, that is general, parlance," as to be handed down in the shape of a dis-

¹ Dr. Thurnam.

² Yattendon appears to be "the town composed of more than one street, on or under a down," the word *Yatten* being I presume employed for the plural of yate or Ett, as in the case of housen, still used by the peasantry for houses. Yattendon, would bear a duplicate termination, and in fact the word does not appear in the nomenclature of Berkshire topography. The distinction to which I have alluded, is preserved in the *Ettingdon* of Domesday, and in the name of Peter de *Etyndon*, who seems to have held Yattendon in the reign of Henry III. Lysons's Berkshire, p. 445.

inctive appellation (like Ashdown) for any vill, hamlet, village, town, or estate; "the reply" seems to me so far from being "decisive," that I submit it is not applicable to the question. But Mr. Scrope believes his readers will agree with him that both in *orthography* and sound the word Ettun-dun bears a closer resemblance to Ethandun, than does Edenton or Edendune. Admitting for a moment, that he has really found his word, and leaving the delicate question of sound to more accurate ears, I will answer him on the point of orthography by a better authority than mine.¹ "If you write Ethandune in Saxon letters you will see immediately how the, *th*, in that word became the *d* of Edynton, the omission of one stroke (ð for ð-th) forming the only distinction."²

Passing on to fresh delinquencies, it seems I am not justified in throwing *any* doubt on the statement of Dr. Thurnam, that the Danes had their head quarters at Chippenham immediately before and after the battle. Without repeating my argument, I am willing to be judged by the words of Asser, quoted to disprove it. Neither can my proposition be considered as singular, for whilst I am assailed with the rival claims of other places produced by different writers as opposed to that of Edington near Westbury, Mr. Scrope will be pleased to remember, that almost every one of these authors assumes the fact, that Chippenham and its neighbourhood, were *not* the head quarters of the Danish army on the eve of the contest at Ethandun.

As I am upbraided with omitting all mention of Milner, Carte, and Beke, permit me to observe, that the first places the site at Heddington, six or seven miles from Chippenham, the two last fix

¹ Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., a name deserving all respect and gratitude from the Wiltshire antiquary.

² The etymology of Ethandun appears to me sufficiently obvious if we derive it from the two Saxon words Ethan to flow, to swell up as a wave, and dun a down. From Bratton camp, says Turner, "two branches for the sake of water spread to the foot of the mountain." See Wilts Mag. vol. iv. p. 187. See also Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon and English Dict. sub. voce. There are two never-failing springs at Luccombe (Low-combe) bottom, in Edington parish on the way from Bratton to Southdown farm. They are sufficient, within a short distance, to drive a factory. There is also a stream which runs down from just above Bratton Church, which is situated at the foot of Bratton hill, called "Stokes water," (? Stoken-truncus-wood).

it respectively, at Yattendon and Eddington in Berkshire, perhaps fifty miles from that place, and being thus reminded of them, your readers may accept their additional testimony, to prove that, "I am justified in throwing a doubt on the statement of Dr. Thurnam that the Danes had their head quarters¹ at Chippenham both before and after the battle." It will be for them also to determine whether Mr. Scrope is himself justified in his decided and peremptory contradiction. It would be too great an infliction on your readers to lead them again minutely through Mr. Scrope's repetition of Dr. Thurnam's hypothesis of the march of Alfred, "from Brentford to Ealing, from Ealing to Acton, from Acton to Uxbridge," and so forth.² I will, therefore, only add to my former statement—First, that if the shorter distances between the stations, there mentioned, are held subversive of their identification with the ancient nomenclature of places in the line of march; we are not to measure the time occupied by the progress of an army from one to the other, by the ordinary facility of passage through an open country, but by the obstacles presented by a continuous forest and the rugged ground, which then characterised that neighbourhood: Secondly, with reference to the identity of Highley Common, and the *Æglea* of Asser, I am informed on the very competent authority of a near resident,³ "that there is no such place as Highley Common, although there is a grazing meadow a little above the level of the river Avon, called Iley,⁴ than which no spot is more deep and miry or less

¹ It is worthy of remark, that whilst modern writers opposed to the site of Eddington, for the most part differ among themselves as to the locality of the battle; Camden, Spelman, Gibson, Gough, Turner, Sir Richard Hoare, and Dr. Giles, (*cum multis aliis*) all concur in referring it to the same spot.

² Foote's 'Mayor of Garrett.'

³ The Rev. J. Wilkinson, Rector of Broughton Gifford.

⁴ The name Iley, has been deduced from Isley, Insula, an island, and hence perhaps an argument in its favour may be drawn from the compound *Æglea* of Asser, which may be described as the pasture on this island, but, independently of the apparent inconvertibility of the first syllable, into I, the word *Æg* means also an egg or oval form, and may have reference to the shape of the land: moreover, *lea*, is not necessarily a pasture or meadow, as Dr. Johnson derives our English word *lea*, from 'ley' Saxon, a fallow. May I be allowed to suggest that Iley and Highley may have been indifferently used, in modern times, and that the two Saxon words *hih*, high and *lea* or *ley*, explain Mr.

adapted for an encampment; in Alfred's time it must have been a swamp."¹ Iley does not appear to have ever held a village, or inhabitant. Nor will I make any further observation on the poetical auxiliary, Geoffrey Gaimar, except that his statement is at issue with that of Asser, both in the nocturnal conduct and composition² of the Saxon army; since it is the observation of Mr. Scrope himself, that "neither Dr. Thurnam nor any one else would seriously or otherwise venture to differ from Asser."

But the catalogue of my offences is not yet complete, for you are told that "Mr. Matcham is incorrect in his assertion that the White Horse" is the ensign of the West Saxons, who it seems, as to their standard rejoiced in the sign of the Dragon. Permit me to remind you, that I wrote not a word on the Saxons, as divided into east, west, north, or south, but on *Saxony* the common country of that people. To dwell on so trite a theme, is all but useless, for every one sees and knows the "horse current argent for ancient Saxony" engraved on the coins of the realm, the old Indo Germanic emblem of, and sacrifice to the sun. Allow me also to observe that the word *ensign* is used not only for a standard, but for a badge, trophy and distinction, and in this sense refers no more to the dragon,

Wilkinson's present description of the spot "a rich grazing meadow a little above the level of the river."

¹ In comparison with this claim for Highley or Iley, may I be permitted to quote the following passage from Bishop Gibson's notes on Camden's Britannia. "Near Westbury is a village called Leigh or Ley, which is most probably the place where King Alfred encamped the night before he set upon the Danes at Edington. For the name comes very near it; it being an easy mistake for the Saxon scribe to write *Æglea*, for *aec* (oak), *lea*; here is also a field called court field, and a garden adjoining encompassed with a moat, and a tradition goes that here was a palace of one of the Saxon Kings." If the *aec lea* of the Bishop should fail to convince, the *Æglea* of Asser, would still be represented by a moated enclosure, or one of an oval form.

² Gaimar converts the whole army of Alfred *after* its assembly at Egbert's stone into a body of cavalry; for he says, "they *rode thro'* the night," but all the remaining inhabitants, "*omnes accolæ*," of Wilts, Hants, &c., were not likely to be mounted. Neither would it be said of an onslaught of horsemen that they attacked the enemy "*densâ testudine*," an expression I apprehend limited to infantry, "*Antecedebat testudo pedum sexaginta, &c.*" Cæs. "*Sublatis supra capita scutis continuatisque inter se, testudine factâ ante se subibant.*" Livius. Nor would a mere body of cavalry be in a condition to secure itself by castramentation.

blue, red, yellow, or green, than to the raven of the vanquished Danes. Had Alfred and his friends had recourse to the standard of the West Saxons¹ to commemorate this victory; would not his auxiliaries composed of other tribes have held it as an invidious and unjust negation of their assistance? Mr. Scrope observes that a team of eight such steeds may be seen on the Wiltshire Downs. It is unlucky that not one should be found at Yatton. As a termination to the criticisms on this subject, I am charged with stating as a *fact*, (that the White Horse of Berkshire is, in the opinion of all antiquaries, the memorial of the victory of Æscesdun,) what I merely expressed as a *belief*—a belief, if not founded on universal, yet still on general opinion. I cannot object to the contrary instance unearthed from the ‘Archæologia’ by Mr. Scrope, but must still disclaim the charge of a *positive statement*, which was never in fact made. I have neither the means or the inclination to depreciate the description of Bury Wood camp, even if its distinction can be sustained as “one of the very strongest earthworks in Britain,” but as Mr. Scrope informs us that my remarks on the retreat of the Danes to that fortress, are founded on a complete misconception of the topography round Etton-down, and that Bury Wood is *not* to the S.W. of this position; I beg to repeat that Bury Wood camp is laid down in Dr. Thurnam’s map (vol. iii. p. 75.) S.W. of Yatton (or Etton), and of the point of junction of the two armies; and that my inferences are fairly and plainly deduced from the very document produced to enforce and exemplify Mr. Scrope’s own position.

As Whitaker seems in this place to be commended for controverting what is called “a loose assumption of Camden,” in fixing the victory of Alfred at Edington, I beg leave to submit that Camden may at least as probably have repeated and enforced the statement of immemorial tradition: and that when that great author has a doubt on a subject, he usually rejects a direct affirmation and substitutes his belief, conjecture or opinion. Mr. Scrope

¹ If the West Saxons *did* bear a dragon on their standards, what confusion must have happened in their battles with the Cornish Britons, for King Arthur is stated to have fought under a dragon, which descended to him from his reputed father, Uther Pendragon. See notes to Drayton’s Polyolbion.

objects to my charge of dogmatism on Dr. Whitaker, and has had recourse to another work of Sir Richard Hoare, from which he extracts a passage, which he considers equally reprehensible in this respect.

That work was written at an advanced period of life by a person of perhaps the greatest experience in such subjects of his day, and his conclusion, (to which objection has been taken) was grounded on an elaborate previous examination of the ground, and of the points in dispute: it was in fact but a form of expression, merely intimating the probable effect of a successful argument on the mind of the reader. But if Sir Richard is considered as too positive, the dogmatism of the other is not diminished, and the charge is founded not merely on an isolated passage, but on the general tenor of his works. Your readers also will remember that in fact the comparison was not made between *them*, but between *Whitaker* and *Dr. Thurnam*, whose mode of conducting a controversy, is as excellent in itself, as its tone and manner appear to be difficult to follow. In conclusion, I cannot but express my regret that Mr. Scrope should have thought it necessary to represent me as exhibiting "the pride of superior information," (p. 300) or any token of "emblematic triumph" (p. 306). "My White Horse," which mounting his West Saxon Dragon, he thinks it worth while so strenuously to assail, is an unpretending hobby which ambles or stumbles as the case may be, and the verdict of your readers may determine; and as the deprecatory expressions at the close of my previous paper, have not exonerated me from the charge of presumption, I may add that the enviable sensations of fancied triumph, if they even existed, have long since passed from me with the years and the friends that are gone, and cannot now be recalled.

"Frigidus obstiterit circum præcordia sanguis."

I am not however indifferent to the inference which may be drawn that I have lightly or wilfully trifled with the time or credulity of your readers,¹ and on this account, if on no other, some vindication of my former communication is required.

¹ I beg however to acknowledge the proper correction of my unintentional error in assigning the date of the death of Simeon of Durham to the year 1357, instead of 1129, arising from imperfect information, and the want of better books of reference.

It appears that Mr. Scrope has erected a tower on his domain at Yatton in honour of the great Alfred, and, as is presumed, commemorative of his victory on that spot. A fact unknown to me, when my observations on Dr. Thurnam's paper were written. It is natural that the views of the founder should gain strength from such an effort, and hence perhaps has arisen the "empressement" and vivacity with which the ground of my respected adversary, Dr. Thurnam, has been occupied. Erections however founded on hypotheses, from the Monument of London¹ to those of our own times, as they court observation, must bear the brunt of various opinions. But as an example of the architectural taste and patriotism of our accomplished associate, there will be probably but one opinion; and in this sense, let me say in all sincerity, "*hic murus aheneus esto;*" may he long live to survey it, and enjoy, with as many converts as he can make, the historical associations he connects with it. How far those associations, are, or are intended to be embodied in the inscription, "Alfredo Victori super paganos, A.D. DCCCLXXVIII, dicatum," which appears on the tower, it is not for me minutely to enquire. A passenger more familiar with the classic or even the recognized language of Rome, than with that of Asser, would scarcely be assisted in his interpretation by the contrast drawn by Juvenal² between the 'pagan' and the 'soldier,'

. . . "citius falsum producere testem
Contra *paganum* possis, quam vera loquentem
Contra fortunam *armati*, contraque pudorem."

He might also perhaps be led *beyond* the mark. But I presume not to wander further,

———"super et Garamantas et Indos,"

into another field, lest it should be said on this point, as it may have been already thought on the whole subject, "*sed super hac re nimis.*"

¹ "Instead of a glorious monument of their past history this nation wished to hallow the remembrance of a fatal accident, in attributing it by an absurd prejudice to the Catholics."—England, by the Duc de Lévis. Quoted in 'Beauties of England and Wales,' vol. x. part 3, p. 648.

² Sat. xvi. 32.

PROPOSAL FOR THE COLLECTION

OF

AUTHENTIC COPIES OF MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

THE value of monumental inscriptions, as containing evidence applicable to the purposes of the historian, the genealogist, the biographer, and in fact of all historical inquirers, is too obvious to need enforcement. Although generally inscribed on the most durable materials, they are in no degree exempt from the action of the ordinary agents of destruction. There are even some perils to which they are peculiarly exposed. Valuable memorials, which have defied time, fire, and damp, the ravages of civil warfare and the recklessness of the restorer, have yielded at last to the carelessness or the ignorance of parochial authorities. Of the inscriptions published by Weever, Le Neve, and other collectors of this class of historical monuments, it is astonishing how many of the originals cannot now be found. In the present day the work of destruction is proceeding at an accelerated pace. The recent alterations in the law of interments operate most fatally against this class of historical evidences, and in a few years the loss of historical and genealogical materials from this source alone will be found to be not only most extensive, but of an irreparable character.

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It is hoped that eventually arrangements may be made for rendering the index and inscriptions accessible to the public generally.

The Society of Antiquaries invite the co-operation, not only of all their Members, but of all possessors of rubbings, photographs, or other copies of monumental inscriptions, or drawings, &c. of monuments. It is obvious that the value of such a collection will mainly depend upon its extent and accuracy.

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The Society desire to receive in like manner copies of inscriptions, &c. in churchyards as well as in churches: and will be particularly gratified to receive copies of epitaphs wherever they may exist, whether on the Continent or in any of our Colonies, relating to British families.

Copies of inscriptions will be the more valuable when accompanied by sketches, rubbings, or descriptions of any armorial bearings on the monument, and also by particulars as to the precise part of the church or churchyard in which they may be found.

Communications respecting existing collections of inscriptions, of annotated copies of Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana*, or other works of similar character, or of any county histories in which manuscript copies of such records are preserved, are also invited by the Society, who desire to form a General Index of Monumental Inscriptions.

Society of Antiquaries,
Somerset House,
June, 1858.

No. XV.

MARCH, 1859.

Vol. V.

THE
WILTSHIRE
Archaeological and Natural History
MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



DEVIZES:

PRINTED AND SOLD FOR THE SOCIETY BY HENRY BULL, SAINT JOHN STREET.

LONDON:

BELL & DALDY, 186, FLEET STREET; J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

Price, 4s. 6d.—Members, Gratis.

Monumental Brassess of Wiltshire.

These memorials have hitherto been very imperfectly described or illustrated. The Lists published by the Oxford Architectural Society, and the Rev. C. R. Manning, are both incomplete. Of nearly sixty examples scattered throughout the county *one* only has been engraved by Carter; *five* by the late Sir R. C. Hoare—the historian of South Wilts; and *three* by the Rev. C. Boutell. The acknowledged value of such memorials in connection with the History of the County during the Middle Ages, appears fully to justify the production of a volume specially devoted to their illustration. The Prospectus of a work on this subject has recently been issued by our Assistant Secretary (Mr. Edward Kite, Devizes), which we have much pleasure in recommending to the notice of our readers. The work is ready for the press, and considerably more than 100 Subscribers have been already obtained. The author only awaits such an additional number as will enable him to produce the volume. The illustrations (besides woodcuts) will consist of more than 30 Anastatic plates, presenting good specimens of costume, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, during the Middle Ages. The text will contain a description of each example, with extracts from the Inquisitions post mortem, Certificates of Chantries, &c., so far as connected with the history of the individual commemorated. Altogether we think it will form a valuable book of reference upon this branch of the Monumental Antiquities of the County. For further information the reader is referred to the Prospectus, which is to be obtained from the author. We trust that the volume may be speedily produced, and meet with success.

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The late Mr. Barron, not long ago, remarked in a letter to a friend, that a good History of Devizes might and ought to constitute the nucleus of a body of facts highly interesting to the entire county. Such an object, the publisher hopes very shortly to realize. But, besides this, the work will contain much exclusively local matter which has never yet been published, relating especially to the period of the Civil Wars, and will moreover be illustrated by a variety of woodcuts and steel engravings. In one word, it is intended that the new History of Devizes shall supply that long felt desideratum, a popular and portable history of Modern Wilts.

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HISTORY OF DEVIZES.

DEVIZES, MARCH, 1869.

SIR,

I beg to call your attention to the annexed prospectus of a HISTORY OF DEVIZES, now in the course of printing, which will speedily issue from the press, and will, I trust, justify the measure of patronage solicited for it, and in no respect disappoint the expectations entertained and the expense incurred, that it may prove a valuable addition to our County Topography. The collection of materials has been the work of many years, and the selection from every available source, public and private, has been entrusted to an editor of distinguished abilities, whose diligence and unwearied research into every matter at all bearing on subjects connected with the town and county, would be at once acknowledged, did not his desire to avoid publicity, prevent my more open avowal of the party to whose able superintendance the editorship of the work has been committed. The readiness with which private documents, all of a very interesting character, have been furnished, most of them hitherto unpublished, demands my grateful thanks; and encourages me to hope that the stores of varied information thus made public, will fully justify the declaration that every effort has been made to ensure a valuable addition to any existing History of Devizes and the surrounding district. In reference to a period when the town occupied a conspicuous position in the History of the Country, the details will be given to an extent far exceeding the usual notice of Civil War proceedings; and the great object being to collect facts as set forth in the public and private documents of that particular date, the readers will be enabled to judge, in what degree and measure, they elucidate the proceedings of that eventful period; and how entirely they escape the common and too often merited censure, of being set forth under a particular bias, and for the purpose of advocating the cause of one or other of the contending parties. It is scarcely possible to enumerate the various matters which the volume professes to place before the public. The history of the town from its earliest day to the present time will be carefully compiled from public records, and local documents; topographical notices, biography of distinguished natives, and persons of note connected with the borough as its representatives; a complete description of its public buildings, the fullest particulars of its trade and manufactures; ecclesiastical notices of

the Churches, their foundation, style of architecture, and archaeological peculiarities; history of the several charities; and statistics connected with the population and progress of one of the most important towns in Wiltshire; these, and many other heads of information, will it is presumed supply what has long been desired, and often enquired after, a work calculated not only to amuse, but to supply information with that security for its truth which is the great desideratum in all local history.

As the sale of the work will necessarily be limited, because local, and having attempted at a very considerable outlay to meet the complaint that no full and satisfactory History of Devizes has ever been written, I earnestly hope that the patronage required to secure me from actual loss, will not be withheld, and that seeking no greater advantage, I may not have cause to regret that I have ventured upon an undertaking whose object is the gratification of the public rather than my own emolument.

The price of the work, to Subscribers, will not exceed One Guinea.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

HENRY BULL.

—o—

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THE
WILTSHIRE
Archæological and Natural History
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No. XV.

MARCH, 1859.

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HENRY BULL, 4, SAINT JOHN STREET.

LONDON:

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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

NOTICE.

THIS History of the Parish of Broughton Gifford is arranged in accordance with the *Heads of Parochial Information* contained in the 12th Number of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Magazine. My first duty and pleasure must be the offer of my best acknowledgments to those who have helped me; specially to Mr. Wm. Phelps, Mr. P. Cox, and Mr. C. E. Ward for their communications of the deeds relating to the properties which they respectively administer, Lord Broughton's, Dr. Keddle's, and E. D. Talbot Jones, Esq's. But above all am I indebted to my friend T. Herbert Noyes, jun., Esq., of the Home Office. If there be anything noteworthy in this history, it is this, that the present Lord of our Manor can here trace his title to the property from the time of the Conqueror to the present day.

Such a result, however remarkable, offers to the eye no perceptible proportion to the knowledge and skill employed. A name and a date show little, but signify much; and nobody who has not himself gone record hunting can appreciate the patience, labour, critical accuracy, and special attainments required to produce this *multum in parvo*. I may the more pardonably glory, since the credit is Mr. Noyes' and not mine. I was able to furnish him with little more than references to the meagre abstracts of the public records; and the faultiness of these, published at a great cost by Parliament, has again and again come to light in the course of this inquiry.

Such a history as this, extending through eight centuries, being a narrative of events of no public importance, compiled at a distance from public libraries, must be full of imperfections. I look to my successors to supply deficiencies and correct mistakes. The account, such as it is, proves, however, what materials do exist for histories of this kind, even in respect of petty parishes which pretend to no importance social or political.

Still, notwithstanding the insignificance of our village, we can point with pride to great names among our lords, to gentlemen and gentlewomen, of high blood and higher aims, whose true feelings and brave deeds have made England what she is. "Down those slopes of old renown," we trace a Neville, from whose house sprang nine Earls, one Marquis, Barons many, one Queen, and

five Duchesses: we see the great houses of Gifford, Audley, Le Strange, and Talbot, ever foremost in place and honour, the flower of English chivalry. We can do more. We can say that, with one lamentable exception as lamentably avenged, all our lords were on the side of constitutional freedom and national progress. They forwarded the good cause, each according to the manner of his day. The Giffords, the Audleys, and the Talbots, by union with their peers, like-minded members with them of the great council; and by armed resistance to greedy foreigners, ministerial favourites, and royal exactions in violation of the Great Charter. To stigmatise all feudal lords as oppressors of the people, is a mistake. The people, as a political body did not exist, till evoked from their low estate, and encouraged to take their stand by the side of the barons in the common contest with the Crown. Our feudal lords were the originators of popular rights, the founders and sustainers of their country's reputation at home and abroad, the promoters of national interests, the natural leaders of a free people, from which they sprang, and among whom all the lower branches of their families still remained. Our later untitled lords represent another phase of English society. The parish is but the kingdom in miniature. Strange names appear in palace and hall. The great feudal houses vanished in the wars of the Roses. The policy on both sides, followed by none more mercilessly than by Edward IV., was that of Tarquinius: *summa papaverum capita decuters*. The lords perished in the field or on the scaffold: their families were impoverished: their estates changed hands. 'New men' arose out of those very classes, which had been politically created by the nobles for their own purposes, and, as it now turned out, for their own supplanting. Wool merchants, clothiers, traders, and farmers, bought up the baronial halls and acres. Such were our more recent lords, the Mays, the Longes, and the Hortons. They found the country in an anomalous condition. The ruler was despotic, the ruled were free. The Tudors understood the position: like skillful mariners they put the ship before the wind, and rode on the top wave of popular opinion. The Stuarts attempted to put the ship about; a most delicate operation with a high sea running, and not within their seamanship. The conflict between prerogative and privilege began. Our new lords embarked heartily in "the good old cause," older than they thought, for it was the cause of the barons before them. They prosecuted it after much the same fashion, by petitions in Parliament, by insisting on the postponement of supplies to grievances, by sufferings in purse and person, and, when their ancient rights and liberties were no otherwise to be vindicated, by an appeal to the sword, which alone could then decide the right.

DI OF BROUGHTON GIFFORD

The names of the Lords are in Italics. The Fractions show the pos

History of Broughton Gifford.

By the Rev. JOHN WILKINSON.

CIVIL HISTORY.

BROUGHTON, variously written, Broctune in Domesday book, latinised *Brotona*, Broghtone, and Brogton, is a word of unquestionable Saxon origin, and derives its name from its position. Brook-ton is the dwelling by the brook. The transition from Brook to Brough is easy, and has actually taken place in Brough, a town in Westmoreland, which is divided into two parts by the Helbeck, a small feeder of the Eden. Nothing was more usual, because nothing more natural and reasonable, than for places to receive their original denominations from their situations. The names of every Parish and Tithing around confirm the remark. Melksham on the east and south is the milk-village; Shaw, adjoining Melksham, is the shady wood; Whitley, adjoining Shaw, is wheat-leigh; Holt¹ on the south-west is the hill-wood; Chalfield on the west (câld feld) the chilly spot, where the trees have been felled (there are still indications of the ancient forest); Atworth on the north is Atte-worth² (at the farm); Bradford is the broad-ford, the river Avon being there fordable for a considerable distance, with deep water above and below; Whaddon, the other side of the river, is wheat-down.

¹ "Ye that frequent the hilles,
And highest holtes of all,
Assist me with your skilful quilles,
And listen when I call."—*Percy, Ant. Rel.*

² This is the old and correct orthography. *Worth* has many meanings; it is either possession, court, farm, place, fort, or island. Such compounds are very common in surnames derived from localities, Attehull (on the hill), Atmoor (on the moor), Atbridge, Atte-church, Atte-house, Atte-mylne, &c. When it preceded a vowel, the preposition had *n*, which sometimes passed into the next word. Thus, John Atten-oke, John at Noke, John Noke; John Atten-ash, John Nash; Thomas Atten-eye (island), Thomas Noye.

Water being a prime necessary of life, dwellings by brooks, or Broughtons, are plentiful enough in England. In the time of the Conqueror there were thirty-four manors so called. There are now twenty distinct Parishes, besides hamlets and different localities, which bear the name, eleven with, nine without any distinguishing affix: three in Lancashire; Lincolnshire, Leicester, and Oxford have two each; the West Riding, Derby, Notts, Salop, Worcester, Stafford, Northampton, Huntingdon, Berks, Wilts, and Hants have one a-piece. I cannot say, for I have never seen, whether they are all by brooks. My etymology does not require that they should be. If we trace to its root the word *brook*, we shall see the propriety of the application even where there is no water. Brook (the old orthography of which, as Horne Tooke¹ has shown, was *broke*) is *broken water*, being those lesser streams which break out of the ground, and are the broken parts, or brooks, of the main river. Horne Tooke has aptly quoted from Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Faithful Shepherdess,'—

“Underneath the ground,
In a long hollow, the clear spring is bound;
Till on yon side, where the morn's sun doth look,
The struggling water *breaks* out in a brook.”

I will add from 2 Samuel v. 20. “The Lord hath broken forth upon my enemies before me, as the break of waters.” But brook may be broken land, as well as broken waters, indeed broken anything. The same Saxon word *broc* (from which comes our past participle, *broke*) means brook (broken water), newly broken up land (*ager novalis*), broke (our past tense, originally written, brack), broken or tangled wood, brock or badger (an animal which breaks the ground for its habitation and in search of food), a draught horse of an inferior description (an animal broken into harness or a broken down horse), and lastly trouble, or that by which the heart of man is broken. So that Broc-ton, or Brog-ton (the change of c is strictly euphonic) may mean either the dwelling by the brook, or by newly broken ground, or by the thicket or where badgers, draught horses, or troubles are. Nor is the series thus exhausted. Broughton may be *brocket-ton*, the haunt of

¹ Diversions of Purley. Abstraction.

the young stags. It will be hard if one or another of these etymologies cannot be made to fit the circumstances of each of the many Broughtons in England. Meanwhile, "our village" is undeniably by the brook. The Church is there, the oldest houses are there, the original population was doubtless there, the primitive *parœcia* was there.

The subsequent addition of the agnomen Gifford evidently comes from that family, of which I will speak under the Manorial history.

The Parishes which surround us have already been mentioned. The river Avon is our natural, and almost our actual boundary on the south. There are, however, seventeen Broughton acres the other side of it. We are in the Hundred of Bradford. There are five houses at Challymead in the west, and a few more at Norrington in the north, which are not connected with the other habitations, but which cannot properly be called hamlets or distinct sub-divisions of the Parish. Except where the tithing of Holt makes an inroad on the south-western corner, the land is a tolerably symmetrical block, the average length and breadth of which is 1 mile 6 furlongs. The acreage, according to the Tithe commutation survey of 1841, is 1677a. 2r. 15p., which are thus distributed in 1856.

	A.	R.	P.
Arable - - - -	254	0	30
Pasture - - - -	1207	0	17½
Houses and Gardens -	70	3	17
Commons - - - -	39	2	29
Plantation - - - -	1	0	4
Railway - - - -	20	2	4¾
Half river, roads, and waste	83	2	35
Church and yard - -	0	1	38
	<hr/>		
	1677	2	15

The earliest mention which I have seen of Broughton and of any proprietor here is contained in the description of the grant of the "Vill of Bradeford" by King Ethelred, 1001, to the monastery of

Shaftesbury, in order that the nuns might have a safe retreat from the ravages of the Danes. In King Ethelred's charter the boundaries of his grant are thus laid: "Off those boundaries to the boundaries of the Alderman at Witley [to the north of Broughton], forth by those boundaries so as to come to Elfwig's boundaries at Broctun, to that wood that runs into Broctun, after at the seven pear trees, forth by Alnoth's boundaries within the boundaries of Athelwin at Chaldfelde, off his boundaries within the boundaries of Alfwin the borderer, forth by his boundaries within the boundaries of Alphwin at Broctune, after into the pear trees."¹ This is clearly the northern boundary of the Parish; for, though the pear trees are gone, Whitley and Chalfield remain. It will be seen, in the account of the Church, that the Abbess of Shaftesbury obtained a lodgement within the Parish through the gift, to the monastery, of the Chapel of Broctune with its lands and tithes, by Gundreda with her kinswoman Albreda de Bosco Roaldæ.

DOMESDAY NOTICE, AND ANTIQUITIES.

The following are the notices given of this Parish in Domesday book, that most remarkable *cadastre*, whether considered in relation to its date, or the historical, local, and personal information which it contains.

"HUNFRIDUS DE INSULA tenet de rege *Broctone*. Tres taini in paragio tenuerunt T. R. E. et geldabat pro xii hidis. Terra est viii carucatæ. De eâ sunt in dominio iiii hidæ et dimidium, et ibi iiii carucatæ et ii servi, et xvii. villani, et iiii bordarii cum vii carucatis. Ibi ii molini reddunt ix solidos, et xii acræ prati et viii acræ pasturæ. Silva i leucam longa, et ii quarantinas lata. Valuit xiii libras, modo x libras."

(Amongst lands held by Royal Thaness under the King). "SAWARD

¹ Dugdale's Monasticon (Shaftesbury): where, however, the original Anglo-Saxon form is not given, but a copy by some scribe in the Semi-Saxon period about the beginning of the 13th century. In Kemble's Codex there is also a copy, which I have compared. I cannot but think that "pear trees" ought to be "Withy trees." The Saxon forms of the letters would be not dissimilar. Of the latter there are, and always were, plenty: of the former there are few now, and were fewer still in Ethelred's time.

tenet iii hidas in *Broctune*. Aluold tenuit T. R. E. Terra est ii carucatæ, quæ ibi sunt. Valet xl solidos.

“RAINBURGIS tenet unum Manerium quod Godric tenuit T. R. E. et geldabat pro v hidis. Terra est iii carucatæ, quæ ibi sunt, et v servi, et vi villani, et i bordarius, et iiii acræ prati. Pastura v quarentinas longa, et ii quarantinas lata. Valuit iiii libras, modo c solidos.”

“Humphrey de L’Isle holds of the King Broctone. Three thanes held it as coparceners in the reign of Edward the Confessor. It was assessed at 12 hides. The arable land is 8 carucates (ploughlands). Four hides and a half of it are in demesne (in the Lord’s own occupation), where are 3 ploughlands, and 2 serfs, and 17 villains, and 4 bordsmen with 7 ploughlands. There are two mills which pay 9 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow, and 8 acres of pasture. The wood is one mile and a half long,¹ and 2 furlongs broad. It was valued at 13 pounds, now at 10.

“Saward holds 3 hides in Broctune. Alwold held them in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The arable land is 2 ploughlands. It is valued at 40 shillings.

“Rainburgis holds a manor which Godric held in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and which was assessed at 5 hides. The arable land is 3 ploughlands, and there are 5 serfs, and 6 villains, and 1 bordsmen, and 4 acres of meadow. The pasture is 5 furlongs long, and 2 broad. It was valued at 4 pounds, now at 100 shillings.”

Let us endeavour to translate the barbarous latinity of the Conqueror’s commissioners, not only into English words, but into some such intelligible ideas, as the bare facts here before us doubtless presented to our ancestors.

When we open Domesday book, we have feudalism full in view. Here are Humphrey de l’Isle holding the manor of Broughton of the King in chief, Thanes holding certain other lands within the Parish by military service also directly under the King, villains, bordsmen, serfs. All these belong essentially to feudalism, that

¹ I make the leuca to be 12 furlongs (quarantineæ) or 480 perches. It has been put at 1600 Roman paces, or one and a half Roman mile, equal to 440 perches (about) or 11 furlongs.

much blamed or much lauded state of society, of which you hear on the one hand that it has been the detestation and unmitigated abhorrence of the people in all ages, as being their ruthless oppressor and the barrier to their advancement; and on the other, that, being itself the daughter of barbarism, it was the parent of order and religion, the hearth of domestic virtues, honor, and devotion to engagements, and that from it issued chivalry, the ideal of elevated, generous, and loyal sentiments. The perfect elementary feudal society consisted of the lord in his castle, the people on his domains, and the priest in his church. But things have never been exactly perfect at Broughton, any more than elsewhere.

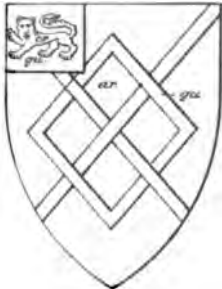
Humphrey de l'Isle was an absentee. Though Broughton stands first on the list of his twenty-seven Wiltshire manors, and though he had $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land, or about 540 acres, in his own occupation here, yet he had no castle or residence. Probably at that time the barony had no head, for the Castle at Combe was not then built. When it is said that Humphrey was one of the Norman followers of the Conqueror, that he is probably the same person as Lisle mentioned in the Battle Abbey Roll,¹ and that he had a daughter and heir Adeliza (Alicia), I have given all that is, or probably will ever be known about him. His name sounds to us aristocratic enough. To his own generation he was a mere adventurer of no distinguished birth. The roll of the Norman Conquerors contains names singularly low. Men were knights and gentlemen in England, who in Normandy were cattlemen or like cattle, carters, tailors, drummers, and farriers. Thus we find Ceil de bœuf, Front de bœuf, Guillaume le charretier, Hugh le tailleur, Guillaume le tambour, and Henry de ferrariis. Others were designated simply by the places from which they came, St. Quentin, St. Maur, &c. So our Humphrey from some island on the Norman Coast.

As to Saward and Rainburgis, the names look Saxon rather than Norman. Nor is this improbable. William at first affected

¹ There are different lists of the Norman Conquerors. In the Battle Abbey Charter there is De Liele, Lisley or Liele. In Brompton's chronicle there is Yle, which may be our Humphrey. In one of the two lists published by Leland De l'Isle occurs.

Broughton Gifford,

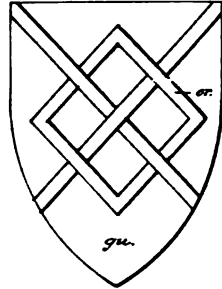
PLATE I.



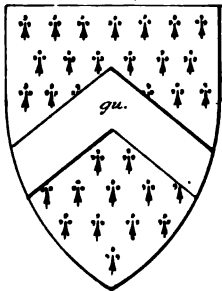
Dunstanville.



Gifford.



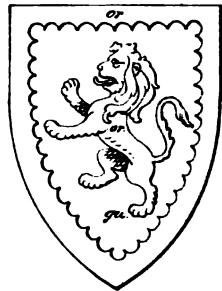
Audley.



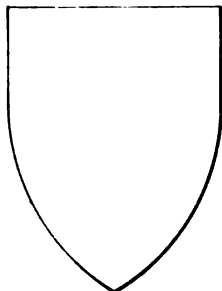
Tuckel.



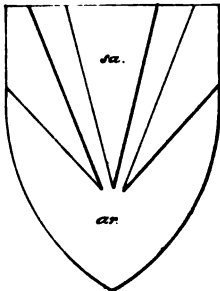
Le Strange.



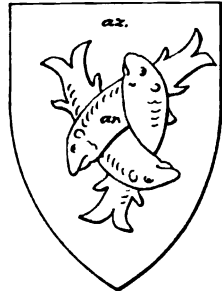
Talbot.



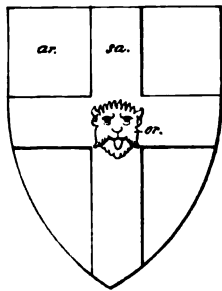
Hillary.



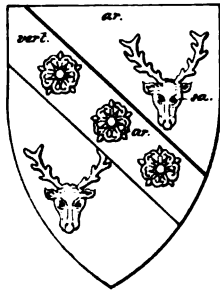
Hulse.



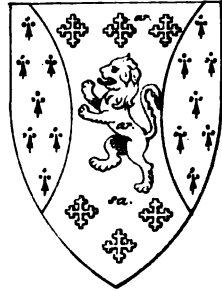
Troutbeck.



Bryges.



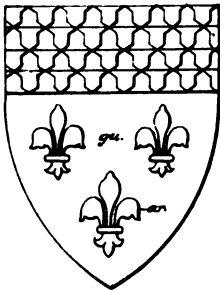
May.



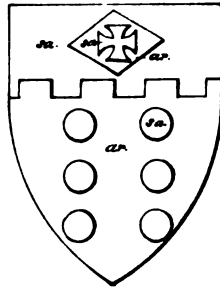
Longe.

E. dw. Kite, del. et sculpsit.

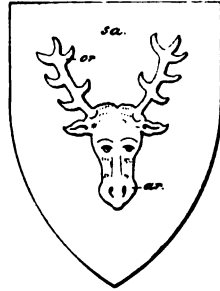
ARMS OF THE SUCCESSIVE LORDS OF THE MANOR.



Palmes.



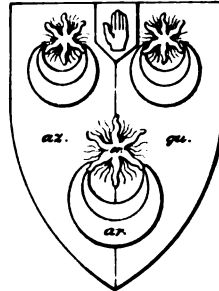
Broucker.



Horton.



Roberts.



Hobhouse.

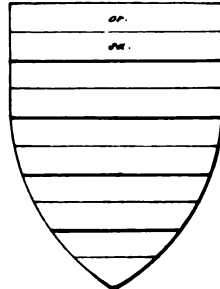
Monkton.



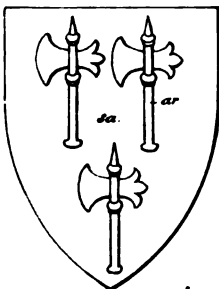
Seymour.



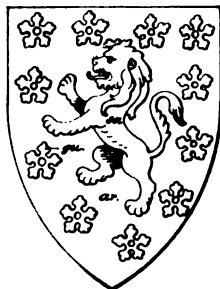
Longe.



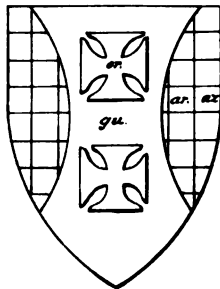
Thynne.



Halle.



Pierrepont.



Shering.

F.d.w. Kite del et anastat

to rule his new subjects with moderation, large properties and offices of trust were left in the hands of Englishmen; and, though after a period of twenty years (the interval between the battle of Hastings and Domesday), he had been induced, by the risings of the English, to increase the weight of his yoke and the amount of his territorial spoliations, yet he frequently contented himself with putting his own men into the best things and the most influential position (as here Humphrey de l'Isle), while he continued the smaller fiefs and manors to the original Saxon proprietors (as here to Saward and Rainburgis). They all held of the King directly, and not any of them through a mesne lord, but Humphrey had said to the three nameless thanes: "*Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni,*" whereas Saward and Rainburgis were themselves these *veteres coloni*. And yet these last did not occupy their precise former position under the Saxon rule. I am not going to enter into the vexed question of feudal tenures before the conquest. The name probably did not then exist, though to a certain less methodised and less oppressive degree the thing did. There were not (under Edward the Confessor) the forms of feudalism, the peculiar ceremonies and incidents of a regular fief, such as homage and oath of fealty; but there were that dependance of one class on another, and that territorial jurisdiction,¹ which may be held to constitute the essential character of the feudal relation. William extended and enlarged the rights of a suzerain over his vassals, he did not invent them. He moulded Saxon institutions into a Norman shape. The most notable instance of usurpation was his assuming to himself the direct ownership of all the lands in the country: on his acquisition of the crown, he made himself the one proprietor, as well as the one King. He was actually for a certain time, and not by any fiction as in succeeding ages, the fountain of all property. Allodial lands, or lands held under no superior, ceased with Harold; these were converted into feudal tenures, involving many and oppressive burdens, such as personal service, relief or fine (which a new heir paid on entering into possession); premier seisin

¹ This is implied in what I take to be the true derivation (it is Lord Coke's) of the word manor, namely from *maener* to manage.

(first fruits, a year's or half a year's rent); fines for license to alienate the property; aids, to ransom the King when a prisoner, to furnish a marriage portion for his eldest daughter, or to make his eldest son a knight. Of these conditions under which he was to hold his property Humphrey had no shadow of right to complain; but such holders as Seward and Rainburgis naturally felt themselves much aggrieved, for they were in a worse position than before. Under the Saxon Kings they were allodial proprietors, proud of their independence, and of patrimonial rights in their lands, which contrasted favourably with the temporary grants of the crown. But under the Normans independence was isolation, and isolation was perilous. The conquering strangers insulted and injured, knowing that the King was with them, and that the law was powerless. The only hope of security for the ancient freeholder was to make a compromise with oppression. He must himself enter the feudal military system, and sacrifice his independence to his safety. If he did service to a lord, he could in return claim that lord's protection. However disposed he might be to acquiesce in the revolution, he was compelled to change his allodial into a feudal tenure, his paternal acres for a royal grant. Still, Seward and Rainburgis were the King's thanes, (a continuation of their Saxon title), they acknowledged no superior but the King, they held their lands by the honourable tenure of military service, their lives were valued, in the money compensation for their murder (the standard measure of rank in those days), at just double what the lesser thanes (those holding under a mesne lord) were worth.

There are other classes of men here mentioned, villains, bordsmen, and serfs. I am not going to puzzle the reader with any fruitless endeavours accurately to determine the gradations of society given in Domesday. After the lapse of so many centuries, after changes of social condition so obliterating, and with such confusion of nomenclature in the original record, any attempt of the kind must be vain. Still, it is safe to say that there was then a grand distinction between freemen and non-freemen (I will not call them slaves), and to the latter class villains, bordsmen,

and serfs belonged. Nor are we likely to fall into any grievous error by entertaining such general notions, as the etymology of these several names may give us; for though etymology (as Mr. Hallam¹ says) is an uncertain guide in almost all investigations, yet this warning applies to a word which has been long in use, and has passed through many secondary significations, rather than to the immediate source from which the sign has passed into the speech of the people, and its primary application in their language. For instance. The word *villain* now denotes one destitute of every moral and religious principle, a thorough unmitigated rascal. From its derivation it would appear to mean nothing worse than a harmless cottager, one attached to the *villa* or farm, which he could not leave, and on which he was bound to perform a certain amount of work. He had not, and he was not ambitious of having political power: indeed, according to the legal language of the time he could be bought and sold. And yet, though such expressions seem to exclude all notion of personal liberty, he was no slave. The sale was of the land to which he was appurtenant: its disposition whether by gift, bequest, or sale, was the disposition of the villain and his agricultural services. This transaction, however open to abuse, widely differs from the transfer of a slave, whose body is the subject of purchase and who may be taken anywhere. He might be a territorial, but not a personal bondsman. He could not indeed leave the lord's land, but neither could the land leave him, he must be maintained. If he was obliged to do a certain quantity of work, it was as rent, payment for the few roods of land which he occupied for his own benefit. He had a certain tenant right, a certain qualified interest in the soil, which he gradually improved till he came to be called a customary tenant and defied ejection. He was taxable at the will of the lord (though it is not easy to see what beyond his services could be got out of him), neither could he marry his daughter or put his son into Holy Orders, without the express leave and license of the lord.

I take the *bordarii* to be also cottage tenants, deriving their name either from *bord* (the Anglo-Saxon word for a cottage), or (which

¹ Europe during the Middle Ages. Chap. viii. p. i.

is less probable) from the tenure under which they held their land, viz. on condition of supplying the board or table of the lord with meat, corn, fowls, fish, and whatever might be required, and they were able to procure. The distinction which one would like on etymological reasons to make between the villani and the bordarii would be, that the former were so attached to the *villa* or farm as to lodge and board with the farmer, according to a practise common with unmarried men till a recent period in England and now existing in Cumberland, while the latter had a *bord* or cottage of their own, where they and their families resided. Domesday book says nothing of houses, and therefore does not prove or disprove this conjecture. I should offer it with the more confidence, if land were generally restricted to the bordarii (as in the account of this Parish), because the occupation of land seems to imply a dwelling; but there are many instances of villani holding land.

I venture to give to both these classes the name of *cottyer*, a word similarly derived, and whose condition is in Ireland, in some of the more happy incidents, not unlike.

The lot of the *servi* was more hard, yet neither must they be confounded with personal bondsmen or slaves in our sense of the word. They could not be removed from the soil; but probably they could from their small tenements, in respect of which and of labour, they might have been at the arbitrary disposal of the lord, who had also over them in some manors a power of life and death, which he did not possess over the villains and bondsmen. They were as the native Russian serfs, and not as the African slaves of the American continent. Their case may seem to us lamentable, but happiness is so much a relative term, that the poet might sing of them, as of our independent ploughmen,

“Jocund they drove the team afield.”

Indeed some good natured lords are recorded as providing not only food, but even music to solace the toils of their labourers.¹ Of

¹ Blackstone, B. 2. Chap. 6., says the usage is the same in the Highlands of Scotland. The new Statistical account of Scotland, 1835, vol. xix. p. 384, shows that the practise is recent, and that the motive may have been to rouse emulation as well as give pleasure. “A family on the Cupar Grange estate, which has been there more than a century, used to keep a piper, to play

these non-free classes some (as the serfs) had been so under the Saxons, and they were doubtless the native British: but of the villains and bordsmen many were Saxons. Their condition was considerably improved by the Normans, who introduced no new forms of slavery, and who mitigated the old. Indeed they were gradually admitted within the pale of the feudal system, which, while it involved the vassal in services and taxation, yet entitled him to protection from the lord and relieved him from personal degradation. The rigour of the Anglo-Saxon tenures was mitigated, servitude was commuted for fixed labour or money fines, and the hereditary descent of holdings was more allowed.¹

Here then we have in Broughton at the time of Domesday, Humfridus the Norman lord, Seward and Rainburgis Royal thanes and Saxons, twenty-three villains, five bordsmen, and seven serfs, of whom some were Saxons and some Britons. How many of these were heads of families, it is impossible to say, and therefore any computation of the population must be fallacious. What did the community do? When not occupied in their military duties, Seward and Rainburgis probably spent their time in hunting, the only occupation fit for gentlemen and knights, a state of physical, and I will add mental activity, for which they lived, the best nurse of arms, most able to call forth powers of observation and endurance. They could at least plead the example of William, who loved the "great game," the Saxon chronicle tells us, as if he had been their father,² and the then wood of Broughton afforded them an excellent locality. The employment of the rest was purely agricultural: they cultivated their own lands and their lord's.

to the shearers all the time of harvest. The slowest shearer always had the drone behind him." And in the Kingdom of Whidah, on the African Slave Coast, the people are bound to cut and carry the King's corn, but are attended by music during all the time of their labour.

¹ Acts of enfranchisement of the 14th century have this preamble. "As God in the beginning made all men free by nature, and afterwards human laws placed certain men under the yoke of servitude, we hold it to be a pious and meritorious thing in the eyes of God to deliver such persons as are subject to us in villenage, and to enfranchise them entirely from such services. Know therefore that we have emancipated so and so our natives of such a manor, themselves, their children, born or to be born."

² So also Matthew Paris, "Ferus feras amabat, quasi Pater ferarum."

I cannot pretend to reconcile the figures in Domesday with the actual acreage of the parish. A few points are, however, pretty clear. Humphrey's manor or, as we should say, parish, using an ecclesiastical division in a civil sense, was Broughton: Rainburgis' manor was what is now called Monkton. Where Seward's land was situate is uncertain. Humphrey's measured 12 hides, Seward's 3, and Rainburgis' 5. But a hide has been held to be any number of acres between 120 and 60: in fact it can have been an indication of space only in connection with value. For instance, Rainburgis' manor here is to the rest of the Parish as one to three, whereas Monkton in measurement is not one to seven: but then the Monkton land is the more valuable by far. Again, there was a considerable quantity of arable,¹ far more than now; and to this fact the present appearance of many fields bears witness, being ridged up high, though now in grass. Of this arable, a good deal was in the hands of non-freemen. There was a large amount of pasture (chiefly as now at Monkton), by which I understand grazing ground, for which the Parish is now famous. There are only 16 acres of meadow (pasture) which may have been reserved for the oxen employed on the arable. There was an extensive wood, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and 2 furlongs broad. There is now none whatever: but there are abundant proofs of its former locality in open fields, called to this day, Broughton Wood, Wood lagger (*læng*, Anglo-Saxon, long piece, very descriptive here), 14 acre wood, 10 acre wood, 8 acre wood, middle 12 acre wood, 12 acre wood, Green light woods, first and second light woods, and 2 Bow or bough woods. They number about 127 acres, and are the western portion of the Parish. Here the swine fattened on Oak mast (there is and probably never was any Beech), which was of as much worth then as the timber. It will be remarked that there was no wood at Rainburgis' farm. The land there was too good, to remain long uncleared. There were two mills.

¹ How much I cannot say; for a *Carucate*, or ploughland, has been estimated at any number of acres from 60 to 180. In fact it must have been an *ad valorem* estimate. The land here being good, the former figure would be nearer the mark; and this is actually the extent of a carucate here, according to an inquisition in 1349, quoted further on.

So there are now to the east and west, though one is no longer at work. But Mill Farm sufficiently indicates its position on the brook. They were the lord's mills, and he did not allow his tenants to take their corn elsewhere. This protectionist policy will partly account for the multiplication of mills (apparently beyond the wants of the community), and their value; though it will hardly explain the curious fact that there are enumerated in the Domesday survey of Wilts (not a superabundantly watered county) 404 mills, a number greater than in any other English county except Lincolnshire. Some must from their situation have been driven by the wind. Here these two mills for a few people were assessed at nine shillings, while five hides of the best land in the Parish only paid one hundred.

Spiritual government our Parish had none. Submission to 'spiritual pastors and masters' was not taught to the little Brotonians of the 11th century. Nothing is said of a church or of a priest here. Indeed out of 324 parishes in Wilts, only 29 with churches are enumerated,¹ and of these two were in ruins. For spiritual ministrations our people were dependent on any itinerant priest, who might gather some listeners together round the village cross, of which the name still marks the position. Justice has hardly been done the Normans in the matter of providing the means of grace throughout their properties. The invasion had a religious aspect; the Pope blessed it and gave a Bull; the Pope's banner was at the mast head of William's ship, and a cross on his flag; there were the appeal to Harold's oath, and the devotional practise of the night before the battle; the Bishop of Bayeux (William's brother) celebrated mass, and blessed the troops early, wearing his episcopal robes over his armour; William himself wore suspended round his neck the relics on which Harold had sworn; the standard blessed by the Pope was carried before him; the Normans attacked amidst cries of *Notre Dame, Dieu aide*; Battle Abbey, vowed during the fight, was built on the very ground, the high altar raised on the

¹ The probability is that these were the only churches with *glebe* attached. The assessors, having taxation in view, would not make returns of churches which had no fixed sources of income.

very spot where the standard of Harold had been planted. William's vassals followed his example on their several properties all over the country; so that within a century and a half no population, however small, was without the consolations of religion and the ministrations of a resident priest.

These details may be of little interest, but I must say with Thierry,¹ they are useful in forming our ideas of the varied scenes of the conquest, and invest with their original colours facts of greater importance. The transactions which took place in Broughton were being repeated at the same time all over England. When elsewhere we hear of tenants *in capite*, villains and bordsmen, we may perhaps, if we think of Humphrey and his people, perceive some reality in these titles and names, which considered abstractedly have only a vague and uncertain meaning. Through the distance of ages we make our way to the then living men; we realize them dwelling and acting on the land, where not even the dust of their bones is now to be found. Many merely local facts and names will be introduced into this memoir; but, if they help to reproduce the various situations, interests, and habits of men, during the past, they will not have been mentioned in vain.

Of antiquities we have not much to show. In a field called Bradleys, belonging to Monkton and adjoining the railway, there are, in a dry season, traces of foundations. Different coins have been found in working the ground for agricultural purposes. Five within my time: two of Valentinian GLORIA ROMANORUM, the Emperor dragging a captive: one of Trajan, Cos. V., in his fifth consulship: two of Constantine the Great, one, SOLI INVICTO COMITI, the sun standing; another, two legionary soldiers standing with the Labarum between them, and the inscription GLORIA EXERCITUS. I believe none of these are very rare.

From the state of the Parish at the Domesday survey, I pass to the history of the manors of Broughton and Monkton from that time to the present.

MANORIAL HISTORY.

First of Broughton and its feudal lords, whom I will divide into

¹ Thierry's Normans, vol. i. p. 237.

those who held of the King *in capite* and their sub-feudatories, the vassals and under vassals of the crown.

The practise frequently was, for the tenant *in capite* to divide his estate into two parts, one of which he himself occupied and cultivated by the services of his villains, or farmed by tenants on other than military tenure; while another part of his estate he parcelled into knights' fees, which he granted to those who in return bound themselves to serve on horseback the usual time, in other words, took on themselves the military obligations which their lord owed to the Crown. The custom of the manor (which may have depended on the quality of the land, and the ancient feoffments under the King) determined what number of carucates, from five to near fifty, should go to a knight's fee, and be considered a sufficient return for the military services required. But in Broughton it would appear that this division was not made by the descendants of the ancient feoffees. They held the estate, till they sold it to the Giffords, entire; and on the sale it went entire, they simply retaining the rights which belonged to them as lords superior. These rights became gradually weaker. As the authority of the Crown over the first tenants decreased, so their authority over their sub-tenants decreased. The fief was originally granted as a personal *beneficium*, but it was very soon (so soon that the first step in the process has been doubted) improved into, first a hereditary, and then a transferable, possession. It was originally granted with duties to be performed, and heavy burdens to be borne. The services were commuted in Henry II.'s time into *escuage*, or a fixed pecuniary assessment, to be made, according to Magna Charta, in Parliament, which, however adequate at the time, did not rise with the increase of the precious metals; whilst all the feudal incidents of aids, reliefs, fines on alienation, escheats, wardship, and marriage, after being continually resisted as unreasonable exactions, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred, were at last swept away, practically in the Great Rebellion, legally in the 12 of Charles II. Of course, all the improvements which the tenants *in capite* effected in their condition at the expense of the Crown, were so much gain to their sub-tenants. The authority of the suzerain was weakened

generally, whether the suzerain were a King or a mesne lord; which last was a vassal to the Crown, but a lord to vassals of his own.

Several early documents¹ show that a certain Adeliza de Insulã, daughter and heir of Hunfridus, conveyed the string of manors, belonging to the barony of Castle Combe, by marriage, to her husband, Reginald de Dunstanville, in the reign of Henry I. He, or one of his immediate successors, built a castle at Combe, which henceforth became *Caput honoris sive baroniæ*, the head seat of the barony.² Two knights' fees were the Broughton allotment. In 1201 Broctone is taxed as late the land of Walter de Dunstanville.³ This Walter died 1240, and must have been the third in descent⁴ from Adeliza. He attended King John in his inglorious campaign in Poitou; but returning he joined the Barons' confederacy against the King, and terminated this glorious campaign in England at Runnymede. Another Walter de Dunstanville, his son, held in "Brokton" two knights' fees and two hides of the King in chief.⁵ He joined the popular party under Leicester against Henry III., reduced that good man and bad King to insignificance by the "mise of Lewes," and was rewarded by the governorship of Sarum castle. He died 1269.

Castle Combe barony was sold, 1309, to Bartholomew Lord Badlesmere, and we find Broughton among the fees of his son Giles in Wilts;⁶ and this, notwithstanding the richly deserved attainder of the father. Bartholomew Badlesmere had been the servant of the Crown, whose secrets he had betrayed to Thomas Earl of Lancaster and the confederate barons. That party had procured him the King's pardon for his offences, and the custody of the royal castle of Ledes in Kent. His want of loyalty in that

¹ These belong rather to the History of Castle Combe by Mr. Poulett Scrope, where they may be seen.

² History of Wilts Manors subordinate to Castle Combe, by Mr. Poulett Scrope. Wilts Arch. Mag. ii. 263. See also Madox on tenures *in capite*.

³ Rot. Cart. 3 John, quoted in History of Wilts Manors.

⁴ I say the third on the authority of Courthope's edition of Sir Harris Nicolas' 'Historic Peerage.' Dugdale makes the son of Adeliza to be Robert, and her grandson to be Reginald. Harris Nicolas omits Robert.

⁵ Testa de Nevill, p. 137.

⁶ *Inquisitiones post mortem*.

trust proved his own ruin and Lancaster's. The Queen Isabella, purposing to lodge at Ledes on her way to Canterbury, was refused admittance by Lady Badlesmere in the absence of her husband. In the altercation which followed, some of the royal attendants were killed. Badlesmere approved of his wife's act. But the chivalrous feelings of the nation were roused at this insult to the Queen, and Edward soon found himself in a condition not only to take Ledes castle, but, also from the evidences which were found there of Lancaster's traitorous dealings with the Scots, to collect such forces as enabled him ultimately to crush Lancaster and his party at Boroughbridge. Giles Lord Badlesmere died, 1338, without issue, and there was a partition of his estates among his four sisters 1340. The knights' fees here fell to the share of Maud, wife of John de Vere Earl of Oxford, and are valued in the partition roll of the Badlesmere property at £13 6s. 8d. yearly.¹ There were only two of greater value in the whole barony. The several fragments of the barony seem, however, to have held together so far as this, that the tenants of the different fiefs were summoned to Castle Combe court, and rendered there homage and service, either actually or by pecuniary composition.

Mr. Poulett Scrope gives, from the rolls of the Knights' Court at Castle Combe, various instances of suit and service rendered there to the lords superior by their sub-feudatories, down to the middle of the 16th century. But those rolls do not show a distinction, which, as appears from an investigation of the inquisitions held on these sub-feudatories, soon obtained between the two moieties into which the fief was divided. As we shall see by and by, the manor about 1300 came into the families of Audley and le Strange. The Audley share is in the inquisitions, continuously up to the 16th century, represented, under one form of expression or another, as appertaining to Castle Combe. In 1342 Eleanor de Columbariis is said to hold of James de Audeleigh, 1421 Thomas Hulse holds of Sir John Fastolf as of his manor of Castle Combe, 1459 Wil-

¹ Mr. Poulett Scrope's *History of Wilts Manors.*

liam Troutbeck holds of Castle Combe.¹ But when we come to the le Strange moiety, we find it once only represented as belonging to Castle Combe.² In 1349 John le Strange held " $\frac{1}{3}$ Broughton manor of the heirs of Walter Dunstanville of Castle Combe by military service of 3 bowmen for all services." But in 1413 Ancaret Talbot held of John Arundel Lord Maltravers; in 1421 another Ancaret Talbot held of "Humphrey Duke of Gloucester as of his castle of Vyse;" in 1473 John Earl of Shrewsbury held of the King; in 1516 Guido Palmes held "of the King as of his castle of Devizes by the $\frac{1}{4}$ part of a knight's fee." These two last were not minors.

The inquisitions are unexceptionable evidence. They were taken on the oaths of twelve Jurymen of the neighbourhood, who were assisted in their inquiry by the experience and professional knowledge of the King's escheator. And from these it would appear, that the le Strange moiety was, soon after the division, alienated

¹ William Troutbeck is said in 1510 to hold under the *Bishop of Sarum*. But this must be a mistake of the Jurors, who confess that they were in some respects imperfectly informed. The words of the inquisition, are, "the Jurors say that Sir Wm. Troutbeck, Kt., was siezed of $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the manors of Ashton Giff^m and Broughton Gifford on the day of his dth, and the s^d $\frac{1}{4}$ part of s^d manors is held of y^e Bp. of Sarum, but by what services they know not."

² If this moiety, which was the Talbots', had continued subject to Castle Combe, we should have had the anomaly of such an improper speech as this, from the sub-vassal (Sir John Talbot) to his liege lord (Sir John Fastolfe):

TALBOT, "Shame to thee.

I vowed, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven leg.
Which I have done, because unworthily
Thou wast installed in that high degree.
Pardon me, Prince Henry and the rest,
This dastard, at the battle of Pataie,
When but in all I was six thousand strong,
And that the French were almost ten to one,
Before we met, or that a stroke was given,
Like to a trusty squire, did run away:
In which assault we lost twelve hundred men;
Myself, and divers gentlemen besides,
Were there surprised and taken prisoners.
Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss,
Or whether that such cowards ought to wear
This ornament of knighthood, yea or no."

from Castle Combe. As to how this came about there is no certain information. I will, however, hazard a presumed explanation.

Of all the adherents of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, in his armed assertion of the rights of the English nobility against foreigners in the time of Edward II., there was no one who suffered more (short of the extreme penalties), on Lancaster's reverse of fortune, than Sir John de Maltravers. To him therefore, as to a partisan tried in the fire, much favour was shown, when another turn of the wheel brought his party again into power. The custody of the unhappy monarch was committed to him, and the manner in which he fulfilled that trust is too notorious.¹ He had large grants from Isabella and Mortimer; and his son John Maltravers, jun., was in 1329 rewarded, amongst the other Gifford estates, with the reversion of the manor of Broughton which the widowed Margaret Neville then had in dower. He afterwards for some, I know not what, offence incurred the King's displeasure. Possibly he was implicated, or suspected of being implicated, in his father's murder of the Earl of Kent, the King's uncle. However this may be, he appears to have fallen with Mortimer's party, as one of them, in 1330. There exists a grant² 19 Oct., 1337, to John de Wylyngton, Ralph his brother, and Alianora, Ralph's wife, of the reversion of the manor of Broughton, after Margaret's death. This grant never took effect. Before the Lady's decease, the Johns Maltravers, senior and junior, had both recovered the royal favour. The father and son had been hiding on the continent. The latter, as the less flagrant offender, made his peace in 1342, served in the French wars, obtained good employments, and died before his father, 13th Oct., 1360. The former threw himself at Edward's feet on his landing at Sluys in Flanders, and was restored by Parliament 1351. He died 16th Feb. 1364, and was succeeded in his rights by his granddaughter, Eleanor, who had married first Sir John Fitz-alan, and secondly Reginald Lord Cobham. She died 1405. Sir John Fitz-alan is styled Baron Maltravers *jure uxoris*, but was not so sum-

¹ The corpse of the King was privately interred in that Abbey Church of Gloucester, which the Giffords had endowed.

² Sloane MSS. quoted by Hoare. 'Modern Wilts,' Heyts. p. 180.

moned to Parliament, where his title is "John de Arundel." He and his son John must not, however, be confounded with the Earls of Arundel,¹ who took so leading a part against Richard II. and in the establishing Henry IV. on the throne. The husband of Eleanor Maltravers, being sent in aid of the Duke of Brittany, perished at sea when returning home 6th Dec., 1379. His son is the John Arundel Lord Maltravers mentioned as superior here 1413. He died 29th April, 1421, and then we find the fee in the hands of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. I am not aware of Lord Maltravers having ever been declared a traitor: but the fee would seem by some means to have been placed at the King's disposal, and to have been granted by him to his brother, the Duke, whom he had also named Protector of England. From his castle of Devizes (mentioned in the inquisition) the Duke went to attend that Parliament, in which his ruin had been pre-determined, and which, in order to effect this purpose the better, was summoned to meet, not at Westminster where the accused was popular, but at Bury St. Edmunds where he was at the mercy of the Court. Arrested on a charge of high treason and committed to close custody, he was, seventeen days afterwards, found dead in his bed, without external marks, but not without most reasonable suspicions, of violence. Thus perished the good Duke of Gloucester, son, brother, and uncle to Kings, and the actual ruler of the realm for 25 years, "not only noble and valiant in all his doings, but sage, politique, and notably well skilled in the civil lawe."² He was followed to the grave, within six weeks, by his rival and uncle the Cardinal Beaufort; and thus the two main props of the house of Lancaster were removed, and an opening made for the ambition of York. Gloucester was declared a traitor, and, though his friends laboured to clear his memory by introducing a bill decla-

¹ This confusion is caused by the circumstances, first, that Sir John and his son were both styled "of Arundel;" and secondly, that the grandson (the third Sir John) really was Earl of Arundel, the eleventh Earl, on failure of male issue in the elder branch.

² This is Sir Thomas More's praise of him in the Dialogue concerning religion, where is also told the story of the Duke's detection, of a pretended blind man as an impostor, by his knowledge of colours.

ratory of his loyalty in each Parliament, yet it was always defeated by the Queen's influence. Gloucester's attainder was at last reversed by the Duke of York, when he had forcibly invested himself with the forms of Government as Regent of the Kingdom. Gloucester left no issue, and this may account for the superiority of the fee remaining, as the inquisitions show, in the King.

Next of the sub-feudatories, the actual holders of the land, which became more and more valuable, as the incidents of feudal tenure became less and less burdensome.

How Broughton came into the family of Gifford has not been ascertained. Mr. Poulett Scrope supposes that it was enfeoffed to John Gifford or his father Elias by one of the Walters de Dunstanville in the first half of the 13th century. Elias Gifford certainly so held Ashton Gifford, and the two manors continued to have, from time to time, the same owners down to the middle of the 16th century, when one moiety of Ashton was sold (1533) by the then Lord Audley to Sir John Brydges of the Chandos family (who bought also Brimsfield, the *caput baroniæ*), and the other moiety settled by George Earl of Shrewsbury, almost at the same time, on the marriage of his daughter Mary with Sir George Saville, which family after a time had the whole of Ashton manor. Broughton, as we shall see, changed hands about the same date, and the Brydges family were here also the purchasers. It may be that as the two manors went together, so they came together. But this does not follow; and inasmuch as his inquisition shows that John Gifford certainly died seized of our manor, whereas no mention is made of it in the inquisition held on Elias, I am inclined to fix on John as the first Gifford of Broughton. There is this further evidence in John's favour. One Sir Henry Percy (son of Sir William, who owned the adjoining manor of Great Chalfield, temp. Richard I.) is said to have married "Eve daughter of John Gifford, Lord of Broughton Gifford in Wiltshire."¹ The date of this marriage would correspond with the time when Mr. Poulett Scrope

¹ MS. said to be in the possession of Mr. Wm. Waldron, containing extracts from the Vellum book, quoted in Mr. Walker's historical account of Great Chalfield. Vain attempts have been made to trace the book.

supposes the manor of Broughton to have been enfeoffed to the Giffords; and, though the pedigrees do not show that John Gifford had a daughter Eve at that time, yet the authority from the marriage is not despicable; nor, supposing the bridegroom elderly and the bride in her teens, are the dates irreconcilable.

Three Giffords are named in Domesday, and all connected with Wilts.

1. Walter, a great man and a favourite with William the Conqueror, his cousin in the 3rd degree, who acknowledged his great services by the Earldom of Longueville in Normandy, that of Buckingham in England, and large grants in ten¹ counties (Maiden Bradley, &c., in Wilts) to support these dignities. He is repeatedly mentioned by Robert Wace (*Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie*) in his poetical narrative of the Battle of Hastings. He was one of the Conqueror's commissioners for the compilation of Domesday book, and also one of the witnesses to Henry I's confirmation of the laws and customs of England, 1101; which charter, after lying long dormant, Stephen Langton, 1213, produced to the nobles who confederated with him to maintain its several articles against King John.²

2. Berenger Gifford, who obtained the grant of Fonthill, and gave his name to it.

3. Osbern Gifford, who was the chief Wilts proprietor of the name, having twelve manors there, and from whom are descended the Barons Gifford of Brimsfield,³ in the county of Gloucester,

¹ This is an instance of William's policy. He rewarded his followers with large territorial grants, but the lands did not lie together; a manor here and a manor there, no two adjacent manors. He thus guarded against the formation of compact principalities independent of the Crown, as in France.

² There was, however, this difference, arising from the circumstances of the time, between Henry's charter and John's. Henry promised to give Saxon laws to Saxons, whose aid he wanted, leaving Normans as before. John undertook to give equal justice and protection to all. The two races were distinct in Henry's time, and his charter kept up the distinction. The lapse of a century had brought them together, and *Magna Charta* tended to make them one.

³ I have made a pilgrimage to Brimsfield (*dryme* famous, *field* open spot). It is situated seven and a half miles S. of Cheltenham, on the Cotswolds, very high in itself, but not so high as the neighbouring hills (Smith's Cross to the S.E. is said to be the highest in Gloucestershire), which confine the view within

where they had a large and well fortified castle. Sherrington was their chief seat in Wilts.

These are the elder branch of the family, and our Giffords. The immediate successor of Osbern was Elias, who, 1086 and 1121, gave, jointly with Ala his wife, certain woods and lands to the Abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester. To him succeeded another Elias, who granted to the monks of Gloucester, for the good of his own soul and of that of Berta his wife, the lordship of Cronham, the churches of Boyton and Orcheston St. George, and the chapel of St. Andrew Winterborne. He himself became a monk in the Abbey, and died before 1167. His eldest son Walter confirmed the grant; but, did not succeed his father. Another Elias (the third of the name and a younger brother of Walter) succeeded; and he, being not well disposed to the monks, and no party to the grants, reclaimed them. He exchanged certain lands in Willingwike for Cronham. The Abbot (Thomas Carbonel) gave up Orcheston and Winterbourne, but struggled hard to retain Boyton (the best endowed). Elias, however, was too strong for the Abbot, and compelled him to resign Boyton also, on a pension of

a mile or two on every side. The moat very deep (no water here now) encloses about an acre, oval in shape. A deep valley bounds it on the east, elsewhere the ground is on a level with the area of the enclosure, even a trifle higher on the west, which from its irregular surface has evidently been some time covered with buildings, possibly outworks. The barbican fronted the S.W., where you now enter: the ballium occupied the opposite extremity at the N.E. Judging by the heaps of now grass-grown ruins, I suppose the wall of the ballium to have been massive, flanked with four towers, and possibly to have had a mount within it for the purpose of commanding the ground outside. Altogether a very sufficiently strong place against the weapons of its time. The entrance to the ballium, and the circumference of the outer wall, are plain. The surface is covered with small wall stones. The heaps contain good square larger stones. The whole place is a village quarry. Every house near is more or less built from the ruins, and, I take it, the Church also (which is close by on the north); certainly its chancel, where I measured one fine quoin stone 5 feet by 16 inches. The Goodrich family are the present possessors of the castle remains, and nine acres adjoining. There is another moat, enclosing about a quarter of an acre, distant in the valley a quarter of a mile from the castle to the E.N.E. The purpose of this I do not quite understand. There is a fine spring of water to the S.W. of the barbican, which doubtless was tapped by a well inside. I was accompanied by Mr. Winning, a resident yeoman, of much kindness and intelligence, whose ancestors migrated from Highworth a century since.

40s. a year being reserved to the monks of Gloucester from it. On assessing the aid for marrying Maud, Henry II.'s daughter, to the Duke of Saxony, Elias certified that he held nine knights' fees. He died 1190, leaving a son and heir Thomas under age, who succeeded, 1194. He paid scutage £9, for the nine fees which his family held, towards the King's redemption from captivity. Another Elias (the fourth) succeeded. He joined the Barons against King John, who deprived him of his estates, which were, however, restored under Henry III. He died 1248, leaving John Gifford his son and heir 17 years of age.

This John was the first Baron Gifford by writ. His six predecessors were barons by tenure. He was continually summoned to Parliament from 24th June, 23 Edward I. (1295) to 10th April 27 Edward I. (1299),¹ in which year he died in possession of the manor of Broughton.² He was an able man and led an active life. He was frequently employed by Henry III., 1257-62, in the wars against the Welsh: but, taking part with Leicester and the rebellious barons, he was one of those excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury for their depredations in 1264. In the same year he fought against the King at the battle of Lewes: but in the following year obtained the King's pardon, on account, as the patent expresses it, of his "good services in the battle of Evesham;" and in the next year, as a further mark of royal favour, he had license to hunt in all the King's forests this side of Trent. In 1281 he obtained a charter of free warren for Broughton and his other manors in Wilts. He, together with Edmund Mortimer, commanded the English forces which were collected on the left bank of the Wye in 1282, to chastise the insolence of Llewellyn, who was posted on the other side at Bluit in Radnorshire, elated at the victory which the Welsh had obtained over the invaders at the Menai bridge a few months before. Gifford, observing Llewellyn leave the main body of his army with a small party, crossed by a ford, and surprised him. The Prince was slain by Sir Adam Frankton, who at the time was ignorant of the rank of his antagonist. John Gifford is said to have sent Llewellyn's head to Edward at Rhuddlan,

¹ Courthope's edition of Sir Harris Nicolas' *Historic Peerage*. ² *Inq.* p. m.

whence it was forwarded to London, and, crowned with ivy, fixed on the Tower. Matilda, John Gifford's wife, wrote to Archbishop Peckham, then with the army, begging him to absolve the fallen enemy, and suffer the body to receive Christian burial. The Archbishop had before visited Llewellyn, and given him good advice, which, if followed, would have saved him his life and his kingdom. Now he was dead, the Archbishop does not seem to have been inclined to comply with the lady's request, without the King's permission. Matilda was after a manner connected with Llewellyn, who was the son of Griffith an illegitimate son of Llewellyn, who married Jane natural daughter of King John by Agatha Ferrers. Matilda's first husband was the great nephew of John. She died shortly after her intercession in behalf of the Welsh Prince. For in 1283 we find John Gifford, now a widower, making his peace with her memory by founding a cell in Oxford (afterwards Gloucester Hall) for thirteen monks from the Abbey of Gloucester, who were to pray for the souls of himself and Matilda his late wife. Her story, from its connection with the future descent of the manor, deserves a few more words. The daughter and heir of Walter de Clifford, she was the great niece of Fair Rosamund Clifford, and married William Longespée the great grandson of Fair Rosamund by King Henry II. The two cousins were both very young. Three years afterwards William Longespée met with an untimely death in consequence of injuries received at a tournament held at Blyth, 1257, leaving an only daughter Margaret (who will again come into the narrative) the heir of his great name and vast possessions. The seal used by Matilda Longespée during her widowhood has been engraved in Bowles' *Lacock*, Pl. ii. It represents her standing between two shields, the first chequy with a bend for Clifford, the second Longespée. We next hear of her, 1271,¹ fourteen years after her husband's death, making complaint to the King that John Lord Gifford had taken her by force from her Manor House at Canford in Dorset, carried her to his castle at Brimsfield in Gloucester, and there married her against her will.

¹ This probably was shortly after her marriage with John Gifford, for in 1292 her eldest child was of age, but not her second.

Being summoned to the King, he denied the charge, alleging that the lady was a consenting party to the whole affair, but he tendered to the King a fine of 300 marks for her marriage without the royal license. This was accepted on the easy condition that the lady made no further complaint. These proceedings would seem to be a friendly suit, instituted for the purpose of preventing in a propitiatory way the penalties incurred by a second marriage without the King's permission. Matilda left by her second marriage three daughters,¹ Catherine, Matilda, and Alianora, coheirs, of their mother's immense property, and, as we shall see by and by, of a portion of their father's. His legal troubles on account of this marriage were not yet at an end, for in 1292 he was summoned by the Clifford family, who contested his claim to some lands in that barony which he held in right of his deceased wife. He answered that he could not plead without the children he had by her, and that two of them, Matilda and Alianora, were under age. The Sheriff therefore was ordered to produce the bodies of the said Matilda and Alianora, at Salop, fifteen days after Michaelmas next, that they might be viewed in Court. Matilda the eldest of the two came, and being found under age, as alleged, the trial was postponed. He served again in Wales, and in Guienne, but the last of John Gifford's services may be said to be the greatest, both for his own fame and his country's good. He was a principal agent in one of the most important victories ever won in the cause of constitutional government. Edward I., in the prosecution of his insular and continental wars, had been guilty of many violations of the Great Charter. The Baronage of England, headed by Bohun Earl of Hereford, the Constable, and Bigod Earl of Norfolk, the Marshal of England, protested in the Exchequer chamber, before the Treasurer and Judges, against the King's extortions, his illegal seizures of private property, his enormous duties ("the evil toll") on wool, amounting to one fifth of the whole income of the land, and particularly against the collection of an eighth, which had been granted by a portion only of the great council. The King, who was in

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas, usually so accurate, makes Margaret Neville the mother of the three daughters.

Flanders, desired his officers to proceed, disregarding the remonstrances of the barons. But the irruption of the Scots, after their Stirling victory, and Edward's own weakness at Ghent before the French King, were strong arguments in favour of concession. In this conjuncture, the lords who were of the council of the young Prince Regent, and who ruled during the King's absence, requested the two Earls, the Archbishop Winchelsea, and others, to deliberate with them on the state of the realm. John Gifford was a member of this council. The two parties, identified in interests and differing in temporary relations only, soon came to an agreement at the King's expense. The result of their conferences was a demand for the confirmation of the Great and Forest Charters, together with new securities embodied in the celebrated statute "*de tallagio non concedendo*," subscribed first by the Prince Regent, then by the King in Flanders; and lastly, to guard against a possible equivocation that concessions made in a foreign kingdom, where he had no authority, were null and void, every demand was granted by the King in Parliament. The Earls Constable and Marshal with their followers did not effect this reform without much personal danger. The Prince's council therefore, and John Gifford as one of the members, engaged on oath to protect the protesting barons against the consequences of the royal displeasure. John Gifford ended a life in which he played many and important parts, 28th May, 1299, at Boyton, and was buried at Malmesbury, leaving by Margaret Neville, his third wife, to marry whom he had a dispensation from the Pope, which seems to imply some affinity, an only son and heir John 13 years of age.

This was John Gifford, *le rych*, so called from his great possessions. We find him, 1319, loyally serving in Scotland, but shortly afterwards he joined the discontented barons, and intrigued with the King of that country. He seems to have been a very active member of the confederacy, for he not only in his place in Parliament assisted in banishing the De Spencers, but plundered the royal carriages on the King's marching into Wales. This so incensed Edward that he sent some of his troops to demolish Brimsfield castle. The leader of the rebellious barons was Thomas Earl of

Lancaster, the eldest son of Edmund Crookback (the only brother of Edward I.), and so the first cousin of Edward II., and the first subject of the Crown. Whether he ever aspired to be something more, and to place that Crown on his own head, as Henry IV., the son of his great niece, actually did, on the ground that Edmund Crookback was the eldest son of Henry III., is unknown from the imperfect development of his schemes; but he was at least, from his power and position, the natural head of the barons, who felt themselves aggrieved by what they deemed an usurpation, by foreigners, of their proper place as the advisers of the Crown. He at their head had pursued to the death, with utter disregard for laws and capitulations, and under circumstances of gross indignity, Piers de Gaveston. When that favourite minister was replaced by the two De Spencers, the Earl of Lancaster and his party passed by violence through Parliament a bill of attainder and perpetual exile against them; and, resting in security on the royal indemnity for their illegal measures, departed to their several strongholds. The King, however, taking advantage of the indignity offered to his Queen at Ledes castle, recalled the De Spencers, and anticipated the barons in raising and arming a force, with which he proceeded to put down his enemies in detail. Among Lancaster's chief adherents was his kinsman John Gifford. Their connection was on this wise. Matilda Longespée (first wife of John Gifford, senior) had by her first husband (William Longespée) an only daughter Margaret. She married Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who had by her an only daughter Alice, sole heiress to the estates and titles of the two great houses of Salisbury and Lincoln. These were conveyed, by her marriage at 9 years of age, to Thomas, already Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby.¹ With John Gifford's help (especially serviceable in his own neighbourhood) the barons took Gloucester. They afterwards encountered the King's forces at Burton-on-Trent, where they were repulsed; and, while retreating towards the north, with the view of effecting a junction with the King of Scotland, who in communication with the traitorous

¹ John Gifford was further pledged to this cause by his feudal relation to the Badlesmeres as Lords of Castle Combe, under whom he held Broughton.

confederates had taken the opportunity, afforded by these intestine troubles, of invading Northumberland, they were intercepted by the royal army under Sir Andrew Harclay at Boroughbridge, and defeated in the attempt to cross the river, 16th March, 1322. Lancaster was condemned without trial by his peers, and led to execution with the same circumstances of indignity as he had inflicted on Gaveston. All the bannerets (with Gifford among them), and fourteen of the knights, did receive a legal trial; being taken with arms in their hands, they were condemned as traitors to death, and to the loss of all their estates. John Gifford himself was beheaded at Gloucester, 1322, the scene of his family's power and devotion; and, there is reason to believe, was buried in the north chapel of Boyton Church. The Rev. A. Fane, the present proprietor of the ancient estates of the Giffords in Boyton, thus describes the supposed tomb.¹ "I scarcely doubt that the last male Gifford was interred in the Church of Boyton, in the North Chapel. A very large slab of Purbeck marble was placed in the centre of this Chapel, which was evidently built for mortuary purposes: a very magnificent brass had once adorned the stone, and described no doubt who slept below. I had occasion to move this stone from its being wholly concealed by pews, and also from a sinking of the floor. Beneath the marble slab was a stone grave (not a *coffin*), and in this lay a skeleton with the skull placed on the left side of the skeleton, as if on the interment this position had been originally established. The remains had apparently never been moved. The skeleton lay in perfect order, except the strange position of the head. Now, seeing that the widowed Margaret Gifford retained the Manor and Church of Boyton—that all Gifford's other estates were confiscated—seeing that this Chapel was built in the middle period of decorated architecture—*i.e.*, tempore Edward II.—seeing the magnificent slab—the signs of a fine brass—and no other family having been of distinction sufficient to justify such marks of pre-eminence except the Giffords—can I doubt that the headless skeleton was the form of John Gifford le Rych? whose body had probably been conveyed from Gloucester after execution, and

¹ Wilts Arch. Magazine, vol. ii. p. 107.

interred in the church where his gallant ancestor Sir Alexander already slept, and where his widowed and bereaved mother the Lady Margaret slept at last." The only question as to this, is the doubt, whether the head, if ever cut off, would be with the body, and whether the body itself would be entire. If John Gifford suffered the penalties of treason in all their horrid completeness, he would have been first hanged, but cut down down before death, then disembowelled, then beheaded, and quartered. His head would have been exhibited on the Tower or London bridge, the quarters of the body distributed among the chief localities of the offence. But the indignities before and after death were frequently remitted, and the traitor simply beheaded. From the mother's influence at Court it is highly probable, that some such favour was shown John Gifford. Grafton, distinguishing the modes of punishment, which the various offenders suffered, says of Gifford, that he was "drawn and headed." Dugdale says he was "drawn and hanged." He had married Avelina, daughter of Hugh de Courtenay, but died without issue, and his widow did not long survive him.

His widowed and childless mother, Margaret Neville, did survive him, and seems to have met with consideration at the hands of the Crown, for the manors of Broughton, Elston, Orcheston,¹ and Boyton were granted her in dower. The favourite De Spencers had most of the other Gifford estates.² Their triumph was short; and, on their summary execution, 1326, all their ill-gotten possessions were again at the disposal of the Crown, *i.e.* of Queen Isabella and Mortimer. Many of the Gifford lands, including the reversion of those which Margaret Neville had in dower, were granted to Sir John Maltravers. The alternations of fortune which befell this unprincipled man have already been detailed. He appears to have kept a firm hold over the chief lordship of half Broughton, and to have transmitted it to his heirs. But the possession of the fief it-

¹ We shall find these three, Broughton, Elston, and Orcheston, all keeping together, and, though sub-divided, in the hands of the May family in the 17th century.

² Scrope's Castle Combe, p. 62. The grant conferring on Hugh le Despencer the elder, part of the Gifford estates exists. Broughton is *not* in the list. (Rot. Cart. 15 Edward II.)

self they never seem to have enjoyed. This, on the widowed Margaret's death, was divided between James de Audley and John le Strange. Who were they?

It will be remembered that John Gifford, senior, (the father of *le ryck*), had by his first wife (Matilda Longespée) three daughters, Catherine, Matilda, and Alianora, who married respectively, Nicholas de Audley¹ of Helegh, County of Stafford, William Genevill, and Fulco le Strange of Blackmere. Their father appears to have made some disposition of his property, by which Broughton, Ashton, the advowson of Codford St. Peter, and Beggeworth² in Gloucestershire, should pass to them and their heirs. This may have been the result of his law suit with their mother's family, the Cliffords. Matilda Genevill died without issue, so that the families of Audley and le Strange succeeded.

I. The AUDLEY moiety. This descended through Nicholas, 8th Lord Audley, to his son James, who has been immortalised by Froissart for his gallantry at Poitiers. He charged "in the front of the battle," by the special permission of the Black Prince; was severely wounded, and only saved by the attentions of his four squires, who "brought him out of the field, laid him under a hedge to refresh him, unarmed him and bound up his wounds." Edward inquired for him; said the Prince should go to the knight, if the knight could not come to the Prince; embraced him on his appearance in his litter, acknowledged his distinguished bearing "in the bloody business of this day, wherefore I retain you for my knight, with 500 marks of yearly revenue." This pension Lord Audley transferred to his faithful squires, saying that they deserved it as much as himself, and needed it more. The Prince, determined not to be outdone in generosity, thanked Lord Audley

¹ This was not the first connection between the families of Gifford and Audley, which were both allied to that of Longespée. James Audley, father of Nicholas, had married for his second wife Ela, the sister of William Longespée, who was the first husband of Matilda Clifford, who was the mother, by her second marriage, of Catherine Gifford. Again, Matilda's only daughter by her first husband was Margaret Longespée, who married Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Henry's second wife was Joan Martin of the Kemeys family, who on her widowhood married Nicholas Audley, the son of Nicholas Audley and Catherine Gifford.

² Beggeworth or Badgeworth is about 7 miles N.W. of Elston.

for doing what he ought to have himself done to the squires, and gave another pension of 600 marks to their lord. Lord Audley was one of those twenty-seven English barons who swore to "the great peace" of Bretigni. He was afterwards employed in various important commands by Edward III., was one of the original knights of the Garter, and died 1386, *maximus et clarissimus miles, et perinde felicissimus: annum tertium et septuagesimum excessit, altissimâ tranquillitate, pari veneratione.*

He had leased the half manor for her life to his aunt, his mother's sister, Eleanor de Columbers, on payment of the nominal rent of one rose yearly at the feast of St. John the Baptist, in lieu of all services.¹ The Audleys were Lancastrians, so that we may suppose, though it is so stated by the escheator, that the rose was *red*. She died Wednesday next before the feast of St. Nicholas, 4th Dec. 1342.² Nicholas 10th Lord Audley succeeded his father. He is summoned in the Castle Combe rolls as a tenant under the barony in 1389, his widow (Elizabeth of Beaumont of Scotland) in 1396. He was the last of the name of Audley who held Broughton. Having no children, the half manor was sub-divided between his two sisters, as his coheirs, Joan and Margaret Audley. The elder sister, Joan, married Sir John Tuchet, of an old Lancastrian race,³ and thus conveyed the barony of Audley⁴ and one quarter of our manor into that family.

¹ This elegant rent was not unusual in those times. In 34 Henry VI. 1455-6, John Heryng died, having conveyed his interest in the manor of Draycot to William Ryngbourne on payment of a rose on St. John the Baptist's day yearly. C. E. Long's descent of manor of Draycot Cerne. Wilts Arch. Mag. vol. iii.

² I find, by calculation, the feast of St. Nicholas, 6th Dec., fell that year on a Friday: the Wednesday next before must therefore be 4th Dec. I have similarly calculated in other cases the days of the month, where the inq. p. m. have furnished the *data*.

³ Sir Roger Tuchet had suffered with the Earl of Lancaster after Boroughbridge.

⁴ The manor and the barony (being an ancient barony in fee) were both equally hereditary. One as well as the other followed the law of corporeal hereditaments. On feudal principles there was no distinction between daughters, no eldest daughter and heiress, all coheiresses, share and share alike. There was no difficulty in applying this system to the land. That was capable of division; but what was to be done with the barony, which, from its very nature as a

He also was employed in the French wars, and lost his life, 22nd June 1370, in the disastrous action in the roads of Rochelle, where the Earl of Pembroke for two whole days maintained an unequal contest with the superior number, force, and metal of the Spanish fleet, the valour of the English but serving to complete their loss.

John, the grandson of John Tuchet and Joan Audley, was employed in Owen Glendower's rebellion, holding the castle of Brecon. He appears to have remained true to the Lancastrian principles of the family, and to have been on the Royal and winning side in the hard fought fight at Shrewsbury against the Percies. He also took part in the Parliamentary proceedings for the settlement of the Crown. Henry IV. did not, in the earlier part of his reign, moot this delicate question, but contented himself with receiving the oaths of the lords for himself and his eldest son, as heir apparent. But, after the Shrewsbury victory, which disclosed the treachery of some of his ancient friends, he ventured to introduce into Parliament an Act vesting the succession to the Crown in his four sons and their heirs, passing over his two daughters, purposely, in all probability, that he might not seem to countenance the rightful heir, the Earl of March, who claimed by the female line. But, by this settlement, the female, as well as male, heirs of his sons could inherit. To obviate this inconsistency, two years later another Act was passed, limiting the succession to the heirs male of his sons. Then another question arose. If females could not inherit, on what ground did Henry claim the throne of France? His only right was through a female, Isabella, the wife of his great-

dignity, was indivisible? It was in *abeyance*; not extinct, not dead, only dormant, in a state of suspended animation between the sisters and their descendants. But, if all the sisters but one were without issue, or if the descendants of all but one became extinct, and if that one had a son or a male descendant, the suspension terminated, that son or his male descendant was the resuscitated baron. Thus Margaret Audley died without issue. Her sister Joan had a son, whose son was the 11th Baron Audley. The same thing has twice happened in this barony. In 1777 George Thicknesse, the son of Elizabeth Thicknesse, who was the sister of John Talbot Tuchet, who was Baron Audley and Earl of Castlehaven, succeeded to the barony; but not to the Earldom, the latter not being an ancient dignity in fee, and not capable of inheritance by the descendants of a female.

grandfather, Edward II. This objection induced him to revert to his former settlement in the general issue, whether male or female, of his sons, still passing over his daughters. Lord Audley is said to have been one of the advisers of this last change in 1406. He died three years afterwards.

We next come to James Tuchet, 12th Lord Audley. He saw much service in the foreign wars of Henry V. and Henry VI., but was no match in a civil contest for the equal bravery and superior tactics of Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury, at Bloreheath. As two, out of the three lords then holding the manor of Broughton, fell in that engagement, I may perhaps be allowed a few words in illustration of it.

An appeal to the sword was at that time inevitable. The first blood had already been shed at St. Albans. The contest had already begun. Ere its end, 30 years had passed, eight battles been fought, eighty Princes of the blood slain, every male of two generations of the houses of Somerset and Warwick fallen in the field or on the scaffold, the ancient nobility of England well nigh exterminated.¹ As Kent was the county of the Yorkists, so Cheshire was the stronghold of the house of Lancaster. Queen Margaret had been visiting Lord Audley at Heleigh, and was still in the neighbourhood, animating her followers by distributing among them the badge of the young Prince, the device of the white swan,² and inviting them to assemble in arms at Leicester. Nor were the Yorkists idle. The Duke was on the borders of Wales, and the Earl of Salisbury, his father-in-law, was mustering his forces in the North, while his brother-in-law, Warwick, was at Calais, collecting under his banner the veterans who had served in Normandy and Guienne. The old Earl of Salisbury was the first

¹ The nobility, not the people. Philip de Comines says of these wars, that in them "the English desolated their own country, as cruelly as a former generation had wasted France." But he must be considered a better authority for Continental than English events. The policy of both parties seems to have been to destroy the leaders, but simply disperse the people. No one carried this policy against the aristocracy, to a more merciless extent than Edward IV. The lands were not wasted by either party; not by the victors, because they had them, not by the conquered, because they hoped to have them.

² Still the crest of the Audley arms.

to move, with a small but choice body of men, from his castle of Middleham, to join the Duke at Ludlow. The Queen interposed Lord Audley with a far larger force, on the Drayton side of the rivulet (now called Hemp Mill brook) which divides Cheshire from Staffordshire, on the eve of St. Tecla's day 1459. Each of the two generals occupied a strong *defensive* position. To receive the attack was the true policy of either. The Earl of Salisbury, who knew his art better than his adversary, determined not to forsake the vantage ground. He resolved on an operation in war, very delicate to conduct in the face of an intelligent enemy. During the night he despatched to his rear, and placed in ambush, some of his best men. Early on the following morning, St. Tecla's day, September 23rd, which that year fell on a Sunday, he sent a flight of arrows into Audley's camp, and retreated with his main body, taking care to be seen. *Fugit in salices, et se cupit ante videri.* The bait took with the gallant Royalists. They saw and followed. Audley rushed headlong into the snare. When he and his men had forded the brook, struggled up the opposite bank, and breasted the hill in haste and disorder, Salisbury, who had now got all he wanted, who had added the advantage of discipline to that of position, turned on his foe, sent volley after volley of arrows from his own compact lines into the confused mass of the Lancastrians, and obtained with ease a complete victory. Audley fell. The spot, marked by a stone cross,¹ is distant (the coincidence is curious) three miles from Broughton in Staffordshire.

I approach the next Lord Audley with regret. He was a turncoat. He forsook the political principles of his family. He forgot his gallant father's death and Bloreheath. Among all our lords I believe him to have been the only apostate from the cause of constitutional liberty through the increase of Parliamentary power, which cause was then represented by the House of Lancaster. I wish we could disown him. He was a double traitor. As he deserted the

¹ The monument consists of a rude stone cross, standing on a pedestal, seemingly of great age, much battered and injured. It was repaired (as an inscription states) 1765. It is mentioned as an ancient monument 1686. The heath is now enclosed.

good King Henry VI. for the Duke of York, so he deserted the helpless children of Edward IV. for Richard III. I deplore the success, though it was but for a time, of his faithlessness. Edward IV. rewarded him with many manors forfeited by his former honest associates, with a pension of £100 a year, with the stewardship of all the King's manors in Dorset, and with the wardenship of Wardour Castle. Richard III. made him Lord Treasurer of England. His due came at last. *Raro antecedentem scelestum Deservit pede pena claudo.* Deprived of his dignities by Henry VII. he lived the rest of his life in obscurity, and died the Sunday before Michaelmas, 26th September, 1490. His son, the 14th Lord Audley, was made a knight of the Bath at the creation of Edward Prince of Wales in 1475. He was not summoned to Parliament till 1496, six years after his father's death, probably from suspicions entertained against the son from the part the father had played. Nor were these unreasonable. They were justified by the event. The Parliament did what was wanted, voted a grant of two-tenths and two-fifteenths to restrain the Scots, who, under pretence of supporting Perkin Warbeck and putting down "that usurper Henry Tydder," had severely ravaged the Northern counties. When these taxes were being collected in the West, the people of Cornwall objected to a contribution for a purpose, which did not, as they deemed, concern them, and which had been heretofore attained by the forces of the northern barons, who held their estates, so one of their leaders, Thomas Flammack, an attorney, informed them, under an obligation to defend the kingdom against the Scots. They marched, to the number of 16,000 men, to present a petition to the King. At Wells they found a leader in Lord Audley who had property in the neighbourhood. He is represented as a man of popular manners, but vain and restless. The insurgents, after uselessly attempting to raise the men of Kent, encamped on Blackheath, where they were entirely defeated on the 22nd June. Henry wisely contented himself with the execution of their leaders, Audley, Flammock, and Michael Joseph (a farrier). The misguided multitude were simply dispersed. Lord Audley

suffered on the 25th of June 1497.¹ He was drawn from Newgate to Tower hill, dressed in his own coat of arms, painted on paper, but reversed and torn. His widow held the quarter manor till her death, 36 years afterwards. This long interval she passed in helpless lunacy. A domestic tragedy is connected with her name. There exists an inquisition taken at Warminster 17th June 1516, in which, after reciting that the quarter manors of Broughton and Ashton were settled on James and Joan Audley, the Jurors say that "Joan, widow of James Audley, is a lunatic and *non compos*, and that she has so been since the 27 June, 1497 (which they also make the day of her husband's execution) up to the holding of this inquisition, and is unable to manage her own affairs, and that the said manors (quarter of Broughton and quarter of Ashton) are worth yearly beyond reprises £12 18s. and half a groat, and that the said Joan has received all the rents and profits for the use of her family and the maintenance of her boys." She died 3rd March 1532. Their place knows the Audleys no more. Their estates in Staffordshire and Wiltshire have all been alienated, and the present representative of the family, the 23rd baron, is an exile in Australia.

A quarter manor still remains to be accounted for: viz., the second half of the Audley moiety, arising on the failure of male issue in Nicholas the 10th Lord.

This second quarter belonged, after the death of the widowed Lady Audley (Elizabeth of Beaumont) to Margaret the younger sister of Joan Audley. She married Sir Roger Hillary, and sold her right to the reversion of the quarter manor to Sir Hugh de Holes or Hulse, 14 Richard II. (June 1390-1). He, however, leased the property to her for her life. She died "on the morrow of the feast of St. George," April 24, 1411. The purchaser was of an old Cheshire family, originally settled at Norbury, and doubtless a good Lancastrian. He himself was of Raby and a person of distinction; Chief Justice of Chester in 1395, Judge of the King's Bench 1388. He died "the Wednesday

¹Two inquisitions, one on him, the other on his wife, give different dates. I have adopted the one on him, as nearer the event.

after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul," 3rd July, 1415. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, who died "the Thursday next after the feast of St. Edmund the Martyr," 28 Nov., 1420, leaving an only daughter, Margery, as his heir. She married Sir John Troutbeck, and thus brought our quarter manor into that family.

The Troutbecks were also a Cheshire family and connected with Chester, of which city both John and his father William were successively Chamberlains. The son and heir of Sir John and Lady Margaret was William Troutbeck, who fell at Bloreheath, on the Lancastrian side, being the second out of our then three lords who so perished in that engagement. His son Sir William Troutbeck lived to 10th Sept., 1510, and dying without issue, his niece Margaret Troutbeck, daughter of his brother Adam, was his heir.

She married Sir John Talbot of Grafton, Co. Worcester, and thus brought our quarter manor into the Shrewsbury family, within about three years of the time (as we shall see by and by), that George 4th Earl of Shrewsbury had sold away from the Talbot family a moiety of the manor inherited by him. Her husband Sir John Talbot was the son of the Honourable Gilbert Talbot, second son of the 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury, and (the elder branch of the family dying out) the great grandfather of the 9th Earl. This is the same Sir John Talbot whose tomb at Bromsgrove has lately (6 and 7 May) excited so much interest in the "Shrewsbury case" before the House of Lords.

Sir John is represented in a recumbent position, with his two wives (Margaret Troutbeck and Elizabeth Wrocheley or Wrottesley), one on each side of him. The monument is now at the eastern end of the North Aisle, an altar tomb, with the figures and top slab of alabaster, and having compartments, containing coats of arms, once blazoned, all round. There are two inscriptions, running round the top, one above the other, the higher in Latin, the lower in English, but both in precisely the same character and of the same date. The Latin is, "*Hic jacent corpora Johannis Talbot militis, et dominæ Margaretæ primæ uxoris, atque dominæ Elizabethæ uxoris secundæ, filiæ Walteri Wrochelei armig. qui quidem Johannes*

obiit decimo die Septembris A.D. 1550, quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen. The English is, "*The Ladye Margaret hys fyrst wyfe bure to hym iii sonnes and v daughters and Ladye Elisabeth hys secunde wyfe bare foure sonnes and foure daught—*" The importance of this English inscription in the late Shrewsbury claim of peerage cannot be exaggerated. Every thing turns on it. Lady Margaret was the *first* wife and had three sons. If any male issue of any one of those sons be now alive, Henry John Chetwynd, the descendant of Lady Elizabeth the *second* wife, is not rightly Earl of Shrewsbury. The late Earls of Shrewsbury were the descendants of the *eldest* son of the Lady Margaret, and it is clear that there is no existing male issue from this son. Can the same be said in respect of the two other sons of the Lady Margaret? Did the House of Lords exhaust this portion of the subject? It is true, that Sir John of Albrighton and Grafton (the father) mentioned in his will the eldest son only of the three he had by the Lady Margaret. But this proves nothing. Sir John does not pretend to mention *all* his sons. He names two only out of four by the second marriage. And to the eldest by the first he simply alludes as leaving him "the Kyne at Brymschaf and two of my marys with their foolles that I had of my lorde of Warwyke" (he seems to have been an advanced agriculturist and stock breeder). Probably the sons were already otherwise provided for. The English inscription has been designedly defaced, rubbed down apparently, and then painted over with thick coats of paint to imitate alabaster. This must have been done a hundred years since. The paint was removed by an application of American potash and quick lime. The relief had been rubbed down almost to the level of the rest of the stone, but the inscription on the removal of the paint could be decyphered, because an engraver, while forming the outline of his letters, inevitably presses the sharp point of his instrument below the surface, which he forms by merely scraping away the intervals. So that, even if the whole of the relief be rubbed down level with the surface, the thin outline, being below the surface, will still be visible, especially if a little dirt collect in it.

Sir John Talbot, his son and heir, next held our quarter manor.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Francis, whom I do not see in the case presented to the House of Lords, but who was unquestionably the heir of his father, being mentioned in our court rolls, as a minor holding the quarter manor, 19th March, 1560. He died sometime before 1570, for then his brother John Talbot, Esq. appears in the court rolls as one of our lords. This John Talbot and Catherine his wife, sold the quarter manor on the octave of St. Martin (Nov. 18th) 1584 to Edward Horton of Westwood, Wilts, for £1000. The description of the estate is, quarter manor of Broughton Gifford, 14 messuages, 12 cottages, 30 gardens, 30 orchards, 200 acres of arable, 100 of meadow, 200 of pasture, 12 of wood, 60 furze and heath, and 10s. rents. These rents doubtless were "rents of assize," as they are sometimes called, i.e. fixed money payments by free or socage tenants to the lord. Who the purchaser was, we shall see by and by.

II. The LE STRANGE moiety. This went into the family of le Strange, in consequence of the marriage of Alianora Gifford with Fulk le Strange. This family is said to have its rise in Guy, a younger son of the Duke of Brittany, who coming to this country, in the reign of Henry I., for the purpose of attending a tournament held at Castle Peverill, eventually settled here. The stranger found a home. The elder branch is styled of Knockyn; our lords were of Whitchurch or of Blackmere. Whitchurch (sometimes Blancminster) Co. Salop, was the inheritance of the mother of Fulk. The manor house there stood near a dark coloured lake: hence the designation of "Blackmere." Our Fulk was engaged in the home and foreign wars of Edward I. Like John Gifford, *le rych*, he was an adherent to the Earl of Lancaster; but, unlike him, managed to make his peace with the King. He is said to have given to the Canons of Wombrugge a half yard land and a certain meadow ground (beyond identification now) in Brocton. He died 1324. His son and successor, John, was present in all the Welsh, Scotch, and French wars of his time, apparently never absent from duty "on urgent family affairs." These were not, however, neglected in the short intervals of peace. He made a *bon parti* for his son Fulk, engaging that he should marry Elizabeth daughter of

Ralph Lord Stafford before Whitsuntide 1348, giving to the young couple, on his part, 200 marks per annum, secured on lands in Salop and Cheshire, on condition of the lady's portion amounting to £1000. The bridegroom and his father¹ died within a month of each other in 1349. The wife was a widow within eighteen months. Soon afterwards the bride of John de Ferrers.² Again a widow. Again the bride of Reginald Lord Cobham. In all her changes of condition, she held our half manor, and died seized of it 1375. On her death, without issue by her husband Fulk, the half manor came to Elizabeth his great niece. This young lady was born on

¹ The inquisition on this John le Strange was taken at Broughton, before Jurors, whose names, still existing here, shew that they belonged to the locality. The description of the property is full, and *ought* to be altogether honest, for it was given on oath. The Jurors, however, certainly seem to depreciate the value as much as possible, and probably also the extent, under the same amiable partiality for the minor, as Ingulphus ascribes to William the Conqueror's commissioners in behalf of his Abbey. "Taxatores penes nostrum monasterium benevoli et amantes non ad verum pretium nec ad verum spatium nostrum monasterium librabant, misericorditer præcavescentes in futurum regis exactionibus, et aliis oneribus piissimâ nobis benevolentia providentes." However, the description, the only one taken on the spot, is worth quoting. The Jurors say "there is on the $\frac{1}{2}$ manor $\frac{1}{2}$ one messuage worth nothing beyond reprises, and 2 carucates of demesne and bondage lands, containing 6 score acres, of which there can be sown yearly 4 score, and they are worth yearly when sown 20s. and per acre 3d., and 40 acres lying fallow: the pasture, because it is commonable, and also 8 acres of meadow, which this year are under water (submersæ sunt per magnum flumen), and are worth nothing, but when they (8 acres) are cut and carried well (falcantur et bene levantur), they are worth 16s., per acre 2s., and there are also 6 acres of pasture which are worth yearly 18d., per acre 3d., and there are also 18 acres of wood of oaks in which there is no pasture nor underwood of any value by reason of the multitude of oaks. And there are rents of Assize issuing out of lands formerly John Arundel's 7s. payable quarterly, and no more in this year because all the other tenants, as well freemen as villains (nativi), are dead, and their land is fallen into (supra extendita) the demesne lands. They further say that the heir is 19 years of age."

² Of the noble family founded by William the Conqueror's shoeing smith, who was nowise ashamed of his calling, for he took six horseshoes for his arms. The name of Agnes Ferrar, de Ferar, or de la Ferrer, occurs as Abbess of Shaftesbury 1252-1269. She presented to the Rectory of Broughton. John and Elizabeth Ferrers had a son Robert, but he did not succeed to Broughton, which was his mother's for life only, with remainder to the right heirs of Fulk le Strange. John le Strange (Fulk's nephew) died in the same year as Lady Cobham, but a little before her; so that his daughter, afterwards Countess of Nottingham, succeeded.

the feast of St. Nicholas, 6th Dec., 1373. She died the wife of Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, in her tenth year. Nor is this the only instance in our parochial annals of the youthfulness of brides who are great heiresses. Alice Lacy, it will be remembered, conveyed at her marriage, when nine years old, the vast estates of the two great houses of Salisbury and Lincoln to her husband Thomas Earl of Lancaster.¹ There were now no more males of the le Strange family. It is a singular coincidence that the male descendants of the two sisters, Catherine and Alianora Gifford, should have ceased in both the families of Audley and le Strange within a few years of each other.

Ancaret, the daughter of Fulk le Strange and aunt of the Countess of Nottingham, had married Richard Baron Talbot. She thus brought our half manor into the Shrewsbury family. Her husband attended John of Gaunt into Spain 1386. He died in possession of the half manor 1396. She herself held it till her death in her 53rd year, on Ascension day 1413. Her eldest son, Gilbert, had it after her, till his death in his 31st year, 1419. He married twice, first Joan, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, and grand daughter of Edward III., and secondly, Beatrix, natural daughter of John I. King of Portugal. This lady was thrice married, first to Thomas Earl of Arundel, next to Gilbert Lord Talbot, and lastly to William Fityplace, Esq.² She died on Christmas day 1447. She had in dower one-third of half of the manor. Her daughter, Ancaret,

¹ In English history no match maker was more unscrupulous, and in his infantine alliances more unsuccessful than Edward IV. He married for love himself, but took care that nobody belonging to him should imitate his example, possibly because he got into trouble thereby. The Queen's five sisters (daughters of a simple Knight) he married to great noblemen, her younger brother in his 20th year to the rich Dowager Duchess of Norfolk in her 80th (*maritagium diabolicum* the Chronicler calls it), his second son Richard to Anne daughter and heiress of the Duke of Norfolk, and his four daughters, Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne, and Catharine, to the Dauphin of France, the eldest son of King James of Scotland, Philip of Burgundy, and the infant of Spain, respectively, all in their infancy, some in their cradles (the Chronicler does not find any fault). None of these last matches were consummated.

² Their descendant, John Fettiplace, was M.P. for Berks in the Long Parliament.

had the other two-thirds. The reversion of the entire half belonged to her husband's younger brother, John Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury; and, on Ancaret's death (on the festival of St. Lucia, 13th Dec., 1421),¹ he surrendered to Beatrix the two-thirds which thus came to him; so that she died possessed of the whole moiety.²

Our next lord was the second son of Ancaret le Strange, the illustrious Sir John Talbot—

“The great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,
Created for his rare success in arms,
Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence,
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice victorious Lord of Falconbridge;
Knight of the noble order of St. George,
Worthy St. Michael, and the Golden fleece;
Great Marshal to Henry the sixth
Of all his wars within the realm of France.”

The popular sympathies went entirely with our mediæval French wars, and Talbot was the popular hero of those wars. Every incident in Shakespeare (who doubtless only followed the general opinion) is made to turn to Talbot's glory. Nor was this feeling unreasonable, either in respect of the wars in general, or of Talbot the idol of them. *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*, a general maxim in war, does not seem to have applied here. The slaughter fell chiefly on the knights (*reges*); the common men at arms were highly paid under the feudal system, and better cared for in war than in peace. Though our great French victories left

¹ Butler makes the feast of St. Lucia 3 Dec. But the inquisition on Ancaret Talbot says that in 1421 the feast fell on a *Sunday*. The usual calculations show that the 3rd was on a Wednesday, the 13th on a Sunday.

² This is another error in the printed extracts of the inquisitiones post mortem. They make Beatrix to die seized of her dower only (*tertia pars medietatis*). A reference to the original explains minutely the whole transaction. “Inquisitio post mortem taken at Wilton 22 April 26 Henry VI. The Jurors find that the said Beatrix on 4 March 9 Henry V. (after her daughter Ancaret's death) released her $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ of Manor of Broughton to John Earl of Shrewsbury, who afterwards restored to her the whole $\frac{1}{2}$ to hold at his will, and Beatrix being so seized of the $\frac{1}{2}$ manor died on Christmas day last past.”

us no permanent territorial acquisitions, yet they surrounded England with a halo of renown which is the best defence of nations; they elevated the heart and roused the understanding of every one left at home, in the country villages from which those renowned archers went forth. Talbot was happy in his death, in the occasion and in the time. It was worthy of one who had fought at Agincourt, the fitting termination of that contest which had been waged for more than a century, and which, though it had during its course witnessed many gallant deeds of arms, exhibited no more simple devotion and self sacrifice, than that of John Talbot and his two sons (Lord Lisle and Henry Talbot) at Chatillon 13th July, 1453. After this vain attempt to reconquer Guienne, the English took no principal part in continental campaigns for nearly two centuries and a half. *Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis; ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti.*¹ He, like his predecessors, was a Lancastrian, but all his wars were foreign. "With much fame, more glorie, and most victorie, he had, for his Prince and Countrie, by the space of 24 years and more, valyantly made warre and served the King in the partes beyonde the sea."² He was spared the misery of being a witness and a partaker, on his native soil, of those domestic contests which more than decimated his order, and in which his son and successor laid down his life. He was "a very scourge and daily terror to the French," but not to his own countrymen. He was removed nearly three years before the first battle of St. Albans.³ His widow had one third of the half manor as her dower.

¹ "Come, Come, and lay him in his father's arms.
My spirit can no longer bear these harms.
Soldiers, adieu! I have what I would have,
Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave."

Those *novissimi sermones*, which Shakespeare puts into Talbot's mouth, are to be found in the Chroniclers, who, in their turn, copied them *verbatim* from cotemporary annalists.

² Grafton.

³ What was his age at his death? The popular historians, Hume, Lingard, and Mackintosh, make him 80. But the inquisition held on Ancaret Talbot

His son, John, the 2nd Earl, fell at Northampton, true to the politics of his family, on the side of the red rose, 11 July 1460, in possession of two-thirds of half, "a valyant person and not degenerating from his noble parent."¹ Queen Margaret used to call him more familiarly, "Talbot, my good dogge." His widow, Elizabeth, died seized of the same two-thirds, on Sept. 11th, 1473.

Their son, John, 3rd Earl, had died in the preceding 27th June, (Sunday after the nativity of St. John the Baptist), in possession of the one-third of half, which had been the dower of the widow of the first Earl.

The entire moiety became reunited in George the 4th Earl, who by indenture made 3rd June, 1507, enrolled in Common Pleas, sold it to Guy Palmes, Serjeant-at-law. The deed recites that the Earl, Lord Steward of the King's household, "for dyvers great purchases which he hath lately made, whereof he is indebted to dyvers persons in great somes of money, in consideration and for the discharge thereof, the said Earl hath bargained and sold, &c. by these presents, &c., to Guy Palmes his heirs and assigns for ever his manor of Broughton with the appurtenances in Co. Wilts, and all other lands and tenements, rents, reversions, services, and hereditaments." He covenants that the net yearly value is at least £18 15s. 2d., that the estate is free of all charges, except a rent of 13s. 4d. to Edmond Tame, Esq. for the stewardship of the manor, and if Guy should be disturbed, &c. he shall be indemnified by as-

1421 makes him *then* 30. So that in 1453 he would be 62-only. Which are right? The Jurors made their presentment on oath, and ought to have ascertained the fact precisely. But then the fact was not material to the purpose of the enquiry. Provided the heir were more than 21, it was a matter of indifference to the Royal Escheator, whether he were 30 or 50. Grafton says that "because of his age, he rode on a little hackeny" at the battle, and calls him "that auncient fox." But in the Chronicler's pages he is also "a politique captyne, who lost not one hour, nor spared one minut," going through much personal fatigue, slaying many with his own hand, and at last "kilyed lyeing on the ground, for they never durst looke him in the face, while he stoode on his feet." His eldest son at his death was only 40 (inq. p.m. on the first Earl). But this son was by the first marriage, which assuredly took place when the Earl was a young man. This circumstance points strongly to 62 as the true age.

¹ Grafton.

signment of the profits of the manor of Oxsand in Salop. The purchase money was £280. And thus we part with the first branch of the Shrewsbury family.

The pedigree of Palmes shows who the purchaser was. His descendants still live at Naburn, four miles from York. It further appears from his inquisition and will, that he died 11th Nov., 1516, at St. Dunstan's in the West, Faringdon Ward Without, that he left his Broughton property to his wife for her life, and then entailed it on his sons in succession. The value of the half manor is given at £18. His eldest son Brian (for whom his father provided that he should not come of age till he was 22) died in possession 19th Oct., 1528, æt. 29. His son Francis died shortly before Feb., 1568, seized of our half manor: the exact date cannot be ascertained, as the latter part of the inquisition containing it has been destroyed. Another Francis succeeded. In the summer of 1579 he sold our half manor and other property in the neighbourhood to William Bruncker.

This family was settled at Melksham, and had been previously connected with Broughton. The grandfather of the purchaser had married a daughter of Golding, a name of long standing and much respectability among the yeomen of the parish. Robert Brounker (whom I suppose to be of the same race) was admitted copyholder here by grant of Robert May 1565. His name often occurs afterwards in the court rolls. In 1624 there is a presentment that "Robert Bronker is deceased since the last court, and his wife to be taken tenant according to the custome, and the house is in great decay." The purchaser was succeeded in the half manor by his son Henry. He in his turn by his son William, who sold the property in 1622 to Sir John Horton, of whom we shall hear again.¹

¹ Such particulars as I have been enabled to collect of the Brounker family from Coles' Escheats, Harl. MSS., Wilts Visitations, old deeds, and the Melksham Parish Registers, I have incorporated in my pedigree of the family. From the Wilts fines they appear to have begun their purchases in the county 1535, and to have settled at Melksham nine years afterwards. There were family connections and pecuniary dealings between them and the Smythes of Corsham. John Smythe (who died 1538) married Joan daughter of Robert Brounker. The second son of this marriage was Thomas Smythe, farmer of the customs to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. He died 1591. His eldest surviving son was the ancestor of the Viscounts Strangford. The Smythes

We go back to the Audleys, to take our leave of them and their fortunes, for John Tucket, the restored Lord Audley, took his leave of us. He was in want of money. Though restored in blood and honours 1512, he did not enter into full possession of his father's estates till 1532. Meanwhile he had got into the hands of the Jews, and must sell out to pay them off. Immediately therefore on his mother's death, he parted with the twin quarter manors of Broughton Gifford and Ashton Gifford to Sir John Brigges, Brygges, or Brydges, afterwards the first Lord Chandos, and others, trustees or feoffees, apparently, in the purchase, for Richard Brigges to whose heirs there is a warranty. Richard was uncle to Sir John. A fine between Richard Brigges and Robert May, in the beginning of 1544, passed the property to the latter. A further fine passed six years later, in which Jane the wife of Richard Brigges joined, doubtless to bar her dower and further secure Robert May's title. The purchaser is described in both fines as May *alias* Hayston. The origin of the *alias* I know not;¹ but I find it again in a will of "William May *alias* Hewestone de Mylksham" (probably the proper orthography) in 1562. The family were settled at Melksham. In the Diocesan Registry at Sarum are four wills by them between 1554 to 1562. They were substantial yeomen, making bequests of

were again connected by marriage with the Fanshawes of Ware Park, Herts. And all three families had money transactions with one another. The disentangling of their Broughton mortgages gave me much trouble. I willingly spare my readers the detail, as the mortgages were all ultimately redeemed by the Brounkers (probably to enable them to sell), and in the result the unravelled skein came out straight. Here is an incident which may apply to this family. The names of 59 members who voted against the Strafford bill of attainder were taken down by William Wheeler M.P. for Westbury, Wilts, and posted "at the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkard's house in Old Palace Yard," with this title, "These are the Straffordians, the betrayers of their country." The name Brunker was frequently written Brunkard. One William Brounker contributed £25 to the defence of the country 1588.

¹ The *alias* may indicate illegitimacy, or a good marriage. The family of Cromwell, and Oliver himself when young, used the names of Cromwell and Williams interchangeably. The name of Cromwell was coveted as implying some connection with the Earl of Essex: but, on the Restoration, the name of Williams was preferred, in order to avoid the obloquy attendant on Cromwell's name. This *alias* arose from a marriage. The Earl of Essex's wife was Jane Prior, whose first husband was one Thomas Williams.

“shepe, ewes, and lambs, kyne, and calves.” The name frequently occurs in the Melksham parochial registers, among the Selfes, the Marshmans, and the Flowers—all very respectable people. They were allied to the Brounkers and the Longs. I do not gather that they made money, as usual then about here, by weaving. But one inference I do draw from their wills. I take it they were strong Protestants, and firm supporters of the new royal order of things in matters of faith. Other wills of the same date pay more or less respect to the old religion. A very usual phrase is, “I bequeath my sowle to Almighty God, our blessed Lady, with all the whole company of heaven.”¹ Others are still more pronounced, “I bequeath my sowle to Almighty God, with his blessed mother Mary [sic], and all the holy company of heaven.”² This confession of faith would surely be deemed too strong by Roman Catholics of the present day, assertors of the immaculate conception though they be. That made by the Mays is decidedly Lutheran, “I bequeath my sowle to the Lord Jesus Christ, by the merits of whose passion I do hope to be saved.” This is the language of gratitude to King Henry VIII. To Robert May, the founder of the family, in the same year that he bought our quarter manor, a grant³ was made of the manor of Hydon, part of the possessions of Witham Monastery, with 1700 acres there. The fines show his further purchases of lands here, in Beanacre, Whitley, East Lavington, Marlborough, and of the manor of Elston, Co. Gloucester. He died 17 Sept., 1549. His son and successor of the same name resided at Broughton. He is styled in one of the May wills, 1558, “my well beloved uncle Robert May of Broughton Gifford, Gent.,” clearly a man made much of, named as executor, and invited to witness the signatures of many Broughton testators, in his own family and out of it. Henry Prior of Broughton even puts him (1558) before the Rector! “I name overseers of y^e will Robert May, my ghostly father y^e parson, and Thomas Carter my wyfe’s uncle.” Yet Henry Prior was, as his language implies, and as his bequest of “xi^d unto y^e Church

¹ The will of Edward Auste of Broughton 1541.

² John Lucas of Broughton 1559.

³ Preserved in the Originalia.

of Broughton" proves, no contemner of persons or things spiritual. Indeed, from internal evidence, I am strongly inclined to believe that the Rector himself drew this will, and put his own name after Robert May's. Such was the new lord's parochial position. I have been the more anxious to ascertain it, because, as I believe, he was the first lord of Broughton who ever honoured the place by residing in it. Of him we possess more information, thanks to domestic troubles, and the consequent intervention of the law. By his first wife, Dorothy Sidrington, he had two sons and three daughters. The eldest son John dying young, there remained Henry, Alice, Mary, and Anne. The decree in the Court of Chancery (13 Feb. 1598) now takes up the story. "About 1565, 6, Robert May being then a widower and well stricken in years did purpose to marry one Joan Sachefield (or Sarsfield) then a young maiden and daughter to one Thomas S. of Bath, with whom he should receive no fortune: therefore to the intent the said Joan after her marriage should not have any greater interest or benefit in her husband's manors, than he intended to assure to her, he (Robert May) did before his marriage make a lease for 99 years of his manors to Robert May of Whitley in Melksham for a nominal rent in trust for benefit of lessor. Afterwards Robert May married Joan, but continued well affected towards his son Henry till his marriage with Eleanor [Hinton], who by her misconduct offended her husband's father, for which cause he (Robert May) declared that neither she nor her children should ever enjoy a foot of his lands after his son's death, but that his lands should go to his three daughters. He settled his manors and lands accordingly by deed, 20 Oct. 1583, and died 1588, when Henry entered into possession. Then Henry and his wife Eleanor, with their daughter Anne and her husband John Eyre, and two others allied to Eleanor, got the settlement into their hands, and combined to defeat and destroy the reversion to the three sisters. They promulgated and proved an old cancelled will of Robert May's in their favour. Therefore the three sisters and their husbands instituted proceedings against them. Finally compromise was arranged. The lands and manors went as Robert May had settled them, but an annuity of 100 marks

was to be paid to Eleanor after her husband's decease, and 50 marks to Anne Eyre, their daughter, with benefit of survivorship to either of them in the annuity of the other." The husbands of the three daughters, Alice, Mary, and Anne May, were respectively, Edward Horton of Westwood (already the purchaser of a quarter of the manor from John Talbot in 1584), Henry Longe (son of Sir Henry Longe of Whaddon), and Jeremy Horton nephew of Edward: each of them had, in right of their wives, one twelfth (one third of a quarter). Omitting various interchanges, the property was at last thus: Edward Horton had, by purchase and by marriage, one quarter plus one twelfth, equal to one third. In 1603, 19 January, Henry Longe settled half of his share, *i.e.* half of one twelfth, equal to one twenty-fourth, on his own heirs (we shall hear of this one twenty-fourth again); the other half of his share he sold to Jeremy Horton, who thus became possessed, by marriage and purchase, of one twelfth plus one twenty-fourth, equal to one eighth. Jeremy Horton had by his first wife, Anne May, two sons, Edward and John. Edward was the heir of his great uncle, and so the owner of one third: he died under age leaving John to inherit the shares of his father and brother, *i.e.* one eighth plus one third, equal to eleven twenty-fourths. John Horton, 15th May 1622, purchased of William Brounker one half (originally Alianora Gifford's). 23rd Nov. 1627 he purchased of Walter Long¹ (grandson of Henry

¹ I cannot forbear quoting Mr. C. E. Long's account of this Lord. "Sir Walter Long was one of the celebrated members sent to the Tower; he was prosecuted in the Star Chamber and fined 2000 marks 1628. In 1646 the Parliament voted him £5000 as an indemnity. In 1647 the army brought a series of charges against him, which he refuted. In August of the same year, he and others fled to France, "because" as Holles says (who was his companion in exile) "the princes of the Philistines loved them not." Having "fled from petty tyrants to the throne," he returned at the Restoration, and was made a baronet. Clarendon calls him one of the chiefs of the Presbyterian party. He commenced his career of patriotism on the Tonnage and Poundage question, continued it by charging at the head of a troop of horse (raised by himself) at Edgehill where his horse was shot under him; and was equally the opponent of the despotic power of the King and the Protector." The precise occasion for the enmity of the "princes of the Philistines" was this. In the Spring of 1647 the Parliament were debating how to disband the army, twenty, or thirty thousand strong. The expense of it great; the need of it, now the Royalists were

HORTON

Roger de Horton of Catton Coole, Co. Derby, Kt. = Alice d. of John Peter, Catton Justice of Chester, 1428.

William Horton of Catton =
ob. 1424. Roger Horton ob. 1428.

Roger Horton = Joan d. of Robert Hill of Houndhill of Catton.
John Horton = Anne of Cowley.

John Horton Lullington, Somerset

William Horton = Rachel of Lullington. Thomas, of Iford, Co. Wilts, = Mary clothier. ob. s.p. 14 Aug. 1530. viv. 1541.

Thomas Horton of Iford. = Margaret d. of Thomas Barkeedale Heir of uncle Thomas. ob. 4 June, 1549. st. 48. of Keevil, Co. Wilts. ob. 1564.

William Horton = Joan d. of Thos. Bailey of Trowbridge. ob. s.p. 43. 1566. Edward of Westwood. ob. s.p. 1603. at Bath. = Alice d. of Robert May of Broughton Gifford. viv. 1595. Mary = Henry Longe of Whaddon. Agnes = Henry

Thomas Horton ob. s.p. viv. 1562. William of Wolverton, Co. Som. = Margaret d. of Jacob Dacom, Co. Dorset. viv. 1604. John. Edward. Isaac. (1) Ann d. of Robert = May of Broughton Gifford. ob. 17 Nov. 1597. 1596

Toby = Barbara d. of John Farwell of Hotbrook, Co. Som. of Iford. Roger = Ann d. of St. John's Nicholas Mann, London. Co. Kent. John of Wolverton, Co. Som. = Mary d. of John Coplestone Co. Dorset. Robert = Elizabeth d. of John James of Coker, Co. Dorset. Edward = ... d. of Horton ob. s.p. 28 Sept. 1605. Arthur Hopton Co. Som. Kt. st. 16. 1641

Toby = Margaret d. of Richard Catchmay of Bixmeare, Co. Glou. kt. st. 22. 1623. Edward. st. 20. 1623. Henry. 16. — John. 14. — Dorothy. 6. — John. st. 8. 1623. Henry. 4. — Coplestone 3. — Thomas 2. — George 1. — Toby st. 2. 1623. John 1. — Thomas Horton = Bur. there 1 May, 1693. st. 80.

1675 John Horton of Combend in Elston. ob. 1688 = Catherine d. of Thos. Child of Northwick, Co. Wore. Thomas of Middle Temple. ob. s.p. 21 May 1687. st. 34. Jane = De la Hay. Elizabeth = Rev. W. Clement. Eleanor = Jas. Morgan.

Thomas Horton = Mary of Combend. Blanche. ob. 24 Oct. 1727. st. 51. viv. 1737. William. Edward, bap. at Chalfield 1681. Bur. at B.G. 1682. John ob. 1707. infans. Ann Mary bap. at Chalfield 1681. Bur. at B.G. infans. Mary ob. 1706. infans.

1732 Thomas Horton = Jane d. of Wootton, Archdeac. bur. at Elston 20 Dec. 1753. s.p. Lewis. bur. at Elston 19 Nov. 1735. Elisabeth = William ob. 1763. Blanche ob. ante 1765. (1) Thomas = Eleanor = (2) Richard Bennett of Steeple Ashton, jun. ob. 1728. = Richard Roberts of Bath. ob. ante 1763.

William Blanche st. 21. 1763. Mary = Stephen Elizabeth. Eleanor. Jane. Rea. John Roberts. ob. s.p. Richard Roberts ob. s.p. William Roberts, Provost

DIGREE.

de St.
kerby.

The authorities for this pedigree are, Inq. p. m., Wilts Visitation of 1623, Harl. MS. 1443, 5529, the Parochial Registers of Broughton Gifford and Elston, monuments there, and Broughton deeds.

The arms of Horton of Catton Co. Derby were *Sable, a buck's Head cabossed argent, attired or.* The following coat was, however, granted to John Horton of Lullington, co. Somerset. *Argent on a fesse azure between two wolves passant in chief and a cross-bow in base gules 3 martlets or.* The latter was borne by the Hortons of Iford and Westwood; but those of Broughton Gifford and Elston retained the arms of the original Derbyshire family, from which Sir John Horton of Broughton Gifford proved his descent.

Ann=Anthony Rogers
of Bradford.

Maud=(1) Christ. Bailey of Stoford.
ob. ante 1562.
(2) Walter Bush of Stoford.

1614.=(2) Elizabeth viv. at Margery. Agnes Alice. Alice.
1620. Broughton Gifford 1620. Mary. Mary Susanna.

Jeremy Alice=... Bowell.
Colonel est.18.
in Parl. 1612.
Army
ob.1647
Thomas.
Jane d. of Serj. William.
Hanham of Robert=
Wimborne, Co. Dorset, and of
v.1642. ob.1647
Penelope d. of
L.C.J. Popham

Edward of=Margaret d. of Robert William=Elizabeth Penelope Amy=.....
Great Chal- Wm. Dodington exec. of bur. at d. of Penelope Amy=
field. ob. of Breamore, Co. brother B.G. bur. at bur. at bur. at
1675. She- Southamton, Kt. Thos. 1705. Bassett. 1689. 1694.
riff of Wilts Bur. at Chalfield 1693.
1680. 1670.

1702
Mary Edward Jeremy Henry of Mid- William Thomas Robert Jeremy of=Jane Katherine bur.
B.G. bur. at bur. at die Temple. B.G. bur. at bur. at B.G. cloth- at B.G. 1718.
77. Yerbury B.G. 1689 B.G.1673. ob. omlebs, B.G.172. B.G.1737. B.G. infans. et. 66. 1743. et. 51.
1724. et. 23. et. 5. 1724. et.55. viv. 1705. et. 63. et. 68. 1720. et. 66. 1743. et. 41.
Elizabeth Horton=Llewellyn Williams
bap. 1703. of St. Neots, Glam.
Horton Williams
bap. 1728.
William John Edward Henry Elizabeth
bap. at bur. at B.G. bur. bur. bur. bur.
B.G. 1727. B.G. B.G. B.G. B.G.
1702. et. 10. infans. 1720. Winifred
bap. 1713.

Charlotte Charles Elizabeth Eleanor=John Hallam, D.D. Dean
..... Ianbury Roberts. of Bristol. Father of
Henry Hallam the
Historian.

Longe and Mary May) all his right in Broughton *i.e.* one twenty-fourth of the manor and divers lands. John Horton's figures then come out thus, eleven twenty-fourths, plus one half, plus one twenty-fourth, equal to one. He reunited under one head the scattered fragments of the manor, severed for 328 years. So remarkable a result in our manorial history deserves a few words concerning its author, and the estate thus reunited.

The Hortons, originally a Cheshire family, settled at Catton in Derbyshire; but that branch of them with which we have to do, seems to have been attracted to the West of England by the rise of manufactures. They can be traced at the principal seats of the clothing trade in this neighbourhood. They had property in the earlier part of the 16th century at Trowbridge, North Bradley, Southwick, Westbury, Rode, Frome-Selwood, Wolvertone, Bradford, Westwood, Iford, Farleigh, Hinton, Chippenham, Foxham, Sevington, Tilshead, Cheverill Magna, Cricklade, Corsley, Tellisford, and Freshford. They came in for some of the Monastic spoils from Henry VIII., but their real property was for the most part acquired in the old way—money made in trade was invested in land. John Horton in 1500 resided at Lullington near Frome. His second son Thomas seems to have been a successful manufacturer. He is styled "of Iford, clothier," but his inquisition expressly says he died at Westwood. To his memory and to that of his wife there is a curious brass in the floor of the North Aisle of Bradford Church—curious from the omission of the dates.

subdued, small. The army demanded the payment of their arrears, and a "settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject" according to their interpretation. They accused, 16 June, eleven members of treason, *i.e.* of opposing their desires, and required they should be put on their trial and prevented from voting in the *interim*. These are the famous eleven members—Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Recorder Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, (all *old* members,) Major-General Massey, Colonel Walter Long (Ludgershall), Colonel Edward Harley, Sir John Maynard, (these four *recruiters*, elected since 1645). They asked leave of the house "to retire for six months." Retired to France. Walter Long sat in room of William Ashburnham, expelled for being concerned in the army plots of 1641, when the King vainly endeavoured to tamper with the officers of the army.

"Of your charity pray for the souls of Thomas Horton and Mary his wife, which Thomas was sometime founder of this Chantry and deceased the . . . day of . . . An^o dom. 15 . . . , and the said Mary deceased the . . . day of . . . An^o dom. 15 . . . On whose souls Jesu have mercy."

The brass was probably executed during the life time of those whom it commemorates, like Nelson's coffin. Why his nephew and heir (who, as I shall show, ought to have been specially mindful and grateful) did not insert the dates, is a puzzle.¹ The conjecture that connects the omission with doctrinal changes, is an anachronism: for, in the *Dirige*, or service for the dead, all our reformed primers contained prayers for departed souls, up to the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1552. I believe it was a mere piece of negligence on the heir's part. I am, however, in a position to fill up the blanks in the husband's case. By reference to his *inquisitio post mortem* taken at "Heytesbury" 23rd Oct., 23 Henry VIII. (1531) it appears that he died 14th August 1530. His widow Mary was alive in 1538, being then a tenant of a dovecot and fishpond in the Friary at Hinton, which was granted to the nephew Thomas. She was also alive when John Leland visited Bradford, whenever that might be, about three years later probably. He says,² "There is a very fair house of the building of one *Horton*, a riche clothier, at the north-est part by the chirch. This *Horton's* wife yet livith. This *Horton* buildid a goodly large chirch house *ex lapide quadrato* at the est end of the chirch yard, without it. This *Horton* made divers fair houses of stone in Through-bridge toun. *Horton* left no children." His architectural tastes point him out as the author of the beautiful tower of Westwood Church, which bears his initials. He conveyed his estates to John Skel-lyng, Rev. James Horton (his brother), John Horton, Henry

¹ Mindus Zosimus tells us plainly on his tomb why he did not leave to his heir the construction of it: he was afraid of his doing it in a shabby way:

"*Vivus mi feci, ne post me lentius heres
Conderet exiguo busta suprema rogo.*"

Thomas Horton did not trust any more to his heir than he could help, but this little was too much.

² Leland's journey through Wilts, edited by Canon Jackson. Wilts Arch. Mag. vol. i. p. 148.

Longe, and others, in trust for himself and wife, and after their deaths for his nephew Thomas Horton, the son of his elder brother William.

This Thomas Horton married Margaret Barksdale, who survived him 15 years. He lived at Westwood, but happened to die in London 4th of June 1549. Both husband and widow, most obligingly for my pedigree, made wills, the widow in 1562 distributing small legacies and plate ("gilt saults and goblets"), all she had to leave, among her children and grandchildren. The husband left to his eldest son William, after the widow's death, his property at Iford and Westwood and "all the lands which the said Thomas acquired from King Henry VIII. and was seized in fee." Edward, the second son, had all his other lands, among which are particularised Horton's chantry at Bradford, lands at Cricklade, Rode, Tilshead, and Corsley. This is the Edward Horton, who purchased our quarter manor of John Talbot in 1584, and at that time he is expressly styled "of Westwood." By his marriage with Alice May, he had one twelfth of the manor. A grandson of Thomas and Margaret, Henry Longe, who was the son of Sir Henry Longe and Mary Horton, by marriage with Mary May, owned another one twelfth. Another grandson, Edward Longe, brother of the preceding was the purchaser of Monkton. Another grandson, Jeremy Horton, son of William, by marriage with Anne May, owned another one twelfth. So that the immediate descendants of this worthy couple had between them half Broughton (originally Catharine Gifford's) and all Monkton. Their great grand-sons, John Horton and Edward Longe, owned all Broughton and all Monkton.

How John Horton reunited the manor has already been seen. His parents, Jeremy Horton and Anne May, were married 6th June 1586. She died on the anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, ten years afterwards. The widower married again, and died between 1614 and 1620, when we find his second wife a widow living at Broughton. By his first wife he had two sons, Edward, born 20th Feb. 1589, who died in his 17th year the heir of his great uncle, Edward of Westwood; and John, born 8th

Nov. 1593. In the summer of 1610, a young bridegroom but already a knight, Sir John Horton married Jane daughter of Serjeant Hanham of Wimbourne Minster, Dorset, and settled on her a jointure of £300 a year. At this time he resided at Elston, Co. Gloucester. In the autumn of the same year, he and "the Lady Jane" sold to Benedict Winchcombe of Noke, Co. Oxford, Esq., the manor of Ginge, or West Ginge, Co. Berks, for £1400. In 1614 he conveyed to Sir Francis Popham of Littlecot, and Sir John Hanham of Wimborne, certain lands at Westbury, in trust for himself and "Dame Jane" his wife and their heirs. In 1614 he had a Chancery suit with his father Jeremy, in consequence of "a certain estate or life interest which Joan May, widow of Robert May, ("the young maiden Joan Sache-field"), pretended to have in certain lands parcel of Broughton manor, which estate Jeremy affirmeth he now hath by grant and gift of Joan for her life, and hath enjoyed the same these 30 years past." The matter was referred, and compromise made that Jeremy should release the pretended estate to Sir John, who on his part should grant him an annuity of £80 for his life, provided Jeremy paid Joan May an annuity of £20 and kept Sir John free from all claims of the said Joan. He received 14th Oct., 1616, a general livery of seizen of his estates by the Royal escheators, who, the manor of Broughton being held by knight's service, received his homage and "the fine of a half marc paid into the hanaper."

In 1617 he was Sheriff of Wilts. 15th May 1622 he bought of William Brounker, then of Erle Stoke, the half manor which once was Alianora Gifford's, for £350. This was a purchase of but little more than the manor with its "court of viewe of frank-pledge, franchises, privileges, profits, commodities, and hereditaments," some chief rents and services, a capital messuage, and a few acres in the common fields, and 28 acres of wood. 10th Feb. 1626 there exist letters patent from Charles I. granting a general pardon to Sir John Horton of Elston for all treasons and offences whatsoever. I cannot discover what he had been doing to render this needful. Were not the interval so long, I should suppose he had made some mistakes during his Shrievalty. 23rd Nov. 1627 he gathered up the last fragment of the manor, by purchase

of Walter Long of Whaddon for £1400. The portion of the manorial rights was small, only one twenty-fourth, but five messuages, a mill, a dovecot, 30 acres of arable, 10 acres of pasture, and 20 of wood, went with it.

Being now sole lord of the manor, Sir John very properly built a manor house. He previously seems to have resided at Elston. But from this time to his death he seems to have lived at Broughton, in a house built by him at the Cross. The last of our resident lords. A scrap of paper, torn and almost illegible, shows that a "difference arose between Sir John Horton Kt. and one Peter Chapman clothier, about a sertyne small parcell of land, whereon the walls of the kitchinge of Sir John Horton's house by the Cross Pathe is proposed to be builded." This was in 1620, and in 1629 he came here. From that time to his death he administered his own affairs, and was his own steward. His note and rent books remain. Here his politics do not appear. But the family were all Roundheads. They belonged to the class, then more numerous than now, of "middling sized gentry," of good blood, of fair but not large fortune, in their habits simple, in their callings gentlemen farmers, in their manners uncourtly but kind, in their faith Protestant Christians, in their politics what we should call constitutional Royalists, in the pursuit of all their ends, whether spiritual or temporal, earnest, brave, and self-reliant. From such came Vane, Hampden, Cromwell, Ludlow, Blake, and the bulk of the "country party." Nothing but narrow minded mismanagement in Church and State made these men Puritans and Republicans. Let no modern revolutionist claim them as kinsmen. They were essentially aristocrats, had grandfathers, and knew who they were, could point to long pedigrees without a flaw, fought under their family banners, recruited among their retainers and friends, freeholders and county neighbours all, gentlemen to the back bone, held to truth, honour, and "the spirit of a gentleman," derived their chief pleasures from the country side, their chief hopes from futurity. Among these the Hortons threw in their lot. I do not find any of them sitting in the Long Parliament. But Sir John was himself a Commissioner for the Parliament in Gloucestershire, his son

was Sheriff of Wilts under the Commonwealth, his brother was a Colonel in that army, one Horton¹ was an acceptable preacher before the House, another Horton² was the victor at St. Fagan's in Wales, and, I grieve to add, a King's Judge and a Regicide. Sir John's note books meddle not with such questions, contain no allusion to Crown or Commonwealth, beyond payment of "royall aydes," "rates for the Kinge's provision," and subsidies, which followed each other with alarming rapidity on the Restoration. His attention was given, (stewards were then unknown on such properties) to his "chiefe and other rentes," (the names of his tenants and the grounds they occupied being given,) the cultivation of his land, the cattle he kept in "Hundells, Longeston, and Plumbgestone,"³ the small sums he lent to his "brother Robert to go to London," what "my cosen Thomas [Longe] at Bath paid for ten younge beasts," what his "servant at the moore paid for keep of 2 kowes for xx^{wo} weekes at 2s. 8d. per weeke, price £2 13s. 8d." [Sir John charged a groat too much]; what "my cousen Sherfield" owed for rents [Henry

¹ September 29th 1647, Mr. Horton thanked for his sermon preached this day before the House at St. Margaret's, and desired to print it. *Commons' Journals*.

² This was Colonel Thomas Horton, whose place in the family pedigree I am am as yet unable to determine. He *might* have been either Robert Horton's son and so Sir John's nephew, or the son of John Horton of Wolverton. I will put together, with a view to his identification, such scraps as I have collected about him, from the *Commons' Journals* and other sources. He was clearly connected with Wiltshire. Sir Edward Baynton was a friend; Goddard, Foster, Bethel, Orpen, Read, Bruges, were in his Brigade. I presume him to have unsuccessfully assaulted Donnington Castle, 1644. He is most known from his victory over the Welsh under Major Langborne at St. Fagans near Cardiff, 8th May 1648. As one of the King's Judges, his signature to the death warrant, in a bold free hand, may be seen in the *fac-simile* at the Bodleian. Cromwell, writing to the Speaker from Ireland 25th October 1649, says in a P.S. "Colonel Horton is lately dead of the country disease [an Irish pestilence], leaving a son behind him. His former services, especially that of the last summer, I hope, will be had in remembrance." The memory of Parliament was not so good as it ought to have been. Not till 25th March 1651 was the sum of £900 given to trustees for the young son "in full satisfaction and discharge of all arrears due to Colonel Horton deceased, and all demands in respect of his services."

³ These names still exist. *Hund*, *hundle*, or *hundred* was a division of a county; thence applied to a division of land in a parish. *Longaston* was the long grass enclosure. *Plumbgaston* the grass enclosure which is full of clumps or lumps, the Homeric *eribólax*.

Sherfield of Sarum who married Rebecca, widow of Henry Longe]; what "John Champion of Lullington paid for my woole." He looked after his rights; was victorious in "two generall trialls for a wayne way over a common meadowe called broade meade lying in Broughton and Melksham;" made some farmers "agree for the carryadges of their corn and hay growinge in houl brookes fields these severale sommes of money." He has left some notes, and a plan, *à la Chinoise*, without much regard to distances, of the river boundary between Broughton and Melksham, and the right of "fyshing," and adds, "There was a threescore and tenn yeares sithence a stranger drowned and taken up on my land on broadmeadows over Melkesham syde, and the parish of Melksham, in challenging the ded to get the somme, buried it at Melkesham, but the Jury being there boath of Broughton and Melkesham, with the crowner, found it toe be in the parish of Broughton and the hundred of Bradford: and that they of Broughton and Melkesham gave [as] theyre verdict at the Assizes at Sarum."

"Hæc est

Vita solutorum pravâ ambitione gravique."

Such was a country gentleman's life in the good old time.

A license exists 1661 from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Juxon) to Sir John, "in consideration of his own health and that of his daughter Penelope and six others invited to his table at his choice" to eat any meats he pleases, except such as are prohibited by Act of Parliament, (5 Eliz. cap. v.¹). Sir John must have been a good Churchman, notwithstanding his Parliamentary connection; or he would have eaten meat, without waiting for the Archbishop's leave. He died six years afterwards, and was buried at Broughton.

Sir John had two brothers. One named Jeremy, of whom the only memorial is a nuncupative will April 1647, from which it ap-

¹ The statute expressly disclaims all spiritual motives for fasting as Popish, and is enacted "only to maintain the mariners and navy of this land by setting men a fishing." Such reasons of State also appear in the second part of the Homily for fasting, in the injunctions of Bishops, and which is more in character, in the successive Royal proclamations of Edward, Elizabeth, James, and Charles. Such edicts were renewed on the Restoration, but were little heeded after the laxity of the civil wars. Sir John was more scrupulous.

pears that he was a Colonel in the Parliamentary army, and that he left his goods and his claims on the Parliament, amounting to £4000 and upwards, to his three nephews, Edward, Robert, and William, Sir John's younger sons. The eldest son was otherwise provided for. Of Sir John's other brother, Robert, our only knowledge is derived from Sir John's mention, in his memoranda, of him, and "his boy Tom," whom I am willing to suppose may be the Colonel Thomas Horton of some fame in those days.

Of Sir John's sons, Thomas, the eldest, lived to an advanced age. He seems to have resided at Elston, judging by the description of him in deeds. He, however, came here occasionally to attend to his affairs. His rent books 1675-84 remain. Sir John's second son, Edward, lived at Great Chalfield, on which place the Hortons had some hold, possibly because they were Parliamentarians and the Eyres Royalists. Chalfield is known to have been garrisoned by the Commonwealth 1645-8, and Edward Horton may have been so placed there: at least he was made Sheriff of Wilts, 1660, just in time to inaugurate the Restoration. Edward Horton's wife, Margaret Dodington, was buried in Chalfield Church, where her monumental stone remains with its inscription in incised lead letters on the floor of the church. Edward himself was buried either at Broughton or Chalfield. Both parish registers contain his name among the burials, Broughton on September 5th, Chalfield on September 8th, 1675. I am inclined to think his remains lie here, for these reasons. His family had a vault here,¹ where his father and brother William are known to have been buried. On his wife's stone in Chalfield Church there is space purposely left for his name, which, however, is not there. His place of residence was Chalfield, and this may account for the ap-

¹ This was within the Church, where this generation of Hortons were buried. Of the next, Mr. Hickee has this notice. "The enclosed ground on the North side of the chancell was made by Mr. John Horton (for which he gave me 10 shillings): when his wife was buried October 10th, 1724." There are now some flat stones without any inscription, but no enclosure, in the situation indicated. One of these has been appropriated 1800 to the memory of another person, without any such excuse as those had, who, Thucydides tells us, did like things in the plague at Athens.

pearance of his name in that register, which is rather a genealogical record of the people belonging to the great house, than an Ecclesiastical memorial. There is no such reason to be given for the appearance of the name here. Of Sir John's sons, William was the one, who constantly was with us, in all except his latter end, which was at Corsham. Here were born to him eight sons and four daughters, and here he was brought to be buried.

John Horton, grandson of Sir John and heir presumptive to our manor, died before his father. He lived at Little Chalfield, and at Combend, a house of the Hortons at Elston, on the hill at the valley head. He left a son, Thomas, who succeeded to our manor 1693. The *Lords' Journals* 7th Dec., 1722, show that he was then a lunatic. A petition was presented by his wife Mary and his two daughters, was referred to two Judges, and ended in a Bill, the chief provision of which was, the raising £3000 for the daughters.

His son Thomas visited us on a memorable occasion: he was married here to Jane Lewis, of a family connected with Broughton, and the adjoining parishes of Chalfield, Whaddon and Hilperton. She died within 3 years. This lord resided at Wotton, another house of the Hortons near the city of Gloucester. By his will, dated 13th January 1735, one Richard Brereton and his two sisters, Bridget and Elizabeth, no relations, described as "Mrs. Brereton's children," were the devisees of all he possessed, with the exception of petty legacies to his mother, to *some* of his nephews and nieces, and to Gloucester charities; one annuity to "Black Susan," and another to "old Farmer Ebsworth." Richard Brereton was to reside "on the hills at Combend, either repairing the old house and making it tenantable, or renting or purchasing a new one within a mile of the place, and selling the house at Wotton, on penalty of forfeiting the estate to the poor of Elstone and the several parishes of Gloucester." This in law was no forfeiture at all. The statute of Mortmain would have prevented it.

Whether this will came to the knowledge of the relations my information of the affairs of the family does not permit me to say. However, it is certain that by indenture 24th March 1739 Thomas

Horton, utterly ignoring the Breretons and the will, positively conveyed all his estates to Elizabeth Blanche and Eleanor Roberts (his two sisters) and their descendants. On 1st October 1746, by virtue of a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*, Thomas Horton was found a lunatic, and the custody of his person given to Eleanor Roberts, of his estates to Richard Roberts and William Blanche (the husbands of the two sisters). Thomas Horton died December 1755. Administration of his goods and personal estate was granted to the Blanches and Roberts.

Thereupon Richard Brereton and his two sisters, Michaelmas term, 1756, filed a bill in chancery against them, served ejectments for the recovery of the real estates, and instituted a suit for the recall of the letters of administration, and to prove the will of 1735. To prevent expensive litigation, all the parties interested entered into an agreement, Michaelmas 1758, to divide the real estates into three parts, one for John Roberts son and heir of Eleanor, another for William Blanche son and heir of Elizabeth, another for Richard Brereton. No doubt this was a prudent measure on all sides; for, though unquestionably the indenture of 1739 cancelled the will of 1735, a question would have arisen as to the mental capacity of Thomas Horton to execute the deed (he seems to have been hardly sane four years before). This question would have been submitted to a jury, the evidence might have been very embarrassing, and the verdict very doubtful: it was good policy then for the blood relatives to sacrifice one third, rather than risk all.

An Act of Parliament, 1763, gave the compromise the security of law, "freeing, discharging, exonerating the estates of the said Thomas Horton from and against the uses, trusts, debts, annuities, legacies, devises, limitations, and incumbrances," contained in the unhappy owner's inconsistent and irreconcilable provisions. Commissioners were appointed to divide the property into three lots. Lot 1, comprehending the manor of Broughton Gifford, the chief rents, the royalties and appurtenances, what we now call Church farm, the farm on the Common, with various smaller pieces, and tenements, and 24 acres of wood, was selected by John Roberts, and is now the property of Lord Broughton. Lot 2, comprehend-

ing what we call Mill Farm, Broadmead, and various smaller pieces, with the house at Wotton, and 25 acres of wood, was selected by Richard Brereton. Mill Farm is now the property of Walter Long, Esq. Lot 3, the Gloucestershire property, was selected by William Blanche. The value of the whole was £24,405 6s. 5d. This was the property owned by Sir John Horton, but he had more: he had conveyed to his son William a house and some lands which afterwards came into the hands of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse by purchase from the Williamses of Neath. Nor was it the whole property originally attached to the manor. The freeholders were up to the middle of the 17th century, very few, four or five, and those owning little: but the Longs then sold off considerable portions to the Hardings.

By Indenture 29th and 30th Dec. 1789, the Rev. William Hayward Roberts, D.D., Provost of Eton, (nephew of the last Thomas Horton), the Rev. John Hallam, D.D., Dean of Bristol and Eleanor his wife (sister to the Provost), and Elizabeth Roberts, spinster (another sister), conveyed Lot 1 to Benjamin Hobhouse, Esq., a Baronet in 1812, for £11500. 1792, Mr. Hobhouse made another small purchase from the Williamses of Neath (descendants of Sir John Horton through his son William), and this completed the property held by Sir Benjamin in this parish. Sir Benjamin afterwards resided at Cottles House near Broughton. His name is even now held in grateful remembrance by some of the aged poor here, for his personal attention to their tales of distress, for his alms and good deeds among them, and, what was more valued, for his kind word of sympathy, in those times of difficulty and scarcity. His son, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., took his title of Baron Broughton from his manor here in 1851.

MONKTON MANOR.

At the time of the Domesday survey, we have already seen that this Manor, then known by no distinctive name, was in the hands (as I conjecture) of the ancient Saxon proprietor, Rainburgis.

We soon find it owned by Ilbertus de Chat. Who was he?

The second Humphrey de Bohun, surnamed the great, the son

of *Humphrey cum barbâ*, who was a kinsman of the Conqueror, founded 1125 the priory of Farleigh, on the eastern slope of Kingsdown, within easy distance and sight of Broughton, whose brook flows down the hill side from its source in the Monks well at Farleigh.

In modern times a rabbit warren came to be formed over the site of the ancient priory of Farleigh. In 1744 Lord Webb Seymour, the then lessee of the property, under the Bishop of Salisbury, making some excavations for building purposes, laid open the pavement of the Chancel of the priory Church, where several grave stones and skeletons were disclosed. Of the former, the most remarkable was an altar tomb which was transferred to the refectory of Lacock Abbey, where it may now be seen and the following inscription read: "*Hic jacet Ilbertus de Chat bonitate refertus, qui cum Brotonâ dedit hic perplurima dona.*" "Here lies Ilbert de Chat, a man of great goodness, who bestowed on us Broughton and very many other gifts." The form of the inscription is so singular, that it has been represented in *fac-simile*. A practice prevalent in the decline of the Roman empire is here rudely and clumsily imitated. Within such letters as afford compartments fitted for the purpose, other letters immediately following are inclosed in small. Thus, in the top and bottom compartments of the capital H, are small i and c, making up the word *hic*. The engraver does not seem to have pre-calculated his distances well, or to have worked after a pattern. The five first words having been given pretty fully, he seems to have become aware that his space was contracting alarmingly faster than his words. He had arrived at nearly the middle of his stone, having disposed of no more than 22 letters out of 73. Accordingly the four following words, *bonitate refertus, qui cum*, are marvels of cramming. *Brotonâ* is fuller, as well it might be, seeing it was the seat of the benefaction and the origin of the monument. What follows to the end is very concise. The length of the inscription is 4 ft. 9 in. The heights of the letters gradually decrease from left to right, running parallel to the coffin like the shape of the stone; so that the first stroke of the H is six inches high, but the last D is only three and a half inches. In time this

puzzling involution of the letters seems to have rendered the inscription no longer legible. The Monks therefore repeated it round the head¹ and right side margins of the stone, almost in full, in Lombardic characters. The interval of time between the original and the copy would seem to be 200 years. Mr. Bowles in his *History of Lacock* (or rather Mr. Nichols, who did all the real work in the book) is of opinion, that the name of the person commemorated is different in the two inscriptions. He supposes it Z in the original, and T in the copy. Careful examination leads me to the conclusion that it is T in both, and that the apparent difference in the original inscription solely arises from a slip of the tool (probably owing to the grain of the stone and the unskilfulness of the artist) in forming the lower part of the letter.

Humphrey and Margaret de Bohun's confirmation charter to Farleigh, to which Ilbertus de Chat is himself the first witness, set forth his "*per plurima dona*," so justly commemorated in the epitaph. This charter also makes Ilbertus a contemporary with, and feudatory of Humfrey de Bohun, the second founder of Monkton Farleigh, and shows the date of this very ancient and curious monument to be about the latter half of the 12th century. His description *de Chat* he derived from a town in Normandy, near Carentan.

The next notice we have of this property is in the *Testa de Nevill* or *Liber feodorum*,² about the middle of the 13th century. "The Prior of Ferley holds in Little Brocton a knight's fee of the Earl of Sarum: and the Earl, of the King, of the honour³ of Trowbridge." Little Broughton is clearly the very appropriate name of Ilbertus'

¹ The letters, *Hic Jacet Ilbe*, are now in the same straight line with the rest of the inscription, but their original position was clearly at the head; where they could, from the deep shade in which that part of the tomb lies at Lacock, have hardly been decyphered. There does not seem to have been any other displacement. The left side of the tomb is against the wall, as, from the absence of any inscription there, it probably was at Farleigh.

² p. 138.

³ "The seignory [of a lord superior, or lord paramount, who granted smaller manors to be holden of them] is frequently termed a *honour*, not a manor, especially if it hath belonged to an ancient feudal baron, or hath been at any time in the hands of the Crown." Blackstone's Commentaries. Vol ii. p. 90.

gift, which he does not appear to have held, as Rainburgis before him, under the King in chief, but under Humphrey de Bohun, whose feudatory by some means he became. But whence the connection with the Earl of Sarum and the honour of Trowbridge? Edward of Salisbury, Vice Comes of Wilts and the owner of 38 manors there at the time of Domesday, had a daughter Matilda, who conveyed to her husband, Humfrey de Bohun, the founder together with herself of Farleigh, several manors, and Trowbridge among them.¹ When therefore Ilbertus de Chat gave to the same establishment his Little Broughton property, the military obligations under which he held it of Matilda's son were transferred to the Prior, and were discharged by the latter under the Earl of Sarum as mesne lord.

The long and peaceful rule of the Farleigh monks at Little Broughton affords few topics for our narrative. Though they were decidedly not poor, their annals are short and simple. "Happy are the people whose history is a vacancy." They soon so identified themselves with the spot, that it came to be called after them Monkton (the Monks' residence), which name they also gave to their principal seat at Farleigh, and to another good estate they had higher up on the banks of the Avon near Chippenham. Still, in this uneventful halcyon period, we have notices of them in the two following valuations, the first of the land, the second of the live and dead stock. "Full survey of the Manor of the Prior of Farley of Brotton, taken the Friday next after the Feast of the Nativity of the B. V. Mary, 22 Edward I. [10th September 1294] by a Jury of 12: viz., William Atteworth, Stephen Atte Slade² and others, who say that the profits of the court [meaning probably the farm premises, the court-yard], with garden and dovehouse, are worth 1 mark per annum. Item, rents of assize 14s. Pleas, fees, and fines of land half a mark per annum. Item, in customary labour of villains [hawling, haymaking, &c., in lieu of money pay-

¹ Ex chronicis Abb. de Lanthoni, Dugdale's Monasticon. Vol. ii. p. 67.

² These, like so many other surnames, are derived from residence. William Atteworth (Wm. at the Worth or *farm*), Stephen Atte Slade (Stephen at the Slade, or *valley*). Similarly we have Wm. and John Attegrene (at the Green), Thos. Atte Halle, John Atte Brigge, Wm. de la Mareys (of the Marsh).

ments], not reckoning festivals 36s. per annum. Item, there are 162½ acres of Arable, worth 6d. per acre. Sum £4 1s. 3d. Item, 30 acres of meadow, worth 2s. per acre per annum. Sum £3. Item, the pasture [quantity not given] is worth 18s. per annum. Sum total £11 9s. 3d." "Inventory of goods in the Manor of the Prior aforesaid at Brouton, as valued by a Jury of 12 men: viz., by William of Atteworth, John Atte Slade, Roger de Berlaye, John de Mortelaye, John de Wolock, Simon le Jonge, John de Grenhull, Hugh Cook, Henry le Frie, Walter Gore, Walter Seliman, and Robert le Jonge,¹ viz., 1 plough-horse (or bullock) worth 6s.; 17 oxen 6s. 8d. each, sum £5 13s. 4d., 1 bull worth 6s. 8d.; 7 cows 5s. each, sum £1 15s.; 6 young oxen 2s. 6d. each, sum 15s.; 7 calves 10d. each, sum 5s. 10d.; 17 hoggets [weaned lambs] 7d. each, sum 9s. 11d.; 2 waggons 8s.; 2 carts 2s.; 30 quarters of wheat at 5s. sum £7 10s.; 17 quarters of barley at 3s., sum £2 11s.; 6 quarters of beans at 3s. 4d., sum 20s.; 40 quarters of oats at 1s. 4d., sum £2 13s. 4d.; hay £3. Sum total £26 16s. 1d."²

In the valuation of Pope Nicholas 1292, which determined the taxation of all benefices till the survey made the 26th of Henry VIII., Monkton is assessed at £5 14s. 10d. The gross value at that time was, as appears by the first of the above two valuations, £11 9s. 3d.

In the 17 Henry VIII. 1525, when John Stone was Prior, a computation was made of the Priory of Farleigh, wherein are the entries:

	£	s.	d.
"Monketon in Broughton. Site of the Manor ..	10	0	0
Ditto .. Tenements there ..	2	4	0
Ditto .. Meadow called Chaldmede ..	1	6	8"

¹ Of these surnames there are derived, from residence, Roger de Berleye (berley, *the barley ground*), John de Mortleye (magwort-ley, *the thyme ground*), John de Wolock (wold-loc, *the enclosure in the plain*), John de Grenhull (*Green hill*, from hilan, Sax: *to cover*); from occupation, Walter Gore (Walter who lived on the *strip* of land), Walter Seliman (the *seller* or *vender*, from syllan, Sax: *to sell*), Hugh Cook and Henry le Frie (the artist, and the savoury result of his skill) are certainly well assorted; from personal characteristics, Robert le Yonge (younger).

² Dugdale's Monasticon.

If tenements mean dwelling houses other than the farm house, there are now none on the Manor. Chaldmede is Challymead, as we now call it. I do not imagine it was ever part of the Monkton estate, but merely held by the Prior at this time. It does not occur in the next survey. In the Valor Ecclesiasticus, or great survey 26 of Henry VIII. 1535, we have:

"The Manor of Monkton juxta Broughton worth per annum			
		£	s. d.
In rents and farm	12	4	0
In perquisites of court on an average	0	3	4
Total			
	£12	7	4" ¹

These figures are not without interest, in a comparison of the past with the present. Out of the 220 acres which the estate is now, and then too most probably was, there were then 162½ arable, now there are only 15. The meadow was worth four times as much as the arable; a proportion, to which the excellence of the grass there, and the general excess of arable over pasture, together with the difficulty of transporting grain and want of markets, contributed. There were many oxen for team work, now there are none. The values at that time, of different descriptions of corn, compared with each other, do not vary much from what they are now. But, while the value of corn generally has increased about ten times, that of the land has increased, the meadow twenty times, the arable eighty. The cattle and implements (which cannot be all given, for there are none to work the ground) can hardly be compared with present values, as so much depends on their condition. But supposing the average to be taken, the price of cattle has increased sixty fold.

But the chief interest attaching to these extracts, arises from the proof they give of the holding of a court here, and of the active exercise of his authority by the Prior, as Lord of the manor of Monkton. In modern times the occupiers of the estate have done suit and service at the court of the Lord of the manor of Broughton, and the exercise of separate manorial rights by the proprietor of

¹ *Ibid.* Here the rents of the tenements are added to that of the land.

Monkton (he is never called a lord) is obsolete. The monks, however, acknowledged no such superiority on the part of their larger neighbour. They asserted their independent rights by holding a court of their own, in which their steward no doubt adjudicated on such cases as fell within their jurisdiction (which was bounded by their territory), the penalty being generally a fine; and where the smaller occupiers paid their rent. This manor formerly had many who held under it. The value of their holdings appears by the surveys of 1525 and 1535 to have been more than one fifth of that of the land, £2 4s. to £10. Now there are no small tenants (there are no messuages other than the manor house), whereas Broughton manor has many. This circumstance (the payment of these rents being the chief business transacted, since these local jurisdictions were swept away in the civil wars of the 17th century) sufficiently accounts for the decay of the Monkton, and the activity of the Broughton court. Blackstone even goes so far as to say, that "a court for redressing misdemeanors and nuisances within the manor, and for settling disputes of property among the tenants, is an inseparable ingredient of every manor; and if the number of suitors should so fail as not to leave sufficient to make a jury or homage, that is, two tenants at least, the manor itself is lost."¹

"Monkton Farley,"² says Leland in his itinerary, "among other thynges was a late gyven to the Earl of Hertford." The "a late" was 1537, when our Monkton, as part of the Abbey lands, was granted to him, who was afterwards Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset. There is a patent, 1582, confirming to Edward Earl of Hertford, amongst other lands, the manor of "Monkton juxta Broughton." The confirmation was very necessary. The Protector Somerset had sons by both his wives, Catherine Filiol and Anne Stanhope. But after his attainder and execution, his widow, the

¹ Blackstone's Commentaries vol. ii. p. 90.

² In a note to the pedigree of Long by Charles Edward Long, Esq., it is said, that "Monkton was held by Michael Quinton under Sir Henry Long of Draycot who purchased the lease of William Millin who held under the Prior of Monkton Farley. Sold by Sir Henry Long to Sir John Thynne, and by him to Henry Long of Whaddon, Father of Edward. Temp. Philip and Mary." This is not reconcilable with my authorities, which are the title deeds of the property.

haughty and handsome Anne Stanhope, by her misrepresentations that her predecessor Catherine Filiol was unfaithful to the Duke, and by interest, procured the transfer of the Protector's lands and titles, from the rightful heirs by the first marriage, to her own issue; with whose descendants they continued for nearly two centuries, before they reverted to the heirs by Catherine Filiol. The Edward mentioned in the patent was the eldest son of Anne Stanhope. His life had some curious incidents. He was thrice married; first to Catherine Grey (sister of Lady Jane) without the Queen's license. For this rash act of his youth he languished in the Tower eight or nine years, paid a fine of £15,000 to secure his titles, estates, and liberty, and was excluded from the court during a long and loyal life. His two other wives were both Howards, and by them he had no issue. As his mother lived to be ninety, so he to be eighty three, and, dying 1621, lies buried under a gorgeous monument at the east end of the South Aisle in Salisbury Cathedral, after witnessing the deaths of three generations of his descendants, and the committal of his grandson William to the Tower for the same amiable imprudence as he himself had been guilty of, and for which he had been similarly punished. This Earl Hertford leased Monkton to Edward Long, 2nd July, 1600, for the lives of the lessee (who seems to have occupied it previously), and his two sons Edward and John. In 15th May, 1615, Earl Hertford and "Edward Seymour, Esq., commonly called Lord Beauchamp" conveyed the fee simple of Monkton to Edward Long and his heirs. This Edward Seymour, Esq., was the grandson, and at the time the heir apparent (which explains his joining in the conveyance), though, as after events proved, not the actual successor of the old Earl. The latter's two eldest sons (both named Edward) died before him, the first unmarried, but the second left three sons, Edward, William, and Francis. This Edward is the one mentioned in the conveyance. He too married and had a son, but both father and son died before the old Earl, who thus witnessed the deaths of his son, grandson, and great-grandson, and was succeeded by William the grandson of Catherine Grey, committed in early youth, for his marriage with Arabella Stuart, to the Tower by James I., but

afterwards the loyal General and trusty counsellor of the two Charleses, Father and Son, who made him successively Marquis of Hertford in 1640, and Duke of Somerset in 1660. Thus terminated the connection of the House of Seymour with our parish.

The sum paid by Edward Long for the "manor of Monkton *alias* Monketon juxta Broughton and all messuages, &c., thereto belonging within the villages, parishes, hamlets, or fields of Monkton, Broughton Gifford, and Melksham," was £2100. The sum was small, but Edward Long bought the reversion only, and there was a jointure carved out of the property for "Lady Jane wife of Edward Beauchamp." Attached to the deed (which exists in duplicate, one copy among the Monkton, the other among the Hinton House documents) is a handsome seal with the Seymour arms, and Lord Hertford's signature in most formal characters, an inch long. The estimated extent of the lands is 228 acres, nearly corresponding to the existing measurement, 220, the difference being probably a mere inaccuracy of early times. This estate seems to have held together, whereas Broughton was much cut up. The purchaser, Edward Long, was the second son of Sir Henry Long and Mary Horton, and together with his wife Anne Brounker was buried here.

A decree in Chancery, 7 May 1599, gives an insight into Edward Long's character. Henry Brounker, son of Sir William, agreed to sell Edward Long (his aunt's husband) 60 acres of Broughton wood, but made no legal conveyance of the same, not being at that time in a position to do so. Edward Long offered to sell, and did sell the wood to Sir William Eyre of Chalfield, whose property it joined, for £700. £100 was to be paid immediately, £200 placed in Sir Walter Hungerford's hands, and £400 to be forthcoming by the following Christmas. Sir William without delay tendered Edward Long the £100. But "Edward Long willed Sir William Eyre to make stay thereof, till Friday, because he was at that time to ryde to Wayhyll fayer, and therefore had no convenient time to receive the same. Sir William also paid £200 to Sir Walter Hungerford, and borrowed £400 for the final payment. But, though he was so ready to complete his share of the contract, Edward Long, thinking

to make a greater benefit thereof, refused and denied the bargain and to that end confederating with Henry Brounker wylled him to give out in speech that there was no contract for the wood between himself and Edward Long, or, if there were, it was conditional and upon trust to be realised to Henry Brounker, whereas it was in truth absolute, as Henry Brounker hath since confessed; and upon this confederacy Henry Brounker and Edward Long went about to cause conveyance to be made of this wood to some persons on trust for their use and for the children of Edward Long, and so to defraud Sir William Eyre as well of his bargain as of the sum he had already paid. Whereupon, certain proceedings were taken in Chancery, when reference was agreed on to Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord Chief Justice;¹ who suggested one of two alternatives, either 'a trial at common law as to the agreement, which course the defendant (Edward Long) disliked; or secondly, that half the wood in question, next adjoining Sir William Eyre's ground (wherein value and not quantity should be respected), might be assured to Sir William Eyre for half the price agreed on for the whole: for that Sir William Eyre took some hurt by the bankes of this wood near his warren, and that he wanted wood also; and that the other half should be conveyed to Brounker, in respect that he too wanted wood to his house. To which motion Sir William Eyre agreed, but Edward Long referred to Brounker, who refused to assent, and desired that the same might be referred to the court. Then it was ordered, that if defendants should not accept one of these suggestions, then this court intended not that the Chief Justice's trouble should be spent in vain, through defendants' obstinacy; but that order should be given for the end of the cause according to one of the suggestions. Then it appeared that Edward Long elected a trial at common law upon the said agreement: in which trial, verdict was given for the plaintiff, and

¹ He was probably induced to exercise his good offices from his connection with Lady Jane Horton. His name frequently occurs in the Broughton deeds, where the Hortons are concerned. He seems never to have declined trouble, where he could be of use. He was a great agricultural improver. He procured an Act for draining the fens of the Isle of Ely and the lands in adjacent counties. During his life he carried on the work with great spirit.

it was then ordered that a decree should issue accordingly for plaintiff, unless good cause were shown to the contrary." The result was that Edward Long was compelled, *volens volens*, to divide the wood according to the Chief Justice's second suggestion, and condemned to pay £30 towards the costs of the suit.

We next find Edward Long, in a public capacity, as one of the Justices, corresponding with Lord Hertford, the Lord Lieutenant, respecting the salary of Nicholas Stanter, the muster-master of the trained bands. The Justices had in 1607 settled the salary of that officer, at a contribution of four pence by every "armour" (armed man). This was "essayed to be effected, but much of it was not only neglected and not at all paid, but it is also found to be, by reason of such slow collection, a stop and hindrance to the execution and advancement of the said service." The Lord Lieutenant therefore entreats, that some course may be adopted to make the muster-master "more assured of his means henceforth." Edward Long and his fellows accordingly at the Marlborough Sessions 2nd October, 1611, profess themselves "very inclinable to satisfy his Lordship's desire for the payment of £40 yearly." But as to "certainty of payment thereof," they ask for time "to treat with the county on that behalf," offering their "best endeavours with all convenient speed." With this "Promise to pay," endorsed, "We wish you may get it," poor Nicholas was, as far as appears, obliged to be content. Edward Long was one of those that lent money to the King, James I., on privy seals. He was one of six, each of whom gave 100 nobles, £33 6s. 8d. There were only five families in the county who gave more, and their contribution was double.¹

Edward Long had two sons, who were connected with Monkton. Edward who lived there, and dying without issue was succeeded by his brother John. This last made an addition to the manor house on the eastern side, and has fixed the date, 1647, in the north gable. At the same time also the whole house was, as appears, re-roofed and extensively repaired, within and without. The staircase and a chimney piece in the west bedroom may be of this date.

¹ Wilts Archaeological Magazine vol. ii. p. 181 &c.

A chimney piece in the east bedroom is much older, the design being very different and more deeply cut. It looks like a portion of an old altar tomb, and may have come from Monkton Farleigh Priory in the Seymours' time. It is too old for any house, of which there is any record here. It is to be hoped that John Long completed and paid for his improvements before 1649 and 1650. In those years he was a "delinquent" and his estate sequestered. He is styled "late of Haw," in allusion to an estate which he occupied in the parish of Bradford.¹

John Long was succeeded by his son Thomas, who married Margery Hungerford. An alliance with this distinguished house involved a handsome jointure. Accordingly, the bridegroom elect settled on the lady lands both in Monkton and Broughton. The names, given in the deed to many of the Monkton fields, still remain—Amblecroft, Goosehams or Cookshams, the Home piece and mead, Michel² mead (now correctly rendered, Great mead). The Butt (archery ground) is no longer to be traced. Name and thing have passed away.

The estate continued in the Long family till 10th May, 1669, when it was sold by Thomas Long to Sir James Thynne of Longleat. Margery, the wife of Thomas, joined in the conveyance of the property.³ Thomas Long appears to have rented the property till Lady-day 1671, at a rent of £260. By a deed of September, 1671, Thomas Thynne of Longleat mortgages the property to John Hall of Bradford, and William Thynne of Longleat appears as the occupier. The Thynnes have left their mark on the house. The outer south door still bears their arms and motto. Thomas Thynne's tastes and habits were expensive. "Tom of ten thou-

¹ I state this on the authority of Mr. C. E. Long's Pedigree of Long. But I must add, that searches in the State Paper Office (Mr. Long's authority) show no other John Long, as a delinquent, but him of Kelloways.

² Michel or Mitchell, Anglo-Saxon *Muchel* (big), Scottice *Muckle*.

³ Among the Harding deeds there exists a conveyance, dated 21st January 1674, by Thomas Long of Rowden (where he afterwards resided) and Margery his wife, to John Harding of Charterhouse Hinton, of the Manor of Monkton near Broughton, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, for £1221. What can this mean? How can it be reconciled with the previous sale to the Thynnes in 1669?

sand" he was called from the annual value of his estates. But his plantations and roads, his additions to Longleat, his preparations for the bride who never came, his hospitable treats, which Dryden has immortalised in Absalom and Achitophol,¹ his political expenses, his partisanship of the Duke of Monmouth's popular but most costly pretensions, induced early application to money lenders. A year only after coming into his fine estate, we find him, not yet indeed in the hands of the Jews, but of a good Christian, his kinsman John Hall of Bradford, who had married his sister Elizabeth. In 1670, when Tom became "of ten thousand," John Hall became Sheriff of Wilts; and, though that office is calculated to diminish the holder's means, we find him purchasing large additions to his ancestral acres, and lending his ready cash on the excellent security of the broad meadows of Monkton.

Thomas Thynne was murdered in Piccadilly, at the instigation of Count Koningsmark, in February 1682, and John Hall was named executor of his will, by which the equity of redemption of the Monkton property passed to John Hall and John Keen of Lincoln's Inn, who subsequently released his interest to John Hall. This last at his death, in 1711, left one daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Baynton, Esq., of Chalfield. The only child of Mr. and Mrs. Baynton was Rachel Baynton, 16 years old, and apparently unmarried, at the date of her grandfather's death. By

¹ "The crowd that still believe their kings oppress,
With lifted hands their young Messiah bless;
Who now begins his progress to ordain
With chariots, horsemen, and a num'rous train;
From East to West his glories he displays,
And, like the sun, the promised land surveys.
Fame runs before him as the morning star,
And shouts of joy salute him from afar:
Each house receives him as a guardian god,
And consecrates the place of his abode.
But hospitable treats did most commend
Wise Issachar, his wealthy western friend."

Tom was "Issachar" because he was "a strong ass couching down between two burdens, and bowed his shoulder to bear and became a servant unto tribute." But why "wise"? It can hardly be for mere alliteration's sake. And yet, as far as we know of Tom, he was rather wealthy than wise.

his will, 20th September, 1708, he devised all his lands to trustees, on trust for Rachel Baynton during her life, and then to her heirs male successively. The grand-daughter and sole heiress of John Hall married the Hon. William Pierrepont, only son and heir of Evelyn Pierrepont then Marquis of Dorchester, and afterwards first Duke of Kingston. The young husband died 1713 at the age of 21, the young widow followed him 1722 at the age of 27. They left one boy, Evelyn the second and last Duke of Kingston.¹ The tastes and fortunes of this nobleman were in some respects not unlike those of his great granduncle, Thomas Thynne. Both were spendthrifts, both diminished their paternal inheritances, both drew blanks, and worse than blanks, in the marriage lottery, both had wives who were no wives, the Lady Ogle never saw Thomas Thynne after the marriage ceremony, the Countess of Bristol was guilty of bigamy in marrying the Duke of Kingston: both died shortly after marriage, Thomas Thynne within two years, Evelyn Pierrepont within four: the tongues of men were busy with the reputations of the wives of both, Swift called Lady Ogle an "assassin" in some unscrupulous verses,² and it is probably no scandal that the imprudent eccentricities of the Duchess of Kingston did not tend to prolong the declining years of the last of that house. They were unlike in this: Thomas Thynne married a fine lady from motives of self interest, the Duke of Kingston married for love one, who hardly, from her indelicate adventures, could be called a lady; the difference continued to the end, the widow of the one had nothing, the widow of the other, under one or other of the *aliases* by

¹ My account of Thomas Thynne and the Hall family is derived from Canon Jackson's admirable papers on Longleat and Kingston House, published in the Wilts Archæological Magazine.

² The lady was originally a Percy, she happened to have red hair, she ultimately became Duchess of Somerset.

"And, dear England, if ought I understand,

Beware of *carrots* from *Northumberland*.

Carrots sown *Thynn* a deep root may get,

If so they be in *Somer-set*:

Their *Cunnings-mark* thou: for I have been told,

They assassin when young, and poison when old."

Dean Swift's *Windsor Prophecy*. Quoted by Canon Jackson.

which she took care to be described in the Duke's will, inherited all his land for her life, and every shilling absolutely.

The Duke of Kingston wanting money to buy a wedding dress for his bride, was advised by his steward, local report says, to sell his outlying Monkton estate; which accordingly passed by a deed, March 1768, into the hands of the said steward, Samuel Shering of Whitmore, in the county of Nottingham, gent. There is a tradition that the Duke, afterwards hunting in the neighbourhood, admired the rich meadows, and the picturesque old house by the broad river bank; and, learning on enquiry that it had been very lately his own, observed that he never would again sell what he had never seen. On the death of the new purchaser, in 1780, Monkton passed to his brother and heir-at-law, John Shering of Nottingham, Esq., who devised the same in January 1800 to John Keddle, then of Fordington, afterwards of Hatchlands in Netherbury, Dorset, Esq. On the death of John Keddle, in 1844, it passed to his eldest surviving brother and heir-at-law, Samuel Shering Keddle of the Elms, Beaminster, Dorset, M.D., the present owner.¹

(To be continued.)

¹ Hanging here, time out of mind, are portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and Earl Darnley. They seem to be copies, and as works of art are insignificant. But, considering the connection of the Seymours and Thynnes with Queen Elizabeth, it is not improbable that the originals were once here, and that these copies were substituted for them in the Duke of Kingston's time. Both are in their ordinary attire, not in state costume. The expression of Mary's face is very pensive, as well it might be during her life with Darnley. The beauty is touching, rather than striking.

Bradford-on-Avon.

(Continued from p. 255.)

THE PAROCHIAL CHARITIES.

THE OLD ALMSHOUSE.

THIS is the oldest of the Charitable Institutions connected with Bradford-on-Avon. No exact account can be given, it is believed, either of its foundation or its endowment. According to the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' (vol i. p. 276) the Rectory of Bradford was chargeable with £3 6s. 8d. per annum for the support of "twelve poor persons at Bradford, there praying for the Founder of the Monastery"¹ at Shaftesbury. This sum would be equal to at least *ten times* as much in the present day. It is not unlikely that at the Reformation out of the proceeds of the Manor of Bradford, which, as being the property of the dissolved Monastery at Shaftesbury, then lapsed to the Crown, some provision was made for the maintenance of a few of those poor persons who had before, from a similar source, derived their support.

These almshouses are now occupied exclusively by poor *women*. This was by no means the case originally. Many entries may be seen in the Burial Register which prove that poor *men* also shared originally in their benefits.² Moreover there are now but *three* recipients of this charity. Originally without doubt, there must have been more;—indeed as lately as 1786, as appears from a re-

¹ The entry is as follows,—“In elimosina per sustentacionem xii pauperum apud Bradeford ibidem orantium pro fundatore monasterii.”

² The following extracts from the Register prove the truth of this statement. It will be observed that the first is of a very early date, no *long* time after the Reformation :—

1587 Septemb. John Brencke, of the almshouse, buried the 3 day.

1611 Octob. George Blecke of the almshouse, buried the 12 day.

1613 Novemb. John Hurle of the almshouse, Porter, buried the 26 day.

1693 Decemb. Robert Gear of the almshouse, buried the 10 day.

turn made to the House of Commons in that year, there would seem to have been *four* alms-women.

When the Charity Commissioners visited Bradford, in 1834, they enquired into the truth of some traditions that then prevailed, (as they do to the present day) not only as to the much larger number who formerly received relief from this source, but as to there being a chapel, and a chaplain attached to it, who received £10 as a yearly stipend. They state, as the result of their enquiries, that though they could obtain no satisfactory oral or documentary evidence in proof of the truth of such traditions, yet that there was every reason to believe "that a bell had been taken from what is described as the chapel, and carried to Winsley Church, where it is supposed yet to remain." They also give it as their opinion that some loads of stone were taken from the Alms-house premises, about the year 1794, for the purpose of mending the roads, such a statement having been expressly made to them by "one George Price, who drove the team on the occasion."

Though there might be the absence of *clear evidence* on the subject, there is every probability that there is more truth in the traditions of the old people of Bradford than the Charity Commissioners seemed willing to allow. The fact of there being at the time of the Reformation two Chantry Priests attached to the parish church, each with a stipend of £10 yearly, may give *some little* explanation of part of the tradition, though a mistake may have been made as to the precise 'chaplain,' who received it. Moreover that there was a chapel is quite clear. Aubrey who wrote *two hundred* years ago expressly mentions it. It is spoken of also in the Terrier, which contains an account of the property of the Alms-house at the beginning of the last century. In a map moreover of Wiltshire, published in 1773 by Messrs. Andrews and Dury, a spot is distinctly marked as,—"*The Chapel.*"

The only document relating to the original property of the Alms-house is an ancient parchment writing or terrier, which was produced, by the then Steward of the Lord of the Manor, before the Charity Commissioners, in 1834. They give in their report a complete copy of this document. It is entitled,—"*An account*

taken the 2nd day of June, 1702, of all the lands belonging to the old Alms-house, situate in the Parish of Bradford, in the county of Wilts." The land belonging to the Alms-house is described as *twelve acres and a half*, lying dispersedly in different parts of the Parish. The rent arising therefrom, together with an annual payment of 38s. due from the Lord of the Manor, constituted the income of the Charity.

The Charity Commissioners were further informed that there was in existence a lease, by which, about the year 1760, Mr. Powlett Wright, as Lord of the Manor of Bradford, demised the lands above described for the benefit of the Alms-house. The lands were also said to be let at rack-rent, producing either £8, or (as was thought more probable) £12 a year.

With reference to the buildings the Charity Commissioners say,—

"The almshouses occupy a triangle, standing between two roads and the canal from Bradford to Bath. They consist of three tenements, of one floor each, and are all under one roof; they are low in the walls, and altogether in bad condition. Each of the three almshouses occupy one tenement."

The road, in fact, which was made at the time of the formation of the Kennet and Avon Canal at a considerable higher level than the former one, reaches on the east side of the buildings, above the level of the original window-sills. This necessarily makes all the tenements extremely damp. It is to be regretted that as the Kennet and Avon Canal Company, in making their approaches, so seriously impaired the Alms-houses as places of residence, the more so, as a wall is built within a few yards of their entrances, they were not required by the erection of other cottages to secure to the poor alms-women the comforts they had previously enjoyed.

With regard to the portion of Alms-house property occupied by the Kennet and Avon Canal Company, to which we have just made a passing reference, the Commissioners say;—

"The Canal Company by a clause in their Act of Parliament (34 Geo. III.) were together with the parties interested, authorized to sell and fix the rent of the land acquired by the Act. In this case an annual rent was fixed for so much of the almshouse property as was required, and a deed was prepared stating the nature of the agreements between the Canal Company and the Charity. This deed, Mr. Clutterbuck, then Steward of the Lord of the Manor, never

executed. It sets forth, that in consideration of the annual rent of £11, the alms-house conveyed to the Canal Company land (therein described) to the extent of nearly *three acres*. This agreement is executed by the Commissioners under the Act, and the rent has ever since been regularly paid."

In the year 1834, P. Methuen, Esq. (soon afterwards created Lord Methuen) then Lord of the Manor, is stated to have agreed to grant a lease of the garden opposite to them, and hitherto forming part of their property, to a Gas Company, at the yearly rent of £10. This lease, however, the Charity Commissioners tell us, was never executed. They say,—writing at the time of the negotiation,—

"The Company purposes, instead of paying the rent of £10, to erect houses of a superior order for the alms-women on that part of the premises let to them, which is not occupied by their own buildings. This proposal it is intended to accept, as the site of the present alms-houses, from its nearness to the canal, *will let well for stables*, and the arrangement will prove very beneficial to the Charity."

Like many other *good intentions*, this one was never carried into effect. The annual rent of £10 has been paid regularly by the Gas Company.

In comparing the present possessions of the Alms-house with those recorded as belonging to it in 1702, it appears that a large proportion of the land has since then been lost. In a pamphlet recently published, on "The Charities of Bradford-on-Avon," an attempt has been made, and not, it is hoped, unsuccessfully, to identify the various portions of land which belonged to the Alms-house at the commencement of the last century, but which have since that time passed into other hands.

The present income of this Charity is rather more than £45 per annum. Till recently, in consequence of reduction of rent for premises held under the Alms-house, the income was about £10 more.

In 1786, according to a return furnished pursuant to Act of Parliament (26 GEORGE III. c. 51) by the then Churchwardens, Messrs. Thomas Bush and Richard Taylor, the property is said to have been vested in the Lord of the Manor, and to consist of a net sum of £16 1s. 4d., issuing from rent of land. This return con-

firms the truth of an opinion expressed by the Charity Commissioners, in 1834, with regard to the comparatively recent loss of land once belonging to the Alms-house.

For some years past there have been but *three* poor women in the Alms-house. Their allowance is *four* shillings weekly.

With regard to the management of the Alms-house the Commissioners state, as the result of information given them in 1834,—

“The nomination of the Almshouse has invariably been made by the Steward of the Lord of the Manor, (who is at present Paul Methuen, Esq., of Corsham House,) in behalf of the Lord. The Lord considers that no limitation is imposed on his choice of the Almswomen; but in practice it has always been confined to women of the parish not receiving parish relief. In all other respects it is entirely in the discretion of the Lord of the Manor, or his Steward.”

There seems to be some reason to question the correctness of this last statement. For many years past, at all events since 1821, when Mr. Clutterbuck died, there appear to have been no legal Trustees of the property belonging to this Charity. In a deed dated 1789, to which allusion has been already made, Mr. Clutterbuck is described as ‘*the sole surviving Trustee appointed for the management of the estate belonging to the Alms-house.*’ We have failed to discover any subsequent appointment of Trustees by competent authority.

THE OLD MEN'S ALMS-HOUSES.

These Alms-houses were founded by John Hall Esq., at the commencement of the last century. The date in front of the buildings is A.D. 1700. During his life-time he seems to have himself provided for the inmates, and by his will, dated 10th Sept. 1708, he charged a portion of his estates with the annual payment of £40, for the support of the *four* persons who from time to time, might be appointed to the Alms-houses.

The Charity Commissioners give the following account of the steps taken by the Duke of Kingston, the descendant of the Founder of this Charity, and the inheritor of his estates, to carry into effect his wishes respecting it.

“By a deed, dated 25th July, 1735, in which it is first of all recited that John Hall of Bradford, by his will dated as above, desired certain Trustees therein named, to settle £40 clear of all taxes, to be yearly, for ever, charged upon his

farm called Paxcroft, for the maintenance of *four poor men* in the Alms-house, which he had then lately founded at Bradford, for whom such gowns should be provided as, and as often, as his Trustees should appoint, out of the said yearly sum; and after such gowns provided, and the said Alms-house from time to time repaired, the residue of the said £40 should be equally divided between the four Almsmen, and paid unto them monthly;—it is witnessed, that, Evelyn, Duke of Kingston, conveyed to certain Trustees the capital messuage or mansion house of Paxcroft, and the closes or parcels of land therein particularly described, lying in the parish of Steeple Ashton, to the use, intent, and purpose, that the said Trustees therein named, and their heirs, should for ever pay the annual sum of £40, according to the will of the said John Hall, free of all deductions, to be paid equally at Lady-day and Michaelmas, with power to distrain, in case the rent charge should be in arrear 21 days, and in case of need, of re-entry. The deed further provides that the government, regulation and management of the Alms-house should at all times hereafter be vested in, and the poor men be placed in the Alms-house, from time to time, as any vacancy should happen, by *the owner of the capital Messuage or Mansion House*, late of the said John Hall, in or near Bradford aforesaid, for the time being, for ever. It is provided further, that when the trustees are by death reduced to five, the survivors or majority of them should choose other persons of good repute, residing in the county of Wilts, whereof the *Vicar of Bradford to be always one*, to act along with them in the trusts.

“The property, subject to the rent charge of £40, now belongs to Earl Manvers, and consists of a farm of about 100 acres, a small part of which is in the parish of Steeple Ashton, and the remainder in the parishes of Semington and Hilperton, in the county of Wilts. The £40 has been regularly paid out of the rent for the benefit of the Charity.”

The Alms-houses are in good repair. They consist of four tenements, each containing a room below, and a room above, with a small garden at the back, divided into four plots. There are four poor men in the Alms-houses: each of them receives a weekly allowance: each man also receives a coat every two years, and a pair of shoes yearly.

The right of patronage and nomination of and to the Alms-house, was specially reserved to Lord Manvers when he disposed of the Mansion House, (in 1802,) in the owner whereof, for the time being, the government and management of the Alms-house had been previously vested, in strict accordance with the Founder's will. Since that time, the Alms-men have been usually nominated by the agent of Lord Manvers.

After providing for the repairs of the Alms-house, and clothing, as directed in the deed above stated, the whole of the surplus of the £40 is paid to the Alms-people.

CURLL'S CHARITY.

This Charity was founded by the will of John Curll, Esq., of Turley, who served the office of High Sheriff of Wiltshire, in the year A.D. 1699.

By the will above alluded to, which bears date Dec. 28th, 1703, he desires certain Trustees therein named, to whom he bequeaths for the purpose an estate at Chirton, near Devizes, to permit and suffer the Vicar of the Parish Church of Bradford, for the time being, and the Rector of the Parish Church of Freshford, in the county of Somerset, for the time being, to receive and take the rents, issues, and profits of the said farm, and out of the same yearly and every year, in the Parish Church of Bradford aforesaid, and at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, to pay unto the Minister of Chirton, and his successors for the time being, the yearly sum of *forty shillings* of lawful money of England;—and to pay and distribute the sum of *thirty pounds* to and between one hundred and twenty of such poor persons of the Borough of Bradford, and Tithing of Winsley, Leigh and Woolley, in the Parish of Bradford aforesaid who have, or shall have lived by their honest labour, as the Vicar of Bradford aforesaid, for the time being, shall nominate and appoint, that is to say, *five shillings apiece* to every of the said one hundred and twenty poor persons; and also to pay and distribute the farther sum of *fifteen pounds* to and between thirty of such poor persons of the Parish of Freshford, who have, or shall have, lived by their honest labour, as the Rector of the same Parish shall from time to time nominate and appoint, that is to say, *ten shillings apiece* to every of the said thirty poor persons.

The will farther directs that the Churchwardens and Overseers of Bradford, Winsley, Leigh, Woolley, and Freshford, for the time being, from time to time, take an account thereof, and see the same paid and distributed, and that the said Churchwardens and Overseers be assistants to the said Vicar and Rector.

The overplus of the rents of the farm at Chirton are, according to the will, “from time to time to be and remain to the Vicar of the Parish of Bradford, and the Rector of the Parish of Freshford, for the time being, and their successors, to be equally divided between

them, for the proper use and behoof of the said Vicar and Rector respectively, as an encouragement of their care and pains in their sacred function."

This Charity is regularly distributed every Christmas, in strict conformity with the will of the donor.

THE CHARITY SCHOOL OR FREE SCHOOL.

In a previous page, when giving an account of the Chantries connected with the Parish Church, notice was taken of one which was held on the condition of keeping a *Free School* at Bradford. It was possibly on account of this provision, that, at the time of the Reformation, there was reserved out of the proceeds of the estates at Bradford, which had formed part of the property of the Monastery of Shaftesbury, a sum of £10 12s. 7d. per annum, (equal to at least £100 now,) for the establishment of a School for the education of our youth. This endowment was afterwards transferred to Salisbury, the Burgesses of that City pleading with Queen Elizabeth that Salisbury was a more convenient situation for such a School, than 'the upland Town' of Bradford, with its scanty population, and limited resort of gentlemen and merchants. Of the subsequent fate of this endowment we have already given an account (p. 43). For many years after its withdrawal (A.D. 1559,) we had not, as far as our present information extends, any provision for the education of the young of any class in Bradford.

Early in the eighteenth century, A.D. 1710, the Rev. John Rogers was appointed Vicar of this Parish, and he at once set to work to provide a School for his poorer parishioners. Cox in his 'Magna Britannia,' a work written in the early part of the eighteenth century, says,—“A Charity School was opened at Bradford, Jan. 1712, for sixty-five children, which is much encouraged by the Minister of the town. There is a benefaction given since of *ten pounds*, which is applied to the benefit of the School. There is another School kept at a Chapel of Ease in this Parish, for ten children, and supported by a gift of *ten pounds* per annum, and *twenty shillings* for books, which last was intended to provide for the instruction of all the children within that Tithing; but how it was changed we know not.”

The gifts alluded to in the above extract, are, no doubt, those of *Mr. Francis Smith*, and *Mrs. Jane Brown*, the former of whom provided for the children of the Borough of Bradford, and the latter for those of the Tithing of Atworth.

In the year 1715, a building was assigned over to Trustees for the purposes of a School-house. Of this building we have already given a full and complete account, it having proved to be an ancient Church of Pre-Norman date, and, as such, most interesting to Archæologists. It was conveyed to nine Trustees "for the term of 1000 years, without impeachment of waste, paying a pepper-corn rent, upon trust, that the said Trustees, and the survivors and survivor of them, their executors, administrators, and assigns, should keep and use the aforesaid edifice or building, with the appurtenances, as a *Charity School-house*, during the term aforesaid, and upon trust, that when the major part of the Trustees thereby appointed, or of any other Trustees from time to time to be appointed, should die, the survivors should from time to time assign over the premises to *nine other sufficient persons inhabiting within, or belonging to the Parish of Bradford*, upon the like trusts."

It would appear that the Premises thus conveyed were put into repair, and fitted up as a School-house, by means of subscriptions. On a panel in front of the organ gallery in the Church, the fact is thus stated;—

"The *Charity-school*, with the *Schoolmaster's-house*, were given by Mr. Anthony Methuen, and the fee thereof by the Hon. Lady Paulet, and the Rev. Mr. Wright. To put them in repair, the Rev. Mr. Rogers applied £35, part of £50 given by Edward Dike, Clerk, and about £50 more subscribed by different persons."

The income of this Charity is derived from the following sources;—

I. SMITH'S GIFT.—The account of this gift is recorded on a board formerly in front of the Chancel Gallery, and now removed to the Vestry of the Parish Church. The inscription has been painted over, but is still to be deciphered; it ran as follows;—

"MR. FRANCIS SMITH gave £250, the interest to be paid the Schoolmaster for teaching ten Charity children."

This gift was left by the donor in his will, about the year 1725.

It defined the objects to be—‘*poor children, not receiving alms, and living within the Borough of Bradford,*’ and they were to be taught ‘*reading, writing, and arithmetic.*’

In the year 1727, it was thought desirable, by the then Trustees of the School, to invest this portion of their funds in the purchase of land. They accordingly bought a small estate at Holt, consisting of three closes, containing altogether 9 A. 3 R. 22 P. This estate is still in the possession of the Trustees of this Charity.

The purchase money required for this estate was £288,—£38 more, that is, than the sum bequeathed by Mr. Francis Smith. To make up this sum the Trustees borrowed the amount required, from another Charity founded in the year 1698 by William Yerbury, of Trowbridge, on condition that they should carry out the intentions of the last-named benefactor, “by paying yearly to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the Parish of Bradford, the sum of *thirty-eight shillings* yearly, to be distributed by them in Bread, pursuant to the will of the said William Yerbury.”

II. £100 stock. This sum was originally part of the produce of timber in the Holt estate which was cut down about twenty-five years ago.

III. WADMAN’S GIFT. From a board relating to bequests to the Charity School, now painted over, may be easily deciphered the following inscription :—

“Mr. Edward Wadman, of Wingfield, gave Two Hundred Pounds.”

With respect to this gift, the Charity Commissioners say :—

“From two statements relating to the Charity, both of them in the handwriting of the Rev. John Rogers, then Vicar of Bradford, one of them bearing date 1743-4, it appears that Mr. Wadman, of Wingfield, intended to make a gift of £200 to the School, but having omitted to mention the same in his will, his executors were so satisfied of such being the testator’s intention, that though they would not pay the £200, they offered, on being paid £100, to give the testator’s living at Trowle, and valued at £300, as an equivalent.

“Several of the circumstances mentioned with regard to the gifts to the School, in Mr. Rogers’s memoranda, do not correspond with the facts set forth in the deeds hereinbefore mentioned, but enough appears in them to show that the living at Trowle did actually come into possession of the Charity, and that the rents and profits of it were for a number of years disposed of by Mr. Rogers himself, as Vicar of Bradford,—partly for *the benefit of the Schoolmaster,*—partly to *the Overseers of the Poor,*—and partly distributed to *the poor themselves in bread.*

"The Charity, many years ago, lost the living or estate of Trowle, but whether the lives were suffered to die out, or the owner of the fee refused to renew them, are points on which we could procure no information; all we could learn was, that it had ceased to belong to the Charity prior to 1786."

IV. £226 8s. 1d. Stock. No one is able to explain how this principal sum arose. The supposition is, that in some way or other it was the consideration paid for the interest of the Trustees in the Trowle estate.

V. STRAWBRIDGE'S GIFT.—John Strawbridge, of Bradford, by his will dated 12 March 1805, gave to the Trustees of this School the sum of £400 Three per Cent Consols, to be transferred to them immediately after his decease, in trust that they, and the survivors of them, and the Trustees or Feoffees for the time being, should receive the interest and dividends arising therefrom, and pay the same for ever for the benefit of the same School, in such manner as the rents and profits of the estates belonging to the same School are applied.

There are *thirty-two* free Scholars, each of whom is nominated by one or other of the Trustees, as vacancies occur. The Schoolmaster is permitted to take *eighteen* other scholars who pay him for their tuition.

FERRETT'S BOOK CHARITY.

In the year, 1747, John Ferrett, Esq. of London, a native of this Town, gave to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which he was a member, £50, on condition that bibles, common prayer books, and other religious books and tracts, to the value of 50s. should be annually supplied by the Society to the resident minister of the Church at Bradford, to be by him distributed on or about the festival of the Nativity, and on condition that the Society supplied such books on the same terms they supplied their own members, free of all expense whatsoever to the Parish.

About 1821, the Society being found in arrear to the Parish, it was agreed that the value of such arrear should go in augmentation of the original fund given by Mr. Ferrett. Since that period, books to the value of £4 10s. have been annually sent by the Society to the Minister of Bradford for distribution amongst the poor, in accordance with the wishes of the Donor.

FERRETT'S BREAD CHARITY.

John Ferrett, Esq., by will, gave to his nephew, Richard Wiltshire, and the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish of Bradford, £250, Three per cent. Old South Sea Annuities, in trust, to apply the dividends for purchasing for *twenty poor men and women* of the town of Bradford only, who do not receive alms of the Parish, of sober and religious lives and conversation, and who constantly attend Divine Service in the Parish Church, when able, *one sixpenny loaf each*, to be delivered to them the first Sunday in the month, and at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, each year, immediately after Morning Service.

THRESHER'S CHARITY.

This Charity was founded by the will of Edward Thresher, bearing date 23rd May, 1721. The following extract explains the intentions of the donor:—

“I give and bequeath the sum of £100 to be distributed amongst the poor and impotent people of the Borough of Bradford, and Tithing of Winsley, which said sum I do hereby order, direct, and appoint to be paid by my executor hereinafter named, to *the Vicar of Bradford for the time being*, within one month after my decease, to be by him, with the direction of my executor, disposed of to such and such number of poor and impotent people within the Borough and Tything aforesaid, and in such manner as to them shall seem most meet and convenient; provided, nevertheless, and so as the same, or any part thereof, be not disposed of to such person or persons as usually and commonly receive the public alms of the Parish.”

Edward Thresher died on the 17th August, 1725. The Vicar for the time being, the Rev. John Rogers, received the above sum of £100, and during his life-time gave away the interest thereof in *Bread* yearly: at his decease, his son, the Rev. J. Rogers, did the same until his own decease, when the Charity was for a time discontinued. In the year 1778, his executors paid over £100 to Mr. Daniel Clutterbuck, adding £9 for three years' Interest. In the year 1779, Mr. Clutterbuck purchased £200 Three per cent. Consols, in the names of Messrs. Richard Attwood and Thomas Bush. From an inscription on a Board in front of the Organ

Gallery, it appears that these gentlemen were accustomed "to divide the dividends yearly at Christmas in *crowns* and *half-crowns* among the poor of the Parish."

After the decease of the two last mentioned Trustees it seems to have been distributed for a time by their respective widows. For a few years, a part only of the funds was given away. Successive investments of undistributed dividends raised the whole amount, in 1837, belonging to this Charity, to £300 Stock.

There does not appear to have been any regular distribution of the dividends after this time, inasmuch as there was, in September 1841, in the hands of Messrs. Hobhouse and Co., at the time of their bankruptcy, a sum of no less than £48 11s. 1d. standing to the credit of this Charity.

In the year 1847, a petition was filed in Chancery, for the purpose of obtaining an order to appoint new Trustees, and of providing for the future distribution of the Funds. By the decree of the Court of Chancery four Trustees were nominated, and the Vicar and Churchwardens of Bradford, together with the Incumbent of Winsley, for the time being, were appointed *Co-distributors* of the Fund.

For more than *nine* years no steps, beyond transferring the Funds of this Charity into the names of the newly-appointed Trustees, were taken in respect of this order of the Court of Chancery. This delay rendered it expedient to lay the matter before the Charity Commissioners, who, ultimately, judged it necessary *again* to bring the matter before the Court of Chancery. They obtained, from the Master of the Rolls, a decree appointing the Vicar and Churchwardens of Bradford and the Incumbent of Winsley, for the time being, *Trustees* of the Charity, in addition to and conjunction with those of the Trustees, appointed in 1847, who survived; and ordering the funds of the Charity to be transferred to the "Official Trustee of Charitable Funds." The dividends from time to time were directed to be distributed "in clothing or blankets, and in bread and coals, or in any one or more of such modes, amongst such of the most deserving poor of Bradford and Winsley,

as shall not, for twelve months previously to such distribution, have been in the receipt of Parochial Relief."

CAM'S CHARITY.

This Charity was founded by the will of Samuel Cam, Esq., bearing date June 29th, 1792. He left £100, the interest of which he directed to be distributed annually in *Bread*, amongst the poor persons of the Parish of Bradford who are not in the receipt of Parochial Relief.

As there was but one surviving Trustee of this Charity, an application was made, under the direction of the Charity Commissioners, in March 1858, to the County Court of Wiltshire, held at Bradford, for the appointment of new Trustees, and the general arrangement of matters relating to it; the practice, for many years previously, having been to distribute it in *money* and not in *bread*. The result of this application was the appointment of the Vicar and Churchwardens of Bradford, for the time being, as Trustees of the Fund jointly with the surviving Trustee, and the transfer of the principal sum belonging to this Charity to the "Official Trustee of Charitable Funds."

TUGWELL'S CHARITY.

By a codicil to her will, dated July 12th, 1799, Mrs. Elizabeth Tugwell left £100 the interest of which she directed to be divided among *Forty* old and infirm persons, of the Parish of Bradford, on *the fifteenth day of January* in each and every year.

In the year 1833, the Stock, in compliance with the directions of the Donor, was transferred into the names of the then Churchwardens of the Parish of Bradford, by whom, and their successors in office, the dividends have always been regularly distributed.

STRAWBRIDGE'S CHARITY.

The subjoined extract, from the will of Mr. John Strawbridge, (dated March 12, 1805,) explains the purposes of this Charity:—

"I give to Mawbey Tugwell, and John Renison, the present Churchwardens of the Parish of Bradford, or their successors for the time being, the sum of £400 capital Stock, in the three per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities, part of

my Stock in the same Fund, and to be transferred to them immediately after my decease, in trust, that they and their successors for the time being, do and shall receive the interest, dividends, or produce arising therefrom, and pay the same yearly for ever, to such poor persons of the said Parish of Bradford, *as do not receive alms of the Parish*, and to be paid and distributed by them either in *Crowns or half crowns*, as they shall think proper, and to be paid at the same time as the crowns given by the late Mr. Curll are paid and distributed."

In the year 1847, an application was made, on the part of the Churchwardens of Bradford, to the Court of Chancery, for the purpose of obtaining an order requiring the surviving Trustee of this Charity,—(to whom the funds had been transferred, as one of the Churchwardens for the time being),—to transfer the same to those who had become his successors in that office, in accordance, as they deemed, with the intentions of the Donor, as expressed in his will. The petitioners further prayed, that, in the event of the Court not being willing to order such a transfer of the Funds to the Churchwardens for the time being, the whole Fund might be transferred to the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery.

The Court of Chancery, by order, dated May 7, 1847, accepted the latter alternative of the petition: the surviving Trustee was ordered to pay over the fund to the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, and the said Accountant-General was directed to pay the dividends from time to time to the Churchwardens of Bradford.

The dividends are regularly distributed by the Churchwardens, as directed by the will of the Donor.

LOST CHARITIES.

Of some of these we have already spoken. The following inscriptions from boards, now painted over, but which can be read without any great difficulty, refer to others of which we can now give no satisfactory account:—

"Mr. Richard Bissy gave £50, to bind out a poor child apprentice yearly."

"Mr. Nathaniel Wilkinson gave £10, (?) the interest for Bread yearly to the poor of Lye and Woolley."

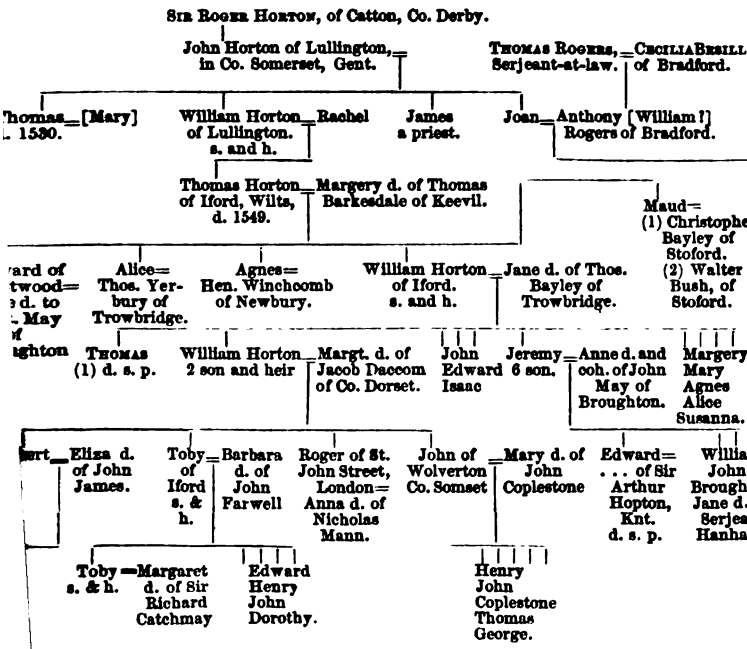
"Mr. Nathaniel Houlton, of London, gave £50."

"Mr. William Yerbury gave £100, for the distributing of Five Pounds in Bread, on five Fridays in Lent."

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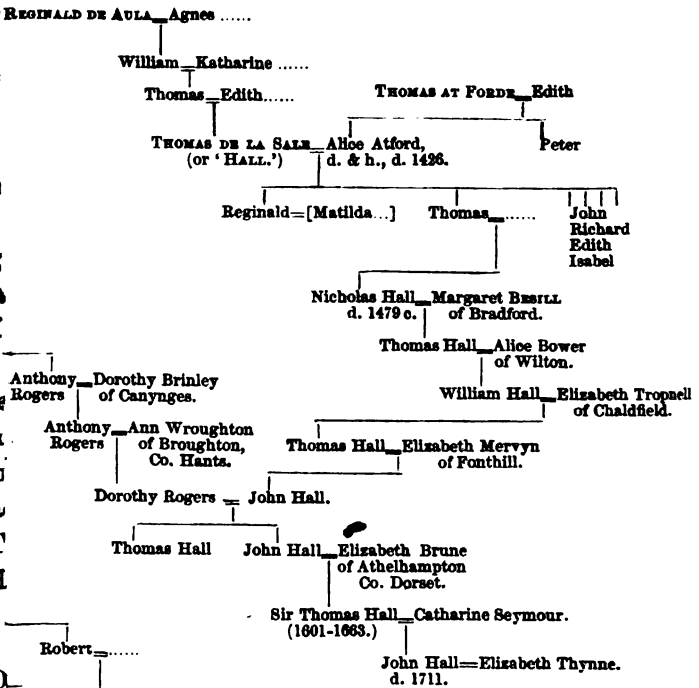


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There is also mention in the Parliamentary Returns, of 1786, of a Charity, which however, even then, was lost, said to have been given by an unknown person, "for clothing one, two, or more poor persons, not receiving alms."

OLD FAMILIES AND WORTHIES.

The history of our Town, which has been set before our readers, will have prepared them not to look, as a matter of course, for a long calendar of eminent men, amongst its natives or inhabitants. Such characters are only called forth by great and stirring events, and of these Bradford-on-Avon has seldom been the scene. Shut in by its hills and woods, its townsmen have lived, secluded, as it were, and apart from their neighbours, pursuing their peaceful occupations of industry, and caring little for the din and tumult that now and then might have been heard close to their borders. That spirit of calm peacefulness which brooded over the Abbess and her household at Shaftesbury, seems to have extended its influence, in a measure, to the Manor over which she ruled as Lady Paramount, and we seldom hear in Bradford-on-Avon of any contests or commotions, save such as testify at the same time to the earnestness with which its denizens applied themselves to those mercantile pursuits, on which especially the wealth of our country has been founded.

And yet we are able to commence our list of Worthies resident at one time or other in our Town or its immediate neighbourhood, for to such only does this notice refer, from a very early period. Of most of those who lived in remote times, we know, of course, little more than their names, or have perchance a general idea of the lands that belonged to them. It is something however to commence an authentic history,—our acquaintance with somewhat of the private life of men who lived and died in Bradford-on-Avon,—from a period when William de Longespée, Earl of Sarum, the Fair Rosamond's son, was yet living, and when Richard Poore, the founder of our glorious Cathedral, held the see of Sarum. Reginald de Aulá, the head at that time of a family that for more than

five centuries were persons of property and station in this town, may well have been living at the time of King John's visit in 1216; and facts already alluded to (p. 31) certainly imply, that for some years previously to A.D. 1251, about which time he seems to have died, his family were people of consequence here. Indeed his son, William de Aulâ,—a minor at the time of his father's decease,—held in 1295 (23 Edward I.) the high office of Coroner,—he is termed in a deed of that date '*Coronator Domini Regis*,'¹—a post which implied in the holder not only wealth but worldly station.

It will be understood that our notice of 'Worthies' extends only to those who have been actually *resident* here, or have been intimately connected with our town. Neither does our plan include those who may still remain to us; our business, as Archæologists, is not with the living, but with the dead; otherwise we might dwell proudly on the successful course of that distinguished native of Bradford-on-Avon, Her Majesty's late Attorney-General, Sir Richard Bethel, in whose high position his fellow-townsmen recognize, no less the acknowledgment of eminent talents, than the reward of untiring perseverance. Were we, indeed, to diverge into such an extensive plan and give an account of all those of note or importance who have held possessions here, or of those who, from the marriage of some Bradford heiress, have gained no insignificant addition to the wealth, perhaps the dignity, of their family, we might give as long and proud a list as any of our neighbours. No doubt, in early times, the Crown itself retained in its own hands some of the property here, as the names of '*King's field*,' and '*Reve-land*,' (both so often met with in old deeds, and the former still remaining,) seem to imply: in fact '*Reve-land*' was a common term for land held in virtue of the office of '*Reeve*'² or Bailiff, under the

¹ On the dignity and authority of the '*Coroner*' in ancient times, see '*Coke upon Littleton*' ii. 31. By the old law he was required to be "*a knight, honest, loyall, and sage.*" The fact of William de Aulâ having held this high office was not known to me at the time when the section of this paper on the Parish Church was passing through the press, or I should certainly have inclined to the conjecture that the recessed tomb on the South side of the Chancel was his. (See above p. 215.)

² From an examination of old deeds, a tolerable conjecture may be formed that the building described as '*The Catch*' (p. 49 n.) was adjoining the land

King. To the royal possessions here we may have owed the honor of King John's visit in 1216, for, with few exceptions, that King, in his progresses, always stopped at places where he had an interest, as either a castle, a royal manor, or some religious house, in order that he might consume the provisions due to him, in lieu of rent.¹ And many noble families have been connected, directly or indirectly, with Bradford-on-Avon. Amongst our Lords of the Manor, we can reckon an "Earl of Wiltshire," whose devotion to the cause of his King and master, Charles I., in his gallant defence of Basing House against the Parliamentary forces, is matter of history, and forms "one of the most eventful episodes of the Civil War."² The noble families of 'Shaftesbury'³ and 'Leicester'⁴ have both of them in times gone by been associated with our town; the former, as a descendant of a daughter of John Basset, a name most frequent in deeds of the latter part of the *thirteenth* century; the latter, as a landowner by special grant from Queen Elizabeth. The second Duke of Kingston filled, for some little time, a very prominent position in our town, and was the representative, through a female branch, as his descendant Lord Manvers is, at the present time, of the 'Hall' family. The titles of Methuen and Broughton, successively connected with the Lordship of the

called '*Reve-land*.' If so, it lends colour to an ingenious supposition kindly forwarded to me by a "Reader of the Magazine in Yorkshire," that "the premises called '*the Catch*' may have been so designated from having been used as the '*Cagia*,' i.e. the cage, or lock-up; or as the residence of the '*Cachepolus*,' Bailiff, or '*Catchpole*' of the place."

¹ *Archæologia* xxii. 125.

² *Wiltshire Magazine* iv. 22.

³ In Hutchins' *Dorset* ii. 216, we have the following, as the beginning of Lord Shaftesbury's pedigree.

Benedict Ashley of Ashley Place, Co. Wilts,=
lived temp. Hen. II., III., and Edw. I.

Henry Ashley s. and h. Edw. I. and II.

John Ashley of New=.....daughter of John Basset
Sarum. Edw. III. of Bradford.

John Ashley=Edith d. and h. of John
s. and h. Talbot of Trowbridge.
Rich. III.

⁴ Queen Elizabeth (19 July 1574) granted by Letters Patent to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, certain messuages and lands at Lye, part of the Manor of Bradford:—on these lands stands Mr. Bradney's house.

Manor, are those which seem more especially to belong to us. Regarding the latter as the representative of the 'Cam' family, one of the co-heiresses of which married the late Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, Bart., we have, in the two noble lords who bear these titles, the memorial, to us at least, of that untiring energy and brave spirit of commercial enterprise which raised our town to such a height of prosperity during the eighteenth century.

We proceed to give a few details of some of the principal families that from time to time have lived in Bradford-on-Avon. With reference to one of them, viz., the 'Horton family,' we have in previous pages already more than once given information, and this it is not worth while to repeat. They belonged to other parishes no less than to our own, and a full account of them is furnished in the paper on Broughton Gifford, in the present number of this Magazine (pp. 312-324). We propose to add to our sketch of Bradford families, an account of one or two 'Worthies,' whose names would not otherwise occur.

THE "HALL" FAMILY.

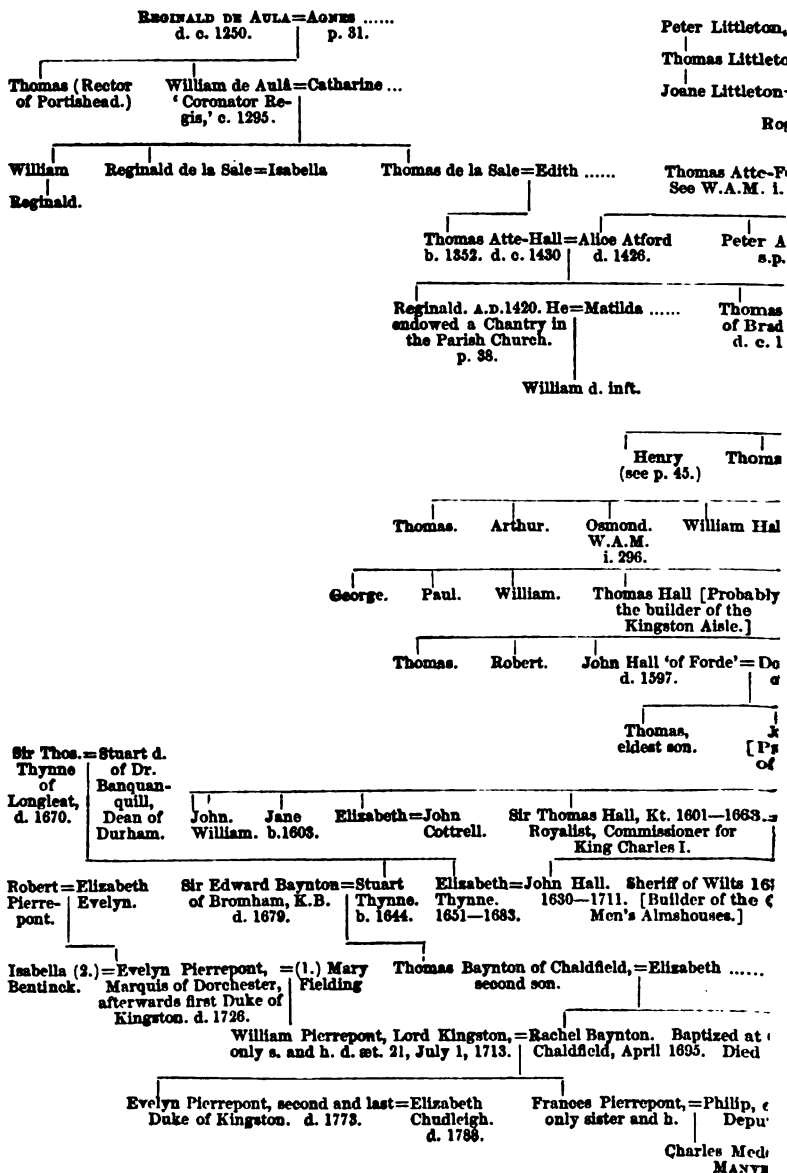
This is the oldest family connected with Bradford-on-Avon of which we have anything like a detailed account. Allusion has been already frequently made to various members of it, and, in an early number of this Magazine, in a paper by Canon Jackson, on 'Kingston House,' a mansion built most probably by John Hall, the head of the family at the commencement of the eighteenth century, much information is supplied on this subject. All that we need attempt, therefore, is a brief summary of their history, adding what supplemental matter we have been able to glean from subsequent research.

The earliest deed that has yet been met with, relating to the 'Hall' family, is one which bears date in the reign of Henry III. (see p. 31). Its contents imply, that, for some time previously to that period, the family had belonged to the class of wealthy gentry.

The Herald's Visitations carry back the pedigree only to Thomas "Halle" or De la Sale" who lived at the close of the fourteenth century. More than a hundred years, however, before

PEDIGREE OF H.

Arms.—*Sable, three poleaxes argent.*
 Crest.—*An Arm embowed in armour proper, garnished*



that time, the Abbess of Shaftesbury, as Lady of the Manor, had exacted her rights of wardship and marriage from the representatives of Reginald de Aulâ. 'Thomas,' the first-named in the ordinary pedigrees, was the great-grandson of 'Reginald,' and married, about the year 1390, Alice, daughter and, by the death of her brother Peter, sole heir of 'Thomas Atte-Forde,' (afterwards written 'Atford') from whom, no doubt, he obtained the property which is still called *Ford Farm*, and which evidently furnished a surname to its previous owner. The same Alice was also, through her mother, the ultimate heiress of Nicholas Langridge, described as of 'Bradford.' If a conjecture may be formed from the pedigree, especially the account given of it in one of the Harleian manuscripts,¹ in which we have the various family connexions related narratively, it would seem that some share of the property originally belonging to Peter Lyttleton (described as living "next Blandford," and whose date must be certainly before the commencement of the thirteenth century,) must have come to Alice Atford, and augmented the goodly portion which she brought to the 'Hall' family.

There is still to be seen, carved in oak, over the chimney piece of a panelled room at Kingston House, a shield bearing several quarterings which seem to record the various early alliances made by members of the Hall family. An engraving of this shield has been given in our Magazine (i. 268.) Amongst the quarterings to which without difficulty a name can be assigned are those of 'Atford' and 'Besil.' Of two, however,—the one, '*A bend between three leopards' (or lions) heads erased,*' the other, '*An eagle sable, preying on a fish azure,*'—it is not easy to give an accurate account. Much of very early heraldry is traditional, and though, in books of authority, we find no such coats given to the names of 'Langridge' or 'Lyttleton,' it is not impossible that these may have originally belonged to

¹ In the Harl. MS. No. 888 we have this account of the earliest alliances of the Hall family.—"Thomas Halle, of Bradeford in the County of Wiltes, Esquire, married Alice, sister and heire of Peter Atford, and heire to Thomas at Forde, next Bradeford, and of Edith his wyfe, daughter and heire of Roger and Ales his wyfe, daughter of Nicholas Langridge, of Blandford, which Roger, was son to Roger and Joan his wyfe, daughter to Thomas Lyttleton, next Blandford, sonne and heire of Peter Lyttleton."

them. This however is simple conjecture, for as the shield contains the coat of Besill, it may also include that of the mother of Nicholas Hall who married Margaret Besill, of whose name and family as yet we are ignorant.

Alice Hall survived her husband and died in the year 1426. By the failure of issue to her eldest son Reginald, who, as we have seen (p. 38), endowed a "chaplain to serve at the altar at St. Nicholas" in the Parish Church, the representation of the family devolved on her second son Thomas, who was thirty years old at the time of his mother's decease. Nicholas, the son of the last-named Thomas Hall, further increased the wealth of the family by marrying Margaret one of the daughters and co-heiresses of William Besill of Bradford; the other co-heiress, Cecilia, marrying Anthony Rogers, the founder of another family in this town, of which we shall presently give an account. Three generations pass away, during which alliances were made with the families of Bower of Wilton,—Tropnell of Chaldfield,—and Mervyn of Fonthill,—and we find the representative of the family, John Hall, described as 'of Forde,' marrying, about the middle of the sixteenth century, Dorothy only daughter and heiress of Anthony Rogers, the last male representative of the elder branch of that family in Bradford-on-Avon, and thus acquiring the other moiety of the Besill estate, together with her own patrimony, part of which seems to have lain at Holt.

One of the members of this family, to which a passing reference has just been made, Thomas Hall, who married Alice Bower, seems to have got himself into trouble on one occasion, by something like what is now called "contempt of Court." Summoned before the King's Justices with reference to a debt of £100 owing to Sir John Turberville, Kt. he did not make his appearance: the penalty of 'outlawry' soon followed. He subsequently surrendered himself to justice, and for a time was an inmate of the Fleet prison. Amongst the deeds and other documents found at Kingston House a few years ago, during the progress of repairs, was one, dated 18 Henry VII., which contains a "Royal Pardon and Revocation of Outlawry for Thomas Hall, lately of Bradford, Co. Wilts, Gentle-

man, now in the Fleet Prison." It does not appear from the document that the debt was paid at the time of his release from durance vile; the condition of his liberation being that he should appear in Court "if the said John [Turberville] should desire to *speak with him touching the debt* above mentioned."

Of the others just alluded to, either 'William Hall,' who married Elizabeth Tropsnell, of Chaldfield, or 'Thomas Hall,' who married Eliza Mervyn, of Fonthill, was probably the builder of the Chantry Chapel, of which, in our account of the Parish Church, we have already taken notice, and which, now for many years, has been usually termed,—“The Kingston Aisle.”

The second son of the John Hall that married Dorothy Rogers, bore the same christian name as his father, and succeeded, by the decease, it is presumed, of his elder brother Thomas, at the close of the sixteenth century to the representation of the family. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Brune of Athelhampton, Co. Dorset, and was probably the builder of the large and beautiful mansion,—described, by Aubrey, as “the best built house for the quality of a gentleman in Wilts,”—which, since the days of Evelyn Pierrepont, has commonly been termed the “Duke’s House” or “Kingston House.” An older house probably stood previously on much the same site, which Leland mentions as having seen when he visited Bradford (c. 1540) and describes as “a pratie stone house at the este ende of the toune on the right bank of Avon.” A full account of the present house has been given in the pages of this Magazine (vol. i. pp. 265, &c.) and many of its details have been described and illustrated by Mr. C. J. Richardson in his “Observations on the Architecture of England during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I.” and by Mr. G. Vivian in a volume of “Illustrations of Claverton and the Duke’s House.” Within the last few years the house, having fallen into a sadly dilapidated condition, has been, to a great extent, rebuilt by the present proprietor, Mr. Moulton, with so faithful an adherence to its original plan, as enables us, whilst we acknowledge the sound judgment and correct taste of its restorer, to appreciate fully the intentions of its first designer.

SIR THOMAS HALL, Knt. son of the last-named John Hall, married Catharine daughter of Sir Edward Seymour, Bart., great-grandson of the Protector Somerset. Faithful to the cause of his King and master Charles I., Sir Thomas was, with many other Wiltshire gentlemen, compelled when the Parliament triumphed to compound for his estates, and was, in 1649, fined £660.¹ (See p. 47). He lived to see the ultimate success of the cause for which he suffered. The old Royalist died in 1663, at the advanced age of *eighty-one* years.

His son,—JOHN HALL,—the last male representative of his family, was an active magistrate in this town and neighbourhood. His name, together with that of his brother-in-law Thomas Thynne,—called, from his presumed wealth, “Tom of Ten Thousand,”—occurs very frequently in legal and other documents of his period. His wife was Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, the ancestor of the noble family of ‘Bath.’ He seems to have added largely to his patrimony by the purchase of other estates. From Sir Edward Hungerford, of Farleigh Castle, he bought, in 1665, the Storridge Pastures, part of the Brooke House estate, near Westbury; and from Sir John Hanham (who had become possessed of it in right of his wife, a daughter of Sir William Eyre) he purchased the Manor and Advowson of Great Chaldfield. He seems to have exercised the right of presentation to the last named living in 1678,—1689,—and 1707.

Towards the close of his life, John Hall built the Alms-houses for four old men, of which we have spoken in an account of the ‘Charities of Bradford-on-Avon.’ In front of them, cut in stone, are still to be seen the arms and crest of ‘Hall.’ Underneath the shield is the date ‘A.D. 1700’ and the inscription ‘*Deo et pauperibus.*’

He was the last of his family, and died in 1711. According to some authorities, he left one daughter, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Thomas Baynton, Esq., of Chaldfield. The issue of that marriage, Rachel, was the inheritor of John Hall’s large estates. Walker, in his history of Great Chaldfield, gives, on the authority

¹ Wilts Archaeological Magazine, iv. 150.

of an old manuscript, a somewhat different account, and represents 'Rachel Baynton' as having a yet stronger claim to be the inheritor of the 'Hall' property.¹ A very careful search amongst all documents, to which access could be gained, likely to throw any light on the matter, has discovered no entry that accounts for a daughter, Elizabeth, born to John Hall, or for the marriage of Thomas Baynton with such daughter. Even on the presumption that John Hall died without issue at all, Rachel, baptized at Chaldfield in April 1695 as "the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Baynton," would have some claims upon him, no less than 'William Pearce,' whom, in default of her having male issue, he appointed to be the next inheritor. 'Rachel Baynton' was, in fact, through his wife, his *great-niece*;—'William Pearce' was, through his sister, his *great-nephew*. Supposing there were no nearer relationship, there was nothing improbable, or, we may add, unjust, in John Hall's thus leaving his large estates to Rachel Baynton.

The young and rich heiress married William Pierrepont, Esq.,² who bore the courtesy title of Lord Kingston, only son

¹ The following extract is said to be taken from a MS. in the possession (in 1837) of Mr. Waldron of Lipiat, and which was itself extracted from an old vellum MS. which is now lost, but was at Monks in the year 1744.—"Sir William Eyre of Chaldfield had two sons, Robert and Henry. To Robert he gave Little Chaldfield, lately sold to Mr. Baynton, who left it to his youngest son, Thomas Baynton; and Mr. Thomas Baynton's wife had a daughter by Mr. Hall: he gave her all his estate; and this lady married the Marquis of Dorchester, and was mother to the last Duke of Kingston."—References confirmatory of the same fact are given, in a note to Walker's Chaldfield (p. 8.), to DUGDALE'S *English Peerage* Vol. ii. p.p. 18, 19, and BURKE'S *Extinct and Dormant Peerage*, p. 420.

² A special Act of Parliament was obtained for the purpose of settling John Hall's estates on William Pierrepont and Rachel Baynton on their marriage. In the Act, to the original of which, in its engrossed form, in the Library of the House of Lords reference has been made, there is *no mention of any relationship between John Hall and Rachel Baynton*. The Act was obtained with difficulty in consequence of much opposition to it; and matters were the more complicated by the death of John Hall during its progress through the Commons. A petition was presented by William Coward, Esq., who, in default of *legitimate* issue was the next of kin to John Hall, setting forth that "the Bill, in case it should pass, would *greatly prejudice the Petitioner* and praying to be heard by counsel against it." The Bill however passed with several amendments, and received the Royal assent 16th May, 1711. A rider was added to the Bill to the follow-

and heir of Evelyn Pierrepont, then Marquis of Dorchester, afterwards first Duke of Kingston. A brief space only of married happiness was granted to her; for before she had completed her nineteenth year she was a widow. Two children, a boy and a girl, were the issue of the marriage. Evelyn, whilst yet in early youth, succeeded his grand-father as second and last Duke of Kingston; his mother died four years before her son came to the proud title. His union, in later life, with 'Elizabeth Chudleigh,' better known as the Duchess of Kingston,—(though she had no real claim to this designation),—the strange life of this eccentric, yet gifted, woman,—her subsequent trial and conviction for bigamy,—her closing career at St. Petersburg,—all these have been related by an abler pen in the pages of this Magazine, and therefore on these it is needless to dwell. And 'Elizabeth Chudleigh' is, after all, hardly to be reckoned among the '*Worthies*' of Bradford-on-Avon. Under the will of the last Duke of Kingston, however, she inherited all his personal property, and had secured to her a life interest in all his real estate. On her death, the latter passed to Frances, the other child of Rachel Pierrepont, who had married Philip, eldest son of Sir Philip Meadows, Deputy Ranger of Richmond Park. Their son, Charles Meadows, who assumed by sign-manual the surname and arms of Pierrepont, was created Earl Manvers in 1806. On his decease in 1816, his son, who succeeded to the title as second Earl Manvers, inherited the property, and is now the representative of the 'Halls' of Bradford-on-Avon.

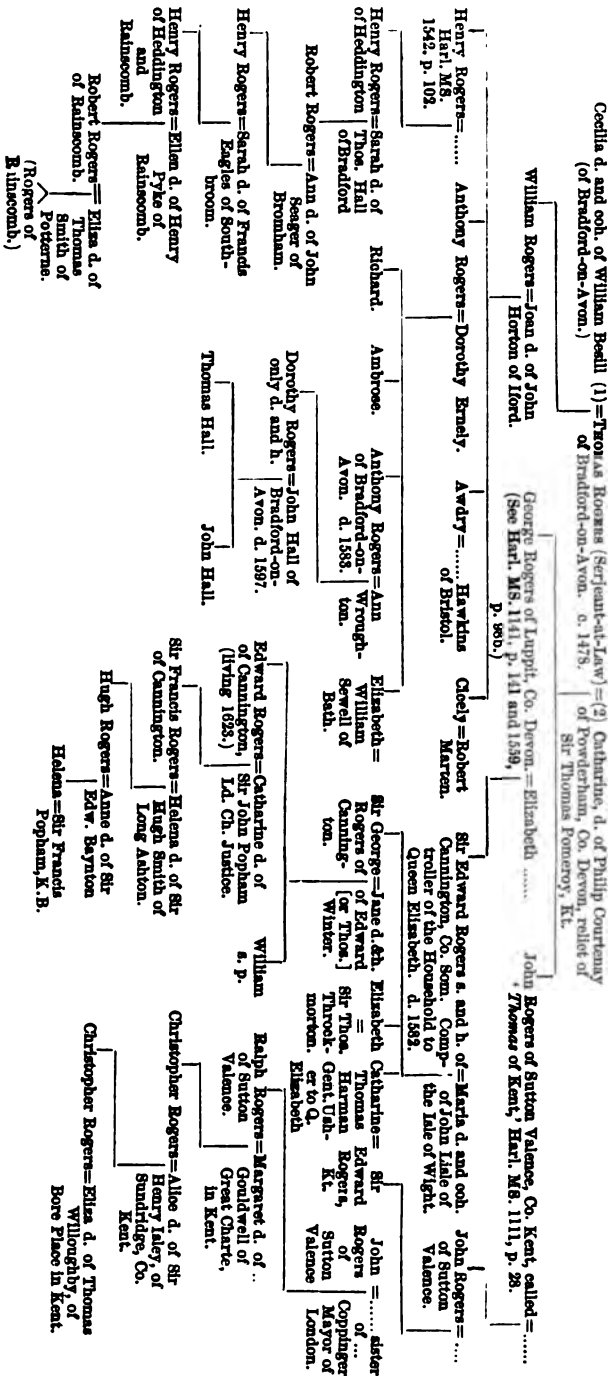
THE 'ROGERS' FAMILY.

The 'ancient and knightly house' of Rogers, from which sprung many well-esteemed though untitled families, were seated from an early period at Brianstone, Dorset, now the residence of Lord Portman. In the early part of the fifteenth century they settled in Glou-

ing effect:—"Provided that nothing in this Act shall be deemed, taken, or construed, to be any allowance of, or any ways to approve or confirm any articles, or supposed articles of agreement made, or pretended to be made, or agreed upon, by or between the said Lord Marquis of Dorchester, and the said John Hull, deceased, concerning the marriage of the said Mrs. Baynton with the said William Pierrepont, Esq., commonly called Lord Kingston, &c."

PEDIGREE OF ROGERS.

Ann—Argent, a chevron between three stag heads, argent, and a chief.—A stag tripartite sable, between, ducally gorged and argent or.



cestershire, where they still have their representative in the Rogers family at Dowdeswell. Towards the close of the same century we find a 'THOMAS ROGERS' at Bradford-on-Avon, designated a Serjeant-at-Law (*serviens ad legem*) a dignity of much greater relative importance, and much more rarely conferred, in olden times than now.¹ A marriage with Cecilia, daughter and co-heiress of William Besill—the other daughter and co-heiress, Margaret, we have already spoken of, as the wife of Nicholas Hall—brought the learned 'counsellor' to our town, and here, or in the neighbourhood, his descendants remained for many years afterwards, as residents and landed proprietors.

We find the son of our 'Serjeant-at-Law,' 'William' by name, adding to his patrimony by a marriage with 'Joan' daughter of John Horton, styled in one pedigree 'Johannes de Ifford,'² but more commonly designated as 'of Lullington, Co. Somerset.' We may perhaps draw an inference from this fact, that the Horton family came as residents into our neighbourhood at a somewhat earlier period than is generally thought.³

From Anthony, the *eldest* son of the last-named William Rogers, descended only two generations when Dorothy his grand-daughter and the ultimate heiress of the eldest branch of the family, by a marriage with John Hall, of Bradford-on-Avon, took into that family, the whole, not only of the Rogers, but also of the Besill

¹ There were very few advanced in olden times to the dignity of the *coif*, as the degree of 'Serjeant-at-Law' was designated. Even as late as the time of Edward VI., Serjeant Benloe wrote himself '*solus serviens ad legem*, there being for some time none but himself. See 'Jacob's Law Dictionary,' under 'Serjeant.'

² Harl. MS., 1141. p. 141.

³ The first of the 'Horton' family that is described in their own pedigree as of 'Westwood,' or 'Iford,' (the latter is a small hamlet in the former parish) is the grandson of 'John' of Lullington. In the will however of 'Thomas,' the son of John of Lullington, he is described as 'of Iford' where, or at Westwood, he died, 1530. The direction, in his will, that he should "be buried *with his father* in the aisle of our Lady on the north side of Bradford Church" seems to imply that the family may have been residents for some time previously in our town or neighbourhood. See above pp. 221. 233.. By the way, in the Horton pedigree, the husband of 'Joan Horton' is called 'Anthony Rogers.' His name, most authorities tell us, was '*William*.'

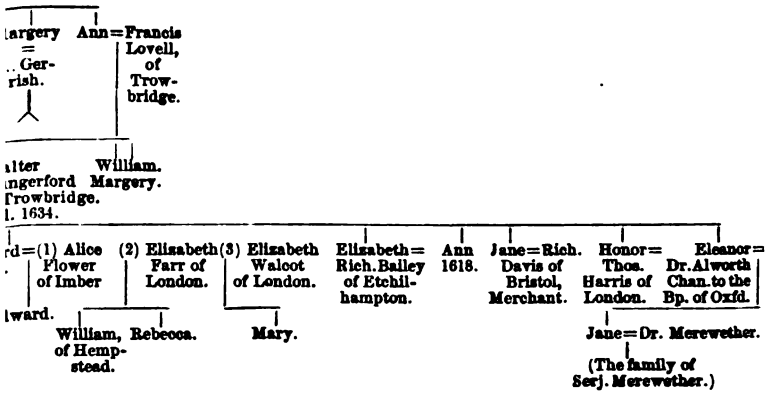
estate, a moiety of the latter having come to the 'Halls' about 150 years before, in the way we have already indicated. The property thus acquired seems to have lain at Bradford, Comberwell, and at Holt, many of the deeds, still preserved at Kingston House,¹ having reference to lands and houses at these several places. From these documents we also infer that the Lordship of the Manor of Holt belonged to some members of the Rogers family.

From Henry, a second son of William Rogers by Joan Horton (whose son, by the way, married a daughter of Thomas Hall, of Bradford) descends a family that settled at Heddington, and afterwards at Rainscombe. Of this branch of the 'Rogers' family, F. J. Newman Rogers, Esq. of Rainscombe, near Marlborough, is now the representative.

THOMAS ROGERS, the 'Serjeant-at-Law,' the founder of the Bradford-on-Avon branch of his family, married, on the death of Cecilia Besill his first wife, Catharine, daughter of Philip Courtenay of Powderham, Devon, and relict of Sir Thomas Pomeroy, knight. By this second wife he had two sons, each of whom left descendants, several of whom rose to distinction and kept up the 'knightly' character of their house. The *younger* son, 'John,' of Sutton Valence,—called in one manuscript '*Thomas*' of Kent,—had, as the pedigree shews, representatives in that county for many generations, and, amongst them, one at least attained the honor of knighthood. The *elder*, George Rogers of Luppit, Devon, had a son, Sir Edward, of Cannington, who rose to be a member of the Privy Council, and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Elizabeth. Possibly it may have been he who built the large house in Pippet street, of which mention has been made (p. 52) described by Aubrey as "a faire old built house of the family of Rogers, of Cannington," and the older parts of which (for it has been very much altered in the course of successive years) seem to be of the date of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I have seen a deed, however, in which it is recited that, in the year 1557, *Henry Rogers*, of Cannington, whose place in the pedigree we are not able to give

¹ Wilts Archaeological Magazine, i. 200.

88
 11.



with accuracy, leased a house,¹ in what is now called the Shambles, to 'John Horton' of 'The Devizes.'

This line of the 'Rogers' family, which continued for six or seven generations, during which it numbered several knights amongst its members, terminated in Helena, daughter of Hugh Rogers, who was married to Sir Francis Popham of Littlecote, created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II. The issue of this marriage was an only son, Alexander, who, on the decease of his father in 1674, became the representative of the Pophams of Littlecote and also of the family of 'Rogers,' of Cannington.²

THE 'YERBURY' FAMILY.

This is the only family, with a pedigree recorded in the Herald's Visitation of 1623, whose direct male descendants still continue resident in Bradford-on-Avon. The sudden decease of its gallant and worthy representative almost whilst these sheets are passing through the press, gives an additional interest to the account we are about to lay before our readers, a portion of the materials having been kindly furnished by himself to the writer of this sketch.

The earliest member of the Yerbury family mentioned in the Visitations is 'LAURENCE YERBERIE,' described as of Batcombe, Somerset, who was settled there, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Connexions by marriage with some of the leading families of Wiltshire brought them soon afterwards into this county,

¹ The house is the one now occupied by Mr. W. Taylor, Jun.

² There is some difficulty in reconciling the various authorities in their statements concerning the pedigree of Rogers. Aubrey gives, under 'Headington', a pedigree, in which is included a memorandum, said to be from the Herald's college, from which it would appear that 'George Rogers, of Luppit' was a *brother* instead of a *son* of Thomas, the Serjeant-at-Law. I have tried to reconcile the various statements, but have been unable. The pedigree I have compiled is that which certainly has the greater weight of authorities in its favour, and I have added the sources of information, in doubtful cases, on which I have relied. Canon Jackson tells me, that the pedigree in Aubrey's MS., is on a separate leaf and not in Aubrey's own hand-writing. He says, moreover,—“Three of the Rogers family were successively Rectors of Headington (Wilts Inst. 1605,—1670—and 1724) and it is most likely that Aubrey received the pedigree from 'Henry Rogers,' Rector from 1670—1724, who also held the livings of Leigh Delamere, and Yatesbury.”

where they applied their energies to the wool-trade, from which at that time the greater part of the wealth of the country was derived. Either as 'Wool Staplers' or 'Clothiers,' (dealers, that is, in wool, either in the raw or the manufactured state,) they traded and prospered in our neighbourhood from the commencement of the sixteenth century.

The first member of the family known to have settled in our vicinity was 'THOMAS YERBERIE' described as of Trowbridge, who married Alice, daughter of Thomas Horton, of Westwood. The last is a name frequently mentioned in our pages, and one which our readers will almost have learnt to regard as a synonyme for worldly wealth. Connexions also, as the pedigree shews, were formed about the same time with the 'Longs' of Trowbridge, and of Whaddon, a family that every year was increasing in property and station. With such advantages, it is not wonderful that 'Thomas Yerberie' of Trowbridge prospered, and was able, at his decease, to bequeath a goodly portion to each of his children.

He left behind him *three* sons,—JOHN, according to the best authorities, the eldest, and the first that settled at Bradford-on-Avon;—WILLIAM, who remained at Trowbridge;—and THOMAS, described as of Frome, and several of whose descendants are buried in Laverton Church, near Frome, where there are monumental tablets to their memory.

The two first-named—John and William, belong more immediately to this memoir. The family spread itself in course of years into other parts of Wilts,—to Conock,¹ to Lavington, to Coulston, &c., but our present enquiry extends only to those who came here or into our immediate neighbourhood. And as we are able to bring down a direct descent in the Bradford-on-Avon line to the present time, it will be more convenient to dispose first, of the second or Trowbridge branch.

WILLIAM YERBURY of Trowbridge married his first cousin

¹ The estate of 'Gifford Yerbury' at Conock came to the 'Warriner' family. At a sale of the effects of the last owner no very long time ago Mr. Ellen, of Devizes, bought an oak chair having the cypher G. Y. and a Merchant's mark carved on the back, with the date 1624.

Anne, daughter of Henry Long of Whaddon. They became the ancestors of several men of mark. The characteristic of this family seems to have been, a steady and unswerving fidelity to their King. Amidst all the troubles of his troubled reign they were true to the fortunes of Charles I. They were staunch, uncompromising Royalists; no peril deterred them from avowing, no hope of gain induced them to renounce their principles.

Amongst those who 'lent money to the King's Majesty' (James I.) in the year 1611, is the name of EDWARD YERBURY,¹ (the son of William and Anne,) though the Commissioners appointed to 'note the names of such persons as were thought fit to lend such money' had not included his in their lists. The same Edward acted afterwards as Commissioner for King Charles I. For this, when the Parliament triumphed, he had to compound for his estates and to pay a fine of £160. (See p. 47).² From an inscription on a monument in Trowbridge Church,³ erected to his memory by Edward Yerbury, his grandson, we learn that he was obliged afterwards to flee from Trowbridge. The reason of his compulsory retirement may be understood from the following extract;—"4 May 1647. "An order arises from Goldsmiths' Hall directing the *renewed sequestration* of Edward Yerbury, Esq., by the Wilts Committee, unless within ten days he produced a certificate from London explanatory of his conduct: his offence being, that, after the settlement of his fine, *he neglected to sue out his pardon* under the Great Seal." He retired to Plymouth as a hiding-place, and there, as an exile, he died, and found his last earthly home, a few months only before his royal master suffered at Whitehall.

Eleven children, five daughters and six sons, were born to him, most of whom survived him. From one of the former, Eleanor, married to Dr. Alworth, Chancellor to the Bishop of Oxford, descends, materially, the family, of Merewether, well known

¹ Wilts Archæological Magazine, iv. 150.

² Wilts Archæological Magazine, ii. 188.

³ The words on the Monument, which is now fixed on the south side of the tower in Trowbridge Church, are as follows;—"M. S., venerabilis viri Edvardi Yerbury, Armig. qui, flagrante nuper civili bello, *pro fide Carolo Martyri præstita, Lars profugus*, Plimuthi obiit; ibique dormitorium invenit."

and highly esteemed in Wiltshire. Several of the former, loyal sons of a loyal father, shewed like him their devotion to their King. More than one of them rose to positions of influence and dignity. EDWARD YERBURY, the eldest son, was Secretary to Lord Seymour, brother of the Marquis of Hertford, and acted in this capacity, it is believed, during the sittings at the treaty at Uxbridge. A few years afterwards, together with his brother William, and others, whose names,—Wallis,—Lovell,—Long,—Sydenham,—indicate a family connection, he joined in the attempt commonly known as the 'Penruddock rising' the object of which was the overthrow of Cromwell's government. Its result, as is well known, was most disastrous to many concerned in it, though the Yerburies, somehow or other, contrived to escape. The ring-leaders were taken prisoners; Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter; several others suffered at Salisbury; some were sold for slaves in Barbadoes.

We find another of the sons of Edward Yerbury the elder, JOHN, by name, in the list of Royalists, on whom, in 1643, the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament, levied fines for the privilege of holding their estates. It was his son EDWARD, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, (successor in that position to an uncle of whom we must speak more fully,) that erected the monument in Trowbridge Church to which we have alluded. No doubt to his pen we owe the correct and elegant Latin Inscription, which records the decease of his grandfather,—his father,—and his uncle Edward Yerbury.

The most distinguished, however, of the sons of Edward Yerbury the elder, (at least for his attainments,) was HENRY, who was for many years a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.¹ Like his father and brothers, he too was a staunch Royalist, and, in due time, reaped the consequences of his principles. When the Parliamentary Commissioners visited Oxford, he was ejected by them from his Fellowship. After his expulsion he travelled to the South of Europe, and settling at Padua took the degree of Doctor of Physic at the University there established. Whilst there he

¹ Wood's Athen: Oxon: i. liii. lxxxiii. Fasti. ii. 217. 303.

seems to have acted as tutor to Thomas and Henry Howard, successively Dukes of Norfolk,¹ the former of whom died unmarried at Padua in 1677. On the Restoration in 1660, Dr. Henry Yerbury recovered his Fellowship, and followed up at Oxford those tastes for natural science which he had cultivated in Italy. He became a pupil of the noted Peter Sthael, a chemist and Rosicrucian of Strasburg, who had settled in Oxford in the year 1659, brought thither by the Hon. Robert Boyle. Amongst those, besides Dr. Henry Yerbury, who attended the classes of this foreign, and, at the time, highly-esteemed lecturer, were several whose names are very familiar to us. They were,—Sir Christopher Wren,—Nathaniel Crew, afterwards Bishop of Durham,—Dr. Ralph Bathurst, afterwards President of Trinity, and Dean of Wells,—and Sir Thomas Millington, of All-Souls' College.²

Shortly after this time, Dr. Henry Yerbury became involved in disputes with the President of his College, in consequence of which he seems once more to have been removed from his Fellowship. Dr. Pierce, (a son of John Pierce,³ a wealthy alderman and draper of Devizes,) who, with Henry Yerbury, had been ejected from a Fellowship at Magdalen College by the Parliamentary Commissioners, was, on the Restoration, raised to the high and coveted post of President. His domineering spirit caused much dissatisfaction in the College, and this at last led to an open rupture between himself and the other members of the Society. The President resolved at length on the extreme step of declaring Dr.

¹ Guillim's Display of Heraldry, p. 180. It may be observed, that Guillim, in describing the armorial bearings of Dr. Henry Yerbury, makes them differ somewhat (so far, that is, as *tinctures* are concerned,) from those assigned by the authorities to Yerbury of Trowbridge, which we have printed at the head of the pedigree. He gives them thus,—“Party per fess *Or and sable* a lion rampant *counterchanged*.”

² Wood's Athen: Oxon: iv. 304.

³ John Pearce, or Piers, the ‘wealthy alderman and draper of Devizes’ was a great Royalist, and was in 1649 fined to the extent of £426 by the Parliamentary Commissioners. In a poem called ‘Caroloiades’ by Edward Howard, son of the Earl of Berkshire, he is described as “the trusty townsman,” who discovered to the Lord Hopton a magazine of powder concealed on his own premises, and thus recruited, at a moment of jeopardy, the exhausted ammunition of the Royalists.

Henry Yerbury expelled from his Fellowship, The circumstances were singularly unlike those under which he was before ejected; for now a determined Royalist was expelled by one who was as stout and uncompromising a Royalist as himself. A paper war speedily followed this act of the President. One pamphlet, especially caustic in its tone, entitled, "Dr. Pierce, his preaching confuted by his practice," led to the expulsion of its author, 'John Dobson,' from the University. Peace was not restored till the resignation, in 1672, of the litigious President. Three years after his retirement from Magdalen, Dr. Pierce was appointed Dean of Sarum, where his contentious temper again displayed itself in a smart controversy with the Bishop, Dr. Seth Ward, on the right of bestowing the Prebends of the Cathedral; a controversy, which, though it was determined in the Bishop's favour, is said nevertheless to have embittered the closing days of his life.

Dr. Henry Yerbury, we presume, regained his Fellowship on the retirement of Dr. Pierce, for he died at Oxford in the year 1686, and was buried in the chapel of Magdalen College. He must have been highly esteemed in the University, for in the year 1679 he was one of the candidates proposed for its representation in Parliament. He voluntarily retired, before the contest began, in favor of Heneage Finch, then Solicitor General, afterwards created Earl of Aylesford, who was especially recommended by the then Chancellor of the University.

Before we leave the Trowbridge branch of the Yerbury family, we must make a passing mention of their generous benefactions to the poor of that, as well as of several of the neighbouring parishes. The new Alms-house at Trowbridge was erected by the three brothers, William, John, and Richard Yerbury. It was subsequently endowed by bequests under the wills of two of them. Dr. Henry Yerbury, and his nephew Edward, of both of whom mention has been already made, augmented its income with their respective donations. William Yerbury, of Hempstead, who was, we presume, a son of Richard Yerbury, towards the middle of the last century, conveyed to Trustees a certain portion of land for its endowment. At the time of the visit of the Charity Commissioners¹

¹ Charity Commissioners' Printed Reports No. 28. (Wilts). p. 349.

to Trowbridge, about twenty-five years ago, they reported the income of this Charity as amounting to £129 18s. per annum,—(representing a *principal* sum of at least £4000,)—the whole of it the produce of successive offerings from members of the Yerbury family.

William Yerbury, one of the builders of the new Alms-house, at Trowbridge, also made provision for the poor of Bradford-on-Avon, of Road, and of Beckington. In a previous page we have spoken of the first of these gifts; it is now unhappily a thing of the past, many years having gone by since it was diverted from its original purpose, or distributed *in bread*, in accordance with the founder's will, amongst the poor of Bradford-on-Avon.

The branch of the Yerbury family that settled in our town, if not so famous, were perhaps as useful in their generation as their kinsmen of Trowbridge. 'JOHN YERBURY,' the first who seems to have lived in Bradford-on-Avon, had four sons, all of whom were engaged in commercial or agricultural pursuits. 'THOMAS,' one of these sons, is the first that is described as a 'Clothier.' The family which still remains to us and resides at Belcomb, an estate that now for some generations has belonged to them, descends from 'WALTER,' another of the sons of 'John Yerbury.' Each of the brothers married and left several children. Few names are more frequently met with in early Parochial Registers or Rate-Books. From the beginning of the seventeenth century they began to spread themselves in our immediate neighbourhood, and are known not only as occupiers, but as owners of land.

As might naturally be supposed, with respect to such members of the family as devoted themselves to the quiet pursuits of agricultural, or some kindred, occupation, we know but little. Generation by generation they seem to have increased their store of worldly means and extended their possessions. Family tradition speaks of one as the 'golden Farmer,' in consequence of his reputed wealth. The great grandson of Walter, by name JOHN YERBURY, seems to have added to his means and position by a marriage, in 1703, with Frances, daughter of Joseph Davisson of Freshford, whose mother was Joanna Bluet, of Holcombe Court, in Devon. Of the same family was Colonel Francis Bluet, the Royalist

commander, killed at the siege of Lyme in 1644, whilst serving under Prince Maurice.

It was, however, the son of the last named John Yerbury, who bore the name,—so frequent in this branch of their family,—of FRANCIS, that struck out a new path for himself, and reaped fully the reward of his ingenuity. He was educated at first for the bar. Having a taste for all kinds of mechanical contrivances, he was accustomed, whilst a resident in London, to visit the silk manufactories of Spital Fields. The ‘mystery’ of cloth-making was not unknown to him, from his connection with Bradford-on-Avon. He conceived the idea, that, by introducing into its manufacture some of the plans and contrivances adopted in the weaving of silk, cloth might be materially improved in quality. What was made here, before his time, was thick and coarse in its texture, and had, technically speaking, little or no ‘face’ on it. He matured his plans, and, when ready to carry them into effect, obtained for his invention, or, at least, improvement, the protection of a Patent.¹ The document is still in the possession of the family. His enterprise and talent met with an ample reward in a large accession to his fortune. The improvements introduced by Francis Yerbury, were, in due time, adopted by other manufacturers, and led ultimately to results, so far as the cloth-trade was concerned, at the first but little expected.

Of his son, JOHN WILLIAM YERBURY, who, on the death of the father in 1778, became the representative of the family here, we have a circumstance recorded that shews he had inherited no little portion of the brave spirit of his kinsmen. In a Journal published at the time, (1787,) we have the following account. “Some 1500 or more weavers from Bradford and Trowbridge having compelled their masters to acquiesce in certain new regulations [not stated] were so flushed with success that they marched in

¹ In the Patent, which is dated 26th Aug., 6 George III., it is recited that “Francis Yerbury, after much application and many trials, attended with much expense, about four years ago invented and brought to perfection a new method of making thin superfine cloth for the summer season at home, and warmer climates abroad, and yet notwithstanding the thinness of its texture, it is more durable than cloth of a greater substance made in the common way.”

triumph from Trowbridge to Bradford, but were repelled at the entrance of the latter place by the principal inhabitants. At Belcomb Brook they also met with a stout resistance, for Mr. Yerbury had planted two patereros at his windows, which swept the lawn. Supported by many armed friends, he addressed the rioters in so able a manner as to induce them to retire without causing any disturbance. The military arrived the next day and the combination was at an end."

The son of the last-named John William Yerbury,—who bore the same name as his father,—will be very well remembered by many who read these pages. A few short months only have passed since he was busy amongst us, discharging diligently his duties as a magistrate and enjoying the well-earned respect of all his fellow townsmen. He too, like his grandfather, Francis Yerbury, was, in early life, destined for the Bar. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and in due time took his degree, in preparation for what was then his destined profession. His inclination, however, lay towards a military life; and, after a time, he obtained a commission in the 66th Regiment of Foot. Very shortly afterwards he joined the 3rd Light Dragoons, and in that regiment he remained until his retirement from the army, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, a little more than four years ago.

His period of active service extended over no less than thirty years. Some friend, evidently well acquainted with his military career, thus summed up his services in a well known periodical published shortly after his decease.—"Colonel Yerbury had seen much active service in India: he was throughout the campaign of 1842 in Affghanistan; was present at the forcing of the Khyber Pass, at the storming of the heights, Jugduluck, the actions of Tezeen, and Hafkostul, (where his horse was wounded) the occupation of Cabul, and the capture of Istaliff. He commanded his regiment in the Punjaub campaign of 1848 and 1849; was present at Rumnugger, at the action of Sadoclapore, and the battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat. He received a medal at Affghanistan, and a medal and two clasps for the latter campaign. At Chillianwallah the fate of the battle hung upon the charge of the 3rd Light

Dragoons, and the honor of his country and the safety of the army were ably sustained by as brave and gallant a soldier as ever drew the sword. General Gough watched them with intense anxiety, and at last seeing them emerge on the other side of the enemy,—having ridden right through that wing of the Sikh army,—he declared that the day was his own.”¹

After he quitted the army Colonel Yerbury settled at Belcomb Brook, and looked forward to the probable enjoyment of some years of quiet retirement. And few, judging from outward appearances, had a greater right to indulge such hopes. But it was not so to be;—*l’homme propose, Dieu dispose.* When in the midst of extensive alterations in his house, with but one room in which, whilst watching day by day the progress of the work, he had been living, he was seized with that illness which within a week proved fatal to him. It was almost a soldier’s death: he breathed his last rather in a tent, than in a fixed abode; he fell in the full vigour of his strength, before man discerned a single trace of the decrepitude of advancing years.

He left behind him several children. May those who inherit his name, exhibit also his acknowledged excellencies! They will find, that, for their father’s sake, as well as for their own, they will readily secure no scanty measure of respect and attachment from their fellow-townsmen and neighbours in Bradford-on-Avon.

THE ‘METHUEN’ FAMILY.

For more than two centuries this family was closely connected with our town, and, to the public spirit of one of its members, Bradford-on-Avon owed much of its prosperity during the 17th and 18th centuries. They demand therefore more than a passing notice.

Originally of German extraction, this family may nevertheless be traced back as settlers in Scotland for no less than 700 years. On the first settler from Germany, Malcolm III. (called Caen Mohr,) King of Scotland from 1056—1098, is said to have bestowed the

¹ Gentleman’s Magazine, October 1858, p. 416.

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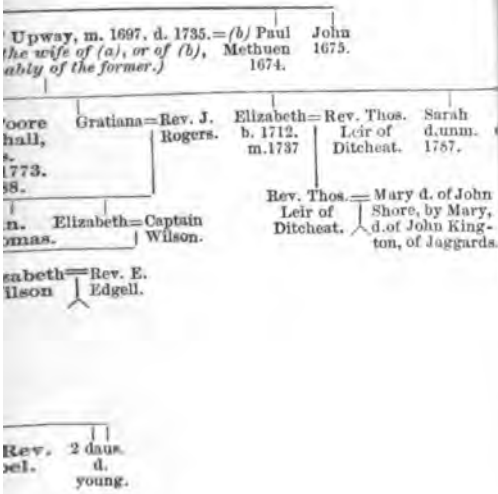
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Barony of Methven¹ in Perthshire as an acknowledgment of services rendered to the Princess Margaret, afterwards his Queen. She together with her brother Edgar, "the Atheling," were accompanied by him from Hungary, where they had both been born during the exile of their father Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, and nephew of Edward the Confessor. To keep in remembrance their German origin, the Methuen family carry their arms blazoned on the breast of an imperial eagle.

We soon find members of the Methuen family occupying high and honorable offices in Scotland. In the reign of Alexander II. (1214—1248) we find Galfred, William, and Robert, mentioned in such a way, and in conjunction with others of such exalted station, as implies the rank to which they had themselves attained.

The immediate ancestor, however, of the family of which we are speaking, was PATRICK DE METHVEN, who was the proprietor of the lands and barony of Methven, and lived in the reign of Alexander III. (c. 1260). His son, Sir Roger, is mentioned as a man of distinction in the reign of Robert Bruce. He was Lord of the same barony as his father, and, with many other Scotchmen of the first rank, was compelled to submit to Edward I. in 1296.

Sir Roger was succeeded by his eldest son Paul, whom we meet with as one of the ambassadors extraordinary appointed to treat concerning a peace with England in 1363. A similar appointment was no long time afterwards filled by the grandson of this Paul, by name John de Methven, who was, in 1397, one of the ambassadors to the Court of England for negotiating affairs of state with that kingdom. It appears that the castle of Methven and part of the lands belonging to the Barony were acquired from this John, by the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland during the imprisonment of King James I. They afterwards fell to the Crown, where they remained for some years. In 1425 King James V. gave them

¹ Mevvin Castle, as it is now called, still stands at Huntingtower a village between Perth and Crieff. The *name* of this family is found written in various ways, Methven, Methwin, Methuen, &c. Paul, the first settler in Bradford, wrote his name in the *second* form; John, his son, preferred the *first*; Sir Paul, his grandson, the well-known ambassador, adopted the *third*, which is now the usual mode of spelling the name.

to his mother Queen Margaret, (sister of Henry VIII. of England,) and Henry Steward, son of Lord Evandale, her *third* husband, created, in 1523, Lord Methven.

The son of the last-mentioned John de Methven, bearing himself the same name as his father, was a man of great accomplishments, and was constantly employed in the service of his King and country. No Scotsman in the reign of James II. enjoyed more of his Prince's favour. He was one of the principal Secretaries of State and Lord Register of Scotland in the year 1440, and a few years afterwards was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Court of England. He was concerned in all the important public transactions of his time, and always acquitted himself with integrity and honour.

A few generations pass away, and towards the middle of the 16th century we meet with two brothers, John and Andrew,—(the sons of an Andrew de Methven),—who come before us in the character of zealous promoters of the Reformation. We meet also about the same time with a Paul de Methven (probably the son of John, and of whom we shall speak presently) as a stern opposer of the Church of Rome. At the old Kirk of Stirling one of the earliest nurseries of the Reformation, this Paul defended Protestantism long before the appearance of others with whose names we are more familiar. In fact in that town he set at defiance the edicts of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise,—the widow of James V.—and thus occupied, in his aspect to her Court, the same position which John Knox sustained in that of her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots.

Of Andrew, the younger of the two brothers just alluded to, we know but little. Of John, we are told, that, dreading the persecution of the times, George Wishart having just before suffered death at St. Andrews, under Cardinal Beaton, for his Protestantism, he fled to England and was kindly received by Queen Elizabeth who took his son Paul¹ under her special protection. The latter was

¹ My authority for these statements is to be found in Playfair's 'Family Antiquity' in a note under "Гоосн", Baronet. vol. vii. p. 10. I have, however, seen a document, and had communications concerning others, which seem to represent these two members of this family, viz. 'Paul,' who married Ann Rogers, and 'Anthony,' the Vicar of Frome, as *brothers* rather than as *father* and

presented to a stall in Wells Cathedral, and to other preferments in the County of Somerset, and was, it is believed, Chaplain to John Still,¹ Bishop of Bath and Wells. He married Anne Rogers, of an ancient family of that name seated at Cannington in Somerset. Possibly through this marriage the Methuen family first became possessed of property in Bradford. The house in which for many years they lived, and which till a comparatively short time ago belonged to them and is still called 'Methuen's' by the older inhabitants, is that to which we have alluded, in a previous page, as having probably been built by one of the family of Rogers of Cannington, to whom, in the sixteenth century, the property belonged.

The son of the last-named Paul, by name Anthony, was also in Holy Orders. He was Prebendary of Wells and Litchfield, and held the Vicarage of Frome, in Somerset, from 1609—1640. He married Jean daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Taylor, Esq. of the city of Bristol, and with her obtained a large accession to his fortune, which even before was not inconsiderable. They both died in the same year, 1640, and were interred under a costly monument,² now in the Vestry of the Parish Church of Frome, which has recently been completely restored to its original condition by the present Vicar.

It is with the sons of this ANTHONY, the Vicar of Frome, that we are especially concerned, as they were the first of the family

son,—both apparently the sons of 'John de Methven,' who fled from Scotland. I am not able, at present, to decide concerning the relative value of the various authorities, and therefore content myself with indicating the source from which the information above given has been derived.

¹ See Sir R. C. Hoare's 'Hundred of Mere,' p. 192.

² On the tomb of "Anthony Methwin," (so the name is there spelt,) Vicar of Frome, is the following inscription, of which we attempt an English version, though it is not easy to reach the force and elegance of the original.

"Hoc tegitur cippo, decus ævi, gloria cleri,

Dum vixit, nunc fit lucida stella poli.

Vitâ, voce, manu, populum pascēbat Iesu:

Qui nunc cœlesti pascitur ipse cibo."

Here lies,—his Age's boast,—his Church's pride,—

Now, a bright star, midst angels, glorified;

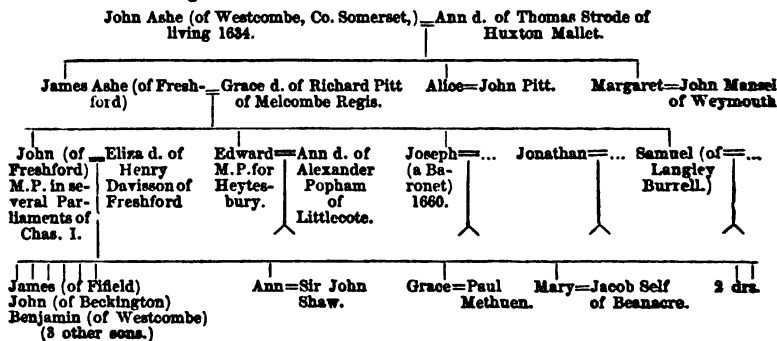
In life, by word and deed, his flock in Christ he fed,

And now, with Christ Himself, he feeds on heavenly bread.

who settled in Bradford. Three of his children seem to have survived him, Paul,—Anthony,—and Francis. The last named son left no succession, neither do we know anything of his history. The eldest was the “Paul Methwin” of Bradford, of whom mention has already been made, and from whom descends the present noble family of “Methuen.” The second, Anthony, was for several generations represented in Bradford by direct male descendants, the last of whom died in 1792. Through female branches he is still represented by several families of station and affluence both in Wiltshire and Somersetshire. It will be convenient to trace in order, down to the present day, the descendants of those two brothers respectively.

PAUL,—the elder of the two,—described as of Bradford and Bishops Cannings, has been already spoken of in the course of our narrative. (p. 48). It was he that introduced some weavers from Holland into Bradford, and materially improved the manufactures and consequently the trade of the Town. He settled here about the year 1620-1630. He married Grace daughter of Mr. John Ashe,¹ of Freshford, of an ancient family in Somerset, and a member of several Parliaments during the reign of Charles I. Aubrey calls this Paul Methwin, “the greatest cloathier of his time (Charles II.)” and says that “he succeeded his father-in-law in the trade.” By prudent economy, and successful enterprise, he greatly improved his property, and amassed a large fortune. He died in the year 1667.

¹ In the Harleian MS. No. 1559, fol. 42: is a pedigree of this family, from which the following is an extract:—



He left behind him several sons. The eldest,—JOHN,—described as of Bishops Cannings, was a man of great abilities and was much employed in affairs of State. He was one of the Privy Council and Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the reigns of King William III. and Queen Anne. He was frequently employed in embassies to Portugal, and, in 1703, concluded, with the Court of Lisbon, a treaty which regulated the trade in wine and was ever afterwards called by his name, and considered as a great evidence of his skill in negotiation. He represented the Borough of Devizes in five Parliaments. A monument in Westminster Abbey records that “he died abroad in the service of his country A.D. 1706.”

The son of this last named John was a diplomatist even more highly distinguished than himself. SIR PAUL METHUEN, for some years, was ambassador at Madrid. He also acted as envoy at various times to the Emperor of Morocco, and the Duke of Savoy. In 1706 he was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty: in 1714 he became a Lord of the Treasury and a Privy Counsellor. He rose at last in 1716 to the high office of a principal Secretary of State, and in 1720 was comptroller of the King’s Household. He was installed in 1725 as a Knight of the Bath, and the same year became Treasurer of the Household, an office which he resigned in a few years and passed the remainder of his life in a private station.¹

Sir Paul Methuen died unmarried, in the 85th year of his age, and was interred near the remains of his father in Westminster Abbey. In him ended the male line of John the eldest son of ‘Paul Methwin of Bradford.’ He bequeathed his valuable collection of pictures, and considerable estates, to Paul, (the son of his first cousin, Thomas Methuen) the purchaser of Corsham House.

ANTHONY, the second son of Paul, of Bradford, succeeded to his

¹ It must be Sir Paul Methuen, who did not die till 1757 (30 Geo. II.), to whom Dr. Doran alludes in the following anecdote;—“In the reign of George II. there lived a Wiltshire Gentleman named Paul Methuen who had a passion for reading the weary dreary novels of his time. Queen Caroline loved to rally him on his weakness, and one day asked him what he had last been reading. “May it please your Majesty” said Paul, “I have been reading a poor book on a poor subject, the Kings and Queens of England.” *Lives of the Brunswick Queens of England.*

father as a Clothier, and his name very often occurs in the indentures of various apprentices from time to time. He inherited his father's estate at Bradford, and also his manors of Cheddar, Withy, Beckington and Freshford in Somerset. He married Gertrude daughter and co-heir of Thomas Moore of Spargrove, Co. Somerset, and their son Thomas Methuen (who married Ann daughter of Isaac Selfe, of Beanacre, Co. Wilts) was the father of the Paul, to whom we have just alluded as the inheritor of the pictures and other property of Sir Paul Methuen. Paul, of Corsham House, was for some years M.P. for Warwick. It was he that purchased the Lordship of the Manor of Bradford from Mr. Poulett Wright in 1774. His grandson, also Paul Methuen, was for some years M.P. for Wilts, and was elevated to the peerage, in 1838, as Baron Methuen of Corsham, Co. Wilts. The present peer succeeded to the title, as second Baron Methuen, on the demise of his father in 1849.

We must return now to ANTHONY,—the second son of Anthony the Vicar of Frome. Together with his brother Paul he seems to have settled in Bradford where he died in 1684. His descendants remained in the town, and, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, were represented by PAUL METHUEN, who, in the year 1697, married Sarah daughter of William Gould, of Upway and Fleet, Co. Dorset. They had three sons (one only of whom grew to man's estate) and eight daughters. HENRY, their son, married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Farmer, Esq. of Bromsgrove, and had issue Paul, afterwards called to the Bar, and a member of the Society at Lincoln's Inn. PAUL—"the Counsellor," as he is commonly termed,—is described as "of Holt," and died unmarried in 1792. On his decease, the daughters of Paul and Sarah Methuen, (the aunts of Paul 'the Counsellor,') became the representatives of this branch of the Methuen family, and co-heiresses of their Father. Of these,—BARBARA, married, in 1727, Edward Poore, Esq. of Rushall, and their second son, 'John Methuen' was created a Baronet in 1795;—ELIZABETH, married, in 1737, the Rev. Thomas Leir, of Ditcheat;—GRATIANA, married, in 1747, the Rev. J. Rogers, Vicar of Warminster;—and MARY, the youngest, married, in 1754, W.

Stevens, Esq. of Frankleigh, and their only daughter and heiress became, in 1779, the wife of Samuel Bailward, Esq. of Horsington, a name still well known and as well respected in the parish of Bradford-on-Avon.

THE 'CAM' FAMILY.

The earliest member of the 'Cam' family of whom we have found any account was 'John Cam,' of Camsgill in the barony of Kendal, in Westmoreland. His name is very conspicuous in the early history of the Society of Friends.¹ He travelled in the west of England and was greatly persecuted at Bristol in 1654.

Early in the following century we meet with the name in Bradford-on-Avon. A little later we have SAMUEL CAM, a leading clothier and active Magistrate, residing at Chantry House, of which by purchase from the representatives of Edward Thresher (who died 1741), he had become the proprietor. For many years he occupied a very prominent position in our town, and together with several whose names have been already mentioned, and others whose names are not yet forgotten,—such as Bethel,—Clutterbuck,—Tugwell,—Hillier,—Attwood,—Shrapnell,—and Bush,—helped to raise Bradford-on-Avon to a high pitch of commercial prosperity. One of his daughters married Benjamin Hobhouse, Barrister-at-Law, who was afterwards created a Baronet, and resided for some years at Cottles. Their eldest son 'John Cam,' who was born in the year 1786, succeeded his father in the Baronetcy in the year 1831. He distinguished himself in early life at the University of

¹ The Quakers were at one time a numerous and influential body in Bradford. Their first meeting-house seems to have been at Cumberwell (or rather, Frankley) now converted into a School. They afterwards (1710) built one in the court leading out of St. Margaret Street, and this, long disused by them, has been occupied for some years past as a British School. Many notices of interment in the "Cumberwell burial-ground" (especially in the year 1701) are to be seen in the Parish Register. In the year 1660 an attack was made upon them at Cumberwell, and one Robert Storr sent, for being concerned in it, as a prisoner to Sarum. John Clark, a *Bradford* Quaker, held, in 1695, a public disputation with a member of another section of non-conformists at Melksham, on the premises of Thomas Bevan. William Penn was in the chair as moderator, and, after the trial of skill had gone on for some time, closed the proceedings. Amongst the Quakers of Bradford-on-Avon too is to be reckoned 'Joseph Yerbury,' who lived at Well-close.

Cambridge, where he graduated in 1808, having the same year carried off the Hulsean Prize. He was afterwards known as the friend and companion of the poet Byron, and became an author of several works of acknowledged merit. He filled several high offices of state, holding for some years the position of President of the Board of Control. In the year 1851 he was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Broughton de Gifford. Some fourteen years ago he obtained, by purchase from the Methuen family, the Lordship of the Manor of Bradford-on-Avon.

A brief notice of one or two 'Worthies,' of whom we have not as yet spoken, or to whom we have made hardly more than a passing reference, will conclude our paper.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SHRAPNEL.

He was the son of Zechariah Shrapnel, a manufacturer of this town, who amassed a considerable fortune as the reward of his successful industry, and, together with other property in Bradford-on-Avon, was the owner of the Midway estate, which still belongs to the same family. He entered the army in early life, having obtained his commission as *second* Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery in the year 1779. Two years afterwards he was advanced to a *first* Lieutenancy. He rose through the various ranks, till, in 1827, he was gazetted as Lieutenant-General. He was ultimately Colonel Commandant of the sixth battalion of Artillery.

During a term of active service, extending over a considerable period of his life, he was always distinguished as an intelligent and pains-taking officer, in that branch especially of the service to which he had devoted himself. He served with the Duke of York's army in Flanders, and, shortly after the siege of Dunkirk, invented the case shot, a destructive engine of war used by the Royal Artillery, and known by the name of '*Shrapnel Shells.*' The discovery was considered of such importance, that, on its adoption by the service, its inventor, our fellow-townsmen, 'Henry Shrapnel,' received a pension of £1200 per annum, in addition to the pay to which his rank in the army entitled him.

General Shrapnel died in 1842. He did not retire from active service, till well nigh *half a century* had elapsed since he obtained his first commission. His remains were interred in a vault in the Chancel of the Parish Church.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUSH, K.H.

He was the youngest son of Thomas Bush, Esq. of this town, who for many years was an active magistrate of Wiltshire, and served the office of High Sheriff of the county in the year 1804. He entered the army in 1808, as Cornet in the 2nd Dragoon Guards, in which regiment he rose to the rank of Captain, and served with his corps in the Walcheren Expedition in 1809. At a later period he exchanged into the 21st Light Dragoons. He went with this regiment to the Cape of Good Hope, and was detached with his troop several months on the Caffir frontier. Having terminated this service, which was one of constant peril from the treacherous and stealthy incursions of the natives, he sailed with the 21st for India, and, after attaining the rank of Major unattached, he exchanged to the 99th, and took the command of the Depôt in Ireland. In course of time he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 1st West India Regiment, and remained several years in the unhealthy stations of St. Lucia, Demerara, and Trinidad.

At the time Colonel Bush took the command of his regiment in the West Indies, every effort was being made by the British Government to suppress the slave trade. Several vessels laden with native Africans were captured by the British cruisers, and the men, after having been declared free, were permitted to enlist voluntarily in West India regiments and the African corps. Upwards of 200 of these native Africans enlisted in Colonel Bush's regiment, at that time (1837) stationed at St. Joseph's, Demerara. The old soldiers were soon afterwards withdrawn to other islands, and these recruits were the only disposable force to take the requisite guard. Led on by one of their number, a man of gigantic stature, who had been a chief in Africa and had great influence over them, these recruits unexpectedly broke out into open revolt,

and, in the night of June 18th, 1837, advanced against their officers with the intention of murdering all the white people, setting fire to the barracks, and then returning to Guinea. Colonel Bush, together with his Adjutant, Lieutenant Bentley, advanced towards the mutineers, and, when within some 25 yards of them, they were fired at, but providentially escaped injury. The two officers retired to the stables, through which (being built of wood) several shots were fired. Lieutenant Bentley mounted his horse and galloped through the barrack-yard to St. James's, a distance of nine miles, to procure assistance, the recruits attempting in vain to stop him. Colonel Bush, aided by the darkness of the night, fled to the special magistrate's house, and, through him, obtained from the police station, which was but a short distance from his residence, a musket and some ammunition. Together with a police officer, an old soldier, and Lieutenant Doran, whom they met in their way, Colonel Bush, returned at once to the barracks and found the mutineers just about to set the hospital on fire, the patients escaping in all directions. Arraying his little party of *four* on the rising-ground, within forty yards of the main body of the recruits, he kept up an independent fire on them for some minutes, which was duly returned, until at length three of the revolvers were lying dead and several wounded. Not knowing what numbers might be opposed to them, from the darkness of the early hour of the morning, and appalled by the dead and wounded, the mutineers fled and took refuge in the woods. Many of them were killed, and several of the ringleaders were afterwards brought to a court-martial and sentenced to death. The suppression of this fearful outbreak was entirely attributed to the intrepidity of our townsman. His firmness and decision gave him ever afterwards the complete ascendancy over these untutored Africans, and he brought into order and first rate discipline no less than 1200 uncivilized recruits.

As a reward for these meritorious services the Duke of Wellington removed him from the West Indies to home service, and appointed him Inspecting Field Officer of the Leeds district. A vacancy afterwards occurring in the London district he was removed to it, and he held this appointment to the time of his

decease in August 1854. But a few months before he died, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General.

General Bush's character as an officer is thus summed up in a periodical,¹ published shortly after his death, from which we gleaned the particulars thus laid before our readers:—"Although a strict disciplinarian and rigid in the enforcement of his orders, yet his zeal for the best interests of those under his command, and his engaging manners, gained their respect and affection. Devoted to the service of his country, and having spent nearly his whole life in active duty in the four quarters of the globe, being also (in addition to his great experience) endowed with a vigorous and cultivated mind, his opinion was sought by the highest military authorities, to whom the strict and conscientious discharge of all his several duties was well known."

THE REV. HENRY HARVEY.

We close our list of Bradford Worthies with a name which is still well known, and which will be long remembered in this Parish.

He was the second son of George Harvey, Esq. of Hendon, by Mary daughter of Thomas Donne, Esq., a descendant of the celebrated Dean of St. Pauls, and a connexion of the poet Cowper. Born at Hampstead in the year 1792, in the eighteenth year of his age he entered Christ Church, Oxford, where in due time he took his degree. At an early period of life he resided for a considerable time on the continent, and by this means became familiar with European languages, and general history. He was ordained, in 1818, to the curacy of East Horsley, in Surrey, and, after holding two similar appointments in Suffolk, was in the course of a few years removed to Ealing. There he was brought under the notice of Bishop Howley, (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), and by him was recommended, in 1825, as Tutor to Prince George of Cambridge. This office he held for six years, residing first at Hanover and afterwards at the English court. The Duke of Cambridge appointed him one of his Chaplains, an office continued to him by the present Duke, when, in 1850, he succeeded to the title.

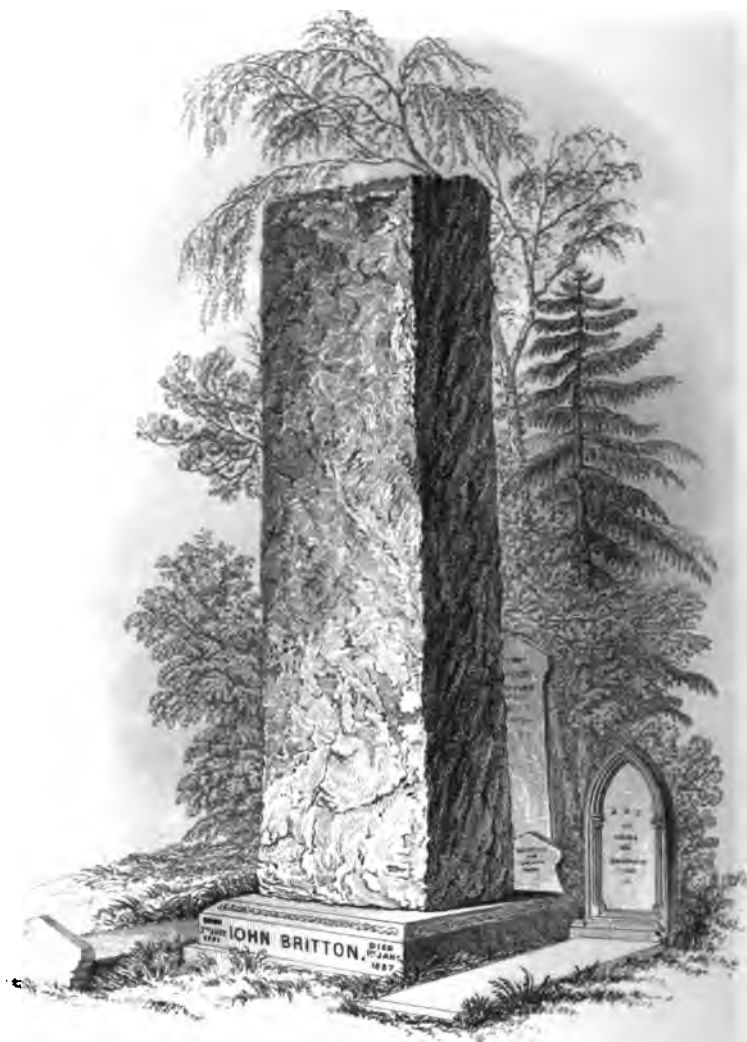
¹ Gentleman's Magazine, November 1854.

In 1833 he became a Canon of Bristol and, no long time afterwards, succeeded Dr. Blomberg in the Vicarage of this Parish. For seventeen years he held this living, and in 1850, on the decease of Dean Lamb,¹ left it for Olveston, near Bristol, where he died November 1854. He had married, in 1823, Johnanna Maria, daughter of the Rev. John Auber, Rector of Blaisdon in Gloucestershire.

During the time he held the Incumbency of Bradford-on-Avon, a charge then embracing the care of no less than seven Churches, Mr. Harvey accomplished a great work for the parish at large,—a work more lasting in its benefits than had before been completed since the Reformation. The new Church of Christ Church built and endowed,—those at Winsley and Atworth rebuilt and enlarged,—that at Holt enlarged and rendered more commodious,—the one at Westwood made good by rebuilding the chancel,—that of Limpley Stoke restored,—these were good works in which he always took some, generally the leading part. Add to these, *four* new school-houses, two of them double,—(and these exclusive of those at Christ Church the noble gift of Captain Palairt),—the Vicarage house rebuilt, and a new parsonage house provided for the District Church,—all more or less the results of his exertions, and you have ample grounds for believing that his name will be long remembered with affection in Bradford-on-Avon. He must always hold a prominent place among our ‘Worthies.’ Take him all in all, and there are few to whom the words of Chaucer, with which we may not unfitly conclude this paper, are more strictly applicable, or of whose character they are more truly descriptive.

“To drawn folk to heven with fairénesse,
By good ensample, was his besinesse :
But it were any persone obstinat,
What so he were of highe or low estat,
Him wolde he snibben sharply for the nones.
A better preest I trowe that nowher non is :
He waited after no pompe, ne reverence,
Ne maked him no spicéd conscience.
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taught, but first he folwed it himselve.”¹

¹ Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. l. 52.—530.



Monument to the Memory of

JOHN BRITTON.

*Author of the Cathedral Antiquities &c.
Erected in the Norwood Cemetery - under the
superintendance of W^m. Hosking Esq. who
suggested having a copy of some part of Stone-
henge, with which Antiquity M^r. Britton's name
is so intimately connected.*

Britton's Monument.

THE accompanying illustration of the Grave Stone of the late John Britton at Norwood Cemetery, is presented to the Society by his widow.

The Royal Institute of British Architects have placed a brass in memory of Mr. Britton in Salisbury Cathedral; and shortly after his death, a subscription was commenced by the members of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society to erect a memorial window in the Church of his native parish, Kington St. Michael, and to present a purse to his widow. The window has been completed, the sum raised by the Society having been increased by the subscriptions of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

Beneath the window, has been placed at the expense of the Rev. Canon Jackson, Rector of Leigh Delamere, a Brass plate on which is the following inscription:—

“At the Restoration of this Church A.D. 1857, this Window was erected by public Subscription to commemorate two Natives of this parish, alike distinguished by their writings on the Antiquities of Wiltshire. JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S. born at Easton Piers, March 12th 1625; died at Oxford, June 1697; and JOHN BRITTON, F.A.S., born at Kington St. Michael, July 7th 1771; died in London, January 1st 1857.

“LAUS DEO.”

Mrs. Britton was anxious that the place of her husband's interment should be appropriately marked out, and at the suggestion of Professor Hosking a large monolith of Bramley-fall stone, similar in form to those at Stonehenge, has been erected as represented in the engraving. A suitable foundation having been prepared, upon this was laid at the ground level, a 6 inch “York ledger” 5 feet square, and upon that a plinth of Bramley-fall stone of the same superficies, and 8 or 10 inches thick. This is wrought all round and weathered from the base of the monumental block, which stands on the plinth and is tenonjoggled 4 inches into it. The monumental block is 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 4 inches at the base, and 11 feet high; diminishing slightly on all sides, and is about 5 tons in weight. It is not wrought, but is as it was rent from the quarry, except-

ing where some rougher irregularities have been removed. There is no other inscription than the name and dates of birth and death cut into the wrought plinth; there is nothing whatever on the upright block itself.

The subscription raised by the Society for Mrs. Britton amounted to about £70, and this sum she has appropriated to defray the expenses of the monument at Norwood. W.C.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I beg to be allowed to rectify an assertion that I made too broadly at p. 199 of this volume: viz., that an initial *h* is never dropped in our Germanic languages. I had in my mind those words in which it precedes a vowel, and ought to have so limited the expression. There are numerous cases in all these languages where an *h* once preceded *l*, *n*, *r* or *w*, but is now no longer heard. Indeed it has been dropped in all of them, and in all cases before *l*, *n*, and *r*, as for instance in *hlihan*, *hlaif*, *hleapan*, *hlud*, *hnut*, *hræfen*, *hreed*, which have become *laugh*, *loaf*, *leap*, *loud*, *nut*, *raven*, and *reed*. Similar changes have taken place in the Germanic languages of the Continent where an *h* has formerly preceded a *w*. It is in English only that it has been retained: and here by some strange caprice the *h* is now written after the *w*, as for instance in *whale*, *whom*, *wheat*, *while*, which were formerly spelt *hwæl*, *hwæm*, *hwæt*, *hwil*, and in German are *wall-fisch*, *wem*, *weitzen*, *weil*.

This *h* before the consonants *l*, *n*, *r*, and perhaps before vowels also, must have formerly had the sound of *ch*, for in proper names, when these were used in Latin or French, it was replaced by *ch*, as in *Chlodovicus* or *Clovis* for *Hludvig*, *Childeric* and *Childebert* for *Hilderic* and *Hildebert*, *Chlodomere* and *Chlodovalde*. In a few cases this *h* before a consonant has in modern English been replaced by a *c* or *k*, as in *Cleeve* from *hlæw*, and *knoll* from *hnoll*. In Scotch it is become *qu* as in *quhair*, *quhen*, *where*, *when*, *quhene*, a *bit*, from Anglo-Saxon *hwæne*, *quhig*, *why*, from Anglo-Saxon *hwæg*, *quhit*, *wheat*, from Anglo-Saxon *hwæt*.

I am, Sir, Yours,

R. C. ALEXANDER.

Hammermith, Dec. 13th, 1858.

REPORT. 1858.

The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society will not occupy the attention of its Members with any longer Report than will be sufficient concisely to set before them its present condition and the results of the year 1858.

As the Society has now been in existence some years, during which it has had the honour of enrolling among its Members a great number of the most intelligent gentlemen of the county, it will be readily understood that there is no

longer the same expectation of a considerable annual increase in the number of Members, as when the Society was in its infancy.

Owing to a particular circumstance, such increase was still less to be expected during the year 1858. The principal addition of new Members has always hitherto been made at the General Annual Meeting. But, it will be recollected that in consequence of the Two great National Archæological Societies having each held its Congress this summer, within or close upon our own peculiar district, (The Institute, at Bath, and the Association, at Salisbury), it was considered desirable that the General Meeting of our own Society should be for this once, abandoned. The usual opportunity of recruiting our strength has accordingly not occurred.

We have also to regret the loss, by death, withdrawal, or removal from the county, of no less than Ten of our former Members.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, our Society has continued to increase; the number of the names on our books now amounting to 380, being a slight addition since last year.

The next point to which your Committee would call particular attention is a very important one: the Financial position of the Society.

The funds would be in a very prosperous condition, if the Members would only have the goodness to pay up their subscription regularly. But your Committee regrets to say that the amount of subscriptions in arrear and unpaid, is at this present moment, no less than the sum of £130.

Your Committee, in discharge of its duty, ventures very respectfully to point out to the observation of those who have neglected payment, not only the great inconvenience occasioned by such irregularity, but (with all deference they add,) its unfairness. For it should be recollected that every registered Member, whether he had paid his subscription or not, has been duly supplied, from the date of his enrolment to the present time, with the Numbers of the Magazine as they have issued from the Press. In the next place; whatever expense has been and continues to be incurred, either in the publication of the Magazine or in any other of the Society's proceedings, is incurred entirely upon the faith of the subscriptions promised. If the payment is neglected, not only are the accounts deranged and the expenditure crippled; but the necessity must very soon arise, of encroaching upon the Capital of the Society, now invested in Exchequer Bills and bearing interest. Your Committee has referred to this subject with very great reluctance.

The next point is more agreeable: the opening of a Museum and Library in Devizes. This has been happily carried into effect since last year. A complete and accurate catalogue of the contents, prepared by the Assistant Secretary, together with such Rules for the circulation of Books as may be settled by the Library sub-committee, will shortly be distributed among the Members. Whilst returning their best thanks to those gentlemen who have already deposited many valuable and interesting objects, your Committee again solicit continued Donations of Books and specimens in illustration of the Archæology and Natural History of Wiltshire.

With regard to the Wiltshire Magazine, your Committee ventures to express a hope that the Volume for this year has not been found inferior to those that have preceded it. They rejoice to see that the number of Topographical essay-

ists is gradually increasing, and feel that they may safely refer to some of the later articles as a proof that it is fairly fulfilling its task of elucidating the Natural History as well as the Archæology of the county. Your Committee cannot mention the Magazine without renewing their best thanks to one of their Secretaries, the Rev. Canon Jackson, for his continued attention as Editor; and they desire also to express the acknowledgments of the Society to Mr. Poulett Scrope for his great liberality in providing at his own expense the Map which accompanies his interesting paper on the Geology of Wiltshire.

One other subject only remains to be noticed: the importance of increasing the number of Members. It is the decided belief of your Committee that there are still many gentlemen in the county who would be very willing to join the Society, if its character and object were brought more immediately under their notice. With this view the Secretaries have prepared, and put in circulation, a PROSPECTUS, containing a summary of the Society's plan and proceedings past and present. They respectfully ask the co-operation of the existing Members, in the endeavour to obtain as far as possible, the sympathy, encouragement and help, of every educated person in the County of Wilts.

Erratum.

- p. 94, l. 9. For 'and stone' *read* 'sandstone.'
 „ l. 23. For 'thought' *read* 'through.'
 p. 95, l. 30. Dele comma after 'employed in it.'
 „ last line. For 'represent' *read* 'representing.'
 p. 96, first line. For 'are an accurate copy' *read* 'are as an accurate copy.'
 p. 109, l. 3. For 'spot' *read* 'spots.'
 p. 193, l. 12. For 'þære,' *read* 'þære.'
 „ l. 14. For 'þær,' *read* 'þære.'
 „ l. 15. For 'Wylsæte,' *read* 'Wylsæte.'
 „ „ For 'dæl,' *read* 'dæl.'
 „ l. 18. For 'þæt,' *read* 'þæt.'
 p. 197, l. 13. For 'speaking,' *read* 'spelling.'
 „ l. 29. For, the 2nd, 'ey,' *read* 'eye.'
 „ l. 2 from bottom. For 'Ægean,' *read* 'Æg-can.'
 p. 199, l. 7 from bottom. For 'forbid,' *read* 'forbids.'
 p. 202, l. 12. For 'föder,' *read* 'fader.'
 p. 203, l. 20. *After* 'Saxon,' *insert* 'origin.'
 p. 205, l. 25. For 'hence,' *read* 'thence.'

END OF VOL. V.

A G E N T S

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