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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

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

The Last Will of Thomas Gore, the Antiquary.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.

“**D**HESAURIZAT et ignorat cui congregabit ea,”—“Man heapeth up riches and cannot tell for whom he gathers them,”—is a truth much older than the Psalm in which it is found. It is surely as old as the time of the very first antediluvian (whoever he may have been) who had the opportunity of heaping up riches. As with money, so with “Collections” of all sorts, books, MSS., pictures, china, &c.: witness the auctioneers’ advertisements every London “Season.”

The following document, being the Last Will and Testament of Thomas Gore, Esq., of Alderton, an amateur Herald and Genealogist of the seventeenth century, is not a bad instance of the wonderful pains that collectors sometimes take to keep together articles very precious to themselves, but which a very few years are enough to dissipate. His name is well known to Wiltshire Archæologists: and other readers may find some account of him in vol. iv. p. 107, and vol. viii. p. 282, of this Magazine, as well as a Pedigree of his family and further notices in the volume of “*Wiltshire Collections*, Aubrey and Jackson,” pp. 46, 51. John Aubrey and Thomas Gore were for a long time great friends; and in the work just referred to, there are frequent “*mems.*” by Aubrey in difficulty, “*Quære T. G. de hoc.*” But at last they fell out: and then, just as Anthony à Wood after quarrelling with Aubrey, spoke of him as “maggotty-headed;” so, in his turn, Aubrey, when his friendship with T. G. was broken up, stigmatizes his quondam crony as “a fiddling peevish fellow.”

Mr. Thomas Gore was a very precise and accurate person: but he carried his accuracy to such excess as to become ludicrously formal in trifling matters. The original name of his parish was Aldrington, corrupted into Alderton. So tenacious was he of the right spelling, that upon such very common occasions as giving a receipt for a few pounds paid by a tenant on his own estate, he would invariably use the older name "Aldrington," but not unfrequently carefully identifies it as "Aldrington, *aliàs* Alderton." He devoted a great deal of time and pains to the compilation of a Family Register (a kind of record, by the way, of the greatest utility, in all families), in which he not only duly enters all such events as births, deaths, and marriages, and the times and places thereof, but distends the entries by adding at full length the names, titles, description, residence as to place and county, of all the godfathers, godmothers, &c., till what might have occupied a couple of lines is made to fill up half a page. In the same MS. volume, which is most beautifully executed, both as to hand writing and Heraldic illustrations, all done by himself, he sets forth at full length, all the purchases of land made by his family, with the title deeds at full length—that length being fortunately much less than is thought necessary now-a-days. When he comes down to his own period, and has to describe, one of the most important events of his life, viz., his appointment, to the office of High Sheriff of Wilts in 1680-1, nothing can exceed the ludicrous emphasis he lays upon the ordinary proceedings of the appointment, including an elaborate account of his setting forth from his own door at "Aldrington *aliàs* Alderton," his ride to Salisbury Assizes, all that was done there, and the journey back. Garter King at Arms could not have recorded with more official particularity the coronation or progress of a Sovereign.

A "Last Will and Testament" being of course a document that requires to be couched in as precise terms as possible, the reader will see that good Thomas Gore who drew up his own, (certainly at least so far as concerns the description of his favourite valuables) was by no means inattentive to the demands of so solemn an occasion. Although the family chattels and curiosities therein described have long since shared the usual fate of dispersion, one or two of his

MSS. have found their way into the British Museum. The most valuable of all, viz., the Family Register above alluded to, is now in my own possession: having been given to me by George Poulett Scrope, Esq., late of Castle Combe, who had purchased it many years ago from a remote descendant of the Gores of Alderton.

Thomas Gore wrote out in his own fine hand and executed his will in duplicate (for precaution sake). From one of the originals, also in my possession, the following copy is printed.

“IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. Upon the 20th day of July in the five and thirtieth year of our Sovereigne Lord CHARLES the second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., And in the yeare of our Lord God 1683 according to the English computation.

“I THOMAS GORE of Aldrington *alias* Alderton in the County of Wilts, Esq., being in reasonable good health and of sound and perfect memory (thanks be given to Almighty God) calling to remembrance the uncertain state of this transitory life and that all Flesh must yield unto death when it shall please God to call, And desiring in this my perfect memory so to settle and dispose of such worldly estate as it hath pleased God of his goodness to bestow upon me, That it be not a trouble and perplexity unto me in my last sickness when it shall please God to call me out of this troublesome world, to the disquieting of soule and conscience (which I labour to prepare for God’s most blessed visitation) And for the quieting of my said estate that no contention nor strife may arise or grow concerning the same after my decease, revoakeing all former Wills by me made DO THEREFORE make, constitute, ordain and declare my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following: AND first before all things, as becometh a Christian, being penitent and sorry from the bottome of my heart for all my sins past, most humbly desiring forgiveness for the same, I bequeathe my soule into the hands of Almighty God my Maker, Trusting and assuredly believing that through the obedience and sufferings of JESUS CHRIST my Blessed Saviour, I shall have free and cleare Remission of all my sins, And that after this transitory life ended I shall be partaker of the Heavenly Kingdome which God hath prepared for his ELECT.

And as concerning my Body, I willingly commend it to the earth whence it came, to be Buried with Christian Buriall in the Chancell of the Parish Church of Aldrington *aliàs* Alderton aforesaid (where the greatest part of my ancestors lye interred) in such decent and comely manner but very privately and without any great Funerall, as shall seem good to my Executor and his Gardians hereafter named, nothing doubting but according to the Article of my Faith, at the Great Day of the General Resurrection when we shall all appear before the Judgement seat of Christ, I shall receive the same againe by the Mighty Power of God whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself, not a Corruptible Mortall and Vile Body as it is now, but an incorruptible, immortall, strong and perfect Body, in all points like unto the Glorious Body of my Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. And as concerning my Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattles which GOD of his Bounty hath bestowed upon me, I Give, Devise and Bequeath the same in manner and forme following (That is to say)

“IMPRIMIS I give and bequeath towards the Reparation of the Parish church of Aldrington *aliàs* Alderton aforesaid 20^s. To the Poor of the said Parish Five Pounds: Also towards the reparation of the Church of Hullavington Co. Wilts 20^s. to the poor of the said parish Three pounds, To the poor of the Parish of Grittleton *aliàs* Grittleington 20^s. Item unto my very loveing friend Mr. John Hayes of Castle Combe, clerk And to my Godson Thomas Hayes his son 20^s. apiece to buy each of them a Ring as a token of my love to be paid unto each of them within one year after my decease, being demanded. Item to Mr. Nathaniell Friend of Westerleigh Co. Glou. 20^s. for a Ring, To my Friend Mr. Richard Goodenough of Easton Towne in Great Sherston 20^s. for a ring, To my worthy friend Mr. John Byrom, Clerk, Rector of Stanton Quintin 20^s., To Mr. Richard Weekesy, Clerk, Vicar of Great Sherestone 20^s. to my dear friend Mr. Richard Brown, Clerk, Rector of Great Somerford 20^s. to my deare kinsman Mr. John Tomlinson the elder of the City of London 20^s., Item to my loveinge friend John Long of Nettleton yeoman 20^s., Item to Christopher Jacob of Dyrham, Co. Glouc., joyner, 20^s., Item to Edward Watts the elder

of Aldrington *alias* Alderton, Husbandman, and to John Watts son of Edward 20^s. apiece, Item to my faithfull servant Robert Hewett of Aldrington *alias* Alderton Twenty Pounds, Item to my servant John Milsome of Aldrington *alias* Alderton 20^s. Item unto such man-servant whoever he shall be that shall be my servant to waite on me in my chamber at the time of my decease 20^s. and one of my ordinary suites of Apparrell of cloath or stufte to be appointed by my executor in Trust for and gardians to my executor hereinafter named during his minority. Item to such maid servant as shall wash my cloaths and make clean my chamber at the time of my decease 20^s. But it is my will that if any of them dye before my decease or before the time appointed for the payment of their legacies (within one year) the bequest to be voyde. Item, to my dear Brother Charles Gore Esq. £30 to be paid within Two years. Item to my honoured Brother in law John Scrope of Castle Combe Esq. 40^s. to buy him a ring, to be paid within two years if he shall be living. Item, to my dear Cousins Charles Scrope, Stephen Scrope, John Scrope, Thomas Scrope, Anne Scrope, Lydia Scrope and Helena Scrope, children of the aforesaid John Scrope Esq. by my deare Sister Anna deceased, the sum of 40^s. apiece to be paid within two years, the share of any one dying to be divided among the rest, the legacies to be paid to John Scrope Esq. during any minority. Item I give and bequeath unto my wife Mary Gore my paire of silver Tankards of the biggest size, my douzen of faire silver spoons, my two faire silver sugar-dishes with two handles affixed to each of them, my silver Spanish sugar-dish having at one end a head like an Eagle's and my silver Funnell, and all such peeces of plate which were her's before our intermarriage, of her own buying, or given her by her Father, Mother or other Relations, and not of my buying or gift: As also my two silver sacke-bowles: also the Necklace of Eight Rowes of Pearle which I bought for her since my marriage, and the gold ring set with Diamonds which I also bought for her since my marriage: And also the globe of goldsmith's work enameled, with the gold chain thereunto belonging which she used to wear by her side, together with the gold watch which I also bought her: and also the Bed and Bedstead, pallet-bed and Bedstead with

all things thereunto belonging being in the chamber where my said wife lyeth in the New Buildings lately erected by me at Aldrington *alias* Alderton aforesaid, together with the Hanginge, couch, window curtains, Table cloaths, side-tables, standards, hanging shelve, one pair of faire andirons and a small pair of creepers, the bellowes, fire-shovel and tonges, the furniture of the said chamber, as also the hangings, window curtains, chaires, stooles and side-board, the furniture of the room commonly called the Dressing-room being also within my wife's chamber aforesaid, and also the hangings, side-table, hanging shelve and furniture belonging to her closet within her chamber aforesaid And also all such linnen as I bought since my intermarriage with her and marked with the Letters of both myne and her name : And also a douzen of pewter dishes and two douzen of pewter plates, and one pewter flagon to be taken indifferently out of my Pewter : also two potts, two kettles and two skilletts to be taken out of my Brasse but so as to my greatest and best pot and my greatest and best kettle shall not be taken ; as also two of my spits, one Iron dripping pan and one warming pan and one brass chaffing Dish. Item I give unto my deare daughter Mary Gore my silver skillett with its cover, my wrought guilt casting bottle with a guilt chaine affixt thereunto which was my Grandmother's by my mother's side and doth usually hang in my wife's chamber or closet : A wrought silver fruit-dish with a Foot, which was my Father's, and also my gold ring enameled, and set with Nine Diamonds which was my deare Mother's, my English Testament with the Common Prayer with curious cuts in it, having a cover of crimson velvet laid over with plates of carved silver, my Bible covered with white satin wrought in divers coloured silks and embroidered with gold and silver, the worke of my deare Mother, Mrs. Lydia Gore deceased : As also a sweet Bag of my said mother's own working with silk in Tent stitch, containing the story of Abraham's servant meeting Rebecca : as also a purse wrought in coloured silk and gold in cross stitch by my said mother : as also my cloath Bed of a sad colour lined with Lemmon-coloured sarsnet which I bought against my wife lay in Child Bed of my said daughter, with all things thereunto belonging ; and in case she dye

before attaining 21 years, then all the legacies devised to her, to go to my son and heir Thomas Gore, and if he die before 21 years, then to the person that shall have and take my Manors, &c. Item I give and bequeathe unto my dear son and heir apparent Thomas Gore aforesaid the use and occupation of all and singular the Books, Rolls, Plate, Goods and utensils hereafter mentioned (That is to say) Of my paire of silver flagons, my silver chaffing-dish, my paire of silver candlesticks with the silver snuffers and extinguisher belonging unto them, my biggest silver salt with a Nest of seaven little trencher-salts, my silver bowle in escallop work which was my deare Father's: my little silver tankarde marked on the Handles with T.G., my guilt standing cup with a cover as also a faire wrought guilt salt with a cover, and two little wrought guilt trencher salts, and also of three wrought guilt wine-bowles All which guilt plate was formerly my Grandfather's by my mother's aide. And also of my Ten guilt spoons which I bought when I was a youth and are marked with T.G., my chaine of gold which was given me by my grandmother by my mother's side, and her wedding ring of gold with this Poesy 'GOD HAS BROUGHT TO PASS THAT WHICH UNLIKELY WAS.' And also of a gold seale-ring having W.W. engraven upon it, which was my grandfather's by my mother's side (William White). All which I desire may be kept safe together in remembrance of them. And also of my gold seale engraven with my Paternal Coate of Armes with Mantle and crest. And also my silver seale having my whole Atchievemente: viz: Paternal coat Quarterings, Mantle, crest and motto engraven therein (*Vi et Virtute*). And also of both my seales in steel, in one of which is engraven my paternal coat with my quarterings within a compartment, and on a scroll underneath, my motto. And also an antient seale of Bone containing my Paternal coat and Quarterings with which my Ancestors did formerly seale many of their Deeds and evidences And also of my wrought silver watch with divers motions in it which was my dear Mother's which I desire may be kept in remembrance of her. And also of my Universal Diall of Brass double-guilt made in the fashion of a faire round watch, with the case of Turkey leather belonging thereunto. And also of my

Greek Testament curiously bound up in black sealeskin having silver clasps, and plates of silver at the corners and one plate of silver of a lozenge-form in the middle of the covers whereon is engraved my Paternal coat. Together with my Latine Bible bound up in Turkey leather which was my deare Father's. And also of an ancient Pedigree of my Family drawne and confirmed under the hands of William Dethick, Garter, Principall King of Arms, and William Camden, Clarencieux King of Arms. And also of another Pedigree of my Family in Latin, drawne more faire and large in velome, together with the Box wherein it is kept with the Lock and Key belonging thereunto. And also of another Pedigree of my Family drawn and depicted in parchment, confirmed by George Owen not long since York Herald and Thomas Thomson———

And also of a LARGE MANUSCRIPT in Folio entituled "SYNTAGMA GENEALOGICUM, or a Genealogical Treatise of the Family of the GORES of ALDRINGTON *aliàs* ALDERTON," &c., containing a true and exact account of their Armes, Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Issues, Lands, Last wills and Testaments, Deaths, Burials, Inventories, Probats of Wills, &c., extracted out of Records, Leger-Books, Printed Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Parish Registers, Court Rolls, Evidences, Visitations of Counties, Tombes and Arms: which Booke I do enjoyne my son carefully to preserve and continue all his time in the same methode as it is begun, and so to transmit it to Posterity. And also of a Plate of copper wherein is engraven my Atchievement containing my coat Armour well marshalled with my Quarterings, Helmet Wreath, Crest, Mantle and Motto. And Two more Copper-plates containing my coat Armour with my Quarterings within their compartments: and foure other copper-plates of several sizes containing my Paternall Coat with Crest and Motto, which I desire may also be transmitted to Posterity. As also a plate of Copper, wherein seaven distinct seales belonging to some of my Ancestors are curiously engraven. As also two other plates of copper in one of which is my Paternall Coate of Arms engraven in the midst with many faire flourishings at each end for Prints to be placed on the Top of Epistles dedicatory in Books. In the other is only engraven a Basket of Fruite and Flowers, for Prints to be

set at the end of Books (below the Finis) for ornament's sake. As also my Paternall coate of Arms environ'd with Lawrell engraven in Brass and set in wood for a stamp to make an impression on the Covers of Books. And also of a very faire Manuscript in Parchment, in a long Quarto neatly bound up in Calves Leather, having my Paternall coat of Arms imprinted on the covers and gilded, containing an exact and perfect Survey and View of the Mannors of Aldrington *aliàs* Alderton and Surrenden, &c: and also part of the Farme of Clapcot in the Parish of Grittleton *aliàs* Grittlington &c., By Christopher Jacob, Anno Domini 1665. And also of a true and exact Mapp of the aforesaid Mannors delineated in Velome and coloured by the same surveyor; together with the Box wherein it is kept, with the Lock and Key belonging thereunto: Both of which I desire may be preserved for future generations, if God of his grace and bounty shall be pleased to continue our Family. And also of the biggest of my Pots of Brass or Bell-metall which was my Ancestors' for many generations, which I desire may be transmitted to posterity. And also of the Tester, Vallance and other things belonging to the Furniture of a Bed which was my deare Mother's being of Black Velvet having a variety of sorts of living creatures, &c., wrought in divers coloured silks, and embroidered thereupon. And also my paire of Vallance together with a greate chair and two stooles all wrought in silk of divers colours by my deare Mother. And also I give and bequeath unto my said son Thomas Gore the use and occupation of all my Books, Rolls both printed and in manuscript, not before given and bequeathed; and of my Ancient cabinet plated with Iron with the Three Locks and Keyes belonging thereunto. And of my chest of Drawers of oak not long since made by Christopher Jacob wherein I usually keep my Ancient Deeds and Evidences, together with the Locks and Keys belonging to the same. And also of One Hundred Pounds in Twenty shilling peeces of Gold which my deare Mother left to me as a token of her affection; as also of a crusado of Portugall in gold, in value (as I suppose) about Three pounds and 12 or 15 shillings. A Peece of Queen Mary's gold in value about 40 shillings, and another peece of Gold of Queen Elizabeth in value about 30 shillings, which I desire may

be transmitted unto posterity : Together with all other my Ancient Coynes of Gold, Silver, Brasse and Copper whatsoever ; All which Ancient Coynes I do give and bequeath to my said son Thomas Gore. Item : I give and bequeath unto the said Thomas Gore the use and occupation of my paire of globes, my Three Brass Quadrants and all other my mathematical Instruments, hoping that as he grows in years so he will be more and more desirous to attaine the knowledge of the most laudable arts and sciences not a little adorning a gentleman : And also of the Pictures of my dear Father and mother both before and after her marriage : As also of my grandfather and grandmother and my great grandfather by my mother's side. And it is my will that my said son shall have the use and occupation of all and singular the said Books, Rolls, Plate, Goods and utensills aforesaid untill he shall attaine the age of one and twenty years and that after my said son shall attaine the age of 21, I give unto him the absolute property thereof."

The will then provides that in case of the death of his son and daughter (he had no other children living) all the valuables so minutely detailed above should go to such person as in virtue of any devise in his will should be in the enjoyment of his Landed estate. To his daughter he bequeaths £2200 : to forfeit thereout £100 in case she should, under 21 years of age, marry without consent of the Executor in trust : but if she should take unto her as a husband "Mr. John Probin son of Richard Probin of the city of Hereford, ironmonger," then she was to be disinherited, and receive for all her portion only the sum of £20. Then follows a somewhat curious clause, considering that he had only two children living. "Item, I give and bequeath unto all such other of my children both male and female who shall be living at the time of my decease the sum of Five pounds apeece to be paid them within one year after my decease in full of their several portions.

His property consisted of the Manor of "Aldrington *aliàs* Alderton, then about 1900 Acres : of the Manor of Surrenden in the parish of Hullavington, about 2180 Acres, and three closes in Clapcot in the parish of Grittleton called Pate-mead, Bottoms and Nethercote which he had purchased of one Thomas Coleman : all

this he left in tail to his son, remainder to his daughter, his brother Charles Gore, and Charles and Thomas Scrope, his deceased sister's sons. Thomas Gore his son to be his sole executor on reaching 21 years. The will then proceeds:—

“And I do hereby declare unto my said son and daughter that I have unto them a tender fatherly affection and a great hope and confidence in them that (by the good assistance of their gardians to whose advice I enjoyne them to submitt) they and after them, in case they shall decease as aforesaid without Issue, my deare brother aforesaid will diligently and faithfully perform this my will in all points according to the true intent and meaning thereof. And I desire, or rather by the authority of a Father strictly charge and enjoyne each of my said children in the words of David to Solomon his son, I. Chron. xxviii., 9. ‘*Know thou the GOD of thy Fathers and serve him with a perfect heart and willing minde: for the Lord searcheth all hearts and understandeth all imaginations of the thoughts. If thou seek Him he will be found of thee, but if thou forsake Him, he will cast thee off for ever.*’ And in the words of The Preacher, Eccl: xii., 1, ‘*Remember thy Creator in the dayes of thy youth,*’ &c. And seeing wee live in such unhappy dayes that we see the Proverbe verified, ‘*Concordia fratrum cara est,*’ I shall add that of the Apostle, Heb. xii., 1, ‘*Let Brotherly Love continue.*’ O let it be impossible for any to separate them in affection who are so linked together in Nature!”

His Exors. in Trust were his “much honoured and well-beloved friends and near relations John Jacob, Esq., of Norton [the next parish], Charles Gore, Esq., of Aldrington *aliàs* Alderton, his brother, John Jacob the younger, and George Weare of Hinton in Dyrham, Co. Gloucester,” to each of whom he bequeathed “Five pounds a-piece to buy every of them “a Ring which I desire may be inscribed with this Motto or Poesy: ‘*Sit tibi cura Pupilli:* earnestly requesting them to have in his stead a tender and fatherly care of the children committed to their faith. And faithfully to direct and assist my said daughter in disposing of her self in marriage, that she may by the good counsell of his friends and Relations the Exors. in Trust, (if God so provide) be married without disparagement, and according to her condition.”

The will was executed in two parts indented : the one to be proved in due form of law, the other to be retained in the custody of executors. Witnesses, Richard Weeksey, clerk, Robert Davis, Daniel Holborow, Jo. Long, Thomas Osbourne, and Isaac Osborne.

The daughter's apprehended union with Mr. John Probin the son of the Hereford ironmonger did not take place, but she became the wife of Thomas Poulden, Esq., of Imber, Co. Wilts, and died in 1690.

J. E. JACKSON.

On the White Horses of Wiltshire and its Neighbourhood.

By the Rev. W. C. PLENDERLEATH.

Read before the Society, at Trowbridge, August, 1872.

SOUTHEY remarks in his "Doctor" (§ 34, part 1.) that "whatever strengthens our local attachments is favourable both to the individual and national character. Our home, our birth-place, our native land—think for awhile what the virtues are which arise out of the feelings connected with these words; and if thou hast any intellectual eyes, thou wilt perceive the connection between topography and patriotism."

And if this estimate of his be in any way correct, I do not think that I need seek any further justification for my attempt to put before the Members of this Society, many of whom have lived all their lives in close proximity to one or other of these singular memorials of antiquity, the White Horses of Wiltshire and its neighbourhood, such details as I have been able to collect—some historical, and some only traditional or probable—of their origin.

And first of all I will remark upon the employment of animal forms from the very earliest periods as the badge or symbol of nations. The *Phocæ*, or Seals, of the Phocæans; the *Chelonæ*, or Tortoises, of the Æginetans; and the *Scarabæi*, or Beetles, of the Egyptians, all date from several centuries before the Christian era,

and appear to have been persistently retained during very long periods of time. To which I may add the Horse itself as a well-known Thracian Type, of which I show an example from a coin of Maronæa, in that country, which as is judged by that learned numismatologist, Mr. Noel Humphreys, must have been struck somewhere about the year 450 B.C. (C. C. Manual, vol. i. p. 43.)

Horses appear to have from very early days been the objects of religious regard. Cyrus is reported by Herodotus (p. i, § 189) to have had some in his army when marching towards Babylon, and we hear again of the "sacred horses" as passing over the Hellespont immediately before Xerxes himself, in the vii. book of the same history, § 55. At a later period Tacitus says, in his treatise "*de moribus Germanorum*:" "These people have certain horses, which are kept in their sacred groves, untouched and free from any sort of mortal labour (*candidati et nullo mortali opere contacti*); and when they are harnessed to the sacred chariot, the priest and the king, or the chief man of the city go with them, and observe their neighings and whinnings. Nor is there any sort of augury to which more importance is attached—not only in the minds of the people, but also in that of the nobles and priests, for they imagine them to be conscious ministers of the Gods."

Again in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 626 (ed. 1844) it is said that the worship of the horse was common to the Celtic and Germanic as well as to the Slavonic tribes; and in the saga of Olaf Trygvesson it is reported that Olaf, hearing of the inhabitants of Drontheim having relapsed into the worship of Freyr, sailed himself with an expedition and destroyed their temple. "And when he landed" adds the Chronicler "he found the sacred horses of the God feeding in the precincts of the temple." And in connection with this part of the subject I may mention a coin of the Belindi of which a representation is given by the Marquis de Lagoy, on which appears a very singular representation of a horse standing within a distyle temple. This he supposes to have been a type of the Goddess Epona, who is mentioned by Apuleius (*Metamorph. III.*) which may or may not be the case. (See *Archæologia*, xxxi., p. 297.)

S. Bede the Venerable, also speaks of the reverence shewn by our

ancestors to the horse, and it is perhaps probable that when Caligula spoke of raising his horse to the consulship, it was not a mere freak of imperial caprice, but was with the idea of a compliment to the superstition of his Gallic and British subjects.

Among the Scandinavian nations, the horse was not only an object of religious reverence, but the sacrifice of horses appears to have been one of their sacred rites. I find in a curious book of Keysler's called *Antiquitates selecta Septentrionales*, a quotation from Dithmar, Bishop of Merseberg, a historian of the XI. Century, in which he says of the Danes, "There is a place in these parts, the capital of the country, called Lethra, in the district of Selon, where the whole people are accustomed to come together, and there to sacrifice to their Gods ninety-nine men, and as many horses, together with dogs and cocks, with the certain hope of appeasing the Gods by these victims." *Ditm. Mers. T. 1, p. 327.* And Sturleson, in his "*Vita Haquini Adelstani*," says "*mac-tabant omnis generis animalia, præsertim equos quoque.*" And again Agathius Scholasticus de rebus Justiniani says "the Alemanni are accustomed to appease the deities of certain trees, sacrificing to them horses and many other victims with their heads thrown back." And Hartknock tells us the same thing with regard to the Prussi, and Herod. Halic. with regard to the Scythians.

After the sacrifices followed a feast upon the flesh of the victims, called "*Blotfagnat*" or "*Blotveislör*," of which we have some very curious details in the *Saga of Haco*, cap. 18. I quote a few lines: "On the feast day, as soon as they had sat down to the tables, the country folks came to the king, and prayed him to taste the horse flesh. And when he would on no account consent to do this, they entreated him to drink some of the gravy. Which when he equally refused, they assure him that the fat would be far from disagreeable. At last Sigard makes petition that he will at least bend down towards the cauldron and touch the handle of it with the tip of his lips. Accordingly the king rose up and having first covered the handle with linen, applied the extremity of his lips to the cauldron. Then taking his place again upon the royal seat he is hailed by all as having clearly done that which was well-pleasing to the people."

Haco was at this time a Christian king, though he is said afterwards to have relapsed into idolatry, and you will readily understand that what was "well-pleasing" to his heathen subjects was very far from being so to the ecclesiastical authorities of the day. And we accordingly find that the eating of horseflesh was prohibited under the severest penalties by several popes. Gregory III. (A.D. 731—741) in his Epistle to Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, says: "You have mentioned to me among other things, that some persons eat the flesh of the wild horse, and most persons that of the domesticated one. This, very holy Brother, you must on no account allow for the future, but restrain in every possible way, and impose a suitable penance upon the offenders. For it is an unclean and execrable thing to do." *Conf. Phil. Labbei and Gabr. Cossartii SS. Conc. VI.*, p. 1468. And his successor, Zachary (A.D. 741—752), says "even beavers and hares, much more wild horses are to be avoided [for food.]" See Serar. *Epist.*, 142.

In the Saga of Olaf which I have before quoted, I also find the Swedes spoken of as "horse eaters." "Equorum voratores nobis non esse timendos." Saga, c. 66, p. 230.

Perhaps it may not be altogether foreign to our subject, considering the extensive connection of the great Indo-Germanic nations, to refer in passing to the Aswamedha or Ashummeed (for I find it spelled thus differently by different writers), *i.e.*, the sacrifice of a horse enjoined by the rites of the Hindoo mythology, and to the reverence paid to the consecrated animal previous to the consummation of the sacrifice. The description given by Southey in his *Curse of Kehama* singularly reminds us of some of the very phraseology of Tacitus, to which I have referred before:—

"Along the mead the hallowed steed
Still wanders wheresoe'er he will,
O'er hill, or dale, or plain;
No human hand hath tricked that mane
From which he shakes the morning dew;
His mouth has never felt the rein,
His lips have never frothed the chain;
For pure of blemish and of stain
His neck unbroke to mortal yoke
Like Nature free the steed must be
Fit offering for the Immortals he.

A year and a day the steed must stray
 Wherever chance may guide his way,
 Before he fall at Seeva's shrine.
 The year and day have passed away,
 Nor touch of man hath marred the rite divine."—§ viii.

(See also Halhed's *Darul Shekuh*, and Wilford's *Asiatic Researches*.)

I cannot resist the temptation to quote here a note appended to this description in my edition of Southey. "Compare with this," says the editor, "the account of the Bengal horses in the very amusing work of Captain Williamson—'which said horses have Roman noses, narrow foreheads, white eyes, ugly ears, square heads, thin necks, narrow chests, shallow girths, lank bellies, cat hams, goose flanks, and switch tails!'"

Let us hope that no one will be unkind enough to apply this description to any of our White Horses; although indeed beauty does not seem to have been one of the characteristics by which the fabled horses of our ancestors were distinguished. For in an old poem of the 6th century called "the *Talisman of Cunobeline*," the name of the sacred horses is "Trycethin." And "cethin" means "the hideous one."

Leaving however now this introductory branch of the subject, we must proceed to consider the White Horses in somewhat of detail.

And first, the Great Uffington sire and prototype of all of them will of course claim our attention.

Now the earliest mention of this horse which I have been able to discover, occurs in a Cartulary of the Abbey of Abingdon, which must have been written either in the reign of Henry II., or soon after. This runs as follows:—

"*Consuetudinis apud Anglos tunc erat, ut monachi qui vellent, pecuniarum patrimoniorumque forent susceptibiles, ipsisque fruentes quomodo placueret dispensarent. Unde et in Abbendoniâ duo, Leofricus et Godericus Cild appellati, quorum unus, Godericus, Spersholt, juxta locum qui vulgò Mons Albi Equi nuncupatur, alter Leofricus Hwitceorce super flumen Tamisie maneria sita patrimoniali jure abtinebant. . . . dom^{no} Adelelmo abbati dominatum loci hujus obtinente.*" Cottonian MSS., Claud. c. ix., fol. 132.

[It was then customary among the English for any monks who

wished, to retain power over their money or landed estates, and both to use and devolve them according to their pleasure. Hence two monks of the monastery at Abingdon, named Leofric and Godrick Cild, appear to have obtained manors situated upon the Thames by right of inheritance, the one of whom, Godrick, held Spersholt, near the place commonly known as the Whitehorse Hill, and the other, Leofric, that of Whitechurch, during the time that Aldhelm was Abbot of this place.]

This Aldhelm appears to have been Abbot from 1072 to 1084, and from the terms in which the White Horse Hill is mentioned, the name was evidently an old one at that time.

Now it was only 200 years before this time that a very famous victory was gained by King Alfred over the Danes close to this very spot. "Four days after the battle of Reading (*i.e.*, A.D. 871)," says Asser, "King Æthelred, and Alfred his brother fought against the whole army of the pagans at Ashdown. . . . And the flower of the pagan youths were there slain, so that neither before nor since, was ever such destruction known since the Saxons first gained Britain by their arms." And it was in memory of this victory, that, according to local tradition, King Alfred caused his men, on the day after the battle, to cut out the White Horse, the standard of Hengist, on the hill-side just under the castle. The name Hengist, or Hengst, I may remind you, means *stone horse* in the Saxon language, and Bishop Nicholson, in his "English Atlas," goes so far as to suppose the names of Hengist and Horsa to have been, not proper at all, but simply emblematical, even as, says he, "the Emperor of the Germans was called the Eagle, and the King of France the Lilly.

And in fact the probability of this tradition of the memorialization of Alfred's victory by the Uffington Horse has often been a subject of controversy among antiquarians. Aubrey, in the valuable transcript of his MSS. annotated by Sir R. Hoare, which we have in the library of this Society, unhesitatingly says, "The White Horse was made by Hengist, who bore one on his arms or standard," p. 41. I see, however, that Mr. Hughes is reported in the *Times* of June 10th, in last year, to have said, in a communication to the

Newbury Field Club, "There are other sites within the old Ashdown district, which answer the description of the chroniclers, and have evidently been the scene of battles, and I cannot therefore aver positively that the Danes occupied Uffington Castle, and the Saxons Barwell and Alfred Camps, on the night before this great struggle. Nor am I sure (and this is perhaps even greater heresy) that our White Horse was cut out on the hill after the battle. Indeed I incline to believe that it was there long before, and that Ethelred and Alfred could not have spent an hour on such a work in the crisis of 871." On the other hand, in 1738, Dr. Francis Wise, a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, published a letter to Dr. Mead in which he strongly upholds the Alfred memorial theory, paralleling with it the cutting out of a whole rock into the likeness of herself by Semiramis, and the engravings said to have been made by Hannibal upon the rocks in memory of his exploits. To him appeared an answer, two years later, entitled "The impertinence and imposture of modern Antiquaries displayed by Philalethes Rusticus,"—whose name is added in apparently contemporary pen and ink in the British Museum copy to be "Mr. Bumsted,"—a not unknown name. (There is however in our own Museum another copy, in which the name of Esplin is given as that of the author.) He says "Though he has Resemblance enough to be called a Horse as properly as any other Quadruped, yet I can not say He is a perfect Picture of a Horse.—As to his Head, it wants a little Repairing. The Rest of His forehead is not so much amiss, especially not at all too short, being from his ears to his withers about 50 of my Paces, *i.e.*, 150 feet. But then he is quite a *light bodied* one: I may say for a Horse that has lain so long at grass, carries *no body at all*; insomuch that should he take up hill, were I upon the Back of him, I should be under terrible apprehensions he would slip through his Girth. If his tail is as it was from the Beginning, it is a plain case he never carried it well; but just as you have seen a Fox drag his brush when almost down. . . . This perhaps might be helped by Nicking, but that being a modern invention, would derogate from his Antiquity, which is all in all."

Again, "It was one of the wise sayings of our ancestors, even

our *Saxon Ancestors*, that ‘a Good Horse was never of a bad Colour,’ and might I be worthy to interpose my private Opinion, the Horse we are now upon happens to be a *white one* only because his native soil abounds with Chalk or a sort of Limestone. Just as that other Nag of Renown, from whom the vale of *Red Horse* is denominated, happens to be red only because he is cut in a ruddy Soil.” This, I may observe, is a hit at a passage in Mr. Wise’s letter, in which he quotes a statement from Kranzius, that “Witichind, upon his conversion from the darkness of Paganism, was the first who took the white colt for his device, in allusion to the brightness of Christianity, having till that time used a black one.” This black horse would I suppose be the “Pybyr Llai Llwynim” of Druidical tradition, “The horse of the gloom of the grove.” See Myvyrian Archæol., vol. ii., p. 20. “Which things put me in mind of a certain learned Academick, who much admiring that his Horse being turned out in the Snow, should roll in it, was very gravely told it was ‘because he had nowhere else to roll.’ In a word whoever will have such sort of Horse must be content with such sort of *Colour* as the Country affords, however he may blazon his own Arms. . . . I may venture to hold him (*i.e.*, Dr. Wise) a small Wager, that should the Horse scape a Scouring but two Seven Years more, his *Dapple* would become a *Green one*; which would be a still greater *Rarity* for all true Lovers of Antiquity.”

To this pamphlet an anonymous answer of no great interest was published in London the following year, and then the matter appears to have been allowed to rest until revived by a letter by Mr. W. J. Thoms to the Society of Antiquaries (*Archæologia* xxxi., p. 289), in which he expresses his belief that this horse was simply a memorial of the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity taking the form of one of the White Horses which used formerly to be preserved in their sacred ash groves. “The extensive downs,” he says, “near which the White Horse is found were formerly remarkable for ash groves. The memory of this is preserved in the parish of Ashbury (anciently Ashdown), and Letcomb Ashes. And the ash tree was formerly held sacred, as being ‘the tree under which the Gods sat in judgment,’ and ‘the tree from which man was formed.’” And

Plot, in his history of Staffordshire, says that common people believe to this day that it is dangerous to break a bough from the ash.

Mr. Ackerman of Lewisham, in the *Archæologia*, and Mr. Matcham and Mr. Poulett Scrope, in the pages of our own Magazine (vol. iv., p. 306, vol. v., p. 261), have also had somewhat to say on this matter, but their writings would be too long for me to quote now. I will content myself with simply further indicating a few other ancient documents in which the Uffington Horse is mentioned.

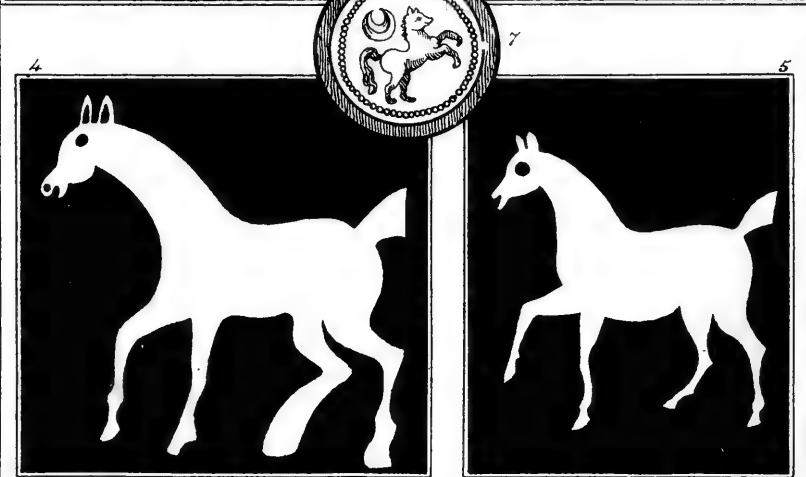
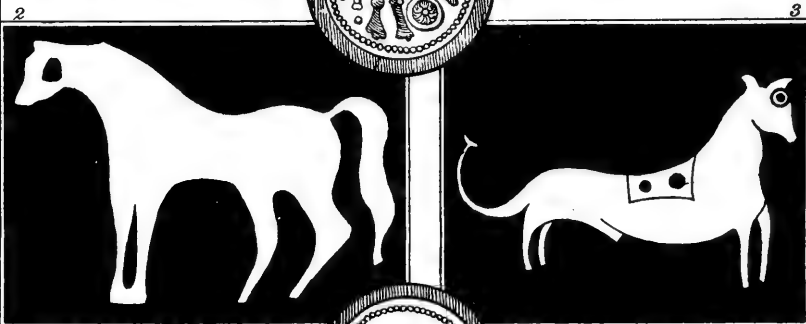
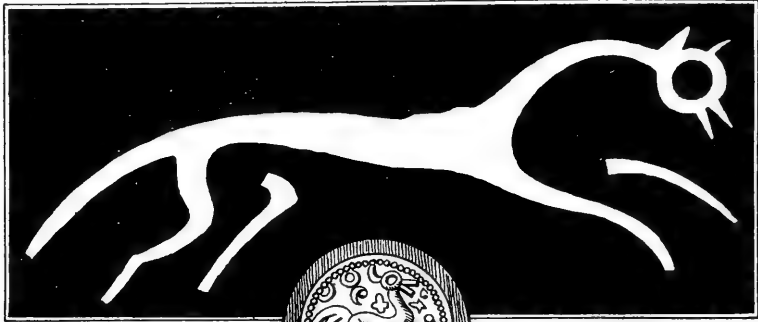
In another cartulary of the Abbey of Abingdon written about the year 1190, I find "prope mouten ubi ad Album Equum Scanditur, ab antiquo tempore Ecclesia ista manerium Offentun appellatum in dominio possidet, juxta quod villa x hidarum adjacet ex jure ecclesie, quam Speresholt nominavit."

[Near the hill where you go up to the White Horse, this Church has from ancient days possessed the Lordship of the Manor called Uffington, &c., &c.] Cottonian MS. Claud. B. vi., fol. 151.

Again in the Wilts Institutions, A.D. 1807, there is a reference to "Compton sub album Equum." This would at first sight appear to refer to the Cherhill Horse, which is not far from Compton Basset, and if so would indicate the existence of a far earlier horse on that spot than the one which at present appears. But in a note upon this entry by our learned Member, Canon Jackson, kindly communicated to me by Mr. Lukis of Wath, he says there was "a place (also in Sarum Diocese in 1307) called Compton Beauchamp, or Compton Juxta White Horse near *Wantage*, which makes it uncertain which Compton is alluded to, C. Basset, or C. Beauchamp. The patron of C. sub album Equum in 1307 was Guy Beauchamp. Now Guy Beauchamp certainly had Cherhill Manor in 1307: but he *also* had C. Beauchamp, near *Wantage*! So that proves nothing. The Bishops of Sarum were, in 1311 and downwards, the patrons of C. Basset: and unless it can be shewn to the contrary, I should conceive that they were patrons before 1311. So that I rather think that C. sub album Equum of 1307 was C. near *Wantage*." To this however I shall have occasion to refer again presently.

In 1323 we again meet with "Compton juxta *White Horse* maner" (in the *Inquis. post m.*, p. 306), and in 1348 with Bishopstone super





Scale of the Horses - 1 inch to 80/2.

Album Equum, Præbendalis (in the Inst. Wilton). In 1367 appears Kingston in le Vale de Whitehorse (Inst. p.m.). And in 1368 or 1369 in the close rolls of Edward III., a notice that "Gerard de l' Isle tient en la vale de White Horse l fee, &c."

Such are all the references to the Uffington Horse which I have been able to discover. I may add that Leland does not speak of it at all, and all that Camden tells us is to mention the valley, "which," he says, "I wotte not from what shape of a white horse imagined to appeare in a whitish chalky hill, they terme "*The Vale of White Horse.*"

I give two sketches of this horse, one of which is an enlarged copy of the representation given in Hughes's Scouring of the White Horse, and the other an also enlarged copy of a sketch given by Mr. Christopher Edmonds, of Bishopstone, in 1835. [The latter only is given here, see Fig. 1.] For the sake of clearness I show the whole area of the horse as white, but without desiring thereby to express any opinion as to whether such was its original condition, as some archæologists suppose, or whether as according to others, it was marked out simply in outline by a trench. A comparison between these two sketches will show that if the earlier artist is to be relied upon, the figure has been subjected even since his time to some quite appreciable modifications. I doubt not, however, but that the main features have been faithfully preserved, and in proof of this I will call your attention to an enlarged sketch of a coin of Bodno, the wife of Prassitagus, King of the Iceni, (see Fig. 6) which I have copied from Speed's Histories of Great Britain, p. 176, in which you will observe exactly the same extraordinary shape of head, or beak, which would appear to point to an approximately contemporary origin. And here the question arises as to whether this wonderful head is simply the result of rude iconographic power, or whether there is a meaning in it. I am inclined to think the latter, and that it really points to an epithet which is applied to the horses of Ceridwen, the Druidical Ceres, in several poems of Taliesin, preserved in the Myvyrian Archæology: "Hen headed steeds." Ceridwen is herself indeed reported to have assumed the form of a white mare, and Mr. Davies, in his Druidical Mythology, refers to

this coin and endeavours to prove that the horse thereon depicted is no other than Ceridwen herself, and the name Boduo the same as Budd, equivalent to the Latin Ceres, and one of the titles under which she was worshipped. I may add that I have gone through the whole series of British coins given by Speed, and in all of them in which the horse appears, viz.: those of Cominus, Cassibelaunus, Cingetorix, Cunobeline, Caractacus, and Arviragus, I find the position of the horse the same as in the Uffington example, viz., facing to sinister, with the near fore leg the higher. In a coin on the contrary of Galgacus, king of the Caledonians, the horse faces to dexter, with the off fore leg the higher.

The Uffington Horse is 325 feet long, occupies more than an acre of ground and faces the N.W.

I will conclude my notice of him by quoting an impromptu poem given by the Philalethes Rusticus, as having been presented to him by "An *Oxford Scholar*, whom the same curiosity led to the spot."

" See here the Pad of Good King *Alfy*,
 Sure never was so rare a Palfrey!
 Tho' Earth his Dam, his Sire a Spade,
 No Painter e'er a finer made.
 Not Wotton on his hunting Pieces
 Can shew one such a Tit as this is."

Thus much for the Uffington Horse. We now return to our own county, and here the first Horse which challenges our attention is that on Bratton Hill, near Westbury. And here we again meet with King Alfred and his exploits. "In the same year (viz.: A.D. 878,—7 years subsequently to the battle of Reading, and traditional cutting of the Uffington Horse), after Easter, King Alfred, with a few of his partisans, found a stronghold in a place which is called *Æthelingey*, and from that stronghold continued indefatigably to wage war against the Pagans, at the head of the noblemen his vassals of Somersetshire. And again the 7th week after Easter, he rode to the stone *Ægbryhta*, which is in the eastern part of the forest, which is called Selwood, but in Latin *Silva magna*, in British *Coitmaur*; and there met him all the inhabitants of Somerset and Wiltshire, and all such inhabitants of Hampshire 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 encamped 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 *Ethandun*, 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, even to their stronghold, and all 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."

For fourteen days the siege lasted, after which time the enemy surrendered, and then followed, according to the local tradition, the cutting of the White Horse on Bratton Hill, to commemorate the victory, which victory was, as Gough remarks, "much more considerable than the other won by Alfred. In the former he only acted as his brother Ethelred's lieutenant. In this he was not only Commander-in-chief, but King of England: his affairs were in a most critical situation, and the Danes masters of his kingdom."—Gough's *Camden*, p. 146.

But here the question arises as to whether it was really in the neighbourhood of Westbury that this fight took place. There is very little doubt but that the site of "the stone *Ægbryhta*," or *Ecbirt's* stone is Brixton Deverell. But where *Æglea* was is pure matter of conjecture, and for the representation of *Ethandun* or *Edderandum*, pretty strong claims have been put in not only by Edington, near Westbury, but also by Heddington, near Calne, and Yatton Down, near Chippenham; the first-named place being supported by Camden and Sir R. C. Hoare, the second by Milner and others, and the third by Whitaker and Beke. If Headington, (called *Edendone* in *Domesday Book*) be the place, then the seat of the Danish stronghold must have been what is now known as Oldborough Camp, which is immediately above the Cherhill Horse. If however, it be Edington, then no doubt the place in which the

Danes entrenched themselves was what is now called Bratton Castle—a long encampment with double ramparts, enclosing about 23 acres of ground. It would take more than the limits of this paper would allow to go at all into the arguments which have been adduced on one side and other in this matter. I think however, that I may say that the balance of authority seems rather to lean to the side of Edington, and if so the Westbury White Horse would stand between the scene of King Alfred's victory and the stronghold from which he subsequently drove the defeated Danes.

But alas, even if this be the case, the memorial of King Alfred's victory has long ceased to exist—ruined by the same unenlightened spirit of miscalled restoration which has destroyed so many precious remains of mediæval architecture in order to substitute for them piles of the best builders' Gothic, bristling with crockets and finials and mouldings cut out by Messrs. Somebody-or-other's patent process at so much per dozen or per yard!

Fortunately however, we possess a drawing of the old horse made in 1772 by Gough, the Editor of Camden, of which I show a copy (see Fig. 3.)¹ The dimensions, as given by Gough, are: extreme length, 100 feet; extreme height, nearly as much; from toe to chest, 54 feet. This does not agree with his drawing, which I consequently imagine to represent the horse as foreshortened by perspective.

And here I must call attention to the curious crescent-shaped tip given to the tail, which one would perhaps have been disposed to regard as accidental were it not that on more than one ancient British coin we find something more or less resembling it, and on one very clearly cut coin of Cunobeline, of which I shew an outline (see Fig. 7), we find, together with the horse, a crescent introduced, evidently for some set purpose. And this I think can possibly be

¹ This is the only one of all the figures which is not drawn to scale, the fact being that the measurements as given by Gough are incompatible with his drawing. I have therefore simply reduced the latter to the scale upon which the modern horse is drawn, taking the girth as my point of departure.

It will be observed that the old horse is represented as facing to sinister, though the modern one faces to dexter. This however I take to be simply a mistake on the part of the engraver, who probably copied the original drawing upon his block as it stood, instead of reversing it.

nothing else than the symbol of Ceridwen, whom I have before mentioned as being sometimes herself represented under the form of a mare, and to whom all horses were therefore probably regarded as being more or less sacred. Taliesin in the poem from which I have already quoted, speaks of the "strong horse of the crescent"—though this is perhaps more likely Arion, the son of Ceres and Neptune (*i.e.*, Ceridwen and Neivion, or land and sea). But to go at all into this question would take up much more time than any for which I can venture to claim your attention.

With regard to the modern Westbury Horse (see Fig. 2) I find that in 1778 a miserable being of the name of Gee, steward to Lord Abingdon, while employed on a survey of that nobleman's estates in the parish of Westbury, "new modelled" the figure, and in so doing changed its whole character, the old one having been, according to Sir R. C. Hoare, "of the cart breed," and the new one, "of the blood kind." I confess that I should not have discovered the latter fact myself if I had not been told it. The horse has since been repaired, and the outlines partially re-cut, about 20 years ago.

The extreme length as at present existing is stated by a local print to be, from head to tail, both included, 175 feet; height, from feet to shoulder, 107 feet; circumference of eye, 25 feet.

We next come to the Cherhill Horse (see Fig. 5), and for this, I think, no possible claims to antiquity can be set up. It does indeed lie, like each of the other two, in close proximity to a reputed Danish camp—that of Oldborough—and near the scene of a great battle, which is stated to have taken place here between Egbert, king of the West Saxons, and Ceolwulph, king of the Mercians, in A.D. 821, but I have never met with any mention of the horse anterior to the date at which the present figure, we know, was cut out; and as it is only about a quarter of a mile from the great London high road, and in full view of that road for several miles, I think that it is scarcely possible that any ancient horse can have here existed, without some mention of it being to be found. Moreover there is no local tradition of any earlier horse—a fact which in a matter of so recent date must I think be regarded as decisive.

This horse then was cut out in the year 1780, only two years

later than the re-modelling of the Westbury Horse, which very likely suggested it. The maker was one Dr. Christopher Allsop, who was then living at Calne, and the horse is so cut as to be seen in best proportions from that portion of the high road which is known as "The Quarry."

Dr. Allsop is reported to have first marked out the horse with small stakes bearing white flags, then to have taken up his position at a spot about 200 yards above the top of Labour-in-Vain Hill, where there exists a pretty strong echo against the down-side, and from thence, by means of a speaking trumpet, to have directed the removal of the stakes one way or the other until he was satisfied with the outline. The turf was then cut out, and the hollow filled with chalk, very nearly, if not quite, to a level, the result of which is a constant white stream after every shower, which sometimes makes the horse look as if, instead of four legs of normal length, he had five or six, each about 300 feet long. The inner circle of the eye, which is four feet in diameter, was filled with glass bottles, furnished by Mr. Angell, of Studley, but of these no trace now remains.

The point at which Dr. Allsop stood to direct the work was pointed out to me by a very intelligent old man who was born in the year 1786, only six years after it was done, and he tells me that he has often heard the circumstances of the cutting spoken of by men who had taken part in it.

The principal dimensions of the horse are as follows: extreme length, 129 feet; extreme height, 142 feet; length of barrel, 78 feet; depth of ditto, 41 feet. To which I may perhaps add, height according to stable measurement, 285 hands.

The sketch, I should observe, gives the horse in its actual plane projection. The fore-shortening arising from the slope of the hill, which is 31 degrees, reduces the height as compared with the length to the true proportion when viewed from below.

The scouring of this horse, which takes place at no fixed interval, but whenever it appears to want it, is done by the Lord of the Manor. Chalk is procured from a quarry just above the crest of the hill, and spread over the surface, and the washings of the previous coat are at the same time raked away and allowed to fall to the

bottom of the hill, where an accumulation may generally be seen. And then the springing of the grass very soon makes the turf above and below the figure as green as before. Two or three years ago an elliptical trench was dug at some distance above the horse to intercept and carry off the surface drainage. This being perfectly grassed over does not show from a distance, and appears to answer its purpose very well.

The next figure in our cavalcade is the little horse at Marlborough, on the hill behind Preshute. This was cut out by the boys belonging to a school kept by one Mr. Greasley, in 1804, having been first traced by one William Canning, of Ogbourne, and marked out with pegs, and the turf then removed and chalk put in. There was no trace of any other cutting previously existing on the hill, nor was it made, as I learn from Captain Reed, of Marlborough, who was a member of the school at that time, with a view of commemorating any particular event.

It was kept annually scoured by the boys so long as Mr. Greasley carried on the school, but has now fallen into somewhat of disrepair. And although the outline is far from being bad, the effect from the road is somewhat thin, sufficient allowance not having been made for the foreshortening effect of the very moderate slope of the hill.

Lastly I will mention the White Horse in the valley of Pewsey, (see Fig. 4) and here I cannot do better than by reading the contents of a paper with which the Rev. E. H. M. Sladen, who was formerly the clergyman of the parish, has favoured me on the subject.

“The White Horse on the southern slope of the Marlborough Downs, in the parish of Alton Berners, was cut about 1812, at the expense of Mr. Robert Pile, who was occupier of the Manor Farm. It was sketched from the bridge over the Kennett and Avon Canal, at Honeystreet, by a painter named John Thorne, commonly known by the soubriquet of Jack the Painter, a man of more wits than character, as the event proved. He was employed at Pewsey Rectory, and being asked to do some work in Mr. Pile’s house, he offered to cut out the horse for £20, agreeing to excavate to a uniform depth of one foot, and to fill it in with chalk. Thorne employed John Harvey, of Stanton St. Bernard, father of the present

parish clerk there, to do the work, but went off with the £20 without remunerating him. It is said that he perished at last with a rope round his neck. The horse is represented in the act of trotting towards Devizes. It can be seen from Old Sarum, a distance of about 20 miles as the crow flies. The principal measurements are as follows: Total height from the hoof to the tip of the ears, 180 feet, of which the foreleg is 72 feet, and the ear, 19 feet; extreme length from the foreface inclusive of the tail, 165 feet, of which the tail is 22 feet; a line round the tail is 70 feet; the depth of the carcass towards the middle, 50 feet; length of hoof, 7 feet; circumference of the eye, 12 feet. The surface occupied by the horse is 700 square yards. The horse has been twice scoured during my twelve year's residence here, by subscription, the cost being about a guinea on each occasion. Unfortunately on the last occasion, (now two years ago) the workmen, to save time, opened a chalk pit just over the horse, not realizing the result that after the excavation of the chalk, the pit would appear like a large white space, viewed from a distance. I have tried various expedients to obliterate the spot, turving and sowing grass seed, but hitherto with only partial success.—E. H. M. Sladen, *Alton Berners, Oct. 28, 1868.*”

We have now come to the end of the White Horses of Wiltshire and its neighbourhood. There are three other small figures of this sort, one upon the downs in the parish of Winterbourn Bassett, on the right side of the road, going to Marlborough, which was cut out by Henry Eatwell, parish clerk of Broad Hinton, in the year 1835; another of Roundway Hill, near Devizes, made in 1845, but now nearly, if not quite, obliterated; and the other at Broad Town, near Wootton Bassett, of equally recent date, but I have not been able to hear of any circumstances connected with their formation which merit record.

Before taking leave of you I may add that there are several other White Horses in other parts of the country, none of which however, pretend to any great antiquity. Rowe, in his *Perambulations of Dartmoor*, p. 74 (ed. 1848), says, “White Horse Hill is a track of high, healthy land, undistinguished by tors, ridges, or bold features, but probably taking its name from large patches of the granite floor

of the mountain having been laid bare and whitened by exposure, presenting probably at a distance the rude outline of the figure of a horse. I imagine however, that it is more than doubtful whether this resemblance is more than an accidental one.

On the Hill of Mormond, in the district of Buchan, Aberdeenshire, there is also a figure of a White Horse, occupying the space of nearly half-an-acre, which as I am informed by the Rev. P. Mc. Laren, minister of the adjacent parish of Fraserburgh, was formed by one of the Lairds of Strichen, in the early part of the last century, to commemorate a favourite charger of his. Tradition says that he cut it out with his own hands, and at last died of chagrin at not being able to get one of the legs of the horse to look sufficiently well from all sides.

Mormond Hill is not far from Kinnaird's Head, and though little more than 800 feet in height, yet from its conical shape, and the flatness of the surrounding country, it forms a conspicuous landmark when viewed from the sea. The basis of the hill is white quartz, and it is with this that the outlines of the horse are filled up.

On Roulston Hill, near Northwaite, in Yorkshire, is a White Horse, measuring about 30 feet by 40 feet, and in very good proportions. This was cut as recently as 1861, by a journeyman mason, who had been working in the neighbourhood, as a memento of his stay.

But more interesting than these is the well-known Red Horse, of Warwickshire, of which (although it scarcely comes quite within the proper limits of my subject, I will crave your permission to read a short notice which I have found in Smith's History of Warwickshire. "In the extensive Lordship of Tysoe, and fronting the church of that village, there is now to be seen, cut on the side of a hill, the figure of a horse, which in consequence of the soil of the hill being a red marl, is named the Red Horse, and the lands which lay immediately under this noted hill are called the Red Horse Vale. The representation of this horse is rather rudely designed, and in size diminutive when compared with that fine-sized figure which has always been and is still famed as the White Horse of Berkshire.

This figure called the Red Horse is of the following dimensions,

viz.: from the croup to the chest, 34 feet; from the shoulders to the ears, 14 feet; from the ear to the nose, 7 feet 6 inches; and from the shoulder to the ground, 16 feet, or 57 hands. It is generally supposed this figure was designed in commemoration of the decided and undaunted conduct of Richard Nevile, then Earl of Warwick, at the battle of Touton, [otherwise called Towton.] The army being on that day placed in circumstances of extreme peril, the Earl in a spirited and praiseworthy manner directed his horse to be brought to him, and after looking at him, kissed the hilt of his sword, and immediately plunged it deep in the noble animal's chest, gallantly vowing to share the danger of the battle he was then engaged in on equal terms with the meanest soldier. This noble speech and action made a deep impression on the minds of the army, and no doubt was a great stimulus in the contest, which ended with a glorious victory on his side. The battle of Touton was fought on Palm Sunday, 1461. From that period to the present time this battle has always been commemorated on Palm Sunday, by the inhabitants of the village assembling in rustic festivity for the purpose of what is called scouring the figure of the Red Horse, or clearing it from the incumbrances of the vegetation produced by the past year, which event is generally commemorated with much mirth, and many of the neighbouring gentry attend on this day to witness the scene. There are certain lands in the Lordship of Tysoe, which are held by the service of maintaining this ancient custom,"—p. 74, sub "Chadshunt."

Besides the figures of horses which I have now described, there are several other white figures incised in the turf, to be met with in different parts of the county, such as the Giant on Trendle Hill, near Cerne Abbas, in Dorsetshire, (see Hutchings's Dorset, vol. iii., p. 321,) the Effigy stated by Aubrey to have existed before the Civil Wars, on Shotover Hill, near Oxford; the White Cross at Whiteleaf, in Buckinghamshire, &c., as well as the well-known figure of King George III., on horseback, near Weymouth. But to enter at all upon the subject of these would be foreign to the purpose of the present paper.

Southwick Court, Catteridge, and Brook House,

By the REV. EDWARD PEACOCK, M.A.

Read before the Society at Trowbridge, August 7th, 1872.

NUR Excursion to-morrow leads us through a large portion of the parish of North Bradley, and my only excuse for appearing before you this evening, is, that, as I live in that parish, your Secretary has requested me to say a few words about some of the places we hope to visit. In what I am about to say, there will be but little that is original, but will consist chiefly of extracts from Leland's Itinerary, Aubrey, and Canon Jackson on that writer. I feel sure that none, who belong to our Association, can see houses of historical note passing away without regret—though such is a matter of daily occurrence. When very young, I was witness to the destruction of the house at East Stower, in Dorsetshire, where Henry Fielding—the Novelist—in less than three years, ran through his wife's (Miss Craddock of Salisbury) fortune, as well as the £200 a year which he had lately inherited at the death of his mother. Probably there are but few remaining, besides myself, who have a recollection of the very picturesque old house which once occupied the site of the very ordinary and ugly farm-house which stands close to East Stower Church.

North Bradley can boast of at least two old houses to which some historical interest is attached. The first we shall come to in our excursion to-morrow is Southwick Court, which we shall find on the left hand side of the road leading from Trowbridge to Frome, soon after we have passed Studley Church.

Aubrey speaks of the Mortuary Chapel of the Staffords of Southwick Court in North Bradley Church: he also gives a sketch of the house, which he must have seen some two hundred years ago, and which can easily be recognized from its faithful likeness to the house even yet.

The note by Canon Jackson is as follows: "In Southwick, a tithing of this parish, two carucates of land belonged A.D. 1274 to William de Greyville or Greynville, who held under the Abbess of Romsey. About A.D. 1294, his son Adam de Greynville (there was a justice in eyre of this name in 1267) attached to his house at Southwick Court a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. By surrendering to the Rector of Bradley (at that time the Prebendary of Edington) a ground called Alerleye, he obtained the right of presenting to his chapel a chantry priest, who, in acknowledgment of fealty, was to offer 2lbs. of wax in Bradley Church, every year on the anniversary of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. In 1369 the Bishop of Sarum granted a licence for Mass to be said in the private mansion house of Southwick. This chaplain, in after times, was always instituted to his office by the Rectors of Edington Monastery, to whom the church of Bradley then belonged."

The manor of Southwick, and the advowson of the chapel at Southwick Court, appear to have passed, about A.D. 1341, by the heiress of Greynville or Greyville, to Humphrey Stafford, Knight, grandfather of John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury. Then by Alice Stafford, an heiress, to Sir Edmund Cheney, of Brook-hall; and by their heiress to Sir John Willoughby of Brook, *c.* 1430. In 1483, during a temporary forfeiture, Southwick was given by Richard III. to his favorite, Edward Ratcliffe; but it was restored, and in 1520 was sold by Robert Willoughby Lord Broke, to Sir David Owen, a supposed son of Owen Tudor. In his will, 1529, Sir David Owen mentions this manor and chantry. One portion was sold by Henry Owen, to Sir Woolstan Dixie, Lord Mayor of London, who by will, 1592, devised his lands here, worth £42 per annum, to Christ's Hospital. Another portion was sold, 1566, by John Owen, to Christopher Bayley, whose wife Matilda (Horton) appears to have possessed one third of the manor in her own right. She married Walter Bush, who held it for his life. Rebecca Bayley, an heiress, grand-daughter of Christopher, married, first Henry Long, of Whaddon, and secondly Henry Sherfield (who held it also for life). By another heiress, Rebecca, grand-daughter of Henry Long, of Whaddon, it passed in marriage to Sir Philip Parker; and

on the failure of issue male in his descendant, 1740, it reverted to the Longs of Whaddon, from whom it has passed to its present owner, Walter Long, Esq., of Rood Ashton."

In speaking of the present state of Southwick Court, I will only say, that, the chief alteration, since Aubrey saw it, consists of the removal of the chapel, which of late years had been used as a cow-house and calf-stage; it was pulled down about the year 1839, and the timbers of the roof were used in framing the roof of the present stable. On the walls of the house there are in three places stones with dates and initials upon them, two have these figures and letters

upon them:—

1567
W.B.

 the W.B., I presume, stands for Walter Bush, who, at that date, seems to have owned the place in right of his wife, widow of Christopher Bayly, who bought a portion of the property in 1556. The third stone bears the date and initials:—

1693
S.W.L

 I am not quite sure as to the first of these letters being an S, but the two others are perfectly distinct, and no doubt are the initials of a Long of Whaddon, to which family the property reverted a second time on the failure of a male heir to Sir Philip Parker, in 1740. The old moat round Southwick Court still remains.

I cannot dismiss this notice of Southwick Court without alluding to a fire which occurred in the rick-yard some seven or eight years ago, which did much damage. The origin of this fire was undiscovered: but it so happened, that two other fires occurred at another farm-house in the same parish, a year or two afterwards, by which the farm-house was entirely destroyed: one of the fires in this case commenced in the interior of the cheese-room, where, at the time, there was no stove, or anything, in fact, which would account for the fire. Mr. Perrett, the tenant of the farm (Pole's Hole) where these two fires occurred, was about the same time, and for a considerable time afterwards, much annoyed by vollies of stones being thrown at him, whenever he had occasion to visit his yard after dusk: these sort of attacks were so constant, that, as he told me himself, he did not dare to go into his yard in the evening without holding a milk pail over his head to ward off the stones.

Though it has never been fully proved who was the author of these fires, or who kept up this cannonade of stones, it seems pretty clear that a servant girl was the cause of all these troubles. She was servant at Southwick Court when the fire took place there, and also at Pole's Hole, when both the fires broke out there; this at least is certain that after she left, no more fires occurred, and Mr. Perrett could safely visit his premises after dusk without being pelted with stones.

CUTTERIDGE. About a mile to the S.W. of North Bradley Church are the remains of the fine old mansion of Cutteridge: it is still conspicuous in the Ordnance Map—its three fine avenues of limes, and string of fish-ponds being shown thereon. A note in Canon Jackson's *Aubrey* gives us this information respecting Cutteridge, "The owners have been, Edington Monastery; John Blanchard, 1395; Francis Townsend, Esq., 1604; the Trenchard family of Wolverton (in Charminser, Dorset) from about 1655." The property ultimately came into the hands of John Ashfordby Trenchard, of Stanton, and Walter Long of Preshaw, whose mother was the heiress of Hippisley Trenchard, the latter of whom took Overcourt Farm, and the former Cutteridge: and both were purchased by Mr. John Whittaker (the grandfather of Frank Whittaker Bush) in 1807. The titles of two surveys relating to Cutteridge have kindly been shown me by T. B. Saunders, Esq., who, as trustee holds the Cutteridge title deeds; the first reads thus, "The view or Survey of the site and manor of Cutteridge, Honeybridge, Bradley, Southwick, Broker's Wood and Rudge in the County of Wilts, taken by G. Curtis, Surveyor of the said manor, appointed for the same by Thomas Champneys, Esq., Lord of the said manor, given by the others of the hole homage and customary Tennants of the same manor at a Court holden there the vii. day of Marche in the xxxviii. yere of the raigne of our Sovereign Lord King Henry Eight" (N.B. 1547, the year of the King's death). The other title reads thus: "A survey taken of the mor of Cutteridge, Wm. Trenchard, Esq., the xxvi. day of January in the xx. year of the Raigne of our Sovereign Ladie Elizabeth, the Queen's Majestie that now is." (1578.)

What the date of the house at Cutteridge may have been I cannot pretend to say, but it would seem that there could not have been a house of any great importance there in Leland's days, as, in one of his journeys he went "from Brook-Hall to Westbury, and from Westbury to Trowbridge;" now as Brook-Hall, the next place we have to visit, is not half-a-mile from Cutteridge, we can hardly think it possible, that he would have passed so near a place of importance without visiting, or at least naming it in his itinerary. On another journey, Leland went from Bradford on to Trowbridge, and again to Brook, and so on to Frome; neither now does he make any mention of Cutteridge; we must therefore conclude that in Leland's days the mansion was not built.

The house at Cutteridge, as it now stands, is formed of a portion of the offices of the old mansion, which was pulled down about 1800. The old mansion-house was roofed with copper: and when the house was pulled down, the copper was sold, and most of the other materials as well; these latter were carried to Devizes, but where they were made use of cannot now be determined.

The three fine avenues of limes, the string of fish-ponds still remaining, show that Cutteridge was a house of some pretension; the garden walls also still remain, one of which is covered with vines, which produce an enormous quantity of grapes.

Mr. William Francis, the present tenant of Cutteridge Farm, told me, that, when a field near the house was being drained about the year 1851, the men at work came upon a very heavy lead coffin, which lay North and South, and contained the remains of a female. This coffin was given to the men who were draining, and they sold it for old lead. During the progress of the draining several more traces of interment, as well as human bones, were found in different places. It seems difficult to account for this fact, as I am not aware that there was ever a chapel attached to the house, and consequently we should not expect to find any burial place.

The man of greatest note who lived at Cutteridge, was Mr. John Trenchard, born in 1669: he was Member of Parliament for Taunton, and Commissioner of Forfeited Estates in Ireland. He was also known as a political writer in the "British Journal," and

in the "London," under the signature of Cato. Besides many pamphlets, he wrote on the South Sea Company, and on the Peerage Bill, and "The Independent Whig." He died in 1723. Local tradition says that Addison was much at Cutteridge, visiting the Trenchard family; and such may have been the case; we know, at all events, that Milston, near Amesbury, his native place, was within a day's ride. There are tablets to the memory of members of the Trenchard family in North Bradley Church. In the note to Aubrey (p. 347) it is said the arms of Trenchard are to be seen there quartering Ashfordby: this I cannot understand, as these arms are over the tablet to the memory of William Trenchard, who died in 1713; the connection with the Ashfordby family did not take place till 53 years later, as Mr. Ashfordby married Miss Ellen Trenchard in 1766. This Ellen Trenchard was the daughter of Robert Hippisley, of Stanton, who assumed his mother's name, of Trenchard, she having been the daughter and heiress of William Trenchard, of Cutteridge. The arms in question were probably intended for those of Norton of Abbot's Leigh, but they do not agree with Burke's description of this family's arms, though they do with those of the Nortons of London and of Stretton, Shropshire. We may conclude then, that, the man who erected the tablet made a mistake, and cut the arms of Norton of Stretton, instead of the arms of the Nortons of Abbot's Leigh.

BROOK-HOUSE OR BROKE-HALL. Across the fields from Cutteridge we come to Brook-House Farm—even now, in its present state, a large pile of buildings. This property at one time belonged to the Cheney family, already mentioned as having been owners of Southwick Court.

Sir John Willoughby, "that came out of Lincolnshire," as Leland says, married the heiress to the property, and their son became the first Lord Willoughby de Broke. Leland, in a journey from Steeple Ashton (p. 87, vol. iv. old edition) to Warminster, visited Brook Hall, and makes these remarks: "From Steeple Assheton to Brook Hawle about a 2 myle by woody ground." He was not apparently a very good judge of distance, as, had he said four miles, he would have been much under the mark. "There was

of very ancient tyme an^old Maner Place wher Brook Hale now is, and parte of it yet appeareth, but the new Byldinge that is there is of the Lord Steward unto Kynge Henry the VII. The windows be full of Rudders. Peradventure it was his badge or token of the Admiraltye. There is a fayre park, but no large thynge. In it be a great Number of very fayre and fine greynyd Okes apt to sele houses."

Leland again mentions Brook in a journey from Trowbridge to Frome. "From Broke on to Frome Celwood in Somerseshire, a 4 mile." He also says, "The Broke that rennithe by Broke is properly called Bisse, and riseth at a place called Bis-mouth, a 2 mile above Broke village, a hamlet longynge to Westbury Paroche. Thens it cummithe onto Broke village; and so a myle lower onto Broke Hawle, levinge it hard on the right ripe."

Whilst on the subject of the brook that runs past Brook House, I may mention that Mr. William Francis, the tenant of Cutteridge, told me, that, in cleaning out a part of the brook, he found the remains of a horse, and as the stirrup irons were found as well as the horse's shoes, it would seem that the horse was either drowned in an attempt to ford the brook during a flood, or having been killed in some skirmish, was tumbled into the water and there left. I have seen the stirrups and shoes, which are undoubtedly of some age: and on wishing to have a second examination of them a short time since, I was told that they were now in the possession of Mr. Broad, the veterinary surgeon, of Bath—he having begged them of Mr. Francis.

Aubrey also mentions this old manor-house. "Brook House," he says, "is a very great and stately old house. In the Hall which is great and open, with very old windows, remain only the Cote of Pavely. In the Canopie Chamber, in the windows, Stafford—Maltravers—Cheyne—Willoughby, impaling many others. In dining room, Willoughby quartering Beke. France and England: John Lord Neville—Willoughby—Beke, and Latimer. In the parlour: the sun in full glory, with an eye in tears (a crest of Blount), Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy—Willoughby quartering Beke. In the Chapel, Robert Willoughby, K.G., Hen. VII., within the garter

of *Honi soit, &c.*; Willoughby and Beke quarterly, quartering 1st. Latimer, 2^d. Cheney, 3^d. Stafford." He goes on to say "the tradition is, that King Edward III. was here, and that the bridge, called King-bridge, was built against his coming."

The House or Hall which Leland saw, and which he called "the new building," seems to be entirely gone, with the exception of what is generally called the chapel, now forming one side of the yard. This building may have been the great hall or other portion of the second house, but I cannot myself see anything ecclesiastical about it, and it remains for those who will visit it to-morrow to say what this building really was.

Whatever the old houses at Brook may have been, the present one is by no means a specimen of architecture, being a very perfect example of carpenters Gothic. Having heard that a silver coin had been found on the premises at Brook House, I obtained possession of it, but it proved to be only a shilling of William III., date 1697.

Records of the Rising in the West,

JOHN PENRUDDOCK, HUGH GROVE, ET SOCII.

(Continued from Vol. xiii., Page 273.)

A PORTION of a letter from Mr. Nutley, dated the 21st of April, 1655, prevents what there is to be said about William Wake, of Blandford.

"One of the prisoners, namely Thomas Helliard, at his tryal carryed himself very insolently in the face of the court, saying, what he did was noe other then what he was sworne to doe, professing his allegiance to Charles Stuart, the son as well as the father, and that there was noe law against it.* I observed none of them to expresse any remorse at all, soe much hardened are they, even as Pharaoh, as was expressed by the sergeant in his charge. The people here are

* Helliard's name is included in the death warrant, a *fac simile* of which will be given hereafter.





HUGH GROVE.

FROM THE ENGRAVING IN HOARE'S MODERN WILTS. VOL I

well pleased with these proceedings against the rebels. The sergeant in his charge observed their ingrateful returne after an act of oblivion passed, ingratitude being condemned by the very heathen; and their restlesse spirits to set up an interest, which God by soe many signes and wonders had fought against. He likewise observed the care of his highnesse to preserve the people in their lives, liberties, and propertyes, and that this was the only end of his highnesse, not any private end to himselfe. Mr. Attorney, in his manadgeing the evidence, would often inculcate to the people, that they might now see, who were the cause of their taxes, and the necessity of continuing them. I humbly take leave, craving your honor's pardon for this over hasty scribbling, being ever

Your honor's in all duty and service,

Exon, April 21, 1655.

JA. NUTLEY.

I had almost forgotten to acquaint your honour, that one major Alford (who was in Mr. Love's conspiracy) was of the graund inquest at Salisbury, and was very zealous in his highnesse service here, and his good affection and wise carriage here, did much advantage the bussines. I received much information from him; and in this place (amongst others) one Mr. Atkins of Tiverton served of the graund jury here, from whom I had my best information of what was done in private."

It will be remembered, that the fight at South Molton, closed with the surrender of some combatants on certain conditions; who they were, was a matter of controversy between Colonels Penruddock and Grove, and their fellows, on the one hand, and Capt. Unton Croke on the other. The former in the following petition preserved among the Compton MSS., gives his version of what happened.¹

* "*To his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Right Honorable the Lords of the Councell.*

The humble Remonstrance of John Penruddock and Francis Jones in the behalfe of themselves, and the rest of ye prisoners.

That wee may not bee wanting to ourselves, and the rest of the prisoners, in our conditon and that wee may leave nothing unassayed w^{ch}. may tend towards the preservaton of our Lives. And finding that as yet our severall conditons have not bene rep^rsented to his Highnesse nor to your Honors, wee are bold to offer this our humble addresse and declaraton as followeth.

Upon Wednesday the 13th of March, 1654, Cap^t. Unton Croke fell into our Quarters att South Moulton, about two houres after we came into the Towne, our men being in a most desperate conditōn, and firing out of the windowes, after the wounding of the Maior of the Towne, and divers of the Captayne's Souldiers, The Cap^t. thought fitt upon this Exigent to sound a parley and tender us conditons. Whereupon Hostages were delivered on both sides. and one Mr. Rogers, a Corporall, and Mr. Lane, a Gentleman of the Troope were sent in the behalfe of Cap^t. Croke, Mr. Penruddocke haveinge drawne the

¹ I should have given this earlier had it come into my hands.

* The original document is without date and written on a sheet of white paper.

Articles and read them distinctly to the said Rogers and Lane, Th[ey in]* the Capt.'s name signed the said Articles w^{ch}. were as followeth or to this effect:—

That the severall persons therein comprised upon delivering upp their severall Quarters, should have their lives, liberties, and estates, and never bee further questioned by any power whatsoever, and were to have free quarter, and a convoy to their severall homes; The originall thus signed wee are able to produce and sufficiently prove,† yet notwithstanding the sence wee have of the greatnes of our offence hath soe humbled us, that wee prostrate ourselves at your Highnesses and your Honor's feet and doe declare that wee doe totally referre ourselves and our Lives to your mercyes humbly offering these our Articles, w^{ch}. we doubt not, but wee shall substantially prove if your Highnesse and your Hono^{rs} shall vouchsafe us this favour w^{ch}. wee most humbly implore that we may be called thereto for w^{ch} wee shall be bound to pray for your Highness and your Hono^{rs} prosperity as become

Your Highnesse and yo^r Hono^{rs} most humble suppliants and servants,
 JO. PENRUDDOCK,
 FRANCIS JONES.”

It should be observed however that as we cannot summon Croke in reply, the affair must, on our present information, remain open. Col. Penruddock though he called him, in a very special manner during his trial, to verify Articles, no doubt those mentioned in the petition; never so far as we know, put any questions to any one as to the persons and details, above-mentioned. Still it has the force of the Colonel's own handwriting, and is signed by him and Jones. Towards the end there are some erasures, which may suggest that this is a draft copy, rather than the document itself, as finally presented to the Protector, and his council. We may assign it, (for there is no date) to the period of the Petitioners' residence in London, prior to their trials, that is the end of March, or early in April, 1655, a circumstance not to be lost sight of in considering its historical value.

But if there be doubt as to Penruddock and Jones and others, there can be none as to Wake. Croke had, as we have seen, touched upon the subject in his letter to the Lord Protector; ¹ later in a letter to Thurloe he says:—

“Sir, I wrote to his highnesse lately concerning five men (who are the most inconsiderable of the company, not one of them being of estate or qualitie as I can learne,) to whom I promised who kept a house against me 4 howers that I

*The letters in brackets are in the original torn off.

† From here to end of paragraph, in the original copy the writing has been scored in places with a pen.

¹ See vol. xiii., p. 131, *Wilts Mag.*

would intercede his highnesse for their lives—Sir, I shall presse it to you with importunitie, that you will move it to his highnesse, that soe if any may be thought worthy of pitty as to have their lives, that his favour may extend to those men, though not for their owne sakes, yet in regard of my reputation, because I lye under a promise to them—Sir, hereby you will infinitely oblige

Sir, your most humble servant,

UNTUN CROKE.”*

Exon, March 20, 1655.

On the 12th of April following he writes to Thurloe again from Salisbury, on the same subject :—

“Honorable Sir,

I received yours at Exceter on Saturday last, and accordingly repayed to Sarum to attend the judges, where I at present am. You were pleased to putt mee in hopes, that his highness might bee intreated for the sparing of these 5 persons I wrote about, and promised me your assistance in promoting my request. Sir, I doe agayne intreate your intercession, and that if it be possible, by the very next post I may be ascertained, whether there is a possibility of their reprievall. One of them is Wake, 2 brothers, whose names are Colliers. I profess I have forgot the others names, but they are all 5 contemptible persons ; yet by reason of my engagement, I cannot but continue my importunitie, that they might be spared. Sir, I am very tedious with you, but I hope you will pardon,

Honourable Sir,

Your very humble servant,

UNTUN CROKE.”

Sarum, April 12th,
1655.

Apparently this appeal was not without effect, for those of them who were placed at the bar, were not tried but pleaded guilty on the assurance of his Highness’s mercy.¹

Of William Wake, we have the following account, written by his son and namesake who became Bishop of Lincoln 1705, and Archbishop of Canterbury 1715.²

“Mr. William Wake, father to the Archbishop, born April 28, 1628, was carried very young into the king’s army, and suffered much for the royal cause, more than most of his quality ; being imprisoned above twenty times, and once

* 3 Th., 281. The first portion of this letter which relates to Penruddock and Jones being sent to London, will be found vol. xiii., p. 150, *Wills Mag.*

¹ See 3 Th., 398, and Attorney General’s letter, sup , p. 273.

² Hutchins’s *Dorset* (ed. 2nd), vol. i., p. 140 ; where it is also stated that he was the son of William Wake, Rector of the Holy Trinity at Wareham, a noted royalist, whose sufferings in connection with the royal cause, are narrated by Mr. Hutchins, vol. ii., p. 518, on the authority of the former. Perchance the latter may be the Mr. Wake mentioned by Rushworth as being brought under the notice of the House of Commons, March 25th, 1647. “A pretended Pastor who gathered Cavaliers even as far as from Exeter to Brainstone near Blandford.” *Rush.*, part iv., vol. ii., p. 1037.

(if not twice) condemned at Exeter to be hanged, drawn and quartered, for his loyalty to the Western insurrection, which began at Salisbury, in 1655, about the time of the assizes. The chief persons who headed it were Colonel Penruddock, Mr. Richard Reeves, Messieurs Robert and George Duke, to whom came in afterwards Mr. Jos. Wagstaffe, Mr. Hugh Grove, &c. Their design having been discovered, the country was so strictly guarded, that they went on with a very small number to South Molton, Co. Somerset [? Devon], where they were attacked by Colonel Crook* in the night; and after several skirmishes, they entered into a treaty with him, upon promises given, and articles drawn up in writing, and signed on both sides, that the gentlemen on the king's side should be secured in their lives, liberties and estates, without being called to any account for what they had done; and that on this condition they should all go peaceably home to their respective dwellings. They spent the evening both sides together; and next morning the royalists separated to go their several ways. But of this separation Crook took the advantage, seized them, and carried them to Exeter.† where Crook denying his articles, they were all tried and condemned to death. Accordingly Colonel Penruddock and Mr. Grovè were beheaded, May 16, 1655, and some others were hanged. However Mr. Wake having refused Colonel Crook's promise, and surrendered himself upon written articles, got those articles carried up to Cromwell by one of Crook's own officers, who, ashamed of the perfidiousness of his Colonel, voluntarily undertook to ride up post with them from Exeter, upon which his execution, with that of others mentioned in those articles, was not only stopped but by an ordinance of Parliament, he and six others of his companions were pardoned, and restored in blood for all and singular treasons or other offences by them committed or done before the 12th of October, 1656, at or about which time the act passed. However he continued in prison till after the Archbishop's birth (Jan. 26th, 1658). He married Anne, the daughter of Edward Cutler, an honest plain man, but rich farmer, who lived at Stourpain and Nutford, at the church of St. Bartholemew the Less, in West Smithfield, London, Feb. 4th, 1653. * * * It was one article in the marriage contract, that if there should be any opportunity, given or any motions made for restoring the king, he should be at liberty to join them, and not hindered from taking up arms. She was a stirring and industrious wife; so he upon coming out of the king's army in slender circumstances, and being obliged to set up the stapling and cloathing trade for the maintenance of himself and family, she helped him very much in it, particularly during the time of his long imprisonment at Exeter, besides the bringing him a considerable fortune to enable him to carry it on."

The Archbishop then goes on to relate how his father prospered after the restoration and how he himself was almost persuaded, just before his ordination, to forsake the Church and join him in a very lucrative aulnage business, which he rented of the Duke of Richmond.

* Crook was only a Captain.

† This varies from Croke's account, as I have already pointed out. Confer however the petition, p. 39, which sets forth similar terms of surrender. In any event, the point as to who was included in them, remains in dispute.

Mr. Wake's own account of the matter is merely incidental to the narrative he gives of his father, the Rector of Wareham.¹

"This (narrative) I aver to be a true and just account, to my knowledge and perfect remembrance, who was in the time of the rebellion 18 times a prisoner, and twice condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, got off from the first by a rebel uncle, and the second time by the articles I made with Captain Crook at South Molton.*

Mr. Hutchins² gives a copy of what he says is the identical certificate which once saved his (Mr. Wake's) life, and which was at the time he wrote in the possession of Mr. Bartlett of Wareham. Here it is:—

"These are humbly to certifie that William Wake of Blandford, in the County of Dorsett, before he was taken prisoner at South Molton in the last Western insurrection, had articles given unto him for life and estate by the officers then commandinge there for his highnesse the lord protector, and that there was some kind of necessity for the giveinge of these articles; intelligence being that there was a second party cominge on for their assistance. This att the request of the sayd William Wake, I cannot but in honour and honesty certifie. In witsnesse whereof, I have hereunto sett my hande 23rd day of February, 1657 (1658).

ROB. SHAPCOTE."†

Mr. Hutchins is probably in error when he says "that Mr. Wake owed his life to the above certificate;" unless he means that by it he avoided the fate of Sir John Eliot and Colonel Hutchinson. It bears the signature of Robert Shapcote, (no doubt the Colonel of the Devon Militia, and M.P. for Tiverton, in His Highness's Parliament of September 3rd, 1654, and who assisted Capt. Crook at South Molton;) but the date, nearly three years after the original articles were made, suggests that this certificate was given for the purpose of effecting Mr. Wake's release from Exeter Gaol. When

¹ 2 Hutchins's Dorset, (2nd ed.) 518.

*The heading to this Note must have been penned by Mr. Hutchins between 1705 and 1715, for he speaks of the Archbishop as "the present Bishop of Lincoln." The Archbishop's daughter Ethelred married Thomas Bennett, Esq., of Norton Bavant, Wilts.

² Vol. i., 2nd ed., p. 148.

†Hutchins, vol. i., p. 140. According to Mr. Hutchins, in Mr. Bartlett's possession was also the following commission:—"Suffer the bearer hereof, Ensigne Wake, with his horses and other necessaries passe your garde to Blandford or Wareham, in Dorsetshire, without let or molestation, there to remaine, he havinge, engaged himself not to bear arms against the parliament without first renderinge himselfe prisoner to the parliaments forces. Given under my hand and seale this xiith day of May, 1646. FAIRFAX.

To all officers and soldiers under my command or in the service of the Parliament. Indorsed by Captain Harrison.

that event happened is uncertain, but certainly not till after the birth of the Archbishop in 1658. In course of time he died and a monument was erected to his memory at Blandford, bearing the following inscription:—

To the memory of
The Truly Loyal and Worthy
WILLIAM WAKE,
Late of Shapwick in this
County, Gent ;
And of AMY, his wife,
The former of whom died May the xxix., *
1705, in the 78th year of his age ;
The latter May the xvi., A.D., 1671,
About the 32nd year of her age.

Nearly seven years after his death, the well-known story connected with his name, appeared in the pages of the *Spectator*¹ newspaper, from the pen of Mr. Eustace Budgell.

“Every one who is acquainted with Westminster School knows, that there is a curtain which used to be drawn across the room, to separate the Upper School from the Lower. A youth happened by some mischance to tear the above-mentioned curtain; the severity of the Master was too well-known for the criminal to expect any pardon for such a fault; so that the boy, who was of a meek temper, was terrified to death at the thoughts of his appearance; when his friend who sat next to him, bade him be of good cheer, for that he would take the fault on himself. He kept his word accordingly. As soon as they were grown up to be men, the civil war broke out, in which our two friends took the opposite sides, one of them followed the Parliament, the other the royal party. As their tempers were different, the youth who had torn the curtain endeavoured to raise himself on the civil list; and the other who bore the blame of it on the military; the first succeeded so well, that he was in a short time made a judge under the Protector. The other was engaged in the unhappy enterprise of Penruddock and Grove in the West. I suppose Sir, I need not acquaint you with the event of that undertaking. Every one knows that the royal party was routed, and all the heads of them, among whom was the curtain champion

* So this staunch old Royalist died on the anniversary of the restoration of King Charles II.

¹ No. 313. Feb. 28th, 1712. There is no evidence so far as I know that this Eustace Budgell was ever at Westminster School. Dean Stanley (Memorials of Westminster, 2nd edition, p. 490, note) speaks of him as a Westminster scholar. If the Alumni West Monasteriensis be correct this is a mistake. The Eustace Budgell whose name is there given was scholar in 1664, whereas the contributor to the *Spectator* was not born till 1685. Possibly the “Eustace Budgell” of Westminster School was his uncle, (he certainly was not his father) and hence the story.

imprisoned at Exeter. It happened to be his friend's lot at that time to go to the Western Circuit; the trial of the rebels as they were then called, was very short, and nothing now remained but to pass sentence on them; when the judge hearing the name of his old friend, and observing his face more attentively, which he had not seen for many years, asked him if he was not formerly a Westminster scholar. By the answer he was soon convinced that it was his former generous friend; and without saying anything more at that time, made the best of his way to London, where employing all his power and interest with the Protector, he saved his friend from the fate of his unhappy associates.

The gentleman whose life was thus preserved by the gratitude of his school-fellow, was afterwards the father of a son, whom he lived to see promoted in the church and who still deservedly fills one of the highest stations in it."

This story is given as an argument for public education, that we there contract friendships, which are of service to us for the rest

ERRATUM.

In note at foot of p. 44, for "West Monesteriensens" read
"Westmonasteriensens."

Dr. Gray's statement that the judge who brought about Wake's reprieve was Nicholas, sufficed for many years and many editions both of *Hudibras*, and the *Spectator*, and for the author of the note in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol., lv., page 163; but there was the authority of Anthony Wood, that Sergeant Glynne was at Westminster School, whereas there was nothing to connect Nicholas with it. Moreover Glynne was the presiding judge at the trial. However, further examination forces one to the conclusion, that neither of the five judges who were present at Exeter, could have been at Westminster School with William Wake, the date of whose birth was 1628, some twenty years after that of the youngest of them, more than twenty-five years after that of Glynne, and thirty than that of Nicholas.

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The gentleman whose life was thus preserved by the gratitude of his school-fellow, was afterwards the father of a son, whom he lived to see promoted in the church and who still deservedly fills one of the highest stations in it."

This story is given as an argument for public education, that we there contract friendships, which are of service to us for the rest of our lives. He says "it is very well known to several persons and which you may depend upon as a real truth."

In an old edition of the *Spectator* there is the following note:—

"The gent whose life was preserved in the civil war by the gratitude of his schoolfellow was the father of Archbishop Wake, as Dr. Gray says in his edition of *Hudibras*, vol. i., p. 392, and there is little doubt that Judge Nicholas was the judge, as he tried Penruddook, 2 St. Tr., 260. Every reader must be pleased with knowing who Erskine and Freeport were."

Dr. Gray's note says:—

"As Col. P. says I see Mr. J. Nicholas on the bench, it is probable he was the judge who tried him, and it was he who applied to the Protector."

Dr. Gray's statement that the judge who brought about Wake's reprieve was Nicholas, sufficed for many years and many editions both of *Hudibras*, and the *Spectator*, and for the author of the note in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol., lv., page 163; but there was the authority of Anthony Wood, that Sergeant Glynne was at Westminster School, whereas there was nothing to connect Nicholas with it. Moreover Glynne was the presiding judge at the trial. However, further examination forces one to the conclusion, that neither of the five judges who were present at Exeter, could have been at Westminster School with William Wake, the date of whose birth was 1628, some twenty years after that of the youngest of them, more than twenty-five years after that of Glynne, and thirty than that of Nicholas.

Unfortunately only the names of the Westminster boys who won the University Scholarships of those days have survived to the present, so that this, the best source is closed.¹ Perhaps Glynne's son² may have been a schoolfellow of Wake's, and thus known to Glynne himself; and time and embellishment have wrongfully thrown "the curtain story" upon the father, instead of the son. On the other hand the Wakes say nothing about it, but attribute his deliverance to the articles made with Croke; and this is specially strange in the case of the prelate, for the anecdote, a very remarkable one, is quite "an Archbishop's peculiar," and would be frequently present to him; and scarcely if at all, less creditable to his father, than any certificate of life, liberty, and estate, won from Croke. Even supposing it to be an additional reason for "the order of release," it is difficult to understand how the Bishop, a just and plain spoken man,³ who would be glad under the circumstances to relieve Glynne's memory, from the many animadversions which in his day pressed upon it, could be silent on the subject. Moreover we know, but this is a matter of very slight weight, that Glynne whilst at Dorchester,⁴ and before he could have seen Wake, expressed his intention of returning to London direct from Exeter. Still the story is too good not to be true of somebody, and as far as present information enlightens us, can be associated with no other prisoner at Exeter. If it be modified as above suggested, it is possibly correct. One thing is certain that Wake was not banished to the West Indies, like so many of his companions.⁵

¹ I am indebted for this information to Doctor Scott, the Head Master of Westminster.

² Sir William Glynne or Glinne, of Bicester, Oxon, created a baronet by King Charles II., May 20, 1661.—*Help to English History*, &c., London, 1671. Anthony Wood says "he had been informed that he was buried in St. Margaret's Westminster." On inquiry I find there is no trace of him there now (1872). His age at death is not given by Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. iii., p. 754.

³ We recollect the sermon in which he bearded majesty, even in the person of King William III.

⁴ See his letter, p. 181, sup.

⁵ May I be forgiven for not parting with the name of Wake without giving here James the First's joke, on the public orator of that name, of Oxford, and the deputy orator of Cambridge, Anthony Sleep, of the early seventeenth

Henry and Joseph Collier, fellow claimants with Wake of the Croke Articles, were the sons of the Rev. Henry Collyer, Rector of Steeple Langford, Wilts, a pleasant village on the banks of the Wylve, rejoicing in fair meadows, pure streams, and corn clad hills. Their nephew, in the following century, obtained a certain fame as the author of a religious treatise called the *Clavis Universalis*. Some attention was directed to him, and his family, in the year 1837, by the publication of a memoir written by Mr. Benson, Recorder of Salisbury. Four successive Collyers, during four successive generations, held the living of Steeple Langford, from an early period in the seventeenth century.¹ The father of the two Exeter prisoners, was instituted to the living, on the death of their grandfather in 1635. He possessed the advowson, and on his expulsion for using the book of Common Prayer, he presented one Joseph Jessop; perhaps under some arrangement, whereby he retained a portion of the tithes. The Sequestrators, keen of scent, specially where fatness abounded, soon overturned poor Jessop, and placed in that pulpit with its emoluments, a hot gosseller named Gyles, without reserving one farthing for Collyer or his family.

Let us read their sad but graphic story preserved by Mr. Walker,² chiefly narrated to him by their author nephew above-mentioned, the Rev. Arthur Collyer.

Mr. Walker commences by saying that he (Rev. Henry Collyer) was a very early sufferer being turned out some years before the general dissolution began in this county. His living was rich, £400

century. "Isaac Wake," he said, "orator of the University of Oxford had a good Ciceronian style, but his utterance and matter was so grave that when he spake before him he was apt to sleep; but Sleep, the deputy orator of Cambridge, was quite contrary, for he never spake but he kept him awake and made him apt to laugh."—1 Wood's *Fasti*, p. 345.

¹ They appear to have come from Bristol and held the living of Steeple Langford from 1608 to 1734, when it passed (having been previously sold) to its present possessors, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

² Mr. Walker was Rector of St. Mary's in the More, in Exeter, and some time Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. His history of the sufferings of the clergy during the Interregnum was published in London, 1714. See p. 227 for this extract.

a year. He was also forced to abscond, and fly for his life; of which he was several times in danger. Then he gives Mr. Collyer's story:—

“At the time of his ejection and till his return, he had eleven children, who with his wife were turned out in a very deep snow, and forced to stand not a little while, in the open street, before any Neighbours would or dar'd admit them into their houses. But even then they had but cold comfort; for they were forced to lie six nights in a barn, before they could procure anything like a bed to lie on. This their misery was not a little aggravated by its being a time (which also held a great while) when wheat was 10, 11, 12, nay 13^s. a bushel; and even Barley at 7 or 8^s. So that you may imagine they were happy, if they could get barley bread. But this is certain, that they lived almost the whole time as poorly, and in as mean cottages as any in the parish, or I believe any where else. Her children went daily to Grovely Wood, about a mile-and-a-half off, for dry wood, which they brought back in bundles upon their shouldrs. This lasted till they were dispersed, either to service, or to the lowest condition in the army, or to hard labour in Jamaica; except those who were bound to mean trades in London. Of all which my father was the only one who met with friends, being the youngest of eleven, who placed him in Winchester School, &c.”

Then proceeds Mr. Walker:—

“Mr. Collier out-lived all his miseries, and Sep. 18th, 1660, was restored to his parsonage, having then been about 15 years deprived of it; during which time the bare income of his living was at least 5000^l. The person who robbed him of it was one Giles, who is to this day a proverb in the parish for his litigiousness. He used to preach, as is said, with a pistol about him, which most commonly hung to his neck.”

The 18th September, 1660, must have been a glad day in the parish of Steeple Langford. “The Loyal Rector” was, with his faithful wife and sharer of his misfortunes, conducted in triumph to the Rectory, amidst the hearty cheers of his parishioners. We can picture them now riding in one of the heavy phaetons of the period, the horses taken out, and replaced by sturdy arms and ropes; Mrs. Collyer with a drinking-glass attached to her hat, one of the few things which she had saved from her home, well-known to her sympathising friends as a relic of her old generous hospitality.¹ It is probable from what is said by the Rev. Arthur Collyer as to certain of his uncles being sent to Jamaica, applies to Henry and

¹ Benson's Memoir and Remains of Rev. Arthur Collyer, A.D. 1837.

and Joseph; unfortunately the Exeter gaol books of that period are lost. But by 1660 the brothers may have returned to share in their parents "restoration," for Marcellus Rivers and one other prisoner, if not more, connected with the Rising of 1655, who had returned from the West Indies, were in London the year before. What they must have suffered if they went there, we shall know more of, when we study Rivers's petition. Enough that a member of Parliament of the period, speaking in no mere rhetorical language described existence at Jamaica and Barbadoes as worse than death!¹

In Steeple Langford church is a mural monument to the four Collyers, Rectors of that parish; of which a drawing with the inscription will be found in Sir R. Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*, Hund. Branch and Dole, p. 13. It was erected, so it tells us, by Margaret, widow of the last of them, July 1st, 1734. About the same time died William, brother of the last Rector, and godson of Mr. Thomas Penruddock, of Compton, the son and successor of Colonel John Penruddock. The fellowship of the father and uncle was to have been further revived, by his presenting his godson to the living of Compton. Death frustrated Mr. Penruddock's intentions.² We must not pass from Langford Church without noticing a monument of the Mompesson family, which was discovered by Sir R. Hoare, and of which an engraving will be found in his history of *Modern Wilts*. But I can find no traces of that family in Langford so late as 1655, and therefore doubt "the Mr. Mompesson" of the Rising being then resident there. Of Henry and Joseph Collyer after this period nothing appears to be known. Let us hope they returned to usefulness and happiness, for it is in the marring of such young lives, that the civil war appears in one of its most cruel and melancholy aspects.

Of the fourth prisoner, Christopher Haviland, "a village Rupert" of Langton, Dorset, nothing remains to be said; and the fifth is unknown.

I have for convenience sake followed to the close the fate of those

¹ Burton's *Diary*, vol. iv., 408. 3 Clarendon St. Pap., 447 and 448.

² Benson's *Memoir*.

included in Croke's articles; and must now return to the general narrative.

The trials closed with the week, but one of the prisoners, Robert Duke, had such influence with Mr. Secretary Thurloe, through his sister, Miss Anne Duke, who was at Exeter at this time, that on the following day, (Sunday, April 22nd,) we find his case being reconsidered, and the Attorney-General drawing from him the interesting story of his life:—¹

“Saith, he was a scholar in Oxford, and after four years time spent there, as soon as the War began, he threw off his gown and bought him a sword, and hath been for the late king throughout the whole war. Saith he was told by one Pyle, the agent, on his first engagement in this late rebellion, that there were three several agents, one for the Cavalier party, another for the Parliament party, and the third for the Army, who were called by a periphrasis the Sealed Knot; and that they had resolved to take in all interests, and to settle the king; and that it was privately whispered, the protector's interest was not excluded, and that the Protector himself had declared his desire, that for settling the nation in peace, the king (meaning Charles Stuart) should be brought in. And this is all of addition he can make to what he said before.*

It will be seen by reference to General Disbrowe's list of prisoners that Duke is described as of Stuckton in Fordingbridge parish, in the county of Southampton, gent.² This is his own and Col. Penruddock's statement of his residence; part of Fordingbridge is so called. Further on we shall see he is spoken of, in a petition, as Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Duke, of Wiltshire, so that probably though resident in Hants, he belonged to the well-known family of that name in Wilts. But as he must be mentioned again, it is only necessary at present to notice the fact that on the following morning he stood as one of 26 prisoners at the bar and received sentence of death.

The portraits of a few of the chief actors and Col. Penruddock's exceeding brief account, and the notes of Serjeant Glynne's sentence, are all the materials that we have for picturing the impressive scene of Monday, April 23rd, 1655, in Exeter Castle Hall. A large assembly of people no doubt were gathered for the occasion, and remembered it to their dying days, but they have not passed it on to us.

Afterwards the Attorney-General wrote to Thurloe as follows:—

¹ 3 Th., 401.

* I have found no record of his first examination.

² Vol. xiii., p. 139, *Wilts Mag.*

*Attorney-General Prideaux to Secretary Thurloe. **

Sir,

Yours of the 19th came to my hands the 21st instant at night. I conceive it were necessary his highness resolution were knowne as speedily as may bee, both in relation to the condemned persons, as also to the rest of the prisoners. The gaole here is very full. Judgment was given upon 26 this morning for high treason; and there are 30 besides those that remaine in prison upon the same insurrection, and besides the country prisoners, which are many likewise; and the hot weather now comeing on, if they should any long tyme continue there it might cause an infection and a disease both in city and country. Mr. Sergeant Glyn is this morning gone for London, and intends (God willing) on fryday night, as soon as he comes thither, to wayte on his highnesse, from whome you may expect and receive a more exact accompt of all the passages and proceedings in this circuit, than can be communicated by letter. According to his highnesse directions, signified by your selfe, all the persons, that were in prison upon the accompt of high treason in the gaol of Exon, are continued there, until further order from his highnesse as well those acquitted, as those not tryed and those condemned; and for those, that were sett at liberty at Salisbury, having then not received directions to the contrary, it was according to the course of proceedings in like cases, done there; but if it shall be judged meete, and directions shall be given accordingly, they may be all returned to prison againe, within the compasse of one day; but it will be held a little hard since I hailed some of them there, to give me evidence against the prisoners there, and bound them over by recognizances to appear at this session, to give in evidence against the prisoners here, which they did accordingly, and I could not well have wanted their testimony. Upon receipt of your letter, I sent for Duke, but his sister came not neare mee. I let him know the cause, why I would speake with him; and upon discourse and examination, all that he could say, more than what was conteyned in his former examination (which was only in generall as to the designe, which most of the rest knew and spake of) is in the paper inclosed. General Disbrow has been with us ever since our coming into this country, and to him hath been communicated the way and manner of our proceedings, and the cause of alteration of the indictment; and from him we have received the sense you had there of our proceedings at Salisbury, where-with (as we believe) he is well satisfied; soe we doubt not, but you will receive a good accompt from Mr. Sergeant Glyn, as also from the rest of us, when wee return to London. We have this day liberty to take a little air, and tomorrow goe on towards Chard; as soone as wee have dispatched our business there, from thence towards London. Havinge given you this accompt, I crave leave to subscribe myselfe

Your very humble servant,

EDW: PRIDEAUX."

Exeter, April 23, 1655.

And so the Exeter assize ended, Chief Justice Rolle had left on the Friday, Glynne went to London on the Monday, and on the following day the rest of the circuit moved to Chard; calling in

perhaps *en route* at the Attorney-General's beautiful old mansion, Ford Abbey, at that time undergoing violent alterations.

The country seats of leading actors on the great stage of public life, commonly excite much interest, even if they do not possess agreeable associations. The omniverous tourist hurries thither, to view the chosen spot, one probably of great natural beauty; the house a triumph of architecture, and perchance of good taste, whatever its size or pretensions, with its paintings, its sculptures, or other objects pleasant to look upon; the gardens with their parterres of flower and shrub, their groves and lawns, here and there disclosing lake or stream, either in distance, or sudden propinquity—all admirably planned for society or solitude. And then in his mind's eye, if past realization, he endeavours to look upon the great man or men of the place, how they walked and talked, surrounded by a charming family circle, or a band of admirers, or those distinguished in literature or art. But whilst we are looking upon the tourist, we find ourselves attracted, and peering into the scene with an honest desire to know all we ought.

Now Ford Abbey cannot claim any historical or literary association from its connection with the great Attorney-General of the Commonwealth; yet one would not get a true idea of the man and his times, if it were altogether passed by; for in the immense alterations which were carried out there during his possession, it is easy to trace somewhat of both.

Ford Abbey is about four miles from the old assize town of Chard, twelve miles from Mr. Prideaux's borough, Lyme Regis, near to Netherton, his old home.¹ He bought it the year he became

¹ Mr. Prideaux was elected for Lyme Regis, 15 Charles I., 16 Charles I., and 6 Charles II. (1654). He was the younger son of Sir Edmund Prideaux, Bart., of Netherton, in the parish of Farway, four miles east of Honiton. His brother Sir Peter Prideaux, was the author of the lines on the founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.—See Prince's *Worthies of Devon*. The future Attorney-General was, on May 14th, 1616, specially admitted gratis to the Inner Temple, at the request of his father, who was a Bencher, and had been Treasurer of that Society in 1608. He is there described as double Reader of the House, an office he held though not a member of it. He was called to the Bar, November 23rd, 1623, and made a Bencher, May 1st, 1642. (*Inner Temple Books*.)

Attorney-General (1649). It is situated amongst pleasant grass fields, in the valley of the Axe, which runs hard by.

Prior to the purgation of King Henry VIII. it had been for some 400 years a Cistercian Monastery, with an Abbot and twelve white-frocked monks. The story of its foundation is highly characteristic, bathed in benevolence, and not uninteresting. The monastic society of Brightley, near Okehampton, in Devon, a branch of Waverley Abbey, Sussex, had been formed at the desire of Richard de Brioniis, Lord of Devon, A.D. 1136. The brothers, men of piety and apparently of sagacity, finding, after a five years' residence, at that place that the Lord Richard's grant was too barren a spot for duty, if not for existence, determined to return to the bosom of their mother church. In solemn procession they marched out, and passed through the land. By accident, or otherwise, their road lay through the meadows of Ford, near to which the Lady Adeliza, sister of their late patron, the Lord Richard, and in consequence of his death, now Viscountess of Devon, had a residence. Looking from her window, she chanced to see the holy men as they retreated, slow of step, sad of countenance, with a cross upraised before them. She inquired who they were, and on hearing their melancholy story, was moved with compassion. She bade them stay, for that there in that valley she would build them a house, such as her brother's and her own soul's desire would wish them to dwell in. The pastures were green, the stream looked rich, the lady was evidently in earnest, the monks remained; and in course of time, chapel cell and cloister rose for them, together with a refectory and kitchen. 'Tis well to find the good fathers were not dreamers or drones. It became an abbey of repute, and many a scholar went forth thence—some to fame. On its roll of distinguished men was the Archbishop Baldwin, who shared the perils and the squabbles of King Richard's Crusade, and sealed a fame for sanctity, with his life, at Tyre. In those early days of its existence, when learning was dim, here were schooled the pious Roger the Cistercian, the chronicler of the miracle-working Elizabeth of Flanders, and men of letters, Maurice Somerset, sometime Abbot of Wells, and John Devoniis, Chaplain of King John. Fuller says

“that in the latter’s time the abbey had more learning therein than 3 abbeys of the same bigness.” The descendants of Lady Adeliza, the Viscountess of Devon, some 40 years after the foundation, fell wards to Henry II., and were by him given in marriage to the Lords Courtenay, father and son. The Courtenay family were for a century or more munificent patrons of the monastery, and many of that family were buried within its precincts; amongst others, Robert Lord Courtenay who died at Iwerne Courtenay (afterwards the home of Mrs. Arundell Penruddock, Col. John’s wife), August, 1242. Time passed, and the love of the patrons grew cold, and there came troublous times for the brothers of Ford. But the house, just ere its dissolution, appears to have shone out with fresh vigour, under its last Abbot, Thomas of Chard; who rebuilt large portions of it, specially the hall, the entrance tower, and the cloister, which are its chief ornaments to day. After the doors were shut upon the monks, it passed through various hands as a private residence, amongst others, William Rosewell, Queen Elizabeth’s Solicitor-General, whose son sold it to Mr. Prideaux. Such were some of the associations of this venerable pile, and there it stood with its handsome centre tower flanked on one side by the hall, on the other by the cloister, a happy example of rich decorated Tudor Architecture. But it was no country house for the wealthy¹ Attorney General, per-

¹ In King’s Pamphlets, Sm. Qto., vol. 832, there is a tract which has some account of Mr. Prideaux on this head. It is called “The mystery of the Gold Cause briefly unfolded—in a catalogue of such members of the late Parliament that held office both civil and military contrary to the self-denying ordinance,” published London, 1660. It is very Cavalier in sentiment, and may not be correct, but I give it here for what it is worth, p. 27.

“Edmund Prideaux, formerly Commissioner of the Great Seal worth £1500 annum: did by ordinance practise within the bar as one of the King’s Counsell, worth £5000 per annum; and after that was Attorney-General worth what he pleased to make it; Postmaster for all the inland letters at 6 pence the letter worth £15000 per annum; and he got it thus, the Lord Stanhope, the Postmaster and Carrier of England complained in Parliament against Mr. Wethering and others touching the carrying of letters; whereupon the benefit of forraine letters was given to the Earle of Warwick worth more than £7000 per annum, and inland letters to Mr. Prideaux. Was not this good Justice?” This is quoted by Mr. Prince’s Worthies of Devon, p. 508.

In the same work, at p. 18, there is the following: “Nicholas Love, son of

chance it retained too much of its Catholic origin for his taste, so he effected a series of alterations and additions, which we lament. It may be Inigo Jones, who is responsible for the design ; if so he was seventy-six and on the verge of the grave when they were commenced, for he died in 1651. Moreover he would be a Roman Catholic, employed to transform a Roman Catholic edifice, by a Puritan Attorney General. He could have seen but little of the carrying out of his plans for the great staircase was not finished, as an inscription on it says, till 1658. The house perhaps required enlargement, but that this should have been done at the expence of the beautiful Tudor features I have mentioned is a matter of regret. The tower is spoilt by its having in front of it a huge Italian pile almost as lofty as itself, which now forms the centre of the elevation. This contains the new grand saloon. Italian windows now surmount the cloisters, and on the opposite side squeeze the old hall against the tower, the latter afflicted as I have already mentioned. Within there is the hall fairly perfect, and some of the rooms are highly creditable to the Architect, specially the saloon already mentioned. But one never gets over the idea that it is a building transformed from one use to another. We can fancy then the Attorney General, a man of some refinement though with little taste, of great wealth, and most hospitable impulses, living in an age of large gatherings ; his home the centre of the society of that neighbourhood, the hearth of a considerable family circle. He may have read Lord Bacon's essay on houses, and thought he was in some way following the advice of that great master. For every one, his garden with its wilderness, must indeed have been a constant source of "the purest pleasure."

Dr. Love, of Winchester, Mr. Speaker's (Lenthall) chamber fellow in Lincoln's Inn, was made one of the six Clerks in Chancery in Mr. Penruddock's place, worth £1000 per annum, one of the Council of State, 1651. A constant Ramper, and one of his sovereign's Cruell Judges, and one of the abjurators of kingly powers." This refers to Henry Penruddock, see pp. 122 and 150, of *Wills Arch. Mag.*, vol. xiii., "the six clerk" (six of them) in Chancery, or Edward Penruddock, of whom more hereafter, for they may be one and the same person.

In the same pamphlet, at p. 30, is the following laconic entry : "John Selden had given him £5000 which he refused to accept, and kept his conscience."

But it is time to be moving to Chard. What a stir the arrival of "the circuit" must have made in that quiet town! The Commissioners going in procession to the fine old parish church, and then to the court house. There were two public buildings formerly at Chard where the assizes may have been held. The first stood in the centre of the main street, the second at the side of it. The former was a town hall, having been before that a Chapel; some years since it was pulled down.¹ The latter combined a court with a market house. This has also been removed, and a modern building substituted, which in these days when Chard is well nigh forgotten, suffices for all purposes. Tudor houses are to be found in the street, where the judges or counsel may have lodged; or whence they may have been looked upon as they passed along. There are but few records of this assize. The Western Circuit Order Book has none. Probably, as was originally arranged, Mr. Recorder Steele presided, and charged the grand jury. He would be accompanied by Lord Lisle, Baron Nicholas, and possibly Mr. Justice Wyndham.

It seems clear that the commission opened and the charge was delivered on Wednesday, the 25th day of April, the day noted in the margin of the Draft Order Book of the Council of State,² from *Perfect Diurnal* April 30th, 1655.

"The Judges are gone for Chard where they are to sit this Wednesday (25th) for the trial of prisoners there."*

And specially from the following letter:—³

Attorney-General Prideaux to Secretary Thurloe.

Sir,

We are come unto Chard, and upon enquire doubt we shall not be able to proceede against many of the prisoners heere, because, though we can prove them to have beene in armes in other places, yet in this county we cannot; they only past through this county, and did not any notable actes; † and were taken only by the country people as straglers, and were not taken in armes. But as against the chiefe we shall proceed, and hope to have cleare evidence

¹ See Photograph of this on opposite page.

² See vol. xiii., p. 145, *Wilts Arch. Mag.*

* K. P., Sm. Qto., 640.

³ 3 Th., 407.

† In the teeth of this, Mr. Collinson states that Colonel Penruddock and the Royalists proclaimed the King in person, and suffered a severe defeat in the town of Chard. *Hist. Somerset.*, (pub. 1791) vol. ii., p. 474. There is no evidence of any such event, and the contrary may be presumed from the letters already given in these Records.



FORD ABBEY, THE RESIDENCE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL PRIDEAUX. A.D. 1648-1859.



against them; and for the rest, we shall not give them an acquittal; but if hereafter they shall be thought fitt to have a proceeding against them, they may be removed to Salisbury, where it will be fullie proved. It's heare reported, the prisoners will petition to be banished, and that the petition is draweing; but of this I have not any certeintie; only twoe have this day brought me a petition to that purpose. I desier you will deliver this letter to Mr. Sergeant Glyn, who will wait upon you for it. The grand jury is sworne, but we are not soe confident of them, as in the other countyes; therefore we beginne only with Captain Hunt, against whom there is clear evidence.

I am, your most humble Servant,

EDM. PRIDEAUX."

Chard, April 25, 1655.

The list of prisoners in custody for the Chard assize, sent to the Government by General Disbrowe, has been already given (twenty-five in Taunton and two in Ilchester Gaols).¹ Of these, several probably were not brought to trial. In the absence of record, specially we miss the name of Col. Phelips,² of Montacute, whose romantic journey with King Charles II., after the battle of Worcester, including their stay at Mere Inn, and Heale House, and their visit to Stonehenge will not be forgotten. Possibly no sufficient evidence could be obtained against him, and he was discharged on bail. There were two other noteworthy prisoners, Major Clark and Captain Hunt, the latter mentioned above by the Attorney-General, of these a few memoranda remain:—

"The only person of Eminency brought to his tryall and acquitted by the Jury in all these Western parts is Major Clark who was tried at Chard, and that being the last place where the judges sat, he found that other gentlemen that had pleaded the general issue were cast, and have received sentence of death accordingly so that he being now called to the bar, an indictment of high treason read again for being in arms. And it was demanded what he could say for himself, Guilty or Not Guilty. Major Clark answered that he had many brothers and sisters, and that Sir W^m. Clark, his father died in debt, and that he had been inforced to defend divers suits, and was to raise portions for the younger children, and [there] being severall other such like incumbrances upon him, he had taken the advice of divers friends and at this time (for which he stood indicted) was sent for under the notion that some friends of his desired to speak with him at such a place, and that upon his giving them a meeting, they would contribute such advice as shall be beneficial to him, whereupon he took his horse, and met them at the place appointed, where he did see many other gentlemen and there the reason of their meeting was made known unto him,

¹ *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 141.

² The name of Lady Phillips (Mrs. Phelips, of Montacute?) occurs early in these records, as an envoy of Charles the Second's, meeting the cavaliers at Salisbury. *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, vol. xiii., pp. 148, 149.

but denied that he was aiding, assisting, or abetting therein, and alledged that upon the first opportunity he got away from them to his own house where he continued, while [and] until he was apprehended.

After this his pleading and the evidence had been heard the Jury brought in their verdict, Not Guilty.”*

And *Faithful Scout*, May 11th, 1655, by letter from Chard :—

“Major Clark received his tryal there and pleaded so Lilburne-like that he was acquitted by the Jury. His estate was not great.”

The above brings graphically before us the trial, and the young man fighting hard for his life. A very narrow escape he must have had, if he be, and it seems probable he was, the son of Sir Edward Clark mentioned by Captain Unton Croke as about to be Major to Col. Penruddock.¹ He is described by Disbrowe as Henry Clarke, of Enford, Wilts, Esquire. This name appears in the register of Fittleton parish, near Enford, about a century later, but I am not able to find it in that neighbourhood in 1655. He may have been a brother of Edward Clarke, Esq., who about this time married the heiress of the Warre and Lottisham families of Chipleigh House, in the parish of Ninehead, near Taunton, Somerset, and who afterwards, in 1667, erected in their village church a grand mural monument to his wife’s memory, and wrote upon it an epitaph, commencing:—

“This happy soul exchang’d by her decease
The lands of *Warre* into the fields of peace.” †

Capt. Thomas Hunt also of Enford, was tried, condemned, and but for the glorious courage of his sister must have perished,² as we read in the following letter:—

“*Mr. J. Carye and Mr. J. Barker to Major General Disbrowe* †
May it Please your Honour,

To be certified that upon notice given us, that Mr. Hunt, condemned for treason was escaped out of prison at Ivelchester, Wednesday night, the 15th instant,

* Certain passages of *Every Day’s Intelligencer*, May 11th, 1655, K. P., Sm. Qto., 645.

¹ See vol. xiii., p. 132, *Wilts Arch. Mag.*

† Collinson’s Somerset, vol. iii., p. 268.

² The well-known lines of Horace, (Od. Bk. III., 12) rise to our lips:—

“Una de multis, face nuptiali
Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendidè mendax, et in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum.”

“Surge, quæ dixit juveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
Non times, detur.”

We think too of Antigone.

we mett there this day early to examine the businesse. We finde, that Hunt had two sisters, Elizabeth and Margery, that evening in his chamber: he goes with Elizabeth in womens apparell out of the prison, through the watch; the other sister, Margery, lieth in Hunt's bedd that night; and the escape of the prisoner not knowne, till the next morninge, beinge thursday, which day it seemeth he had been to be executed; the scaffold being up, and all ready for that purpose. It appears to us that Hunt had not irons on, through the goaler's neglect. It also appears to us by several testimonies, that the Sheriffe had often tymes earnestly sent unto him to secure the prisoners with all safety; and upon the imprisonmente of the persons committed for treason, had issued under his seale of office a warrante of a strickt watch upon the prison day and night. The Copies of the Examinations taken at present we thought good to send up unto your honour; and we shall wayte your commands, and what you shall please further to have done in the businesse. In the meane tyme Hunt's two sisters, Elizabeth and Margery are secured; and we shall humbly desire to know your further pleasure concerninge them and the Goaler; and so we humbly take our leaves, and rest

Ivelchester Friday May 18th, 1655

Your honour's most humble

and faithfull servants

J. CARYE.

J. BARKER.

Hue and Cry were speedily abroad for the stopinge of the prisoner.

The Superscription

To the right honorable generall John Disbrowe
at his lodgings in whitehall, these humbly present."

This letter evidently was written by two magistrates who had been summoned to "the open door." Was it opened with a silver key? The justices appear suspicious on the point. We smile at the thought of the tenantless scaffold, and the vain hue and cry, and General Disbrowe's face as he read the letter "at his lodgings in Whitehall." Captain Hunt escaped to the continent. History is said to repeat herself, an observation, which here at any rate has some show of truth. 160 years after we find Henry Hunt, of Enford, the Reform promoter, sometime M.P. for Preston, who claimed descent from our hero, imprisoned in this very Ilchester Gaol (1820—1822).¹ But though there may be sympathy to-day for the

¹ Mr. Henry Hunt, in his Memoirs, written by himself during his imprisonment, and afterwards published, gives a long account of Captain (he calls him Colonel) Thomas Hunt's escape in 1655, taken from family documents, which he appears to set out from memory. According to these "Captain Hunt was still at Ilchester the day after he had escaped, wandering about ignorant of the country and heard the bell ring for his execution. It is not mentioned whether he feared his sister was being hung. He was afterwards permitted by a collier

Royalist Captain and the Orator of Repeal, there must be a far deeper feeling, even that of affection for the memory of that high-souled Wiltshire girl who risked her own life for her brother's. One regrets that the veil of time has fallen upon the story of her life, her features, and her hand-writing. Most rarely is such courage to be found in the records of the human race.

Perchance just before the commissioners left Chard, they received the following noble petition from the prisoners under sentence of death at Exeter. Sir Richard Hoare, *Modern Wilts*, Hund. Mere, p. 31, and Hund. Damerham, p. 81, gives us a copy of this, however signed "John Penruddock" and "Hugh Grove."¹ He does not tell us what MS. he followed, or what authority there is for saying, as he does, that it was delivered at Chard. The date, April the 26th, is, I believe, the only hint, if any, upon the subject. The whole is in Col. Penruddock's handwriting; but has no signatures, and is endorsed:—

"To the Lord Lisle one of the Commissioners of the Greate Seale, Judge Role, Judge Nicholas, Serjeant Glyn and Serjeant Steele and to all other the Com^{ms} of Oyer and Terminer. A copy of the pn'soners Letter in Exon Goal."

Moreover it is apparently but a fair copy, of what may have been presented to the judges as above-mentioned.

"Honourable Sirs*

We knowe that our Redeemer (blessed for ever!) hath pulled out the sting of death, and therefore hope we shall never be so little his as to feare dying; Againe we know long Life to be one of God's great blessings, and therefore hope we shall never be guilty of the neglect of any lawful means in the acquiring of it. Indeavours for the last are no ways inconsistent with preparation for the

to ride behind him on horseback to his cottage, was concealed, but nearly discovered there. Soon after he escaped with his collier friend to France. There hearing that his sister Margaret was to be executed for him, he was about to return and surrender, but was prevented doing so by being placed under restraint abroad by Charles II. On the restoration the king refused to restore him the family property at Enford. Captain Hunt, however, continued to live there, on a small estate which had been overlooked by Cromwell's officers. He was offered the valueless (?) Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, but refused it. This office afterwards his descendant tried to abolish." The grandfather of Henry Hunt, M.P. 1820, was married to Miss Biggs, of Stockton, Wilts.

¹ Why signed by only two of the condemned?

* Compton MSS.

first. A Divine and a Physician are used at the same time. Being therefore encouraged from the character we have received of your eminent piety which above all outward actions inclines the heart to mercy and deeds of charity. And considering how improbable it is that so many persons of Honour, Interest and Merit should be denyed any request, we presume to make these humble addresses to y^r. Honours, that you will be pleased to become Intercessors, to the Lord Protector on our behalves either by letter or otherwise, as y^r. Honours shall thinke fit. Nor yet can we thinke our inconsiderable lives in themselves of moment sufficient for y^r. trouble; but when we shall lay before you the ruine of so many tender and Innocent relations, whose dependence is solely upon our lives, and are too too (*sic*) numerous to be made miserable by our deaths, we cannot despair of bowels of compassion in you. We dare not prescribe rules; but if we may not be thought fit to live in this Commonwealth, we hope at least we may be suffered to spend the remainder of our dayes in her defence (together with the rest of Christendom) against the too powerful and common enemy, the Turke. And when it shall be considered that the satisfaction of no man's death lies upon us, that none of our brothers blood does cry for ours (and withall that we had upon Capitulation, the protection of the sword for our lives which we doe but touch with the top of our rod,) we hope we shall not appear subjects for nothing but vengeance. And y^r. honours favours shall not be cast away, nor ever bestowed upon men, that can more value and set higher prices upon them than

Your honours' most humble servants

Exeter Gaole, April 26 1655."

In these first days after sentence they cannot believe it will be carried out. Twenty-six condemned at Exeter alone. They were, so they thought, worthy of regard from their numbers and station; as they had taken no lives, could their lives be sacrificed? Then there were the poor widows and orphans, "too too many" to be deprived of their solace and help. Justice and mercy were both in their favour. It is said by Mr. Izaak in his History of Exeter, that they received much kindness and sympathy from the people of that city during their imprisonment, which must have cheered them. But they had hopes from other sources, Mrs. Penruddock and her children had gone to London to seek pardon, by every possible means, if necessary, even at the feet of the Lord Protector himself.

The Commissioners may have lingered for a day with the Attorney General at Ford, but certainly not more, for

"*Londonium longae finis chartaeque viaeque,*"

was reached by the 1st of May.

We read in the *Perfect Proceedings* May 3rd:—¹

"May 2nd,—This day the term begun, and all the Benchs sat in Westminster

¹ K. P., Sm. Qto., 642.

Hall, both the Upper Bench and the Common Pleas, the Barons of the Exchequer ; and the Lord Commissioners of the Great Seal, also upon the Ordinance of the Lord Protector, without any of the Masters of the Chancery upon the Bench with them, according to the Tenor of the said ordinance."

It has already been observed that Colonel and Mrs. Penruddock may not have met after their parting as he returned in custody from London to Exeter ; there would be the cares of their family, and the personal efforts for her husband's pardon to stand in the way. But the following petition may be thought to suggest her presence on the circuit after his condemnation ; it is right to add that it would be at best, merely conjecture. A companion she would find in Miss Duke, the sister of Robert Duke her husband's fellow prisoner, who has been already mentioned as being at Exeter.¹ It is signed by both ladies, and probably was delivered to Sergeant Glynn whilst still in that city.²

" To the Honble. Mr. Sergeant Glyn one of the Judges for the Commission of Oyer and Terminer and Goale Delivery for the Countyes of Wilts Dorset Somerset aud Devon.

The Humble Petition of Arundell Penruddocke in Behalfe of her Husband John Penruddock. And of Anne Duke in Behalfe of her Brother Robert Duke, now Prisoners in the Goale at Exon, Condemned for Treason.

Sheweth, That having Lost the one A Husband the other A Brother by the Late Sentence of Condemnation Passed upon them, They hope they may yet find them againe by your Honours mediation to His Highnesse my L^d. Protectour for theyre Pardon and forgivenessse.

Neither can there be A wronge to Justice, when soe High a Charity mixt wth mercy shall Ballance your Honours Intercession ffor Havinge Thirteen children Between them,* Certainly such Innocents will Plead for Pitty towards theyr miserable ffathers And theyr first Language will bee mercy mercy wth. for ever heereafter will bee seconded wth. Thanksgivinge.

If your Hon^r. shall therefore bee pleased soe to intercede to his Highnesse the L^d. Protectour whereby both Husband and Brother may find mercy your Petitioners and those many Poore orphans shall for ever Pray, &c.

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.
ANNE DUKE."

¹ Page 50, sup.

² This Petition is endorsed : " My Cosen Penruddock's and Mrs. Duke's Petition to Serjeant Glyn who was the Judge that gave the sentence at Exon."

* Penruddock had seven children. Miss Anne Duke, Robert's sister, must (possibly on account of his wife's ill health) have had the charge of his family. We shall hereafter find that his widow's name also was Anne : but the language of the above petition, and the Attorney-General's letter clearly shew that the lady here mentioned was his sister and not his wife.

At any rate after the trial she went to London, and there made every possible effort to save her unfortunate husband. She petitioned His Highness in person, here is a copy of a written petition, presented before the trial (for it speaks not of condemnation), which has been omitted, and may find a place here.

“ To his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England Scotland and Ireland.

The Humble Petition of Arrundell Penrodoe the most unfortunate wife of John Penrodoe now Prisoner in the Goale of Exeter.

Humbly sheweth and confeseth that her husband hath iustly deserved through his rashnesse and folly your Highnesse most sever displeasure and what other punishment the law can inflict upon him either by Death or forfeiture. But since God out of his wonted mercy to your Highness hath frustrated their evill designes and laid your enemies prostrate at your feet.

Your Petitioner humbly prayes that beinge mother of seaven small children and haveing no hopes of Comfort left her but your Highness mercy and clemency towards her miserable husband your Highness would be graciously pleased to extend it to him that he may live to repent and redeeme his ingratitude as well as fault by ever praying together with myselfe and children for your Highnesse prosperity and happinesse.

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.”

To a period shortly subsequent may be attributed the next, which tells us of some acquaintanceship between Colonel Penruddock and Richard Cromwell; possibly through the latter's father-in-law, Mr. Mayer,¹ who lived at Hursley, in Hants. It will also be read with interest here.

“ To the Right Honorable the Lord Richard Cromwell.

The humble Petition of Arundell Penruddock the wife of the unfortunate John Penruddock nowe Prisoner in Exeter Goale.

Sheweth

That your Petitioner Havinge Lately Petitiond His Hignesse the L^d. Protector to showe mercy to her unfortunate Husband (whose High offence wth. greife and sorrowe shee hath Humbly confessed). And having as yet received noe Answer. And Hearinge of the speedy and severe Prosequation against him

Shee humbly Beseetheth your L^dshippe favourably to Look upon her misery Involv^d in her Husband's calamity And to intercede to his Highnesse that her Husband may be Remov'd to London the Rather for that she hath good grounds to Beleeve, hee will give good satisfaction to his Highnesse his Person what hee shall demand of him.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.”

¹ See Penruddock's letter of March 16th, *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 132. “I am confident my Lord Richard and Mr. Mayer will countenance you herein, i.e., effecting his pardon.

On her return after the trial, she wrote him again a solemn appeal:—

“ For the Right Honourable the Lord Richard Cromwell.

My Lord,

Let this I beseeche you put you in mind of every word I have spoken,* and be pleased to remember with a pious imitation, whose sonne became a Mediation to his father for his very enemyes. Goe you my Lord, and doe likewise. A single person is an inconsiderable object for such an intercessor as your Lordshippe, but now when soe great a number are involved in misery even to destruction: now to interpose for mercy for all, will be an act becomminge your Quality, and relation alone, and meke you far more glorious then you are great, and for ever to your selfe, and posterity, make a purchase of all those hearts, over whose persons your father's sword has made a conquest, and who knows whether (like Hester)† you are called to your present dignity for such a time as this or noe.”

And about the same time, robed in deep mourning, surrounded perchance by her children and accompanied by Miss Duke and others, she presented the following petition to the Protector:—¹

“ To his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England Scotland and Ireland &c.

The humble petition of these miserable persons whose names are hereunto annexed now prisoners in the Gaole of Exon condemned for Treason.

Humbly sheweth

That haveinge the sentence of death passed upon us we cannot imagine there should be any hope left us, but when we looke upon your Highnesse as our Judge, and remember those Hon^{ble} pressinge intercessions of your Highnesse alwaies for the performing of Articles wee then hope we may live by ours.

My Lord he that knows how to overcome, knows how to forgive and a victorie by mercie is a double triumph charminge both soule and body by Pietie and Hono^r to the givinge and performinge any just obligation whatsoever that shall be demanded of us.

We dare not instruct, but we humbly set before your Highnesses eyes the great preserver of mankind and Prince of Potentates in his remarkable providence over us that neither at South Molton nor any where else their lies the satisfaction of any mans death upon us none of our brothers blood does cry for ours soe that roome is left for mercie without pressinge of Attributes.

If your Highnesse shall therefore be gratiously pleased to say to us again live wee shall with all the justice and Honor of Humanity pay our perpetuall acknowledgements, but if the Ignominious death which now threatens us must be our portion we shall with all christanity suffer and dye, and in our very deaths remember yo^r. Highnesse in the prayers of

* Suggests that she had had a personal interview with him.

† A doubtful compliment to Richard Cromwell from its very truth.

² This is from the Compton MS.; a portion of which taken from the Kings Pamphlet MS. has been already given, as sent from Salisbury, *Wilts Arch. Mag.* vol. xiii., p. 182.

* John Penruddock	Christopher Haveland	Persons beheaded
* Heugh Grove	† Thomas Poulton	marked thus * [A
† Richard Ryves	† Edward Willis	death's head in original
Robert Duke	John Bibby	Persons hanged marked
Francis Jones	John Cooke	thus † [A cross in or-
George Duke	Abraham Wilson	inal
Thomas Fitz-James	† William Horsington	The rest relieved
† Thomas Hilliard	Richard Browne	during pleasure
† Edward Davis	John Harris	
William Jenkins	Nicholas Mussell	
William Wake	Hans Stiver a Dutch Trumpeter	
Joseph Collier	† John Gyles	
Henry Collier	Robert Harris	
Those mark ^d w th Death's head were beheaded, those with a crosse were hanged, the rest banished."		

It is almost needless to say that the asterisk's (in the original death's heads) and cross marks must have been added subsequently.

This general petition was followed by one last appeal from Penruddock himself, no doubt presented the 1st or 2nd of May. How pathetic is its language! His prostration at the great man's feet, not for his own sake, but for those "too, too numerous," who were dependant upon his life.

"To his Highnesse the Lord Protector of England Scotland and Ireland.

The Humble Petition of John Penruddock nowe Prisoner in the goale of Exon Condemned for Treason.

That not wth standinge his many Petitions both Joyntly and in Particular hee againe Presents this humble Adresse to your Highnesse wherein wth All Humility hee prostrates himselfe at your Highnesses feet for mercy.

neither doth hee beg it for his owne sake but for the Sakes of soe many Innocents his wife Children and Relations who are too too numerous to bee made miserable by his Death.

knowinge therefore that in your Highneses Breath depends his Life or Death twould bee selfe murder not to Implore your mercy since hee knowes that Heaven it selfe is conquerd by Prayers.

If therefore your Highnesse shall be graciously Pleased to Answer him in mercy and not in Justice hee will not onely give such Security for his future Demeanour as by your Highnesse shall bee thought fitt but for ever as in Duty bound together wth his Relations Pray for your Highnesse &c."

But it was not to be, the Protector fully appreciated the wide extent and gravity of the rebellion: north, south, east, and west it had spread, and so he came to the conclusion that nothing but a serious example would secure the Government. This was a second offence moreover of some of the prisoners, amongst others, Penruddock; he had

been punished in vain. His life was now forfeited to the people of England. Whatever may be said of Cromwell's sternness of character, which years of battle had increased, if not generated; yet there was a tender side too, as we know, which must have been moved on this occasion, as petition after petition and person after person, even his own son, besought mercy. If we could but stand in his position might not the sentence appear just?

On the 3rd of May the death warrant was signed at Whitehall, and sent off to Exeter. By it we see that the following further petition (of which a portion of a rough copy exists at Compton), was granted, There is no record of its presentation, but Colonel Penruddock's speech upon the scaffold, which will be given hereafter rather suggests that this was done.

“ *To His Highness*

The Humble Petition

Humbly sheweth

That havinge Presented a former Petition w^{ch} wee did hope by our submission might have procured us meroy from your Highnesse But fearing as the sentence is past for the day of execution is Likewise Press. wee humbly therefore beseech your Highnesse that if we may not obtain the favour of Life Your Highnesse would be pleased to grant us more Honourable deaths than our sentence hath condemned us unto w^{ch} will not onely give us some satisfaction on our deaths but engage our severall Relations that Live after us to pray for your Highness.”

Opposite will be found a *facsimile* of this interesting document.¹

“ OLIVER P.

Whereas John Penruddock, Hugh Grove, Richard Reeves, Edward Davy, Thomas Poulton, Edward Willis, Thomas Hillard, John Haynes, James Horsington *alias* Huish, and John Giles *alias* Hobbs, were indicted, convicted and attainted of high Treason at a Commission of Oyer and Terminer and Goal deliverie, lately held at Exeter in our Countie of Devon and have received sentence to be executed as Traytors. Wee have thought fit, and our will and pleasure is, that the said John Penruddock and Hugh Grove instead of being hanged by ye neck, be put to death by severing their heads from their Bodyes, and that the said Richard Reeves, Edward Davy, Thomas Poulton, Edward Willis, Thomas Hillard, John Haynes, James Horsington, and John Giles be onely hanged by the neck till they are dead. And that you forbear all other

¹ The engraving of this warrant in Sir R. C. Hoare's History of Modern Wiltshire is incorrect, and the present, an entirely new one, has been engraved for this paper.



Wm. E.

Wm. was Tom Pinward, Hugh Povey, ~~John~~
Richard Rogers, Edward Day, Thomas Pulton, Edward
Wells, Thomas Howard, John Hays, James W-
Kerington etc Smith, and John Gallop etc. Hays were
indicted, mounted, and attended of high treason at a
Court of Oyer, and Tenure, and Grace 20th Novem.
1651, held at Exeter. Our Acquittals of them, and how
removed thence to the Prisoners at Leyport. Will have
knowl^t it, and our m^r. and progress is that she said
John Wilmot, and Hugh Povey, ~~Edward~~ in
of some hands by y^r. neck, he put to death by drawing thro' roads
from his body, and that the said Richard Rogers
Day Thomas' Pulton Edward Wells, Thomas Howard,
Tom Hays, James Kerington, and John Wells be only
kangal by the neck in this, and so. Thus that you further
all other and further enquire paye and require of y^r. Obedi-
ent persons afore s^d, and for doing their shall be your
Warrant given at Walsall the third of May, 1651.

To the
Coppies to Sir Rich. B. H.
of the Countess of Devon, or her Deputies

and further corporall payne and execution of ye bodies of ye persons aforesaid. And for soe doing this shalbe your Warrant. Given at Whitehall the 3rd of May 1655.

*To John Copleston Esqr. High Sheriffe
of our Countie of Devon, or his Deputie."*

There was no drawing and quartering, such as was served out in after days by the Royalists to their opponents. The Lord Protector was ahead of his times in this, and we must admire him for it, when we think of the sentence passed on Lord William Russell.

Sir Richard Hoare, *Mod. Wilts, Hund. Mere*, 35, says the copy he there gives is taken from the original in the custody of Ambrose Steed, a relation of the then Sheriff at Exeter, August 11th, 1760; and in *Hund. Damerham*, p. 85, the original is spoken of as "still extant in the Penruddock family." Between 1761 and the writing of *Hund. Damerham* it had passed from Mr. Steed to the Penruddock family; and, so far as I can discover, there never was but one copy of it, that given in Oliver's *History of Exeter* being an inaccurate representation of the same document. Search was made in Sir R. Hoare's time, for this supposed second copy of the warrant, it could not be found, and never has been (*Hund. Dunworth*, p. 263, note) so far as I know to this day. It is identical, except that Robert Duke's name is interlineated and then erased, after Hugh Grove's in both places. Here it shares the same fate, but is written in the same line. How the story given in Oliver originated, it is not easy now to discover, but I can find no foundation for it, and therefore do not repeat it here.

Poor Robert Duke escaped for the time; a very doubtful advantage!

(To be Continued.)

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 XV.

ORDER. JUNCACEÆ. (JUSS.)

NARTHECIUM, (HUDS.) ASPHODEL.

Linn. Cl. vi., Ord. i.

Name. From *narthex*, (Gr.) a rod; probably from the elongated straight raceme of flowers.

1. *N. ossifragum*, (Huds.) Bog-Asphodel. *Engl. Bot. t.* 535. *St.* 78, 3. *Reich Icones*, x., 421.

Locality. Wet places in turfy bogs. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1. * 3. * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* Wet places at Alderbury.

3. *South-west District.* Marshes at Longleat, sparingly.

A rare and local plant in the county. Stem 6 to 8 inches high, decumbent at the base. *Rhizome* creeping. *Leaves* all radical, half the height of the stem. *Flowers* bright yellow.

JUNCUS, (LINN.) RUSH.

Linn. Cl. vi., Ord. i.

Named from *jungo*, to *join*; the leaves and stems of this genus having been employed for cordage.

1. *J. effusus*, (Linn.) effuse or soft Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 836. *Reich Icones*, ix., 413.

Locality. In marshy grounds. *P. Fl. July.* *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Stem* faintly striate, soft, pith continuous, panicle usually diffuse. *Capsule* not apiculate. Height 1 to 2 feet. Often mingled with the next species, but flowering three weeks later.

2. *J. conglomeratus*, (Linn.) dense-flowered or common Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 835. *St.* 71, 3. *Reich Icones*, 408.

Locality. Damp pastures and open places in moist woods. *P. Fl. July.* Recorded in all the Districts. *Panicle* usually dense and globular, or more or less diffuse. *Capsule* apiculate. *J. effusus* and the present species are best distinguished by the capsule.

3. *J. glaucus*, (Sibth.) glaucus or hard Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 665. *St.* 7, 15. *Reich Icones.* ix., 415.

Locality. Damp pastures, and roadsides. *P. Fl. July, Common in all the Districts.* *Panicle* lax, erect. *Scapes* 1 to 2 feet high, glaucous, rigid, covered at the base with deep purple-brown membranous, shining sheaths. *Capsule* elliptic, oblong. This is chiefly distinguished from the last by the rigid, and more striate *scapes*, and *capsule* not retuse.

4. *J. diffusus*, (Hoppe) *St.* 77, 10. *Reich Icones*, ix., 414, has been observed at Wilcot, near Pewsey (*District* 1). *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report.* It is very like the preceding, which it resembles in general appearance, but has the capsule much smaller. This plant will doubtless be found in other parts of Wilts now attention has once been directed to it.

5. *J. obtusiflorus*, (Ehrh) blunt-flowered Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2144. *Reich Icones*, ix., 404.

Locality. In marshy bogs, and ditches in peaty ground. *P. Fl. July, September.* *Area*, 1, * * 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Wilcot near Pewsey," *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "In a bog between South Wraxhall and the Horse and Jockey," *Flor. Bath.*

5. *North-east District.* Banks of canal between Morden and Purton. *Not frequent in the county.* The number of leaves on the stem, and the obtuse leaflets of the perianth, distinguish this from the next species, *J. acutiflorus*, whilst the very compound panicle, and the relative length of the perianth and capsule keep it distinct from *lamprocarpus*.

6. *J. acutiflorus*, (Ehrh) sharp-flowered pointed Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 238. *Reich Icones*, ix., 406.

Locality. Bogs and wet ground. *P. Fl.* June, August. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts.* *Stem* 1 to 2 feet high. *Leaves* 3 to 4 on a stem, distinctly articulate when dry. *Panicle* diffuse, in fruit spreading. *Flowers* several together. *General bracteas* short, membranous. *Capsules* pale-coloured.

7. *J. lamprocarpus*, (Ehrh) shining-fruited Rush, from *lampros*, shining, and *carpos*, fruit. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2143. *Reich Icones*, ix., 405.

Locality. Boggy ground and watery places, frequent. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts.* *Stem* 12 to 18 inches high. *Leaves* numerous. *Branches* of the panicle stiff, elongated, nearly simple. *Capsule* large, dark and shining, mucronate. This species often becomes foliaceous in the flower-scales.

8. *J. squarrosus*, (Linn.) rough Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 933. *St.* 36, 11. *Reich Icones*, ix., 400.

Locality. Wet heathy ground. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1 *
* * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Alderbury," Mr. James Hussey. *Rare in the county.* *Whole plant* exceedingly rigid. 6 to 12 inches high. *Roots* tufted, woody, and fibrous. *Leaves* linear, channelled, radical, sheathing at the base. *Bracteas* lanceolate, membranous. *Leaflets* of the perianth glossy, brown. *Capsules* shining, of a pale brown. *J. squarrosus* should be looked for in other parts of Wilts.

9. *J. bufonius*, (Linn.) Toad Rush, from *bufo*, (Latin) a toad. *Engl. Bot. t.* 802. *St.* 36, 12. *Reich Icones*, ix., 305.

Locality. Damp ground where water stagnates in winter. *A. Fl.* July, August. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, *Distributed throughout all the Districts.* *Whole plant* very pale-coloured, and extremely variable in size according to situation. *Root* fibrous. *Stems* numerous and crowded. *Leaves* setaceous. *Flowers* green, pale, and silvery. *Seeds* very numerous.

[I have not any note of the occurrence of *J. supinus* (Moench) in the county, although it can scarcely be absent.]

LŪZULA. (CAND.) WOOD RUSH.

Linn. Cl. vi., Ord. i.

Name. A Latinization of *luzziola* or *lucciola* (Ital.) a glow-worm.

1. *L. sylvatica*, (Rich.) great wood Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 737. *St.* 36, 14. *Reich Icones*, ix., 390. *L. maxima* D.C., Koch. *Juncus sylvaticus*, Huds.

Locality. In shady woods where the soil inclines to sand. *P. Fl.* May, June. *Area*, * * * 4, *

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Woods at Spye Park, and Colerne. "Woods between Conkwell and Farley Wick," *Flor. Bath.* *Very local in Wilts.* *Stem* 12 to 18 inches high, striated, leafy. *Leaves* broad, shining, the radical ones numerous and forming dense tufts. *Flowers* small, variegated with brown and white. The clustered flowers and repeatedly compound panicle separate this from the next species, *L. pilosa*, while the absence of spiked heads affords a ready distinction from *campestris*.

2. *L. pilosa*, (Willd.) hairy or common wood Rush, from *pila*, (Lat.) a hair. *Engl. Bot. t.* 736. *St.* 77, 3.

Locality. Woods and thickets. *P. Fl.* May. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.* Much smaller than the last, with the *flowers* standing singly on the *panicle*, dark brown. *Capsule* broadly ovate, contracted below the summit, where it is so retuse as to appear truncate. Appendage of the seeds hooked and recurved at the point. Well-distinguished by its solitary flowers, and falcate appendage to the seed.

3. *L. campestris*, (Willd.) field hairy Rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 672. *St.* 77, 5.

Locality. Woods and dry pastures. *P. Fl.* April, May. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.* *Stem* 4 to 8 inches, or even one foot or more high. *Flowers* collected into ovate or oblong nearly erect *spikes* of a reddish-brown colour, sometimes very pale.

4. *L. multiflora*, (Lej.) many-headed wood Rush. *Engl. Bot. Suppl.* 2718. *St.* 77, 7. *L. congesta*, (Sm.)

Locality. On heaths and in open woods. *P. Fl.* June. *Area*,

1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequent throughout the Districts. Very similar to the last species, L. campestris, and considered distinct by some botanists. Whole plant taller, spikes more numerous, shortly pedunculate, collected almost into an orbicular head, but intermediate states connecting the two species may often be observed.*

ORDER. ALISMACEÆ. (R. BROWN.)

ALISMA, (LINN.) WATER PLANTAIN.

Linn. Cl. vi., Ord. v.

Named from alis, Celtic, water; the genus is altogether aquatic.

1. *A. Plantago*, (Linn.) greater water Plantain. *Engl. Bot. t. 837. Reich Icones, vii., t. 57.*

Locality. In the Upper and Lower Avon, and in the various canals, brooks, and streams throughout Wilts. *P. Fl. July, August. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts. Plant 2 to 3 feet high. Leaves on long stalks. Scape branched upwards. Branches bracteate. Flowers of a pale rose-colour.*

2. *A. ranunculoides*, (Linn.) ranuncular-like or lesser water Plantain. *Engl. Bot. t., 326. Reich Icones, vii., t. 55.*

Locality. Ditches and turfy bogs. *P. Fl. June. Area, 1, * 3, 4, **

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Bogs on Alderbury Common, and ditches about Downton, abundant," *Dr. Maton, Nat. Hist. Wilts.*

3. *South-west District.* "Boggy ground and ditches about Britford Meadows," *Major Smith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Horse and Jockey bogs," *Flor. Bath. Very local in Wilts.* In general appearance allied to the preceding, especially the narrow-leaved variety of that plant, but much smaller, with larger flowers, which are arranged in often proliferous umbels; but the essential character is in the fruit.

SAGITTARIA, (LINN.) ARROW-HEAD.

Linn. Cl. xxi., Ord. vii.

Name. From *sagitta*, (Lat.) an arrow.

1. *S. sagittifolia* (Linn.) arrow-leaved or common Arrow-head.
Engl. Bot. t. 84. Reich Icones, vii., t. 53.

Locality. Banks of the Upper and Lower Avon, by the sides of the canal, in ponds, and watery ditches. *P. Fl. August. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Generally distributed in the county. Flowers handsome, 3 in each whorl, with combined egg-spear-shaped bractees at the base of their partial stalks. Petals white with a purplish tinge at the claws, soon falling off. Leaves all from the root, on long, triangular, very cellular footstalks, the first which are always under water, long and strap-shaped, by some authors considered as a variety, and well figured in Flora Danica, t. 172, the succeeding, which rise above the water, large, truly arrow-shaped, very entire, smooth, with parallel ribs and reticulated veins. Nothing is more variable than the breadth and size of the leaves, which are diminished almost to nothing when deeply immersed in the water, or exposed to a rapid current. Hence several varieties are mentioned by authors, but the slightest observation will discover them to be evanescent.*

BUTOMUS, (LINN.) FLOWERING RUSH.

Linn. Cl. ix., Ord. i.

Name. From *Bous*, (Gr.) an *ox*, and *tomus*, (Gr.) *sharp*, because the sharp leaves injure the mouths of cattle that browse upon them.

1. *B. umbellatus* (Linn.) umbellate or common Flowering Rush.
Engl. Bot. t. 657. Reich Icones, vii., t. 58.

Locality. Banks of the Avon, canal, and brooks. *P. Fl. June, July. Area, 1, * * 4, 5.*

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Common about Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Wilton," *Rev. E. Simms.* "Rivulets near Stratford and Downton," *Dr. Maton, Nat. Hist. Wilts.* "River Avon at Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In the Canal under Conkwell Wood. River Avon between Melksham and Whaddon. "By the side of the Avon at Chippenham," *Mr. W. A. Clarke.* "Banks of the Avon near Tytherton," *Rev. E. Rowlandson.*

5. *North-east District.* Plentiful in the brook at Morden. "Water

meadows opposite Preshute Church, and water meadows near Polton," *Flor. Marlb.* A local plant in the county. Leaves all radical, 2 to 3 feet long. *Scape* longer than the leaves terete. The perianth varies in different shades of red, or purple mixed with white: and is sometimes entirely white. The stem at bottom and the flower-stalks at top are often tinged with red. The number 3 is evidently predominant in the fructification: the corolla being doubly tripetalous; the stamens twice three; the pistils six; the capsules six, in a hexagon form; and the involucre three-leaved.

TRIGLOCHIN, (LINN.) ARROW-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. vi., Ord. iii.

Name. *Triglochin* is a compound of (*treis*) three, and (*glochin*) a point, in allusion to the three valves of the capsule, which separating from the base in maturity, resemble a three-barbed arrow-head; whence the English name, Arrow-grass.

1. *T. palustre*, (Linn.) marsh Arrow-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 366. *Reich Icones*, vii., *t.* 51.

Locality. Wet meadows, and by the sides of the Avon, canal, brooks, and ditches in marshy situations. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts but more sparingly in District 2.* Leaves all radical, linear, fleshy, slightly grooved on the upper side, sheathing and membranous at the base. *Scape* 8 to 10 inches high, terminating in a lax, simple spike, or raceme. *Flowers small, greenish.*

ORDER. TYPHACEÆ. (JUSS.)

TYPHA, (LINN.) CAT'S-TAIL REED-MACE.

Linn. Cl. xxi., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*tuphe*) a marsh; where these plants grow.

1. *T. latifolia*, (Linn.) broad-leaved or greater Reed-mace. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1455. *Reich Icones*, ix., 321.

Locality. Borders of ponds, and by the sides of the canal. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, 2, * 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* "Amesbury," *Dr. Southby.*

2. *South-middle District*. "Stratford Marsh," *Dr. Maton, Nat. Hist. Wilts.* Abundant in ponds and sluggish streams round Devizes.

North Division.

4. *North-west District*. Bogs at South Wraxhall. Ponds at Spye Park. Brook in the Weevern Valley. "Ponds at Ford," *Flor. Bath*. "Banks of the Avon near Tytherton," *Rev. E. Rowlandson*.

5. *North-east District*. Springly in the canal near Morden. *Very local in Wilts.* Stem 3 to 6 feet high. Leaves very long, sometimes nearly an inch broad. Spikes long, close together, fertile one greenish-brown; sterile one yellow, with one or two large membranous bracteas.

T. angustifolia, (Linn.) has been reported to have been found in the canal near Chippenham (*District 4*), but I have seen no examples. It should be looked for.

SPARGANIUM, (LINN.) BUR-REED.

Linn. Cl. *xxi.*, Ord. *iii.*

Name. *Sparganion* is the Greek for a little band, from its narrow and long leaves.

1. *S. ramosum*, (Huds.) branched Bur-reed. *Engl. Bot. t. 744. Reich Icones, ix., 326.*

Locality. Banks of the Upper and Lower Avon, Kennet and Avon Canal, ponds and ditches. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts, but less common in District 2.* Stem about 2 feet high, with a few long sword-shaped leaves or bracteas. Root leaves very long, triangular at the base. Lower branches of the inflorescence, with several rather distant heads, of which 1 to 3 of the lower ones are composed of fertile, the other of sterile flowers.

2. *S. simplex*, (Huds.) simple Bur-reed. *Engl. Bot. t. 745. Reich Icones, ix. 325.*

Locality. Banks of the Upper and Lower Avon, Kennet and Avon Canal, ponds and ditches, especially in a gravelly soil. *P. Fl. July, August. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. In all the Districts but less frequent in District 2.* Much smaller than the last, *S. ramosum*. Common flower-stalk rarely, if at all, branched, the branches or

partial flower-stalks bearing only a single head of fertile flowers; the other fertile heads, and all the sterile heads are sessile. The sides of the *leaves* are plane, not concave or grooved; the *flowers* pale yellow. Lightfoot comprehended this and *S. ramosum*, under the common name of *erectum*.

ORDER. ARACEÆ. (JUSS.)

ARUM, (LINN.) CUCKOO-PINT.

Linn. Cl. xxi. Ord, vii.

Name. *Aron* (Gr.) probably from *ar* or *aur*, in Hebrew and various old languages, denoting *fire*; on account of the fiery or acrid taste.

1. *A. maculatum* (Linn.) spotted leaved Arum. This plant has many provincial names, Cuckoo-pint, Wake-robin, Lords and Ladies, Friar's cowl and several others. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1298. *Reich. Icones*, vii. 8.

Locality. Woods and hedges. *P. Fl. April, May. Area*, 1. 2.

3. 4. 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Root* tuberous, whitish. *Leaves* all radical, broadly arrow-shaped, of a bright glossy green, generally more or less spotted with black. *Spatha* ventricose below and above, constricted in the middle, the margins convolute. *Spadix* long, varying in colour from buff to purple, naked and club-shaped at top. *Berries* bright scarlet, remaining after the rest of the plant has disappeared. In the Isle of Portland the common people dig up the roots which they macerate and steep, and the powder so obtained is dried and sent to London, and sold under the name of Portland Sago.

[*Acorus Calamus*, (Linn.) Sweet Flag, *Engl. Bot. t.* 356, *Reich Icones* x., 429, was found a few years since in the river at Chippenham, by *Miss Meredith*. I cannot ascertain if this plant has been recently observed.]

ORDER. LEMNACEÆ. (LINN.)

LEMNA, (LINN.) DUCKWEED.

Linn. Cl. xxi., Ord. ii.

Name. Altered from *lens*, a lentile, in allusion to the form of the frond.

1 *L. trisulca*, (Linn.) three-furrowed or ivy-leaved Duckweed. *Trisulcus* from *tres*, (Lat.) three, and *sulcus* a furrow. *Engl. Bot. t.* 926. *Reich Icones*, vii., 15.

Locality. On and in stagnant water. *A. Fl. June.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts, but not common.* *Fronde* thin, pellucid, elliptic-lanceolate, caudate at one end, at the other serrated. *Roots* solitary. *Fronde* half-an-inch long, proliferous at right angles.

2. *L. minor*, (Linn.) lesser Duckweed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1095. *Reich Icones*, vii., 14.

Locality. Abundant in stagnant water-ponds and ditches. *A. Fl. June, July.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* About a line-and-a-half long, of a thick, succulent, but compact texture, slightly convex beneath. The young fronds constitute the *Lemna arrhiza* of the French Authors.

3. *L. gibba*, (Linn.) gibbous Duckweed. *Gibbus* (Lat.) means convex or haunched out, in allusion to the convex lower surface of the frond. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1233. *Reich Icones*, vii., 4. *Telmatophace*, Schl. Endl.

Locality. On stagnant water. *A. Fl. June, August.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts, but not frequent.* Size of *L. minor*, but readily distinguished by its gibbous or even hemispherical lower surface, which is, moreover, white, pellucid, and beautifully cellular. upper side plane, green opaque.

4. *L. polyrhiza*, (Linn.) many-rooted or greater Duckweed. *Polyrhiza* is compounded of *polus*, many, and *rhiza*, a root, in allusion to the tuft of roots in this species. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2458. *Reich Icones*, vii., 15. *Spirodela*, Sch. Endl.

Locality. Stagnant water. *P. Flowers have not been seen in Britain.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *The largest of all the species*, half-an-inch long, and nearly as broad, succulent, firm, a little convex below, where, and at the margin above, the frond is of a deep purple colour. *Roots* numerous, clustered.

ORDER. POTAMOGETONACEÆ. (JUSS.)

POTAMOGETON, (LINN.) POND-WEED,

Linn. Cl. iv., Ord. iii.

Name. From *potamos*, a river, and *geiton*, a neighbour, in allusion to the genus growing near, or rather in, water.¹

¹ Chamisso and Schlechtendal have well illustrated this genus. See *Linnæa*, ii., p. 159.

1. *P. natans*, (Linn.) swimming or broad-leaved Potamogeton. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1822. *Reich Icones.* vii., 50.

Locality. Kennet and Avon Canal, ponds, and still waters. *P. Fl. June, July.* Area, * * 3, 4, 5. Generally distributed in all the Districts except 1 and 2. Floating leaves very variable in size and shape, more or less elongated, sometimes linear lanceolate, obtuse at the base, and decurrent with the foot-stalk, with about 7 principal nerves and several intermediate ones, connected with minute reticulations, opposite under the flower stalk, involute in bud. *Stipules* very large, 2 to 3 inches long, lanceolate, acute, concave, pale and membranous. *Peduncles* suddenly contracted below the spike. *Flowers* olive-green. The submerged leaves are frequently wholly wanting, especially when the plant grows in very shallow water.

2. *P. rufescens*, (Schrad.) reddish Potamogeton. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1286. *Reich Icones*, vii., 32. *P. fluitans*, Sm.

Locality. Kennet and Avon Canal, ditches, slow streams and ponds, not common in the county. *P. Fl. July.* Area, * * 3, 4, 5. This, in some situations, much resembles the next species, *P. lucens*. Coriaceous floating leaves nearly as acute as the lower ones, differing only in their firmer texture and in being stalked. *Flower-stalk* not thickened upwards. The plant is remarkable for its reddish olive colour, and is perhaps better known by its general aspect, size, and hue, than by any character that can be applied to it.

3. *P. lucens*, (Linn.) shining Pond-weed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 376. *Reich Icones*, vii., 36.

Locality. In the Upper and Lower Avon, Kennet and Avon Canal, and in deepish water. *P. Fl. June.* Area, 1, * 3, 4, 5. Observed in all the Districts except the South-middle. The largest of our species and very beautiful in the reticulation of its leaves. *Stem* thickened upwards, slightly branched. *Leaves* distantly inserted, alternate, those subtending the peduncles opposite, all tapering at the base, into the foot-stalks, which in the stem leaves are very short, in the upper ones rather longer. *Coriaceous leaves*, according to Hooker, rare, ovate, lanceolate, moderately acute. *Stipules* large, plicate, half the length of the leaves. *Spikes* 2 inches long. *Flowers* green. *P. decipiens* (Nolte) probably only a variety of the

above, has been found in the Kennet and Avon Canal at Bath, and should be looked for in the county.

4. *P. perfoliatus*, (Linn.) perfoliate Pondweed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 168. *Reich Icones*, vii., 29.

Locality. In the Upper and Lower Avon, Kennet and Avon Canal, and ponds. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1, * 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequent in the county.* *Stems* variable in length, according to the rapidity of the stream, more or less branched, reddish. *Leaves* olive coloured, pellucid, wavy. *Peduncles* rather short, thick, not smaller upwards. *Spikes* oblong ovate. *Flowers* dense brown, with copious white pollen.

5. *P. crispus*, (Linn.) curly Pondweed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1012. *Reich Icones*, vii., 29, 30.

Locality. In the Kennet and Avon Canal, streams, and ditches. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, * 3, 4, 5. *Not common in Wilts.* *Whole plant* submerged, of a bright green colour, tinged with red, waving elegantly in the water. *Root* creeping. *Stipules* free, very broad and membranous, clasping the stem, retuse, finally deeply lacinated. *Flowers* yellowish green.

6. *P. pusillus*, (Linn.) small Pond-weed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 215. *Reich Icones*, vii. 22.

Locality. In the Kennet and Avon Canal, ponds, and ditches. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, * * 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequently distributed throughout the county.* *Stem* slender, compressed, very much branched. *Leaves* long and very narrow, abruptly pointed, alternate, except beneath the flower-stalks, where they are opposite. *Peduncles* axillary, much longer than the small ovate four-flowered spikes. *Flowers* brownish. *Fruit* roundish, ovate. The larger variety, *P. compressus* of authors, has been observed in the neighbourhood of Marlborough. *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report.* Chamisso and Schlechtendal unite *P. compressus* with *P. pusillus*.

7. *P. pectinatus*, (Linn.) pectinate or Fennel-leaved Pondweed. From *pecten*, a comb. The term pectinate refers to the narrow segments of the leaves. *Engl. Bot. t.* 323. *Reich Icones*, vii., 19.

Locality. In the Kennet and Avon Canal, ponds and streams. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, * 3, 4, 5. *Not uncommon in Wilts.* *Stems*

zig-zag, very much branched, variable in length according to the stillness or rapidity of the stream. *Leaves* alternate, slender, tapering, acute. *Spikes* few, solitary, on long peduncles from the uppermost forks of the branches, rising just above the surface. *Flowers* 2 or 3 together, dull green. *Nut* with strong lateral ridges.

8. *P. densus*, (Linn.) close-leaved Pondweed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 397. *Reich Icones*, vii., 28.

Locality. In the Kennet and Avon Canal, and ditches. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, * 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequent in Wilts.* *Leaves* crowded, all opposite, pellucid, amplexicaul, ovate-acuminate or lanceolate. *Spikes* shortly stalked, about four-flowered, finally reflexed. *Head of flowers* small, globose.

ZANNICHELLIA, (LINN.) HORNED POND-WEED.

Linn. Cl. xxi., Ord. i.

Named in honour of *John Jerome Zannichelli*, a Venetian apothecary and botanist.

1. *Z. palustris*, (Linn.) common Horned Pond-weed. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1844. *Reich Icones*, vii., 16. *Locality.* Ditches and stagnant water. *A. or P. Fl. May.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Floating. *Stems* long, filiform, branched. *Leaves* opposite, linear, entire, sometimes emarginate at the point. *Flowers* axillary, from a membranous bractea. *Fertile* flowers upon a very short *pedicel*. Style usually half as long as the fruit, sometimes six times shorter.

This has been divided into several species or varieties, in various ways, according as an author considered the style, stigma, fruit or its stalk to yield the best characters, see *Reichenbach Pl. Crit.* viii. f. 1003, 1006.

ORDER. CYPERACEÆ. (JUSS.)

CYPERUS, (LINN.) GALINGALE.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. From *Kyparos*, (Gr.) a vase, or round vessel; in allusion to the form of the root.

1. *C. longus*, (Linn.) long Cyperus, sweet Cyperus, English Galingale. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1309. *St.* 52, 10.

Locality. In marshes, but very rare. *P. Fl. August.* *Area,** 3***

South Division.

3. *South-west District.* Boyton. First discovered by the late A. B. Lambert,¹ Esq., and Professor Don, in 1829, growing in great

¹ This eminent botanist was born at Bath on the 2nd of February, 1761. His father, Edmund Lambert, Esq., of Boyton House, near Heytesbury, married Bridget, daughter of the last Viscount Mayo, and his only surviving child, through whom Mr. Lambert inherited the family property and the name of Bourke. He was educated at St. Mary's Hall, in the University of Oxford, and attaching himself early in life to botanical pursuits, joined the Linnean Society at its foundation, and became one of its warmest friends and promoters. In 1791 he also became a Fellow of the Royal Society. On succeeding to his paternal estate he was enabled to indulge his taste for botany more freely, and laboured with great ardour and success to increase his herbarium, which at length acquired the character of being one of the most valuable and important private collections in existence. Of this herbarium and of the several collections from which it was chiefly formed, an account has been given by my late lamented friend, Professor Don, who for many years acted as its curator, and who had also charge of Mr. Lambert's extensive botanical library. The collections were at all times most liberally opened by their possessor for the use of men of science, and one day in the week (Saturday) was constantly set apart for the reception of scientific visitors, travellers, and others, who either brought with them or sought for information on botanical subjects.

Mr. Lambert's separate publications are two in number: "A Description of the Genus *Cinchona*," London, 1797, 4to, and "A Description of the Genus *Pinus*," London, 1803—24, in two vols. folio. Of the latter work, which is one of the most splendid botanical publications that has ever issued from the press, a second edition, with additions, was published in 1828, and a third volume was added in 1834. A small edition in two vols. 8vo. was also published in 1832. His other works consist entirely of papers scattered through the volumes of the "Linnean Transactions."

Mr. Lambert's health had for some years been failing, and he had ceased to visit his country-seat at Boyton, but preferred, when out of town, taking up residence at Kew—where his proximity to the Royal Gardens, and to his friends in town, afforded him more copious sources of enjoyment than he could have found elsewhere. He died at Kew, on the 10th of January, 1842, and his remains were removed to Boyton for interment. He married Catharine, daughter of Richard Bowater, Esq., of Allesley, in the county of Warwick, but was left a widower, without any family, some years before his death. After his decease his valuable "Botanical Collections," which had been in the course of formation for more than half-a-century, were disposed of by auction, in London, by Mr. S. Leigh Sotheby. It comprised about one hundred separate and distinct herbaria, and the largest carpological collection perhaps ever made by a private botanist. His Wiltshire collections, to which he devoted much time and study, were likewise dispersed, and it is to be regretted they were not secured to the county by some of his friends, not only for future reference and study, but also as a memento of this distinguished man of science.—*T.B.F.*

luxuriance and profusion, but of late years this elegant species has considerably decreased in quantity, through the rapacity of collectors. *Root* creeping, highly aromatic, and astringent. *Stem* 2 or 3 feet high, with a very large, leafy compound erect *umbel*. *Spikes* shining, brown, narrow, erect, 5 or 6 together, loosely spreading in two directions. *Stigmas* 3. The figure in "English Botany" was drawn from a garden specimen.

RHYNCHOSPORA, (VAHL.) BEAK-RUSH.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. From *rynchos*, (Gr.) a *beak*; and *spora*, (Gr.) a *seed*, the permanent base of the style forming a beak to the seed.

1. *R. alba*, (Vahl.) white Beak-rush. *Schænus*, Linn. *Engl. Bot. t.* 985. *St.* 40, 6.

Locality. Wet pastures and turfy bogs, *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1,
* * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "In bogs, Alderbury Common," *Dr. Maton, Nat. Hist. Wilts.* Mr. James Hussey has more recently confirmed this station. *Spikelets* of flowers white or whitish, collected so as to form a level surface at the top. *Achene* obovate, compressed, smooth, distinctly margined, tapering at the base into a short stalk. *Style* persistent, dilated at the base, not so broad as the seed, but easily distinguishable from the shining achene by its colour and texture. *R. alba* has been reported to me to have been found in bogs at Easterton, near Market Lavington, and at Bromham, but I have seen no examples.

ELEOCHARIS, (R. BR.) SPIKE-RUSH.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. From *helos*, a marsh, and *chairō*, to rejoice.

1. *E. palustris*, (R. BR.) marsh or creeping Spike-rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 131. *St.* 9, *Reich Icones*, vii. 297.

Locality. Sides of ditches, and wet marshy places, frequent. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Root* creeping, black and shining as well as the external sheaths of the stem. *Bristles* in the flower, only 4, longer than the ripe fruit. *Receptacle* elongated below the

insertion of the filaments, so that the flower appears not quite sessile. *Germen* shorter and broader than in the next species, the style is also shorter.

2. *E. multicaulis*, (Sm.) many-stalked Spike-rush. From *multus*, many, and *caulis*, a stem. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1187. *St.* 78, 11. *Reich Icones*, viii., 296.

Locality. Bogs and marshy places. *P. Fl. July. Area*, 1, ****
South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Bogs at Alderbury," *Mr. James Hussey.* Very local in *Wilts*, or else passed by for *E. palustris*, of which *Kunth* seems disposed to consider it a variety. *Root* not creeping. *Sheaths* of the stem brown, not shining; the stems are always inclined, frequently bent, and almost prostrate. *Bristles* 6, shorter and narrower than in the former species, the base not dilated, shorter than the ripe fruit. *Nut top-shaped, triquetrous, smooth.*

SCIRPUS, (LINN.) CLUB-RUSH, BULRUSH.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. According to *Theis*, from *cirs*, Celtic, which makes *cors* in the plural, whence *chorda* in Latin, and cord in English; the stems having been formerly employed for the same purposes as those of *Schænus*.

1. *S. sylvaticus*, (Linn.) Wood Club-rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 919. *St.* 36, 8. *Reich Icones*, viii., 313.

Locality. Moist woods and banks of the Avon and canal. *P. Fl. July. Area*, *** 4, *

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* By the side of the brook at Rudloe, and Box. Bogs at South Wraxhall, and by the Avon, and canal at Melksham, Whaddon, and Bradford. *Not a common plant in the county.* A handsome species, bearing innumerable small, greenish, ovate spikelets. *Rhizome* creeping. *Stem* 2 to 3 feet high. *Leaves* broadly linear. Additional localities for this species would be desirable.

2. *S. lacustris*, (Linn.) Bul-rush, Chair-bottom-rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 666. *St.* 36, 1. *Reich Icones*, viii., 306.

Locality. River Avon, and ponds. *P. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1, 2, 3,

4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts. Rhizome extensively creeping. Stem 4 to 6 feet high, soft, spongy, smooth. Panicles various in luxuriance. Peduncles triquetrous, angles scabrous. Spikelets numerous, oblong, clustered at the extremities of the peduncles. Nut bluntly trigonous, obovate.

3. *S. Tabernæmontani*, (Gmel.) glaucous Club-rush. *S. glaucous*, Smith. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2321. *Reich Icones*, viii., 307.

Locality. Rivers and ponds. *P. Fl.* June, July. Area, * * * 4, *

North Division.

4. North-west District. "In a bog between South Wraxhall and the old Horse and Jockey," *Flor. Bath.* A very distinct species. Stem 2 feet high, of a glaucous hue. Panicle less compound. Spikes more crowded, darker, with broader glumes, dotted with purple. Stigmas never more than 2. Nut compressed, roundish, oblong, smooth.

4. *S. cæspitosus*, (Linn.) scaly-stalked Club-rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1029. *St.* 10. *Reich Icones*, viii., 300.

Locality. On turfy barren heaths. *P. Fl.* July. Area, 1, * * 4, *

South Division.

1. South-east District. "Alderbury," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. North-west District. "Spye Park," *Miss Meredith.* A small species, 2 to 6 inches high. Stems numerous, in dense tufts, erect, naked, except at the base, where they bear 2 or 3 very short leaves. Spikes solitary, small, reddish-brown, 2 outer glumes as tall as the spike, pointed. Nut obovate, oblong, mucronate, smooth. Further localities for this species in the county would be desirable.

5. *S. fluitans*, (Linn.) floating Club-rush. *Eleogiton Link.* *Engl. Bot. t.* 216. *St.* 85, 2. *Reich Icones*, viii., 298.

Locality. Ditches and ponds which are sometimes dried up. *P. Fl.* June, July. Area, * * * 4, *

North Division.

4. North-west District. South Wraxhall bogs. Very local in Wilts. Stem floating, most slender in the lower part. Leaves oval-shaped, spreading at nearly a right angle with their sheaths. Flower-

stalks 2 or 3 inches long. Spikes solitary, small, pale green, with obtuse glumes. Stigmas 2. Nut obovate.

6. *S. setaceus*, (Linn.) bristle-stalked Mud-rush. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1693. *St.* 10. *Reich Icones*, viii., 301.

Locality. Wet sandy and gravelly places. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, * * * 4, *

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Damp places at Spye Park and Bromham," *Miss Meredith.* "Horse and Jockey bog," *Flor. Bath.* Stems tufted, 2 to 5 inches high, very slender. Spikes small, sessile, considerably shorter than the lower bract. Glumes brown. Nut trigonous, obovate, longitudinally ribbed, and transversely striate. Stigmas 3.

BLYSMUS, (PANZ.) BLYSMUS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. From *blusmos*, (Gr.) source or spring, near which the species usually grow.

1. *B. compressus*, (Panz.) compressed Blysmus, broad-leaved Blysmus. *Scirpus*, Smith. *Engl. Bot. t.* 791. *St.* 85, 6. *Reich Icones*, viii., 293.

Locality. Turfy moors and boggy pastures. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, * * * 4, *

North Division

4. *North-west District.* By the side of the brook at Slaughterford. Spye Park, but rarely. Stem 6 to 8 inches high. Leaves shorter than the stem, flat, rough on the edges and keel. Spike terminal, about one inch long. Glumes reddish brown, striate. Nut somewhat flattened, tapering into the 2-cleft style. *This may possibly be found in other parts of the county.*

ERIOPHORUM, (LINN.) COTTON-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. From *erion*, wool, and *phero*, to bear; in allusion to the seed of the plant, which is imbedded in long silky or cottony hairs. Hence the English name, Cotton-grass.

1. *E. vaginatum*, (Linn.) Hare's-tail Cotton-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 873. *Reich Icones*, viii., 289.

Locality. Bogs and peaty marshes. *P. Fl. May. Area*, 1. ****
South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Bogs on Alderbury Common, very sparingly," *Dr. Maton, Nat. Hist. Wilts.* This species has not been observed of late years. *Stems* tufted, jointed, smooth, 12 to 15 inches high, terete below, triangular upwards. *Leaves* long, setaceous. *Spike* silvery grey when in flower, with long, pointed, thin, single-ribbed scales, and yellow prominent *anthers*, when in seed very conspicuous.

2. *E. polystachion*, (Linn.) common Cotton-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 564. *Reich Icones*, viii., 291.

Locality. In turfy boggy meadows. *P. Fl. May, June. Area*, 1, * * 4, *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Bogs on Alderbury Common," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Bogs at South Wraxhall. "Bowden Pond," *Dr. R. C. Prior, Not common in the county.* *Stem* nearly terete. *Leaves* linear, channelled and folded, or sometimes nearly flat towards the base, triangular above the middle. *Stalks* of the spikelets quite smooth. *Nut* obovate, triquetrous. About a foot high and rather slender.

CAREX, (LINN.)¹ CAREX, SEDGE.

Linn. Cl. xxi., Ord. iii.

Name. From *Keiro*, (Gr.) to shear or cut, in allusion to the sharp leaves and stems.

1. *C. pulicaris*, (Linn) Flea Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1051. *Schk. A. 3. Reich Icones*, 195.

Locality. Bogs. *P. Fl. June. Area*, 1, * * 4, 5.

¹ In this difficult genus the Wiltshire species have been carefully compared with the plates of *Schkuhr's Riedgraser* and *Reichenbach's Ic. Fl. Germ.* For an excellent monograph consult *Andersson's Pl. Scand.*

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Salisbury," Mr. James Hussey.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Bogs at South Wraxhall, and in Spye Park.

5. *North-east District.* Water-meadows at Merston Measey. *Root* tufted. *Stem* 3 inches to a span in height, sheathed at the lower part with several slender, setaceous, smooth spreading leaves. *Spike* resembling at its first appearance, the barren one of *C. dioica*, the fertile portion only becoming lax afterwards, and the flowers deflexed as they advance to maturity. *Fruit* dark brown, smooth, highly polished, giving the plant a singular and characteristic aspect, which has obtained for it the name of Flea Carex.

2. *C. disticha*, (Huds.) soft brown Carex. *C. intermedia*, (Good) *Engl. Bot. t.* 2042. *Schk. B.* 7, *H. a.* 14. *Reich Icones*, 210. *Boott's Carex*, *t.* 410.

Locality. Marshy ground and wet meadows. *P. Fl.* May, June. *Area*, * * * 4, 5.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Near the Railway Station, Chippenham," Mr. C. E. Broome.

5. *North-east District.* Near the Station at Swindon. On the right bank of the canal between Swindon and Morden, also wet meadows at Purton and Merston Measey. "Axford, Woodborough, Elcott Mill," *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report.* *Stems* 1 to 1½ feet, high. *Spike* composed of numerous ovate spikelets, of which 2 or 3 of the lowermost and about the same number of the uppermost are almost entirely fertile, while the remaining intermediate ones are nearly as completely barren, the barren flowers in both instances terminating the spikelet. *Fruit* large and less distinctly winged than gradually flattened towards the margin. Lower bract with a slender leaf-like point.

3. *C. vulpina*, (Linn.) Fox Carex, *Engl. Bot. t.* 307. *Schk. C.* 10. *Reich Icones*, 217. *Boott's Carex*, *t.* 393.

Locality. In marshy meadows, wet, shady places, and in the

margins of the Kennet and Avon Canal. *P. Fl. June.* Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Frequently distributed throughout the county.* Root forming thick tufts, sending up numerous erect, stout rough stems, about 2 feet high. *Leaves* broad, their sheathing bases whitish and membranaceous. *Spike* large, greenish. *Fruit* pale, not gibbous, rough at the margin of the lengthened beak, and bifid at the point. *Achene* oval, compressed with a very short beak; the beak is slightly thickened at the insertion of the greenish base of the style in this, and the two next. Bracts long in shady places.

4. *C. muricata*, (Linn.) greater prickly Carex *Engl. Bot. t. 1097. Reich Icones, 215.*

Locality. Marshy and especially gravelly pastures. *P. Fl. June.* Area, 1, * * 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Not unfrequent in the neighbourhood of Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* South Wraxhall, Corsham, and Chippenham.

5. *North-east District.* Banks of the canal between Swindon and Purton. *Not a frequent species in Wilts.* Stem 1 to 2 feet high, slender. *Leaves* bright green, taller than the stems, rough upon the edges and keel. *Spike* 1 or 2 inches long, consisting of about 6 roundish, crowded spikelets, the lowermost of which are often compound. *Fruit* yellowish-brown, broad, rather large, spreading every way, and rendering the mature spike prickly to the touch, owing to its rough edges and deeply-cloven beaks.

5. *C. divulsa*, (Gooden.) gray Carex. *Engl. Bot. t. 629. Schk. Dd. d. Ww. 89, Ha. 16. Reich Icones, 220.*

Locality. Moist, shady places. *P. Fl. June.* Area, * * * 4, 5.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Hedge-banks at Corsham, and woods at Slaughterford.

5. *North-east District.* "Moist shady places in the neighbourhood of Marlborough," *Flor. Marl.* *Not frequent in the county.* This species resembles the last, the fruit is scarcely so acuminate, and

somewhat erect instead of diverging, and the achene is rather narrower; the colour of the *whole plant* is paler, the spikes more elongated and slender, and the spikelets more distant.

6. *C. paniculata*, (Linn.) great paniced Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1064. *Schk. D.* 20, *Ttt.* 163, *Ha.* 19. *Reich Icones*, 223.

Locality. Swampy and spongy bogs. *P. Fl. June. Area*, *3,4,5.
South Division.

3. *South-west District.* "River-side at Boyton," *Miss Meredith.*
North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Abundantly in Spye Park. "Kennet and Avon Canal, near Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.*

5. *North-east District.* "Axford, Canal-banks, Poulton," *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report.* *Very local in the county.* *Roots* densely tufted. *Stems* 3 to 5 feet high, triangular; the angles very rough and sharp; the interstices striated, flat. *Leaves* broad, rough on the edges and keel. *Panicle* more or less spreading or compact. *Fruit* ovate, with a bifid fringed *beak*. *Nut* ovate, blunt, narrowed below, plano-convex. *Beak* slightly thickened upwards.

7. *C. axillaris*, (Good) axillary-clustered Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 993. *H. a.* 33.

Locality. Marshes and ditch-banks. *P. Fl. June. Area*, *3,4,*
South Division.

3. *South-west District.* Woods at Fonthill.
North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Haselbury Bottoms near Box," *Mr. C. E. Broome.* "In a bog between South Wraxhall and the old Horse and Jockey," *Prof. C. Babington.* Spye Park. "Canal near Stoke and Pewesham," *Dr. R. C. Prior.* *Sparingly distributed in the county,* *Stem* with 3 acute angles. *Spikelets* with more numerous flowers than the next, *C. remota*, lower one or two compound. *Glumes* with 2, close, green, generally rough nerves, reaching to the summit, hence more rigid. *Fruit* serrate above the middle. *Achene* obovate, pointed.

8. *C. remota*, (Linn.) distant-spiked Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 832. *Schk. E.* 23. *H. a.* 35. *Reich Icones*, 212.

Locality. Damp and moist shady places, *P. Fl. June. Area*,
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1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Not unfrequent in all the Districts, less sparingly in District 2. Whole plant very slender, pale-green. Stem 12 to 18 inches, triangular and rough in the upper part, smooth and roundish below. Leaves long and narrow. Spikelets generally about 6 or 8, ovate, sterile at the base, lowermost very distant, accompanied by a very long leafy bractea. Glumes narrow, their base quite smooth. Fruit serrate above the middle. Nut ovate, pointed.

[*C. Boeninghausenia*, (Weihe) *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2910, H. a. 34, *Kunze Riedg.* 22, *Reich Icones*, 219, which is apparently a hybrid between *C. axillaris* and *remota*, should be looked for in Wilts.]

9. *C. stellulata*, (Good) little prickly Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 806. *Schk. C.* 14. H. a. 28. *Reich Icones*, 214.

Locality. Marshy and boggy places. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, * 3, 4, *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.*

3. *South-west District.* "Damp woods at Fonthill," *Miss Meredith.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In bogs at Bowden-hill, Spye Park and South Wraxhall. Stem slender, 6 inches to a foot in height. Leaves flat, keeled, roughish at the points; about as long as the stem. Spikelets at nearly equal distances, about 4. Fruit divergent, broadly ovate, acuminate. Beak bifid, with serrate edges. Nut ovate, abruptly narrowed below. Glumes shorter than the fruit.

10. *C. ovalis*, (Good) oval-spiked Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 306. *Schk. B.* 8, *C. leporina*, H. a. 22, *Reich Icones*, 211.

Locality. Damp meadows and watery places. *P. Fl.* July. *Area*, 1, ** 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Near Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Bradford Wood, Spye Park, rather frequent. "Marshy fields at Bromham," *Miss Meredith.*

5. *North-east District,* Purton, and by the banks of the Wilts

and Berks Canal. "Reservoir, Swindon, and near Ramsbury," *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report*. "Savernake Forest," *Miss Meredith*. Stems about a foot high, with 3 sharp, rough angles; *Leaves* sheathing the lower part of the stem, and about equal to it in height. *Spikelets* about 6, collected into an oval more or less compact spike. *Fruit* ovate, acuminate, plane, convex, narrowed below, bifid at the point, with membranous edges, serrate above. *Nut* elliptic, with a short, cylindrical beak. *Glumes* concealing the fruit, variable as to the approximation of the spikelets, the lower ones in luxuriant specimens being more or less distant and spreading.

11. *C. stricta*, (Good) straight-leaved Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 914. *Reich Icones*, 230. *C. cæspitosa*, Hooker.

Locality. Marshes. *P. Fl. June*. *Area*, * * * * 5.

North Division.

5. *North-east District*. At Purton by the Wilts and Berks Canal. *Perhaps not rare in the county*, although at present confined to the above locality. Densely cæspitose. *Stems* erect, about 2 to 3 feet high, triquetrous, rigid. *Leaves* erect, narrow-linear, glaucous, their sheathing bases reticulated with filaments. *Spikes* long, erect. *Glumes* blunt or acute, dark-brown. *Fruit* oblong, elliptic, acute, disposed upon the spikes in 7 or 8 rows. *Nut* roundly obovate, shortly beaked. The very erect habit will distinguish this species from those with which it is most likely to be confounded.

12. *C. acuta*, (Linn.) slender-spiked Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 580. *Schk. E. e. d. F. f.* 92, *H. a.* 44. *Reich Icones*, 231, 232. *C. gracilis*, Curtis.

Locality. On the banks of ditches, and in wet meadows and pastures. *P. Fl. June*. *Area*, * * 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

3. *South-west District*. "Coombe Bissett," *Mr. James Hussey*.

North Division.

4. *North-west District*. By the side of the brook between Box and Weevern.

5. *North-east District*. Banks of the Wilts and Berks Canal near Morden. *Rare and local in Wilts*. *Stem* 2 to 3 feet high, very sharply triangular, rough on the edges. *Leaves* rather broad,

rough, a little glaucous. *Fertile spikes* 3 or 4, the upper ones generally terminated with barren flowers; male ones mostly 2 or 3, drooping with the top of the stem. *Fruit* oblong, lenticular, veined. *Nut* roundish-obovate, with a short, slender beak. *Glumes* acute.

13. *C. vulgaris*, (Fries.) common Carex. *C. caespitosa*, (Sm.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1507. *C. Goodenovii* (Gay).

Locality. In pastures, meadows and marshes. *P. Fl.* May, June. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Frequently distributed throughout the county.* *A variable species.* *Stem* about 1 foot high, but in dry soils scarcely 6 inches high. *Leaves* slender, *Spikes* erect, male 1 to 2, fertile 3 to 4, subsessile, cylindrical. *Fruit* elliptic, plane, convex, with a short entire beak. *Nut* roundish, very blunt. *Glumes* dark-brown or black, often with a green midrib shorter than the fruit.

14. *C. pallescens*, (Linn.) pale Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2185. *Schk. Kk.* 99, *H. b.* 44.

Locality. In marshes and moist meadows. *P. Fl.* June. *Area*, * * * 4, *

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Spye Park, but not general. *Stem* 1 foot or 18 inches high, acutely triangular. *Leaves* slightly downy, rough on the edges. *Fertile spikes* 2 or 3, on long, slender peduncles; the barren one sessile, darker. *Fruit* ovate oblong, convex on both sides, veined, blunt. *Nut* linear elliptic trigonous. The whole plant is of a pale hue, but not glaucous, and may be readily recognised by the pale-green colour of its obtuse spikes when in fruit.

15. *C. panicea*, (Linn.) pinked-leaved Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1505. *Schk. L.* 1, 100, *H. b.* 33.

Locality. In bogs and marshy meadows. *P. Fl.* June. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequent in the Districts.* *Stem* erect, 12 to 18 inches high, obtusely triangular. *Leaves* short, broad, glaucous, rough on the edges. *Fertile spikes* about 2. *Glumes* ovate, acute, shorter than the fruit, brown, with white edges and a green keel. *Fruit* tumid, subglobose, with a short, terete, truncate beak. *Nut* obovate, oblong, trigonous, with a cylindrical beak.

16. *C. strigosa*, (Huds.) loose pendulous Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 994. *Schk. N.* 53.

Locality. Groves and thickets. *P. Fl.* May, June. *Area*, ***4,*
North Division.

4. *North-west District.* By the side of the brook leading from Box to Slaughterford. "In the valley between Rudloe and Colerne," *Mr. C. E. Broome.* "Left-hand side of the road close to Lacock Abbey," *Dr. R. C. Prior.* *Very local in Wilts*, and far from frequent. *Stem* slender, 1 or 2 feet high, smooth. *Leaves* broad, thin, pale green. *Fertile spikes* 4 or 5, slender, rather lax. *Fruit oblong-lanceolate*, ribbed, triangular; loosely imbricated. *Nut* elliptic triangular.

17. *C. pendula*, (Huds.) great pendulous Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2315. *Schk. Q.* 60. *Reich Icones*, 243.

Locality. Moist woods and shady places. *P. Fl. May.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts but less frequent in Districts* 1, 2, 3. *Stems* 3 to 6 feet high, leafy, and sharply triangular. *Leaves* long and broad. *Spikes* several (5 to 7), the terminal one only barren; the fertile ones all elegantly curved to one side and drooping 4 to 6 inches in length. *Fruit* elliptic subtrigonal, *tumid*, with a short, *trigonal*, *emarginate* beak. *Nut* elliptic triangular. This species is well distinguished by its long, pendulous cylindrical *spikelets*, and closely imbricate *fruit*.

18. *C. humilis*, (Leyss) dwarf silvery Carex. *C. clandestina* (Good). *Engl. Bot. t.* 2124. *Schk. K.* 43, *H. b.* 15. *Reich Icones*, 239.

Locality. Limestone hills. *P. Fl. April.* *Area*, * 2, 3, **
South Division.

2. *South-middle District.* In great abundance on Salisbury Plain between Stonehenge and Heytesbury.

3. *South-west District.* Common on the downs at Wick, Homington, Ashcombe, and Boyton. *Confined to the "Southern Districts" of the county.* *Stems* 1 to 2 inches high, nearly concealed by the taller, erect, rigid leaves. *Barren spike* terminal, slender. *Fertile spikes* 2 or 3, enveloped while in flower by their involucreal sheaths. *Fruit* obovate, *subtrigonal*, contracted at the base, slightly downy. *Nut* obovate, with a short beak. Remarkable for the few *flowers* of its fertile *spikelets*, which are concealed by the large

membranous sheaths, as the short *stems* are by the *leaves*.

19. *C. digitata*, (Linn.) fingered Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 615. *Schk. H.* 38, *H. b.* 14.

Locality. Woods on limestone. *P. Fl. April, May.* *Area,* * * * 4, *

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In the woods about Colerne and Slaughterford in plenty. *Rare and local in Wilts.* *Stems* 6 to 8 inches high, smooth. *Leaves* almost all radical, bright green, their sheaths red. *Spikes* linear, lax, erect, terminal, growing in a finger-like manner, fertile ones 2 or 3, longer than the barren one, which is shortest and most dense. *Fruit* obovate, downy, *beak* short, nearly entire. *Nut* elliptic, oblong.

20. *C. præcox*, (Jacq.) vernal Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1099. *Schk. F.* 27, *H. b.* 24. *Reich Icones* 261.

Locality. Dry pastures and heaths. *P. Fl. April, May.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *More or less distributed throughout the Districts.* *Stems* 3 to 12 inches high. *Leaves* all radical, short, rather broad. *Barren spikelet* solitary. *Fertile spikelets* mostly 2, erect, near together, sessile. *Fruit* ovate-rhomboidal. *Nut* obovate, downy. The numerous yellow *anthers* are conspicuous at an early season of the year.

[*C. ericetorum*, (Poll.) *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2971, *C. ciliata*, (Willd.) closely allied to *C. præcox*, should be looked for in Wilts, on dry, chalky banks.]

21. *C. pilulifera*, (Linn.) round-headed Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 885. *Schk. J.* 39. *Reich Icones*, 260. *Boott's Carex, t.* 283.

Locality. Wet heaths and moory ground. *P. Fl. May.* *Area,* 1, * 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey.*

3. *South-west District.* Heaths at Longleat.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In Spye Park and Bowood, sparingly.

5. *North-east District.* "Savernake Forest," *Flor. Marl.* *Not*

frequent in the county. Stems generally decumbent, weak, rough, 6 inches, to a foot high. Leaves bright-green, rough on the edges and keel. Fertile spikes 2 or 3, roundish when in fruit. Glumes broadly ovate, sharply mucronated. Fruit stalked, subglobose, with a short bifid beak, downy. Nut subglobose, subtrigonose, narrowed below.

22. *C. tomentosa*, (Linn.) larger downy-fruited Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2046. *Schk. F.* 28. *H. b.* 28. *Reich Icones*, 263.

Locality. Water-meadows. *P. Fl. June.* Area, * * * * 5.

North Division.

5. *North-east District.* Water-meadows at Merston Measey. A well-marked and very rare species, no station but the above-mentioned being known for it in Britain, where I have gathered it for many successive seasons. Stems rough, triangular, about 1 foot high. Leaves upright, flat. Barren spike lanceolate, bluntish, with rust-coloured scales and green keels. Fertile spikes mostly 2, not very distant, their glumes broadly obovate, acute. Fruit as long as the scales, obovate, subtrigonous, narrowed below, clothed with a short, dense, whitish down, which becomes tawny when ripe. Nut blunt, trigonous, narrowed below, with a short beak, constricted at its base.

23. *C. glauca*, (Scop.) glaucous heath Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1506. *Schk. O. P.* 57, *H. b.* 22. *Reich Icones*, 269. *C. recurva* (Huds.).

Locality. Moist pastures, heaths and moors. *P. Fl. June.* Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *General in all the Districts.* A very variable species. Stems usually about 1 foot, sometimes 2 feet high. Leaves mostly radical, very glaucous. Fruit closely placed, brownish when ripe, closely dotted with suppressed points, often pellucid, punctate, when young usually scabrous. Nut roundish-ovate, triangular. Readily recognised by its extensively creeping rootstock, and very glaucous foliage.

24. *C. flava*, (Linn.) yellow Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1294. *Schk. H.* 36, *H. b.* 22. *Reich Icones*, 273.

Locality. In marshes, meadows and wet places. *P. Fl. May, June.* Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Generally distributed throughout Wilts.* Stems 6 to 12 inches high, trigonous, smooth. Bractees very foliaceous, the lower one resembling the broad acuminate leaves.

Spikelets and the whole plant of a yellowish hue. *Male spike* cylindrical, obtuse. *Fertile spikes* usually near together, globose, or oval, nearly sessile. *Glumes* blunt. *Fruit* ovate, inflated, smooth, narrowed into a *deflexed* rough-edged *beak*. *Nut* obovate, trigonous, very minutely and closely dotted with impressed points.

A variety of the present species, *C. lepidocarpa*, (Tausch.) Kunze *Riedgr.* 13, *Reich Icones*, 272, appears to be the more prevalent form throughout Wilts, from the numerous specimens examined in different localities. It is principally distinguished by its barren spikes, being usually long stalked, perigynium small, *beak short, nearly straight*, almost smooth, but the differences between the two pass so imperceptibly into one another, that it is difficult to draw a line between them. *C. lepidocarpa* is very frequently mistaken for *C. Oederi*, (Ehrh.) which latter I believe has not as yet been recorded for Wilts.

25. *C. fulva*, (Good) tawny Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1295. *Reich Icones*, 252.

Locality. In marshes, bogs and wet pastures. *P. Fl. June.*
Area, * * 3, 4, *

South Division.

3. *South-west District.* "Harnham near Salisbury," Mr. James Hussey.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Neighbourhood of Chippenham," Dr. R. C. Prior, and Mr. C. E. Broome. *Stem* 1 foot high, with the habit of *C. distans*, but smaller. *Leaves* shorter than the stem, pale green, scarcely glaucous. *Barren spike* linear-fusiform. *Glumes* blunt. *Fertile spikes* 1 to 3, distant. *Glumes* ovate, acuminate, acute, but not mucronate. *Fruit* ovate triquetrous, ribbed, smooth, with a *straight*, rough edged, bifid *beak*. *Nut* pale yellow, oval, obovate, truncate, and with a short apiculus at the apex. *C. fulva* is liable to be mistaken for small specimens of *C. binervis*.

26. *C. binervis*, (Smith) green-ribbed Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1235. *Schk. Rrr.* 160, H. b. 39. *Reich Icones*, 255.

Locality. Dry heaths. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1, * 3, 4, 5.
More or less distributed throughout the Districts, except District 2.

Stem triangular, smooth, about 1 foot high. Spikes often very distant. Male spike rather shortly stalked. Female spikes 2 to 4. Glumes dark purple, mucronate. Fruit ovate, subtriquetrous, with 2 prominent, green, submarginal ribs on the back, which are always green. Beak broad, bifid, rough at the edges. Nut obovate, tapering at the base.

27. *C. laevigata*, (Sm.) smooth-stalked, beaked Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1387. *Schk. Bbb.* 116, and *Sss.* 162, *Hb.* 38. *Reich Icones*, 254.

Locality. In damp woods, and boggy thickets. *P. Fl. June.*
*Area, * * * 4, **

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Woods in Spye Park," *Mr. C. E. Broome.* Rare and local in the county. Stem 2 to 3 feet high. Leaves broad, but rather short. Spikes distant, erect or drooping. Glumes acuminate or mucronate, purple. Fertile spikes cylindrical. Fruit ovate, attenuate. Beak long, deeply bifid, with rough edges. Nut subpyriform, narrowed below, smooth. Often in the young state mistaken for the next species, *C. sylvatica*, and then most easily distinguished by its more compact spikelets, and darker glumes.

28. *C. sylvatica*, (Huds.) pendulous wood Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 995. *Schk. L. l.* 101, *H. b.* 55. *Reich Icones*, 242.

Locality. Moist woods. *P. Fl. May.* *Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.*
General in all the Districts. Stem about 2 feet high. Leaves shorter than the stem. Male spikelet solitary. Fertile spikelets about 4, filiform, rather slender, loose flowered, slightly drooping. Glumes ovate, acute. Fruit broadly ovate, acuminate. Beak long, smooth, cleft at the point. Nut obovate, elliptic, triangular. Similar to *C. strigosa*, but the spikelets are shorter, broader, and on longer stalks.

29. *C. pseudo-cyperus*, (Linn.) Cyperus-like Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 242. *Schk. M. m.* 102, *H. b.* 56. *Reich Icones*, 275.

Locality. Damp places by the sides of ponds. *P. Fl. June.*
*Area, * * * 4, 5.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In a bog between South Wraxhall and the Horse and Jockey.

5. *North-east District*. "In a pond near Wotton Bassett Station," *Mr. C. E. Broome*. Rare in Wilts. Stems 2 to 3 feet high, acutely triangular. *Male spike* solitary. *Fertile spikes* 3 to 6, densely flowered, upon long stalks, drooping. *Glumes* setaceous, scabrous. *Fruit* ovate, lanceolate. *Beak* long, deeply cloven. *Nut* elliptic. One of the best marked, and most beautiful of the genus.

30. *C. hirta*, (Linn.) hairy Carex. Hammer Sedge. *Engl. Bot. t.* 685. *Schk. U. u.* 108, *H. b.* 58. *Reich Icones*, 257.

Locality. Wet pastures. *P. Fl. May, June*. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts*. Stems 1 to 2 feet high, more or less hairy in every part. *Male spikes* 2 or 3. *Fertile spikes* 2 or 3, remote, cylindrical, stalked. *Glumes* elliptic-lanceolate, much acuminate. *Fruit* hairy, oblong-ovate with a long beak, deeply bifid at the point. *Nut* obovate, narrowed below, triangular. *C. hirta* appears to be not so frequent in the Southern as the Northern Districts of Wilts.

31. *C. ampullacea*, (Good) slender-beaked bottle Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 780. *Schk. T. t.* 107, *H. b.* 65. *Reich Icones*, 277.

Locality. Very wet bogs. *P. Fl. June*. *Area*, 1, * * * 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District*. "Neighbourhood of Salisbury," *Mr. James Hussey*.

North Division.

5. *North-east District*. "Huish, near Marlborough," *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report*. Very local in Wilts. *Stem* bluntly triangular. *Leaves* glaucous, channelled. *Fertile spikes* 2 to 3, distant, shortly stalked. *Fruit* subglobose inflated, striate, suddenly contracted into a long narrow beak bifid at the point. *Nut* obovate, triangular. Differs from the next, *C. vesicaria*, in the smooth and nearly rounded stem, in the channelled glaucous leaves, and in the fruit which is brownish and not half so large, with a narrower beak, and of a different shape.

32. *C. vesicaria*, (Linn.) short-beaked Bladder Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 779. *Schk. S. s.* 106, *H. b.* 64. *Reich Icones*, 276.

Locality. Bogs and marshes. *P. Fl. May*. *Area*, * * * * 5.

North Division.

5. *North-east District*. "Reservoir, Swindon," *Mr. Robert Withers*.

This is at present the only locality recorded for this species in Wilts. *Stem* 1 to 2 feet high *triangular*. *Leaves* usually broad, green. *Fertile spikes* 2 to 3, remote, slightly drooping. *Fruit* *ovate-conical, inflated, gradually narrowed into a subulate beak*, bifid at the point. *Nut* elliptic, triangular.

33. *C. paludosa*, (Good) lesser common Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 807. *Schk. O. o.* 103.

Locality. In wet meadows and in ditches, and by the sides of streams. *P. Fl. May. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts*, but less common in the Southern than in the Northern parts of Wilts. *Stem* 2 to 3 feet high, with rough angles. *Leaves* very broad, rough. *Fertile spikelets* about 3, cylindrical obtuse, erect. *Glumes* of the barren spikes *blunt*, of the fertile ones *lanceolate, acute*. *Fruit* *oblong, obovate, compressed, with a short bifid beak*, sometimes entire at the point. *Nut* roundish, obovate, triangular. *C. paludosa* is often mistaken for *C. acuta*.

34. *C. riparia*, (Curt) great common Carex. *Engl. Bot. t.* 579. *Schk. Q. q.* and *R. r.* 105, *H. b.* 66.

Locality. In wet meadows, and by the sides of ditches and streams. *P. Fl. May. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed more or less in all the Districts*. Very similar to the last, but with much broader leaves and spikelets. *Glumes* of the barren spikes acute, of the fertile ones lanceolate, acuminate. *Fruit* *oblong ovate* with a short deeply bifid beak, *convex on both sides*. *Nut* pyriform, triangular. Distinguished from *C. paludosa* by the acuminate glumes of the sterile spikelets, and the conspicuously mucronate *anthers*.

St. Audoen's, South Wraxall.

By the Rev. Prebendary W. H. JONES, M.A., F.S.A.,

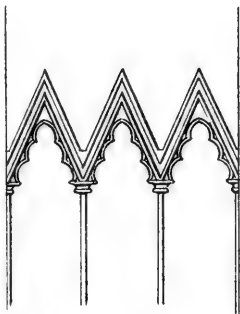
Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, and Rural Dean.

BY this name we designate what is now a farm-house, within a very short distance of the Manor-House, at South Wraxall, and which, like it, is now the property of R. P. Long, Esq. It was visited by the Society in August, 1872, and as some interest was excited by a brief account then given of it, a more detailed and permanent statement may not be out of place in the pages of our Magazine.

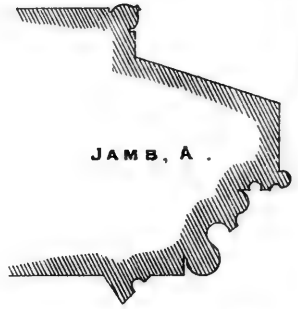
Externally there is now very little to indicate its original purpose. A practised eye alone can detect, in the few remains of ancient windows and door-ways, the fact that its modern use is different from the intention of its original founders. It is only when we come to separate all the comparatively recent additions from the older work, that its original plan is revealed, as that of an ancient chapel, and corresponding Hospitium, like the one at Chapel Plaister, which is only a few miles distant from it. Indeed it is only within a very recent period—certainly since 1838—that what a writer describes as “an immense chimney of Early English character and coeval with the building,”¹ has been removed, and so taken away another indication of its age and original purpose.

The plan, which accompanies this essay, will shew at a glance what was the original design of this interesting structure. It consisted of (1) a chapel, (2) a hall, and (3) a dwelling-house. There was originally a large fire-place in the centre of the eastern side of the hall. Some small fragments of the side pillars, which formed part of it, are still to be seen lying about in front of the house. A principal door-way has been inserted where the fire-place was, and all trace of it, and of its large chimney, removed.

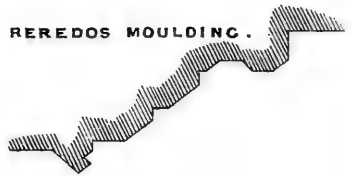
¹ Gent. Mag., March, 1838, p. 256.



REREDOS, B.



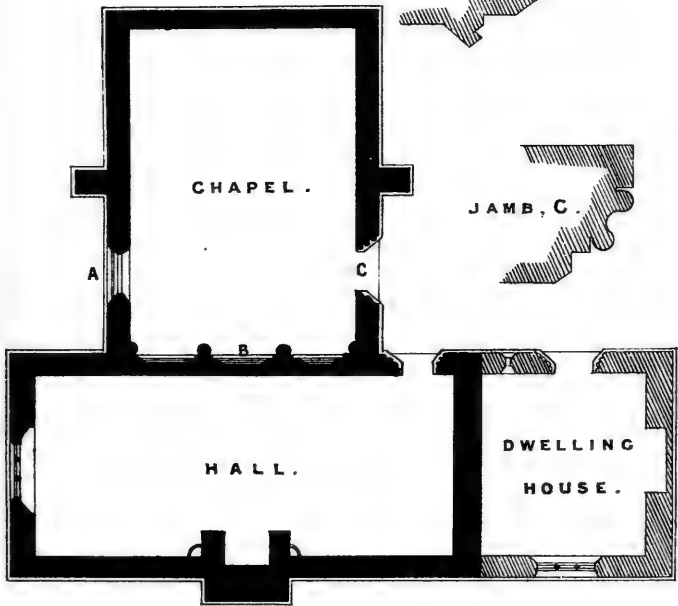
JAMB, A.



REREDOS MOULDING.



JAMB, C.



CHAPEL.

HALL.

DWELLING
HOUSE.

A

C

B

GROUND PLAN.

Scale, $\frac{7}{16}$ inch to one foot.

ST. AUDOEN'S, SOUTH WRAXALL.



Walker, in his account of the Manor-House of South Wraxall, alludes to this building as "the chapel called St. Adwyne's *aliàs* St. Edwynes, *aliàs* St. Jewen's," quoting from Beltz' Genealogical Collections relative to the Family of Long (p. 18). The last name is probably a clerical error for *St. Tewens*,¹ a natural corruption enough of *St. Ouen*, the more common designation of him to whom this chapel was dedicated. St. Audoen, otherwise St. Ouen, was Archbishop of Rouen A.D. 640—683. He would seem to have been had in honor in England, for William of Malmesbury tells us that Queen Emma, after the death of Ethelred II., about the year 1040, fled to Rouen, and then obtaining by bribes to the monks the remains of St. Ouen, translated them in the first instance to Malmesbury Abbey.² It was not unnatural that a French saint should be chosen as the patron saint to whom this "ecclesiola" should be dedicated, for the priory of Monkton Farleigh, of which it was, so to speak, a daughter, was itself a "cell" or house subordinate to the Priory of Lewes, which was the greatest of those religious foundations in this country that owned allegiance to the celebrated Benedictine House, at Clugni in Burgundy founded in A.D. 890. The Prior at Lewes was in fact the head of the order of Clugniac Monks in England.

The purpose of this foundation of St. Audoen's was no doubt partly religious, and partly a carrying out of the ancient spirit of care for the stranger and the pilgrim. It was one of those Hospitia which were stationed at various places, to afford a wayfaring man, especially if he were bent on a religious errand, such as a visit to some holy place or shrine, food and shelter on his journey. It would seem to be the way in which, in the middle ages, our forefathers tried to carry out the precept once given to God's ancient people, "Love ye therefore the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." (Deut. xi., 19.) Leland, when speaking both of the

¹ So, I observe, Canon Jackson spells it, in his brief account of this chapel, in his paper on the "Ancient Chapels of Wilts."—*Wilts Mag.*, x. 321.

² "Beatissimi Audoeni Rotomagensis Archiepiscopi reliquie in cenobium nostrum evectæ sunt."—Wm. of Malmesb., "Gest. Pontif.," p. 419, (Rolls Series.)

similar houses at Chapel Plaister, and at Tory (the highest part of the town of Bradford-on-Avon), calls each of them an "Hermitage," not hereby denoting one of those primitive hermitages which were formed in the obscurity of a wilderness or the recesses of a forest, and the simple purpose of which was to allow some recluse to live the life of a devotee, but one of those useful single houses which were stationed in various places to afford the traveller food and shelter. Fosbrooke, in his *British Monachism*, quotes from the life of Fiacre, in the *Golden Legend*, who, having procured a spot in which "to lede his lyfe heremyticke and solitarily," there "founded a *chyrche*," and, "beyonde it a lytill way thens he byldid a lytil house wherin he dwelled, and there *herberowed the pour* that passed by." In *Don Quixote*, also, is mentioned a *hermitage*, which had, adjoining to it, "a little house, built by the labour of the hermit's own hands, which, though narrow, is *large enough to receive travellers*."¹

Whilst on this subject it may be mentioned that an interesting document will be found in Sir R. C. Hoare's *Wilts*, (Heytesbury Hundred,) relating to a hermitage at Codford St. Mary, and which is reprinted in Dr. Ingram's *Memorials* of that parish. We have there the royal charter of 10 Edward II., authorizing Oliver de Ingham to give and assign two acres of land to "Henry de Mareys, chaplain and hermit, to construct anew a chapel in honour of the Holy Cross, and houses fit for habitation," for certain offices and uses therein specified. He also mentions other documents illustrative of similar matters—a commission of enquiry previous to the granting a licence to a hermit at Fisherton, near Salisbury, in the Register of Bishop Chandler (1418)—and also from the same register of the date 1423 the "Profession of the Hermit,"—*ad finem pontis villæ de Maidenhith*—at the end of the bridge of the town of Maidenhead, in Berkshire.

That there was a "Hermit" at Bradford-on-Avon is also proved by the following extract, kindly forwarded to me by Canon Jackson, from a document at Longleat, entitled "*Compotus expensarum*"

¹ See *Gent. Mag.*, Feb., 1835 (p. 144), in an article on Chapel Plaister, to which I am indebted for some of the above particulars.

Abbatia de Shaston, Co. Dorset, 24 Henry VIII. (1428.) :—

Paid in expenses of the Superior and a clerk and other servants of the Abbess, when at Barminster (Warminster?), and as far as to the Court at Bradford: with shoes for the horses.	4 Nov.	o	v	vii
In gifts of alms, to her alms-people at Bradford		o	o	viii
To a <i>Hermit</i> , 6 Nov.		o	o	iiij
To the servants of the Farmer of Bradford		o	o	xii

The architecture of this chapel of St. Audoen, judging by what remains of the rere-dos, and by the mouldings of the windows and door-jambs, sections of which are given in the accompanying plate, may well be set down to the earliest period of the Decorated Style, or the reign of Edward I. Indeed the conclusions to which we come from such a survey correspond remarkably with the documentary evidence that we have of the foundation of this Hospitium about the year 1267, and of its having been built most probably within a few years of that time.

Its history, as far as we can trace it, is as follows: the lands attached to this Hospitium originally formed part of the Manor of Bradford, and would seem to have been held under the Abbess of Shaftesbury as Lady of the Hundred and Manor of Bradford. In the middle of the thirteenth century, one described as “Martinus capellanus,” held these lands. They amounted in all to about “half a hide” of land, probably from 60 to 70 acres, including the meadows and pastures appurtenant to the holding, and these he gave to the neighbouring Priory of Monkton Farleigh. We are fortunate in having, in the Shaftesbury Chartulary, two documents which explain the whole of this transaction.

The former of these deeds is as follows (Harl. MS. 61, fol. 92) :—

“De uno messuagio et dimid, hida terræ concessa Deo et beatæ Mariæ de Ffernleghe et monachis ibidem: videlicet in Wroxhalle.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Agnes de la Fferrer Abbatisa S̄ci. Edwardi de Shaftesbury et ejusdem loci conventus communi assensu concessimus et confirmamus Deo et beatæ Mariæ de Ffernleghe et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, donum quod Martinus capellanus de Wrokeshalle eis fecit, videlicet messuagium quod idem Martinus de nobis tenuit in villa de Wrockeshalle cum dimid. hid. terræ et pratis et pascuis et omnibus pertinentiis suis. Habend. et tenend. de nobis in perpetuum libere et quiete. Reddendo inde singulis annis

quatuor decem solidos ad quatuor anni terminos, scilicet ad festum Sci. Michaelis iij^s. et vj^d., et ad Nativitatem Dni. iij^s. et vj^d., et ad Annunc. Scæ. Mariæ iij^s. et vj^d., et ad Nativ. Sci. Joan. Bapt. iij^s. et vj^d., et ad hokeday ij^{den}. de auxil. Vicecom. pro omnibus serviciis, homagiis, releviis et omnibus esceat. et secular. demand. ad nos spectantibus: Salvo servic. Dni. Reg. videl. quantum pertinet tenur. terræ ejusdem feodi in eadem villa."

The deed, which must be of the date of about 1266, is witnessed amongst others by Walter de Dunstanvill, Alured de Dene (Seneschal of Shaftesbury) Philip de Comberwell, &c.

The other document, a copy of which is on the next page in the Chartulary of Shaftesbury, is as follows:—

"Anno MCCLXVII mense Jul. et vigil. Sci. Jacobi Apost. facta est hæc convencio inter Dnam Agnet. de la Fferrere tunc Abbatiss. Sci. Edwardi de Shaftesbury et ejusdem loci conventus ex una parte et Dnum Henric. de Ffleg tunc Prior: de Ffernlegh et ejusdem loci conventus ex altera parte; videl. quod dicta Abbatiss. vel. aliq. successor. suor. vel illius loci conventus vel aliq. nomine earum non intrabit in feodum dict. Prior. et convent. de Ffernleg recipiendo terras aliquas in jure perpetuo. Neo dictus Prior et convent. de Ffernleghe vel. aliquis in nomine earum intrabit in feodum dictæ Abbatissa et convent. Sci. Edwardi nisi prius huic inde mutuus assensus requiratur. Preterea ea convencione concessit dicta Abbatissa et suus conventus pro se et suis successoribus quod Prior de Ffernleg, quicumque pro tempore fuerit, in perpetuum faceret attorn. suum in sect. Hundred. et Cur. de Bradeford quam facere debent pro terra quam habent de dono Martini de Wrokeshalle capellani quemcunque voluerit per omnes terras patentes per liberum hominem qui sectam non debeat ad predict. hundred. vel ad predict. curiam sine aliqua contradictione vel reclamacone vel cavillacone dict. Abbatiss. vel alicujus Ballivi sui."

This deed is witnessed by Walter de Dunstanville, Adam de Grenville, Philip de Comberwell, and others.

Interpreted simply, these deeds imply (1) a gift, on the part of Martin, (styled "capellanus,") of Wraxall, of a small estate which he had hitherto held in that village as part of the Manor of Bradford, under the Abbess of Shaftesbury as Lady of the said Manor, to the Priory of Monkton Farleigh; (2) a confirmation by Agnes de la Ferrer, Abbes of Shaftesbury, of the said gift of Martin "the chaplain," reserving to herself and her successors the Abbesses of Shaftesbury, an annual payment of *fourteen shillings*, to be paid in equal portions at each of the usual quarterly feast-days, and a hokeday payment of *two pence*, *de auxilio Vice comitis, i.e.*, at the Sheriff's

Turn (see Wilts Mag., xiii., 105); and (3) an agreement entered into July, 1267, "on the Eve of St. James the Apostle," between the said Abbess of Shaftesbury and Henry de Fleg, then Prior of Monkton Farleigh, securing the latter against re-entry, and providing for suit and service being rendered as heretofore for the lands so granted at the Hundred Court of the Abbess at Bradford.

Thus matters remained till the dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries in 1537. At that time Monkton Farleigh, with all its appendages, including among them this chapel of St. Audoen and some 212 acres of land in South Wraxall, fell to the share of the Earl of Hertford, afterwards the Protector Somerset.

About the year 1550 the principal estate at Monkton Farleigh seems to have been transferred in an exchange by the Earl of Hertford to the See of Salisbury. This land in Wraxall however was reserved, for in a Survey of the Manor of Bradford, dated 1550—1560, I find the following entry:—

Wraxall. Ffreeholders there	
Robert Long, Esquier	xxxv ^s .
John Collett	xv ^s .
The Earl of Hertford	xxij ^s . ij ^d .

That this last entry refers to the property belonging to Monkton Farleigh in South Wraxall is quite evident by an entry we find in a subsequent survey, dated about 1628, which is as follows:—

The Lord Brooke holdeth freely the Farm and certain Lands in Wraxall late Edward ^t Earl of Hartford and <i>anciently did belong to the Priory of Farleigh</i> and payeth yearly out of it	} xxij ^s . ij ^d .

An entry among the Records of Chantries¹ (c. 1552), alludes to a Free Chapel in "the Paresse of South Wroxall," which, like that of Chaldfield, appears to have been in the hands of Sir John Thynne. This worthy knight was Secretary to the Earl of Hertford, and possibly from his patrons, who had large grants of confiscated church lands in Wilts, was rewarded with a few crumbs. The natural explanation would seem to be, that whilst the lord reserved for himself the

¹ See *Wilts Mag.*, xii., 380 (No. 84.)

principal estate, the steward received the free chapel, and, it may be, the *half hide* with which it was endowed by its founder, Martin "the chaplain." Amongst documents preserved at Rood Ashton is, as I am informed, one dated 1578, which is entitled "A note of the lands Tythes &c., belonging to the chapel of St. Audwyn's," &c. Part of the property belonging to it consisted of tithes on "Barley's and Hussey's lands." There used to be anciently, Canon Jackson tells us (*Wilts Mag.* x. 322) a place in Wraxall parish called "Berley's or Barley's Courts," which belonged to the Hussey family, 1476, they having succeeded to it by inheritance from the Blount family. [Thomas Blount, who died 1477, married the daughter and heiress of Thomas Berlegh; and an heiress of Blount subsequently married into the Hussey family.]

In the year 1629, as appears by a deed at Rood Ashton, referred to by Walker in his account of South Wraxall (p. 2), the chapel of St. Audoen, with the lands attached to it, were purchased by John Long, some time of Haugh, and afterwards of Monkton, of Henry Thynne and Edward Pille (Pike?), by indenture dated Nov. 20, in that year. The estate was devised by him to his son John Long, by will proved May 13th, 1634.

The whole of the property belonging to the Priory of Monkton Farleigh, in South Wraxall, ultimately came into the possession of the family of Long, and is now held by R. P. Long, Esq., of Rood Ashton.

Though not immediately bearing on the subject of this paper, it may be mentioned that Samuel Danyel, Poet Laureate in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who is buried at Beckington, seems to have held some situation as Bailiff under the Earl of Hertford (son of the Protector Somerset), connected with this property, once belonging to the Priory of Monkton Farleigh. There is, as Canon Jackson informs me, an original letter at Longleat, endorsed "Mr. Danyell the Poet 26 May, 1608," written to Mr. James Kirten, the Earl's steward, which commences in these words:—

"Charissimo patrono mio. I mervayle I cannot heare one worde from you, whether you live or what you doo in your world which is a world I know of busyness and misery. I sent to your brother concerning Wraxhall, and

inclusively to yourself, a very volume of a Letter, which methinks might require the answer of a lyne in all this tyme, that we your pore Baylifs have expected your directions, so long as we are now at a stand. Keeping came to me with a complaynt that Maltman, seeing he went from his bargayne which held before cavells with Moxham for a Half acre of land which he claymes uppon exchange with Billingley, enters upon the same and disquiets the man."

Beyond the simple fact which it proves, that the Poet Laureate of Queen Elizabeth's time, was thus indirectly connected with Wraxall, there is nothing of interest in the letter. The names of the contentious neighbours were preserved in the neighbourhood for many years afterwards; indeed some of them remain to this day,

W. H. JONES.

Bradford-on-Avon,
June, 1873.

List of Books, Papers, Maps, &c.,
On the Geology, Mineralogy, and Palaeontology of Wiltshire.

By WILLIAM WHITAKER, B.A. (LOND.),
Of the Geological Survey of England.

THE following list contains the titles of 169 papers, &c. (by 89 different authors), arranged according to their dates of publication, and in alphabetical order under each year.

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Donations to the Museum and Library.

The Council have the pleasure of returning thanks on the part of the Society for the following donations to the Museum and Library:—

- From Miss NEATE, Marden, a fine specimen of the nest of a species of *Vespa*.
- From Mr. BOLAM, Savernake Park, a Quern of Upper Green Sandstone; a fine specimen of Sponge from the Upper Green Sand, of Shalbourne.
- From T. B. FOX, Esq., Relics from Chicago; a mediæval Thumb Ring; eight Roman Coins.
- From W. BROWN, Esq., Devizes, an interesting series of Implements &c., from Australia.
- From the Chief Signal Office of the War Department, U.S.A., three copies of Tri-daily Weather Map, and of the Tri-daily Bulletin.
- From W. H. BUTCHER, Esq., Devizes, Autograph of the Great Duke of Marlborough, in frame.

The following works have also been received: "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of London, January, 1872," octavo. "Journal of Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, July, 1872," octavo. "Belfast Naturalists' Field Club Reports, 1869 to 1872," 4 pp., octavo. "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Lond., Vol. v., No. vi.," octavo.

* Although dated 1871 this volume was not really issued until January, 1873.

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THE
WILTSHIRE
Archæological and Natural History
MAGAZINE.

No. XLI.

MARCH, 1874.

Vol. XIV.

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DEVIZES:

H. F. & E. BULL, 4, SAINT JOHN STREET.

LONDON:

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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

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

THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society,

HELD AT SWINDON,

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 16th, 17th, and 18th September,
1873.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

AMBROSE LETHBRIDGE GODDARD, ESQ.

EARLY in the day, a small party of Archæologists assembled by appointment at the main entrance to the Great Western Railway Works, where they were courteously received by Mr. Carlton, the manager of the locomotive department, and conducted over such of the more interesting works as the very limited time at their command enabled them to visit: and here for two hours their attention was engrossed, first by the *wheel shop*, where the wheels of locomotives and carriages were made; and their notice was directed to the working of an hydraulic machine; the manner in which wheels and tires were tested; the working of a travelling crane, to lift six tons; and the conversion of broad guage into narrow guage wheels. Thence the party proceeded to the *spring makers' shop*, where the construction of springs for locomotive engines, carriages, and waggons, and the manufacture of bolts were watched with great interest. Passing on into the *boiler shop* and thence into the *steam-hammer shop*, where those immense giants were in full play, and thence to the *chain makers' department*, the visitors were conducted to the enormous building filled with various machines, all in action, and attended by 300 workmen, where the process of turning screws, making bolts and nuts, and other similar operations were investigated.

Then the *carriage department* was visited, where a carriage in course of construction for the special use of Her Majesty the Queen attracted considerable attention, and other royal carriages were examined. The time however, devoted to an examination of these interesting works, had too soon expired; so with a cordial expression of thanks to Mr. Armstrong, for his kindness in throwing the works open, and not less hearty thanks to Mr. Carlton, for his courtesy and lucid explanations in conducting the party over the premises, our Archæologists hastened back to Old Swindon, to take part in the more legitimate work of the Society.^{1]}

The Members of the Society assembled in the Town-Hall of Swindon, at two o'clock, on Tuesday, September 16th, under the presidency of A. L. GODDARD, Esq., who occupied the chair, in the unavoidable absence abroad of the President of the Society, (Mr. Goldney,) and opened the proceedings by calling upon one of the General Secretaries, the Rev. A. C. SMITH, to read

THE REPORT FOR 1873.

“The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society has the satisfaction of once more congratulating the Members on the continued prosperity of the Society, which certainly during the last year has suffered no diminution; the number of names now on the books amounting to 329, which figure proclaims an increase of eight during the last twelvemonth; and that though we have to deplore the loss of several of our oldest friends, amongst whom we would especially mention Mr. Fuller, of Neston Park, General Buckley, and the Rev. William T. Wyld: but above all, the late Mayor of Devizes, Mr. Wittey, who, from a very early period of the Society’s existence, has been an active member of the Committee, and more especially last year devoted his energies to the establishment of the Museum and Library, and indeed by whose activity the purchase of the buildings was, in great measure, brought about.

“In a financial point of view, the Society is in a prosperous

¹ In compiling the following general account of the Swindon Meeting, the Editors desire to acknowledge their obligations to the columns of the “*North Wilts Herald*,” and the “*Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard*.”

condition, since the balance in hand now amounts to £383, which represents an increase of £55 since last year's Report. The Committee would however here take leave to press on the attention of Members that the furnishing and arranging the new Library and Museum are necessarily attended with considerable expense, and require all the available resources of the Society: and they would here urge on all who have the interest of the Society at heart, and have not yet contributed, to add their names to the donation list, which is still open, and which your Committee earnestly hopes will yet be largely increased.

“The Museum and Library have been enriched by many contributions during the past twelvemonth, all of which have been acknowledged, with hearty thanks to the donors, in the Magazine: but your Committee desire here to record the special obligations of the Society to the Devizes Literary and Scientific Institution, who most generously, and by resolution at a public meeting of their body, have made a donation of many valuable specimens and cases to the Society. Amongst these some of the Ethnological specimens are specially valuable, while many of the Geological and Natural History objects are of considerable local interest.

“Then, with regard to the *work* of the Society, two Numbers of the Magazine, have, as usual, been issued within the last twelvemonth; both of which, your Committee thinks, will bear fair comparison with their predecessors.

“But the energies of the officers of the Society have been mainly directed, during the past year, to the new Museum and Library, which are now satisfactorily progressing towards completion; but which cannot be fitted, furnished, and arranged without a great deal of hard work; and for this they are almost entirely indebted to the activity and zeal of Mr. Cunningham.

“So much as regards the position and work of the Society during the past twelvemonths; and if a certain monotony appears in the annual Reports of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, it is, we must beg leave to remark, the monotony of continued success, and of cordial feelings of good will and co-operation on the part of both Members and Officers of the Society.

“Indeed it may perhaps be allowed to your Committee, after nearly twenty years existence (for it wants but one month to the twentieth Anniversary of our Inauguration) to call attention, with thankfulness and satisfaction, to the kindly feelings of general agreement and unanimity which have pervaded their Councils from the very commencement of the Society’s existence; and to the confidence which has ever been shown by the Members in their exertions and management.

“It may also perhaps be not out of place at this period of the Society’s career to observe, that, as years roll by, there seems to be no falling off either in the interest of our publications, or in the success of those pleasant annual meetings which have been characteristic of the Society. The presentation of two Numbers of the Magazine every year has been a great element in the Society’s prosperity; and though the Rules make no pledge of such a return for the very moderate subscription, it is intended to continue it, so long as the Society’s sources of pecuniary income, and literary contributions are available.

“The Committee, in conclusion, entreats the continued co-operation of its many Members in all parts of the County, each in his several sphere and neighbourhood, to further the great work we all have before us, in preserving the memorials of past ages, and in doing all that lays in our power to elucidate the natural, as well as the ancient history of Wiltshire.”

At the conclusion of the Report (which was adopted) the Officers of the Society (Committee, General and Local Secretaries,) were re-elected, with the addition of Mr. J. R. Shopland, as one of the District-Secretaries for Swindon.

THE PRESIDENT of the Meeting then gave the following address:

Ladies and gentlemen—In assuming the occupancy of this chair as your President upon the present occasion, I feel it necessary to ask you to excuse my many deficiencies and short-comings—not being an antiquary—in attempting to undertake the task of presiding over an archæological and antiquarian meeting; for although I naturally take an interest in the many objects for which your Society was founded, and have, moreover, visited at various times most of the

antiquities to be met with in Europe, yet I regret to say I have never devoted that attention to the subject which many of my predecessors have done, and which has so well qualified them for the presidency of this Association, and therefore feel myself like a drone among bees. It must, I am sure, be a source of pride and satisfaction to all who have watched the progress of this Society since its establishment in 1853, that its operations have been crowned with such signal success, thanks to the zealous and united efforts of Mr. Poulett Scrope, Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, the late Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir John Awdry, Mr. Britton, Canon Jackson, the late Mr. Fane, (Vicar of Warminster,) Mr. Lukis, Mr. Cunnington, Mr. Smith, of Yatesbury, and many others whom I might enumerate, and who have all in their several departments proved themselves staunch and devoted friends of this institution. And as an evidence of the amount of work which has been accomplished up to this 20th anniversary of its birth, I would simply allude to the fact that the Society has held nineteen General Meetings, commencing at Devizes in October, 1853; and subsequent meetings have been held at Salisbury, Warminster, Chippenham, Bradford, Marlborough, Swindon in 1860, Shaftesbury, Malmesbury, Hungerford, Wilton, and Trowbridge, the two last meetings having been under the presidency of Mr. Penruddocke, (whom I am glad to welcome amongst us to-day, not forgetting too our old friend, Sir John Awdry, who has also filled the chair as President of the Society;) so that it may be fairly said that the Society has left no part of the County unvisited, and has on two or three occasions made a foray across the border, which we are, in fact, about to do to-morrow; and it has occurred to me, therefore, if it would not be politic for the future to confine the General Meetings of this Society to once in two years, instead of every year. You will, I am sure, allow that one of the chief and not the least interesting features of this Society was the establishment of its Magazine, which has maintained its attractive character throughout by the talented manner in which it has been conducted, containing as it does so many valuable and interesting records, which will form together, some future day, a county history of itself. The Magazine has now reached its 40th Number. I should make my address far too lengthy

were I to attempt to enumerate the numerous and varied contributions which have occupied its pages, but I might say that Canon Jackson has always proved himself a constant contributor upon matters relating to county history, and Mr. A. C. Smith has made very many interesting contributions on ornithology. It must be, I think generally admitted that very few counties, if any, possess so many ancient remains, or finer fields for research and study, than are to be met with in this county, whether pre-historic or otherwise. I shall not attempt to air any theories of my own respecting the particular epoch of Stonehenge or Abury, though I should incline to think—for opinions widely differ upon it—that the latter was the most ancient of the two temples, and must have existed in the period of the ancient Britons. In immediate connection with this Society I may, perhaps, be permitted to call your attention to the magnificent Museum at Salisbury, founded in 1864 by Mr. William Blackmore, a native of that town, to whose patriotism and liberality this Society and the county generally are deeply indebted, and which contains a very complete and well-arranged collection of fossils and ancient remains. In addition to this you will be glad to hear that this Society will very shortly open and inaugurate a new Museum and Library at Devizes, which will prove a valuable depository of its collections. It will be remembered that when this Society paid its first visit to Swindon, in 1861, that Uffington Castle, with its White Horse, Wayland Smith's cave, and the picturesque villages under the chalk downs, formed the chief objects of interest, besides the old Manor House at Liddington, which at one time belonged to my ancestors. I shall not now attempt to enlighten you upon any subject matter in connection with Swindon and its surroundings, upon which Mr. Jefferies, of Coate, has very kindly undertaken to read a paper. Were I to do so I should feel that I was poaching on his manor, but I will now proceed to give you a brief detail of what we are going to visit during our two days' excursions, of which the circular sent out contains a programme. I know not what may be thought of us for carrying our explorations into an adjoining county, but I am certain that to those archæologists who have not seen the ancient parish churches of Cirencester and Fairford, besides other objects of interest

on the way, that the excursions cannot fail to prove delightful as well as instructive. I might perhaps, here observe that great advantages are to be derived from an institution of this kind, through the fact of its cherishing and drawing attention to the remaining relics of the past, and thus affording the best light for illustrating the history of our race. Another advantage arising from these institutions is that it helps us to preserve many emblems which are excellent and beautiful in themselves, and which have so often in many parishes been mutilated and destroyed from mere ignorance of their intrinsic value; such works, for instance, as the Fairford windows, which you will see to-morrow, and which have attained a world-wide reputation, as tradition says that they were captured by a London merchant from a vessel bound for Rome, and who subsequently built the parish church there, and inserted the glass in twenty-eight windows, in which many passages of the Old and New Testaments are represented. These windows are also valuable as models to artists for form and colour, and are, I believe, some of the most ancient specimens of painted glass in the kingdom. The church itself is a fine structure, in the Perpendicular style, and contains a handsome tower rising from the centre, together with a chancel, nave, and aisles: it also contains a fine old oak Gothic screen, which encloses the chancel. We are going to diverge a little from our most direct road to Fairford in order to revisit the fine old church of St. Sampson, at Cricklade, where I hope we shall find the excellent Vicar ready to receive us and do the honours of his church, which I know he will gladly do if at home. From Cricklade we proceed to Latton and Down Ampney, both of which churches have been well restored within a few years past, and are well worthy of being inspected, more especially the latter; and I only wish we had in every parish some learned interpreter who could bring them all under our review. Might it not be a fitting subject for the consideration of this Society some future day, whether one person in every parish might not be found to undertake to give a short summary of all that is best worthy of observation, for the benefit of posterity. Now, for example, Down Ampney, with which I happen to be pretty well acquainted, through the circumstance of my brother-in-law, (the Rev. Greville Phillimore,) having been its

Rector, and of which I will give a few details. Down Ampney has suffered greatly from the reckless destruction of landmarks. It was long connected with the see of Worcester, and there are many allusions to it in the archives of that diocese. There we shall find the history of Sir Nicholas de Villars, the personal friend of Edward the First, and his companion in the Crusade, who gave him the manor of Down Ampney in 1268 in return for his services. The canopied tomb of Sir Nicholas de Villars still exists in the church, but needs restoration; there is also a female recumbent figure by his side, which has remained intact during the restoration of the church; but a still more ancient priest's tomb in the chancel was found to have been moved a few feet eastward, and under its stone slab were found traces of a paten, and other marks which shewed he had been buried with all the emblems of priestly dignity. I may here mention also that the great Hungerford family were closely connected with Down Ampney, one branch of which settled there, and displayed that taste in the building of the new mansion, which we have not, with all our modern appliances, been able to excel. The old itinerary of Leland in Henry the Eighth's time, contains some particulars of the mansion belonging to Sir Anthony Hungerford, and of the brook which runs by it. The second volume of Hearne's edition, published in 1769, also gives some interesting particulars of this mansion. Unhappily very much of it has been destroyed, such as the old porch and the ancient carvings of the hall chimneys, but there still remains in excellent preservation the old chestnut roof over the whole hall, which now forms part of the offices. One of the most striking features of the place and apart from it is the old gateway, supposed by some to have been constructed after the designs of Holbein, and which is well worthy your notice, as it is of its kind quite unique, and it is still occupied for dwelling-rooms. The boundary stone of the two counties — Wilts and Gloucestershire — situated in the garden, its dimensions and inscription, should also be inspected. In connection with the church I might mention that some rude crosses found in the walls of the south chancel, are considered by the London Antiquarian Society to be decidedly Saxon, and of the earliest form of extra-mural Christian monuments to be met with in

the kingdom: while to go still further back into remote ages, you will see in the Museum at Cirencester a large stone coffin which was dug up out of the brook flowing through the Charlham meadows, when that stream was diverted, about four years ago from its natural course. Now it seems to me very probable that many of the neighbouring villages might have ancient remains of kindred interest, if educated persons who live on the spot were to make searches for them, as history tells us that all that district formed part of a Roman colony in ancient times. The village of Kempsford, which you will also visit on our homeward journey on Wednesday, contains a very noble church, with its traditional horse-shoe story, and its connexion with the old Lancastrian family, having been erected in the middle of the fourteenth century, by Henry, Duke of Lancaster. Many of you who have seen it will remember that it was restored, and a chancel aisle added to it, during the late incumbency of Dr. Woodford, since Vicar of Leeds, and just now consecrated to the see of Ely. It possesses a remarkably fine square tower rising from the centre, and a noble chancel, and is also richly ornamented with fine painted glass windows, and therefore deserves your minute inspection. The picturesque Vicarage garden, too, with its little green terrace, should also be visited.

I will now proceed to offer a few observations with reference to our second day's excursion. I must, therefore, transport you for awhile to Cirencester, which, with its surroundings, will form the subject of much interesting matter. Cirencester, as you are all doubtless aware, is a town of great antiquity, and was evidently, during the Roman rule, a city or station of great importance, possessing very many highly interesting remains of that period, which have within a comparatively recent period been discovered in excellent preservation. *Corinium*, which was its ancient Roman name, was supposed to have been built by a Roman general, in the time of the Emperor Claudius. It was strongly fortified, and possessed walls and a castle, some vestiges of which still remain. The tessellated pavements, baths, columns, and statues, which have at various times been found, clearly prove it to have been a favorite dwelling-place during the Roman occupation; and that their civilization and great knowledge

of art were fully employed in its embellishment. In the vicinity of the querns, or quarries, may be seen the distinct outline of the Roman amphitheatre, although but few traces remain of the seats or steps for the use of the spectators, which have long since become mounds of earth; they are about 20 feet in height, and enclose an oval space of 148 feet from east to west, and 134 feet from north to south. A great variety of coins have also been discovered at various times, of the period of the Emperors Trajan—Hadrian, which denote that Corinium was an opulent city. After the departure of the Romans, Cirencester fell into the hands of the West Saxons, and became part of the kingdom of Wessex. I shall not occupy your time with any description of the remarkably fine and ancient parish church of St. John, because I find that Mr. Fuller has prepared a paper upon its history, but having visited it myself since its complete restoration, in 1866, by Sir Gilbert Scott, at a cost of no less than £12,000, I will only add that I am sure it deserves a close inspection on your part; and I have only now, in conclusion, to express the hope that I have not unnecessarily wearied you, and that our present meeting may prove in every respect as successful and interesting as many of its predecessors, and that we may be blessed with fine sunny weather for our excursions, upon which so much depends, and which will thus enable us to see everything *couleur de rose*.

At the conclusion of the address, which was much applauded, the Rev. A. C. SMITH moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Goddard. The President had told them that he "felt like a drone among bees." He (the speaker) did not know what that meant, unless Mr. Goddard meant them to infer he was a bee without a sting, as he had not been severe upon any of them in the remarks he had made. He begged leave to propose a vote of thanks to the President for his kindness in taking the chair, and also for the interesting paper he had given them.

The vote having been carried by acclamation, Mr. Goddard acknowledged the compliment, and then called upon Mr. RICHARD JEFFERIES, of Coate, who read a paper on "Swindon, its History and Antiquities," which will appear in a future page of the Magazine.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH then read a paper on "Certain Wiltshire Traditions, Charms and Superstitions," which will also appear in the Magazine.

The Rev. E. C. BARNWELL, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Smith for his paper, remarked that some of the superstitions which had been mentioned were not confined to the county of Wilts, but were found all over the kingdom : he also desired to add to the list of superstitions in Wiltshire the one that if we had thunder and lightning in winter, the great man of the parish would be sure to die soon after!

SIR JOHN AWDRY was happy to say that that was not an infallible omen. He knew a gentleman, the entire owner of a parish, who was awakened in the middle of a snowy night by a heavy clap ; but that was twenty years ago, and he was happy to say that that gentleman was living still.

The meeting then adjourned and the company separated, some to inspect the church, others proceeding to the quarries, which present many features of geological interest.

THE DINNER.

At half-past five the Members of the Society and their friends dined at the Goddard Arms Hotel, where they were worthily presided over by A. L. Goddard, Esq.

After the usual loyal toasts the Rev. H. G. BAILEY, Vicar of Swindon, in responding for the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, remarked that as a body, the clergy desired to cherish most friendly feelings with Societies of this kind ; in fact he might say that there was perhaps scarcely a clergyman who was not somewhat of an antiquarian. With regard to their own neighbourhood, he was afraid that they did not abound in archæological interest. Swindon was a thing of yesterday, it had no past. He remembered that thirteen years ago, when Canon Jackson endeavoured to delineate the history of the place, he said it was a history of how the pigs from Highworth used to come there and feed on the hill of Swindon, which was then called Swine's-down, or Swindon. Swindon was a busy, bustling place, having a great deal more to do with the things of the present than of the past. But as he had heard that the

Americans were coming over to England to trace their genealogy, so perhaps in two hundred years time some of the Swindon people might begin to trace their genealogy.

In acknowledging the toast of the Honorary Secretaries and the Committee of the Society, the Rev. A. C. SMITH observed that the President that day had said in the course of his opening address, that he wished there was a person in every parish who could give them an account of the antiquities, and local history of the parish. He was not perhaps aware that in the diocese to which he (Mr. Smith) belonged, they had had some scheme of that kind going on for fourteen or fifteen years. Both the late and the present Bishops of Salisbury had taken great interest in the matter; and had authorized him to address to every clergyman in the diocese two large folio papers, with a series of questions for the resident clergyman to answer, respecting the civil and ecclesiastical history of his parish. These documents were then in his (Mr. Smith's) custody, but would eventually be preserved in the Museum at Devizes, and upwards of seventy valuable parochial histories had thus been accumulated. But he had no power to introduce this system into that part of Wilts which was in the diocese of Gloucester. Some of his clerical friends in that district would be rather astonished if he were to send them two sheets of foolscap covered with questions to be answered. But now he had the authority of their President, Mr. Goddard, he might, perhaps, ask the clergy of the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol to aid him in that matter.

Mr. CUNNINGTON said that the Society was in reality celebrating its coming of age, as the idea was started just twenty-one years ago. The new Museum at Devizes was completed at last, and the work of arranging the objects would be immediately commenced. He believed that when that work was finished their Museum would yield in interest in some particular things to no Museum in the country. He hoped that they might all meet next year at the opening of the Museum.

The Rev. F. GODDARD said that when the idea of this Society was first started some twenty years ago, he was breakfasting with Mr. Neeld, of Grittleton, who, when he saw the announcement, said that

the Society would last two or three years, and then they should hear no more of it. There had been two or three attempts at something of the kind, but they had all failed: he was happy, however, to see that day that Mr. Neeld's prediction was not realized. With respect to parochial history, he believed it was in the power of every clergyman to contribute largely, and yet very simply, to the history of his parish. Ever since he could remember he had always kept a record of every circumstance that had happened in his parish, not only of ecclesiastical but secular matters, and he had thus been able on one or two occasions to refer back and furnish useful information. This record would be left as a sort of legacy to his successors. There was no trouble in doing this, and after a little time it began to be a source of some pleasure. Any clergyman could do it, and keep a copy in his register chest.

The Rev. H. HAYWARD was convinced that his bishop (of Gloucester) would readily give the whole weight of his influence to carry out such a scheme as that mentioned by the Rev. A. C. Smith.

After other toasts of a complimentary character, not forgetting Mr. Shopland, Mr. Edwards, and others who had worked on the Society's behalf, and concluding with the ladies, the party then adjourned to the Town Hall.

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

At half-past seven the President took the chair, and first called upon the Rev. W. C. PLENDERLEATH for a paper on "The Parochial Registers of a Country Village," which was listened to with great interest, but which we need not now enter upon, as it will be printed in the Magazine. On its conclusion the Rev. F. GODDARD said that the formation of surnames in country parishes had been alluded to. He had known instances where a woman after marriage was still known by her original name. A woman named Ann Bathe was Ann Bathe still for years after her marriage. In another case, Ann Church married a man called Christopher Rivers, but instead of being called Ann Rivers she was known as Ann Christopher ever afterwards.

The Rev. G. S. MASTER (of Dean) said that his register went

back to the earliest date at which registers commenced, but it never occurred to him to extract such a quantity of amusing and interesting matter, as well as instructive statistics from them, as Mr. Plenderleath had done from comparatively very modern registers.

The President then called upon Mr. Cunnington to read a paper on "Ancient Assessments," which had been prepared by Mr. Mullings, who unfortunately was unable to be present.

ANCIENT ASSESSMENTS.

Mr. CUNNINGTON said that he had before him five very interesting and almost unique documents which had been presented to the Librarian by Mr. Richard Mullings, of Cirencester. Mr. Mullings had told him that many years ago he had saved these documents literally from burning. They were assessments upon parishes in the neighbourhood of Swindon, in the reign of William the Third, and contained a list of a large proportion of the inhabitants of that period. The papers had been bound by Sir Thomas Phillips, whose writing was on the covers. Mr. Mullings had carefully analysed these documents, and had prepared a short but very interesting paper upon them.

"The documents, to which the attention of the Society is invited, consist of assessments made for the parish of Swindon and several other surrounding ones in the time of King William the Third, under the Acts for levying a poll tax on births, marriages, and burials, and on bachelors. The papers were saved by me literally from burning, very many years ago. Most of the assessments have the signatures of Justices of the Peace of the district and the assessors certifying their accuracy. They were deemed interesting, curious, and instructive, by my late friend, the profound antiquary, Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, by whose care they were stitched and put in what he called 'Middle-Hill binding'—such as you now see them in. It may be proper to preface the consideration of the documents with a few remarks on the taxes they relate to. The poll tax of William the Third's time differed from the mediæval tax of that name with which our English histories have made us familiar. They were alike in their object of

reaching all classes, but the historic poll tax was a certain charge, generally 1s. a-head on persons of all conditions and estates above fifteen years of age (mere beggars only excepted). The poll tax of William the Third on the other hand, was upon a scale of degrees; such as were worth £50 paid 4s. a year; those worth £300 and reputed gentlemen £4; tradesmen and shopkeepers £2. Persons chargeable with finding a horse for the militia, to pay after the rate of £4 for each horse. A person keeping a coach and horses, a peer of the realm, a clergyman of £80 preferment, and an attorney each paid alike £4. Non-jurors in every case had to pay double. This, the last instance of poll tax, produced over two and a half millions, which was far short of what would have been raised if it had been rigorously exacted. But it was an obnoxious impost. Under the Act of 1695, granting duties on births, marriages, burials, and on bachelors, the tax was upon a property. Thus a scale: For persons possessed of fifty pounds per annum or £600 personal estate, the burial fee was £1. 4s., and so on. The parish paid tax on the burial of paupers, but neither their marriages nor the birth of their children were liable to duty. As to the bachelor's tax, it was upon those of twenty five years and upon such widowers as had no children. It was an annual tax according to degrees. Thus a bachelor duke paid £12, his eldest son £7. 11s., his younger sons £6. 5s.; an esquier paid £1. 6s., his sons 6s.; a gentleman and his sons 6s. each. Persons of £50 per annum or £600 personal estate, 6s., their sons 3s. 6d. The lowest degree was persons not otherwise charged, who paid 1s. The exceptions were Fellows of the Universities and almsmen. It is said that these taxes were carelessly collected, but they produced in William the Third's reign £275,517. These assessments on burials, &c., if they had been continued, would have helped to a knowledge of the state of population. There was also the property tax or rate. These were expedients to levy a revenue to meet in part the extraordinary outlay required to carry on the war against France. In the assessment of Swindon to the aid of 4s. in the £ in 1692, the list of contributors is headed with the name of Thomas Goddard, Esq., for all his lands, £80 19s., of three gentlemen of the name of Vilett, one at £8 13s., another at £23. 9s., and another at £12. 5s., and Henry Thompson, the vicar,

is assessed at £7—and so on, in all £132 for lands. The list ends with ‘John Robins for his Quar,’ which is set down at nothing. This list may, therefore, be taken as a census of the proprietors of the land and houses. Besides this a list of persons possessed of money or goods is given; they had to pay 24s. in the hundred on the value. The list also contains twenty-one other names, all assessed at very small sums, amounting altogether to £12. 2s. 3d. The land, &c., assessment amounted to £446. The assessors were Charles Vilett and Charles Hughes; the collectors, Boxwell and Garrard. In order to assess the duties on burials, &c., the assessors seem to have written out the names of all the housekeepers, their wives, children, apprentices, and other inmates, and put columns opposite to their names for entries of births, &c. The families are kept distinct. It is therefore a census and a genealogical register. Thus it gives—Thomas Goddard, Esq., Mary, his wife, Richard, his son, Ann, his daughter; John Gilbert, gentleman, Susan, his wife, Elizabeth, his daughter, Henry Pinckney, apprentice. After the trades are mentioned others, John Holloway, translator, (whatever that means), William Webb, tobacco cutter, and so on. In some cases, property is mentioned—Stephen Lawrence, £600 personal estate; Charles Hughes, £50 per annum. The names of covenant servants and of persons receiving weekly allowances are given at the end. The census for Swindon parish shows the population in 1697 (176 years ago), to have been 808.”

On the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Cunnington said that he was sure the meeting would present their cordial thanks to Mr. Mullings, both for the paper and for these documents themselves: and when he told them that that gentleman had promised him a further donation for the funds of the Society, he felt still more certain that the vote would be heartily received.

With their permission he would now mention some recent discoveries in the history of certain ancient Wiltshire families. He had found the place of their residence, and of their death: but it was very difficult to determine the date of their arrival in the county, or of their leaving it. They were Hippopotamus major, and Cervus tarandus, the great hippopotamus and the reindeer of Iceland. He

held in his hand fossil remains of these animals. The former had now for the first time been discovered in the strata of Wiltshire, the latter, previously known only in the drift beds of Fisherton, had now been found at Westbury.

After a cordial vote of thanks, both to Mr. Mullings and Mr. Cunnington, Mr. Charles Moore, F.G.S., the eminent geologist of Bath, gave a very interesting lecture on the Geology of Swindon, more particularly in regard to certain beds of the Portland and Purbeck Strata in that district.

Mr. MOORE said that the Kimmeridge clay occupied the site of the new town of Swindon, and of the Factory. The beds were of considerable thickness, and not wanting in interest. They were the home of large reptilian remains, and he had just taken from one of the cases in the room, a specimen of a tooth which came from the Kimmeridge clay of that district, labelled as "a sea-dragon." *Pliosaurus grandis*, of which this tooth was a specimen, was a large reptile, at least two-thirds the length of the room they were sitting in, and in Mr. Cunnington's museum, at Devizes, there was an exceedingly fine specimen of this reptile, from New Swindon. These beds of clay formed a large portion of the strata at Kimmeridge, in Dorset, and the remains of *Pliosaurus* were there found associated with *Plesiosaurus*, *Ichthyosaurus*, &c. The chief characteristic of these reptiles was their large size.

He exhibited a tooth presented to him many years ago by the Rev. H. G. Bailey, who might remember the circumstance. (Mr. BAILEY said he did, perfectly). It was most probably a large carnivorous reptile. The tooth was ground down, showing the hard work the reptile had to do in masticating its food.

In coming from the Swindon station to Swindon, especially up the new road (the cutting through the Rolleston estate), they reached the lower beds of the Portland series. At the Quarries they have the Portland sands. These sands at first sight appeared unfossiliferous, but upon careful examination they were found to consist to a great extent of broken shells. A nice series of minute corals might also be gathered from these beds. In other portions of the quarries shells of pretty good size might be found, amongst them *cardium*,

trigonia, &c., &c. The shells recorded as occurring at Swindon were not numerous, only reaching twenty species. But he found that in his own collection he had increased the number to something like eighty species: some of them of very great interest. After passing through the Portland beds, which formed the greatest thickness of the quarries, they came to the series of beds called the Purbeck, also largely developed on the coast near Swanage. In passing from the Portland to the Purbeck, they as it were passed from one world into another. The Portland beds were marine formations, and the Purbeck were fresh-water deposits. The bed of most especial interest in the quarries here, was about 18 inches in thickness. If he said that it was full of interesting things, that would be an exaggeration, but great care and time were required for their discovery. At Swindon the beds were horizontal, but at Swanage they were disturbed. At Swanage twenty-three species of Purbeck mammalia had been taken, very nearly all of them little kangaroos. The remains were almost all lower jaws, and very small. The strata at Swanage were vertical, but at the top of the cliff they lapped over; and here, himself and some friends had executed a work not unattended with danger. While detaching a stone it gave way suddenly, and struck one of his friends, who was thrown over the edge of the cliff, and rolled down seventy feet. Just below that, there was a sheer precipice of one hundred feet. They had to go round a quarter of a mile to get at him, and of course anticipated that he had been killed. What was their astonishment when after shaking himself together a little he asked if he was much hurt? They carried him home, and actually in four days he had not only recovered, but was at work at the same spot again! That, however, was a digression. Some years ago he had examined the similar bed at Swindon, and found four of the genera of mammals which occur at Swanage. These four were small insectivorous mammals—little kangaroos. There were also six or seven reptiles, one possessing teeth of remarkable form.

But now he had shown them that ages ago Swindon was actually the home of a species of small kangaroos, they might ask him if there were any traces of the food of these creatures. There were

Evidences of the existence of the insects they fed on were plentiful. In the little slab, a couple of inches square, he had in his hand, there were the wing cases of thirty beetles. On another larger slab, brought from a similar stratum in Germany, there was a complete impression of a dragon-fly, so perfect that it might seem to have been dropped in the stone but yesterday. [This specimen was handed round, and was very much admired.] There were also traces of the vegetation of the period. The bed was quite blackened in places with the traces of fossil vegetation: and now and then seeds were to be found. Some had the capsule attached. A specimen with the capsule which he found at Swindon, was so perfect that a friend of his almost refused to believe it was a fossil at all. To settle all doubts as to its origin he went back to the quarry, and searched again, thinking that possibly some recent seed might have lodged on the edge of the bed. But no, he found other specimens in positions they could not have reached except as part of the original deposit. Among other organisms of great interest were the minute bones of a species of batrachian, or frog; the oldest of the true frog species. The very oldest true frog that ever walked the earth was an inhabitant of Swindon. So that it would appear that these Purbeck beds were of considerable interest. He would not keep them longer that night: but they must not think that the work of the geologist was exhausted. In the fissure of a rock—not at Swindon—in a space of not more than three square yards, no less than one million remains of various living things had been found. There was yet endless work for the geologist.

Mr. Moore's paper was listened to with the greatest interest throughout, and the thanks of the meeting were accorded him. As the hour was already late, the assembly dispersed. We must not, however, forget to add that by the liberality of the Committee, tea, coffee, and other refreshments were provided during the evening.

SECOND DAY, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17TH.

The excursion to Fairford occupied the whole of this day. The members and their friends left Swindon about nine o'clock, and the weather proving dry, a very pleasant day was spent. The

route selected was by Cricklade, Latton, and Down Ampney. Broad Blunsdon, however, was the first halting-place, where sundry monumental brasses engaged some attention; thence to Cricklade, where the old churches—St. Sampson's and St. Mary's—offered material for prolonged examination. Having given a minute inspection to these, our archæologists proceeded to the village of Latton, where a second halt was made, and having examined the church of that place, the journey was resumed, the next post being Down Ampney, where the visitors were greatly interested. It was a thorough treat, and even had the journey been devoid of any other place of interest they would have felt fully gratified by what they observed at Down Ampney, whose historical characteristics were the subject of some very interesting remarks—the more so because they were related by one intimately acquainted with the place—in the able address of the President of the meeting on the previous day. The very fine ivy-covered gateway of the period of Henry VII.—to which Mr. Goddard made an allusion in his address, counselling his hearers, if they went to Down Ampney, not to refrain from inspecting this structure—was thoroughly examined with feelings of admiration and interest, for this specimen of antiquity is indeed, a noble remnant of the past, and one which every true lover of archæology would feel satisfaction in inspecting. From this beautiful relic of architecture of the middle ages, the party were escorted over the very noble and exceedingly interesting old baronial house. The particular attention of the party was directed to the very fine old roof of the house. Having also paid considerable attention to the old hall, the party proceeded on *viâ* Maiseyhampton, to Fairford, which was the turning point of the day's excursion. Arrived here, the party partook of luncheon, and then proceeded to inspect the wonderful windows of the church. These marvellous specimens of art, design, and workmanship, are twenty-eight in number, the whole windows of the church being filled with this extraordinary and beautiful glass. They have been the wonder and admiration for many years past of all who have the least taste for archæology, and many have been the discussions as to their origin.

Having examined the windows very minutely, the party began

the return journey, stopping first at the village of Kempford ; where they spent some time in examining the remarkable and grand church ; and then they passed on to Hannington, *viâ* Castle Eaton. Here Mr. Hussey Freke, the owner of a very fine old mansion in the parish, had provided substantial refreshment which was thoroughly appreciated by the archæologists. After cordially thanking Mr. and Mrs. Hussey Freke, for their hospitality, the party proceeded to the church, which attracted no little admiration. Hence they returned to Swindon, through Stratton St. Margaret.

SECOND CONVERSAZIONE.

At eight o'clock the President took the chair, when the following gentlemen successively read the papers of which notice had been given, and all which (it is hoped) will appear in the Magazine.

First the Rev. E. A. FULLER, Vicar of St. Barnabas, Bristol, read a very interesting paper, entitled "The History of the Parish Church of Cirencester, its connection with the Abbey, and after fortunes, from contemporary Records:" wherein he dealt with a variety of facts of no little interest to the archæologist. The materials for this paper had been mainly drawn from the Worcester Diocesan Registry, and the old registers of the Abbey, in the Library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, so rich in such treasures, and in other ancient manuscripts, where by the kindness of the present possessor, the Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, he had been allowed to inspect them and make extracts, being assisted therein by the Rev. J. H. Cardew, and Mr. S. H. Gael, the courteous trustees.

Next Professor CHURCH gave a very able and graphic address, descriptive of Roman finds at *Corinium*, detailing in lucid and appropriate terms the various objects in iron, bronze, lead, glass, bone, and stone, which have been lately discovered in Cirencester and its neighbourhood ; as well as referring to Romain coins, wall-painting, tessellated pavements, &c.

Lastly The Rev. A. C. SMITH read his paper, adjourned from the previous evening, on "Wiltshire Weather Proverbs and Weather Fallacies."

The President then adverted to the following day's excursion to Cirencester, and announced the conclusion of the evening meeting. Before however the party separated, the Rev. A. C. SMITH said as this was the last opportunity of assembling at Swindon during this meeting he begged to express the hearty thanks of the Archæological Society to the inhabitants of Swindon for the kind reception, and the generous hospitality which had been given them: a compliment which the President acknowledged on behalf of the town.

THIRD DAY, THURSDAY, SEPT. 18TH.

This day was devoted to an excursion to Cirencester, and though it necessitated a second "venture o'er the border," the experiences of the day undoubtedly afforded proof that the members were justified in, and repaid for, the course adopted. Journeying to Cirencester by a somewhat early train, the hour of ten o'clock found about forty ladies and gentlemen wending their way through the grounds attached to Lord Bathurst's residence and making their way towards the Barton, under the able guidance of Professor Church, who, with Mr. Mullings, Mr. Bravender, and other local antiquarians, joined the party at the Railway Station. Crossing the Broad Ride, in Earl Bathurst's park, Professor Church drew the attention of the company to the straight stretch of avenue before them, which was noteworthy as being five miles in length, with the pretty village of Sapperton and a beautiful valley at its termination.

THE PAVEMENT AT THE BARTON.

The tessellated pavement found at the Barton was the first point of inspection; to which Mr. Anderson heartily welcomed the visitors. The learned Professor then proceeded to give a short and interesting description of the tesserae, over which a room has been built by the liberality of one of the former Earls Bathurst.

Professor CHURCH said the pavement remained in the same position as when it was first discovered. An experiment had been made for the purpose of seeing whether it would be possible to take up the pavement and replace it on a bed of slate, in consequence of the rotten state of the sub-stratum which was immediately under it, but owing

to the trouble and risk of the work that project had been abandoned. The pavement was discovered in 1826, when it was found that a large walnut tree was growing in the middle of it, the extending roots of which had no doubt been the cause of the uneven and broken state of the pavement. Another cause of the damage to the pavement was, probably, its close proximity to the surface of the ground; for it would be noticed that it was no more than one foot below the level of the surrounding garden, so that possibly it might have been disturbed by the garden operations. But they hoped that now, when it got the least out of repair, it would immediately be rectified. He had himself made an attempt to take up a portion of the pavement, and had successfully moved a small number of the tesserae. He would shortly describe to them the method he adopted. The portion of tesserae to be removed was first treated with a thick coat of glue; a piece of canvass was then placed on it and allowed to dry; the tesserae not being imbedded in concrete, but merely in lime, lifted quite easily. Cement was then placed on a large stone or slate, and the tesserae placed thereon and allowed to dry. Hot water was applied to the canvass, which relaxed the glue, allowing the canvass to be taken off, and leaving the tesserae firmly fixed on a solid ground. (Professor Church exhibited a portion of the pavement which he had removed in that way.) Thus it would be seen that it was quite possible to remove the pavement without disturbing its designs in any way whatever. But, probably, it was much more interesting to preserve, as far as they could, the pavement in the position in which it was originally found. He thought, however, that an air shaft would have to be sunk under the pavement to keep it dry, for he was sadly afraid that this beautiful specimen of mosaic was decaying, it may be slowly, but still, somewhat surely. As they would see, the pavement represented Orpheus playing a five-stringed lyre, charming the birds and beasts. The centre medallion of Orpheus was surrounded by a circle of birds, and outside that circle was another, in which were portrayed various animals, including a lion, a tiger, and a leopard. He desired to call attention to the stately tread which characterised these animals, and the absence of that somewhat tripping movement, which was to be traced in other

pavements, and which robbed the animals of the dignified appearance which these possessed. Indeed, the expression of the animals, and the general arrangement of the tesserae, stamped this pavement as being one of the finest in the country. (The Professor called the attention of the party to some capitally executed drawings of the pavement in the Journal of the British Archæological Association.) From the beauty of this pavement he inferred that it could not originally have stood alone, but must have formed an important part of an extensive flooring, and efforts had been made to discover further remains, but so far as he knew no other pavement had been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood.

A lengthy and minute inspection of the pavement followed, and the Rev. A. C. Smith having chronicled the visit of the Society in the visitors' book, the party, still under Professor Church's guidance, wound its way, *viâ* Gloucester Street, to

“THE PANE.”

The party having all been safely conducted through the narrowest of thoroughfares, and by the darkest of passages to this venerable pile, the learned Professor read a short description of the building, which stated that it was supported by six pillars, of the Norman period, which were still in good preservation. It was known as the Hospital Church of St. John, but Leland was of opinion that it was one of the three parish churches, viz., St. Lawrence's, which formerly belonged to the town, but in this Mr. Fuller explained that Leland was quite wrong, as appears by existing records in the Worcester Registry, and the Rolls Office. He was no doubt confused in his recollection between the two Hospitals of St. John and St. Lawrence, the latter of which stood further up Gloucester Street, then called St. Lawrence Street, on the opposite side of the way and never had any chapel attached to it.

The Rev. E. A. FULLER then undertook the pilotage of the Society, and under his guidance the Members arrived in due course at the next point of inspection, which was

THE REMAINING GATEWAY OF THE ABBEY,

which opens into Grove-lane. Mr. Fuller gave a brief description

of this massive piece of early architecture. He said they were now before the Spital-gate of St. Mary's Church. It was locally known as "the Saxon Gate," but he thought they would ascribe it to the time of Henry the First, about 1130. This gate, he remarked, seemed to have led direct to nowhere, but Mr. Bravender mentioned that the line of road had been altered. He had on the previous evening spoken of Wiggold, formerly Wiggewold, and the road which they had just left was formerly Wigge-ham-way, now modernised to the "White Way." As another instance of the manner in which the names of streets got corrupted, the Rev. gentleman mentioned Dollar Street, which was in reality Dole-Hall Street, as the Dole-Hall (the place for the distributing of alms) was there originally situated, and the gate of the Abbey opening into the street was named until quite recently the Almery-gate.

The party then proceeded through the beautiful grounds of the Abbey, kindly thrown open by T. W. C. Master, Esq. Here Mrs. Master welcomed the visitors, and stated that Mr. Master had unavoidably been called away to fulfil a prior engagement, or he would have had great pleasure in being present.

Professor Church pointed out a handsome capital to a Roman pillar, which was discovered in the Nursery, Cirencester, and which he said, was one of the finest specimens of Roman work made in Britain, and still in existence.

As to the exact position of the old Abbey, Mr. Fuller said he could not give them any information. He should show them, when in the church, a roof which was said to have been brought from the abbey, and which was plainly not constructed for its present position. Portions of a roof precisely similar were discovered a few years ago about eight feet below the surface by excavations made during some repairs to the Abbey-house, and at the same time in the walls of the present building had been found many fragments of Norman moulding, &c. The condition on which Henry the Eighth gave the property to its first owner after the dissolution of the Abbey, was that all traces of the Abbey should be thoroughly destroyed, and that condition seemed most truly carried out, as no traces of

walls remained, and all that he could tell them was that it had stood somewhere thereabouts.

Mr. Fuller then conducted the party in a lengthened survey of

THE CHURCH AND PARVISE, OR PORCH.

The Rev. gentleman first proceeded round the church externally, pointing out the various objects of interest. Noticing the huge flying buttresses to the tower, he said those buttresses had been erected, in addition to the original buttresses, before the top course of the tower was built, owing to a great settling which the tower then experienced; and there was in the top course not a single crack or trace of settling. He pointed out the Charnel-house, beneath the Lady-chapel, which, he said, was choke-full of bones, but a portion of the house had been appropriated, in the restoration of the church, to the heating apparatus. The west gate was duly noticed by Mr. Fuller. He pointed out that the original door and iron-work had been preserved in the restorations. The royal shield over the right-hand corner of the gateway was alluded to, as indicative of the date of the tower, by the number of lilies it bore, which showed it to be earlier than the time of Henry the Fifth.

The visitors then ascended to the Parvise or Town-Hall, when Mr. Fuller gave a description of the church from a small plan. In the course of his address, the Rev. gentleman said the church consisted of a nave and aisles 80 feet square, and a chancel of 50 feet. There was a nave, north and south aisles, the chapel of St. John Baptist, the chapel of St. Catherine, the Lady-chapel, and the chapel of the Holy Trinity. In one corner of the Lady-chapel was a handsome wooden screen, now converted into a choir vestry, but which formerly stood in the south-east corner of the south aisle; in its original position forming the enclosure of the Chapel of the Name of Jesus, a chantry of the Garstang family, whose arms and merchant's mark were carved on the screen. The nave was built in the late Perpendicular style. It was not begun in 1513, as proved by a will in the Worcester Registry, nor finished in 1522, because the key-stone bore the monogram of John Blake, who was not abbot till 1523. Some of the south windows, the Trinity chapel, and the west

window of the south aisle, were of about the middle of the fifteenth century, but there were portions of older work still remaining, more especially in the chancel and its aisles. Among others was the little arch at the back of the organ, which was very old. At the south of the chancel again was a portion of very old work. From the centre of the east termination of the principal colonnade which flanked the nave on the south, there sprang a Norman arch at right angles, a part of which had been destroyed in the formation of another arch into St. John Baptist's chapel, and the remaining portion built up. It was certain that when this arch was in existence the present colonnade between the chancel and the chapel could not have been standing, which pointed to the inference that originally the chancel must have been much narrower than the present one. As to the Parvise in which they were then assembled, he could give them but a very faint idea. It used to consist of two halls, and was only made into one in 1828. He did not think it was used for the residence of the chantrypriests, because he found evidences of some of them living elsewhere. There used to be in connection with the church numerous guilds, and whether this was used for their meeting he could not positively say. But there used to stand next-door a tavern, called the Church-house Tavern, and whether these guilds held their meetings in this room, and then went to church, and afterwards adjourned to the tavern to dinner (an essential element in their meetings), he could not say, but it was probable that it was so. The name by which it appears in the old vestry book is the "vice," and tradesmen from Gloucester, &c., paid various sums to be allowed to exhibit on market days their wares for sale in this place, or else in stalls against it, or in the Porch; the phrase in the churchwardens' accounts being "standings at the vice." The last mention of the "vice" in these accounts was towards the end of Charles the First's time, when the clerk was allowed it for drying clothes until it was repaired for further use. Such further use was settled in Charles the Second's reign, when Bishop Nicholson granted it to the town for public purposes; and in the deed of grant he suggests an origin of the name, viz., Vice, from Devise, because it is so contrived as only to block up one window. In the year 1639 a petition was forwarded to the Archbishop

of Canterbury, which Mr. Fuller read. It was a very amusing document, and purported to be a complaint from the church itself on the bad state of repair it was in, being "very rusty for the want of white-wash and the chancel unceiled like a barn." The petition was endorsed with the announcement that "My Lord Bishop of Gloucester was requested to see into the matter." It was no doubt a consequence of this petition that the roof of the chancel had been found lathed and plastered up. The ideas as to the desirability of battlements were much altered, for he read an answer from the inhabitants, in 1738, to a request by Bishop Benson to rebuild the battlements on the church, which stated that they considered battlements were not necessary nor useful, but better done without. As late as 1770 he found a rate of 5*d.* was levied for restorations. After an allusion to the old seating of the church, and its select character, to the great benefit of the doing away of the galleries, and to the uncovering of some old paintings, the party then proceeded to examine the interior of the church.

Mr. Fuller was here again full of information. He illustrated his previous remarks more fully and explained the various parts he had alluded to. He pointed out the carved shields on the pillars, which he said were those of families connected with the town, and which had been coloured heraldically at the late restoration of the church. The pulpit, too, had likewise been re-painted after its original style. The pulpit, which is of stone, with open-worked panels, had been turned in former days into a "three-decker," some two feet of solid Grecian panneling having been added, with a sounding board; but these had been removed, and the pulpit itself alone remained, restored after the old style. A point of great interest was a half-pillar of the arcade dividing the St. John's chapel from the Chancel, the base of which formerly belonged to a pillar of a Roman building, the original mouldings still remaining on that portion imbedded into the wall, while the other portions had been worked down into Norman mouldings. The pillar was allowed to stand in its present peculiar form to illustrate this interesting fact. Prebendary Scarth, on the visit of the British Archæological Association to the church, said he did not know of another instance where Roman

and Norman mouldings could be found on the same stone. The stalls in the chancel, Mr. Fuller said, were constructed after the fragments of the original ones found in the chancel. All the painting, he said, was re-executed after the original models, and the figure of St. Christopher, in St. Catherine's chapel, was touched up by Professor Church, the old colours remaining, and the Professor, like a true Conservative restorer, had refused to paint what was not discovered. Mr. Fuller described at great length the various tombs, monuments, &c., exhibiting for inspection a beautiful blue velvet cope, which belonged to a chantry priest, named Ralph Parsons, in 1470, and which was still in good preservation. The vesture was adorned with devices of pomegranates and six-winged seraphim, in gold, which were very vivid, testifying to the good qualities of the gold. An interesting description of the Trinity chapel was then given, in the course of which Mr. Fuller remarked that he would submit to the consideration of the Vicar, Dr. Millar, (who had been present during the whole of the proceedings at the church,) and to Mr. Anderson, whether Lord Bathurst could not be persuaded to have re-painted the series of shields bearing the various quarterings of the family of Sir John Danvers, which were now very erroneously coloured, and the right tinctures for which he could supply.

This concluded the survey of the church, and the Members then left the sacred building, and proceeded through Dyer Street, and the Beeches, under the guidance of Professor Church, to make

A TOUR OF THE ROMAN WALL,

existing under the local name of the "City Bank." Before commencing the tour, Professor CHURCH said the wall was now reduced to what he might term a mound, about two miles in circumference, in an oblong shape. The entombments, and sepulchral remains, were found chiefly just outside the wall, and the villas, household remains, tesserae, &c., were discovered mostly within the wall. The party then proceeded round the boundary, the only certain existing trace of the Roman wall, in a field adjoining the New Mills, being duly pointed out. The impression seemed to be that there was no doubt as to this being the site of the wall, but the present walling existing in a field near the Watermoor end of the bank was more modern.

Mr. FULLER explained the origin of the name Watermoor. He said the general impression was that it took its name from the quantity of water abounding in the district. But in reality it took its name from an ancient tenant of the Moor (for such it was originally termed before the building of the houses), whose name was Walter, who sold the land, which afterwards was known as Walter More's land; and as in those days Walter was pronounced Water, as was borne out by Shakespeare's play of Henry VI., hence the corruption.

The party then walked to the New Road, and having visited a Roman well in Messrs. Jefferies' nursery, were hospitably entertained for a short time by Mr. Bravender, at "The Firs." After a brief rest, they, still under the guidance of Professor Church, proceeded to

THE AMPHITHEATRE OR BULL RING,

in the occupation of Mr. Robert Brewin, at Chesterton. The whole of the party having arrived on one of the walls of this ancient relic of past ages,

Professor CHURCH proceeded to give a short account of the amphitheatre, for such, he said, there was no doubt that it was. From measurements made by Mr. Bravender, they found that its dimensions were 200 feet long, and 130 feet wide. The walls were very high in some places, 24 feet being the highest point. It had been supposed by some to be a mere quarry, but such was evidently not the case, for though it was certain that stone had been dug in the neighbourhood, it was equally certain that it would not be dug with such regularity as that with which this excavation had been made. The banks had evidently been broken down by the weather in some places. In former times, quoting from old histories of Cirencester, Roman stone seats were recognised, but they had long since disappeared. This circus resembled in form the one at Dorchester, but that presented more regular features than this one, as it was excavated in chalk, which would retain its shape, while our own example was formed in brashy soil and limestone, which would not. Some persons suggested that the absence of seats was to be accounted for by the supposition that stone was not used, and that seats of wood

were employed; but there was no reason for that theory. In fact, in old histories they read of actual eye-witnesses who had seen the remains of stone seats. The circus was outside the city wall, which would run near where the railway was now, for in a garden the other side of the railway and in the workhouse garden fragments of the wall or bank remained. Thus three out of four sides of the city wall could be traced, but the remaining side could not be found.

A member remarked that it was not a quarry, which was evident from the fact that the banks had been raised, which would not occur in quarrying.

Another member observed that this amphitheatre was not unlike the one at Dorchester, though it was more rugged.

Professor Church said that could be accounted for by the nature of the soil. Its symmetrical nature and enormous size were proofs of its genuineness.

Another member said Dorchester was undoubtedly the finest in the country, but next to Dorchester he did not know of a better than the circus at Cirencester. The seats were probably on the turf, as the sports were held in the summer time.

The party then wound its way through the picturesque grounds of Mr. Lawrence, to the Tetbury-road, and from thence to the King's Head Hotel, where in the assembly room, luncheon had been provided by Miss Baker, to which upwards of forty sat down, under the presidency of Mr. A. L. Goddard.

On the conclusion of the repast,

The PRESIDENT said that this was the last occasion on which the Society would meet together for the present year, and he thought it necessary to say a few words before they parted. They had done him the honour to elect him as president for this meeting, but, conscious of his inability to do justice to it, he had felt some reluctance in accepting the important position. But as it was pressed upon him, and as he felt great interest in the Society, he readily undertook the duties of the office. The duties of that office had now come to an end, and he hoped the meeting had been a successful one. The places they had visited had been interesting to all of them. They visited some fine churches on Wednesday, most of which had been re-

stored, and at the re-opening of some of which he had been present. They had been poaching somewhat on an adjacent county, but they had been set that example at a previous meeting at Hungerford, and he did not think it a bad one. Although, he had visited most of the points of interest they had visited, on previous occasions, yet he had felt great pleasure in going over the ground again with them, and he thought their visits in this county were justifiable, and he knew their neighbours in the county of Gloucestershire would not be jealous of them. He had great pleasure in asking them to accord to their Gloucestershire friends their cordial thanks for the assistance they had rendered. Mr. Fuller had given them most interesting information, not only on all that pertained to ancient history, but down to the present time, and it could not have been done better or more fully. He had also kindly come up to Swindon, and read them a most interesting paper. Their best thanks were therefore due to Mr. Fuller (loud cheers). Mr. Lawrence, too, had kindly thrown open his grounds, and allowed them to pass through, and he deserved their warm thanks. Mr. Bravender, and Mr. Master, of the Abbey, had also been most kind and liberal in their assistance, the latter gentleman being prevented, as his good lady had told them, by a prior engagement, from being present with them. But he had omitted to mention Professor Church, of the Royal Agricultural College (loud applause). He had read them an interesting paper on Corinium, he had accompanied them that day with great skill, and he was presently about to conduct them to the Museum, which they would examine with much interest, because the Professor had taken so much pains and care in its complete arrangement (applause). They would all give those gentlemen a vote of hearty thanks for their kind assistance (hear, hear). As far as he himself was concerned, he felt very much honoured by their choice of him as their president, and he hoped that he had done as he had tried to do, his best for the interest of the Society (loud cheers).

The Rev. A. C. Smith said their president had told them that this was their last meeting for this year, but they could not part without saying cordially how much they were indebted to Mr. Goddard for the way in which he had presided over them (loud

cheers). They were at first somewhat at a loss in the matter of president, as Mr. Goldney had accepted the office, but his being called away from England to Vienna, to act in his place on the committee for distributing the English prizes, rendered his presence with them impossible. The officers of the Society then applied to Mr. Goddard, and persuaded him to occupy the president's chair at that meeting, and whether it had been a wise choice he left it for them to say (cheers and hear, hear). He had, he was afraid at great inconvenience, accompanied them in all their excursions, which had been some of the pleasantest the Society had ever had. They had been most cordially received, as had been the case for the past twenty years. On Wednesday they visited ten admirable churches, each of which presented features peculiar to itself. To-day they were indebted to Mr. Fuller and Professor Church for the manner in which they had conducted them. They were also indebted very much indeed to Mr. Goddard, who had been the head, without which they should have been a most miserable body (cheers). He therefore begged to propose a most hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Goddard (loud cheers).

MR. CUNNINGTON seconded the proposition. He endorsed everything that had fallen from his friend Mr. Smith. They were much indebted to Mr. Goddard for the way he had supported them in this rather small but one of the most agreeable meetings the Society had ever experienced (cheers). He had one remark to make, and that was that their next meeting would in all probability be held at Devizes, and the one after that at Salisbury. It seemed somewhat premature to anticipate two years, but that was better than giving about two months notice, as they had done this year (hear hear). He hoped, therefore, to meet them at Devizes under the presidency of Mr. Goldney (cheers).

MR. GODDARD said he only rose to say that he felt much gratified to hear from Mr. Smith and Mr. Cunnington, that the meeting had been so successful, and that the little assistance he had rendered had been most gladly given. He had always taken a great interest in the Society, and had attended a great many of its meetings, and hoped to be spared to attend future meetings (loud cheers).

An adjournment was then made to the

CORINIUM MUSEUM,

where, under Professor Church, a pleasant hour was spent. The learned Professor described all the many articles of interest contained in the Museum till nearly five o'clock, when the whole party returned to Swindon, having spent a very pleasant and instructive day at Cirencester.

It had been intended to visit the Royal Agricultural College, but time would not permit of that being accomplished.

Thus ended the meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, for 1873; which, though not so numerously attended as on some former occasions, has been thoroughly successful, and at which as much valuable information has been imparted and gathered, and as much enjoyment derived, as at any previous meeting of the Society.

THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM

was formed in the Town Hall. The collection, taken as a whole, though small, was a very good one; there was an excellent contribution by Mr. William Povey, of numerous fossils of a local character, found mainly in excavating for the sewage works in the High Street. Mr. Powne lent ten dessert plates of curious and elegant pattern, the property of the late Lord Byron. Mr. J. B. Fry lent a model and photograph of the Taj Agra, built in 1665, at a cost of £1,760,000, and also a number of marine curiosities. A document referring to the tessellated pavements of Corinium was also exhibited. The tooth of an extinct sea-dragon, *Pliosaurus Grandis*, discovered in August, 1873, by Mr. J. R. Shopland, C.E., in the Kimmeridge clay at the Brick and Tile Works, at New Swindon, was kindly lent by that gentleman. A number of ancient documents, lent by Mr. R. Mullings, of Cirencester, among which were grants or assessments under the Act of 6 and 7 of William (1695), for raising a poll tax upon marriages, baptisms, and burials, also on widowers and bachelors, for carrying on the war against France with vigour. The parishes mentioned were Swindon (which is headed by the name of Thomas Goddard followed by the name of Vilett and

many others, with names identical with those of persons residing in Swindon at the present day), Cliffe Pypard, Hillmarton, Wootton Bassett, Lyneham, Thornhill, Broad Town, Lydiard Tregooz, Liddington, Wanborough, Tockenham, Saltrop, Westlecott, Overtown, Uffcott and Elcombe. In these parishes occur names which may at the present time be found in the lists of voters. There was also another ancient document, lent by the Rev. Francis Goddard, which was a list of persons charged to supply horses to the Government in the time of the Civil War. It belonged to Francis Goddard, Esq., of Standen Hussey, and Cliffe Pypard, sheriff in the time of Charles the First (1635), or to his son, of Standen or Cliffe (1684). More probably the latter. There was an excellent collection of copper, silver and gold coins of very ancient dates, some going back as far as Edred. A Turkish golden coffee service was exhibited by Mr. A. L. Goddard, also a miniature of Napoleon the First, a bronze temple of Vesta, marble from the temple of Diana of Ephesus, a Turkish knife, a Venetian Moor's head, Indian pistols, a Spanish knife, a Goddard medallion in bronze, an old enamel bottle, a silver pastille burner, pocket golden time-piece of ancient manufacture, and a kind of invitation card which was used on the occasion of an annual meeting and dinner in London, of all persons bearing the names and arms of the Goddard family, it being the custom to meet at the Red Bull, behind St. Nicholas Chambers, called "Goddarde Street." There was also a key exhibited, which had been found in the great field, and a crystal candlestick. There was a good collection of Roman coins, dug up at Wanbrough, by Mr. J. C. Maclean, in August last. A banner screen (silk work), of the 17th century, was lent by Mr. W. F. Parsons, of Wootton Bassett, and was regarded with interest by the ladies.

The Names of Places in Wiltshire.

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I.—ON THE CELTIC ELEMENT IN WILTSHIRE LOCAL NAMES.

THERE is no County, at all events in the south of England, that possesses more numerous or more interesting remains of its earliest known inhabitants than Wiltshire. AVEBURY and STONEHENGE are mysterious monuments of a remote antiquity, and seem to stand in the same relation to Britain as the pyramids do to Egypt, or the cave-temples to India. SILBURY, moreover, the largest artificial mound in the world, the countless tumuli scattered over our downs, and the enormous dykes—boundary-lines, most probably, of the territory of ancient tribes—all are memorials of our early ancestors, of men who lived and died at least two thousand years ago.

If anywhere therefore we might expect to find, in Local Names, traces of our Celtic forefathers, it would be in Wiltshire. It is the object of this essay to point out such examples as may fairly be derived from this source.

2. A few preliminary remarks would seem to be necessary, as an undertaking like the present is not only perilous, but by some may be deemed unprofitable. The "Names" themselves have in the course of centuries assumed so different a form from their original, as not only to afford no exact indication of their meaning, but even to lead us into erroneous opinions concerning them. On such a subject, much must after all be matter of conjecture, on which the conclusions of others may be of equal, or perhaps greater, weight than our own. Moreover with regard to these very old names, we have no opportunity, from the want of any written records cotemporaneous with the places which they represent, of ascertaining, as in other cases, their original form. Our course under such circumstances is, where we are able, to trace out apparently similar formations in the names of Cornwall, or Wales, or in other countries, where a class of

language is still spoken analogous to that of the British tribes.

It will be obvious that we may expect to find traces of the language of our Celtic forefathers in those Names of Places in which it must not only be difficult, but almost impossible, to effect changes. As a rule, a conquering people adopt from the conquered those names which designate the natural features of a country, such, for instance, as its rivers, its mountains, its valleys, and its ancient tracts of woodland. Hence in such words there is an inherent vitality; they come down to us from earliest times, though modified often both in meaning and pronunciation. The towns or villages, for the most part, bear names imported by the Teutonic settlers in after times, but the river that flows by them, or the hill that rises above them, still retain their original Celtic appellation. Avon is a purely Celtic name signifying a stream, but Malmesbury, situated on it, has supplanted the old compound *Cær-dur-burg*. The river Thames is in name Celtic still, though *Cær-ludd* has been changed into *London*.

At the same time great care must be used in discriminating between words that are Celtic in their origin, and those which, though they may be similar in form, are really from a Teutonic source. As an example, we may name the word *Ash* in such compounds as Ash-down, Ash-ton, Ash-ley and the like. As the name of a river, *Æsce* occurs in ancient charters,¹ and, as we shall hereafter see, it is derived from a similar source as the *Axe*, the *Exe*, or the *Usk*, and signifies simply "water;" such compounds therefore as Ash-ton or Ash-ley may just as likely be the "village" or the "leigh" by the water. As the name of a tree, *Æsc* occurs in Anglo-Saxon, and there can be little doubt that Ash-down means, as the scribe in an ancient charter interprets it, "mons fraxinus" or the "hill covered with ash trees."

In compound names, where there may be a doubt whether they are derived from a Celtic or Teutonic source, there is one rule which is often a tolerably safe guide. The Welsh commonly follows the Latin in its custom of placing the generic term first and that which qualifies or explains its meaning last, whereas in Anglo-Saxon and English this

¹ Cod. Dipl. 63, 816.

rule is for the most part reversed. Thus what in Welsh and Latin would be called "Coit-mawr" and "Silva-magna," in Anglo-Saxon would be "Sel-wood" and in English "great-wood." When we meet with such a word as Breamore, the name of a hilly portion of the south of Wilts, we can hardly doubt that it was originally from the Celtic, and probably meant "great hill" from the Welsh *bryn*, (Corn. *brea*,) a hill, and *mawr*, great. The termination in the name *Oswestry* looks temptingly like the Welsh "*tre*" which means a village, but its position in the word would make us look rather for a Teutonic derivation. Such proves to be the case, for like *Bishops-trow*, which is *Biscopes-treow*, *i.e.*, Bishop's-tree (or cross), *Oswestry* means Oswald's-tree (or cross), and is represented in Welsh by the name *Croes-Oswallt*.¹

Then further, there are a number of words that we meet with in the composition of local names which are common both to the Celtic and Teutonic class of languages, and it is difficult to assign the priority to either. The word *ford*, for example, by itself, or in composition, is frequent in all countries and common both to Celtic and Teutonic, though *fodd* in Welsh means a road or passage generally, and not simply one over a stream. Again the well known word *wick* (the Greek *ὄϊκος* and the Latin *vicus*) appears also as the Celtic *gwic*,—thus *Dorchester*, in *Oxfordshire*, the seat of the original Bishopric of *Wessex*, was called *Doreicc*, *i.e.*, *Durgwic* (=village on the river). In these cases other considerations, such, for instance, as the prevalence more or less of Celtic or Teutonic names in the immediate neighbourhood, must be taken into account before coming to a conclusion. The termination in *Berwick* is undoubtedly of the latter class, whilst the prefix in *Which-bury* belongs most probably to the former.

3. The "Names of Places" which we propose to deal with, and which illustrate the earliest period of our history, may be classed generally under one of three divisions.

a.—Those which are purely Celtic in their origin.

Such for example are *CHUTE*, and *COATE*, both of which seem forms

¹ See "Pedigree of the English People," by Nicholas, p. 459.

of the old Welsh word *coed* (wood) or as it is found in Cornish *coit*, and sometimes *cuit*. The name CLACK is another instance, and is probably only a modern form of the Welsh word *clegg*, a hill. Sometimes, as is natural enough, they come to us so disguised, and in a state of so hopeless a corruption, as almost to defy a conjecture as to their meaning, and the puzzle is the more complete from the well-known tendency of such words to assimilate themselves to others in which there is some apparent meaning. Thus CATS-BRAIN is the strange name of two places in Wilts, one close to North Newton, and the other by Stanton Fitzwarren. I can have little doubt that the origin of the word is to be found in the compound *coed*-(or *coit*-) *bryn*, which would mean simply *wood-hill*.

b. Those which may be called *reduplicatives*, in which an old word of Celtic origin, having lost its meaning to the subsequent settlers, has another added to it, of similar import, from the Teutonic class.

Of this *Clay-hill* is an example,—the former part of the word is a corruption of the old Welsh *clegg* (=hill), to which the Teutonic settlers added their own synonym. What is now called *Pennell's Hill* (near Calne), is a yet more singular instance. The first syllable is the old Welsh *pen* which means a "hill,"—to this the early Teutonic settlers added their own word *hull*, and called it "Pen-hull." In course of years it is corrupted into Pennell and its origin is obscured, so that it becomes necessary in more modern times to add another synonym, and it becomes *Pennell Hill*, in Wiltshire, and in Lancashire *Pendle-hill*. Interpreted in modern English it is simply *Hill-hill-hill*.¹

c.—Those of which the former part is Celtic, and sometimes not

¹ It is just possible that the apparently not over complimentary epithet given to CLACK in the old Wiltshire stanza:—

"Waite Cliff—Pepper Cliff—Cliff and Cliff Anstey
Lyneham and Lousy Clack
Cuss-Malford and Dauntsey"

may be explained as a *reduplicative*. The Teutonic word for a mound or hill is *hlaw*, written afterwards, in composition, as *lowe*, or *low*. Following the example given above, the transition would not be difficult to *Lowes-Clack*, and from this form to that which it has now assumed. By the way, there is a *Lousy Oak* near Westbury, on the road towards Bratton, just under the White Horse hill.

to be interpreted at all, with Teutonic terminations which are well understood.

Such for example is SALIS-BURY,¹ the former part of which name is still a *crux* for philologists. No doubt, in some instances of this sort, we have the remains of an obsolete dialect, or the names (in a corrupt form) of some old land-owners, the remembrance of whom has long since faded away. Some examples of this class of names are especially interesting as showing the gradual growth of a settlement: thus in *Quid-ham-ton* (or, as it is also spelt, *Wed-ham-ton*) you have the successive extension, from the *wood* cleared for the dwelling, to the homestead (or *ham*), and thence to the village, for such is the meaning of *tún* (=town).

4. In the course of this essay, many examples of each of these classes of Local Names will be mentioned. By way of easier arrangement I propose to treat first of all of the Celtic *river-names*, or of those which denote *water*, and the various names derived from them,—then of those which are originally designations of *hills* or *valleys* or other natural features. An alphabetical list of local names, conjectured to be derived from a Celtic source, will be appended, with such interpretations, as, after some little thought given to the subject, appear to be the most probable.

I.—River Names, or those which denote water.

AVON. This name generally appears in Anglo-Saxon Charters as *Aífene* or *Afen*, though occasionally as *Afone* or *Abon*. So common is it in various countries that it may almost be regarded as a generic term for “*river*.” In Wilts there are *two* rivers bearing this name—the one rising near Tetbury, and flowing through Malmesbury, Chippenham, Bradford, and so on to Bath,—the other rising in Bishops Cannings and then flowing through Rushall and Amesbury to Salisbury.

There is no doubt that the origin of this name is to be found in the widely-spreading Sanscrit root *ap*,² which

¹ See however Wilts Mag., xiii., 50.

² In the Vedas, *Ap*, which means literally “the waters,” is used as a name for the Deity. Max Müller's “Chips from a German Workshop.” i., 27.

signifies water. It is found in the Latin as *aqua*. As illustrations of a similar change of consonants we may compare the Greek *ἄπρος* and *πέντε* with the Latin *equus* and *quinque*. The termination "on" or "en" is probably expressive of a distinct unity, in fact the mode of distinguishing the concrete from the abstract,¹ so that the word *Av-on* signifies literally "a river." According to the oldest orthography, Lhuyd says, *Av-on* was written *Am-on*, so that we see its connection with the Latin "*am-nis*" a river.²

The following names of places are derived from the various forms of this River-Name:—

AVON. The appellation given to two hamlets, one close to Foxham, on the banks of the Upper Avon: the other by Old Sarum, situated on the Lower Avon.

UP-AVON } Two villages a few miles apart from each other,
 NETHER-AVON } situated on the Lower Avon.

AVENING. Close by Tetbury, near the site of the upper Avon, on the Gloucestershire border. In an old Charter³ of A.D. 896, we have lands near this place alluded to as "*sum tó Æfen-ingum*," *i.e.*, "some at Avening." The Anglo-Saxon form can only mean literally "the dwellers, or clan, settled near the Avon" (or river).

¹ It is certainly so used in Welsh: thus *brwyn* means *rushes*, whilst *brwyn-en* means "a *rush*."—In like manner *derw* is *the oak*, or *oak-trees*, whilst *Derw-en* signifies "an *oak*."

² Lhuyd gives a number of examples shewing how, in cases where words are common to the Latin and Welsh, the letter *m* in the former, becomes *v* in the latter:—*e.g.*, Lat. *elemen-tum*, Welch, *elven*:—Lat. *firmus*, Welch, *fyrv*:—Lat:—*termin-us*, Welch, *tervyn*. A suggestion has been made that in the word AMPNEY, (formerly written AMENIE and ANNEY,) a name given to several parishes on the Gloucestershire border, this change of consonants has taken place, and the root of the word brought more like the Latin *amnis*. There are in the immediate vicinity two of the great Roman roads, and other names that denote Roman occupation, so that there is nothing improbable in the conjecture.

³ Cod. Dipl. 1073. The other places named, such as Roddanbeorg (Rodborough), and Dornbyrig (Thornbury), prove that Avening is the place alluded to. See also Thorpe's Dipl. Angl. p. 139.

EBBE, or EBEL. The name of a river in the south-western part of
 5. Wiltshire. The word would seem probably to be derived from the same Sanscrit root *ap*, or *ab*, which is found in the Gothic as *ahva*, and in the obsolete Gaelic as *abh*. The termination of the second form is possibly a diminutive, for *el* has this force in Welsh. Thus *crib* means a summit, *crib-el* a cock's comb:—*cog* means a stout piece of wood such as is used in the cog of a wheel, *cog-yl* a short stout piece such as is implied in our word *cudgel*, which is its present form in English. Hence *Ab-el*, or *Eb-el*, would mean "little river."

There are two villages which derive their names from this stream, on which they are situated.

EBBESBOURN (OR EBLESBOURN) EPISCOPI } The meaning of this
 EBBESBOURN WAKE } name is the "stream of
 the Ebbe" (or Ebel). The former of these villages is now usually called Bishopston, from having belonged to the Bishops of Winchester as trustees for the church of St. Peter and Paul in their cathedral city.

6. DEVEREL. A small river in the south-west of the county. The root of this word is without doubt the Celtic *dubr*, or *dur*, in Welsh *dufr*, which signifies "water." Places are to be met with in Domesday, called simply DEFER¹ (written DEVRE),

¹ Compare the names, in Hants, of Mycel-defer (Micheldever) and Cen-defer (Candover).—See Leo on Anglo-Saxon Names, p. 70.

The late Sir R. C. Hoare hazarded the conjecture that the name Deverel, which he was fain to spell Deve-rill was originally *Dive-rill* "from the circumstance of a spring which afterwards assumes the name of the Wyly *diving* under ground for a considerable distance till it reached Kingston Deve-rill where it became a permanent stream." As there are streams of the name of Deverel elsewhere, in Dorset for instance, his pleasant conceit, even if it were grounded in fact, could not sufficiently account for its derivation, and it would be hardly worth alluding to, had not the strange notion met with a supporter in *Notes and Queries* for May, 1872. But surely in any case the theory implies what may be called an etymological anachronism. The word *rill*, which is supposed to form its termination, is, I conceive, a contracted form derived from the Latin *rivulus*, and is certainly not to be found, as far as I can learn, in any dialect spoken in this country till many centuries after the grants made by Anglo-Saxon kings in the valley of the *Devrel* (as it is always spelt in ancient charters) to the monks of Glastonbury.

clearly the Anglo-Saxon pronunciation of the Welsh *dwfr*. The termination *el* is probably the diminutive, as in the name *Eb-el*, so that *Dwfr-el* (or *Devrel* as it is commonly written in old documents) means the "little stream." In the name *Dover* (the ancient *Dubris*, as Richard of Cirencester tells us,) you have the modern form of the word: the place being so called from the small stream which there falls into the sea. The long walk by the strand at *Ryde* is called by the same name, though pronounced *Duv-ver*.

The following names of places are derived from one or other of these words:—

LONGBRIDGE- HILL- MONKTON- BRIXTON- KINGSTON-	}	DEVEREL.	These are the names of five villages that are situated on various portions of the stream.
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DUR-LEIGH (=the watered leigh), a small hamlet not far from *Kennet*.

DURN-FORD (formerly *DUR-EN-FORD*), *i.e.*, the river-ford.

DURRINGTON (in *Domesday DUR-EN-TON*), *i.e.*, the town, or village by the river.

IDOVER. A village near *Dauntsey*. In an ancient charter¹ of *Æthelwulf* to *Malmesbury*, "*Ydouere*," as it is there spelt, is described as a brook. Originally the word was most probably *y-dwfr*, that is literally "the water." Compare with this example the *Cornish*, *dour* (=water).

WARDOUR. Written in *Domesday*, *Werdore*, also spelt in ancient records *Verdure* and *Verdore*. I think there can be little doubt as to the latter portion of the word being *dour* (=water). The former may be the *Cornish* *war* or *var* which means "upon," or "against," and so the whole word signify "on the water." The *Latin* names that occur in various portions of the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, or of *Richard* of *Cirencester*, *viz.*—"Pontibus," or "Ad pontes," may be adduced as paralled instances. *Pryce* in his *Archæol. Cornu-Britannica*, gives as the name of a *Cornish* village, *Gwar-der*

¹See *Cod. Dipl.*, 263.

or *Guar-dour*, which is the same as the one we are now considering, and which he explains as meaning "the summit near the water."

7. **WYLY.** The name of a river, and also of a village situated upon it in the south of Wilts. This no doubt is a British name, for in Cærmarthenshire you have a river *Gwili*, which is evidently the same word, and possibly its original form. There is in Welsh a word *gwili*, which signifies full of turns, *e.g.*, winding.¹ Welsh scholars however tell us that its root is the word *gwy*,² which signified a "flow or flood." We have the word itself in the river Wye. The name *Con-way* is said to mean *Cyn-wye* (=chief river). In Hants and Dorset, the word takes the form of *wey*, and gives names respectively to *Wey-bridge*, and *Wey-mouth*. From the name *Wyly* we have *Wil-ton* formerly a chief place in the county, and *Wil-tun-schire* (now Wiltshire). We meet also with the name *Wyly-bourn*, *e.g.*, literally the "stream of the *Wyly*," denoting a portion of the county in its immediate vicinity, though strictly applicable to the branch stream that flows through the Winterbourns and joins the main stream at Stapleford.

8. **NODDER.** A natural derivation of this word would seem to be from the Welsh *neidr* (the word is in Anglo-Saxon as *næddre*), which means a snake or adder,—no inappropriate name for, a winding stream. But there are several rivers in England that seem to be derived from a root similar to that from which *Nodder* (or *Nadder*) may have originally come. The *Nydde*,

¹ In like manner the *Cam* is said to be so termed because "crooked" or "winding" in its course, from the Sansc. *kamp*, and the Gael. and Welsh *cam*, signifying to *bend*.

² Other derivations have been suggested. Some for instance have traced it to Anglo-Saxon *wylig* a willow; whilst Spencer, in his *Faery Queene*, has a pleasant conceit respecting it, far more suited to poetry than prose:—

" Next him came, Wylibourne with passage sly,
That of his wilnesse his name doth take
And of himself doth name the Shire thereby."

There is a paper in the first vol. of the *Philological Society's Magazine* by Walters, on the derivation of the Welsh word *Gwy*.

in Yorkshire, was formerly called the Nydder: the river *Neath*, in Glamorganshire, gave its name to the town by which it flows, called by the Romans *Nid-um*. In Lancashire there is a river *Nad-in*, which philologists derive from the Welsh *nad*, a shrill noise, or from *nad-er*, to utter a shrill cry. There is in Sanscrit a remarkable confirmation of the probability of such an etymology, for whilst *nad* means "to sound," *nada*, its derivative, means "a river." Moreover, *nadī* (= the rivers) is a name of the Brahmanical Deity in the Vedas.

As connected with this river-name we have *Noddre-ford*, named in a charter relating to Semley as one of the points of boundary, and also *Nithe*,¹ (equivalent, as Sir R. C. Hoare says, to the Latin *Nidum*) given as the name of a bridge crossing a stream near Wanborough.

KENNET. The river on which Marlborough stands, the Roman name for which, *Cunet-io*, was evidently derived from it. Celtic scholars interpret it as compounded of *cyn* (=head, or chief) and *Nedd* (plur. *neth*) which has been just explained. The same name is found in Lancashire, where it is pronounced *Kun-net*. In the Shropshire Domesday you meet with it as *Cunet*, the modern form of which has come to be *Cound*. There are two villages called respectively East, and West Kennet, that are situated on the banks of the Wiltshire stream.

9. **WERE.** Camden speaks of Trowbridge as being on the river **WERE**, though modern authorities call the river the **BISS**. In old maps of the last century, portions at all events of the stream are called by the name **Were**. The word is possibly derived from the Welsh *gwyrr*, which means crooked. The name *War-minster* means the church on the *Were*. *War-leigh*, near Bradford-on-Avon, derives its name from a stream which in the Court Rolls of the estate, is described as "rivulus cui nomen est *Weare*." There is a *Wier* Street on a small stream by Great Somerford, which looks as though its name came from this source.

¹ See *Wills Arch. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 125.

SEM. A small stream near the south-west of the county by the Donheads. Perhaps the Gaelic *seamh* which means gentle and placid, may explain it. The village of *Sem-ley* derives its name from it; and the hamlet of *Sam-bourn*, closè by Warminster, would seem to have been called from a stream once bearing the same designation.

COLE. This river for some miles forms the north-east boundary of the county. The *Cal-der* in Lancashire is said by some to be derived from the Welsh *call* (=winding) and *dwr* (=water), and possibly the former word is the source of the name *Cole*. Others however refer it to the Gaelic *caol*, straight, narrow. What is now spelt COLESHILL, but in ancient documents is called *Cole-selle*, is situated on this stream and derives its name from it.

STOUR. A river in the south-west of Wilts, though in England there are several others of the same name. Ferguson thinks¹ that the words *sar*, *sor*, *sur*, so widely spread in the names of rivers (as for instance in the Soar &c.) are to be traced to the Sanscrit *sar*, *sri*, (=to move,) *sra*, (to flow) whence *saras*, water, *sarit*, *sróta*, river. He observes further that one Celtic dialect, the Armorican, by inserting a phonetic *t*, changes *sur* into *ster*, and thinks that through this source we obtain the form *Stour*.

The names of *Stour-ton* and *Stour-head* are derived from this Wiltshire river. There is also a *Sturry Brook* close by Highworth which looks as though a portion of the stream there once bore a name like that of *Stour*.

10. In addition to these names of rivers, there are other words denoting *water*, which enter into the composition of many local names. Indeed, in ancient days, almost every brook would seem to have had its distinctive name. Numerous instances might be cited from the Anglo-Saxon charters of names of the smaller streams which are now quite forgotten.

One of these words is *wisk*, or *wish* (as in *Wish-ford*). This appears in Welsh as *wisg*, and in Irish as *uisg*. The English words

¹ *River-Names of Europe*, p. 57.

ooze, and *wash*, and possibly also *gush*, would seem to be different forms of the same. The well-known term *whisky*, means, it is conceived, originally "the water,"—what in France is called expressively *eau de vie*.

The forms in which you meet with this root, which Ferguson derives from the Sanscrit *ux* or *uks*, to water, are indeed manifold. It occurs as the *Ash* (the *Æsce* of the charters), the *Axe*, the *Exe*, the *Ouse* (the *Use* or *Wuse* of the charters), the *Isis*, the *Wisk* (as in *Danby on Wisk*), and the *Usk*. Often the towns situated on the river assume one form, whilst the river itself retains another. Thus in *Cambridgeshire* the town on the *Ouse* is called *Wis-beach*, whilst a portion of the same stream that flows through a part of *Norfolk* is called the *Wis-sey*, and the name *Ox-burgh* is that of a parish immediately adjoining. In like manner *Ox-ford* is on the *Isis*, and signifies simply "river-ford." There can be little doubt that the *Wash*, off *Lincolnshire*, is another form of the same word. In the *Saxon Chronicle* you have, what we now term the *Usk*, called the *Wylisce Axa*, that is, the "Welch *Axe*," and *Asser*, in his *Life of King Alfred*, says, the old name of *Exeter* was *Cær-Wisc*, which he adds is, in *Saxon*, *Exan-Ceastor*, and he describes it in *Latin* as "civitas *Exæ* quæ orientali ripa fluminis *Wisc* sita est."

It will be readily seen how the former portions of each of the following names,—*Ax-mouth*, *Ash-ford*, *Ex-mouth*, *Ox-ford*, *Os-born*, *Ux-bridge*, are all different forms of the same original word. In *Suffolk* and *Stafford* you have, in the names *Yox-ford*, and *Yox-all*, another modification.

In the following *Wiltshire* names, you have this word in one or other of its various forms.

WISH-FORD } One of these names is that of a village near Heytes-
 WISH-MEAD } bury, the other that of a meadow at the point where
 East and West *Lavington* are separated from each other: they mean respectively "river-ford," and "water-meadow." We have a confirmation of the former in a document in the *Wilton Chartulary* relating to *South Newton*,¹ in which was comprised the tithing of *Little Wishford*, and which latter

¹ *Cod. Dipl.*, 1114.

portion is described in the charter as an estate of five hides "juxta dirivatis fluentium successibus ubi vulgares prisco usu mobilique relatione nomen imposuerunt *Use*;" that is, stripped of the verbiage with which the old conveyancer thought fit to encumber the grant, "near the point at which several tributary streams meet in a larger stream which the common people call by the old name *Use*." One of the points of boundary is "*Use-stæde*," that is, "the place by the river (*Use*)."

WASSERN. This name, though now lost, is that of an old manor mentioned in the Hundred Rolls of Henry the Third, and granted, under that name, (33 Henry VIII.,) to Sir W. Herbert. It is the *Waisel* of Domesday.¹ It included much of what is now contained in the park at Wilton. The Domesday name might mean "little stream," the other form may imply the "dwelling by the stream."

AX-FORD. A portion of the parish of Ramsbury. The name signifies the "ford of the river."

OXEN-LEGH. On the river Avon, at a boundary-point between the parishes of Bradford-on-Avon and Broughton Gifford. In an ancient charter, of the date A.D. 1001, it is spelt *Accesleghe*.² The change of the former portion of the word successively into *Ox-legh*, and *Oxen-legh*, seems natural enough. There can be little doubt that its original form was a corruption of the word which we are considering, and that its real meaning is "the legh by the river," or perhaps, as we might say, "water-meadow."

GAUZE BROOK. So spelt in Andrews' and Dury's map, and flowing close by Hullavington. The word is certainly another form of this root, which assumes so many shapes. There is just to the north-east of Swindon a stream called *Long Gush*. In the names *Gos-ford*, on the Cherwell in Oxfordshire; and in *Gos-port* in Hampshire, you have the same word slightly modified. I should not be surprised if the name

¹ Jones' Domesday for Wilts, p. 49.

² Cod. Dipl., 706.

Goose-acre, applied to a small field on the river-bank just outside the town of Trowbridge, has a similar origin.

BISS. The name of the river which runs through Trowbridge. I venture to suggest that this may be a dialectical form of this same Celtic root: the transition from *Wis*, as in *Wis-beach* and *Wissey*, would be easy enough to *Biss*. As a personal name "*Bissey*" is not unknown in Wilts.

11. Another of these Celtic words signifying "water" is *ber*. This word, according to Evans, is used by ancient bards in Wales for *dwfr*. Ferguson¹ thinks that the root of this word is found in the Sanscrit *par* (=to move). In Gaelic we have *bier* for water (compare the Hebrew *Beer-sheba*, &c.), and, in Irish and Gaelic, *bar* means the sea. The Breton verb *beri* signifies to flow. Near Snowdon you have *Bereu Derwenydd* (=the oaken springs).

In neighbouring Counties you meet with the word frequently in its simple form. There is a small river in Somerset called the *Bere*, — near Bridgewater you meet with *Bere-Farm*, and close by Ilminster with *Bere-Crocomb*. In Dorset moreover you have *Bere Regis*, situated on a small river bearing the same name. In Wiltshire, as far as I know, it is only met with in composition, as in the following instance:—

BAR-FORD.—This is the name of no less than *three* villages, or hamlets, in Wilts,—one, Barford St. Martin, not far from Wilton;—another next Bramshaw;—and a third close by Standlinch (or Trafalgar, as it is now called). The meaning of the name is "river-ford," and all three places are close by streams.

12. Connected with words denoting water are those, found principally in the south-western part of Wiltshire, in which we have the word *funt*, (= a spring or well,) forming part of the compound name. It may be observed, in passing, that the prevalence of names derived from springs, and they are abundant in Anglo-Saxon names, shews the tenacity with which fountain-worship was observed. Such a practice, even though in a measure modified,

¹ River-Names of Europe, p. 64.

continued long after the introduction of Christianity, and among the laws of King Cnut¹ was one which distinctly forbade such worship. One illustration may be interesting: in the Shaftesbury Chartulary² you have the scribe spelling Tef-font as *Theo-funta* (= God's-fountain, or Holy-well). It was, as we shall see immediately, merely a conceit of his own, but it seems to show the strength of the feeling alluded to.

FONT-HILL.—The present name of two villages in the south-west of Wiltshire. The spelling is misleading, and has no ancient authority. Till a comparatively recent period, the form of the word was *Font-el* or *Funt-el*, possibly a diminutive form signifying the "little spring." Going back however to very early times, we find it spelt *Funt-geal*, and *Funt-ial*, and possibly these forms give us the clue to the etymology. As the English called the British *Wealas* *i.e.*, Welshmen (= foreigners), so they may have affixed a designation on the old wells which they found at the place, and given the name *Funt-weal* *i.e.*, the "spring of the Welshman," or Briton. Certainly, in a charter relating to Tisbury,² an adjoining parish, there is reference to an old British track-way, which is termed *Weala-weg* (=Welsh-way), and close by is *Brid-sor* (or *Brit-sor*), which probably has much the same meaning, *i.e.* "causeway of the Brits" (or British). The name *Wall-mead*, moreover, still exists at Tisbury.

TEF-FONT This is the name given to two villages in the same neighbourhood. They are called from the stream, which is still designated the *Teff* (or *Tef*), that flows by them. Compare *Taff* (as in *Llan-daff*), *Tavy*, &c., as names of rivers or streams.

FOVANT. The oldest form of this name that has been met with is *Fobbe-funte* or *Fobban-funt*³ shewing clearly enough the origin of its latter portion. What the former means it is not so easy to say. In the land-limits of *Downton*⁴ we meet

¹ See "Ancient Laws and Institutes," p. 379.

² Cod. Dipl. 284, 513.

³ Cod. Dipl., 331, 687.

⁴ Cod. Dipl., 698, 985.

with "Fobban-wylle," the former portion looking like a possessive case, and so possibly denoting the name, in a corrupt and abbreviated form, of an ancient owner.

ERCH-FONT. Near Devizes; spelt Erches-fonte, Ierches-fonte, and Urches-font. The former portion is probably the Celtic word *Iwrch* (= a roebuck), and the whole word may mean the "drinking-place of the roebuck." Lhuyd, author of the Arch. Britannica, considers that this name *Iwrch* (olim *Iürch*) meaning originally a "roebuck," is given to a river in Shropshire as indicative of its *swiftness*. There is a river in Lancashire, *Irk* by name, that flows into the Irwell.

But the Celtic element is found also in names denoting other natural features of the country, such as its hills,—its valleys,—its woods and forests. A few examples of each are given;—others will be included in a general and supplementary list given hereafter.

II.—Names denoting hills:—

13. **PEN-HILL.** Now corrupted into "Pennel's," near Calne. This word is simply a reduplicative, one portion being Celtic, *pen* (= the head, or top), the other Teutonic, with a similar signification. In the immediate neighbourhood we have High-pen, and Low-pen. There are also places named *Pen-hill* in Stratton St. Margaret, and by Kingston Deverel; and *Pen-ley*, by Westbury.

HACK-PEN. The former part of this name is probably from the Anglo-Saxon *heag* (= high), and so appropriately denotes the highest part of a ridge of down forming Overton Hill, not far from Avebury.¹ The name Hack-pen is also that of the

¹Other derivations have been suggested for this Name. Mr. Kemble was of opinion that it meant simply "*Haca's pen*" or enclosure,—though, he adds, "*Haca* may have been some mythical personage not yet identified,"—and might refer to the large stone-circle at Avebury. In this opinion he does not carry the assent of other Archæologists, as has been shewn by Mr. W. Long (*Wills Magazine*, iv., 360), and by the late Dr. Thurnam, in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The name is not confined to Wiltshire, nor to neighbourhoods such as that of Avebury, and the interpretation given above seems the simplest. See *Archæol. Journ.*, No. 54, and Cod. Dipl., 1120.

highest point of the range of hills to the south of Wantage, near the well-known White Horse which gives its name to the vale in that part of Berkshire.

PENZELWOOD. This would seem to be *Pen-sel-wuda*, *i.e.*, the head or most prominent part of Selwood (= great wood). This is close by what are called the Pen-pits (= hill-pits) near Stourton.

CLACK. Close by Bradenstoke. I have little doubt that this is a corruption of the ancient word *cleg* (= a hill). In the name *Clegg*, near Rochdale, we have the Celtic term almost in its original form. The situation of the place in Wilts may well be described as—"the hill."

CLAY-HILL } The one near Warminster, the other by Whiteparish.
CLAY-STREET } I am inclined to believe that in both cases the former portion of the name is a corruption of the old Celtic word *cleg*. Clay Hill, by Warminster, is one of the best known and highest eminences in that part of the county, and far removed from any *clay*, from which, at first sight, it might seem to derive its designation. It is in truth simply a reduplicative word.

TORY. The highest part of the town of Bradford-on-Avon. It is from *twr*, a hill or tower,—a root, by the way, common both to the Celtic and Teutonic class of languages. Tarver, in Lancashire, was originally *Twr-vawr* (= great hill or tower).

BREAMOR, that is, *brea-mawr* (= great hill), Cornish *brea*, Welsh *bri*.

III. Names denoting *valleys* :—

14. The name for a place between hills, a dingle or deep valley, is, in Anglo-Saxon, *comb* or *cumb*, which seems evidently to be the same as the British word *cwm*. Words containing this term are abundant. Thus we have Castle *Combe*, near Chippenham; we have *Comp-ton* Basset and *Comp-ton* Chamberlain; we have *Combre-land*, *i.e.*, the land of "combes;" and we have *Cumber-well*, near Bradford, and also near Compton Basset, (each held under the manor of Castle Combe,) which, from its old spelling, *Cumb' vill'*, I should be inclined to interpret as Combe Manor. We have also *Bur-comb*, *Tid-comb*, and many other places formed in a similar manner.

Perhaps the original form of the name, which Aubrey says is "fantastically" termed *Quemerford*, though his strange spelling may be traced back to the time of Edward the First, was *Combre-ford*, i.e., the ford by the *Combes*. Another interpretation, I am aware, is suggested for this last name in *Cynemære's ford*, the scene of a battle, as recorded in the Saxon Chronicle. This battle, however, is much more likely to have been fought at *Kemps-ford*, by the Isis, on the borders of the counties of Gloucester and Wilts. *Lyncombe*, I conceive, is composed of two British words, the former of which is *lynn*, and which signifies simply "water."

IV. Names denoting wood, forests, &c.

15. The Welsh word for wood is *Coed*. This appears however in Cornish as *Coat*, *Coit*, *Cuit*, *Cos*, and in the plural we have the forms *Coos*, *Cossaws*, *Cossow* (Pryce, Cornish Vocabulary). We may interpret many Wiltshire words by referring them to one or the other of those forms.

CHUTE.—On the eastern border of the county. It is spelt *Cet-um* in Domesday. It is, as will be perceived, closely allied to one form of the Cornish word, and means simply "wood." You have the same word, though with a different spelling, in *Portes-kewet* (= *cuit*).

CADENHAM. } In each of these examples the *former* syllable, it
CADLEY. } is believed, is a form of this same word. They would
mean respectively the "dwelling," and the "legh" by the
wood. In the north of England *coed* takes the form of *caid*.
(Compare *Kin-caid*, in Scotland).

COATE. } Each of these is also derived from the same source.
CODFORD. } The *first* is the name of two places, one in Bishop's
CUTTERIDGE. } Cannings, and the other near Swindon, and is but a
varied spelling of the Cornish *coit*:—the *second*, the name of
two villages in the south of Wilts, spelt in Domesday *Cote-*
ford, and meaning "wood-ford":—the *third*, that of a farm
near Westbury, and spelt originally *Cote-rige*, meaning the
"ridge of the wood."

CORSHAM. Formerly Coseham, or Cosham. I am much inclined to

think that the former portion of the name is from the Cornish *cos* (= a wood). [It *may* however be from the Welsh *cors* (= a marsh).]

CHITTOE. } The former of these words was originally spelt *Chit-*
CHITTERNE. } *wege*, or *Chit-way*, and means the "way by the wood ;
the latter, it is believed, means the "dwelling in the wood,"
the termination being the Anglo-Saxon *ærn*, or *ern*, (= a
dwelling). The Domesday name is spelt *Chetre*, and, in one
case, *Cheltre*.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS WORDS:—

16. It is by no means easy to class many other Local Names, which nevertheless seem to be of Celtic origin, under general heads. We therefore append a list of such Names, as far as possible in alphabetical order, with suggested interpretations.

AMBRESBURY } Originally *Caer Emrys* and afterwards *Ambresbury*,
or } *i.e.*, the "burg," or town of Ambrosius, for in this
AMESBURY. } Latinised form the name of this British Chief is
more familiar to us. He became a King in Britain in the
year 464, and for some forty-five years carried on a suc-
cessful struggle against the advancing Saxons. Polydore
Virgil assigns him a soldier's death, and Stonehenge, which
is in the immediate neighbourhood of Amesbury, for a monu-
ment. The tradition, though rejected in its specific form,
may be perhaps accepted as in some sort evidence that he
died in battle, and fell somewhere in the vicinity of Amesbury.

This Local Name is given because it is a memorial of the primitive Christianity of Britain. The Welsh Triads speak of this place as the site of a great monastery in which "there were 2400 saints, that is, there were 100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation perpetuating the praise of God without intermission," Hence, as Dr. Guest says,—“The choir of Ambrosius was probably, in the middle of the fifth century, *the* monastery of Britain—the centre from which flowed the blessings of Christianity and civilization.” That the place remained in the possession of the Britons, for some time after

the arrival of the Saxons, seems certain, for the name by which it is generally mentioned by the Welsh Triads is *Caer Caradoc*, i.e., the Town of Caradoc, a British chieftain, who, after the death of Ambrosius, appears to have been one of the most powerful in South Britain.

BEDWIN. Commonly spelt "Bedewind" in charters, and in Domesday "Bedvinde." The derivation usually given from *bedd-gwin* (= white grave) is unmeaning, the more so as there is no large barrow, such as may have led to such a name, to be seen. There is no proof moreover that *Beadan-heafod*,¹ where a battle was fought in 675, between the Kings of Wessex and Mercia, and which has been explained as meaning "head of the graves," was the same as Bedwin. There is a village in Cornwall called Bod-wen (or Bod-win), which Pryce explains as meaning either the *house* by the "aspentrees" or "in the marsh," or "white-house." Pugh in his Welsh Dictionary, gives *Bedwen* as meaning a "birch-tree," and *Bedweni* as signifying a "birch-grove." Bedwin was on the very borders of Berkshire, which, from its old spelling, Berroc-scire, (as Asser gives it) may well, as he says, derive its name "a *Berroc* silva, ubi buxus abuntissima nascitur." (See Mon. Hist. Brit., p. 468.)

BODENHAM. } The former portion of each of these names is pro-
BOS-COMB. } bably one or other of the forms of the Cornish word for a "house" or "dwelling," and which Pryce gives as *Bo*, *Bos*, *Bod*, *Bodn*, and *Bosca*. The former name would thus be a reduplicative word, —the latter would mean the "house" or "dwelling in the combe." The real root is in the Sanscrit *b'hoo*, a place of abode. In Cornish we have *Bodinick* (= house by the river), *Bokelly* (=dwelling in the grove), &c. It seems equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon *stow* or *wic*. Compare the English *a-bode*, and the Eastern *Hydera-bad*.

17. **BOKERLY.** The name of a large dyke in South Wilts. It may perhaps be connected with the Welsh word *Burch* which signifies a rampart or wall. Or it is possibly to be derived from

¹ See Chron. Sax., A°. 675.

the Welsh *Bwg*, Cornish *Bucha*, a spirit or ghost, primarily an object that causes terror. Till a comparatively recent period, the Welsh word was used in its original sense. Thus in Coverdale's version of the Bible (1535), Psalm 91, 5, is thus translated:—"So that thou shalt not nede to be afrayed for eny *bugges* (=evil spirits) by night." Such an etymology at all events carries out the idea, so common in ancient times, that works like these were made by the help of evil spirits. Compare Devil's Dyke, &c.

CALL-WOOD. Close by Corsham. This is probably from the Welsh *coll*, which signifies a *hazel*. Thus *coll-lwyn* means "hazel-grove." This name would thus signify "hazel-wood."

CAD-WORTH } The names of *two* of the ancient Hundreds now
CAW-DON. } joined together and regarded as *one*. In either word, it is conceived, the former portion is from the Welsh *coed* (= a wood). The one word means the "dwelling or settlement in the *wood*,"—the other the "hill by the *wood*."

CANE. The name given to a steep hill between Melksham and Devizes. In Gaelic and Irish we have *Ceann*, meaning a head, or *hill*. In Welsh *cyn* signifies "chief." Cane-Hill may be simply a reduplicative word. In the Court Rolls of the manor of Bradford Hundred we meet with the entry, "Broughton cum *Cane*," but as yet no explanation can be given.

CALNE. This is without doubt a Celtic word, though it is not easy to say what it means. It is spelt *Cauna* in Domesday. Bishop Gibson, in his edition of the Saxon Chronicle, says that it was situated on the bank of a river, bearing the same name. If so, the name has been lost, the river flowing by Calne being now called the Marlen. There are three rivers in England called Còlne, one of them giving the name to *Colne-ceaster* (now Colchester) in Essex.

CAT-COMBE. } The former place is in Hilmarton, the latter in
CAT-LEY. } Wootton Bassett. I am inclined to think that the former portion of these words is a modern form of the Cornish word *coed* (Corn. *coat*, *coit*), a wood, and that they

signify respectively the "combe" and the "legh" by the wood.

18. **CLENCH.** The name of a farm close by Steeple Ashton. It is probably from the Welsh *clyn*, a brake, or thicket. *Clynog* (olim *clynoc*) means "abounding with brakes, or thickets."
- COD-MEAD.** The name of a plot of land in Monkton Farleigh. It certainly means the meadow by the wood (W. *coed*). The term *cod-apple* signifies the wild (=wood) apple.
- CONIGRE.** A very common name throughout Wilts, and meaning "rabbit warren." There can be little doubt of its derivation from the Welsh *cwning*, a rabbit, or *coney*. The compound *cwning-gaer* is given in the dictionaries as meaning "rabbit warren."
- CONOCK.** Not far from Devizes, a tithing of Chirton: a form of the Welsh *cnoc* Irish and Gaelic *cnoc*, which means a "round hill."
- CORS-LEY.** } The former portion of each of these names is probably
CORS-TON. } the Welsh *cors*, a marsh.
- CROOK-WOOD.** Near Urchfont; derived probably from the Welsh *crug* (anciently *cruc*, *croc*) a hill or tumulus.
- CROUCH.** A place close by Highworth is called GREAT CROUCH. This, like the name just explained, would seem to be a form of the Cornish *cruc*, Welsh *crug* (= a hillock, or barrow).
19. **CRENDEL.** The name of a common in South Damerham, close by the border-line of the county. This no doubt is the very common term with which we meet in charters, viz. *Crundel*, as marking some boundary-point. We meet with the name as *Crondal* in Hants, and as *Crundel* in Kent. Kemble says, of this obscure word, that it seems to denote a sort of water-course, a meadow through which a stream flows. (Cod. Dipl., III., xxi). Leo (Anglo-Saxon Names of Places, p. 94), gives a similar explanation, grounded on the form *Crundwyll* which he finds in an ancient charter (Cod. Dipl., No. 956), and explains it as "a spring, or well, with its cistern, trough or reservoir, such as are still found in the banks by the side

of the great roads." Thorpe (Dipl. Anglic., 654) shows that many entries in the charters are quite inconsistent with such explanation, and holds that it "signifies a *tumulus*, or barrow, and is akin to the Welsh *carnedd*, a cairn, or heap of stones.

A suggestion has been made to me, that the name after all is from the Welsh *crown*¹ (Lat. *rotundus* Engl. *round*), the two latter synonyms seeming to imply a dropped "d" in the first word. In Old Irish we have *cruind* and *crund*, in American *krenn*, in Cornish *cren*, in Gaelic *cruinn*. (Compare the Latin *corona*.) This would quite fall in with Thorpe's opinion, though derived from another source, and denote the "round" barrows, or circles, or dolmens, that were so common in England in early times. Kemble, in his paper on "Notices of Heathen Interment" (Arch. Jour., xiv., 119), observes how "strange and unintelligible it is that there is such a very rare notice, in the charters, of the stonebeds, circles, and dolmens." The interpretation now given would make it possible that in the *crundels* we have these missing monuments. It is certainly more consistent than any other with such descriptions as "Crawan crundel on Wereðanhylle," (= Crow's *crundel* on Weretha's hill,) Cod. Dipl., v. 13.—or "stan crundel" (=stone *crundel*,) Cod. Dipl., iv., 66—or "se pryscyta crundel" (=the triangular *crundel*,) Cod. Dipl., v., 374—or many others that might be quoted from the Anglo Saxon charters.

CRICKLADE. Spelt in the Saxon Chronicle *Creacc-gelade* and called by Florence of Worcester, in a parallel passage, *Creccan-ford*. The termination of the former is the Anglo-Saxon *ge-lád* (=a water-course). The principal portion of the word has been derived from *Crecca*, a creek or bay, but the term is hardly pure Saxon, and only to be found in a few dictionaries.

¹ The word is thus given in Davies' Welsh and Latin Dictionary (1632). In modern Welsh we have *Crown* as an adjective, meaning round, circular. Compare the English *Crown*.

In Welsh we have *crig* (=a crack), and *crigyle* (=a creek.) I am inclined to think that it is after all the name of a stream, of which there are a number here flowing into the Thames, (though the name is now lost) corresponding with the Crake, in Lancashire, so termed it is said from *crec* (=a sharp noise). A parallel instance may be quoted from the Saxon Chronicle. There is another place in Kent called "Creggan-ford" which is the present Cray-ford, and is situated on what is now called the Cray. The form of the name would seem to imply that the river was originally called *Crec* and *Creg*. The ford at Cricklade was a well known place, and a pass often disputed by the inhabitants of the border-lands.

CURRY-COMBE. In Titherton near Chippenham. Pryce gives *carrog* as the Cornish for a "brook." In Swedish we meet with *Kærr*, meaning a marsh. In Gaelic and Irish we have *Currach*, a marsh or fen, derived from *Curr*, a fountain or pit. Hence the *Curragh* of Kildare (= marshy plain). It is from one of these sources probably that the name *Curry-Comb* is derived, and, if so, it means the "marshy combe, or dell."

20. **DEAN.** The name of two parishes, on the borders respectively of Wilts and Hants. This word is Celtic in its origin. In Gaelic *dion*, or *din*, signifies any sheltered or quiet spot. In Welsh we also have *dien*, still, undisturbed, &c. It is written in Anglo-Saxon *dionu*, or *denu*. It is common as a termination, e.g., *Mar-den* (= boundary "dean." See Leo on Anglo-Saxon Names, p. 106.

DOLE. The name of one of the ancient Hundreds, often in old documents spelt *Doles-felt*, or *Doles-feld*. If the word be not a corrupt abbreviation of some personal name, it is possibly from the Welsh *Dól*, which means a meadow in a valley, or on a river-side. *Dale* (Germ. *Thal*), is a related word.

ENFORD The *Enedford* of the charters and of Domesday. A derivation has been suggested from the Welsh *ened*, a wood-lark, or the Anglo-Saxon *ened*, a duck, but neither seem satisfactory—for either of these, who would be thus supposed to

have given their name to it, the *ford* would be a superfluity. A suggestion has been made to me that it is possibly, *y nedd ford* (=the ford in the dingle or hollow).

FRITH. } We have *Freeth* Farm in Compton Basset, and Middle
 FREETH. } *Frith* near Melksham. These names are, it is conceived, forms of the Welsh *ffridd*, which means a forest or plantation, sometimes an inclosed tract on the side of hills to turn cattle into. *Ffrid*-Celyddon means the "forest of Caledonia."

[*To be Continued.*]

Swindon, its History and Antiquities.

By Mr. RICHARD JEFFERIES.

(Read before the Society at Swindon, September 16th, 1873.)

IN the following remarks I shall confine my attention almost entirely to the town and parish of Swindon, and I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid repetition of what has already appeared upon the subject. The first reliable relics of antiquity with which I am acquainted are some Roman coins, found at Westlecote, in the cornfields, and now in the possession of T. Hatt, Esq. They are much corroded, but four of them bear the following inscriptions, as far as I can read:—No. I. is very small, apparently copper. Head of a monarch, with rayed crown. On the reverse, an indistinguishable figure and the letters S. P. Q. No. II., a head crowned or wreathed, with the words Tacitus Avg. No. III., head wreathed and the words Constantinus Avg. The reverse appears to be a trophy. No. IV., head with fillet and Constantinus Avg. Reverse, a wreath enclosing three illegible letters. Round the wreath the inscription Constantini Max Avg. The inscription "Constantine," on the best preserved of these coins, lends some slight countenance to a theory which I beg to suggest, that Swindon first came into existence as a small outlying settlement from the

Roman station at Nidum, now Nythe, Lower Wanborough. I have seen a handful of small coins of Constantine found at that spot. Perhaps the paucity of Saxon remains may be due to what I have lately seen stated as an historical fact, that this very northern corner of Wiltshire, where we now stand, was the last spot from which the ancient Britons were driven by the invaders. Here it is said they maintained an independence, to a very late period, a statement attested by the prevalence of the pure Welsh or British name Lydiard in this neighbourhood, both as the names of persons and of places down to this very day. The details in Domesday relating to Swindon have been already published. The first mention of Swindon which I can find after Domesday is an order from King John to the Sheriff of Wilts, in A.D. 1205, in these words:—"Know ye that we have quit claimed to Hugh de Cature £7. 18s., claimed from him for stock on the manor of Swindon, and therefore we command that you hold him discharged. Witness our order at Benton, 8th July." In the reign of Henry III., the manor of Swindon was given to William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. The Hundred Rolls, under Blackgrove Hundred, contain some interesting entries, showing the state of Swindon at this period:—"Hundred of Blackgrove.—The Jury say that William de Valence holds one knight's fee of the King, in chief, in Swindon. And it is of the Honour of Pontlarge. The Abbot of Malmesbyrie holds half a knight's fee in Nether Swindon of the King in chief, and Robert Stine holds the other half of the Abbot. But how it was alienated, and how it is held they know not. William de Valence has right of gallows, assize, and bread and beer in High Swindon, by grant from the crown: and has set up a new market in the said vill, but by what warrant they know not. They say that William de Valence has warren in High Swindon. Borough of Marlborough.—The Jury say that William de Valence set up a market in the vill of Swindon which is of much injury to the King, and to the Burgesses of Marlborough, to the amount of 40s. a year. This he hath done for 15 years past of his own authority, and they know not by what warrant." So that there was a market in Swindon six hundred years ago, and a market of such importance as to do serious injury to Marlborough.

What Swindon market is now we all know. But the most singular thing to modern ideas is the fact of this great landowner, Valence, having the right to erect a gallows in Swindon: of his own authority to try, and execute offenders. This irresponsible power vested in one man must often have led to great abuses. What a contrast to the ballot box of to-day—when we seem about to err on the other hand, by diffusing power too widely. The manor of Swindon remained in the hands of the Valences and the Talbots, their relatives, until a late period. But a great many other smaller proprietors are mentioned. In 1316, the State Archives record, Everard holds in Swindon the third part of one ploughland of William Spilman by Sergeants: worth Xs. a year. Philip Avenel holds lands worth £4 in Swindon, under the Abbess of Winchester, and she of the Crown in chief, and pure alms of ancient feoffments. Robert de Pontarch holds Swindon for the tenth part of a knight's fee, in chief of our lord, the King. Avenel is a name still well known at Chiseldon; and Everard survives at Wanborough. In Edward the Third's reign: Robert of Blunsdon (Bluntesdone), for the priory and convent of Ederose, holds at Swindon and Blunsdon lands and goods. Robert of Blunsdon, for the Priory of Ederose, holds in Swindon one tenement and one ploughland. Christina, wife of John Atte Berghe, had certain rents at Swindon in Richard the Second's time. In 1401, Joan, a descendant of the Duke of Gloucester, had land here. Thomas de Neville, in 1407, claimed the third part of the manor of Swindon. Three silver coins found in the fields at Westlecote appear to be of Edward the Second. The best preserved shows a crowned head, with the inscription EDWARD * * * ANGLI. The reverse is divided into four quarters, by a cross, and in each quarter are three small dots, with these letters in the margin, NDON (London) CIVI. The other two are similar. On one, EDW—R can be traced, and on the other LONDON CIVI. It has been stated that it was while riding between Swindon and London that Bolingbroke was overtaken by Mowbray, and a conversation ensued which resulted in a mutual accusation of treason. Both were banished. Holyrood Church at Swindon was dedicated to St. Mary in 1302, and Richard

de Hagheman was the first incumbent presented by the Prior of Southwyke. Edward III. received from Parliament a subsidy of the 9th and the 15th to support him in his wars. The Inquisition preserves the following record of the Church at Swindon:—"Inquisition taken at Marleburg (Marlborough), before Robert Selyman, &c. On the oaths of Robert Styne, John de Wyght, John Putman, and John the Milward, who say: That the ninth part of corn, wool, and lambs in the said parish, deducting expenses, and the portions paid to the Prior of Southwyke and Prior of Walyngford, is worth this year £X. And they say the value of the said corn, wool, and lambs does not amount to the full valuation of the church: because the rector in the same holds two virgates of land (arable) with meadows, and pastures of the endowment of the church, which are worth by the year 16s. 8d. Then the rent and services of his tenants are worth by the year 6s. 8d. Then the tithe of hay is worth per annum 54s. 4d. Then the tithe of mills, milk produce, flax and hemp, and other small tithes, are worth by the year 23s. 3d. Then mortuary fees and offerings in the same parish are worth £4, which are included within the valuation of the said church. Then they say that there are no merchants or others in the said parish who are liable to the tax of the 15th; and that there is no other benefice liable to be taxed for the ninth. In the time of Edward III., as now, it appears that the hay crop was important here, the tithe on hay producing most. It is curious to note that there were no merchants in Swindon. At the Dissolution of Monasteries, 1545, the Commission of Enquiry into Ecclesiastical Property, state that:—"Swindon.—John Unthanke, vicar there, declares on oath that his vicarage in land, tithes of corn wool and lambs, and in small tithes, and all other profits and emoluments as by Bill of Parcels exhibited, and in the hands of the Commissioners, of the annual value of £15. 19s. 5d. Deductions paid therout to the Archdeacon of Wilts for procurations, and synodals every year, 12s. 3d.: net £15. 7s. 2d. Whereof the tenth is 30s. 8½d. To Sarum, from the Church of Swyndon, per annum 6s. 8d." The Swindon monks had a granary, which was afterwards granted to the cure for a residence. It was so many yards from Holyrood church, agreeing with the distance of

the present vicarage (Mr. Baily's). The walls of Mr. Baily's house are very thick, and when a portion was removed the interstices were found to be full of oat-hulls and corn-chaff, carried there by the mice in the granary. Behind the house are the remains of a dove-cot, or *columbarium*. The nearest approach of the Civil War to Swindon appears to have been the march of the Royalist Major Dowett to Lydiard Tregooze. Cromwell issued a decree for the enclosure of Eastcott, in 1657. Up to that time there appears to have been common land at Eastcott, extending over about 600 acres. The deed is of immense length, and gives minute instructions as to the disposal of the property. Those who had manured their commonable land since March, 1654, "and had since that time received no profit thereby, either by sowing the same with grass, or feeding, and cutting the same," were to receive 6s. 8d. per acre compensation for those unexhausted improvements—an early instance of a principle now recognised by agriculturists. Forty-six acres were given to the lay-rectors (the Vilets) as compensation for tithes: freeing all from tithe except three grounds. The deed is signed Lenthall (Speaker of the House of Commons), and W. Martin. The name of Goddard is so closely interwoven with the history of this place that it is impossible to pass it over without reference, though I have only recently issued a work upon that family. I will now only make a few addenda, which have come to my knowledge since that publication. *Notes and Queries*, in a review, gives three other etymologies of the name: God-ward, a god-like disposition. From Goddard, the name of a mountain in Switzerland; and from God-red, good-in-council. I find from a pedigree, forwarded to me by the Rev. F. Goddard, that through Fettiplace, the family are descended from the Royal House of Portugal. Thomas Fettiplace married Beatrix, a natural daughter of King John of Portugal. Some time between 1646 and 1652 a cavalry regiment was raised in the Marlborough division: and among those who contributed horses are many names from this neighbourhood. Duke of Marlborough for Liddington, Barbury, and Cote, one horse; Mr. Oliver Calley, of Burderope, one; Mr. Goddard, of Ogbourne, one; Mr. John Goddard, of Ogbourne, one; Mr. Goddard, of Purton, one; Mr. Francis

Goddard, of Cliffe, one; Mr. Thomas Goddard, of Swindon, one. I have found a letter from John Goddard, Esq., to Henry Cromwell, which seems to argue much influence with him:—

“To His Excellency the Lord Henry Cromwell, Governor of the Fources in Ireland, these humbly present. My Lord, I am not insensible how well it might become me upon ye accompt of duty and engagements, by frequent letters to certifie the reall Honour and syncere affections I owe and beare unto your Lordship if that would not be an interruption to your weighty affairs and withall of no reall service; and yet upon such an apprehension, I cannot acquit myself altogether of coming short in due observance, and therefore I know not how ill it may become me now to give your Lordship trouble of any lines relating to a private business or person; however, I presume, upon your Lordship’s favour and indulgence. The bearer hereof Clinton Maund, a Master of Arts, and Fellow of the College in Oxford, to which I relate, hath upon occasion professed to me how his heart hath been drawn out to serve ye publicke if Providence should open a way; and now having some small affairs calling him into Ireland he expressed his desire to embrace any suitable employment there upon my recommendation thereto; which I was very free to furnish him withall, not upon presumption of any interest of mine in your Lordship (though I am fully persuaded it may be more than I deserve), but upon what I have had opportunity to observe in him, that is ye power of godlinesse, with a very good measure of learning and parts; considering withall, that he is not in any necessitous condition, but that besides ye accommodation of his fellowship in the college (which doth affoord such a subsistence, as idle drones amongst us who take no thought of serving their generation can satisfy themselves to live upon all their days), he had many pupills, affording a considerable advantage, and needed not to distrust a constant supply in that kinde, if he had looked no further; so that upon ye whole my apprehensions in relation to him are that there may rather be want of such persons for public employments, than of employment for such persons; otherwise I might truly say, I had no such personall engagements towards him as might occasion to your Lordship the trouble of these lines in his behalf, which are humbly submitted to your Lordship’s consideration by, my lord, your humble and affectionate servant,

J. GODDARD.”

A few years ago Mr. Charles Goddard, of Swindon, entered the Royal Navy, and went out to China in search of pirates. His ship chased a junk, boarded her, and a sharp conflict ensued. One of the pirates, seeing that all was lost, seized a burning joss-stick and rushed to fire the magazine. Mr. Goddard, who was a very young man, foresaw his intention, and sprang after him, cutlass in hand. He was too late, the magazine was fired, and the gallant young officer blown into the air. He was picked up, but only lived a few hours. The *Times* had a long article on this act of heroism. In 1772, when Ambrose Goddard was elected as county member, the

motto used by his supporters, and worn as a card in the hat, was—"Goddard's the man, and freedom's his plan."—Irrespective of all party politics, I feel that I may confidently say that there are numbers who at the expected election¹ in the spring will repeat that ancient motto, and say—"Goddard's the man." We know that real, that is, constitutional freedom, is his plan.

Recent Roman Finds at Cirencester.

By Professor A. H. CHURCH.

MAY preface my too imperfect account of recent Roman finds at Cirencester by mentioning the great obligation that town is under to Mr. G. Moffatt, of Goodrich Court, for his handsome gift of the best sepulchral monument ever found at Corinium. This stone is now duly placed in the Museum. And I may venture to allude here also to the dispersion of the Purnell collection, which took place in May, 1872. I then secured the beautiful statuette of Diana, found many years ago in Mr. Gregory's Nursery, together with many other objects in bronze and bone, which are mentioned in Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch's volume on Corinium and its Artistic Remains of Roman origin. At the same sale I competed unsuccessfully for the oculist ointment stamp, described in the same work, which was secured for the British Museum. I obtained a well-preserved urn full of bones. I regret exceedingly that the curious civilian monument to Philus, son of Cassavus, which was in the Purnell collection, has not found its way back to Cirencester, Miss Purnell having presented it to the Museum at Gloucester.

¹ This expectation was verified by the return of Mr. Goddard as one of the Members for Cricklade, February 5th, 1874. [ED.]

OBJECTS IN IRON.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the uses of the iron objects which are discovered in Cirencester from time to time. Many are mere fragments, and all are deeply corroded. In a porous gravelly soil, at once moist and aerated, the decay of the metal is well-nigh complete. A pair of annular quoits, and some singularly formed hinge-like objects have been added to the iron series. They were all found in the suburb of Watermoor. But the most interesting piece of wrought iron to which I wish to draw the attention of the Society is a horse-shoe from Gloucester, the Roman Glevum, which was disinterred in 1870, at a depth of 8 feet. This shoe was embedded in wet clay and is in a perfect state of preservation. It has been much worn at the toe, and is of very small dimensions and insignificant weight. The calkins are small and rounded: the nail-holes are long and deeply sunk, and the metal is of excellent quality. Two other horse-shoes precisely similar had been found near the same spot: these were described by Mr. Niblett and other archæologists some years ago. With the horse-shoe were discovered Roman coins, and a piece of Roman iron chain.

OBJECTS IN BRONZE.

The rust of bronze, unlike that of iron, may be said to improve the appearance of objects made out of this mixed metal. The details of the workmanship are hardly obscured, while the quality of the *patina* often affords an indication of age. The following list of some of the recent additions to the ornaments and tools of bronze in the Corinium Museum, shows that the locality has not yet been exhausted.

1. The Umbo of a shield, decorated with small bosses and engraved zigzags. Cricklade St., May 1870.
2. Bronze toilet implement: part of it washed with tin.
3. Bronze spoon: bowl washed with tin. The Leauses, Cirencester, 1872.
4. An armilla with catch.
5. Bodkin. New Road, Cirencester, February, 1871.
6. A small bell, and a key, both found at Watermoor, 1869.

OBJECTS IN LEAD.

Roman vessels or ornaments of lead, or rather of pewter, for the lead is alloyed with tin, are not common. But one addition has been made to this series lately. In February, 1871, a medallion of lead, having a small loop for suspension, was found in the New Road. On one side is a horseman; on the other a man spearing a boar, while another animal not readily recognized appears to be in pursuit of the boar. The edge of the medallion is smooth, but there is a slight ornamentation within it. Roman medallions of this kind, are, I believe, of excessive rarity, so far as English localities are concerned.

ROMAN COINS.

Our Cirencester Museum contains very few coins, and those which it possesses are not of much importance. The historians of Cirencester have recorded the abundance of Roman money discovered in the town; they have also expressed their regret that no public collection of ancient coins found in this rich locality had been retained. I fear that many gold pieces and a vast quantity of silver ones have found their way to the melting-pot, and that a large number of valuable coins found in Cirencester have left the town, and so their relation to the place has been forgotten. I know that several inhabitants have good specimens, sometimes even a fair collection; I know also that several such private hoards have been dispersed by auction, or carried away to another part of the country. At all events all we now possess is a series of poor specimens of Imperial third brass, a few plated and silver coins of little value, and the set of second brass found at Latton, near Cricklade, and deposited in the Museum by Earl St. Germans. Added to these we have a considerable weight of injured and illegible coins, from which those worthy of labels and descriptions appear to have been removed. The collection of coins presented to the Museum by Mr. G. F. Newmarch, was not in the building when I assumed the Honorary Curatorship: it would have formed a good nucleus.

It may be asked, What has been done to remedy this state of things? I have tried my best to recover some of these wandering treasures. At the sale of Mr. Purnell's collection, I was fortunate

enough to secure two *aurei*, one of Gratian, the other of Honorius, both found more than 30 years ago in the Leaues. Again, at Captain C. C. Abbott's sale in December, 1869, an *aureus* of Valentinian, which had been found in making the New Road, Cirencester, was sold to a dealer, from whom I subsequently re-purchased it. A little later on I obtained a fourth aureus from Barnwood, a suburb of Gloucester. From time to time I have been able to add some two dozen silver coins to this new collection, some of these specimens coming from Cirencester, but the majority from Gloucester. Similarly I have secured a fair number of second and third brass, and quite recently a fine private collection of Roman silver and brass has come into my hands. This collection amounts to nearly 400 specimens, of which about 300 have been found in Cirencester, or close by. If only a few of the inhabitants of the town will share with me the expense of the acquisitions just mentioned, the whole of them shall become the public, and, as far as I can make them, the inalienable property of modern Corinium.

It would be impossible on the present occasion to present an account of recently-discovered coins, which should be at once interesting and complete. Those desirous of investigating the subject will, I hope, before long have an opportunity of consulting a catalogue which I am about to publish. Here I merely mention that Roman coins have been found not only in digging foundations for houses within the ancient city walls, but also at many places at some distance from Corinium. At Stratton many good specimens have been obtained; so too at Bisley, and further still, at Bourton. Kingsholm, and Barnwood, at Gloucester, have also furnished excellent specimens. In all these cases the later coins predominate, those of the early imperial period being rare. But at Latton the range of dates was most extensive, and though the coins of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Nerva were abundant, still there were many examples of Carausius and the Emperors of the fourth century. I do not recollect any recently-found coin of a later date than that of the Western Emperor Honorius (395), or the Eastern Emperor Arcadius I. (383). It is perhaps worthy of note that the coins of some of the Emperors who reigned for such brief periods as a few months only or even a few

weeks are by no means scarce; we have examples of Gordianus, Volusianus, Tacitus, and Florianus. A coin of Antoninus, with Britannia as reverse, was found in Cirencester last year; to this, as well as to all the recent discoveries of interesting or rare coins, I shall call due attention in my forthcoming catalogue.

POTTERY.

Besides several funeral urns of imperfectly-burnt clay, probably of local manufacture, discovered in making the New Road, I have to record the discovery, outside the city wall, of what must have been one of the burial places about the Querns. When the New Cattle Market was being levelled, in 1867, the workmen constantly came across the evidence of numerous interments. Two stone coffins for children, and several sepulchral urns were secured in a nearly perfect condition.

Additions have been made to the series of marked pieces of red glazed (Samian) ware, and to the fragments of amphoræ bearing makers' names: all these have been printed and published. A fragmentary red bowl, with two Roman rivets, is a good illustration of the care taken of these vessels.

WALL PAINTINGS.

During many recent excavations for building purposes in Cirencester the interior decorations of walls have been found in great quantities—in cart-loads, I may say. The colours are still adherent to the plaster and concrete, but the designs are not greatly varied or of particular merit. A marone ground with white lines and black border commonly occurs: two excellent specimens of yellow leafage ornament upon a marone ground have been fortunately secured for the Museum. One of these was found in Cricklade Street, the other in the Leauses. An imitation granite pattern is common. But the most interesting piece of coloured plaster work bears upon it something more than an ordinary design, and I beg that this fragment may be carefully inspected in to-morrow's excursion. I am more particularly anxious that persons familiar with similar relics found in Pompeii and Rome should examine this specimen, since its genuine-

ness has been called in question by one or two gentlemen whose thorough acquaintance with such subjects I have reason to doubt. The object is an inscription in Roman capitals, forming a set of squared words, to which a much later origin than the fourth century had been assigned before the present discovery was made. The best archæological authorities, who have seen the Cirencester example, do not doubt its genuineness, while the circumstances of the find place its authenticity beyond suspicion: I beg to place these on record now. During the levelling of a garden in the New Road, Cirencester, many coins and Roman tiles were daily disinterred. Captain Abbott watched the operations narrowly; and one day had his attention called to a fragment of wall plaster found, in his presence, by the ignorant workman employed there who saw letters upon it. Captain Abbott washed it and showed it to me, and subsequently deposited it in the museum. It must be recollected that it was not sold by the labourer, and that no one had any interest in producing a forgery, nor I may add the very special knowledge required to do so. The letters absolutely agree in form with those of the graffiti or wall-scratchings of Rome and Pompeii, and run thus—

R O T A S
O P E R A
T E N E T
A R E P O
S A · T O R

OBJECTS IN GLASS.

The only perfect vessels of glass in the Museum have been lately found. One long unguentarium was disinterred in the Cattle Market in 1867; and two small phials in the Market Place and Gloucester Street respectively, in 1871, and 1872.

OBJECTS IN BONE.

Of objects made from animal materials we have obtained portions of two antlers of the red deer in the gravel pits of the Barton, which also yielded us a fine bone comb—the only specimen of this article in the Museum. The same excavation (conducted in 1872) also led to discovery of a fine bone pin, accompanied by a few Roman coins.

OBJECTS IN STONE.

Two or three pieces of Roman decorative mouldings in stone, enriched with foliage, and in one case with a carving of a head, have been found at Watermoor, and are placed in the Museum. A moulded base for a pillar was also discovered in Mr. Bravender's garden, in the New Road. It had been turned over and then used in the construction of a mediæval wall. It is scarcely necessary to say that the most important addition to the Roman stone series at Corinium has been the memorial stone to S. Val. Genialis, which was long in the Meyrick Collection, at Goodrich Court, and now has returned to Cirencester—thanks to the generosity of Mr. Moffatt, the present owner of Goodrich Court. It was found at Watermoor, on January 22nd, 1836. I have also secured for the Museum a small mutilated figure of a warrior, found at Custom Scrubs, Bisley; and also a handled vessel carved out of stone, and found at Kingsholm, Gloucester.

TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS.

Of these I have merely to record the discovery of fragments in the field at the back of Messrs. Cripps' brewery, in Cricklade Street, and in the garden of Mr. Bravender, in the New Road.

Longleat Papers, A.D. 1553—1588.

By the Rev. Canon JACKSON, F.A.S.

FROM the valuable and interesting collection of Family and other Papers preserved at Longleat, the following, by the kind permission of the Marquis of Bath, have been selected for publication, being connected with historical events, and relating (with one or two exceptions) to the Co. Wilts.

The subjects are:—

1. A.D. 1553. THE LADY JANE GREY.

2. „ 1561. THE COUNCIL'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.
3. „ 1569. THOMAS HOWARD, FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK.
4. „ 1570. WILTSHIRE LOAN TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.
5. „ 1580. A CHARGE TO BE GIVEN BY A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE AT THE QUARTER SESSIONS.
6. „ „ WILTS PROVISION FOR THE QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.
7. „ 1586. MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.
8. „ 1588. WILTS PREPARATION AGAINST THE SPANISH ARMADA.

I.—12th July, A.D. 1553. THE LADY JANE GREY.

[It is only necessary to remind the readers that on the death of King Edward VI., the claim of Lady Jane Grey to the throne was put forward in opposition to the Princess Mary. It was at that moment the following letter, in Lady Jane's favour, was sent to the Chief Officers of Co. Wilts.]

“ *Letter from the Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the County of Wilts.*

After our most hartly comendatyons. Whereas the Quene's Highnes QUEEN JANE being presently by just title in full possession of th' Imperiall Crown of this Realme and the dominions thereunto belonging, THE LADY MARY, bastard daughter of the late King of famous memory K. Henry the viijth doth not only by all meanes and wayes she may, stirre and provoke the comyn people of this Realme to rebellyon, but also seketh menes to bring in gret force of papists, Spanyards and other straungers for the aide of her unjust and unnatural service, to the great perill and danger of the utter subversion of God's holy woord and of the hole estate of this Realme: Albeit we nothing doubt but this sedytyus and rebellyus doyns of the said LADY MARY, being well knowen unto you, will of themselves well admonyshe you of your duetyes unto your and OUR SOVERAYN LADY QUENE JANE and the preservation of the true Religion and ancient libertie of your natural country ageynst forein powers: Yet, considering what desolation may come to men of wurshyp and good doying and worth, by the seditions, rebellions and mutinies of the baser sort, we have thought good to signifie unto you that our said SOVERAYNE LADY, QUENE JANE's pleasure and comaundment is, that you shall not onely use all manner of travell and labour to kepe and preserve HER MAJESTY's people inhabitting near about you, in peace and good quiet, and to request all other that shall go about to move any tumult other [*i.e., either*] by pretence of the unjust and fayned title of the LADY MARY, being illegitimate and bastard as is aforesayd, or by any other menes; but also to put yourselves in order with such number of horsemen and foot-men as you be hable to make of your servants, tenants and other, being under your rules and offcees. as you may, upon sending for, or other knowledge given you, other [*i.e., either*] repayr to our very good Lord the Duke of North-

umberland, who having the good lord the Marquis of Northampton, the Erle of Huntingdon and other personages of estate Sovereayne power for the repression of for the defence of this Realme shall require. By your good travail therein you shall not only declare yourselves good and faithful ministers to THE QUENE's Highness and your country, but also well deserve to find hir Highness your good and gracious Lady in any reasonable suites; and also most redye to further your said suites accordingly. And this we byd you most harteley well to fare. From the Tower of London the xij of July 1553.

Yo^r. loving Frendes

T. CANT.* T. ELY. CANT.† WINCHESTER.‡
 J. BEDFORD.§ H. SUFFOLK.|| F. SHROWSBERY.¶
 PEMBROKE.** WM. PETRE.†† WM. CESSSELL.‡‡
 J. CHEKE.§§ R. RICH.||| ROBERT BOWES.¶¶¶

To our loving Frendes, the Sheriff of the Countye of Wiltes, the Justices of Peace of the same County, and to every of them."

II.—9th July, 1561. THE COUNCIL'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SHERIFF AND JUSTICES OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

[Owing to political and religious confusion during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, the internal administration of this country was at times much unsettled. The Council have provided an Abridgement of the Statutes which they distribute: and add some sharp advice to the Justices themselves.]

"After our harty comendations. Where the Queen's Maj^{tie} hath by her most gratiouse letters earnestly recommended unto you the governance of that County according as by her Ma^{tie}'s comission under her grate seale of England you have sufficient authority: we doubt not consideringe her Ma^{tie} requireth of you onely that w^{ch} yourselfs shuld receive most damage but [*i.e.*, unless]

* Thos. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. His letter to Queen Mary apologizing for this proceeding, is printed in Strype's Life of Cranmer, II., 919.

† Thos. Goodrick, Bp. of Ely, Lord Chancellor.

‡ Wm. Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer.

§ J. Russell, first Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal.

|| Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, Father of Lady Jane.

¶ Francis Talbot, 5th Earl of Shrewsbury.

** Wm. Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke.

†† Sir Wm. Petre, Secretary of State.

‡‡ William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh.

§§ Sir John Cheke, Secretary of State. Had been Greek Tutor to K. Edw. VI.

||| Richard Rich, Baron Rich, Ex-Chancellor, Lord Lieut. of Co. Essex.

¶¶¶ Sir Robert Bowes, Master of the Rolls.

The Lords of the Council who signed the letter to the Justices "turned about" (says Strype) "the very next day: and thus poor Sir John Cheke (who had written this letter to the Sheriff of Wilts) "was left in the lurch." He was committed as a traitor to the Tower, was afterwards pardoned, but being almost spoiled of his substance went abroad.

Some Letters about the conflicting Proclamations of Queen Jane Grey and Queen Mary (also preserved at Longleat), have already appeared in the Wilts Arch. Magazine, vol. viii. p. 310.

ye wyll faythefully dilligently and earnestly of all parts execute the same : And bycawse among others good holsome lawes made for the weale of the Realme we fynd in this tyme some more necessary then others to be earnestly executed by comandement of her Ma^{tie}, we have caused a short collection to be made of the same, and do sende them herewith prynted to th intente the same may be distributed amongst yourselfs, and the easlyer put in use. How necessary the execution of these be we nede not remember unto you, for that we feare you fele, for lacke of observacion of some of them, no small disorder therein. And therefore we do hope assuredly that now being thus pressed by us in her Ma^{tie}'s name, you will set apart all slothfulness, nyceness and folishe pytie, and earnestly execute the same without respect of persons. And for that her Ma^{tie} is very desyrous to see some proove of the execution thereof this sommer, her Ma^{tie} wylleth and comaundeth you that within xxviii dayes after the receipt hereof and so monethly afterwards, untill Alhallow-tyde, you shall, by your letters to be sente to London to me the Treasurer of England, certifie to us the state of the country, and specially how ye have executed these special statutes, and what ye fynd to ensue thereof and what ye w^d. further requier of her Ma^{tie} or us towards the more effectual execution thereof. And by cawse the sendinge of y^r. letters shall not be troublesome unto you, if ye have none other oportunity to send them to London, you the Shrieff shall sende them upp by one of yours, and the charge hereof shall by me the Treasurer be allowed unto you in th' exchequer. Thus endinge we most earnestlye requier you to remember for what purpose every one of you is appoynted by the Quene's Ma^{tie} to be a Justice of the Peace, not to exercise authority for your singular credit and reputation, nor to colour and shadow your own causes or your servants, but first yourself in your own conversacion to be seen, to them whom ye shall rule, more wurthy to governe and punysh than to be governed and punyshed : next, for the reverens of God and your bonde of allegiaunce to our Sovereign Lady the Quene, to see religion reverently used, Devyne Service and Prayer frequented and disorders agaynst the same and the peace suppressed, wherein the more authority you have the sharper shall your punishment be bothe before God and this world if ye neglecte your duetye. And this our sharp and playne writinge shall not need to discourage dyvers of you whome we know to be carefull of your charge and percaase [*perhaps*] the wurse allowed in opinion of others that care not, so their owne pleasures or gredyness be served, what may chauce to all the reste, with w^b. sort of men we meane not so long to beare as perchance they think we will. And yet upon report of amendment we shall be contente to passe over faultes passed, and regarde only the time to come. So fare ye well. From Greenwich the ixth of July 1561.

Yr. loving Frennds

N. BACON. C.S.* WINCHESTER. W. NORTH.†
 ARUNDELL. F. BEDFORD. W. HOWARD.
 E. CLYNTON. G. ROGERS. F. KNOLLYS. W. CECILL.
 AB: CAVE. RY: SACKVYLE. JOHN MASON.

To our loving Frenndes

The Sheriff and Justices of the Peace
 of the County of Wiltshire."

* Nicolas Bacon, *Custos Sigilli*.

† William Parr, Earl of Northampton, brother of Queen Catharine Parr.

III.—1569. Sep. 26th. THOMAS HOWARD, 4TH DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[This great Nobleman being at the head of the Roman Catholic Party, intrigues were on foot for bringing about a marriage between him and Mary, Queen of Scots. Queen Elizabeth was utterly opposed to this. There was some apprehension of a rising in the country, and the Duke, having offered certain explanations to Her Majesty by which however she did not appear to be convinced, and being informed he was likely to be sent to the Tower, retired from Court, without taking leave, to his own house in the county of Norfolk, until the storm should blow over. The letter from the Council appears to have been written at that moment. Copies were no doubt sent elsewhere, but to the county of Wilts, one was especially necessary, because the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Lieutenant there, being one of the suspected persons, had been confined to his own house. The Duke of Norfolk was afterwards tried for High Treason on fresh charges of conspiracy and communication with the Queen of Scots, and beheaded on Tower Hill in 1572.]

“The Council to the Sheriff and Justices of Wilts.

After our heartie comendations. Where it is likely that you may hear how the Duke of Norfolk is gon of late from London to Kenninghall,* w^{ch} by his letter to us is signified to be upon feare of the Quene's Ma^{tie}'s displeasur, where he avoweth that he will remayne a faithful subject and so we hartily wish and trust he will considering there is none other cawse: Yet because we are not ignorant what disposition there is in evill disposed persons to take occasions upon small matters to move seditious bruits; we have thought good to signify unto you that her Majesty hath not ment any wise toward the said Duke of Norfolk any manner of thing to him offensive, but onely upon his coming to the Courte to understand the truthe of a certen matter that haith ben moved to him for a marriadge with the Quene of Scots wh^h. her Majestie no wise doth allowe, and so to have lett him understand her resolute determination at this present when her whole council should have ben here assembled by her order. Whereunto we have good cawse to assure ourselves the said Duke wolde accorde we knowe not of any manner of intent in him but that wh^h. belongeth to an honorable person and a just and true servaunt to the Quene's Ma^{tie} our Sovereigne. Whereuppon Her Ma^{tie} beinge lothe to have suche a nobleman to be abused with unkind reports, haith sent for the said Duke to repair to her as it is moste likelie he will. And in the mean time because we know not how evill-disposed persons will upon such a matter raise sundrie lewde and false rumors We have thought good to advise you hereof and requier you forthwith to communcate

* In Norfolk. A House built by this Duke of Norfolk, but now destroyed.

theis our letters with the Justices of the Peace of that Share [*shire*] and to have good regard to stave all seditious rumours by apprehending the authors thereof, and to see all good wayes observed for kepyng of quistnes and withstanding of any that shall attempt the contrarie by word or deede. Remembering that it is the dutie of all good subjects and specially of such as have truste comytted to them to imploy themselves and their powers to the only Service of the Quene's Ma^{tie} our Sovereigne Ladye, under whome Almighty God haith hitherto most happily governed the whole Realme and subjects with such an universal quyettt as whosoever shulde attempte to alter the same were not worthie to be a member of this Realme. And we dowte not but suche as understande how precious a thinge is peace, wilbe carefull to imploye their whole cares to impeache all contrarie means and practices and have in redynes for that purpose suche forces as justlie and lawfullie they maye comaunde for the preservation of the Peace; and specially the Quene's Ma^{tie} being the Minister of God to conserve the same. And so fare ye well, From Windsoure the xxvith of September 1569,

Your Loving Frenedes

R. LEYCESTER. F. BEDFORD. E. CLYNTON. W. HOWARD.

F. KNOLLYS. W. CECIL. R. SADLER.

To our loving Frenedes the Sheriff and

Justices of the peace for the county of Wiltes."

Autograph letters by this celebrated Duke of Norfolk, being of the very greatest rarity, I am tempted to add another addressed to Queen Elizabeth on the subject of her proposed marriage with Duke Charles of Austria, in 1567, and also three short notes of friendly intercourse with Sir John Thynne the founder of Longleat, the originals of which are preserved there.

"Thos Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, to Q. Elizabeth on the subject of her Marriage, 15th Nov: 1567.

Plesythe your most excellent majesty, i have receavyd from my lord off Leoyter, by your hyenese comandymnt, a declaratyon off my Lord off Sussex procedyngs, in your maiestyes most waytye matter off maryage, as allso off your hyenese most gracyous plesure towching myne owne cumyng up yff my helthe wOULD sarve me, or els my spedye wrytyng to your hyenese off my opnyon in thows matters, therein propowndyd. I am ryght hartelye sorye that my chance ys so yll, that helthe schuld be an impedymnt unto me, wherby i cane not accordyng to my bownden dewtye awayte on your hyenese: and specyallye, when your maiestye ys to use my power sarvys: but i must yealde my selfe to gods wyll whome ytt hathe plesyd to adde thys to other off my great greves, restyng yff my power helthe do increse, and your maiestyes sarvys enye waye requyre my awaytyng on your hyenese, at all tymes it shall spede that my syklye karcase cane indure, to attende to my bownden dutye: not dowtyng but that your maiestye knowythe that heretofore, when i have bene better able, i have therein bene nether slake nor slowe. And now yff ytt

please your hyennesse for me, beyng one off the yongeste off your maiestyes most honorable concell as also one that hathe lest experyence or understanding, to waye the depthe of so wayty a cawse, and beyng where i have not the comod- dyte to conferre w^t sume off my lords, off whoes wysdomes i myght gather sume grownds to satle my opynyon, who have bene more beaten w^t suche cawsys off wayte, than i have bene, to wryte i thynke so great a burden as, yff ytt were not for feare off your maiestyes dysplesure, i wold never enter in to suche a laborynthe. Thowh a mane sumtyme in speche utter that wyche ys not so well to be alowyd, yeat spechys be easlyer forgotten, marrye, what a mane dothe comytte to wrytyng, wherein ther ys eny error, ytt ys ever ane open evjdence off a manes follye ; a mane maye in speche be mystaken, and yeat beyng present maye ether answer ytt, or excuse ytt, wyche offyce a dede wry- tyng cane never perfowrme in his masters behalfe. Thus your maiestye maye see howe farre your awtorytye dothe overwaye reason ; yff a mane consyder howe dangerowse a matter he enterythe unto : and therfore i hope that your hyennesse' wyll schall be admyttyd for pardon to my follye, and your comandy- ment a bukler to my wantes herin. I am not ygnorante, yff ytt please your majestye how that the archduke Charls request for hys pryvat relygyon ys a matter off suche wayte, and so muche to be sayyd off bothe sydes as'everye man that lyst maye say ynowfe, bothe w^t ytt and agenst ytt, Nor yeat howe greate dyfference ther ys for your hyennesse husband, apon whome all menes yees wyll be sette to keepe a contrarye relygion to your selfe and your realme : and an imbassador who nether cares for us, nor we for him, longer than the tyme of hys negotyation ; no mane takes paterne off an imbassador's doying, but off your maiesty's husband, yff he schuld schewe hyme selfe an open mayneteyner off papystrye, ytt myght bothe bryng danger to your selfe and to your realme, for lette your hyennesse assure your selfe that ingland cane beare no more changys in relygyon : ytt hathe bene bowyd so often that yff ytt schuld be bente ageyn, yt wold breke. Nor i assure your maiesty, that yff I thought not your selfe to be unremoveable in your relygyon to godwarde, i wold not be off thys opynyon that nowe I am : but I hope that he that hath kepte you from all your enymes in your true professyng off hyme wyll maynteyn you styll to your honor in thys world, to your sowles helthe in the worlde to come, and benyfit off all us your power subiects. And because i am sorye to troble your hyenes to longe wth my rude and tedyowse scryblyngs, hopyng in your maies- tyes pardon as before, yff wishes myght take place I woulde to God the arche- duke wold clerlye leve out hys request off relygyon, wyche thyng yff ytt cane not be browght to passe, i wolde be sorye to geve your hyennesse advyse to denye hyme hys demawnde : which yff he wyll nedes requyre, ytt ys as meane as in that cace he cane desyer, and I assure your maiestye meaner than i wold have requyryd yff I had bene off that relygyon, and in hys cace, ether i wold have requyryd more or nothyng att all, wyche makes me thynke that although he semes nowe to be sumwhat styffe therin, yeat that he dothe yt more of pollyeye, and by advyse off good consell, tyll he be suer off that he hopes for, rather than off enye fxyd resolutyon in relygyon ; for yff hope have brought hyme to be contentyd to use hys relygyon secretlye, i dowght not but that possession off hys hopyd ioye schall clerlye abolysche ytt : and yff before sygt, your name alone to hyme hathe suche vertue, i hope after hys owne repayre,

(yff you too agree in all other thyngs) your maiestyes perswasions by mouthe schall take greater effycacy. Ytt ys no good reason in my opynyon, that because we feare an yll, (as that ys the most that I cane make off ytt) that therfor we schuld enter in to a certene myschyfe; off late tyme ytt dede appere howe greatlye your peple were off your hyenesse maryage. wyche i am suer dothe rather increce than decaye: yff thys than schuld not take place, what present hope ys ther off enye other, as delaye off your maiestye's maryage ys almost an undoyng to your realme, so ys not marryng within a reasonable tyme an utter overthrower and subverter off the same, w^t the destruction off all us and our posterytyes, that doe beare to your majestye most dutyfull and faytheful hartes. Thus muche i thought good to wryte, in accomplyschment off your hyenesse comandymnt. most humblye besychyng your maiestye off pardon yff enye thyng herein schall seme more rasche than well consydyryd. And so most humblye take my leve prayng to God, that you may long reyne over us, and leave yssue off your most royal body, that thys power realme be not dryven to trye new tytles. from norwyche thys 15 off november 1567
 your maiestyes most humble
 and obedyent subiect

NORFOLK.

[addressed]

To the quenes most
 excellent majestye."

1. "Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk to Sir John Thynne.

Sir John Thynne. For your gentell Remembraunce I most heartely thancke you, the more for that they be the ferst I hadd theis yere savinge one Lanner* and I thought to have hadd good store but I was dysapoynted everye waye So that I am nowe duble to thanke you not only in this, but alwayes for your good will towards me, And I woold bee glad I could a nye wayes have occasion to pleasure you agayne, which assure yourself I will be as Redye to doo as for any Frend I have. Thus with my hertie com. I bydd you Farewell. From my house at Stepney this sixth of Júlýe A° 1563

Yors assueredly

NORFOLKE.

To my very Friend

Sr. John Thynne Knyght."

2. *The same to the same.*

"Mr. Thynne. After my harty comendations. I received suche plesure by the haukes you sent me the last yere that I can not forget to give you my harty thankes for the same and wishe I might in lyke sort plesure you. and because I am occasioned to be a contry man, and seke waies to recreate my selfe in passing away the tyme as well as I can, I do now hartelie desire you to bestowe a cast of hawkes upon me, such as whan tyme shall come you shall thynk mete for me. Wherein I surelie shall receive moche comfort, and be as redy to

* A Lanner Hawk.

gratifie you when the tyme shall give opportunite. And so I bid you hartelie well to fare. From Norwich the vii of May 1564.

Your loving frend
NORFOLK.

To my very Loving frend
S^r. John Thynne, Knight."

[*Endorsed by Sir John, Jr.*]

"The Duke of Norfolk to my father, For Chydder Hawks (*Cheddar*)."*

3. *The same to the same.*

"S^r. John Thyne. I cane but geve you my most hertie thankes for your gentell Remembering me with your Lanneretts, tyll tyme serve that I may have occasion to Requyte you. And whereas you desyre my helpe with a shorte wynked hawk I ame promysed in one or two places to have one, and I shall not so soon receyve her but you shall here of me. And so praying you to do my hertie thankes to S^r. Herry Nevell for his comendations, I with my hertie comendations byd you fare well. From my house at Norwytch this vijth of July 1565.

Yo^r. Loving Frend,
NORFOLK.

To my verye Frend
Sir John Thynne Knyghte."

IV.—April 1570. THE WILTSHIRE LOAN TO Q. ELIZABETH.

[The next papers and letters illustrate a process formerly resorted to for raising money for the Public Service, viz., by Privy Seals. Sir Robert Cotton tells us that King Henry VIII. had sometimes resorted to compulsory loans; exacting £10 in the hundred on all goods, jewels and utensils, and land, according to the extremest rate revealed by the oath of the possessor. There were loans voluntary of two kinds:—

1. Under the *Great Seal*: under which, without paying a fee, the lenders had a patent sealed for repayment of their dues by a day certain.

2. The *Privy Seal*. These were most in use at this period.

It was the invidious duty of the Sheriff of the county to name such persons as he considered either qualified by their position as landed gentry or for other reasons able to lend a certain sum, either £100 or £50, on a kind of Bond or Security from the Crown.

* Meaning Cheddar, near Wells, Co. Somerset, where the stupendous cliffs had obtained, it seems, notoriety for some breed of hawks. The Manor belonged at the time to Sir John Thynne, and is still the property of his descendant, the Marquis of Bath.

Sir John Thynne, of Longleat, being Sheriff for the year 1570, was the official collector of this loan; and the roll of his account, subscribed by his own hand, is a fine parchment document in good preservation.]

1. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir John Thynne, Sheriff of Wilts, 1st April 1570.*

By the Queene.

“ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and well beloved we greete you well. Where we have upon great considerations by the advise of our Counsell, determined to acquire by way of loane for one yere certen reasonable soomes of money of sundry our subjects, whom we trust we shall fynde willing thereunto: For this cause we do send unto you a nombre of Letters under our Privy Seale directed as you shall see: Requiring you to cause the same to be with as convenient speede as you can, sent to the partyes, And to require them to make you answer according to the contents. The tenor whereof shall appeere unto you by a copy thereof herewith sent. And for that it may be, that some of them may be misnamed, or not resident within the Shire, or that the partyes in deede may be dead; In these and such lyke cases we require you to have regard. And for the first, we give you authoritie to amend the name in the superscription, with addition according to the qualitie of Esquier or gentleman. And in the second case not to forbear to send it to the partie if he be neere to you. And if he be farre distant, or lastly, dead, then to retourne it to our Counsell, with knowledge where the party abyde, if he lyve, or when he dyed, and who hath his lands and substance being hable to supply our demand. And for that it may be that there are some good nombres in that County well able to lende us the lyke soomes, and at this tyme omitted, we requyre you for the advancement of our service to advertize our Counsell of the names of all suche, with your opinion what soomes we may reasonably requyre of them. Lastly for the trust we have in you, we have appointed you to have the receipt of all the money that shall be leant unto us by force of our said Letters that either now presently or hereafter shall come to your hands. Requiring you to use all the good speede that you may conveniently herein: and send up the whole money in safety to our trusty and well-beloved servant Thomas Heneage Esquier, Thresorer of our Chamber in our Courte. Whose wryting testifying the receipt thereof shall be your sufficient discharge in this behalf. Geven under our Signet at our Honor of Hampton Court the first of April 1570, in the xijth yere of our Reign.”

To our trustie and well beloved

Sir John Thynne, Knight.”

2. *W. Cecil to Sir John Thynne, 4 April, 1570.*

Mr. Thynne. After my very hartly commendacions. You shall receive herewithall Letters of Privy Seales for the Loane, addressed to such persons as in the Seedule hereinclosed are named. It is ment that such as you wishe to be spared shall not be by you pressed: notwithstanding, for examples sake I wishe that their Letters should remaine in their handes till such time as suche as of

whome money is expected shall have payde the same into your hands, whome you shall do well to call upon for the soon payment therof accordingly. And so I byd you hartly well to fare. From the Court the xxiiijth of April, 1570.

Your assured loving frend
W. CECYL.

To the ryght worshipfull my very loving frend Sr. John Thynne, Knyght
Sheriff of Wiltshire and Collector of the Loane there."

3. "*The Council to Sir John Thynne, 31 Oct., 1570.*

After our hartie commendacions. Where heretofore the Queen's Majestie appointed you to have the Collection of certaine somes of money, which her Highnes by her Letters of Privy Seale requyred to be lent unto her Ma^{tie}. by sondrye of her loving subjectes within that county, with assurance of repayment thereof within the space of one yere, prescribing unto you in what sort and to whose hands you sholde make payment therof when you had received it. Forasmuch as her Ma^{tie}. fyndeth not the service generally so fullye executed in all places as she looked for, and had been convenient; and hath therefore willed us generally to understande the state of the same through the realme, and to take order therin, as by her Ma^{tie}. hath bin thought necessary. We therefore in her Ma^{tie}'s name and by her comaundment do requyre you to signefie unto us particularly in wryting and with all speede not onely what nombre of previe seales you have received, as well at the first sending unto you, as at any tyme synce, and to whome the same were dyrected; but also what somes of money you have by vertue therof received in the whole, of whome and at what tyme you received the same, and to whose handes you paid it, and what thereof remaineth yet in y^r. handes not delyvered, which yf there remaine any with you her Ma^{tie}'s pleasure and her comaundment is, you shall forthwith delyver and pay in such sort as hath heretofore ben prescribed unto you. And for such personnes as have had previe Seales for this purpose addressed unto them, and have not answered the money thereby required nor had any manner of discharge thereof from hence, Her Ma^{tie}'s pleasure is, you shall charge them either to make indelayed payment thereof unto you, or if they refuse so to do to comaunde them streightlie in her Ma^{tie}'s name to appeare forthwith before us of her Counsell, to th' ende suche furdre order may be taken with them as shall be convenient, And to gyve us also knowledge whom you have comaunded to appeare before us of her Counsell for this purpose. And so fare you well. From Wyndesor the Last of October 1570.

y^r. loving freends

N. BACON, C.S. W. NORTHN. R. LEYCESTER.
E. CLYNTON. F. BEDFORD.
F. KNOLLYS. JAMES CROFT. W. CECYLL.

To our very lovinge
frend Sr. John Thinne
Knight, Collector of
the Lone in y^e Countie
of Wiltshire."

4. "*The Council's Letter to Sir John Thynne, to certify the 'habilitie of Mr. Scrope.'* 18 Dec., 1570.

After our very hartly commendacions. Where Richard Scroope of Castle Combe in that countie of Wiltshire Esquier was heretofore by the Queene's Ma^{tie}. Letters under her Privie Seale appointed to lende the some of Fiftie Poundes: Forasmuche as he alleadgeth to be untale to furnishe the sayd money, and for the justifying thereof hath sent unto us a certificatt addressed unto you from three of the Justices of the peace of that Shire, whereby they testefy his inhabilitie to performe that which is required at his hands, Wee have thought meete, reposing a speciall trust in you, to require you to signify unto us what you knowe or can certaynely learne of the said Scroopes habilitie or insufficientie to lende the sum of hym required, to th' ende that uppon knowledge thereof wee may take such farther ordre in that behalf as shal-be convenient. And so fare you well. From Hampton Corte the xvijth of December 1570.

yo^r. loving frends

W. HOWARD. R. LEYCESTER.
F. KNOLLYS. W. CECILL.

To our very loving frende

S^r. John Thynne Knight Collector of
the Lone in the Countie of Wilts."

5. "*The Queen to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieut. of Wilts, and Sir John Thynne.* 17 May, 1571.

ELIZABETH R.

By the Queene.

Right trustie and right welbeloved Cosin, and trusty and welbeloved, We greete you well. Where the last yere we did direct to sondry our loving subjects within that County our Letters under our privy Seale, by the which we did then severally require of them to lend us certain sommes of money for the space of one wholl yere, which at that time we well hoped might by us be repayed according to the severall times the same shuld be payable. And so the same shuld have ben if otherwise we had not ben constrayned since that time to have defrayed great sommes of our treasure for the payment of the charges growen by reason of the late rebellion in the North, and for other extraordinary affaires concerning the honor and defence of our Realme as well by sea as by land: Now, perceaving that we cannot conveniently before the end of Michaelmas Terme next make payment to any that hath lent to us any such sommes of money, and yet not dowting of the good will of our said subjects but that for these respects they wilbe content to forbear payment for such a time as vij monethes is, Do require you both to use all good meanes either by your Letters or by your conference with the parties that have so lent to us any money as for the reasons aforesaid and at our request they wilbe content to forbear the demands of their money from the day the same is or shal be due for the space of vij moneths. At which time or before, you may assure to them an undowted payment; for so have we fully determined by advyse of our Counsell to performe the same. And as we have cawse to think very well of them for their readiness in their payment but specially and much more of such as made spedy payment upon their first receipt of our Letters, So shall we continue and increase our good opinion of them that shalbe content to forbear their demand as afore is mentioned. Of all which we pray you to give them knowledge as

you shall see cawse requisite. Geven under our signet at our Pallayce of West-Minster the xvijth day of May 1571 and the thirteenth yere of our Reign.

To our right trustie and right welbeloved
Cosyn the Erle of Pembroke, and to
our trustie and welbeloved S^r. John
Thynne, Knight, Collector of our Lone
within oure Countie of Wiltshire."

6. "*The Council to Sir John Thynne.* 14 Oct. 1571.

After our hartly comendacions. Whereas the collection of suche money as the Quene's Ma^{tie} did order to be receaved of her loving subjects in that countie by way of Lone upon her Letters under her Prevey Seale was appointed unto you, and certen prevey Seales sent unto you for that purpose: Forasmuch as it is necessarye that we understand what is received thereby and so what is due by Her Maj^{tie}. and to whom: We have thought mete to require you and in her Ma^{tie}'s name comaund you that forthwith upon the sight hereof you do retorne unto us all suche prevey seales as you have received and do finde no possibilitie to recover the sommes in them contained: And with like diligence to certifie us in writing what severall sommes of money hath come to your hands to this purpose from the very beginninge of your charge: of whom by their severall names with their additions you have received every parte thereof, and at what tyme, expressing the very day of the month of your receipt of it: And to whome you have payd the same sommes and every parte theroff, by whose handes, and at what daies the same was paid by you and received by others and who received the same. In which your certificat you may not faile to aunswer us in writing to every particular pointe above mentioned, not omitting any one of them as you tender the satisfaction of your dueties in the good service of the Quene. And expecting to here from you with expedition we bid you farewell. From Richmond the xiiijth of October 1571.

yo^r. loving frendes

N. BACON, C.S. F. BEDFORD.

E. CLYNTON. W. HOWARD. W. BURGHLEY.

F. KNOLLYS. WA: MILDMAY. T. SMITH.

To our loving freinde S^r.

John Thynne Knyght, Collector
of the Loane in the Countie of
Wiltes."

7. "*WILTES. THE CERTIFICATE* of Sir John Thynne, Knighte, Collector of the Lones within the Countie aforesaide according to the Councell's Letters to him addressed in that behalfe, bearing Date the xiiijth of October 1571.

PRIVY SEALES receyved of the Quene's
Majestie's Pursevants.

The firste tyme.

C^{li}. { John Webbe of Salisburye
Sir Walter Hungerford, Knight
Sir John Thynne, Knight.

The seconde tyme.

C^{li}. { Thomas Stevens of Burdroppe
Robert Browne *alias* Weare of
Marlborough
Willyam Hunton of Knoell

Lⁱⁱ. { Giles Thistlothwayt Esquier
 Henrie Clifforde Esquier
 Edward Baynarde Esquier
 Christopher Doddington
 Nicholas Geryshe of Broughton
 Roberte Longe of Wraxall Esquier
 Thomas Hodges of Kingeswood
 Thomas Longe of Calne
 Nicholas Snell Esquier
 Thomas Goddard of Upham
 John Yonge of Harnham, gent
 John Hungerford Esquier
 Henrie Bodenham Esquier
 Christopher Willoughby
 Richard Kingsmyll
 John Pledall of Midghall
 Robert Maye *alias* Hewston
 Alice Gawen, wydowe
 John Hoper Esquier
 Thomas Wroughton Esquier
 St. John Zouche Knighte
 John St. John Esquier
 George Ludlowe Esquier
 John Eyer Esquier
 Gyles Escourte Esquier
 Willyam Button Esquier
 Roberte Longe of Draicot
 Richarde Moodye Esquier
 John Erneley
 John Davers [*Danvers*] Esquier
 John Barwyke Esquier
 Jone Longe of Trowbridge, widowe

Lⁱⁱ. { Sir George Barkeley, Knighte
 Sir Henrie Asheley, Knighte
 Sir George Penruddocke, Knighte
 Thomas Stafford Esquier
 William Darrell Esquier
 Walter Hungerford of Cadnam
 Edwarde Goddarde of Eaton
 Edwarde Gilbert of Everleigh
 Henry Longe of Whaddon
 Edwarde Longe of Melkesham
 John Lovell, of Marleborough
 Thomas Marshall of Powlton
 John Venner of Sarum
 John Eyers of Sarum, the yonger

{ Thomas Browne of Wynterborne
 James Yate, gentleman
 Anthony Stokes of Castle Combe
 Richarde Brynnnyng
 Willyam More of Wyntersloo
 Anthony Hynton
 Thomas Lodge of Burston
 Willyam Jorden, gentleman
 Henry Chyvers
 Thomas Walton Esquier
 Richarde Scrope Esquier
 Thomas Benett of Pithouse
 Robert Nicholas, gentleman
 Willyam Fisher of Lyddington

RECEIVED

WHEROF

PAYDE

Of John Eyer Esquier ix. April 1570—Lⁱⁱ
 Of Jone Longe of Trowbridge eisdem die
 et anno Lⁱⁱ
 Of John Hungerford of Downamney
 Esquier Decimo Aprilis 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of John Hooper Esquier, eisdem die et anno Lⁱⁱ
 Of Robert Mayho *als* Hewston xvij April Lⁱⁱ
 Of Robert Longe of Wraxall esquier xxiiij
 April 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of Thomas Hodges of Ringewood xxix^o
 Aprilis Anno 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of Nicholas Snell Esquier iiiij^o Maii 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of Edwarde Goddard of Castle Eaton vi^o
 Maii 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of Christopher Willoughby Esquier x^{mo}
 Maii 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of John Venner xvi^o Maii 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of George Ludlowe Esquier, xxiiij. Maii
 1570 Lⁱⁱ
 Of Gyles Thystlethwayt Esquier eisdem
 die et anno Lⁱⁱ
 Of William Moore eisdem die et anno Lⁱⁱ
 Of William Hunton of Knoell xxiiiij
 Maii 1570 cⁱⁱ
 In all

£
 DCCC

{ To Thomas Hennage
 esquier Tresorer of
 the Quene's Majestie's
 Chamber by vertue of
 her Graces warrante to
 me directed in that be-
 halfe bearing date the
 Firste daye of April
 anno 1570: as may ap-
 peare by one his acquit-
 taunce bearing Date the
 xxixth of Maye Anno
 Regni Reginae Eliza-
 bethæ xij^{mo}.

RECEIVED

Of Richard Moody Esquier xxx^o maii 1^{li}
 1570
 Of William Button Esquier, primo Junii 1^{li}
 1570
 Of Thomas Walton Esquier, ij^o Junii 1570 1^{li}
 Of Thomas Lodge of Burston xv. Junii 1^{li}
 1570
 Of Anthony Hynton gent, xix^o Junii 1570 1^{li}
 Of Henrie Bodenham esquier xxiiij Junii 1^{li}
 1570
 Of the Ladie Jane Bridges xxv^o Junii
 Fiftie poundes of whom was required
 C^{li}, and th' other fiftie poundes released
 by the Counsell upon her suit made 1^{li}
 Of Roberte Nicholas Gent. xix^o Sept 1^{li}
 1570
 Of John Webbe of Sarum esquier xxviiij^o
 Septemb. 1570 C^{li}
 In all

PAYDE

To the above naymed
 Thomas Hennage Esquier by vertue of her
 Grace's saide Warraunte to me directed
 As maye appears by one
 other his acquittance
 bearinge Date the 8th
 daie of November A.R.
 Reg. Eliz. xii^{mo}

RECEIVED

Of James Yate gent. x^o Nov^r. 1570 1^{li}
 Of Edward Gilbert of Everleigh xv^o Nov. 1^{li}
 1570
 Of Thomas Stafford esquier viij^o Dec^r. 1^{li}
 1570
 Of Alice Gawen wyddowe xx. Dec. 1570 1^{li}
 Of Thomas Goddard of Upham, xvi^o Jan-
 uary 1570 1^{li}
 In all

PAYDE

To the saide Thomas
 Hennage Esquier by
 vertue of her Grace's
 warrante to me di-
 rected as maye appeare
 by another his acquit-
 tance bearinge date the
 ixth daie of Februarie
 A.R. Regine Eliz. xiii^o.

RECEIVED

Of Thomas Browne of Wynterborne xxi^o
 Febr. 1570 L^{li}

PAYDE

To the said Thomas
 Heneage (&c.) ij^o Junii
 xiiij. Eliz.

£
 SUMMA of all receyved—M.D.C.

£
 PAYDE—M.D.C.

Videlicet

Such as have paid in other Counties	}	Sir George Penruddocke Knight L ^{li} the Privy Seale re- mayning in his own hand	}	L ^{li}	}	To Mr. Brocket Collec- tor of Hertfordshire as may appear by his Privy Seale signed by the said Mr. Brocket vi. May, 1570			
		Willyam Darrell Esquier L ^{li} the Privy Seale re- mayning in my hands to be redelivered to the Counsell				}	L ^{li}	}	To Mr. Dunche Col- lector of Berkshire, as may appear (&c.) viij ^o Oct. 1570
		Sir Henrie Asheley Knight L ^{li} The privy Seale re- mayning in his owne hands							}

Remaying in my hands

}	Robert Longe of Draycott Esquier	L ⁱⁱ	}
	George Ludlowe Esquier	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To John Pledall of Midghall	L ⁱⁱ	}

£ C

For that they were double charged as appeareth before among the number of those whiche have allredie paid.

Lⁱⁱ

By reason of the uncerteintie of his abode and wilfull absenting himself by shifting from place to place.

Remaying in their hands to my knowledge

}	To Sir Walter Hungerford Kt.	C ⁱⁱ	}
	To Thomas Stevens of Burddropp	C ⁱⁱ	
}	To Robert Browne <i>als.</i> Weare ^r of Marlborough, to whom Richard Browne and Elizabeth Browne Wydowe were Executors	C ⁱⁱ	}
	To Sir John Barkely K ^t .	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To Walter Hungerford of Cadnam Esquier	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To John Eyers the younger, of Sarum	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To Richard Bryninge gent:	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To Willyam Jordan, gent:	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To Richard Scroope Esquier	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To Thomas Benet of Pythouse	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To Henrie Chyvers	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To Edwarde Longe of Melkesham	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To Thomas Marshall of Powlton	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To Thomas Blagrove, gent:	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To Willyam Fysher of Luddington	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To Anthony Stokes of Castle Combe	L ⁱⁱ	
}	To John Yonge of Harnham	L ⁱⁱ	}
	To John Lovell of Marburge	L ⁱⁱ	

£ M

For that they, refusing payment and alledginge inhabilitie, were appointed to appeare before the Counsell, theare to make answer whereby I knowe not how many of them be discharged.

Discharged by the Counsell's order

}	To Harry Longe of Whaddon	L ⁱⁱ
---	---------------------------	-----------------

and the prevey Seal remaying in my hands.

Spared by the Counsell's order at the first	}	To John Danvers Esquier	L ⁱⁱ	} £	} CCCCL	} And their Privy Seales remayn- inge in their owne handes.
		To Thomas Wroughton Esquier	L ⁱⁱ			
		To John Erneley Esquier	L ⁱⁱ			
		To John Barwyke Esquier	L ⁱⁱ			
		To Edward Baynarde Esquier	L ⁱⁱ			
		To Gyles Escourte gentleman	L ⁱⁱ			
		To Henrie Clifford Esquire	L ⁱⁱ			
	To Richarde Kyngsmyll esq.	L ⁱⁱ				
	To Thomas Longe of Calne	L ⁱⁱ	} £	} CCC	} Other Privy Seales remayn- ing in my handes readie to be re- delivered.	
	Sir John Zouche K ^t .	L ⁱⁱ				
Sir John Thynne K ^t .	C ⁱⁱ					
John St. John, Esquier	L ⁱⁱ					
Christopher Doddington esq.	L ⁱⁱ					
Nicholas Geryshe	L ⁱⁱ					

All whiche conteyne the full number in the two
former Chatalogs by me receyved from the Counsell.

JOHN THYNNE."

Then follow the several receipts of the money by the Treasurer
of the Queen's Chamber, ending with

"xi Novemb. 1571. Rec^d. of St. John Thynne, Knyght, Tenn Privy Seales
which by his Certificatt to the Counsell he confessyth to be remayninge in his
hands: and his perfitt Certificat for the Lone for the Countie of Wilts in Anno
xii^o Elizabethhe Regine. . Per me,

THOMAS KERG."

Whether the Loans under these Privy Seals were or were not
repaid does not appear from any document hitherto met with. But
the patriotic ladies and gentlemen of Wiltshire, scheduled above,
would no doubt have been duly prepared for disappointment by the
ominous motto on Her Majesty's seal:—"Pulchrum pro Patriâ
pati!" ["It is noble to suffer for one's country."]

V.—A CHARGE TO BE GIVEN BY A JUSTICE OF PEACE IN THE
QUARTER SESSIONS, A.D. 1580 [22 ELIZ.].

"The Matters followinge to be delyvered in Charge rest briefly in three points.

Whether {
God be trewly honored:
Her Majestie dewly obeyed:
Her Majestie's subjects be in peace.

I.—To serve God trewly is to serve him according to his holy word and testa-
ment.

First therefore you shall enquire whether the uniforme and godly order of
Common Prayer grounded upon the worde of God, established by the Quene's
Majestie that now is, in the first yeare of Her Highness raigne, be observed or

not. And whether any that should celebrate Common Prayer doth refuse to use the same, or dothe in other manner say, sing or celebrate any manner of Service or Sacraments than is mentioned in the Book commonly called The Book of Common Prayer:

Item; if any person do procure or maintaine any other to say, sing or celebrate any common or open prayer or Service, or minister any Sacraments in any other manner and forme than is mentioned in that Booke.

Item, whether the Quene's Majestie's Injunctions be observed and performed

Item; specially of those that make default in coming to church, or that do not receive the Communion.

Furthermore the Service of God ought to be reverently done.

Therefore you shall enquire of those that deprave or speake against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ and the Receiving thereof under both kyndes or dothe deprave the said Book or anything therein contained.

Also of those that misdemeane themselves in the tyme of Common Prayer or at any other tymes against preachers or ministers of the word of God.

Item. of those that be quarrellous fighters and brawlers in church or churchyards. Stat. 5 Edw. vi., c. 4.

Item: Fayres and marketts are forbidden to be kept on Sundays and Holy Days. 27, H. vi., c. 5.

Thus muche touchyng the Service of God.

II.—

By th' authority of our Commission, we are not to deal with Treasons; yett in duty of obedience toward Her Majestie and by her laws, if you under-stande of any High Treason, petit Treason or misprision of Treason, you ought to revele it.

Item: you shall specially enquire if any person by writing, cyphering, printing, preaching or teaching, advisedly do extoll, mainteyne or defend the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, or shall attribute Jurisdiction to him within this Realme or to any other bishop thereof. 5 Eliz., c. 1.

III.

Now, touching the Peace of the Queen's subjects, it standeth in the safety of their persons, goods and lands.

And First, for the person of a Subject, know ye that by the common laws of this Realme, when any man cometh to his death unlawfully by any other person, the same is felony, and to be divided into sundrie degrees according to the qualities of th' offence.

That is to say	{	Murder	} is upon malice pretended.	
		Manslaughter		is upon sudden meeting.
		Chance medley		} is upon unawares, against will, and in his own defence.

Also; if inditers, that indite any for felony, discover the counsel of the Quene, contrary to their oaths, it is felony by the common law.

Furthermore, for the government and safety of Subject's persons, certain offences are made felony by Statute which were not felony by the common law: viz:

The detestable vice of Rape. Stat. Westm. 2. c. 34.

Cutting forth of men's tongues, or putting out eyes, of malice pretended. 5 Hen. iv., c. 5.

If the jailer or under jailer by distres of person do cause his prisoners to approve other.* 14 E. iii., c. 10.

Also the letting escape of prisoners wilfully. 31 Edw. iii., c. 14.

The Breaking of Prison, being in for felony. 1 Edw. ii.

If any person use th' art of multiplying.† 5 Hen. iv., c. 4.

If any person do practise invocations, conjurations of evil spirits to or for any intent or purpose, or practising of witchcraft, enchantment, charm or sorcery, whereby any person shall be kylled. 5 Eliz., c. 16.

Taking of maid, wife or widow against their will or receiving wittingly a woman so taken and knowing the same. 3 Hen. vi., c. 2.

The persons that call themselves Egyptians,‡ if they wander in that sort within this Realme by one month. 1 & 2, Ph. & M., c. 4.

Fremasons that hold congregations and chapters of their companies. 3 Hen. vi., c. 1.

If a souldier in tyme of warr depart from his captain without license. 18 Hen. viii., c. ultimo.

To bring, send, delyver, receive or procure sheep, being alive, to be conveyed out of the Quene's Dominions, The second offence therein is felony. 8 Eliz., c. 3.

Unlawfully to keep, or to conspire to keep from the Quene's Majestie her castles or fortresses, or to destroy them having municion or garde, or to be ayding to it, is felony. 14 Eliz. c. 1.

Wilfull killing by poison is wilfull murder. 1 Edw. vi., c. 12.

A Rogue being burnt in the ear and roguing again, and so become a Rogue in the second degree convicted, if he offend the third tyme, it is felony. 14 Eliz., c. 5. 18 Eliz., c. 3.

Touching Goods.

By the common lawes of this Realme, the taking away of any man's goods with a felonious intent, to the value of xij^d. is felony. And taking of small sums under xij^d at sundry times amounting to xij^d. is felony.

* "To approve other" means probably to charge others as guilty of the same felony.

† Multiplying, i. e. the art of increasing the quantity of gold and silver by transmutation of other metals into gold or silver. This alludes to the idle and expensive attempts that used to be made for finding out the Philosopher's Stone which was to work this wonderful echange.

‡ Egyptians. These were the Gypsies, said in our old histories and law books to have been a people of Egypt who in A.D. 1517, refusing to submit to the Turkish yoke, were banished, and established themselves in Europe. Bringing with them a knowledge of the occult sciences or the Black Art, as it was called, they gained a number of idle proselytes who imitated their language and complexion and betook themselves to the same practises of jugglery and vagabondism, so as to become troublesome. They were expelled from France in 1560, and from Spain in 1591. But in England the alarm had been taken much earlier, for about 1530, several statutes were passed against them; upon which as Sir Matthew Hale informs us, no less than thirteen were executed, at one Suffolk Assizes, only a few years before the Restoration of K. Charles II.

But of less value than xij^d. it is petit larceny.

Also burning of dwelling-houses is felony.

Further, for safety of goods, there be felonies by statute which were not felonies by the Common Law: viz:

If a servant of xvij years age or upwards (other than apprentice) go away with goods of his Mr., being in his keeping, to the value of xl^s. to th' intent to steal it, or do imbezell goods to that value to th' intent to steal them. 21 Hen. viij., c. 7.

To hunt with painted faces or visards by night in forest, park or warren, and being examined thereof doth not confess it, or to rescue any such person from arrest by warrant. 1 Hen. vii., c. 7.

If a purveyor make provision without warrant, or carry anything away against the consent of the owner. 28 Edw. i., c. 2.*

If purveyors do buy or provide any carriage, in other manner than is comprised in their commission. 36 Edw. iii. c. 2.

If purveyors make not their provision by the testimony and appraisement of the constables and four honest men of the town where they make the prises; † and do not delyver tayles † or indentures sealed with their seals testifying the same. 5 Edw. iii. c. 2. 25 Edw. iii. c. 1.

If any purveyor take more victual or carriages for the Queen's house than is needfull or that he delyvereth. 36 E. iii. c. 4.

If any purveyor take more sheep before shear time than be sufficient for the Quene's house, and do shear them to his own use. 25 Edw. iij. c. 15.

By these laws appeareth what is misdemeaning the person and taking the goods of any subject. There is also a second degree in felony which the law termeth an accessory: whereof there be two kinds. viz:—

Accessory before the offence committed; and Accessory after the offence committed.

Accessory before th' offence committed, is, when any procureth or commandeth another to commit felony, and is not present when the fact is done: but if the commander or procurer of a felony be present at the fact, he is principall.

Accessory after the offence perpetrated is when any knoweth of the felony done and doth receive the felon or favoereth or aydeth him, and that before the felon be attainted; for if the principal felon be attainted, although a man know not of the felony, if he receive him or ayde him, he is principall.

* Pourveyance *i. e.*, Purveyance. The providing things necessary for the King's Household. The Crown had formerly a right of buying up provisions for the Household at an appraised valuation, in preference to all others, and even without consent of the owner: also of forcibly impressing the carriages and horses of the subject for the King's service on the public road, however inconvenient to the proprietor, on paying him a settled price. The officers employed for these purposes often abused their powers. Some papers referring to this provision for the Queen's Household are printed farther on.

† "Prises:" the goods or victuals seized.

‡ Meaning "tallies." Accounts were kept by notching two corresponding bits of wood; one of which was retained by the debtor and the other by the creditor.

Thus appereth which be felonies; their punishment is Deathe: There be also other offences punishable in a meaner degree which you are to enquire of Viz:

First and principally if any person of his owne Imagination, or by the Report of other do speake any seditious or sclanderous newes of our Sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabethe, or do set forth in writing any suche matter. 5 Eliz. c. 9.

If any tell false news, whereof discorde may rise between the Queen and her Nobles, or people; or, false news of Prelates, Dukes, Barons, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Clerke of the Privy Seale, Stewarde of the Quene's House, Justice of one Bench or other. 2 Rich. ii. 2.

If any person do set forth phantasticall prophesies to make Rebellion or disturbance within this Realme or other the Quene's dominions. 5. Eliz., c. 15.

Also of Retaynors, geving of lyveries, signs, tokens, badges, or maintenance, or imbracery.* 33 Hen. viii. c. 10.

Item, all manner of escapes of any arrested of felony. 1 R. iii. c. 3.

Item, if any by subornation of other or by his owne art shall commit wilfull perjury in any the Quene's Courts of Record, in Leete, Lawday, View of Frankpledge, Ancient Demesne Court, Hundred Court, or Court Baron. 5 Eliz. c. 9.

Item, of those that keep gunnes and cross bowes and use them contrary to the statute. 33 Hen. viij. c. 6.

Item, of all suche as use and play at^unlawfull games as tables, Tennice, Dice, Cards, Bowls, Coytes. 33 Hen. viij., c. 9.

Also, of those that deceitfully get into their custody any money or other things from any person by deceitfull or false token, or counterfeit letter. 33 H. viij. c. 1.

Also, of those that by day or by night do break, out out, or destroy the head of any fish-pool, moat or stew, or do wrongfully fish in any of them, to th' entent to destroy or steal fish, or do break or enter into any park or inclosed ground for deer, and hunt there, or do wrongfully take any hawks or the eggs of them out of any other man's woods or grounds. 5 Eliz. c. 21.

Also, of those that keep Deer-hays † or Buck-stalls or that stalk with bushe or beste in forest, parke or chase without license of th' owner or keeper: and which kill herons [except with long bows or hawks] or take young herons out of the nest without license of the owner of the ground where the nest is. 19 Hen. vij. c. 2.

Also, of lay-men not having xl^s. land, and clerks not having living worth

* By "maintenance," in a legal sense, is meant, an Officer's intermeddling in a suit at law. "Embracery" is an attempt to influence a jury by money, promises, or entertainments. "Retainers" were servants, not menial, or dwelling in the house, but attending on special occasions and wearing the lord's livery, badge or device. Such tokens were often given by great men of the realm to their neighbours or dependants, for the purpose of maintaining quarrels, (see Wilts Arch. Mag. 1. 309,) and the custom was therefore justly forbidden by several statutes.

† A Deer-hay was a net, or paled enclosure formed to enclose Deer to be taken alive. A Buckstall, was a toil to take Deer: which by an old statute was not allowed to be kept by any person that had not a park of his own. To "stalk with bush and beast," was to go gently step by step under cover of a horse, &c.

x. pounds yearly, that keep dogs, ferretts, hays,* nets, hare-pipes † or other engines, to take gentlemen's game. 13 R. ii. c. 13.

Also, of those that trace hares and destroy them in the snow. 14 H viij. c. 10.

Also, of those that take pheasants or partrigges by nets or engines out of their owne warren in other men's fre-holde without license of the possessor. 2 Hen. vij. c. 17.

Item, of those that take egges out of the nest of fawcons, goss-hawks, lanner, ‡ or swans, or do take the old eyres. § 2 Hen. vij. c. 17.

Item, of those that purloigne or destroy the egges of any kind of wild fowl. 25 H. viij. c. 1.

Item, of those that destroy spawn of fish or young fish or do take Kepper or Shedder, || Salmons or young Trouts not in season. 1 Eliz. c. 17.

If any Coroner upon request to him made do not come and enquire of any person slain, drowned or otherwise dead by misadventure, or doth not his office diligently, or taketh anything therefore other than his fee. 3 Hen. vij. c. 1.

Also, of all forfeitures committed by Escheators in selling or setting their offices to farm, and making deputies contrary to the Statute. 12 Edw. iv. c. 9.

Item, of all extortions and offences committed by Sheriffs, under-sheriffs, coroners, bailiffs of franchests ¶ [franchises], and other ministers, contrary to the Statute. 23 H. vi. c. 10.

Item, of Usurers and those that use corrupt chevesaunce [composition or contract] for lucre. 37 H. viij. c. 9. 13 Eliz. c. 8.

Now you understand of things noisome to the Commonwealth and the punishment provided for them, you are also to enquire whether the laws made to mainteyne things necessary for the commonwealth be duly executed or not. Viz:

Whether frei-shute ** be made, and Hue and cry levied from towne to towne upon Robberies done. 13 Edw. i. c. 2.

Item, whether all men be ready to pursewe and arest felons when need is. 13 Edw. i. c. 9.

Also, if any suspect any lewd person, commonly called Roberts-men, †† wasters

* A "Hay" is a net which encloses the haunt of an animal.

† Hare-pipe. A kind of whistle by which the call of the male hare to its partner was imitated. It is still used in France by poachers.

‡ Lanner. A species of hawk, the *Falco lanarius* of authors, said to have been called "lanarius" from the woolly softness and thickness of its plumage. The name of lanner is confined to the female; the male is called lanneret on account of its smaller size. The true lanner is only found in the S. and S. Eastern countries of Europe. (Yarrell, Brit. Birds I. 25.)

§ Eryr. The place where birds of prey build their nests and hatch. It is, in speaking of hawks, the proper term for that which of other birds we call a nest.

|| Keppers or Sheddars. Names indicating some unwholesome condition of the fish, in the spawning season.

¶ Bailiffs of Franchises: i.e., the officers or ministers appointed to protect liberties and rights as of courts leet, &c.

** Meaning "Fresh suit or Pursuit:" viz., such a present and earnest following of an offender where a robbery is committed, as never ceases from the time of the offence done or discovered, until he be apprehended.

†† Robbers-men or Roberds-men: were a sort of great thieves, said to have been so called from Robin Hood. Draw-latches and wasters are old names (now out of use) for housebreakers, &c.

and drawlatches, they shall cause the Officers to arrest them. 5 Edw. iij. c. 12.

Item, you shall enquire of all trespasses committed against the Quene's peace and of roysters and barretters, * and such as be not of good fame. 18 Edw. iij. c. 2.

Item, whether every person chargeable by his lands, annuities, fees, goods, or copyholds, have furniture of horses and geldings, Armour and weapons according to the Statute. 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2.

Item, of such as after warning doth absent himself from musters, or doth not bring his best furniture. 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 3.

Item, whether any make arrow-heads and quarrells † and do not well boil, braze and harden them with steel. 7 Hen. iv. c. 7.

Item, whether men not decrepit, lame, or having other lawfull impediments, being within the age of lx years, do use their bows to shoot, and whether men children betwixt the age of vij years and xvij, and servants betwixt the age of xvij and lx., have bows and use them, and what bows they have. 33 H. viij. c. 9.

Item, whether every Town and Parish have butts made and repaired. 33 H. viij. c. 9. †

Item, whether the owner or chief keeper of every Fair or Market overt where horses be sold do not appoint an open place for toll, and one to keep it from x of the clocke in the forenoon untill sun-setting; and whether any take toll at other time than that, and whether the names of such as buy and sell and exchange be not entered and the marke of those horse beasts. 2 and 3 Ph. and Ma. c. 7.

Item, if any keep above the number of 2000 sheep after six score to the hundred in any grounds occupied in farm, except such as be kept for maintenance and expenses of household for one year. 25 H. viij. c. 13. §

Item, of such as keep above the number of six score sheep upon pastures meet for milch kyne, and doth not keep for every three score shere sheep one milch cow and for every six score shere sheep doth not rear one calf yearly. 2 and 3 Ph. and Ma. c. 3. 13 Eliz. c. 25.

Item, of those that kill or cause to be killed wainelings [*i.e.*, *weanlings*], under the age of two years to sell. 24 H. viij. c. 9.

Item, of butchers that kill calves to be sold, calves betwixt the first of January and the first of May. 24 H. viij. c. 7.

Item, of those that carry corn, butter, cheese, beer, wood or herring beyond the seas. 1 and 2 Ph. and Ma. c. 5.

* Barrators. From the French *barrateur*, a deceiver; means a mover of suits, or one who by false inventions takes and detains goods in disturbance of the peace.

† Quarrells. Square-headed bolts, shot from cross-bows.

‡ This was in order to revive the practice of archery, which was going to decay in consequence of certain new games in fashion, viz., "Logetting in the fields, slide-thrift, otherwise called Shovegroat."

§ By an ancient Statute no person was to keep at one time above 2000 sheep, on pain of 3*s.* 4*d.* per sheep above that number. At six score to the hundred, the full number allowed would be 2400. This Statute had been enacted, to prevent the practice, then becoming common, of turning tillage land to pasture, whereby prices of provisions had been raised, and the poor driven to theft or starvation. Many persons had immense flocks of sheep up to 24,000. A sheep that used to cost 2*s.* 4*d.*, had risen at this time to 6*s.* 0*d.*

Item, if any victuallers, artificers or labourers do conspire to sell victuals or to work at a price certain. 2 Edw. vi. c. 2.

Item, of all forestallers and regraters * and engrossers. 5 Edw. vi., c. 14.

Item, if any drover of cattle, badger, lader, kydder, carrier or buyer of corn and grain, butter or cheese, do by colour of his license forestall. 5. Edw. vi., c. 14.

Item, if any badger, † lader, kydder, ‡ carrier or drover of corn by authority of license do buy any corn out of open Fair or market without license. 5 Eliz., c. 12.

Item, whether any Innholder dwelling in any city, town corporate, or market town where bakers dwell, do make horse-bread in his house, or whether any Innholder dwelling out of such places, do not make horse-bread according to the lawfull assize. 32 H. viij. c. 42.

Item, whether any use false weights and measures, and whether the Standards be kept according to the Statute. II. H. 7.

Item, whether nets and engines be used for taking and destroying of crows, daws, and other fowls that destroy grain. 24 H. viij.

Item, if any purveyor do buy any thing of xl^s. value, or under, and do not make ready payment for it, or if constables and tything-men upon request do not assist the owners of goods to resist such purveyors or if any do molest any person for such resistance. 20 Hen. vi. c. 8.

Item, if purveyors do take corn by any other measure than by the bushel striked and viij of them to a Quarter, or do take carriage thereof and not make ready payment. 1 Hen. v. c. 10.

Item, if any person do use wittingly any deceitfull art or mean, with lymen cloth whereby it is made worse for the use thereof. 1 Eliz. c. 12.

Item, whether tyle-makers make tyles seasonable well whited and anealed, and the earth cast up before the 1st of November before the making, and stirred and turned before the first of February following, and whether the same earth be well cleansed, and whether every plain tyle conteyned in length x inches and a half, and in breadth vi inches and a quarter, and in thickness half an inch and half a quarter. And every crest tyle xiiij inches long and like thickness as afore. And every gutter tyle in length x inches and a half with convenient thickness and breadth. 17 Edw. iv. c. 4.

Item, of all such as offend in wearing excess in apparell. 24 H. viij. c. 13.

Item, of such as wear not caps on Sundays and Holy days. § 13 Eliz. c. 19.

Item, whether Highways be repaired and amended and what offences be, and by whom. 5 Eliz., c. 15.

Item, whether any annoyance be by reason of broken bridges or highways impaired and what offences be and by whom. 5 Eliz. c. 13.

Item, whether any annoyance be by reason of broken bridges or highways impaired within 300 foote next adjoining to such bridges. 22 H. viij. c. 5.

* A regrater originally signified one who bought provisions in order to sell again for gain.

† Badger. One who buys victuals in one place and carries them to another. (*Cowell.*)

‡ Kidder. An engrosser of corn for the purpose of increasing the price.

§ By the Statute 5 Eliz., c. 15, every person of the middle and lower orders above the age of seven years, was to wear upon the Sabbath and Holiday (unless in the time of their travelling, or absence from home) upon their head, a cap of wool knit, thicked and dressed in England. This was for the encouragement of the wool trade.

Item, whether any sell ale without license, and whether such as be licensed do any act contrary to their license, and what disorders are kept in such ale-houses. 5 Edw. vi. c. 25.

Item, whether the Poor in every parish be relieved as is appointed by Statute, and whether bastards be provided for, and their reputed parents punished. And whether vagabonds be punished. 14 Eliz. c. 2.

Item, whether th' order prescribed for eating of fish on Wensday be kept: and whether flesh be eaten without license upon any days now usually observed as fish days. 2 Edw. vi. c. 9.

These are the causes whereof you are to enquire and present.

Statutes to be read at Sessions of the Peace.	}	For assuring the Quene's Majestie's power over all estates. 5 Eliz. c. 1.
		For maintenance of Artillery. 33 H. viij. c. 9.
		Against unlawful assemblies. 1 Mary, c. 12.
		1 Eliz. c. 17."

[*To be Continued.*]

Ancient Cirencester, and its Streets and Hundreds.

By the Rev. E. A. FULLER.

RUDDER, in his account of Cirencester, tells us firstly that Cirencester was made a distinct hundred in 4 Henry IV., when that King conferred sundry privileges on the town, and secondly that the country parishes outside Cirencester were then formed into another hundred, which was called The out Torn (Torn being an ancient name for the Sheriff's hundred court) from the fact that the hundred court was held outside the town, and that the name became corrupted through Th'out Torn to what he calls the unmeaning appellation of Crowthorne. I am rather doubtful, from my present information, about his first point, for I have a copy of the charter for a guild merchant which in 4 Henry IV. the King gave the townsmen, and it appears to me that it simply frees the town from the jurisdiction of the Abbot, the lord of the seven hundreds of Cirencester with whom the townsmen were often at feud; while the

pleadings in Chancery 5 Hen. V., concerning the revocation of this charter seem to speak of Cirencester as being a distinct hundred long before, but I would not like to pronounce absolutely on the point without further research. His second point is pure myth, and all the curious speculations about the name must disappear before facts, which seem to show that Crowthorne was the ancient name for the part of the hundred outside of the manor of Cirencester. The names of the hundreds are taken from the places where the view of frankpledge for the several hundreds was wont to be held, and both places and names were fixed years before even Normans were thought of as rulers in the country, let alone a house of Lancaster. The relative importance of places has so completely changed, old lines of communication through the country have become so altered, or altogether disused, that it is difficult sometimes to find the place whence the hundred derives its name, and impossible to tell why that spot was chosen for the purpose; but we may be certain they were well known places of meeting in those days. The strange thing is that Rudder should have allowed himself so completely to set aside Sir R. Atkyns' account that the hundred took its name from a spot by the Roman Road outside Stratton, a statement made sixty years previously when very likely there was still some remembrance of the old name. Mr. R. Mullings tells me that to this day the rising ground at the junction of the Daglingworth and Gloucester roads bears the name of the Court Hill, and to this same spot deeds anterior to 4 Hen. IV. all point, in which Crawthorn, or Crouthorn, or Crowthorn is named as a well-known place. In the ancient register belonging to the Lady Chapel within the Parish Church of Cirencester, at present in the Bodleian Library, is a deed undated, but from the witnesses not later than 1308, in which Robert son of Walfrid of Stratton grants a dovecot and two acres of arable land in Stratton, one of which in the east field ran along the green road from Crawthorn to Baudinton. Crawthorn therefore was a well-known spot in Stratton. Then in vol. A of the Abbey Cartulary in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillips at Thirlestane House Cheltenham, is a Kalendar of the seven hundreds with an account of the view of frankpledge, names of suitors of the hundred courts, and

view of wardstaff, which last is said to have been held 18 Rich. II. The Kalendar begins as follows:—"The view of the hundred of Crouthorn ought to be held twice a year at Crouthorn in the demesne of Stratton"—while the precise spot where the hundred court was wont to be held is accurately defined by the men of those days in an *Inquisitio ad quod damnum* 1 Hen. IV., which mentions the proper places for some of the hundreds to be held at: The hundred of Bradley at the cross by Stowell; the hundred of Bryghtwoleysberg at La Berge near Hatherop, *i.e.* the spot known to the neighbourhood as Barrow Elm, though the elm was blown down some years ago; the hundred of Crowethorne at a certain ash tree near Stratton, which however it would be useless to search for now; the hundred of Langtre at Chevenage Down, where a barn still bears the name of Longtree; and the hundred of Respegate at the bush near Maresden. The Kalendar of the seven hundreds says, "The view of the hundred of Respegate ought to be held in a certain place near Eycote Wood called Respegate." Maresden, and Rapsgate Farms, and Eycot Wood, are well known, but I am not aware that any memory attaches to a particular spot. As this Kalendar describes where the hundred courts ought to be held, and mentions the various places to be visited by the Abbot's bailiffs with their claims for hospitality, while the complaint in the *Inquisition* 1. Hen. IV., is that the Abbots for many years past have made the suitors to the several hundreds come contrary to ancient custom to one place, *viz.* Cirencester, it is most likely that this Kalendar, though entered apparently 18 Richard II., is the copy of a much earlier document. In the View of Wardstaff, Crowethorn is named as the place where watch is kept in the parish of Stratton. The places named for watching in other neighbouring parishes have possibly in some instances disappeared as completely as Crowthorn. Thus a watch was kept at Siddington Langley at Sherstone Brugge (bridge), *i.e.* the bridge by Sherston mill; in the other Siddington at Wondenewell; in Driffield, at Radeford; in Amney Brut, *i.e.* Amney Crucis, formerly held by a family of the name of Brut, at Dalle; in Amney Mary, and Amney Peter, at Assetwell; in Baudynton, at Thwysclede Weye; in Hound-de-la-fyde (Hunlafed),

at the green ; in Cotes, at Muncleshurne ; in Dunteshourne Abbot, at Lupegate ; in Dunteshourn Lyre, at Stancombe ; in Daglingworth, at Perystroye ; in Bagyndon, at Bereford Brugge (bridge), now corrupted, I presume, to Perrot's Brook. To identify these places, if not still well known, enquiry should be directed to old names at cross roads and such like places.

The Statute of Winchester, 13 Edw. I., October, 1285, according to which this watch was kept, is I daresay unknown to many of your readers, and explains the condition of the country five hundred and ninety years ago. The Preamble recites that whereas from day to day, robberies, murders, and burnings of houses were more frequent than before, and felons were not arrested and convicted because they were of the neighbourhood, and so were the receivers ; moreover, hitherto there had been no penalty for this concealment and neglect of duty : now there shall be a penalty, and proclamation is to be made in all places, so that no one may plead ignorance. Accordingly after Easter 1286, in all cases of felony an inquest shall be held, and the hundred shall be answerable for the person of the felon, or to give satisfaction within forty days. The gates of towns were to be closed from sunset to sunrise, and none were to lodge in the suburbs unless their host would answer for them, while every week or fortnight an enquiry was to be made by the bailiff of the town about such lodgers, that examination might be made concerning suspicious characters. It was also commanded that from henceforth watches should be kept as in times past, that is to say from the day of the Ascension to the feast of St. Michael, in every city by six men at every gate, in every borough by twelve men, in every separate vill by six men or four according to the number of the inhabitants, and they were to keep the watch all night continually from sunset to sunrise. Power was given to arrest strangers at night, and if they would not obey, they were to be followed from hundred to hundred by Hue and Cry, while no one might sue for damages on the ground of such arrest. Highways between market towns, were to be cleared to two hundred feet on either side of every thing except great timber, so that there should be no underwood, hedge, or ditch, to shelter evil-doers ; the King's own demesnes

being included in this order; if through default of the lord this were not done, then he should be answerable for any robbery, while if he wished it the country was to aid him in felling the underwood; and everyone was to have in his house armour, to help keep the peace, according to the quantity of his lands and goods: one worth £15 in lands, and goods of forty mares being bound to have a hauberke of iron, a sword, a knife, and a horse, and so downwards till one with but twenty mares in goods, had to keep a sword, or knife, or other small arms, and all other that might, bow and arrows. There was to be a view of armour (in North Britain weapon-schawynge) twice a year. The view of wardstaff was the enquiry to see how the watch above named had been kept.

Then as to Cirencester names. Of course frequent mention is made in deeds in the Abbey Registers of different streets, but the Lady Chapel Register contains a terrier, dated 1459, of lands and tenements according to streets, while there is a full list also in what are called the minister's accounts, preserved in the Rolls Office, *i.e.* the accounts rendered yearly by the King's bailiff of the rents of the Abbey lands and tenements after the dissolution. In 1540, J. George, gentleman, formerly bailiff under the Abbot, made the return, and the same names are repeated, most of them, several times in the same order, under different heads: Chepingstrete, Crekelade Strete, le Fosse, New Strete, Castell Strete, Shoter Street, Gosedicke Strete, Inchthrop, Abbot Strete, Battel Strete, Dolehall Strete, Rotten Rewe, St. Lawrence Strete. In deeds in the Lady Chapel Register I find Vicus tinctorius, Dyar Strete, *alias* Chepyngstrete; Vicus bellicus, Batel Strete,; while in the terrier it is St. Ceceyley Strete instead of Inchthrop, Raten Rew instead of Rotten Rew, and New Strete is placed before le Fosse. In the Abbey Registers an early deed mentions a tenement in Syte Strete.

Chepingstrete was counted to begin from the corner of Crekelade Street, for it contained the Shambles or Bocherewe (Rudder is wrong in his conclusion here also), the Gaol, the Cage, the Bothehall, and sixty-six feet further on the Saltewhich, the Market Place and the Stoke house—a house by the Stocks I presume.

The Fosse, it is certain, has no relation to Gosditch Street or that

part of the town. In a deed in Register B., two acres in the Eastfield of Cirencester are described as lying one next the Fosse, the other along the Fosse. The Eastfield would have been between the Golden Farm and the Bibury Road. Then there are a series of deeds dealing with a meadow called Dittenham, and a tenement and meadow adjoining it. This is said to have belonged to Richard de Lewes about Hen. III. (there were others of the same family, Adam de Lewes for instance), then it passes as my meadow, "le Lewes," and in 1320 is described as lying in the street which is called Fosse, in a certain place called the Lewes, and there was free access through the gate of Lewes to Dittenham. In 1540, under the head of The Fosse, it is said that "the rents of Martyr's Close, and Sumerbarowe Close, are not returned, because they are included along with the Close called Lewes, and are leased to Roger Basinge." I conclude that as the highway outside the town, on the East, is nearly in a line with Lewes Lane, the name of the Fosse was continued inside the town. It is quite evident that Leuse Lane, as printed in Rudder's map is a phonetic corruption, as is also the Leauses, with all the speculations upon that corruption concerning the Leas, Leases, or Leasowes, the constant orthography being Lewes. In all probability Richard's ancestor came from Lewes, whether the town in Sussex or some other place bearing the same name, a common way of designating ordinary persons in those days being by their birthplace or usual residence, as Stephen of Harnhill, John of Uley, Thomas of Baudynton, Nicholas of Leicester, Robert of Stratton, Walter of Cheltenham, &c., to give instances from local deeds, such a designation sometimes becoming hereditary, and then land also coming sometimes to bear the name of the last possessor who transferred it to a fresh owner. It is possible, of course, that that land may have always borne the name of Lewes, and that Richard de Lewes and his ancestors were so designated from that land, though the language of the deeds seems to contradict this idea, and in that case I must leave others to determine the origin of the name. The New Mills are the former St. Mary's Mills, and the old house by the footpath from these mills along the back of the Crescent into Watermoor road was, before the course of the stream was changed

another mill known as Langley's Mill. They are both mentioned in 1540. Two closes are described as lying between the stream running from the late monastery to Langley's Mill on the West, and the great stream on which is built St. Mary's Mill on the East. St. Mary's Mill is described as a "myll with iiii le stockes and a gig myll built on the stream running from the bridge called New-bridge, to the mill, and thence to the Stoney road called Stone causeway, lying between the meadows Kingsmead and Bradenham." Was the ancient Roman road in those days still pitched? Rudder says that the only clothing house of his day still employed the same stock mill built, according to Leland, by John Blake the last Abbot. The Beeches is a very old name. In a deed soon after 1200, two acres are described as being near Thoreboruve (in other deeds spelled Thoreboruhe, and later on Torberewe, the modern Tarbarrow) which was once part of the land of Richard Thorable, and the other at la Beche outside the Abbot's garden. Another deed of the same date mentions the land le Beches, which lies between the Abbot's wall and le Beches of Robert Archebaud, and the meadow which lies between le Beches and Walfrid Marescal's ford. I presume there was then no bridge by Oxford House.

With regard to Watermoor, the whole of that part of the neighbourhood seems to have been a moor originally, and Lower Siddington is sometimes called Siddington in the Moor. There appears to have been from very early time, a family holding land in the lower part of Chesterton, who took their name *de mora* from the position of their land, the dwelling house occupying the site of the house now a public house about a hundred yards down the Siddington road, and marked in maps of Cirencester towards the beginning of this century as Watermoor House. There were both Thomas and Michael de Mora in King John's reign, and before that, as appears by some ancient manuscript books of theology, copied in the Cirencester Abbey between 1117 and 1176, and at present in the Hereford Cathedral Library, where I was kindly permitted to inspect them, one of the family was among the office bearers in the monastery. There was a Walter de Mora in the reign of Edward III., and either he or another Walter after him

sold the land. The house called in the Langley Cartulary, Harleian MS., No. 7, More's Place, passed in the 16th century as Watt at More's, whence the transition to Watermoor is easy: or the name Watermoor might come possibly through the common pronunciation of Walter as water. (See Shakspear's Hen. VI., 2nd Part, Act iv., sc. 1.) But it has nothing to do with the fact of the abundance of water near the surface.

To identify New Street there is its position in the list, and also the mention in 1540 of a capital messuage with a close adjoining, held along with certain lands in the fields of Chesterton, Spyring, and Barton by Thomas Solas.

With regard to Shoter Street, in the Terrier of the Lady Chapel lands, a garden and curtilage are described with northern and southern boundaries, which is the only thing to help recognition. J. George in 1552 possessed a garden in Shoter Street upon which from a copy of that family's halimot land in 1619 a house appears to have been built, when the name is written Shotter, showing the common pronunciation. The existing court rolls however do not commence till seventy years later, and though through Mr. Ellett's courtesy I have been able to look through the earliest volumes, I failed to find any mention of Shoter-street.

Gosediche appears to have been the one name for the whole line of street from the foot of Cecily-hill round by the modern Black-jack-street, to the end of what is now called Gosditch-street. The bridge at the foot of Cecily-hill was Clements Bridge, the one in Gosditch-street, Swyne Bridge. The stream which they cross is called in the court rolls of 1692 Gunstoole River, which I take to be nearer to the true name than Groomstole, which ninety years later Rudder gives as the name for Clements Bridge. For, whereas it would be hard to discover the origin of Groomstole it is comparatively easy find a reasonable derivation for Gunstoole. The Promptorium Parvulorum, or East Anglian English and Latin Dictionary, compiled A.D. 1440, has lately been edited by Mr. Albert Way; and I take the following from his notes on Cukstoke or Cukstolle, and Kukstole. "The following observation occurs amongst Bp. Kennett's Collections, Lansdown MS., 1833. 'A

goging stool, a ducking stool, or cucking stool, called in Domesday cathedra stercoris, properly a gonging stool, gong stool, or gang stool.' That such was sometimes its form is proved by the engraving in Boy's History of Sandwich, which exhibits the cucking stool used there. In the Statutes it is called, apparently from its construction, *trebuchetus* and *tumbrellus*. The first mention of this mode of punishing offenders appears in Domesday Book, among the laws of Chester, in the time of Edward the Confessor, where it is described as the punishment for brewing bad beer. It became subsequently the punishment of scolds and women of immoral and disorderly life. The pillory for male offenders and cucking stool for females were essentially appendant to the view of Frankpledge or Leet; inquest was ordered to be made respecting the sufficient provision of both by the statute assigned to 51 Hen. III., c. 6. : and while on the other hand the Eschaetor was bound to see that no pillory or tumbrel was set up without the King's license, on the other hand the Dean of Lincoln A.D. 1384 lost his liberties and had them forfeited into the King's hands, because he did not maintain pillory and tumbrel in certain of his manors in Derbyshire, but punished offenders against the assize of bread and beer by fine instead." The corruption from Gongstool River to Gunstoole River is not very great, especially as by the Promptorium *gong* appears to have been pronounced *goonge*; it was the handiest water to the centre of the town, and as in those days there was a mill just inside the Abbey wall, that part would have been the mill-dam with a good depth of water for the purpose. As the practice was continued till the beginning of last century, if the existing Cirencester court rolls contained presentments, or if the earlier rolls were in existence, we might have found some instance of the infliction of what an early French traveller calls our comical way of punishing scolds and debauched women, by which their immoderate heat was slightly cooled; and if so we might have also found a confirmation or contradiction of the derivation I have suggested. What appears to be an early mention of our modern Gosditch seems also rather to point to one form of the same word: in a charter of Roger, Earl of Hereford, about A.D. 1150, granting two hides of land, one is said

to commence about Goguesdich. A contemporary charter of King Stephen, concerning the same land, has Gose Goggesdich, so that we have here a choice, and may take the more apparent origin for Gosditch from *Goose* if we please; *Goosacre* in early deeds is spelled *Gosacre*. I am told Gosditch is not an uncommon appellation in towns by the side of a stream. To return to places mentioned, the *Lawegutter* appears A.D. 1459 as the western boundary of a curtilage in Gosdyche, and the memory of Lawditch-lane still remains as having been attached to that street, where the Savings Bank stands. The Court Rolls are careful to shew that the Ram was not counted to be in Gosditch-street, *street* being scratched out and *ward* substituted, though in the minister's accounts it seems reckoned in Goseditch-street. In a series of depositions, in answer to an Exchequer Inquisition concerning the government of the town A.D. 1582, old Mr. Robert Strange speaks of "streets or wards." I said that Blackjack-street is quite modern; it is unknown to the Court Rolls. The Inn, now the Phoenix, being always described, 1700—1800, as in Gosditch-street, a later side-note in Mr. Bevir's handwriting adding Blackjack-street. In 1540 the Swan is called the Dakker Gate Inn, and in 1693 a messuage in Gosditch-street, called the Gatehouse, is said in the Court Rolls to be appendant to the George. Are there any old memories to explain this? Little Silver-street appears in the Court Rolls of 1714.

Battle-street, anciently Batel Strete, but written Bartle-street in a list of church lands in 1619, appears in a similar list in 1639 as St. Thomas's-street, but the old name continues on in the Court Rolls till 1717, when the earlier Battle-street, *alias* St. Thomas-street becomes simply St. Thomas street.

Abbot-street, too, had not given place to Coxwell-street in the Court Rolls till after 1716.

The unmeaning Dollar-street was Dolehalle-street, which appears also in the early deeds in the Abbey Registers, being the old Saxon name for the almsgiving place to the poor, a name I would suggest for restoration. It is curious to note how while in the later Norman name Almery, the original designation was continued almost to these days, the meaning was so lost, that, at the end of the sixteenth

century, I have found the name written Dolors Street, and Sir Robert Atkyns allowed himself to be misled by the transcriber he employed, and calls the Almerly Grange, All-mary. The phonetic corruption from Dolehall to Dollar is very easy to account for, and is old enough. In J. George's annual accounts to the King, 1540, &c., the name is always written Dolehall, while in his deed of entail, 1552, it is written Dollar. Similarly in a list of unsold chantry lands in James the First's reign, among the Harleian manuscripts, I found "Cheaping *alias* Sheaping Street."

St. Lawrence Street is of course Gloucester Street, the bridge by the Yellow School being St. John's Bridge, the bridge at the further end being the Gilden-bridge, so called I presume because the market tolls were taken there of those who came into the town from that direction, for I find no account of any guild in the town till the reign of Edward III., and the deeds concerning tenements near Gildenbridge are all from A.D. 1200 to 1300; but in 1540 I think that the bridge called the Bailiff's Bridge must be meant for it.

Barton Mill was not the early name. The builder, or at any rate the occupier at the beginning of the thirteenth century was Richard Clerk, and the mill or mills bore his name. Afterwards they are described as two mills near the Barton, called Clerkenmulles: the adjoining meadow appears in 1459 as Clerkesmeade, the mill being still Clerkesmyll. In 1540 it is Clerksmyll *alias* Barton Mills. In an early deed the water is described as running from Gildenebrigge to the mill of Rich. Clerk.

Raton Rewe of A.D. 1459, evidently a small place, would seem to have been the modern Spitalgate-lane, for a curtilage is said to have been bounded by the Abbot's wall on one side. As to the meaning of the name, I take the following from Mr. S. Tymms' note on old wills from the Register of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmonds: "Ratunrowe; a raton in East Anglian dialect was either a weasel or a water-rat. Ratun or Raton, *rato*, *sorex* (Prompt Parv.) *Sorex* est mus aquaticus, a ratte (Ortus Vocabulorum)." Sir John Mandeville says of the Tartars, "Alle maner of wylde beastes they eten, houndes, cattes, ratouns, &c. Ratun-rowe may have been a street infested by such 'wylde beastes,' either very near a stream

or a butchery, or sewer whereby they abound." He suggests another possible derivation from *rateen* the name of a woollen fabric, Bury having been a great cloth mart, though he seems to doubt whether such fabric were made so early as the fifteenth century: the will in question bearing date A.D. 1439. If this is the only choice we have we need not hesitate; Rotten-rewe of A.D. 1540 helping us, when we remember Dandie Dinmont's account of how he entered his terriers, "first wi' rottens—then wi' stots or weasels—and then wi' the tods and brocks," the place in question moreover being by the waterside. Of the St. John's-street which Rudder or his later Editor mentions as appearing in a deed of 1509, I have found no trace, nor can I suggest where it can have been except that it was not Blackjack-street. According to other contemporary nomenclature I should have expected it to be near St. John's Hospital, *i.e.*, Spitalgate Lane, if I could assign another spot for Raton Rewe, but this last is clearly connected with St. Lawrence Street, the streets being taken in regular order, and the mention of the Abbot's wall seeming to preclude Goosacre Lane.

Spitalgate is an old name doubtless, but Rudder is mistaken in saying that Spiringate is a corruption from it: t and r are not very interchangeable letters; *the name is always written Spyring*: whatever may be the origin of the old name of the tithing, lands are described as in the Spyring field, *campus de Spyring*, and in the lease by Henry VIII., to Roger Basinge the farms are described as Spyringate or Spittle Grange, and the Almery Grange. The two names in all probability have quite distinct etymologies.

With regard to the White Way, it appears from an Inquisitio of 6 Ric. II, entered among the p.m., but really a.q.d., that Roger Wyght was at that time lord of Wyggewould in right of his wife Alice, and if there were no other evidence I should have been inclined to ascribe the name to some connection with this Roger, but in deeds 150 years earlier I find Wiggehemeweie, Wyggehemeweie, Wyghemeweie,, and it is easy to understand how this became in pronunciation White Way. It is also described as the road to Wynchecumbe, and a glance at the ordnance map will show that the road over Cerney Downs was an important one,

joining together in earliest days the royal cities of Winchcomb and Cirencester, and being always the line of communication between Cirencester and Winchcomb and Tewkesbury with their great monasteries, and Worcester also the seat of the Diocesan.

Thus we find all the modern streets already accounted for in the lists except Sheep-street-lane, and the line of Lewis-lane and Querns lane, while we have allotted the Fosse to Lewis-lane, and New Strete possibly was Querns-lane, and I am inclined to suggest that Shoter-street was Sheep-street-lane.

It is very unfortunate that the papers of the late Rev. J. Collinson, at the end of the last century curate of Cirencester, have disappeared: Rudder mentions old Court Rolls and deeds which Collinson had discovered, while Brayley and Britton quote a description of the ancient circuit of the walls from the miscellaneous notices about Cirencester which he had collected. He seems to have become involved towards the end of his life, and his papers were I presume dispersed, and though I have enquired in sundry directions I have failed hitherto to gain any information as to what has become of them.

E. A. FULLER.

Avebury.—Archæological “Varia.”

By the Rev. BRYAN KING,
Vicar of Avebury.

I HAVE in my possession a copy of Stukeley's Stonehenge and Avebury which contains a MS. work of the author, of some interest. This consists of a small folio leaf inserted opposite p. 10, on which the following passage occurs:—"The particular spot of ground where Stonehenge stands, is in the lordship of West or little Ambresbury: the possession of the Reverend Mr. Hayward, who at present may be called the Archdruid of the island." On the side of this inserted leaf facing p. 10, there is a portrait executed

in Indian ink, partly by pen and partly by brush, within an oval of four and three-quarter inches in length, subscribed in neatly written Roman letters:—

“Thomas Hayward gen: owner of Stonehenge 4 Jul. 1723.”

Beneath this inscription is a coat of arms consisting of a cow's (?) head erased sa: between three mullets sa: on a shield arg: and then at the foot of the page:—

“ad vivum designavit W. S. ob. 1724.”

This line is written in lighter ink than the rest of the page, leading to the inference that it was added after Mr. Hayward's death; then follows:—

“præsente illustr. Com, Winchilsea.”

There is a peculiarity about these words, and for some time I was disposed to read them “præsuli &c.,” as indicating the author's intended dedication of the plate to the Earl of Winchelsea, as he has dedicated his plates xxxvi. and xl. to others; but a careful comparison of the letters of the word with others on the same paper has convinced me that “præsente” is correct; and thus this sentence may have been inserted by Stukeley merely as a private memorandum to remind himself of the circumstances under which the portrait had been taken.

The portrait is of an aged face in a flowing wig, and is characterized by a vigorous and life-like treatment, as might be expected from the hand which drew the original of poor “Tho: Robinson,” at p. 23, and which threw such a villainous expression into a face which was doubtless regarded by Stukeley with a wholesome archaeological hate.

I may here mention incidentally that from this Thomas Robinson has descended a family of father and three sons, now of this village, who spend their lives, as masons, in joining together those sarsen stones which their ancestor so recklessly broke in pieces.

This portrait of Mr. Hayward was, I presume, intended to have been engraved and inserted as an illustration in the place where it occurs in my copy, but his death in 1724 before the publication of the work, and the circumstance of the possession of Stonehenge having passed into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Hayward mentioned

above, was in all likelihood the reason why this intention was not carried out.

It is possible that some descendant of Mr. Hayward may read these lines in the pages of our Magazine, and I may therefore append the remark that any such person will be heartily welcome to have a photograph taken from the portrait.

On the other page of this inserted leaf are the following memoranda :

"Abstract of Abury as far as relates to measure. The bulk of the stones tho' not hewn generally $\frac{17}{16}$ f. square 10 cub. 4 or 5 thick.

Abury 1100 f. diam. 80 f. broad the ditch. The compass on the outside 4200 odd feet. 30 feet betw. out circle and verge of the ditch. 100 stones, 1040 f. diam. the intvals equal to the dimensions of the stones as before."

*"Magne parens Rerum cœli cui summa potestas
Qui mare concelebras qui terras frugiferentes
Fluminaque obliquos subter labentia montes
Omnia ad ætherias duxisti luminis auras."*

And then at the foot of the page occurs the quotation most aptly significant of Stukeley's devoted interest in Avebury :—

"Te veniente die te decedente canebam."

The hand-writing of all the foregoing is small and compressed but exceedingly neat and distinct. Of the history of this inserted leaf in my copy of Stukeley I am utterly ignorant. It would lead to the not improbable inference that this copy had been in the possession of Stukeley himself or of his publisher; it was a gift to myself from a relative who bought it at Sotheron's in the Strand; and it is certainly a very remarkable circumstance that this very copy, so unique as I suppose it to be, should have found its way into the possession of the present Vicar of Avebury.

MEDIÆVAL RELIC, RELIGIOUS REVERENCE, &c.

In the autumn of 1872 I picked up in my vicarage-garden a small oblong medallion of the Blessed Virgin and Child standing on a crescent and surrounded by rays of glory; this subject is framed within two projecting twisted columns terminating in an ogee arch above, it has a projection at the back which admits either of its

standing upright on a flat surface or of its being taken between the fingers and presented to be kissed as a "pax:" in size it is about three inches by two, and its date appears to be as late as the end of the sixteenth century:¹ its material perhaps fortunately for its preservation, seems to be of bronze; for I presume that when Henry VIII and his courtiers committed their godless act of sacrilege by despoiling our churches of almost all articles of precious metals, this poor "pax" of bronze was cast aside as being not worth carrying away by the commissioners of the royal burglar.

On this subject, the provision by the members of the church in this parish or the gift of some one to the church of a substantial silver paten and chalice in the year 1606 has always struck me as an act of considerable faith and piety, when the wholesale confiscation of church plate had been so comparatively recent. This paten and chalice, being of very objectionable form, is now being remodelled for me by Keith, of London, but the original date will be retained by an inscription.

Then again "William Dunche, Esq^r." made a "guift" of a silver paten, or—as it is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter—an almsdish, in the year 1636. This has in its centre, in place of any sacred symbol, a large and somewhat ostentatious coat of arms engraved, with an inscription of its donation subjoined; and from its very secular appearance I should have taken it for a salver which had been transferred from his sideboard to the credence table of the church, were it not that I find from the "Hall-mark" that it was only manufactured in the year 1636, and therefore, it may be presumed, expressly for its present destination; so doubtless Squire Dunche and his silversmith acted up to their "lights" in the adornment of this "guift."

¹ It is thus described in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, having been exhibited at one of the monthly meetings of the Institute, in the spring of 1873:—

"A metal plaque, with handle at back, probably a pax of very rude workmanship, of the sixteenth century [?] Upon a small plate, apparently of latten, about four inches by three, a somewhat smaller plate of cast work is rivetted in four places. In a recess, formed by twisted columns of a renaissance character, with an ogee-headed canopy, the Virgin and Child enveloped in rays. At the back is fastened a small plate at right angles, to be used as a handle, and against which it would stand upright." Vol. xxx., p. 285. [ED.]

This William Dunche was, I presume, either a son or other relative of John Dunche who owned the Manor-house estate in the reign of Elizabeth, and who rebuilt great part of the Manor-house itself in the year 1601 as is indicated on its entrance porch; and perhaps this offering of William Dunche to the church may be taken as an indication of a very general revival of the decencies and solemnities of divine service brought about by the zeal of Archbishop Laud under Charles I.; though it has sometimes occurred to me that it may have been suggested by a more urgent and personal motive. Thus this Mr. Dunche was in possession of property which at no very distant day had been appropriated to sacred uses; the unhappy fate of many families so enriched seems to have been a matter of some notoriety even at a somewhat later period than this when Dr. South preached that wonderful sermon on sacrilege from Psalm lxxxvii, 2, in which he stated, "And for the most part, so unhappy have been the purchasers of church lands, that the world is not now to seek for an argument from a long experience to convince it that though in such purchases men have usually the cheapest penny-worths, yet they have not always the best bargains. For the holy thing has stuck fast to their sides like a fatal shaft, and the stone has cried out of the consecrated walls they have lived within, for a judgement upon the head of the sacrilegious intruder: and Heaven has heard the cry, and made good the curse." And so perchance poor William Dunche felt ill at ease in conscience, and therefore offered this "gift" in acknowledgment of the very precarious tenure of his goods, and as some poor act of restitution to Him from whose service they had been wrested.

In connection with this point of the provision of decent accessories for the celebration of Divine Service, I may here record a circumstance which was mentioned by our late venerable and most estimable parish clerk, Lawrence Chivers, as having occurred within his memory; viz:—that Mr. Jones, who succeeded to the possession of the Manor-house estate upon the death of Sir Adam Williamson in 1790, always used to attend church on Sundays in a scarlet coat and sword *i.e.*, in his full-dress court suit. Now it is very probable that such a custom may have survived in our isolated Wiltshire

villages the general custom elsewhere; but this act of respect and reverence for holy places and holy services, in an age usually regarded by us as one of religious indifference and deadness, indicates perhaps a feeling quite as deep and sincere as is to be found at the present day, when there is certainly no lack of loud and self-asserting religious pretension.

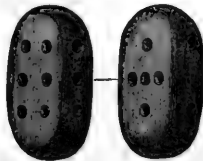
BRYAN KING.

Avebury Vicarage, October 23rd, 1873.

A Roman Relic.

A MOST interesting and perfect specimen of a Roman dice, in bronze, was found near the house of Captain Wyndham, at Wans, very near the old Wans Dyke, and close to the Roman station of *Verlucio*, on the road from Bath to Marlborough. It is in all probability the counterpart of the dice with which the Roman soldiers cast lots for our Blessed Lord's coat at His crucifixion; and as such will be viewed with no little interest. It is also an undoubted record of the sojourn of the Romans at *Verlucio*. By the kindness of Captain Wyndham this little relic was exhibited at one of the Society's meetings; and also before the Archæological Institute in London, at one of the evening meetings of their body; and it is to the courtesy of the governing body of that Society (and especially to the exertions in our behalf of Joseph Burt, Esq., of the Public Record Office,) that we are indebted for the loan of the wood-block, which the Institute caused to be made from the specimen here recorded.

[A.C.S.]



Roman dice, found near the Wansdyke. (Full size.)

The late John Thurnam, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

SINCE the publication of the last Magazine, the Society has sustained an irreparable loss in the decease of Dr. Thurnam, who was not only one of its most talented and scientific members, but also one of the most constant attendants at the Council, and one to whose judgment on Celtic remains the Society has always been accustomed to look for information.

It is not however too much to say that Dr. Thurnam has acquired an European reputation, by the investigations he has made into the earliest remains exhumed from the barrows of this and other countries; as well as by his joint editorship of the highly-esteemed work, "Crania Britannica;" and also by many contributions to the *Archæologia*, and other kindred periodicals, whose pages he has from time to time enriched. As a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and as a diligent archæologist of no mean attainments, he will be missed far beyond the limits of our County Society, though by none will his loss be more deeply felt than by his fellow-workers in that body.

Dr. Thurnam was born at Lingercroft near York, on December 28th, 1810, and after passing through the required course of medical study, he became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, in 1834.¹ In the same year he was appointed the resident Medical Officer of the Westminster Hospital, which office he held till 1838, when he was chosen as the Superintendent of the Retreat, near York. In 1843 he became a L.R.C.P.: in 1846 M.D. of King's College, Aberdeen; and in 1849 he was selected by the magistrates of the county of Wilts to take the management, first of establishing, and afterwards of superintending, their County Asylum, which was opened for the reception of patients in 1851: and this appointment

¹ For this portion of the medical career of Dr. Thurnam we are indebted to the pages of the *Medical Times and Journal*.

he held, and the arduous duties of this responsible office he discharged, with credit to himself, and to the satisfaction of the magistrates, until the 24th of September last, when, in the full possession of his faculties, he was suddenly taken with an apoplectic seizure, which soon terminated his existence.

In addition to the archæological essays alluded to above, Dr. Thurnam was the author of many memoirs on various pathological subjects, to the great merit of which ample testimony has been accorded by the faculty, both in this country and on the continent.

We cannot conclude this brief memoir of our lamented friend, without an expression of hearty sympathy for his bereaved family, as well as of sincere personal regret at the loss we have sustained.

[A.C.S.]

The late J. Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A.

• **H**IS gentleman was a native of Wiltshire, and though he had been for a long time compelled by ill-health to reside away from London, was some years ago well known there, both in his official character as Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, and as a literary man by his works on archæological subjects. He is principally known by his publications on coins: such as the *Numismatic Manual*, *Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*, *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, &c. He was also the author of "*Remains of Pagan Saxondom*," an "*Archæological Index*," and, in more immediate connection with his native county, of an amusing little book called "*Wiltshire Tales*," also a "*Glossary of Wiltshire Words*." In the "*Archæologia*," among other papers from his pen, were two interesting ones, on "*The Possessions of Malmsbury Abbey—with a map*." He died at Abingdon, on the 18th November, 1873, in his sixty-fifth year.

The Society's Herbarium.

THE *Herbarium*, which has been collected under the able superintendence, and in great measure by the exertions of the Rev. T. A. Preston, (of Marlborough College, and Local Secretary for that district,) already consists of the goodly number of 700 sheets of specimens, embracing some 500 species; and our very best thanks are due to Mr. Preston, for the zeal and perseverance with which he has hitherto been working in this direction, almost unaided, in our behalf. But as a complete collection of the botanical treasures of the county can only be looked for by the co-operation of many observers in their several districts, Mr. Preston is anxious to enlist the assistance of other botanists in various localities throughout the county: and we therefore hereby beg leave to invite the attention of all who are interested in the great science of botany, in all parts of the county, to the work now in progress under the skilful hands of Mr. Preston, and to entreat them to forward such specimens, and communicate such information as they may consider useful, to that gentleman, and so advance the completion of the Society's Herbarium. Address:—Rev. T. A. Preston, *The Green, Marlborough*. [A.C.S.]

Notice.

THE Museum and Library premises at Devizes are now ready for the reception of books, pictures, drawings and engravings, also of antiquities, and of specimens illustrative of the general and natural history of the County of Wilts.

Articles may be *deposited* in accordance with Rule xx. (See *Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. i.)

The Council hope that contributions will be sent in as early as convenient, in order that they may be arranged and labelled preparatory to the opening meeting.

THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological and Natural History

MAGAZINE.

No. XLII.

JULY, 1874.

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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

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

Longleat Papers, A.D. 1553—1588.

By the Rev. Canon JACKSON, F.S.A.

[Continued from p. 216.]

VI.—WILTSHIRE PROVISION FOR THE QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

THE several counties of England were formerly charged with the supply of a certain proportion of provisions for the royal household, to be furnished, not in money, but in kind: as cattle, poultry, &c. The Sheriff was the responsible officer. In certain counties famous for special dainties or productions, the royal wants were attended to by him: as for instance: the Sheriff of Bristol was ordered to send up conger-eels; the sheriff of Gloucestershire, lampreys. In 37 Hen. III. the Sheriff of Wilts was ordered to buy a 1000 ells of fine linen-cloth, for the King's wardrobe: and 1 Edward II. 2000 ells of canvas against the King's coronation. The following letters relate to the replenishing of the Queen's larder, temp. Elizabeth.

I. A.D. 1568, 16 July. *From the Justices of Peace assembled at Salisbury, to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of the Co. Wilts.*

“May it please your honor to be advertysed, That we at this present Assises have conferred together towching the Quene's Ma^{tie's} provision of grain within thys Sheare [*shire*] according as Syr John Zouche promysed y^r. honor. And in the end have uppon long debate growen to this, That the Quene's Ma^{tie} shall have for her provision as moche wheate as thys Sheare wyll yelde conveniently paying for the *best* wheate to serve her Ma^{tie's} provision, after the rate that the *thirde* wheate shall be solde in the markett at the same daye and places. Her Ma^{tie's} purveyor shall provyde the same without charginge the countrye with the caridge of the same but according to the lawes in that case provyded. And this as much as we are able, to persuade our poor neyghbours unto, trustynge yo^r. honor will accept thys our travell in good parte, or otherwyse that we be

not charged but accordinge to the lawes of her Ma^{tie}'s Realme. Thus we humbly take our leave of your honor. From Sarum this xvith of Julye, 1568.

Yo^r. honor's alwayes to comaunde

Jo. SARUM.	JOHN ZOUCHE.
EDWARD BAYNTON.	WALTER HUNGERFORD.
RYCHARD KYNSEMYLL.	JOHN THYNNE.
WILLM. BUTTON.	JOHN DANVERS.
GEORGE LUDLOWE.	HENRY SHERRINGTON.
EDWARD BAYNARD."	

2. *A.D. 1580, March 31. The Council to the Sheriff and Justices of Wilts.*

"After our hartie comendacions. Whereas the Quene's majesty hathe bin given to understand that divers purveyors and their deputies who have made provision of sundrie kindes of victualls and other things for the expense of her Ma^{tie}'s household in sundrie places and parishes of that countie of Wiltes have not made payment in all places to the parties of whom the said provisions were taken although there is suche care had as nothing is due by her Ma^{tie} for the same wherwith as her highness is greatlie displeas'd so she is desirous to knowe in whome the defaulte is to th'ende the people may be satisfied and the parties that have neglected their dueties in that behalf against her honor and to the hinderance of her loving subjects may be severallie punished. And for redresse thereof hath given expresse comaundment unto us in her Highness name to will and require you presentlie upon the receipt of theis our letters to make diligent searche and inquirie throughout the parishes of that Countie bothe of those severall somes that remain due and unpaid as also of the yeare and time that those things were taken for the which those debts did accrew whereupon order shall be taken for the satisfaction of the parishes and parties to whome the severall summes are owing wherin praying you to have that care and diligence as in a matter greatlie commended unto you, whereby likewise divers your poore neighbours shall receive benefitt, We bidd you hartelie farewell. From Grenwich the laste of Marche, 1580.

Your lo^r's Friends

W. BURGHELEY.	C. HOWARD.	J. HOUNSDON.
W. COBHAM.	JAMES CROFTE.	
CHR. HATTON.	FRA. WALSINGHAM.	

To our verie lovinge frinds the Sherife and the Justices of the peace in the Countie of Wiltes."

3. *A.D. 1588. The Justices of the Peace to the Queen's Master of the Horse.*

"To the Right Honorable our very good Lord, the Erle of Essex, Master of Her Majestie's Horse.

Right honorable and our very good lorde. Where of late aboute foure yeares past there came into this County a comyssion from her Ma^{tie} for the taking upp of Two hundred quarters of otes, for the provision of Her Ma^{tie}'s stable at Reading, wherewith this County was never before charged; We thereupon certified the Right honorable the Erle of Leyecester nowe Lord Steward that this county was not meet to yeld any such provision because in the most parte thereof there are growing no otes at all, and in no parte any store, as all

the gentlemen of this shiere can truly enforme you, being forced by the want thereof within the County to make their necessary provision for their stables oute of the Countyes near adjoyning and not within the shere. besides that this County doth yelde a contynual provision of otes, hay and litter to the Studdery at Cole Park* wherewith the County is charged more than there is ability therein to beare by reason of the small store thereof growing within the same. for which causes remembered agayne to his honor the last yere uppon a second Commission sent into this County, it pleased his honor to calle to him the Avener † and Thomas Harryson the Surveyor and expressly to comaunde them that there should be sent hither no more suche Commissions but that this County shoulde be reserved onely for the Studdery as ever before tyme it had byn. We hope and do humbly besech youre good lordship that uppon thes just and true causes before alleaged such order may be taken by yo^r. honor that the like comysions may not hereafter be graunted, and that this now abroad may be recalled without eny Trouble to the Constables for not answering in the otes whereto they were comaunded by precepte bycause we assure your honor upon our poore creditts that the country is not able neyther was ever compelled to serve this provision for which we shall acknowledge ourselves much bounden to your honor whose happy and prosperouse estate we most humbly recommend to the grace and favor of the most high. From the Devizes this xvijth of Aprill A^o. 1588.

Your Lordships humbly to comaunde

JAMES MERVYN.	FRANCIS ZOUCHE.
WALTER HUNGERFORD.	EDWARD HUNGERFORD.
HENRY KNEVETT.	JASPER MORE.
JOHN DANVERS.	HENRY WILLOUGHBY.
THOMAS WROUGHTON.	MICHAEL ERNELEY.
EDWARD BAYNTON.	WILLM. READE.
WILLIAM BRONCKER."	

[Endorsed]

"The copy of the Justices of peace Letter to my Lord of Essex Master of the Horse, to have the County of Wiltes discharged for paying of otes towards the provision of Her Majestie's Horse at Reading."

4. "A Note of the Provisions which Wiltshire purveyeth for Her Majestie's Household. A.D. 1594, May 22.

Articles of Agrement and Composition had and made the xxijth of May A^o. xxxv^{to} R^{ne} Elizabeth, betwene the right honorable the lordes of her matie's most honorable Privy Counsell, being authorized by Commissions for that purpose on the behalfe of her Ma^{tie} And the right Worshipfull Sir Henry Knyvet, Sir Thomas Gorges, Sir Thomas Wilks and Sir William Brouncker, Knights, on the other partie, being authorized to compounde and conlude for the service of

* Cole Park, near Malmesbury : formerly a Grange of Malmesbury Abbey. When it came into the hands of the Crown a Royal breeding stud was maintained there, temp. H, VIII : and as appears from the present letter, also temp. Elizabeth : and at the expense of the Co. Wilts.

† The clerk whose duty it was to keep account of the quantity of hay and oats, &c., required for the Royal stables. From the Latin *avena*, oat.

certen provisions for her Ma^{tie}'s most honorable house, out of the Countie of Wiltshire as hereafter followeth, vid^{ct}. :

First, that 15 fat Oxen every one weying 600 lbs. waight shall be delivered at the Courte Gate, 1st July, at £4 price.

Item that 200 Muttons fat and great every one weying 46lbs shall be delivered at the Courte Gate on Palm Sunday at 6^s. 8^d. price.

Item, that 200 fat Lambes meet for the expense of her Ma^{tie}'s house shal be delivered at the Court Gate 8th June at 12^d. price.

Item, that 20 good Sturkes of a yere olde and upwardes, meet for the expense of her Ma^{tie}'s house shal be delivered at the Courte Gate 10th September at 10^s. price.

Item, that 40 fat and great Veales of the age of six weeks and upwardes shal be delivered at the Court Gate 28th April, at 6^s. 8^d. price.

Item, that 16 dozen of Capons at 4^s. the dozen, 40 dozen Pulletts at 18^d. the dozen and 100 dozen Chickens at 2^s. the dozen shal be delivered at London upon a moneth warning to the compounders or to any two Justices of peace of the said shire.

Item, that ready money shal be paid for the said Oxen, Muttons, Lambes, Sturkes, Veales and Poultrie, ymediately upon the receipt of the same.

Item, if there be any just cause of misliking of any of the said Oxen, Muttons, Lambes, Sturkes and Veales, and the same declared by four indifferent men in writing under their handes, whereof two to be named on the behalf of her Ma^{tie}, and none of her Household, and other two by the bringer or bringers of the same, that then there shall be forefeit to the Quene's Ma^{tie}'s use for every oxen so misliked 40^s., for every mutton 2^s. 6^d., for every lambe 12^d. for every sturk 5^s. and for every veale 2^s. 6^d., to be delyvered by the cofferer for the time being out of the price or prices of the rest of those kindes which shal be liked and received, and the wantes of every kinde to be supplied within 14 days after at the furthest. And if it happen the said poultrie appointed by this composition to be delyvered as before, be not delivered or tendered fit and meet for her Ma^{tie}'s service at the place and times before agreed upon, That then the said shire of Wiltes to forefeite the debt of every pole of poultrie to be likewise supplied within 14 days after.

And if it shall chaunce, the said Oxen, Muttons, Lambes, Sturks, Veales and Poultrie appointed by this Composition to be delivered or any part thereof, be not received to the Queen's Ma^{tie}'s use of the bringers of the same to the places before appointed within one day next after the bringing of the same, and offer made thereof to her Ma^{tie}'s officers to whom it shall apperteyne; That then the Queen's Ma^{tie} to bear the charge both of the said Cattell and Poultrie and bringers of the same untill such time as they shal be receyved.

Item: that so long tyme as this Composition shall endure, there shall be no manner of purveyance within the said shire to any fair or market by virtue of her Ma^{tie}'s commissions to the use of her Ma^{tie} of or for any Oxen, Muttons, Lambes, Sturks, pork, bacon, boars and poultry; nevertheless if it shal happen Her Maj^{tie} to come on progress, and to be in any part of the said shire, That then it shall be lawfull for her Ma^{tie}'s officers to provide within the said shire all manner of provisions and victuals for her said house for her highness reasonable price and payments to be made on that behalf.

Item; if any person or persons inhabitants within the said shire shall wilfully refuse to pay and contribute towards these provisions of composition, which shall be rated by the Justice of the Justices of the Peace of the said shire or the moste parte of them, That then upon certifiat therof to their hands, A pursaphante [*pursuivant or messenger*] shal be sent downe to apprehend and bring before their honors all such persons for refusing to answer their contempt.

Item, it shall be lawful at any time thereafter for the said shire having shewed this Composition aforesaid one whole year, to break the same at their pleasures upon half a year's warning given from the Justices of Peace and Compounders for the said shire unto the officers of her Ma^{tie}'s Green Cloth: and so likewise on the behalf of her Ma^{tie}.

JOHN PUCKERINGE. W. BURLEIGH.
T. HUNSDON. T. BUCKHURSTE.
Jo. FORTESCUE."

5. Arrangement by the Justices of Peace.

"At the Devizes, 29 May 1594.

It is agreed that for 200 lambes to be delivered at the Court on the 8th of June next and 15 oxen to be delivered there the 1st of July next there shall be levied within the Countie and paid at Erlestoke by the 26 June next £149 13 4 viz: for 200 lambs after 6 shillings the lambe, and for 15 oxen after the rate of £7 the Oxe * to be levied after the rate the same way levied the last yere viz:

	£	s.	d.
Out of the Earle of Pembroke's Division	38		
" Sir James Mervin's ditto	31	13	4
" Sir Walter Hungerford's	26	13	4
" Sir John Danvers's	28	6	8
" Sir Thomas Wroughton's	30		
" Mr. Dauntsey's	25		
JAMES MERVIN	WM. BRONCKER	HENRIE SADLER	
HENRY MARTIN	JOHN WARNEFORD	JOHN DAUNSEY.	

At this our meeting at the Devizes this 29th May 1594 It is agreed that forasmuch as there comes no warning in due tyme gyven nor other order agreed on to the contrary, that we are to leavey within our division for lambes and our part of fat oxen £31 13 4 which must be gathered and payd at Stoke to Sir W^m. Broncker by the xth of June next. And hereof I pray you let the Counstables of every hundred in our Division have notice by your precepts to them, that money may be gathered and payed at the place aforesayd.

Your very loving frend,
JAMES MERVIN."

VII.—MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. LETTER RELATING TO HER EXECUTION.

The next document is a very remarkable one, on account of the Memorandum endorsed upon it. A Commission addressed to

* Prices were high in 1594. Owing to excessive transportation wheat was £2 16s. 0d. the quarter in London: and butter 7d. the pound: "owing" (says Stow's Chronicle) "to our deservings."

George 6th Earl of Shrewsbury and Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, had been issued for the execution of the Queen. This was sent down by the hands of Mr. Robert Beale, accompanied by the following letter from the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury then staying at Orton Longueville, near Huntingdon. In the few lines endorsed upon the letter, the Earl (not in his own handwriting, but his Secretary's), records the receipt of the letter and his immediate obedience to the orders sent. Perhaps no transaction of such solemnity was ever registered in terms so brief, so dry, so "business"-like.

It should be remembered that as the year was then reckoned to begin on the 25th March, the date of February 6th, 1586, (as given in the endorsement) signifies according to present reckoning, February 6th, 1587.

The Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury. 3. Feb. (1586-7)

"After o^r. right hartye comendations to your good L. This bearer Mr. Robert Beale, whom your L. knoweth to be honest, wise and trustye, cometh to your L. with a comission under Her Ma^{ties}. hand and seale, having bin directed to shewe the same to our veary good L. the Erle of Kent, bycause his abode was in his waye, and for that he ys the Second in Comission and your L. the principall. And for that yt is convenient that Sr. Amys Pawlett shold be acquainted herewith, this bearer ys directed to come by him, and after to conferr with your L. howe Mr. Paulett may have knowledge of yo^r. L. (if his healthe can serve him), and so also the Erle of Kent may be ready to attend upon yo^r. L. at soche time as by you shalbe thought requisite: And so praying yo^r. L. to credit the bearer in soche things as he is willed to signifye unto yo^r. L. on our behalf, we bidd your good L. right hartly Farewell. From Grenewich in hast the 3rd of Februarye.

Yo^r. l. assured loving Friends

W. BURGHEY	H. DERBY	R. LEYCESTER
C. HOWARD	HUNSDON	F. COBHAM
CHR. HATTON	F. KNOLLYS	

FRA. WALSHINGHAM W. DAVISON

[*Addressed*]

To our veary good lord the Erle of Shrewsbury
Erle Marshall of England."

[*The Endorsement.*]

"Broughte by Mr. Beale with the Comysion y^e vijth of February 1586 at Orton Longvile: with him came Sir Drewe Drewrye: and the vijth day went to Fotheringham, and the viijth of Februarie 86 executed the Scotts Quene accordinge to my said Comysion.

Mr. Androwes the Shereff of Northamp-sheere I sent to bring her downe to execution, and so I charged him with her both lyvinge and with her dead corpes."

VIII.—WILTSHIRE PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE SPANISH ARMADA, A.D. 1588.

1. *The Queen to the Lord Lieutenant of Co. Wilts. 18 June, 1588.*

"By the Quene.

ELIZABETH. R.

Righte Trustie and righte well beloved cozen wee greete you well. Whereas heretofore upon the advertisements from tyme to tyme from sundrye places of the great preparacions of forreyne forces with a full intencion to invade this our Realm and other our Dominions, wee gave our directions unto you for the preparinge of our subjects within your Lieutenancye to be in a readinesse and defence againste any attempte that mighte be made againste us and our Realme, which directions wee find so well performed as wee cannot but receive great contentmente thereby, bothe in respecte of your carefull proceedings therein, and allso of the greate willingnesse of our people in generall to the accomplishment of that whereunto they are required, shewing thereby their greate love and loyaltie towards us which as wee accepte most thankfully at their hands, acknowledginge ourselves infinitely bounde to Allmightie God, in that it hath pleased Him to blesse us with so dutifull and lovinge subjects, so woulde wee have you make it knowne unto them. Forasmuch as we finde the same intencion not only of invasion, but of making a conquest allso of this our Realme, now constantly more and more detected and confirmed, as a matter fully resolved on (beinge allreadie an army putt to the seas for that purpose) although we doute not but by God's goodnesse the same shall prove frustrate, we have therefore thoughte meete to will and require you forthwith with as moche conveniente speade as you maye to call together at som convenyante place, or places, the beste sorte of gentellmen under your Lieutenancye, and to declare unto them, that considering thies great preparations and threatenings now burste out in action upon the seas, tending to a purposed conqueste, wherein every man's particular estate in the highest degree is to be touched, in respecte of Countrey, liberty, wife, Children, lands, life and (that which is especially to be regarded) for the profession of the true and syncere religion, of Christe, wee do looke that the moste parte of them shall have (upon this instaunte extraordinarie occasione) a larger proportione of furniture both for horsemen and footmen (but especially horsemen) then hath bin certified, thereby to be in their best strength against any attempt whatsoever, and to be ymployed both about our owne person, and otherwise as they shall have knowledge gyven unto them. The number of which larger proportione, as soon as you shall knowe, wee require you to signify unto our Pryvy Counselle. And thereonto as we doute not but by your good endeavours they will be the rather conformable: so allso wee assure ourselves that Allmightie God will so blesse these her loyall harts borne towards us their lovinge Sovereign and their naturall countrey, that all the attempts of any enemys whatsoever shall be made voyd and frustrate to their confusion, your comforte, and God's high glory.

Gyven under our Signett at our manor of Greenwich the xvijth daye of June in the xxxth yeaere of our Raigne. 1588.

To our righte trustie and right well beloved Cozen the Earle of Pembroke, Presidente of our Counsell in Wales, and our Lieutenante there and of our Counties of Somerset and Wiltes."

2. *Orders to be observed by the Lords Lieutenants.*

- "1. Imprimis, to take order with their Deputies for the publishing of the Commissions.
2. To give direction for the mustering and exercising in martial feats of Armes such as were last year trained and reduced into bands.
3. To cause a general view to be taken by their Deputies of the able men within their severall charges and to see how many of them may be armed with such armour as is presently in the severall counties within their said charges.
4. To take a view of the horse-men, and to appoint captaynes over them allotting to everie captaine, a Cornett, which Cornetts are to be clad with cassocks of one colour.
5. To cause a view to be had of all places of defence, and to consider what sconces * or other kinde of defence may be made there without any great charge to the country and how the enemy may be impeached in landing.
6. To consider how, if the landing place should be taken, what straights and other apt places there are to make head against them.
7. To appoint by way of distribution certain of the trained men and other trained men to repaire to the said place.
8. To make choice of certain pions to resort to the place of defence.
9. To appoint certain carriages for victualls and other necessary things for every one of the severall bands, as also carriages for the pioners.
10. To take order that there may be 3 or 4 hundred shott sett upon ordinary naggs on horseback.
11. To move the Justices of Peace that every Justice of Quorum may yield to find two Petronells on horseback, and the other Justices that are not of the Quorum, one Petronell upon ordinary geldings to attend the [Lord] Lieutenants, to be all clad in cassocks of one colour at the charges of the said Justices, and to be led by some such captain as by the said Lieutenant shal be thought meete.
12. To see the Beacons erected and well kept.
13. That especial care be likewise had to discern all Papists and other suspected persons.
14. It shall also be necessary that an oath be ministered as well to the trained souldiers, as to the Captaines.
15. That such as are farmers or owners be enrowled as much as may be in the Trained Bands.
16. To see that the privileged Towns may allways have a proportion of powder in store which shall be delyvered unto them at the Queen's price."

* Sconces. An old word for forts or bulwarks. "At such and such a sconce, or such a breach."—*Shaks.*, II. V.

3. *Sir John Danvers, of Dauntsey, to other Justices of the Peace.* 23 June 1588.

"Having this daie received letters from the Right Honorable the Earle of Pembroke, Lo. Lieutenant of this county, requiring a speciall and speedie conferance aboute such her Highnes waighty Services as the same letters imparte These are therefore accordinglye to pray your meeting at the Devizes uppon Mondaye beinge the first of July next by viii of the clocke in the forenoone of the same daie And for that we are also required to have some conference with such other of the best sorte of gentlemen as are under the degree of Justices of the Peace within every Division: I am likewyse to pray such your care therein as by sufficiente warning by you given them of the daie, time, and place, the said gentlemen may make their appearance accordingly. And so with my verye hartie commendations I bidd you farewell. Dauntsey the xxiiith day of June 1588.

Your very lovinge Frinde,
JO: DANVERS.

To the Rt. honorable his verie lovinge Freinds the Lorde Stourton Sir James Mervin Kt., and to the rest of the Justices of that Division and to every of them."

4. 27 June 1588. *The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of the Co. of Wilts.*

"The trained forces previously ordered to be in readiness to repair to the sea coast as occasion may serve to impeach the landing or withstanding of the enemy upon his first descent and another portion disposed in proper places to make head to the enemy after he shall be landed: and another principal parte be reserved for the defence of her Ma^{tie}'s person; 2000 men are ordered to be ready at an hour's warning to go either to London, or wherever else may be appointed."

5. 1 July 1588. *Council Order.*

"That such of the servants and retayners of the Earle of Worcester as are enrolled in the trained bands, are to be exempted from that service, and they are to repair to wait on his lordship who has been appointed to attend on her Ma^{tie}'s person Likewise the servants of the Earl of Hertford, and any other nobleman similarly employed."

6. 10 July 1588. *"A Trew Copie of Newes unto Richard Godland of Bridgewater Marchaunt, written by, Barnarde Kadforde prisoner within Spaine in St. Sebastian's the 10 of July stilo novo 1588 viz:*

That the Spanishe Fleete of certain departed from Lisbon the 23 and the 30 of Maye last and as the common reporte hathe, bound for the Flaunders Channell, others say for Milford, but the greatest speache is for the Flaunders Channell to meet and joyne with the Prince of Parma fleete on whiche they most depend, and without them they are nothing worth. You shall perceave that uppon Midsomer Day last they received a mervelous storm of contrary

windes and were separated and putt backe again with great spoil. The most parte of the Fleet into the Groyne. one of them into St. Andrew, his masts spent, and 3 others, a hulke and 2 *venyans* into Alareda, but they are all gone again to the Groyne 2 days past, and I think by this day the whole Fleet is gone agayne for England or will very shortlye. They make sure account Englande is to be theirs and without fighting; surely their hope is upon treason (which God forbid): there are all, great and small, with 4 gallyes but 150 sail, which at large hereunto annexed you shall further perceave which is for most certain and trewe And as concerning of treason in Fraunce it is most trewe.

This newes cam home in a shippe of Mr. G(odland) the 21st of July, the *Mayflower*. In the sea on Wenesdaye laste, fell amongsteste the Spanishe Fleete, and escaped by God's greate gifte, being not above 60 leagues from Englande and helde there course directly for the same."

7. "The MILITARY DIVISIONS of Wiltshire.

The Earle of Pembroke	}	The Hundred of Branch and Dole.
The Bishop of Sarum		" Cawdon and Cadworth.
		" Chalke.
		" Underditch.
		" Downton.
		" Frustfield.
		" Ambrosbury
		" Alwardbury.
Giles Estcourt		" Elstobb and Everley.
		The Borough of Old Sarum.
	" Wilton, Downton, and Ludgersale.	
The Lord Audley	}	The Hundred of Mere.
The Lord Stourton		" Dunworth.
Sir John Zouche		" Heytesbury.
Sir James Mervyn		" Damerham South.
Sir John Thynne		" Warminster.
Christopher Dodington		" Whorwellsdown.
Edmund Ludlow		The Liberty of Maiden Bradley.
Bartholomew Horsey		" East Knoyle, and Bishop's Fonthill.
William Jurdan		The Borough of Hindon.
Jasper More		The Liberty of Deverill Longbridge.
Sir Walter Hungerford	}	The Hundred of Westbury.
William Brouncker		" Bradford.
and others		" Melksham.
	" Trowbridge.	
Sir John Danvers	}	The Hundred of Chippenham.
Sir Henry Knyvett		" Malmesbury.
Mr. Snell		" Calne.
and others	The Liberty of Corsham.	
	The Hundred of Damerham North	
Sir Edward Baynton	}	The Hundred of Kinwardston.
Mr. Earneley		" Swanborough.
and others		" Pottern and Cannings.
		The Borough of the Devizes.
	The Liberty of Bromham and Rowde.	

Sir Thomas Wroughton	}	The Hundred of Selkley.
Mr. Kingsmill		Highworth, &c.
Nicholas St. John.		Kingsbridge, &c.
William Danyell		Ramsbury.
		The Borough of Marlborough.
		Total of Hundreds xxix.
		„ Liberties viij.
		„ Boroughs vj.

In Burleigh's State Papers there is a General Statement of the Forces raised in the different Counties of England at this time. The return for Co. Wilts was:—

Able Men.	Armed.	Trained.	Untrained.	Lances.	Light Horse.	Petronells.
7400	2400	1200	1200	15	100	10

The "Divisions" were reduced to four, under:—

- Sir James Mervyn.
- Sir Thomas Wroughton.
- Sir John Danvers.
- Sir Henry Knevit.

8. In order to spread the news of any sudden landing of the enemy, beacons had been set up on the highest hills. This (now obsolete) medium of public information was one which may never have been seen by the present generation. It was a high pole, having at the top, on a little platform, a barrel of wood and tar; with wooden steps, or footings, nailed at easy intervals all the way up for the watchman to climb quickly and set fire to the barrel. The following instructions (similar, no doubt, to those circulated all over the country,) were issued, 15th July, 1588, by the Justices of Peace, to the Constables, with regard to

The Beacon on Cley Hill, near Warminster.

"*First*, to see that the Beakon within the Hundred be well and sufficiently furnished with good and dry wood, and well and orderlie watched (as you have bin formerlie comaunded) And you are lykewyse to have in rediness a Barrell wherein pitche hath bin, besides four or five pounds of pitche to put therein. And further that none be allowed to be a watchman there but hable men both of body and discretion.

Item, to have especiall care from tyme to tyme to the well-looking unto of the said Becon: to th'end the same be not fired upon any lewde devise but upon just cause.

Item, to warne Mr. Carr the elder of Corsley, Wm. Blacke of The Ashes, Wm. Blacke of Smalebrooke, Christopher Daniell of Norridge, Wm. Lambe, John Hill, John Knight and — Hobbs of Bugley, and two or three more of

the meetest persons dwelling near thereabouts, both to charge and discharge the watch of the Beacon aforesaid by turn, one after another, requiring them to see good order therein, or to certify the defaultes: and that the same Beacon be not set on fire without making the Justices of Peace and constables privy thereunto.

Item, if any refuse to watch the Beacon, then to complain to some Justice of Peace, that he may send for the party offending, by warrant, and thereupon commit him to prison, there to remain untill he become reasonable."

The Constables were also to warn all Captains and Corporals to go round and inspect the armour themselves, order what was defective to be amended, also

"To charge all the said Captaynes and Corporalls and all other appointed as souldiers within the Hundred to be in a rediness within an Hour's warning as at their uttermost peril they will answer to the contrary.

That you yourselves view all the overplus of armour within the said Hundred not committed unto any man's charge, to be in a readiness upon any like sudden occasion . . . and to certify unto us the said overplus in writing.

That you keep watch within the Hundred and make diligent search in every suspect place both Saturday and Sunday night next; and all such Rogues and vagabonds as you shall find, to apprehend not being lawfully licensed, and to bring them unto the next Justice of Peace . . . according unto suche directions as wee have received from Sir John Danvers Knight, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of this county.

To charge all householders and cottagers within the Hundred to have in their houses a black bill at the least; if not some better armour for the defence of their said houses or otherwise uppon any sudden occasion to be used besides those arms as they stand charged withall upon the Muster Book.

JAMES MERVYN.
FRANC: ZOUCH."

[*Precept* annexed to the *Articles* aforesaid.]

"These are to will and require you in Her Majesty's name to see the Articles which herewith we send you, and every of them duly put in execution with as great diligence, and expedition as you can. And of your proceedings in the execution hereof we require you to certify unto us or some one of us by the xxvth day of this month of July. Keeping your search for the apprehending of Rogues as secretly as possibly you may, whereby that service may take the better effect. And so eftsones requiring the accomplishment of the premises as you tender her Majestie's service and will at your peril answer to the contrary. From Fountell [*Fonthill*] this xvth daye of Julye 1588.

Your Friends

JAMES MERVYN.
FRANC: ZOCHE.
HENRY WILLOUGHBY."

9. *Sir John Danvers of Dautesey, to the Justices of his Division.*

"Having received credible advertisement of the Spanish Fleet being nere unto our coast, I am, in her Highness name to will and command you that with

all possible speed you putt not only all the trained and untrained force within your division in present readiness, but also to cause to be made in like every mans particular force appointed for himself and his household and that all captaynes within your division be in lyke rediness at an houre's warnyng to march with their foot-band upon any suddeyne occasion that may happen, provided in such sufficient sort of match, powder, and bullett as heretofore hath byn appointed. And that all such horses for service chargeable within the Division be presently taken up, and with those men and furniture be put in a redyness to attend the captayne, having a special regard that the beacons within the Division be carefully looked to. And so nothing dowbting your great care and consideration in this weighty cawse, with my hartly comendacions I bid you farewell.

Yo^r. loving frend

Jo: DANVERS.

Postscript—For that upon so weighty a cawse, a conference of the whole number of the Justices within this county is very requisite, I am in her Ma^{tie's} name to require your meeting at the Devizes on Saterday next by 8 of the Clocke in the forenoon where, God willing I will not fayle to accompany you."

[*Adresse d.*]

To the right worshp^u his very loving Frend
Sir James Mervyn K^t. Coronell of that
Regiment and to all other Justyces of Peace
and Coram within that Devysyon gyve these
with sped."

10. APUD LES DEVIZES 27 July 1588 *Articles agreed upon.*

"That every Capitaine doe call their souldiers together upon Munday morning or Tuesday nexte at the farthest, and to see that they be well armed and weaponed, and to minister to every of them the oath of supremacie, and that they be ready to marche forthwards upon an hour's warning.

Item, that there be levied for every souldier 4 shillings for conduct money, of the parties that do furnish the men with armour. And for coat-money 10^s for every souldier, of the parties which do furnish the armour.

Item, that there be provided for every culverine shot 3lb. of powder, or money after 14 pence the pound: and for every shot by bulletts, and one roll of match or 6 pence to buy the same: and that there be provided for every muskett shot 4 lbs of powder, 50 bulletts, and one roll of match, or money after the rate aforesaid, of those that furnish the said armour. All which money must be brought by the constables of every Hundred, and delivered by them to the Captains of every band at the tyme when the said Captains shall march away.

Item, that there be provided for every 100 men one cart, with 6 horses, or wayne with 6 oxen, and for every cart or wayne, two men. And for every of them for conduct money 6s. 8d. And for every carriage for 10 days 6 shillings a day, which cometh to 60 shillings which said sum for the carriage and cartes wages must be levied upon the inhabitants of every Hundred generally.

Item, that every Capitaine of the pioners do putt all his men in a readiness, viz: 125 to be in a readiness whensoever called upon, the whole number beinge 500, to be governed by Mr. Edmund Ludlowe, trench master.

Item, that there be a contynuall watch and ward of Four, every night, and Two every day, in every town and village, and that every stranger whom they know not to be an honest man, that they take and bring to the next Justice of Peace, Mayor or Constable. And that they deliver to the next Justice any Letters they shall find about them.

Item, that every constable or other officer to take speycall regarde, that if they shall find any people drawing themselves together in any disordered manner under the number of Twelve, that he or they do presently apprehend the said parties of assembling themselves together and bring them before the next Justice of Peace, and if they exceede the number of 12, that then the constable or other officer forthwith give notice thereof to the next Justice of peace who shall minister to every such partie the oath of supremacy and punish them according to the quality of their offence.

Item, that every constable, tythingman or other offycer do diligently apprehend all rogues and wandering persons and such as will not labour, and bring them to the Devizes to John Trew, gentleman, appointed provost marshall.

Item, that the said Provost marshall be authorized to travaile over the country at his pleasure, and be aided from any Justice of peace with 2 horses, and 2 men, for a day and a night; and from any other party of ability, with 1 horse and man for the lyke tyme at the charge of the parties to whom he shall direct his precept for that purpose: which provost marshall is authorized by the Lord Lieutenant or his deputies to punish all such persons according to the quality of their offence.

Item, that after the departure of the 2000 men there be within every Division a general muster and view of all the able and armed men and of all manner of armour and weapon which they have left, and to put the same in present readiness under Captaynes, to every of them 150 men: and that the Justice of Peace in the mean tyme do procure as much force by persuasion as possibly they can.

Item that the beacons of Ambrosbury be watched by the watchmen and also by John Mathew of Bulford, Wm. Mylle of Cholston, — Bushell of Netheravon, Libyas Maynes and Wm. Staples of Bulford, or one of them by turn; viz: one of them by day and the other by night: and if any of those beacons of Amesbury be fired, that then one of the said 5 persons shall presently ride to the beacon so fired, and enquire the true cause thereof, and then with all possible speed to repair to the next beacon and there deliver to the watchman there, and let them know the cause of the firing of the said beacons, that they may fire the said beacons, if cause so require.

Every 100 men to be thus sorted	35 picks [<i>pikes</i>].
	10 bills.
	30 calyvers.
	10 musketts.
	15 bows.

Item, to send for every musket lacking, 30^s.

Item, for every lance's livery 30^s. besides some powder bulletts and pistols.

Item, yf any man be unwilling to contribute towards the said chardge he is to be comytted to the gayol, or else bounde to appeare before the Lo. Lieutenant or the Lords of her Ma^{tie}'s Privy Council.

Item, that the Launces be at Hungerford fully furnished upon Thursday

nichte the laste of this July, and to have with [each] with him 30^s. for his coate, and money for his charge.

For every calyver 3 lbs of powder.

For every match 6^d.

For every musket 50 bullets.

For every calyver 60 bullets.

For every muskett 4 lbs of powder, or 14 pence a pound for the same.

For cart money 10^s., every man to use his owne colour under the rule of Sir James Mervin.

The Foote-men to be at Andover the 3^d. of August being Saturday."

[*Endorsed*]

"A true copy of all suche articles as were agreed upon at the Devizes 27^o July 1588.

These articles in part infringed : for that the Captains had not the coats promised, nor any part of the money : whereupon great abuse grew towards the country and dyscontent to the souldiers."

11. *Articles to be observed by the Constables of the Hundred of Mere and the Liberty of Maiden Bradley.*

1. Imprimis, that you charge all the Captaynes, as well of horse as of foote within your Hundred and Liberty that they depart not out of this County, unless they be employed by Directions from the Lords of Her Ma^{tie}'s most Honorable Privy Council.
2. And in lyke sort you warne and require all private souldiers not to depart from their dwelling places by the space of six weeks next unless it be by the leave of their Captains.
3. That you charge such as do furnish Launces or Light horses to keep their said horses in their stables, and to see that they be well fed and in a perfect readinesse uppon an hour's warning.
4. That you make diligent enquiry of all the recusants within your Hundred and Liberty, and what people, horses and forces they have, and thereof to make us present certificate in writing that order may be taken therein as is required.
5. That the Beacons be kept with good watch, and not be fired but by the privilege of you the Constables or of some Justice of the peace ; and that all Rogues and idle persons be apprehended and punished : and to keep some times in watching of the highways and passages as you shall find occasion for the apprehending of them.
6. That all suche as do spread or raise any false rumours to discomfort the people, or in any sort to dismay them, be apprehended and brought before us, or some one of us.
7. That diligent care and heed be taken to suppress all unlawful assemblies and especially of unlawfull and suspected persons, if any such be.
8. That you appoint one cart or carriage in your Hundred and Liberty to be in present readinesse upon an hour's warning to carry either armour or victuals as they shall require.

9. That you take care to appoint mares or naggs to be in a readiness for the more speedy carriage of all such souldiers within your Hundred and Liberty with their armours, that they are appointed to serve withall if the needfulness of the service do so require.
10. That you give especial charge and take great care that all the armour within your Hundred and Liberty, appointed to serve, be always kept clear and serviceable in every point, and be in perfect readiness.
11. That you collect and keepe all such money in your hands as you had order from us to collect, untill you shall have directions from us for the disposing thereof. And if any refuse to make payment thereof to cause him or them so refusing, to come before one of us to answer their contempt where one of you must be also to mayntayne the same."

12. 28 July 1588, *The Council's Letter to the Lord Lieutenant for the sending up of 300 Foot-men for the garde of Her Maties. person.*

"After our hartly comendations unto your Lordship. Whereas wee have heretofore required your Lordship by o^r. lres to sende upp for the garde of her Ma^{tie}'s person the number of 2000 armed Foote-men to be taken out of such number as have bin heretofore certified to be in a readiness in that county to attend upon her Ma^{tie}'s person; Forasmuch as nowe it is found that the enemye bendeth all his force towards the East parts, her Ma^{tie}'s pleasure is that you shoulde uppon the receipte hereof, beside the said number, to send upp the number of 300 remaying yet in that county so as they may be at London by the nexte moneth of Auguste to attende on her Ma^{tie}'s person: whereof we pray you that there be no defaulte. From Richmond the xxviiith of Julye 1588.

Yo^r. very loving Friends

CHR. HATTON, CHAN.	THOS. HENAGE.
WM. BURGHEY.	FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM.
HUNSDON.	AMIAS PAWLETT.
FRANCIS KNOLLYS.	J. WOOLLEY.

We pray yo^r. Lo. to have especiall care that good watches be kepte in all thoroughfare Towns and Passages, and the othe of supremacy ministered to all suspected persons."

13. It appears that, from each Hundred, a certain number of soldiers, variously armed, were summoned by the Magistrates to meet at some central place. The supplying of "a Musket," "a Calyver," "a Pike," "an Archer," or a Billman was arranged by the County Muster-roll, to be charged in every Tithing, Parish, or Individual person, according to its or his means and position. The like with horses and armour. The following extract from one of the documents illustrates the method adopted:—

"The Names with the Furniture of Armour for the 75 souldiers parcel of the number of 300 which are to be in such readiness as upon an hour's warning they may set forward to the place where they shall be employed under the

conduct of Edmund Lambert and Thomas South, Esquires, mustered at HRNDON the 5th August 1588, before John Thynne, Jasper Moore and Harry Willoughby, Esquires, By vertue of the Council's letters to the Earl of Pembroke dated 28 July.

The Towne and Hundred of Warminster.

- | | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Musketts. | { | Stephen Dew of Warminster, furnished by W ^m . Carter, <i>alias</i> Smyth, of the same. |
| | | Walter Broadrip of Bishopstrow, furn ^d . by John Elderton. |
| | | John Yong of Warminster, furn ^d . by James Gayner of Bishopstrow. |
| | | William Harris of Warminster, furn ^d . by Mr. Blake of the Ashes. |
| Calyvers. | { | William Cryspin of Corsley. furn ^d . by Mr. Carr the elder. |
| | | John Topp of Fisherton Delamere: furn ^d . by himself. |
| | | Lawrence Matthew of Werminster, furn ^d . by George Gifford. |
| Pykes. | { | John Ketley of Werminster, furn ^d . Nicholas Byngham of Boreham. |
| | | William Domynick of Wermister, furn ^d . by Thos. Hellyer. |
| Archers. | | John Gardener of Corsley: furn ^d . by Rich ^d . Stibbes, Richard Bullock and Richard Gardener. |
| Bill-men. | | Robert Baylie of Boreham furn ^d . by Thos Jordan of Warmister. |
| | | Richard Wilyns of Warmister furnished by W ^m . Rawlyns of the same. |

[To be continued.]

The Names of Places in Wiltshire.

By the Rev. Prebendary W. H. JONES, F.S.A.,

Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

I.—ON THE CELTIC ELEMENT IN WILTSHIRE LOCAL NAMES.

[Continued from p. 180.]

MISCELLANEOUS WORDS.

21. AYLESFORD. A name, which though now forgotten, was formerly given to a bridge near Salisbury that crossed the river at Harnham. A similar name in Kent is, in the charters, given as *Æglesford*. (Cod. Dipl., 499.) In like manner *Ægelesbyrig* and *Ægelesworth* (Cod. Dipl., 593, 423) are respectively AYLESBURY, in Bucks, and AYLESWORTH, in Northampton. They are all derived most probably from the

Welsh *eglwys* (= a church), Lat. *ecclesia*. We have the old word in a simple form in the name ECCLES, in Lancashire. They are all interesting words, as leading to the fair presumption that a Christian Church was standing at each of these places before the Roman invasion.

AVEBURY. The site of the largest and most ancient Celtic monuments in the county. Those curious to see the many speculations as to its meaning, some of them wild enough, may find them in the Wilts Mag., iv., 318, and in Jackson's *Aubrey*, p. 328.

The way in which we find the name written in Domesday is *Avreberie*, though of course, as there was but one character used in that record for *v* and *u*, it is just possible it may have been meant for *Aureberie*. Still the usual way in which it is spelt in the Sarum Registers from A.D. 1297 downwards, viz: *Avebury*, seems to give weight to the opinion that the former spelling was intended by the Norman scribe.

We know of course that the entries in Domesday are no sure index to the original forms of the words, as the scribes spelt the names as best they could. Nevertheless it is the oldest form of the name we have, and thus much we may concede that the spelling in Domesday would be indicative of the sound which the words had in the ears of the Frenchmen, when pronounced by the English.

There can be no doubt of the extreme antiquity of AVEBURY, and so it would not be unnatural to find a Welsh word clinging to it. In the case of STONEHENGE, a name which is of Teutonic derivation,¹ the older name has been entirely superseded.

For AVEBURY we have no more ancient name preserved to us.

¹ "STONEHENGE is said to mean the 'hanging stones.' The oldest form in which this name occurs is *Stan-henges*—it is so written by Henry of Huntingdon, who flourished in the earlier half of the twelfth century. Dr. Guest has published an essay on the derivation of the word in the 'Philolog. Trans.' (vol. vi., p. 31), in which he contends that the name is descriptive of the great stones which form 'imposts'—(such he contends is the meaning of the second syllable, *henge*)—on the two immense supporters. The Britons called it *Choir-gawr*, i.e., 'giant's dance,' because it was fabled to have been built by giants, or otherwise constructed by magic art."

Now there is a word in Welsh which is most common in local names. This word is *Aber*, as in such names as *Aberystwith* (= mouth of the Ystwith), and *Aber-avon* (= mouth of the Avon). It is composed, as Garnett tells us, of the particle "*a*," denoting juxta-position, and the root *ber* (= water), and so means much the same as our word "confluence." See above § 11. It denotes generally the fall of a lesser water into a greater, as of a brook into a river, or a river into the sea. It corresponds with the Gaelic *In-ver*, as in *Inver-nethy*, which was also at one time called *Aber-nethy*.

Now Avebury is situated at the *confluence* of two small streams. Why then should we not, accepting for what it is worth at all events the only really ancient form of the word preserved to us, regard the former portion of the *Avre-berie* of Domesday as the Norman equivalent to the Welsh *aber*, and the latter as the not unknown Teutonic term *berie*,¹ and so the whole as signifying "the enclosure" or it may be "the open field" near the "*confluence of the streams*."

If it be objected that it is not likely that so small a spot, as would be indicated by such an etymology, should have given its name to so large a parish, the answer is ready. The name in Domesday could only have applied to a *very small* portion of the present parish, the remainder being accounted under the entries of CHENETE (West Kennet), BACHENTUNE (Beckhampton), and STAMERE (Stanmore), all of which are now reckoned as tithings of Avebury.²

¹ Jacob, in his Law Dictionary, quoting from Cowell, gives *berie* or *bery* as meaning a "flat wide campaign." He adds that the spacious meadow between Oxford and Islip was called in the time of King Athelstan, *Berry*. And he defines *Berryfield*, no uncommon name in Wilts, as meaning any open meadows or pasture that lay adjoining any vill or farm.

² The present parish of Avebury contains 4526 acres. The entries in Domesday making up this total are as follows:—

AVREBERIE	(p. 16)	assessed at 2 hides, or about 470 acres.
BACHENTUNE	(p. 95)	" 2 hides, " 470 acres.
CHENETE	(p. 84)	" 13½ hides, " 3000 acres.
STAMERE	(p. 96)	" 2½ hides, " 586 acres.

Total 4526

The ancient names for YORK (from the second of which it is so strangely contracted), were, in Latin *Ebor-acum*, and in Anglo-Saxon *Efer-wic*, (written also *Eofer-wic* and *Ever-wic*), in all of which we see dialectical variations of the same root *aber*, which in Gaelic is *ebar*.

22. BAGGS BUSH. Close to Urchfont. This name is probably a simple reduplicative, and the former part from the Cornish *bagaz* (= a bush). Pryce in his vocabulary gives *bagaz eithen* as meaning *furze-bush*. Bagston, a place in Cornwall, (originally *Bagaz-ton*), the latter portion probably from the Cornish *towan* or *tuyn* (= a hillock), is equivalent to "Bushey Hill."

BARBURY (HILL). The site of an ancient British encampment. It would seem to be probably compounded of *bar* (= top, or height) and *bwr* (= an entrenchment), the mound thrown up for defence. The whole word would thus mean an "enclosed or fortified hill."

BINKNOLL. Close to Lyneham. In the Nom. Vill. (1291) it is written *Benknoll*. It has been suggested that the former part is the well-known word *pen* (=hill), which in composition becomes *ben*. Thus we have *Ben Lomond*, and the word *Ar-ben* means a chief, or sovereign. The name would thus mean simply "chief (or high) hill, or knoll."

BRANSDOWN. A name given to a hill not far from Easton Grey. It is simply a reduplicative word, composed of the Welsh *bryn*, and the Anglo-Saxon *dún*, both of which signify "hill." The whole name "Bransdown Hill" is an exact counterpart of "Pennels Hill" of which mention has been made in § 3.

23. BRITFORD. Literally the "ford of the Brits," or Britons. Close by is Chardford, (originally *Cerdices-ford*) that is the "ford of Cerdic," one of the West Saxon chieftains who there defeated the Britons. See Sax. Chron. A^o. 519. In Anglo-Saxon charters we find another locality in the same neighbourhood called *Brytta-pól*, *i.e.*, the "pool of the Brits." See Cod. Dipl., 778.

CHADENWICH. } The former place which in Domesday (p. 24) is
CHADDINGTON. } *Chedelwich*, and in Test. de Nev. (p. 153) *Chadewich*,
 is near West Knoyle, the latter by Wootton Bassett. In
 both words, if they be not derived, as is possible, from some
 personal name, the first syllable may be a form of the Welsh
coed (= wood), and, if so, the names would mean respectively
 the "hamlet" and the "village" by the *wood*.

CHEVEREL. The name of two villages not far from Devizes. Pryce
 gives Cheverel (or Keverel) as the name of a Cornish village,
 and explains it as meaning the "place of goats." It is
 derived from the Welch *gafr* (= a goat). Compare the
 Latin *capra*. If, as is possible, the last syllable be the Irish
 and Gaelic *all* (Cornish *als*, old Welsh *allt*) which signifies a
 "cliff," the name would mean "goat-cliff."

CROW. Near Ringwood. This is possibly the Welsh *craw*, Irish
 and Corn. *cro*, which means a hut or hovel, and also a fold.

CAERDURBURG. The ancient name for Brokenborough, where, says
 Camden, the Anglo-Saxon princes had a palace. It is from
 the Welsh *caer* (= a fort, city), and *dwr* (= water), and means
 the "fort on the river." The English added their own ter-
 mination *byrig* (= castle).

24. **COLERNE.** The former part of this name is probably the Welsh
 and Cornish *col* (= peak). Compare the Latin *collis*. The ter-
 mination may be the Anglo-Saxon *arn*, a dwelling, or building
 fit for residence. See Cod. Dipl. III., xvii. The whole
 name may thus mean the "dwelling on the hill," or summit.
 At all events the situation of Colerne well warrants such a
 description.

THE DERRY. } The former near Ashton Keynes, the latter
DERRY (WOODS). } close by Calne.¹ I cannot help thinking that the
 root of both is the Welsh *derw* (= oak). Certainly, hard by
 the former, there is a place called *Oak-lake* Bridge, crossing the

¹ Other derivations are suggested, which may be seen in Jackson's *Aubrey*,
 (p. 39,) for **DERRY (HILL)** near Calne. But it does not seem probable that either
 a French, or mediæval Latin word, should have been the origin of a name which
 is found in a part of Wilts where Celtic designations are so numerous.

Swill brook. In the Cambrian Register, (1796,) *Deri* (=the oaks), is given as the name of a place in Anglesea.

GOATACRE Near Lineham. The former portion of this Name is probably a corruption of the Cornish *coit* (= wood), and the whole word means "wood-acre." The personal name "Gat-aker" seems to be another form of this word. In the Test. de Nev. (p. 137) this local name appears as *God-acre*.

HESSICK. A name given to a barn near Ogbourn St. George. The Welsh *hesg* (= sedge) would seem to be the origin of it. Compare the Anglo-Saxon *hassuc*, which means coarse grass, and also a low marshy place where such coarse rank grass springs. From this material is probably derived the name *hassock*, used to kneel on in churches.

25. **ISEY or EISEY.** So called from the Isis—a stream flowing through Somerford Keynes and Ashton Keynes to Cricklade—on which it is situated. The name Isis itself is probably but another of the many forms of the root *wysg* (= water), of which illustrations have already been given. The name *Ox-ford* stands in the same relation to the *Isis*, as *Ox-burgh* and *Wis-beach* to the *Ouse* and *Wissey*,¹ names applied to different portions of the same stream. See § 10.

KEEVIL. Spelt in Domesday *Chivele*, in the Edington Chartulary *Kyvele*, and in that of Shaftesbury, in a Latinised form, *Kyvelia*. The former portion of this name may be the Welsh *cae*, Cornish *chy* (= a house, or field); the latter is possibly the Welsh *gwely* or *wely*, which assumes the form of *wele* (= *vele*) in the extent of North Wales, the Welsh Domesday Book, temp. Edw III., and means much the same as *villa* in the Exchequer Domesday. Thus one of the entries for Anglesey is as follows:—"Tref Edenevet; In eadem villa sunt tres *wele*; vid. *Wele* Grono ap Eden; *Wele* Jeu ap Eden,—et *Wele* Pilth ap Eden." Cambr. Reg. 1796, p. 391. The whole word, if such an interpretation be admissible, might designate a "free-holder's farm or manor."

¹ See some observations on these forms in Max Müller's "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. iii., p. 301.

- KEMBLE.** Near Malmesbury, and close to the Gloucestershire border of the county. In various charters this name occurs as *Kemele* or *Cemele*, and, in Domesday, as *Chemele*.¹ It has been suggested that it may be compounded of the Cornish *chi*, *che*, *ke* (Welsh *cae*) meaning a house, or field, (though primarily an enclosure,) and the Celtic *meale* (Welsh *moel*) a round hill, bare at the top. In Lancashire the sand-hills on the coast are termed *meols*. The word **KEMBLE**, if there be truth in this etymology, may be equivalent to "hill-house."
- KILL-BARROW.** A large tumulus not far from Imber. In Cornwall *Kill* is used in local names, and is referred by Pryce to the Corn. and Welsh *Kelli*, or *Gelli*, a grove. In Gaelic and Irish *cill* means a cell, or burying-ground, or grave. In the Cambrian Register for 1795 there is a list of local names in Merionethshire with their English equivalents, and *Cill* or *Cil*, when in composition, is explained as a retreat, or retired place, or sanctuary. The idea of privacy is at the root of all these words. Compare the Sanscrit *hull* (= to cover), the Latin *celo* and *cella*, and the Anglo-Saxon *helan* (= to cover). The name Kill-barrow may perhaps mean the "barrow in the grove," or remote and concealed place. By the way, the Wiltshire word for "covering up," is *heling*: they talk, for example, of "*heling*" potatoes.
26. **KNOYLE.** The name of two villages in the south western part of the county. In the Wilton Chartulary² it is spelt *Cnugel*, and in Domesday *Chenuel*. In the Wilts Inst. (1314) we have it as *Knoel*. It is derived perhaps from the Welsh *cnol* (Angl.-Sax. *cnoll*), a round hillock, in fact a *knoll*. [With the oldest form may be compared however the Anglo-Saxon *cnucl* which is given in some Dictionaries as equivalent to the English *knuckle* or joint.]
- KNOOK.** A chapelry of Heytesbury. In Domesday it is spelt *Cunuche*, which seems only another form of *Conock* (see above

¹ Cod. Dipl., 24, 271. Wilts Domesday, 36.

² Cod. Dipl., 422, 462.

§ 18), and like it is derived from *cnoc*, Irish and Gaelic *cnoc*, which means a "round hill." In the north west part of the county, close by Sopworth, we have the names **KNOCK**, and **KNOCK-DOWN**, which seem to be another form of the same word.¹

LACOCK. } Written *Lacoc* and *Lacham* in Domesday,² the one
LACKHAM. } signifying the "place of lakes," the other the "home-
 stead by the lake." The original root is the Cornish *lacca*
 (= a pit, or well). In Welsh we meet with *llwch* (olim *laich*)
 meaning a "lake." The name **LAKE** itself occurs as that of
 an estate near Woodford, a few miles from Salisbury. Com-
 pare the Latin *lacus*. As regards the termination of the
 former word, it may be observed that many names of places
 in Wales end in *og*, which was formerly *oc*. Thus in Meri-
 onethshire, we find a hill called *Hinog*,—a farm termed
Rhivedog,—and a place designated *Yrugog*, literally "the
 heathy." *Friddog* is given as meaning "abounding in
 copses." The termination *oc* seems to be adjectival, like the
 Latin *us* or *um*, and occasionally also a diminutive. In
 Cornish its equivalent seems to be *ic* or *ick*, thus *Bryanick*
 means "the hilly," *Carnick* "the rocky"—*place* being in
 each case understood. See *Cambrian Register*, 1796, and
Pryce's Vocabulary.

27. **LIDDINGTON.** Spelt in ancient charters *Lidentine*. In the
Shaftesbury Chartulary,³ where we have the boundaries given,
 mention is made of a stream called *Lyden*, from which, though
 the name is now lost, this place derives its designation. There
 is a stream in Somerset called the *Lyde*, which rises in Norton
 St. Philip, and forming a rivulet flows by Wellow into the

¹ There is, on the Somersetshire border, about three miles from Bradford-on-Avon, a place called **CONK-WELL**. In the land-limits of Bathford, the next parish, contained in the Chartulary of Bath Abbey (Cod. Dipl., iii., 451), we have *Cunuca-leage*, which shews that this name also is derived from a similar source as **CONOCK**, and **KNOCK**.

² Wilts Domesday, 83, 101.

³ Cod. Dipl., 386.

Avon.¹ Possibly *Lide-way*,² a name occurring near Urchfont, may be similarly explained, though here also the neighbouring stream has no special designation.

LIDIARD. The name of two villages in the north western part of the county. In the charters we have the name as *Lidgeard*.³ In Domesday it is spelt *Lediar* and *Lidiarde*. The Welsh word *lidiart* is defined by Davies, in his Welsh and Latin Diet. (1632), as *porta agrestis*. A gate, or entrance to a field or enclosure, is in Welch *lidiart-clwyd*, literally, a "hurdle-opening." The original meaning of the word would seem to be an "expanding" or "opening." Admitting the correctness of Dr. Guest's views on the boundaries between the Welsh and English races after A.D. 597, it is, to say the least, very interesting to find local names with such a signification, evidently of Celtic origin, so near what he conjectured to have been the probable border-line. See Arch. Journ., June 1859.

MERE. } The first of these names is that of hundred forming a
MARDEN. } portion of the south-west boundary of the county. This
IMBER. } is from the well-known word which is almost exclusively used in charters to denote the boundaries of estates—*ge-mæro*, a neuter plural, the singular of which is *ge-mære*. Kemble, after well weighing the matter, comes to the conclusion that it is a word borrowed by the English from their Celtic neighbours, and that an ancient British compound *cym-mer*, denoting a "junction" or "union," is the origin of it. In its simple form we have it as **MERE**. Its compounds are numerous: every Wiltshireman is familiar with the term "*Mere-stones*" by which on the open downs one plot of land is divided from another—indeed the name **MARSTON** (originally *Mærstán*) occurs on the north-east boundary of the county. **MAR-DEN**

¹ Collinson's Somerset, iii., 370.

² In a charter of A.D. 931 relating to **EWELME** (now *Ewen*) near **KEMBLE**, we have amongst the points of boundary "Inde usque *Lyde-welle* et ab illo fonte usque stratam quæ vocatur *Fosse*," &c. See Cod. Dipl. 355.

³ Cod. Dipl., 328, 897, 1076.

again is the "dean on the boundary,"—in this case of the hundred of Swanborough. MARSH-FIELD, formerly spelt *Maresfeld*, probably comes from the same root, and means "boundary-field," situated as it is at the junction of the counties of Wilts and Gloucester. In IMBER, spelt formerly *Ym-mere* and *Im-mere*, we seem to have a corrupt form of the word *ge-mære* itself. It is the name of an isolated parish in the very middle of Salisbury Plain, portioned out between two hundreds, with neither of which it is in immediate contact. Indeed the "boundary-line" of detached portions of the hundreds of Heytesbury and Swanborough runs right through the middle of the parish.

28. MINETY. The name of two places—one near Cricklade, and which though locally situated in Wilts belongs to Gloucestershire, the other a little north of Corsham. The name is spelt in the charters *Mintie* and *Mintih*. (Cod. Dipl. 255, 1048.) The former syllable may be the Cornish *maen* (plur. *mein*), signifying "stone." The latter possibly is *ty*, Irish *tigh*, (= a house or dwelling). Compare with the last form the Latin *tego* (= cover). This etymology violates the rule explained in § 2, still the generic term is not, especially in the more ancient names, *invariably* found first; as *e.g.*, in the Merionethshire name *Cyf-ty* (= block-house), and in *Deveit-ty* (= sheep-house). See Cambrian Register, 1795.

NETTŌN. A small hamlet between Amesbury and Old Sarum. An entry in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 508, gives much interest to this name. It is as follows: "Now Cerdic and Cynric slew a British King whose name was *Natan-leod*, and 5000 men with him. Then after that the land was called *Natan-leaga*, as far as *Cerdic's ford*."

Dr. Guest, after remarking that no entry in the Saxon Chronicle has given rise to more discussion, gives an ingenious, and, as it seems to me, probable interpretation of it. There never was a British king of the name of *Natanleod*, and he conceives therefore that this word represents not a proper name, but a title of honour. He explains the former part of

the word as the genitive case of a word formed from the Welsh term *nawt*, signifying a "sanctuary," e.g., *Nat-e* (gen. *Nat-an*); and observes, concerning the latter portion, that "*Leod*," though not found in our Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, occurs in Anglo-Saxon poems with the sense of "*Prince*." He explains the whole word as signifying the "Prince of the sanctuary,"¹ and as being a title given to Ambrosius, and one of which a man, as exalted even as he was, might well have been proud. Our remarks above in § 16, under AMESBURY, will explain what this sanctuary was. We can gather, from other sources, circumstantial evidence that he died in this same year to which the entry in the Saxon Chronicle relates, and the coincidence of dates seems almost to demonstrate the identity of Natanleod and Ambrosius.

The Saxon Chronicler goes on to say that "the country was called *Natan-leaga* as far as *Cerdic's ford*." This last-named place was clearly *Chard-ford*, a small village, or hamlet, in Hampshire, on the banks of the Avon at the point where that river leaves the county of Wilts. The territory called *Natan-leaga* (or the *Leas of the Nat-e*) consisted most probably of the woodlands which stretched from the Avon (which flows through the south-west of Hampshire till it enters the English Channel by Christchurch) to the Test and Itchin, on which last river stands Southampton. Throughout this district, which includes not only a portion of Wilts but also of Hants, we find memorials of Britain's early chieftain. First and foremost you have the well-known name of NET-LEY. Again, between Amesbury and Old Sarum we still have this hamlet called NET-TON, which is of course only a corruption,

¹ A philological friend has suggested to me that *Natan-leod* may be from *Nathan* (Irish and Gaelic), an adjective meaning *noble*, and *Lluydä* (=army), and that the whole name signifies "Commander in chief," the Chronicler speaking of Ambrosius by his title. As a parallel instance, he mentions, as recorded by Beda (Eccles. Hist. B. 2, chap. 13), that the priest who answered Paulinus when he was persuading Edwin, King of Northumbria to become a Christian, was "Coif." Now the name given by the British Celts to an Arch-Druid was "Coibhi," (=Coifi); they therefore seem to have spoken of the priest alluded to by his title. See Armstrong's Gael. and Irish Dictionary.

of the Anglo-Saxon *Nate-tún*, i.e., the village of the Nat-e. And then, on the south-eastern border of the Clarendon Forest, not far from Salisbury, was a place, according to Sir R. C. Hoare, called NET-LEY coppice.

29. OARE. Near Wilcot, on the borders of the parish and hundred. There is a parish of the same name at the western extremity of Somerset, the *Are* of Domesday.¹ Leo² thinks it is the Gaelic *or, oir*, which signifies brink, edge, or boundary. The expression *y oror*, the name by the way of a farm in Merionethshire, means "the boundaries." This word often occurs as the termination of names, e.g., Readan-óra (= Radnor), Cumen-óra (= Cumnor). See Cod. Dipl. 214, 1106.

PEWSHAM. So called from a small stream, formerly, if not now, designated the *Pewe*, which rises at Lockswell and flows into the Avon near Lackham.

PIGGLEDEAN. The name of a farm in East Overton, not far from Avebury. In the charter relating to this neighbourhood we have the name *Pyttel-dene*,³ which seems clearly to refer to this spot. Indeed it was formerly called *Pittledean*. Webster includes *pightel* among obsolete words, and Halliwell gives it also among primitive terms, and it is said to mean a "small parcel of land enclosed with a hedge." Hartshorne⁴ thinks it is connected with the Welsh and Cornish *pitw* (= small). He mentions a place called PICCLESCOT, near Shrewsbury, which he considers to mean the "dwelling in the *pightel*." That the word is Celtic seems pretty evident. In Ducange we meet with the Latinised forms *pictellum* and *pightellum*, explained by him to mean "exigua fundi portio sepimento conclusa." [There is the name *Fiddle Farm*, on the ordnance map, just south-west of Cricklade; is this another corruption of this old Celtic term?]

¹ Collinson's Somerset, ii., 33.

² Anglo-Saxon Nomenclature, p. 91.

³ Cod. Dipl., 1020.

⁴ Salopia Antiq., p. 259.

POULTON. } The former of these names is usually spelt
POOL (KEYNES). } *Pul-ton* in ancient documents. They are both
 from the Welsh *pwl*, which is found in every Celtic dialect,
 and is radically the same as the Latin *pal-us* and the English
pool. Compare the Welsh names Pont-y-pwl, Pwl-hill, &c.
 In the names Pill, applied to a portion of the Avon below
 Bristol, and Pilton in Somerset, we may trace the same root,
 perhaps with a diminutive force. See Arch. Journ., xvii., 99.
 [On *pól* as entering into the composition of a few names found
 in the Saxon charters see Leo on "Anglo-Saxon names,"
 p. 100,]

QUIDHAMPTON. } The former is the name of places by Salthrop,
QUIDHAM (STREET). } Wroughton, and Bemerton,—the latter is by
 Broad Chalk. They are both derived from the Cornish *cuid*
 (= wood). **QUIDHAM** means the "homestead by the wood."
 Compare Pen-cuit (or Pen-quite) which means a "wood-
 head."

30. **REY.** The name of a small river flowing through Water-Eaton
 into the Isis near Cricklade. There is also a *Rey*-bridge close to
 Lackham, and a *Rey*-down common south of Steeple Ashton.
 The river-name would seem to be from the same source as
 the **REA** (in Worcestershire) and possibly also the **WREY** (in
 Devonshire). Fergusson derives this and many other river-
 names (such as the Rhine, &c.) from the Sanscrit *ri* (= to
 flow), Greek *ῥέω*, Latin *rigo* (often applied to rivers "Qua
 Ister Getas *rigat*"), Sanscrit *rinās* (= fluid), old Saxon *rīha*
 (= a torrent), Anglo-Saxon *regen*, English *rain*, Welsh *rhe*
 (= rapid), *rhean* (= a stream). River Names of Europe, p.
 41.

ROWDE. Spelt in Domesday *Rode*, and in the Nom. Vill. *Roudes*.
 It is probably derived from the root *reidh*, to clear or *rid*,
 which though Celtic, and found in Gaelic and Irish, never-
 theless seems also to belong to other branches of the Indo-
 European stock. If thus derived the name would mean a
 "space cleared from the forest." We have **ROAD** (formerly
 spelt *Rode*) in Somerset, on the borders of our county, and

RODE-HALL in Cheshire, which may possibly be derived from the same source.

SEAGRY. Spelt in Domesday *Segrie* and *Segrete*, in the Nom. Vill. *Segre*. The only suggestion that can be made as to this word is that its root is to be found in the Welsh *hesg* (olim *sesg*) which means "sedge." See above under Hessick (§ 24) A confirmation, in some sort, of this derivation is found in the Anglo-Saxon charter relating to SUTTON BENDER, an immediately neighbouring parish, where *Seg-mede* seems clearly intended for what we now call Seagry. See Cod. Dipl. 460. What the latter portion of the word was originally it is not easy to say, though if we may trust the *second* spelling of Domesday it is just *possible* that it may have been the Welsh *rhyd* (olim *rit*), which means a "ford," so that the whole word might be equivalent to *Sedge-ford*.

SELK. } The former is the name of a place near Mildenhall, the
 SELK-LEY. } latter the name of a Wiltshire Hundred. We also meet with *Silk Wood* in the north west of the county, and *Silk Hill* by Figheldean, which are possibly from the same root, whatever it may be. The words seem Celtic. The only derivation that can be suggested is from a root which in Irish appears as *Sealg* (= *Selc*), and in Welsh as *helg*, and signifies in the former a "chace," and in the latter a careful "hunting about." In the dictionaries *helgi* is given as meaning a "hunter," and *helgorn* a "hunting horn." If such a derivation be at all feasible, the names might fairly denote the forest, and other land, where animals of "the chase" were found. Certainly all the places above enumerated are in parts of the county that might fairly be so described.

31. SHERRINGTON. Spelt in the Wilton Chartulary *Scearn-tune* and in Domesday *Scaren-tone*. It is derived possibly from the Welsh word *sarn*, a "stepping-stone" or "causeway." In the land limits of the adjoining manors of Stockton and Sherrington as contained in the chartularies of Winchester and Wilton respectively¹ the boundary between them from

¹ See Wilts Mag., xii. 217.

north to south-west is described as *Weala-weg* (= Welsh, or British, way). To this day this old trackway can be traced, and remains still the line of boundary.

SURRENDEN. Near Grittleton. In Domesday it is spelt *Siren-done*, and in the Nom. Vill. (1316) *Suryndene*. This place also, it may be, gets its name from some old *sarn*, or British trackway near it. Certainly there are the remains of a cromlech close by, and Littleton Drew is in its neighbourhood. Kemble, by the way, identifies SURRENDEN, in Kent, with the *Swith-ræding-denne* of a charter¹ dated 1020. But the intermediate forms of spelling given above seem conclusive against such having been the original of this place in Wiltshire.

SWALLOW. } The source of a small stream flowing into the Kennet
SWILL. } is called the *Swallow-head*,² and *Swill Brook* is the name of a stream by Ashton Keynes and Minety. In Kent and Yorkshire there are two rivers called *Swale*, the former of which is called, in Cod. Dipl. 199, *Swalewe*, and the ancient charters (Cod. Dipl. 58, 801) speak of one in Gloucestershire called *Suelle*. To this day indeed there is one in that county called *Swily*, which is possibly the same stream. It has been suggested that the name may be from the Gaelic *suail* (= little) but this is by no means a satisfactory derivation. Fergusson³

¹ Cod. Dipl., 1315.

² This name would imply that there was a stream here which no doubt bore the name of the *Swalewe*, or *Suelle*. This stream runs past SILBURY and AVEBURY, and flows ultimately into the Kennet. I have sometimes thought the former part of the name *Sil-bury* may have been derived from this stream, which might easily, in course of centuries, have been corrupted from *Suelle*, or *Swill*, as we have it in North Wilts. Unfortunately we find the name *Silbury* in no old documents, so as to be able to tell its original form. Were it not that we might fairly look for a Celtic name, at least in part, for this remarkable mound (for we have not here, as in the case of STONEHENGE, an original name, which has been superseded, preserved to us) we should accept at once, as an interpretation, *Sel-berg* (= great hill), just as *Selwood*, according to Asser, is equivalent to *Coit mawr* or *Silva magna*, i.e., great wood. See Mon. H. Brit., 481. There is no word like *sel* that now signifies *great*. The nearest is the Cornish *sel*, *sil*, *sul*, which signifies a "view or prospect;" the adjective *sellick* meaning "conspicuous" or "remarkable." Thus *Crug-sellick* (= conspicuous barrow). See Price's Corn.-Brit. Dict.

³ River Names of Europe, p. 165.

thinks the word contained, though wanting in the Celtic, must be related to the old High German *swal*, old Norse *svelgr* (= whirlpool), and English *swell*. Notwithstanding the explanation by the old scribe of SWALLOW-CLIFF as equivalent to *Rupes Irundinis*,¹ I should not be surprised if after all it was so called from a stream, though the name of the stream has been lost.

SYRENCOTE. } One of these places is close by Stonehenge, the
SHARNCOTE. } other in North Wilts near the Gloucestershire border.

The second is also spelt *Cernecote* and *Serencote*. The former portion of each name is possibly the Welsh *sarn*, which signifies a "stepping-stone or cause-way." It is similar in meaning to the Latin *stratum*, and the English *street*. The great road through Wales from what is now called Severn-Side was called "*Sarn-Helen*," from a notion, it is said, that a Roman Empress of that name caused it to be made. SHARNEY-FORD in Lancashire means the "ford by the stepping-stones." If our conjecture be true, the names in question would mean the "cot, or dwelling, by the *sarn*," or ancient trackway. The Cambrian Register (1795) gives at p. 309 as local names in Merionethshire *Sarn y Bwch* (= buck's causeway) and *Sarn y Llwyn* (= causeway of the grove).

32. TAN-COAT. A name given to a lane by Cadley not far from Savernake. The former portion is possibly from the root which is found in the Armorican as *Tann*, and which signifies an *oak*, and the latter the Cornish *Coit* (= wood)—the whole word thus signifying "oak-wood."

THUNDER BROOK. Close by Wootton Bassett. This is possibly from the Welsh *dwinn* (= dark), and *dwr* (=water), and may mean "dark" or "turbid stream." Close by is *Dores-Bridge* which also looks as though it was a corruption from the same word *dwr*, and means simply the "bridge over the stream."

TOOT-HILL. Close by Lidiard Tregoz. Fosbrooke says that tumuli of a lofty character sacred to Mercury by the high-roads

¹ Cod. Dipl., 387.

were the *Mercurii Tumuli* of Livy (B. xxvi.,) and that the Teuts, or Toot-hills, of our county were so denominated, according to Bowles (Hermes. 19, 20), from the identity of Mercury or *Teutates*. Cleeve Toot in Somerset is capped by a mass of rocks which from below has all the appearance of an altar. Tothill Street, Westminster, says Norden, a topographer of Elizabeth's reign, "taketh name of a hill near it, which is called *Toote-hill*, in the great field near the Street." Encyclop. of Antiq. ii. 582. If there be any truth in this conjecture it is not from the *Tuisco* or *Teut* of the Germans, but from the Celtic *Taith* (in Welsh *Duw Taith*), the god of travelling, that these places are named. It is far more likely that the name comes from the Welsh *twdd* (pronounced *tooth*), which means simply that "which projects" or "juts out." See Philolog. Transactions 1855, p. 283.

UNDERDITCH. Written anciently *Wond'dic*, and the name not only of one of the Wiltshire dykes but also of the hundred in which it is situated. Its derivation is probably either from the Cornish *woon* (= a down)—as e.g., *woon-bocca* (= goats' down), *tre-woon* (= house on the down)—or from the Welsh *gwán* (= separation) from the verb *gwántu* (= to sever), as denoting the object for which it was made, *viz.*, to serve as a line of boundary.

33. **VERN-DYKE.** One of the ancient Wiltshire dykes. It is in the neighbourhood of Broad Chalk. The name *vern* (if not a dialectic change of *fern*) is perhaps from the Welsh *gwern*, which signifies "a morass" and also an "alder tree." Thus **WHERN-SIDE** in Yorkshire is so called from the alder trees with which it is covered. Some of the Glossaries give *gwern* as an epithet for hell,—and, without putting too much reliance on this fact, we may say that if so used here it would carry out the idea of the supernatural as associated with wild dismal places, and with such works as these. See § 17 under **BOKERLEY.**

WAD-WICK. } The former place is by Box, the latter is the name
WHAD-DON. } of two parishes, one near Trowbridge, and the other

not far from Alderbury. In Domesday these last are spelt *Wadone*, and *Waddene*. There can be little doubt as to the former syllable in all being a form of the Welsh *coed* (= wood) and that they mean respectively the "village," and the "hill," or, it may be, the "dean" (= valley) by "the wood."

WALLOP. The name of three villages in Hants close on the Wiltshire border. The derivation we are not able to give, but the word is included in the list because it is incidentally an illustration of one of those fragmentary notices by our early annalists, to which we are indebted for what little light we have, with which to grope our way through the darkness of pre-historic times. We may infer from our legendary traditions, as well as from such fragments of real history as have come down to us, that, after the termination of the Roman rule in Britain, in the former part of the fifth century, there were two great political parties in the country. There was, first of all, the native or British party, properly so called, who were headed by Vortigern; and then there were the Romanised Britons who acknowledged as their chiefs the descendants of the usurper Constantine, or, in other words, members of the family of Ambrosius, a name well known to students of our early annals. Between these two rival parties there came at last an open rupture, and the memory of one of their conflicts seems to be recorded in the following fragment preserved by Nennius, and probably taken by him from some British chronicle:—"A regno Guorthigerni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii, anni sunt duodecim, quod est Gualoppum, id est Catguoloph." Dr. Guest, after shewing the mistakes that Usher, Lappenberg, and others have made in interpreting this obscure passage, suggests the following as the only feasible translation of it:—"From the beginning of Vortigern's reign to the dissensions headed by Guitolinus and Ambrosius, are twelve years. This is the Gualoppum, *i.e.*, the battle of Gualoph." He adds:—"As we have reason to believe that the family interest of Ambrosius lay in Wiltshire and its neighbourhood, and as, near

the Roman road from Old Sarum to Silchester, and immediately below the fortress on Quarly Hill, lies a wide tract of country called the WALLOP fields, it is not improbable that here was fought the battle commemorated in this fragment." There are in that same neighbourhood three villages, (which, though locally situated in Hampshire, are close to the borders of Wiltshire,) bearing respectively the names of Upper, Middle, and Lower WALLOP, which are probably the memorials of sad intestine struggles that wasted the strength of our British forefathers, and ultimately gave a victory, which otherwise would have been hard to win, to the united bands of the Saxon invaders. Compare the name *Welp-ley*, also close to the border of the county, the former part of which may perchance be a contracted form of this same word.

WALKERS HILL. Near Alton Priors. Just below the hill is an old British road, or trackway, described in a charter relating to that parish as *weala-wege*. The peasants still call the hill *Walc-way Hill*, and Andrews and Dury in their map, though they call it Walker's Hill, have underneath it the word *Walk-way*. No doubt the origin of the present name is from the old *weala-wege* (that is the *Welsh-way*,) the ordinary name for British roads. It means simply *Welsh-way-hill*. It is no bad example of the manner in which names in the course of centuries are tortured into singularly strange and perplexing forms. See Domesday for Wilts, Introd. p. xxvii.

WASH-POOL. } The former is by Lidiard Millicent, the latter
WASH-BOURN. } the name of a mill by Somerford Keynes. The first portion of each word is the ancient word *wisk*, or *wisg*, which signifies *water*, and is found in so many forms. See above under § 10.

34. **WEAVERN (Mill).** This is situated on what is now called the Box Brook but is termed in an ancient charter, relating to Bathford, the *Waffer*. Cod. Dip. 463. The river *Weaver* in Cheshire bears the same name still. Near Bathford the name is lost but an estate by which the Box Brook flows is called *War-leigh* and in the Court Rolls of that

manor the brook itself is described as "rivulus cui nomen est *Weare*." We can hardly avoid the conclusion that the last mentioned name is a contraction, or corruption, of *Wæfer*, the original form being preserved more nearly in the name of the mill on a higher part of the stream.

WHITTOXMEDE. This occurs only as a personal name in Wilts. See Aubrey; index, *sub voce*. It is the name however of a place not far from the borders of the county in the parish of Wellow, in Somerset. Collinson, iii., 327. It is spelt in Domesday *Witoches-mede*. The former portion of this word has the look of a personal name, but at the time of Domesday surnames were hardly yet in use, at all events they were excessively rare. I cannot help thinking therefore that this portion of the name is composed of the Cornish *cuit* (= wood) and the adjectival termination *oc*, (see above § 26 under **LACOCK**), and means simply "woody;" the whole name designating the "meadow by the wood." In the word *Wheat-acre*, which has become the personal name *Whit-taker*, and which also assumes the form of *Gat-aker*, (see above § 24,) we have, it is believed, another variation of this same old Cornish word signifying "wood." [It is right to add that in a Saxon Charter we meet with the expression *Hwittuces-hleaw*, i.e., *Wittuck's low* (or tumulus) which we can only regard as a *personal* name. Its origin may nevertheless be from the source indicated in the above paragraph.]

WINFIELD. Near Trowbridge; spelt in Domesday *Winefel*, and in the Sarum Registers, till very recent times, *Wynfield*, or *Winfield*. Its former syllable is most probably the Welsh *chwyn* (= weeds). There is a local term in Wiltshire, *whin*, which seems to be the same, and is used as a synonym for *furze*. See Halliwell's *Provinc. Dict.*

WHICHBURY. On the southern border of the county, not far from Downton. For reasons given in § 2 it is probable that the former portion of this name is Celtic, and possibly from the Welsh *gwig* (or *gwic*) which signifies a hamlet. It is close by *Breamore*, which is clearly a Celtic name. See above § 13.

WORE MARSH. } The first is by Wootton Bassett, the second by
 WIER GATE. } Sharnocote on the border of the county, the third
 WHYR FARM. } by Broad Hinton. We also have the name WHER
 by Berwick Bassett, and a place called THE WIRE, by Broad
 Hinton. I am inclined to think that, at all events, some of
 them are but provincial pronunciations of *Oare*, already
 explained, (§ 29) and denote the fact of the place so named
 being on "a boundary,"—it may be of a hundred, or of a
 manor, or of the county itself. There is a Welsh word
gwyran which means "coarse rushy grass" which may per-
 haps explain some of them. The remarks (in § 10) on the
 name WERE also deserve attention, especially in the case of
 such of them as may be on, or near, a stream.

YARNBURY. A name given to some ancient earthworks on the
 downs, a few miles to the west of Stonehenge. It is prob-
 ably from the Welsh *carn* (= a heap of stones) the *c* or *g*
 being often softened into *y* (compare the German *garn*,
 English *yarn*, &c). There is a Yarn-brook near Westbury,
 and a Yarn-ton in Oxfordshire, which may be possibly derived
 from the same source. [By the way, there was an old proper
 name, in Friesic, *Jaare*, which if classed with nouns ending
 in *e* would have its genitive case in *an*, e.g. *Jaaran*, that deserves
 attention. Certainly some of the large artificial mounds
 and barrows were called after the names of persons e.g.,
Cwichelmes-hlæw (= Cuckhamsley) in Berks, &c.]

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

35. Enough, it is hoped, has now been placed before our readers
 to show the strong Celtic element¹ that pervades our Local Nomen-

¹ There are a few names of places which seem likely enough to be Celtic, but
 of which I have as yet seen no satisfactory account, neither am I able myself to
 give one. In the hopes of eliciting enquiry, and receiving suggestions from
 some who may have made the Celtic languages and dialects their study, I give
 a list of them. The forms in *italics* represent their more ancient forms, where
 I am able to give them.

CHERHILL, *Chiriel*, — FIGHELDEAN, *Fisgledene*, *Fyghelden*, — OAKSEY,
Wochesie, *Wokesey*, — POTTERN, *Poterne*, — KATFYN (near Bulford), *Rothefen*,
Rotefen, (in Domesday) *Rotefelde*, — SAVERNAKE, *Sáfernóc*, — STERKLEY,
Sterchelie.

clature in Wilts. A few observations will suffice to place before our readers the general results of this investigation.

(a) First of all, we may remark that a state of things seems to be implied considerably at variance with notions, once generally entertained, as to the treatment inflicted on the British races by successive conquerors. These "Names" shew, that the earliest inhabitants or their descendants were neither destroyed nor wholly banished by the advancing Saxon. No doubt the British chieftains were slain in battle, or forced into exile, but the bulk of the population remained, and in the course of centuries was absorbed into the general mass of the inhabitants. Many years after the English were virtually masters of the country, they retained in familiar use several Welsh names of districts. And near border-lands, and especially in the vicinity of the great dykes, names still preserved shew how Britons and Englishmen lived as neighbours long enough to fix on certain localities names derived from their respective occupants.¹

(b) But a further remark that may be made, as the result of this enquiry, is this—that the Celtic element in Wiltshire names is not Welsh, but approaches nearer to the Cornish, or the Armorican. It will have been observed that many of the forms of *roots*, which have served to interpret our Names of Places, have been found in the latter dialects. This shews us pretty clearly that the Celtic tribes that inhabited our portion of the country, though closely related to the Cymry, or Welsh, were distinguished from them by certain dialectical differences which mark a diversity of race. It is an interesting result, as confirming the statement of Cæsar, who implies

¹ It is especially interesting to observe in the names still remaining on either side of border-lands evidences of the two races thus, as it were, dwelling side by side. Thus on the southern border of the county we have *Brit-ford* and not far from it *Chard-ford* (*i.e.*, Cerdic's ford), a memorial of the Saxon chieftain. Then on the north-west border we find close to one another *English-combe* and *Wal-cot*, *i.e.*, the dwelling of the Welsh. So too on the Berkshire border, the two names *Ingle-wood* and *Walling-ford* denote respectively the occupation of the English and the Welsh. Moreover on the Hampshire border, whilst on the one side you have *Melchet*, *Wallop* and *Welpley*, all seemingly Celtic names, on the other you have *Sher-field English* which can only mean the "shire (= border) field" occupied by the Teutonic race.

that in the territory of the Belgæ (in which Wiltshire was included the natives whom he found in the island differed in many respects from the other Celtic tribes. It illustrates moreover the truth of the observation made by Leibnitz :—"The names of places are the most likely to perpetuate the remains of an obsolete dialect, and to aid us in retracing the existence of extinct nationalities. The things they designate survive, whilst men disappear altogether from the scene, or become dispersed."

(c) It will have been observed that, in suggesting the origin of certain Names, an opinion has been expressed that they have contained in them the name of a stream, on which they are situated, now obsolete and forgotten. This is the case with regard to IDOVER, § 6, CRICKLADE § 19, CALNE¹ § 17. In the instances of LIDDINGTON § 27, and WARLEIGH § 33, we recovered the names of the streams which gave name to them from Anglo Saxon charters, though they have long lost their original designation. My conviction is that many Names which puzzle us may ultimately be interpreted in like manner; that every stream great or small in olden days had its own name; and that when words end in *lade* and *bourne*² and similar terminations, they frequently contain, as their principle element, a word, now it may be quite forgotten or obsolete, which once was the designation of a stream. Examples might be given from the Anglo Saxon charters in abundance by way of shewing how many streams have lost their original names.

(d) The observations made under LIDIARD (§ 26) will also have had an interest for those who have followed with care the researches of Dr. Edwin Guest on the history of the early settlements of our English ancestors in this country. Allowing the correctness of his

¹ Since the former part of this paper was printed, I have observed that in Speed's map of Wilts the stream flowing through this town, now called the MARDEN, is designated the CALNE.

² This *may* be the case with the name COLLINGBOURN, applied to two villages not far from Everley. The name is written in Domesday *Colingeburne*, and *Coleburne*. Possibly the stream that flows through them may formerly have borne the not unknown name of the COLE (see above § 9), and the longer form may be the "clan name," and mean "the dwellers or settlers near the COLE," just as AVENING (§ 4) means the "clan settled near the Avon." It is, however, right to add, that we meet with Cólá (= Côle) as a *personal* name in the Wiltshire Domesday.

conclusions, in his remarkable paper "On the boundaries that separated the Welsh and English races during the 75 years after the capture of Bath in A.D. 577," I hesitate not to say that they derive no little confirmation from the study of the local nomenclature of Wilts. Let any one take a coloured pencil, and underline with it names that evidently are, or seem to be, of Celtic origin, and he will be surprised to find how they cluster in that "tongue of land" which stretched from Cricklade and Malmesbury southwards some fifty miles long and fourteen broad, and included the wooded valleys of the Avon and Frome, and which, according to Dr. Guest, was left still in the possession of the old inhabitants, though in the very midst of what had become English territory. And most numerous are such names along the border-line which he there indicates, or within a few miles of it. Indeed by far the larger number of the names explained in this paper are to be found in this district which he marks out so carefully, or in its immediate vicinity.¹ (See Arch. Journ., 1859.)

¹ It may be of course accidental, but still it is interesting to observe that two places, the one on the western, and the other on the eastern border of this "tongue of land," are called YAT-TON (near Castle Combe) and YATES-BURY (near Calne). They are spelt respectively in Domesday *Etone* or *Getone*, and *Etesberie*. The latter name occurs in the Taxat. Eccles. as *Yattesbury*, *Yac-tebury* and *Jetesbury*, and in the Test. de Nev. as *Zatesbury*. Now Pryce in his Cornish Vocabulary gives *Yet* as meaning "a gate, or door." (Compare the Anglo-Saxon *geat*, which Kemble explains as meaning generally an opening either in a fence, wall, or natural rise of the ground, an opening through which cattle can move.) May it have the same signification then as LIDIARD (already explained § 26) and imply an "opening" or "entrance" into the retained district? We have, in the name "Hampshire Gap," an analogous appellation. If so the two Names would imply that one was "a village" and the other an "open pasture land," (see above § 21 on the meaning of *berie* as a termination) at the "opening" or on "the borders" of the two districts. All this is of course *simple conjecture*, which must go for what it is worth. By the way, Collinson tells us in his History of Somerset (iii., 616) that he considers YATTON in that county equivalent to the town-port (*janua oppidi*), the place having in early ages formed an entrance to the channel when the waters overspread the valley.

[Among Wassenbergh's list of old Friesic *personal names*, some of which we might fairly expect to find in our part of the country connected with *local names*, is that of EYTE; so that after all, if we can trust to Domesday spelling, we may have in the name YATESBURY a memorial of some early Teutonic settler.]

Though every care has been taken to avoid hasty, or merely fanciful, conclusions, it is too much to expect to carry conviction in all cases. This paper is put forth as, in a great measure, *tentative* in its character, and is, at all events, an honest attempt to deal with a subject, profoundly interesting, but nevertheless, from its very nature, obscure and difficult. The writer will be fully content to feel that he has been able to open a few chinks, through which to let in a ray or two of light on the darkness of a period from which we are separated by the mists of fourteen centuries. The examples at all events are numerous enough to shew, that though three-score generations have lived and died since they trod the soil of Britain, the imprint of our Celtic ancestors is still to be traced on every side. Their memorials are to be found moreover just where we might expect them. Hardly a word is there, in the purely Celtic portion of the names, that speaks of home—or of an enclosed town—or even of a fortified encampment. A faithful reflection this, of the habits of our British forefathers, who, as chroniclers tell us, roamed amid the woods, the fortresses which nature had provided for them—who, clad in coarse raiment, lived on hard fare and in rude perishable huts—and who trusted not to walls and bulwarks, but to weapons, wielded with a stout heart, by brawny sinewy arms. Is there not too a kind of rude yet touching poetry in that part of our local nomenclature which has reference to them, when we see the hill, the wold, the moor, and the stream, again appearing as they existed before the accidents of time and the spread of civilization had changed in some sort their physical features? Add to all these facts, the one on which I have dwelt (see § 16 under AMESBURY), that we have in our county, in connection with the name of a British chieftain of the fifth century, a memorial of primitive Christianity—a glimmering spark, just visible through the murky darkness of intervening ages—proving that, whatever we may have subsequently owed to Augustin, Rome was not the first to kindle the torch of truth in Britain, and surely we have enough in Wiltshire to interest even those who profess to have no taste for archæological pursuits.

It is only right that I should acknowledge my great obligations, in the preparation of this paper, to my old and valued friend, the

Rev. John Davies, till lately Rector of Walsoken, in Norfolk, whose learned contributions on similar subjects to the "Transactions of the Philological Society" are well known. Without his help I could not have ventured on so bold a flight. Whilst however any little credit that a kindly criticism may accord to this essay must in great part be accounted his, I do not wish to lay the responsibility for any faults, or short-comings, on any but myself.

Bradford-on-Avon.
April, 1874.

W. H. JONES.

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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. XVI.

ORDER. GRAMINEÆ. (JUSS.)

PHALARIS, (LINN) REED-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

The name of this genus is derived from the Greek word *phalos*, white or splendid; from its white shining seed. Supposed to be the *phalaris* of Dioscorides.

1. *P. arundinacea*, (Linn.) Reed Canary-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 402. *Parn. Gr. t.* 9,¹ *Digraphis* Trin.

Locality. Banks of the Avon, canal, water-meadows and wet ditches. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Generally distributed throughout the Districts.* *The flowering stem,* erect, smooth, and comparatively slender, vary in height from 2 to 5 feet; terminating in a beautiful, variously-branched panicle, 5 to 8 inches long, the spikelets of which are clustered at the extremities of the branchlets, and lean in one direction. *Leaves* half an inch or more in breadth. *Flowers* varying in hue in different situations, from almost white to pale green in the shade, and under exposure to the sun to rich shades of purple and yellow, with large red anthers. The variegated grass so frequent in gardens, and known by the names, Ribbon Grass, Painted Lady Grass, and Lady's-traces, is a variety of this, occasionally, but very seldom, met with in the wild state.

[*P. Canariensis*, (Linn.) Canary-grass, *Engl. Bot. t.* 1310, *Parn. Gr. t.* 9, is occasionally met with in cultivated and waste ground,

¹ Dr. Parnell's Grasses of Britain, and Andersson's *Pl. Scand.*, fasc. ii. contain a valuable account of this Order, and should be consulted by the student. T.B.F.

but has little claim to be considered even a naturalized plant.]

ANTHOXANTHUM, (LINN.) VERNAL-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. ii. Ord. ii.

Name. From (*anthos*) a flower, and (*xanthos*) yellow; in allusion to the colour of the spikes.

1. *A. odoratum* (Linn.) sweet Vernal-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 647. *Parn. Gr. t.* 8.

Locality. Meadows and pastures, common; also in woods, where it grows to a much larger size than elsewhere. *P. Fl. May, June.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Stems slender, rigid, smooth, 1 foot high, with one or two joints. *Leaves* flat, bright green, a little hairy, each with a white, membranous, sheathing *stipula*. *Flowers* generally closed, brownish; turning yellow with age. There are two forms or varieties (*a*) with purple anthers in meadows; (*b*) with dull yellow anthers in woods. This species is one of our most generally-distributed pasture grasses, forming part of every natural meadow, and forming tufts in our more secluded woods. It is a grass which of all others gives the peculiar flavour to meadow-hay. This exists in an aromatic principle known as *Coumarin*, and is the same that exists in the Wood-ruff, the Melilot, and to a still greater extent in the celebrated Tonquin-bean. To the Vernal-grass is due the sweeter scent, flavour, and relish of meadow hay when compared with artificial pasture.

PHLEUM, (LINN.) CAT'S-TAIL-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From the Greek *phleos*, the name of the *Saccharum cylindricum* (Lam.)

1. *P. pratense*, (Linn.) meadow or common Cat's-tail-grass. Timothy grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1067. *Parn. Gr. t.* 77 & 78.

Locality. Meadows and pastures, frequent. *P. Fl. June.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* The flowering stems are rigid, erect from a little above the base, and vary from 1 foot to 18 inches or more in height, terminating in a long cylindrical, densely spicate inflorescence, 3 to 7 inches in length. The *glumes* very much compressed, are membranaceous, towards the margin, but with a

strongly marked green line along the keel, which is ciliated with fine hairs that render the spike very soft to the touch. Soil and situation affect the habit of this grass so greatly that accidental varieties have been regarded as distinct species. On barren pastures and road-sides it is often decumbent, and the flower-spikes less than an inch in length. In some instances the lowermost joints of the stems become swollen in the form of tubers constituting the *Phleum nodosum* of Linnæus and later botanists, a variety of not unfrequent occurrence in our dry elevated sheep pastures. In moist rich soil both of these lose their peculiarities and assume the normal character of the species to which they appertain. In regard to the value of this grass much difference of opinion seems at all times to have prevailed among our scientific agriculturists, and the question is far from being decided at present.

ALOPECURUS, (LINN.) FOX-TAIL-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*alopex*) a fox, and (*oura*) a tail.

1. *A. pratensis* (Linn.), meadow Fox-tail-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 759. *St.* 8, 1. *Parn. Gr. t.* 4.

Locality. In rich meadows and pastures. *P. Fl.* April, June. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.* One of the most common of our meadow grasses. *Stem* erect, smooth, 1 to 3 feet high. *Leaves* a little glaucous, nearly smooth, flat; upper ones more rough, very short, with long, furrowed, slightly swelling sheaths. *The ligule* very short and obtuse. *Spike* or *spicate* panicle is of a light or yellowish green colour, with a tinge of grey, owing to the silvery hue of the long awns; it varies in length from 1 to 3 inches. *Anthers* prominent, yellow. An excellent grass for pasturage, being early and plentiful in produce.

2. *A. geniculatus* (Linn.) knee-jointed or floating Fox-tail-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1250. *Parn. Gr. t.* 5.

Locality. In the Kennet and Avon, and Wilts and Berks Canal. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Observed in all the Districts.* *Stems* about 1 foot or 18 inches long, branching below; decumbent when not floating, the flowering extremity only erect; more or less sharply bent at the joints, and especially at the uppermost, whence

the specific name and its occasional English one of Kneed-water-grass. *Leaves* variable in length, the sheath of the upper one inflated as in the species of this genus generally. *Ligule* oblong. *Spikes* 1 to 2 inches long. *Glumes* united at the base. *Anthers* purple or violet, changing to dull yellow or rust colour. *A. geniculatus* is a plant of variable character, as is frequently the case with others of aquatic habit.

3. *A. fulvus* (Sm.), tawny Fox-tail-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1467. *Parn. Gr. t.* 5.

Locality. On the sides of ponds and ditches, floating on the surface. *P. Fl. June, September.* *Area, * * * * 5.*

North Division.

5. *North-east District.* By the side of the canal between Swindon and Cricklade. "Chiseldon," *Marlb. Nat. Hist. Report.* *Very local in the County.* Closely allied to the last species, *A. geniculatus*, but it is a more luxuriant plant, with broader foliage, and larger flower-spikes. *Stems* 1 to 2 feet long decumbent at the lower part. *Ligule* oblong. *Spikes* pale green, 2 to 3 inches long. *Anthers* at first white, when ripe deep orange colour, rendering the plant very conspicuous at a considerable distance when in flower.

4. *A. agrestis* (Linn.), field, or slender Fox-tail-grass, Black-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 848. *Parn. t.* 3.

Locality. Fields and way-sides. *A. Fl. April, November.* *Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.* *A very troublesome weed.* Readily known by its annual root, attenuate panicles or spikes frequently of a purplish colour, and by the lanceolate acute glumes, united to the middle, which are glabrous, or a little rough at the keel. *Glumes* quite smooth. [*A. pronus* (Mitten) should be looked for in the county. According to Dr. Hooker, in the "Student's Flora," it is a "prostrate form" of *A. pratensis*.]

NARDUS (LINN.) MAT-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. i.

Name. From *Nardus*, the Latin name of a shrub, yielding spike-nard. Why applied to this scentless grass it is difficult to say.

1. *N. stricta* (Linn) close-spiked Mat-grass. *Strictus* (Lat.) is

close; from stringo, to bind. *Engl. Bot. t.* 290. *Parn. Gr. t.* 2.

Locality. Moors and heaths, especially where moisture collects during the winter. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, * 3, 4, **

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Salisbury, *Mr. James Hussey.*

3. *South-west District.* Heaths about Longleat.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Spye Park in plenty. "Birch Marsh, Langley." *Mr. William Sole.* A grass of simple structure, and rather *local* in the county, growing in short tufts, so coarse and rigid that cattle will not eat it. *Culms* and leaves *setaceous*. *Spike* long, erect, slender, grooved and toothed at short distances, for the insertion of the florets. *Glumellas* lanceolate; outer one coriaceous, purplish-green, tapering gradually into an awn; inner smaller awnless, membranous. Its value in nature seems chiefly that attaching to a vegetable pioneer, as it quickly disappears under the efforts of cultivation, and is rarely an occupant of any other but the poorest soil.

MILIUM, (LINN.) MILLET-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Named either from *mille*, a thousand, on account of its fertility; or according to Theis, from the Celtic *mil*, a stone, from the hardness of its fruit.

1. *M. effusum*, (Linn.) loose-spiked or common Millet. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1106. *Parn. Gr. t.* 17.

Locality. Damp shady woods. *P. Fl. June. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.* *Frequent throughout the Districts*, and one of the most elegant of our taller grasses. *Stems* from 3 to 4 feet in height. *Leaves* half an inch or more in breadth. *Inflorescence* spreading widely: *branches* of the panicle very smooth and slender, in distant alternate tufts, which are so arranged as to appear almost verticillate, horizontal when in flower, but eventually deflexed. The plants multiply by the root as well as by seed, sending out horizontal shoots of considerable length in some habitats, which root at the joints as they extend.

PHRAGMITES, (TRIN.) REED.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From the Greek *Phragmites*, materials for an enclosure; these reeds being used for that purpose.

1. *P. communis*, (Trin.) common Reed. *Arundo*, Smith, *Engl. Bot. t. 401.* *Parn. t. 29.*

Locality. By the sides of the Avon and canal, ponds and ditches, in wet woods, and damp pastures. *P. Fl. August.* *Area*, 1,2,3,4,5. *Generally distributed throughout all the Districts.* *Culms* 6 feet or more high, usually erect, rarely prostrate and very long. *Panicle* large, purplish-brown, ultimately drooping. *Glumes* very unequal, narrow, acuminate, the upper and larger one a little elevated on a short pedicel. *Flowers* longer than the glumes. *Rachis* of the fertile flowers bearing numerous silky hairs, which gradually lengthen after the expansion of the spikelets, so as to give a beautiful silvery appearance to the panicle, as the seed ripens about the commencement of autumn. This is one of Nature's most valuable *Colonists*, and is largely concerned in the gradual conversion of swamps, fens, stagnant pools, and other unwholesome spots, in which water accumulates, into dry land.

CALAMAGROSTIS, (ADANS) SMALL-REED.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*Kalamos*) Gr. a reed, and (*agrostis*) a genus of grasses.

1. *C. Epigejos*, (Roth.) Wood-small-reed. *Arundo* (Linn.) *Engl. Bot. t. 403.* *Parn. Gr. t. 16.*

Locality. Moist shady places. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1, * * 4, *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Near Clarendon Park," *Mr. Joseph Woods.*

North Division.

4. *North-east District.* Woods at Spye Park. Doubtless this species will be observed in other parts of the county. *Stems* 3 to 6 feet high, terminating in a large copiously-branched but rather

compact panicle from 6 to 8 inches or more in length. *Leaves* broad, harsh and rigid. The general character of the inflorescence is rather peculiar, the branches of the panicle being all directed to one side, and the spikelets having a similar determination, render it not unlike an exaggerated specimen of that of the Rough Cocksfoot-grass—*Dactylis glomerata*.

AGROSTIS, (LINN.) BENT-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. Given by the Greeks to grasses from *agros*, a field, because they are so abundant in open places.

1. *A. setacea*, (Curt) Bristled-leaved Bent-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1188. *Parn. Gr. t.* 83.

Locality. On dry turfy heaths, and downs. *P. Fl. July, August.*
Area, 1, * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Alderbury," Mr. Joseph Woods. *Very local in Wilts.* Stems erect, 1 to 2 feet high, with a narrow slender panicle, always contracted, except during the moment the flowers are expanded. *Glumes* narrow, and more pointed than in *A. vulgaris*, the lowest always longer than the second, the flowering one with a fine awn at its base. *Palea* very minute. *Anthers* oblong, purple. This grass should be looked for among heath and furze.

2. *A. canina*, (Linn.) brown Bent-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1856. *Parn. Gr. t.* 15.

Locality. Moist heaths and moory places. *P. Fl. July, August.*
Area, 1, * 3, 4, *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "About Alderbury," Mr. Joseph Woods.

3. *South-west District.* In plenty on a large heath between Warminster and Longleat.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In Spye Park. *Not generally distributed throughout Wilts.* *Very variable in size.* The flower-stems, decumbent below, rise to the height of 1 foot or 18 inches, terminating in a rather lax, rough panicle, 4 or 5 inches in length, the single-

flowered spikelets of which being stalked, and expanding at the time of flowering, renders the appearance of the inflorescence very light and elegant. *Flowers* green or purplish. *Leaves* narrow, radical, involute. *Sheaths* smooth, ligule oblong acute. The very lax panicle and the root-leaves not being densely tufted, distinguish *A. canina* from *A. setacea* at first sight.

3. *A. vulgaris*, (With.) fine Bent-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1671. *Parn. Gr. t.* 12 & 13.

Locality. Meadows, pastures and banks. *P. Fl. July.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.* One of our most common grasses—though preferring rather dry soils and situations. *Panicle* loose, its branches and branchlets spreading, mostly smooth. *Glumes* nearly equal, the outer one toothed on the upper part of the keel. *Ligule* very short, truncate. *Stems* long, ascending or decumbent. *Sheaths* smooth. *Pedicels* toothed. *Flowers* rarely awned. Very similar to the next species, *A. alba*, with which it is often confounded, but it may be readily distinguished by its panicle being open, not only during flowering but afterwards, and by the trichotomous divisions of the panicle branches being more divaricate.

4. *A. alba*, (Linn.) Marsh Bent-grass, Fiorin-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1189. *Parn. Gr. t.* 13 & 14.

Locality. Pastures, roadsides, and in various other situations abundant. *P. Fl. July.* *Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Very closely allied to the last, and united to it by Mr. Bentham. *Stems* ascending, often rooting at the base, or throwing out scions (*stolones*). *Panicle* rather contracted, pale green or purplish, branchlets patent during flowering, more erect afterwards, and giving the panicle a compact appearance, *Ligule* very acute. *Sheaths* roughish. *Flowers* rarely awned. *A very variable plant.* This grass, with several other well-known and common species, in a luxuriant state, is considered by many botanists to compose the celebrated Orcheston long-grass.¹

¹ See Dr. Maton's paper on this grass which he communicated to the Linnean Society, in the fifth volume of their Transactions.—*T.B.F.*

HOLCUS, (LINN.) SOFT-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. Perhaps from (*helko*) to draw; because ropes might be made of it.

1. *H. lanatus*, (Linn.) woolly or meadow Soft-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1169. *Parn. Gr. t.* 69.

Locality. Meadows, pastures, and woods. *P. Fl. July. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Common in the Districts.* *Root* tufted, not creeping. *Stems*, erect, simple, 1 or 2 feet high; smooth above; clothed in the lower part with soft deflexed hairs. *Stipula* short and blunt. *Panicle* thrice compound, erect, spreading but rather dense, whitish, or purplish with downy stalks. *Glumes* rather obtuse, mucronate. *Awn* of the upper flower curved inward like a hook, and extended beyond the glumes, quite smooth except towards the tip. *Root fibrous.* Much resembling the next in general appearance, but clothed with a softer and more abundant pubescence.

2. *H. mollis*, (Linn.) creeping Soft-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1170. *Parn. Gr. tt.* 21 & 22.

Locality. In pastures, shady copses, and hedges. *P. Fl. July. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Generally distributed.* *Glumes* acuminate. *Awn* of barren floret exerted at length, geniculate, scabrous all over. *Stem* and leaves subglabrous or slightly hairy. *Root* creeping. *Inflorescence* not so compact as in the preceding, whitish. Mr. Wilson well observes that this species is distinguished from *H. lanatus* by the acute (or almost acuminate) glumes and bearded nodes of the culm.

AIRA, (LINN.) HAIR-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Named from the Greek verb *airo*, to kill or destroy.

1. *A. caespitosa*, (Linn.) tufted Hair-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1453. *Parn. Gr. t.* 23.

Locality. Moist shady places, and borders of fields. *P. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Plentiful in all the Districts.* *Root* tufted. *Stems* 2 to 4 feet high. *Leaves* linear, acuminate, rough on the margin. *Ligule* long, acute, entire. *Panicle* large, silvery-gray or greenish, much branched, *Spikelets* acute. *Glumes* unequal

lanceolate. This is a common species in moist meadows and woods, and on hill-side pastures, where the ground is wet or springy. In such situations it is generally very conspicuous, in consequence of forming large tufts that rise above the surrounding vegetation.

2. *A. flexuosa*, (Linn.) waved Hair-grass. *Engl. Bot. t. 1519. Parn. Gr. t. 107.*

Locality. Heaths and hilly places. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. More or less general in all the Districts.* This grass forms somewhat creeping tufts of nearly smooth, narrow, bristle-like leaves, among which rise numerous slender wiry stems about 1 foot in height. *Panicle* 2 or 3 inches long, spreading when in flower; its rachis and branches more or less waved or zig-zag. *Spikelets* glossy, purplish, chiefly directed to one side. *Awn* knee-bent from near the base of the pale. *Ligule* short truncate. *Upper sheaths* rough from above downwards.

3. *A. caryophyll'lea*, (Linn.) silvery Hair-grass. *Engl. Bot. t. 812. Parn. Gr. t. 24. Avena, Koch.*

Locality. Dry, gravelly heaths, and pastures. *A. Fl. June. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Generally distributed. Stems* 2 to 6 or 8 inches high. *Leaves* short, few. *Panicle* trichotomous. *Florets* silvery-gray. *Glumes* nearly equal, ovate, gibbous at the base, pellucid at the upper part. *Awn* twice as long as the bifid lower palea, from below to the middle of which it rises. *Sheaths* roughish from below, upwards. A very elegant and ornamental grass.

4. *A. præcox*, (Linn,) early Hair-grass. *Engl. Bot. t. 1296. Parn. Gr. t. 25. Avena Koch.*

Locality. Broken gravelly ground in heathy places. *A. Fl. April, May. Area 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Stems,* from 1 to 6 inches high, erect, usually several from the same root, amidst a tuft of small almost setaceous leaves. *Panicle* few-flowered, pale silvery-green contracted oblong. *Glumes* ovate, lanceolate scabrous. The length and insertion of the awn are variable, but it is always extended considerably beyond the bifid extremity of the palea. This grass appears to be less abundant in the Districts than the last, *A. caryophyll'lea* to which in its earliest stage it bears a striking resemblance.

AVENA, (LINN.) OAT, OAT-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii. Ord. ii.

Name. From (*aveo*) to desire, because cattle are fond of it. *Oat*, from the Celtic word *atan*.

1. *A. flavescens*, (Linn.) yellow Oat-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 952. *Trisetum-Beauv. Parn. Gr. t.* 54.

Locality. Dry meadows and pastures, and by road-sides in chalky soils. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Distributed throughout all the Districts. Stems*, smooth, glossy, about 1 foot in height. *Leaves* yellowish-green, flat, roughish on both sides. *Inflorescence* erect, bright yellow-green, changing to glossy golden yellow. *Panicle* much branched, spreading widely while in flower. This has the smallest flowers of all our species, and may readily be distinguished by that circumstance as well as by the outer *glumella* and the *glumes*. *Terminal floret* abortive, reduced to a stalked bristle, hairy at the base.

2. *A. pubescens*, (Linn.) downy Oat-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1640. *Parn. Gr. t.* 53.

Locality. Dry pastures, especially in chalky or limestone soils. *P. Fl. June. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts. Stems* smooth, 1 or 2 feet in height. *Leaves* flat, rather broad, never involute, flaccid, downy on both sides. *Inflorescence* erect, more or less compact, often so much so as to appear spicate. *Panicle* generally simple. *Spikelets* smaller than those of *A. pratensis*. *Flowers* hairy at the base, frequently tinged with reddish-brown or purple. *All the flowers awned*.

3. *A. pratensis*, (Linn.) meadow or narrow-leaved Oat-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1204. *Parn. Gr. t.* 52.

Locality. In dry chalky or limestone pastures. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. In all the Districts, but local in its distribution. Stems* smooth, from 12 to 18 inches high. *Leaves* usually involute, finely serrated with minute cartilaginous teeth at the margins. *Ligule* long, pointed. *Inflorescence* mostly a simple compact panicle, with erect branches. *Spikelets* large, ovate, usually 4 or 5, flowered. *Glumes* unequal, acute. *Awn* from above the middle purplish with a white tip. *A. pratensis* much resembles *A. pubescens*.

4. *A. strigosa*, (Schreb.) strigose Oat-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1266. *Parn. Gr. t.* 26.

Locality. Corn-fields and cultivated ground. *A. Fl. July.*
*Area, * * * 4, **

North Division.

4. *North-west District*, Monkton Farley, in the neighbourhood of quarried or newly broken ground. *Very local in Wilts*, and probably an introduced species, *unknown in a wild state*. Very much like *A. sativa* but readily distinguished from it, as well as from *A. fatua*, whether as a variety or species, by the florets, ending in two long bristles.

5. *A. fatua*, (Linn.) wild Oat-grass. Haver. *Fatuus*, (Lat.) means literally insipid. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2221. *Parn. Gr. t.* 37.

Locality. Corn-fields. *A. Fl. July.* *Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, in all the Districts*, occasionally among barley. *Stems 2 to 3 feet high.* *Leaves spreading flat, linear, finely ribbed.* *Ligule obtuse or emarginate.* *Panicle large, and spreading.* *Spikelets drooping or pendulous.* *Flowers smaller than the glumes, with long fulvous hairs at their base, by which it may be distinguished from A. sativa, the cultivated Oat.* *Awn of each floret long and twisted, very hygrometrical.* The resemblance of the flowers, or rather of the awned fruits, to some of the artificial flies used by anglers, is so striking, that they are occasionally employed as substitutes.

ARRHENATHERUM, (PAL DE BEAUV) OAT-LIKE-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii. Ord. ii.

Name. From (*arrhen*,) male, and (*ather*,) a point, the barren floret having a long awn.

1. *A. avenaceum* (Beauv) common Oat-like-grass. *Holcus*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 813. *Parn. Gr. t.* 25.

Locality. Hedges, fields, and waste ground. *P. Fl. June.*
Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Recorded in all the Districts. Height 2 to 3 feet. *Root fibrous, knotty, downy, from the swollen joints to the base of the stem.* *Stem tall, smooth, leafy, often bent at the lower joints.* *Leaves rough-edged with long striated sheaths.* *Panicle erect, a little*

drooping directed to one side. *Spikelets* greenish-brown. In luxuriant specimens the panicle is sometimes more than 1 foot in length, but in exposed situations not above 6 inches, or even shorter. β *A. bulbosum* (Lindl.) lower joints of the stem swollen into bulb-like knobs, mostly one above the other. *Knots* of the stem usually pubescent. *Panicle branches* shorter. This variety is nearly as common in the Districts as the typical form, especially when the plant grows in cultivated ground.

TRIODIA, (R. BR.) HEATH-GRASS.

Lin. Cl. iii. Ord. ii.

Name. From (*tries*), three, and (*odous*), a tooth; in reference to the outer pale terminating in three points.

1. *T. decumbens*, (*Beauv.*) decumbent Heath-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 792. *Parn. Gr. t.* 30.

Locality. On dry hilly pastures and heaths. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Observed in all the Districts.* Whole plant usually prostrate and spreading, the stems only ascending and becoming erect at the time of flowering, when they vary in height from a few inches to 1 foot. *Leaves*, linear, acuminate, more or less hairy, rough towards the points. *Ligule* represented by a tuft of hairs. *Spikelets* few, seldom more than 5 or 6, arranged like a raceme. *Glumes* very nearly equal, acute, strongly 3-veined, longer than the spikelet. *Outer palea*, ovate, convex. *Inner or upper palea*, broad, obtuse. The peculiarity of the ligule is a marked feature, by which this grass may be readily recognized. Its presence is always indicative of a poor soil.

MELICA, (LINN.) MELIC-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. Said to be from *mel*, *mellis*, (Lat.) honey, the seeds being sweet.

1. *M. uniflora*, (*Retz.*), one flowered Melic-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1158. *Parn. Gr. t.* 18.

Locality. Shady and rocky woods, and sides of hollow lanes. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Recorded in all the Districts. Flowering stems erect, slender, from 1 to 2 feet in height. Leaves broad, flat, the ligule short, obtuse, with occasionally "a slender, acuminate lobe on one side" (*Babington*). Panicle few-flowered, 3 to 6 or 8 inches long; the branches distant, very slender, almost capillary. Glumes reddish-purple, with pale margins. A slender elegant grass, of no agricultural importance.

MOLINIA, (SCHRANK.) MOLINIA.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Named in commemoration of Giovanni Ignatio Molina, the author of the "Natural History of Chili," published in 1782.

1. *M. cærulea*, (Moench.) purple Molinia. *Engl. Bot. t. 750. Parn. Gr. t. 20.*

Locality. Wet heathy places and moors. *P. Fl. July, August. Area, 1, * * 4, **

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Salisbury," *Mr James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Spye Park, and in Black Marsh near the Horse and Jockey, Kingsdown. *Rare and local in Wilts. Stem 1 to 2 feet high, or more. Leaves long, linear, and acuminate, Panicle 2 to 8 inches in length, bluish-purple, rarely green, erect and very close, especially when simply branched. Glumes lanceolate, nearly equal. Anthers large and purple. This grass should be looked for in the other Districts of the County.*

POA, (LINN.) MEADOW-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*poa*) to feed; the whole genus affording an abundant pasturage for cattle.

1. *P. annua*, (Linn.) annual Meadow-grass. *Engl. Bot. t. 1141. Parn. Gr. t. tt. 40, 41.*

Locality. Meadows and pastures, and by roadsides everywhere. *A. Fl. March, September. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts. Stems 6 to 10 inches long, ascending or prostrate, and*

throwing out roots. *Leaves* linear, rather blunt, flaccid, often waved, bright green. *Panicle* spreading, erect, with a triangular outline. *Spikelets* ovate-oblong. *Ligule* oblong acute. *Glumes* very unequal, obtuse, ovate-lanceolate, three-veined. The most common and universally-distributed of all our grasses.

2. *P. nemoralis*, (Linn.) wood Meadow-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1265. *Parn. Gr. t.* 36.

Locality. In woods and shady places. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1, * 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts* except the South-middle. *A very variable species.* *Stems* very slender, 1 to 2 feet high. *Leaves* long and narrow, the ligule usually very short, and terminating abruptly. *Panicle* more or less spreading with slender branches, 2 to 6 inches long, drooping or erect. *Spikelets* ovate, lanceolate, very variable in the number of their flowers.

3. *P. trivialis*, (Linn.) roughish Meadow-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1072. *Parn. Gr. t.* 35.

Locality. Meadows and pastures, in rather moist and shady places. *P. Fl. June. Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Stem* 1 to 2 feet high. *Leaves* linear, acute, rough on both sides. *Ligule* usually very thin, long and terminating in a point. *Panicle* much branched, the branches very rough, widely spreading. *Spikelets* compressed, ovate, 3 or 4 flowered. One of the most common of our meadow and pasture grasses, especially where the soil is moist and rich.

4. *P. pratensis*, (Linn.) smoothed stalked Meadow-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1073. *Parn. Gr. t.* 31, 34.

Locality. Meadows and pastures. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Very common in all the Districts.* *Panicle* erect, widely spreading. *Spikelets* oblong-ovate, 3 or 4 flowered. *Flowers* acute, more or less copiously webbed. *Lower palea* with 5 veins. *Uppermost sheath* much longer than its leaf. *Ligule* obtuse. *Stem* and leaves smooth, very variable in size. The essential mark of this species, compared with the last, *P. trivialis*, consists in its very short, abrupt, pointless *stipula*, which in every leaf of every variety, proves constant and invariable. This is the most valuable of all grasses for pasture and hay, as our richest meadows in "North

Wiltshire" sufficiently testify—at Melksham and Chippenham.¹

5. *P. compressa*, (Linn.) flat-stemmed Meadow grass. *Engl. Bot. t. 365. Parn Gr. t. 37.*

Locality. On the tops of walls, and dry barren ground. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Not common in the Districts. Stems* about 1 foot or more high, decumbent at the base, then erect very much compressed. *Leaves* short, linear, acute, upper one as long as or longer than its sheath. *Panicle* not much branched. *Flowers* obtuse, the lower ones webbed. *Ligule* short truncate. The remarkable compression of the stem, usually more abundantly flowered spikelets, and 3-veined outer palca constitute its leading distinctions.

GLYCERIA, (R. BR.) SWEET-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*glukeros*) sweet. The flowers, Sir J. E. Smith observes, have a sweet taste, and the seeds of *G. fluitans*, under the name of Manna-seeds form an article of food in several parts of the Continent.

1. *G. aquatica*, (Sm.) Water or reed Sweet-grass. *Engl. Bot. t. 1315. Parn. Gr. t. 44. G. spectabilis*, Koch.

Locality. Banks of the Upper and Lower Avon, canal, and ditches. *P. Fl. July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts. Root* creeping. *Stems* 3 to 6 feet high, erect, smooth, slightly compressed, and two-edged. *Leaves* long, broad, channelled, rough on the margins and keel. *Ligule* short, obtuse. *Panicle* erect, large, spreading, 6 to 10 inches long, and 4 or 5 broad, tinged with brown or purple; branches slender, angular, often much divided.

¹ The rich pastures about Melksham, Chippenham, and Hardenhuish consist of grasses in proportion as follows:—*Poa pratensis*, one fourth, *Poa trivialis*, one fourth, *Festuca ovina* F. *duriuscula*, one eighth, *Festuca pratensis*, one eighth, *Phleum pratense*, *Alopecurus pratensis*, *Lolium perenne*, *Dactylis glomerata*, *Arrhenatherum avenaceum*, of each one sixth, with abundance of other grasses, but not in sufficient proportion to bear mentioning. Though there are abundance of other grasses, in all pastures, yet I have always found the best to be nearly in this proportion, the first four mentioned being the very prime grasses, both for feed and hay. The more any field abounds with these, the cleaner and richer it is, and so much the worse in proportion as the five last get predominant. *T.B.F.*

Glumes small, obtuse. A coarse grass, making the great part of the hay in marshy lands.

2. *G. fluitans*, (R. Br.) floating Sweet-grass. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2975. *Parn. Gr. t.* 95.

Locality. By the sides of the Avon, canal, wet places and ditches. *P. Fl. June, September.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Generally distributed in all the Districts.* *Flowering stems* decumbent and rooting at the base. *Sheaths* smooth, striate. *Leaves* long, linear, acuminate, pale green, rough on both surfaces. *Ligule* oblong. *Panicle* erect, slender, very long, nearly simple. *Spikelets* linear, of 7 to 12 adpressed lanceolate-oblong, acute flowers. *Lower palea* nearly thrice as long as broad. *Anthers* about five times as long as broad, purple, pale yellow when empty.¹

3. *G. plicata*, (Fries.) folded-leaved Meadow-grass. *Reich Icones*, vii. 79. *G. fluitans*, (Sm.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1520. *Parn. Gr. t.* 45.

Locality. Stagnant water and wet places. *P. Fl. June, August.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts but local*, and not so frequent as the last species, *G. fluitans*, but doubtless often passed over for it. *Panicle* rather broad and compound, nearly smooth, erect with flowers, *divaricate with fruit.* *Spikelets* oblong, linear, of 4 to 12 oval-oblong, rather acute flowers. *Lower pale* twice as long as broad. *Sheaths* rough, furrowed. *Leaves* glaucous, bluntish, plicate when young. *Ligule* shorter. *Anthers* about three times as broad as long, cream-coloured, fuscous when empty. This species cannot well be mistaken for *G. fluitans*, on account of the compound panicle, with much more numerous spikelets.

SCLERO-CHLOA (PAL. DE BEAUV.) HARD-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*scleros*) hard, and (*chloe*) grass.

1. *S. rigida*, (Link) hard Meadow-grass. *Glyceria*, (Sm.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1371. *Parn. Gr. t.* 43.

Locality. On wall-tops, and dry barren ground. *A. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Whole plant very rigid and wiry, 3 to 6 inches long, ascending or erect. *Leaves*

¹ The abundance of this grass about the ditches of Cheddar is said to be the cause of Cheddar cheese being so famous. *T.B.F.*

rigid, linear, setaceous. *Ligule* oblong, incise. *Rachis* angled, sometimes at once bearing the *spikelets*, but more usually throwing out branches. *Glumes* nearly as long as the contiguous florets. *Florets* linear-oblong, rather distant, smooth, bluntish. *Lower palea* obtuse, obscurely five-veined. The whole plant generally assumes a brown or purplish hue, remaining bleached and dry after Midsummer.

BRIZA, (LINN.) QUAKING-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*brizo*) to hang the head, in allusion to the drooping spikelets.

1. *B. media*, (Linn.) common Quaking-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 340. *Parn. Gr. t.* 30.

Locality. Meadows and pastures, most abundant in barren ground. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Whole plant very elegant. *Stems* slender, 1 foot or more high. *Leaves* short, linear-acuminate. *Branches* of the *panicle* filiform, divaricating, purple. *Spikelets* very smooth, shining purple, more or less green or greenish-white at the edges. *Glumes* very concave, sub-compressed. *Ligule* truncate, very short, always terminating abruptly. When the pales and glumes are greenish, it is the variety *pallens* of French authors.

CATABROSA, (PAL. DE BEAUV.) WHORL-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*catabrosko*), to devour.

1. *C. aquatica* (Presl.) water Whorl-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1557. *Parn. Gr. t.* 20. *Glyceria aquatica Presl.*

Locality. Banks of the Avon, canal, pools and ditches. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequent in the Districts.* *Root* creeping or floating. *Stems* floating, leafy, smooth, rising about 12 or 18 inches above the water. *Leaves* flat, bright-green. *Panicle* erect, repeatedly branched, smooth, many-flowered, large and handsome in luxuriant specimens. *Spikelets* 2, rarely 3 or 4-flowered, olive, usually stained with purple. *Lower pale* with 3 glabrous ribs. When growing accidentally out of the water, this grass assumes a very dwarf habit.

CYNOSURUS (LINN.) DOGS-TAIL-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*Kuon*, *Kunos*), a dog, and (*oura*), a tail; in allusion to the inflorescence, which resembles a dog's tail.

1. *C. cristatus* (Linn.) crested Dogs-tail-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 316. *Parn. Gr. t.* 28.

Locality. Dry pastures and meadows. *P. Fl. August. Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Stem 12 to 18 inches high, slender. *Leaves* narrow, linear, acuminate. *Stipula* rather short, abrupt. *Involucres* beautifully pectinate, one at the base of each spikelet, their divisions linear, acute. *Spikelets* 3 to 5 flowered. *Glumes* narrow, lanceolate, acute, rough at the keel. A valuable agricultural grass.

DACTYLIS (LINN.) COCKS-FOOT-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*dactulos*), a finger. From a fancied resemblance in the divisions of the panicle.

1. *D. glomerata* (Linn.) closed-spiked Cocks-foot-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 335. *Parn. Gr. t.* 29.

Locality. Way-sides, meadows, and woods. *P. Fl. June, July. Area,* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* Stems from 1 to 2 feet high. *Leaves* rather broadly linear, acuminate, scabrous especially at the edges, which are almost toothed with minute siliceous points. *Panicle* erect, the lower branches distant and spreading, all turned in one direction. *Spikelets* numerous, closely clustered, 3 or 4-flowered. *Glumes* membranaceous, lanceolate, the keel rough or hairy. The general aspect of the inflorescence varies much in different situations, the branches of the panicle being sometimes in poor and exposed pastures so short and close together as to give it the appearance of a single cluster, while in woods the secondary branches even become so much elongated and spreading that it might readily be mistaken for a different species.

FESTUCA, (LINN.) FESCUE-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From *fest*, Celtic, food or pasturage.

1. *F. sciuroïdes*, (Roth.) barren or Squirrel-tail Fescue-grass. *F. bromoïdes*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1411.

Locality. Dry pastures, and on walls. *A. Fl. June, July. Area* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts, but not of very frequent occurrence. Stems* slender, 6 to 12 inches high, bent at some of the lowest joints; leafy about the lower part, naked, erect, angular and very smooth above. *Leaves* few in number, narrow, and more or less involute, as in all the plants of this section, afford no distinctive character. *Inflorescence* erect, the branches rather spreading when in full flower, but contracted before and afterwards except the lowermost, which is often compound, much longer, and stands out from the others. *Outer glume* always conspicuous though differing greatly in comparative length. A pale, smooth, slender, magnificent grass, of short duration, at least after flowering.

2. *F. ovina*, (Linn.) Sheep's Fescue-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 585. *Parn. Gr. t.* 56, 57.

Locality. In dry, open, elevated pastures. *P. Fl. June. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Frequent in all the Districts,* Plant growing in dense tufts, with numerous very slender leaves. *Stems* 3 to 12 inches high. *Panicle* erect, one-sided, loose and spreading when in flower, afterwards compact, 1 or 2 inches or more in length. *Spikelets* ovate, spreading in two rows, 4 to 6-flowered. *Ligule* bilobate, one lobe longer than the other. This species varies considerably in aspect according to situation. β *F. duriuscula*, (Linn.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 470, a variety of the above, is often frequent in moist pastures, where it attains 1 foot or more in height. *Stems* round except at the upper part, stouter than those of most forms of *F. ovina*. *Radical leaves* tufted, slender, but not bristle-like; those of the stem usually expanded. *Inflorescence* from 2 to 4 inches long; the lower branches of the panicle longer, so as to give it a pyramidal, rather than an ovate outline. *Spikelets* 5 to 7-flowered. The square stem considered as a marked feature of distinction between this form and *F. ovina*, is not to be depended upon, the angles being frequently obsolete, or only traceable immediately below the inflorescence.

3. *F. gigantea*, (Vill.) tall-bearded Fescue-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1820. *Parn. Gr. t.* 47.

Locality. In woods and thickets that are rather moist. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* A tall grass 3 to 4 feet high, with broad *leaves*, having the habit and some of the characters of *Bromus*. *Ligule* unequal, auricled. *Inflorescence* often very much branched, loose and drooping towards one side, the lower branches growing generally in pairs upon the rough rachis. *Spikelets* lanceolate or inclining to ovate, pointed compressed; usually consisting of 5 or 6 flowers. *The outer palea* 5 veined, the 4 lateral veins all terminating below the apex, the middle vein extends below the cleft into a strong *rough awn twice as long as the palea* a character by which this grass is at once distinguishable from others belonging to this section of the genus *Festuca*. β *F. triflora* (Sm.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1918, is an occasional form of the preceding, of smaller size with a less luxuriant and nearly erect panicle, and the spikelets seldom more than 2 or 3-flowered, is sometimes met with in dry and barren ground.

4. *F. elatior* (Linn.) tall Fescue-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1593. *Parn. Gr. t.* 47.

Locality. Banks of the Upper and Lower Avon, Kennet and Avon Canal, also in moist pastures, especially in a stiff clayey soil. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts but much less frequent than the next.* *Stem* about 4 feet high, reedy, striated. *Leaves* linear, lanceolate, twice as broad as *F. pratensis* and much longer. *Sheaths* very long, smooth. *Panicle* large, spreading widely, and somewhat inclining to one side, branches of the panicle, short, divaricate in flower but *afterwards ascending*. *Spikelets* ovate, lanceolate, varying in the number of flowers from 5 or 6 upwards. *Outer palea* 5-veined, the middle or dorsal vein terminating in a *short rough awn*.

5. *F. pratensis* (Huds.) meadow Fescue-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1592. *Parn. Gr. t.* 46. *F. elatior* Koch.

Locality. In rather moist pastures and meadows. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.* *Stems* 1 or 2 feet high, erect, round, smooth, striated. *Leaves* linear

lanceolate, roughish on the inner or upper surface. *Panicle* branched, simple, sometimes bearing only a single stalked spikelet. *Spikelets* ovate, lanceolate, bearing 5 or 6, or a greater number of fertile flowers. *Lower palea* 5-veined, the middle vein terminating below the apex in a very short or obsolete awn. A smaller plant than the preceding. β *F. loliacea*, (Huds.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1821. *Parn. Gr. t.* 45, 113, and, 114, occurs in moist, rich pastures, but is more local than *F. pratensis*, and often intermixed with it. *Spike* 2-ranked, drooping. *Spikelets* nearly sessile, linear, oblong. *Florets* cylindrical, awnless, pointed, with 5 slight ribs at the top. It has the leaves also much more numerous and usually larger. This grass is very liable to be overlooked from its near resemblance in habit to the more frequent and abundant *Lolium perenne*, It might also possibly be mistaken for *Glyceria fluitans*. Mr. H. C. Watson, by cultivating *F. loliacea*, has found that it produces ordinary *F. pratensis*.

BROMUS, (LINN.) BROME-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

The name of this genus is derived from the Greek word *bromos*, a kind of oat.

1. *B. erectus*, (Huds.) upright Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 471. *Parn. Gr. t.* 51.

Locality. On dry banks and pastures, and by road-sides, in chalky and sandy soils. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Not unfrequent in the Districts, but local.* *Stems* 2 to 3 feet high, round, striated, smooth leafy. *Leaves* numerous, radical ones very narrow, linear, long, ciliated with long hairs, stem leaves broader pubescent. *Sheaths* long, striated, hairy, close, slightly divided near the summit only. *Ligule* short, mostly torn. *Panicle* erect, more or less branched, branches angular and rough, with erect bristles. *Spikelets* 5 to 7-flowered, compressed. *Glumes* very unequal. The flowers have frequently a tinge of purple. *Var. β villosus* with the lower pale hairy, should be looked for in Wilts.

2. *B. asper* (Linn.) hairy wood Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1172. *Parn. Gr. t.* 51.

Locality. In moist woods and thickets. *A. or B. Fl.* July. *Area*,

1,2,3,4,5. Rather common and generally distributed throughout the Districts. Stems 3 to 5 or even 6 feet high. Leaves long and flat, with long spreading or reflexed hairs on their sheaths. Panicle loose, with long drooping branches, bearing a few loose spikelets each above 1 inch long, containing 6 or 10 flowers. Flowering glumes nearly cylindrical, slightly hairy, with a straight fine awn shorter than the glume itself. This grass is sometimes confused by young botanists with *B. giganteus*.

3. *B. sterilis* (Linn.) barren Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1030. *Parn. Gr. t.* 50.

Locality. Waste ground, fields, and hedges. *A. Fl. June.* Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Distributed throughout all the Districts. Stems 1 to 2 feet high, or in woods and shady places sometimes more, they are roughish and striated. Leaves broad and flat, usually of a dark green colour. Panicle distantly branched, drooping and spreading, with long, slender, rough, and mostly simple branches. Spikelets long, lanceolate, including the awns frequently more than 2 inches in length, about 8-flowered. Glumes very unequal, the upper one 3-veined. Awn more than twice the length of the palea. An elegant grass, remarkable for its long, narrow, much awned, and drooping spikelets.

4. *B. secalinus*, (Linn.) smooth Rye Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1171. *Parn. Gr. tt.* 49, 121, and 122. *Serrafalcus*, Bab.

Locality. In corn-fields, but scarcely indigenous. *A. Fl. July, September.* Area, * * * 4. 5.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Corn-fields near South Stoke, and Middle Hill, Box (*China Court*).

5. *North-east District.* "A downy form of this was plentiful in a field beyond the Brick-pits, at the top of Forest Hill, in 1862," *Flor. Marl.* Stem 2 to 3 feet high. Leaves flat, rather broad, roughish at the edges and underneath. Inflorescence at first erect, but more or less drooping after flowering. Panicle often simple, sometimes branched. Spikelets ovate, glossy, 8 to 10-flowered. Glumes broad, nearly equal. Flowers spreading and separating as the fruit begins to enlarge. Known in fruit by its hairy panicle, and separately rolled-up flowers.

5. *B. racemosus*, (Linn.) racemose or smooth Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1079. *Parn. Gr. tt.* 48 and 119. *Serrafalcus*, Parl.

Locality. In meadows and damp pastures. *P. Fl. June.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts but by no means common.* *Stems* slightly pubescent, from 1 to 2 feet in height. *Leaves* soft to the touch, except towards the point, rather downy than hairy. *Inflorescence* erect, even while in fruit, the rough and generally simple stalks of the panicle being rigid and directed upward. *Spikelets* ovate, light green, glossy, 6 to 8-flowered. *Glumes* broad, roughish. *Awn* almost the length of the palea, or rather exceeding it. Scarcely distinguishable from the next species, *B. commutatus*, and often confused with small states of it. While in many cases the name has been applied to a glabrous state of *B. mollis*.

6. *B. commutatus*, (Schrad.) tumid field Brome-grass. *Serrafalcus*, Bab. *Bromus pratensis*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 920. *Parn. Gr. t.* 124.

Locality. By road-sides, and in dry pastures, and cultivated ground. *B. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *In all the Districts but only occasionally seen.* *Stems* smooth, finely striated. *Leaves* sharply pointed, rough at the edges. *Inflorescence* more or less drooping, the panicle branches frequently much divided in large specimens, but in smaller often quite simple. *Spikelets* linear-lanceolate, 8 or 10-flowered. *Glumes* usually equal. *Awn* of the outer palea straight, or slightly waved. Mr. H. C. Watson remarks that "this species is at once known by its glossy green spikelets—acquiring a brownish tinge in sunny spots—its larger and harsher peduncles, than those of *B. mollis* and *racemosus*, and its glumellas (paleæ) larger, and more inflated, than in *B. secalinus* and *arvensis*."

7. *B. mollis* (Linn.) soft Brome-grass, Lop-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1078. *Parn. Gr. t.* 116. *Serrafalcus* Parl.

Locality. Meadows, pastures, banks, road-sides and fields. *A. Fl. May, June.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.* Whole plant pubescent and very soft to the touch, hence the specific name. It varies greatly in size, according to the situation and exposure, being often under 1 foot, while among corn it rises to 2 or 3 feet. *Leaves* soft, downy on both surfaces. *Inflorescence* unless in very small specimens, more or less compound, the

branches of the panicle being rough and hairy. *Spikelets* ovate or oblong, darkish green, variegated with the lighter hued or whitish margins of the paleæ, 8 or 10-flowered. Many variations are presented by this most common of the British Brome-grasses.

[8. *B. arvensis* (Linn.) taper-field Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1984. *Parn. Gr. t.* 126. *Serrafalcus*, Godr., has been occasionally observed in fields of saintfoin and clover round Avebury (*District 5*), doubtless introduced with foreign seed.]

BRACHYPODIUM (BEAUV.) FALSE BROME-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. From (*brachus*), short, and (*pous, podos*), Gr. a foot in allusion to the short foot-stalk of the spikelets.

1. *B. sylvaticum* (R. and S.) slender False Brome-grass. *Festuca*, *Huds. Bromus*, *Poll. Engl. Bot. t.* 729. *Triticum*, *Manch. Parn. Gr. t.* 61.

Locality. Woods and hedges. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Frequent in all the Districts.* *Stems* 2 feet high. *Leaves* broadly linear, lanceolate, usually flaccid and hairy on the upper surface. *Sheaths* usually hairy. *Glumes* unequal, lanceolate, acuminate, about 7-nerved. *Ligule* obtuse, notched. Whole plant as glabrous sometimes, as the next species, and then only to be distinguished by the longer awns and the root.

2. *B. pinnatum* (Beauv.), Heath False Brome-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 730. *Parn. Gr. t.* 132, 137. *Locality.* Open fields and heathy places on dry limestone soil. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, * * 3, 4, 5. *Local in Wilts*, and not as yet reported for Districts 1 and 2. *Stems* several, erect, 1 to 2 feet high. *Leaves* linear, acuminate, more or less hairy, rigid. *Ligule* short obtuse. *Inflorescence* erect, rigid. *Spikelets* long, linear, 10 to 15 or 20-flowered. *Glumes* smooth, 7-veined, the middle vein occasionally prolonged into a short awn. Very similar to *B. sylvaticum*, but always distinguished by its creeping root.

TRITICUM (LINN) WHEAT-GRASS.

(Linn. Cl. iii. Ord. ii.)

Name. *Triticum*, "quod tritum est e spicis;" because it is thrashed or beaten from the spikes.

1. *T. caninum* (Huds.) fibrous rooted Wheat-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1372. *Parn. Gr. t.* 62.

Locality. In woods and on hedge-banks. *P. Fl. July. Area* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Reported in all the Districts. The stems* varying in height from 2 to 3 feet, grow more or less tufted, not at long distances like those of *T. repens*. *Leaves* glossy, dark green, roughish on both surfaces. *Ligule* short, obtuse. *Spike* long and slender, sub-cylindrical. *Spikelets* usually 4 or 5-flowered. *Glumes* distinctly 3-ribbed, with a terminal awn. *Outer palea* terminating in a slender rough awn, generally much longer than itself. *Local and rather scarce in Wilts*, and far less common than *T. repens*, but distinguished from it by the want of a creeping rhizome.

2. *T. repens*, (Linn.) creeping Wheat-grass, or Couch-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 909. *Parn. Gr, t.* 62.

Locality. Fields and waste places, especially in arable land, where owing to its creeping habit, it is among the most troublesome of weeds. *P. Fl. June, July. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts. Root* extensively creeping, and most difficult of extirpation. *Stems* 2 feet high, erect. *Leaves* of a dull glaucous green, upper surface clothed with long soft hairs, rough on the ribs of the under surface, and at the edges. *Ligule* short, obtuse. *Spike* compressed, 6 to 8 inches in length. *Spikelets* oval or oblong, varying from 4 or 5, to 7 or 8-flowered. *Glumes* lanceolate. *Outer palea* very acute, and even slightly awned; though never so prominently as in *Triticum caninum*, the awn scarcely exceeding half its whole length. The pest of cultivation, being most difficult to extirpate, by reason of the excessive brittleness of the numerously-jointed and creeping underground stems.

HORDEUM, (LINN.) BARLEY.

Linn. Cl. iii., Ord. ii.

Name. "Hordeum," the Latin name of barley.

1. *H. pratense*, (Huds.) meadow Barley. *Engl. Bot. t.* 409. *Parn. Gr. t.* 11.

Locality. Moist meadows and pastures. *P. Fl. July. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *General in all the Districts. Stems* 1 to 2 feet high, or more, and in situations favorable to its growth, it is among

the taller grasses of the meadow. *Leaves* narrow, flat, hairy on both sides, roughish to the touch. *Ligule* very short. *Spike* dense, 1 inch to 2 inches long, nearly cylindrical. *Fertile flower* of the central spikelets, with an awn about equal to it in length; lateral spikelets barren. *Glumes* of all three bristle-shaped, rough.

2. *H. murinum*, (Linn.) Wall or Mouse Barley, or Way-Bennet. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1971. *Parn. Gr. t.* 10.

Locality. Waste ground, by walls, and road-sides. *A. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Stems* tufted, decumbent at the base, 1 foot or more in height, but more frequently 5 or 6 inches only. *Leaves* more or less rough and hairy, their sheaths inflated. *Spike* dense, about 2 inches long, often slightly nodding. *Fertile flower* terminating with an awn considerably longer than itself, lateral spikelets barren. *Glumes* narrow, lanceolate, ciliated, terminating in a long, straight, rough awn. This can scarcely be mistaken for *H. pratense*, it may be recognized by the root not being perennial.

LOLIUM (LINN.) RYE-GRASS.

Linn. Cl. iii. Ord. ii.

The derivation of the name of this grass is supposed to be from (*laion*), Gr. corn; and (*oloon*), Gr. injury, in allusion to the poisonous qualities attributed to *Lolium temulentum*.

1. *L. perenne* (Linn.) perennial or beardless Rye-grass. *Engl. Bot. t.* 315. *Parn. Gr. t.* 65.

Locality. In meadows, pastures, cultivated fields, road-sides, and waste places. *P. Fl.* June. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Stems* several, 1 to 2 feet high. *Leaves* dark green, smooth, striated. *Sheaths* nearly as long as the leaves. *Ligule* short, acutely auricled at each side. *Spike* nearly erect. *Rachis* smooth. *Glumes* linear, lanceolate. *Palea* nearly equal. *Florets* linear oblong nerved. This plant has the aspect of *Triticum repens*, from which it is at once distinguished by the single-valved glume, and the relative position of the spikelets and rachis. *β. aristatum*, lower pale with a long awn, is not unfrequently observed in cloverfields.

2. *L. temulentum β. arvense*, (With.) (short awned annual Darnel.) *Engl. Bot. t.* 1125. *Parn. Gr. t.* 142. Grows sparingly amongst corn in the Monkton Farleigh Avenue. (*District 4.*)

CLASS III.

Acotyledones or Cryptogamæ.

ORDER. EQUISETACEÆ. (DE-CAND.)

EQUISETUM, (LINN.) HORSE-TAIL.

Linn. Cl. xxiv. Ord. ii.

Name. From *equus*, a horse, and *seta*, a bristle; in allusion to the resemblance which some species bear to a horse's-tail.

1. *E. arvense*, (Linn.) Corn-field Horse-tail. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2020.¹ *S.* 1. *N.* 77.

Locality. Corn-fields and damp meadows. *P. Fl. April. Area* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts*, though the fructification is rather rare. *Fertile stems* from 7 to 9 inches high, erect, smooth, succulent, of a pale brownish hue, with from 3 to 5 distant furrowed brown toothed, somewhat inflated, sheaths. *Cone* about 1 inch in length, encircled at the base by the membranaceous rudiment of a sheath. *Barren stems* are either procumbent or ascending, and vary greatly in length in different soils, from a few inches to 1 or 2 feet, with numerous whorls of slender, generally simple, branches, the sheaths of the stem many toothed.

2. *E. maximum*, (Lam.) great water Horse-tail. *Bull., Soc. Bot. de Fr.* viii. 637. *B. Telmateia*, Ehrh. *S.* 3. *N.* 67. *E. fluviatile* Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2022.

Locality. Wet damp ground, sides of ditches, clay-banks, and swampy bogs, and frequently growing among the taller species of Cyperaceous plants. *P. Fl. April. Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed*

¹This reference is to "*Sowerby's Ferns of Britain*," and "*Fern Allies*." N. to Mr. Newman's well-known and excellent *History of British Ferns.*, ed. 2 and 3.

throughout all the Districts. Fertile stems vary much in height, from 4 or 5 inches to a foot or more; they are thick and succulent, and of a pale brown hue, nearly covered with large, loose, deeply-toothed sheaths, the teeth, from 30 to 40 in number, are dark and black. The cone between 2 and 3 inches long. The sterile stems are of a pale bright green, from 3 to 6 feet high, occasionally terminating in a small imperfect cone; they are smooth and marked with from 30 to 40 striæ, the long crowded, slender branches, very numerous in each whorl. This is the largest of our indigenous *Equiseta*, its barren stems frequently attaining the height of 6 or 7 feet, while its whorls of slender branches from 12 to 15 inches in length, present a truly magnificent appearance, and gives an almost tropical aspect to the vegetation among which it occurs.

3. *E. sylvaticum*, (Linn.) wood Horse-tail. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1874. S. 4. N. 59,

Locality. About springs in woods, thickets, and other shaded situations. *P. Fl. April, May.* Area, * * * 4, 5,

North Division.

4. *North-east District.* "Near Bowden, Chippenham," *Dr. Alexander Prior.*

5. *North-east District.* "Field a little beyond Tottenham." *Flor. Marlb.* Very local in Wilts. The most elegant species of the genus, from 12 to 18 inches high. Stems erect, beset with many whorls of slender compound angular, smooth (not rough) spreading branches, drooping at the ends, each whorl having a pale-brown torn sheath above it. Cone solitary, terminal, erect ovate, on a naked stalk. The sterile stems are pyramidal in their general outline. Fertile stems have 3 or 4 whorl of branches; which being of nearly equal length throughout, occasions them to present a peculiarly abrupt termination.

4. *E. limosum* (Linn.) smooth naked Horse-tail. *Engl. Bot. t.* 929. *E. fluviatile* Newman, p. 51.

Locality. Stagnant water, in ponds and ditches. *P. Fl. June, July.* Area, 1, * * * 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Pewsey." *Rev. T. F. Ravenshaw.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* In the canal at Limpley Stoke, "and in a bog between South Wraxhall and the old Horse and Jockey," *Flor Bath.*

5. *North-east District.* "Water meadows, Preshute." "Side of Kennet, near Axford," *Flor. Marl.* Not a common plant in the county. Stems vary from 1 to 2 feet or more in height, smooth to the touch and distinctly striated. The branches are of variable length and number in each whorl. Sheaths short, closely fitting to the stem, terminating in from 16 to 29 sharply-pointed dark brown or blackish teeth. The cone is ovate, about 1 inch long, and usually invested at its base, by the terminal sheath. From *E. palustre*, the following species, it is at once distinguished by its thicker, smooth not furrowed, but copiously striated stems.

5. *E. palustre*, (Linn.) marsh Horse-tail. *Engl. Bot. t. 20, 21. S. 6. N. 43, 47 and 49.*

Locality. In marshes and watery places, especially in a black boggy soil, often accompanying *E. limosum*. *P. Fl. June, July. Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Recorded in all the Districts. Stems from 1 foot to 18 inches high, rough and generally branched throughout. The branches are simple, and the number in each whorl varies from 6 to 10, being frequently less. Sheaths pale coloured, loose, and inflated, terminating in acute wedge-shaped dark brown teeth. Barren stems whip-shaped at the end. Cone terminal, obtuse. The variety Polystachion, in which the branches of one or two of the uppermost whorls terminate in small cones, occurs in a pond at Spy Park (Dist. 4).*

[6. *E. hyemale*, (Linn.) rough Horse-tail, *Engl. Bot. t. 915, S. 8, N. 17*, is given, on the authority of Ray, in "Camden's Britannia," as occurring in a river near Broadstitch Abbey (Bradenstoke Abbey), plentifully (*Dist. 4*). I cannot ascertain if this plant has been recently observed in the above-mentioned locality.]¹

¹To those students who are interested in the structure of this Order, I would particularly refer them to Dr. W. R. M'Nab's valuable paper "On the Organization of Equisetums, and Calamites," recently published in the *Trans. Bot. Soc. Edin. vol. xi., part iii.—T.B.F.*

ORDER. FILICES. (LINN.)

POLYPODIUM, (LINN.) POLYPODY.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Name. From (*polus*) many, and (*pous*) a foot.

1. *P. vulgare*, (Linn.) common Polypody. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1149. *N.* 111. *Ctenopteris*, *Newm.* ed. 3, p. 41.

Locality. On stumps of trees, in shady hedges, and on banks of hollow lanes. *P. Fl.* August, October. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* The well-known "Polypody of the Oak." *Rhizome* very much branched, clothed with yellowish-brown lanceolate scales. *Fronde* 6 inches to 1 foot in height, erect, smooth, very deeply pinnatifid. *Lobes* more or less crenulated, rarely lacinated, inclining forward. *Sori* forming a simple series on each side the middle of the upper lobes, equidistant from it and the margin, yellowish-brown when ripe.

2. *P. phegopteris*, (Linn.) mountain Polypody, or Beech Fern. *Engl. Bot. t.* 2224. *N.* p. 122. *Gymnocarpium*, *Newm.* ed. 3, p. 49.

Locality. Damp shady places, and stony woods. *P. Fl.* July, September. *Area*, * * 3. * *

South Division.

South-west District. "Woods at Stourhead," *Mr. C. E. Broome.* *Rhizome* creeping widely. *Fronde* from 12 to 18 inches high, erect delicate, pale green, on long slender stalks; the lowest pair of leaflets projecting from the plane of the rest, and when pressed flat, forming an acute angle with the petiole. *Sori* small, occupying the lower extremity of each lobe, very near the margin. This is one of our most beautiful species.

3. *P. Robertianum*, (Hoffm.) rigid three-branched or limestone Polypody. *P. calcareum*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1525. *N.* 131. *Gymnocarpium*, *Newm.* ed. 3, p. 63.

Locality. On broken limestone ground. *P. Fl.* July, August. *Area*, * * * 4, 5.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Quarries at Box and Conkwell, sparingly.¹

¹ This rare fern a few years since was abundant in these localities, but owing to the rapacity of collectors, it is now seldom to be met with, and this I fear to

5. *North-east District.* Stone Quarries near Kemble. *A rare and local fern in Wilts.* Fronds subternate, bipinnate, rather rigid, subpubescent, and always minutely glandular beneath. Divisions sometimes spreading. Segments obtuse, somewhat crenate. Sori marginal, finally confluent. The colour of the frond dull green.

LASTREA, (PRESL.) SHIELD-FERN.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

So named by Presl., in honour of M. de Lastre, of Chatellerant.

1. *L. Thelypteris*, (Presl.) Marsh Fern. *Aspidium*, Sm. *N.* 183. *Hemestheum*, Newm. ed. 3, p. 123.

Locality. Marshy and boggy places. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*,
1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Marshy places at Landford and Hamptworth," *Rev. E. Simms.* *Very local in the county.* The fronds are of two kinds, barren, and fertile. Fronds pinnate. Pinnæ linear-lanceolate, pinnatifid, and as well as the rachis, slightly pubescent. The segments ovate, acute, entire. Veins nearly all forked. Sori parallel to the margin, ultimately confluent. Rhizome creeping. *Height*, 6 to 8 inches.

2. *L. oreopteris*, (Presl.) Sweet Mountain Fern. From (*oros*) a mountain, and (*pteris*) a fern. *Aspidium*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1019. *N.* 187. *L. montana*, Newm. ed. 3, p. 129.

Locality. Mountain heaths, and woods. *P. Fl.* July. *Area*,
* * * 4. 5.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Coppices at Spye Park.

5. *North-east District.* Savernake Forest—where it was first noticed by Ray. *Local in Wilts.* Fronds pinnate Pinnæ lanceolate, pinnatifid, sprinkled with resinous glands beneath. The segments lanceolate, obtuse, entire, lowermost ones larger. Veins nearly all simple. Sori submarginal. Rhizome tufted, fragrant when bruised. Segments of fronds not recurved at the margin.

be the case with many others, of the rarer species, that were formerly plentiful in the county.—*T.B.F.*

3. *L. Filix-mas*, (Presl.) Male Fern. *Aspidium*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1458. *N.* 198. *Dryopteris*, Newm. ed. 3, p. 183, 186.

Locality. Woods, thickets, and on banks and hedge-bottoms, in almost every kind of soil. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* The most common of our indigenous Ferns, with the exception of *Pteris Aquilina*. *Fronde* bipinnate, or rarely pinnate, glabrous. Lower pinnæ smaller than those next them. Pinnules oblong, with a broad base, conspicuously serrated, or incise, but not spinulose. *Sori* near the middle vein. *Stipe* and *rachis* nearly glabrous, yellow, or densely clothed with purple scales. *Indusium* very persistent, convex, with no marginal glands. Height 2 to 4 feet. β *affinis*. Frond robust, broadly lanceolate. Pinnæ distant. Pinnules distant, elongate, narrow, acuminate, deeply incised, the lobes serrated. *Sori* extending nearly the entire length of the pinnules. This variety is not uncommon in the woods.

4. *L. spinulosa*, (Presl.) prickly Shield Fern. *Aspidium*, Sm. *Sowb. Ferns*, 12. *N.* 203.

Locality. Marshy places and wet woods. *P. Fl.* August, September. *Area*, 1. * * 4. *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "About Landford and Hamptworth, *Rev. E. Simms*.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* "Spye Park," *Dr. Alexander Prior*. *Rare and local in Wilts.* *Fronde* erect, linear-lanceolate, bipinnate. Pinnules oblong, inciso-pinnatifid, with serrate spinose-mucronate lobes. *Indusium* persistent, not fringed with marginal glands. Scales of the rachis, broad, ovate, pale. Height 3 to 4 feet. *Fronde* nearly erect. Much diversity of opinion exists in regard to this, and the following species, of which it is by some regarded as a variety.

5. *L. dilatata*, (Presl.) sharp-toothed Shield Fern. *Aspidium*, Sm. *L. multiflorum*, Newm, 147.

Locality. Woods and on sheltered hedge-banks. *P. Fl.* August, September. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Fronde* arched, ovate-lanceolate, bipinnate. Pinnules pinnatifid or pinnate, with serrate spinose-mucronate lobes. *Indusium* evanescent,

fringed with stalked glands. *Rachis* clothed with long pointed scales, with a dark centre, and diaphanous margin. Height 2 to 4 feet. The largest scales of the full-grown plant should be examined. One of the most common and most generally distributed of British ferns.

6. *L. æmula*, (Brack.) Recurved prickly-toothed Fern. Hay-scented Fern. *Nephrodium feniseeii*, Lowe. *L. recurva*, Newm. 225.

Locality. Rocky shady places, and hilly districts. *P. Fl.* August, September. *Area*, 1. * * * *

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Landford," *Rev. E. Simms.* *Very local in Wilts.* *Fronde* curved elongate-triangular, subtripinnate. *Pinnules* pinnate or deeply pinnatifid, with serrate spinose-mucronate lobes. *Indusium* jagged at the edge. *Rachis* clothed with long narrow, lacinate one-coloured scales. *Fronde* 1 to 2 feet long, the lower pinnæ much the largest. *Pinnules* and segments concave above. A smaller plant than the two preceding. Whole plant smells of hay.

POLYSTICHUM, (ROTH.) POLYSTICHUM.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Name. Compounded from the Greek (*polus*) many, and (*stichos*) series, in allusion to the regular linear arrangement of the sori.

1. *P. aculeatum*, (Roth.) prickly Shield-Fern. *Newm.* 169. *Aspidium, lobatum*, Kunze. *A. aculeatum* and *A. lobatum*, Sm.

Locality. On hedge-banks and on the borders of woods and thickets. *P. Fl.* July, August. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed throughout all the Districts.* *Fronde* rigid, lanceolate, or linear-lanceolate, bipinnate. *Pinnules* confluent, obliquely decurrent, or attached by the point of their wedge-shaped base; the upper basal ones largest; all spinose-serrate, more or less auricled at the base. *Height* 1 to 2 feet. The general outline varies greatly in different specimens, and even in fronds belonging to the same plant, being in some instances almost linear, in others even broadly lanceolate. The rachis is leafy to within a few inches of its base, and is clothed throughout with reddish-brown or rust-coloured scales. *A. lobatum* (Sm.) has the fronds more rigid, simply pinnate. Pinnæ lobed or pinnatifid.

2. *P. angulare*, (Newm.) angular-leaved Shield Fern. *N.*
173. *Aspidium*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. Suppl. t.* 2776. *A. aculeatum*,
Kunze.

Locality. Woods and hedge-banks, on a gravelly soil. *P. Fl.*
July, August. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Distributed less widely than the*
preceding, but locally more plentiful. *Fronde*s lax, drooping, lanceolate,
bipinnate. Pinnules distinctly stalked, with an obtusely-angled
base, more or less obtuse at the apex, spinose-serrate. *Rachis*
usually long. The differences between this and *P. aculeatum* are
sufficiently striking where the contrast is made with the extremest
forms of each, the habit of this is flexile and drooping, the leafy
texture not so firm, the upper basal pinnules somewhat crescent-
shaped, auriculate on the upper side, and attached to the partial
rachis by a very distinct slender stalk, *instead* of being decurrent.

CYSTOPTERIS, (BERNH.) BLADDER-FERN.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Named from (kustis) a bladder, and (pteris) a fern, in allusion to
the peculiar character of the indusium.

1. *C. fragilis*, (Bernh.) brittle Bladder-Fern. *Newm. ed.* 3, p.
87. *Cystea fragilis*, Sm.

Locality. Rocks and walls, preferring the moist crevices of
limestone. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, * * 3, 4, *

South Division.

3. *South-west District.* Walls at Fonthill Gifford, and at Norton
Bavant.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Rocks above Bathford, Monkton Farleigh
Down, and at Box Quarries. "Walls near the Horse and Jockey,
Dr. Alexander Prior, "Flor. Bath." *Very local in Wilts.* *Fronde*s
lanceolate, bipinnate, (or rarely pinnate) Pinnæ ovate or ovate-
lanceolate, pinnules variously toothed, or laciniate, or pinnatifid.
The segments approximate, entire, or again toothed. *Rachis* winged.
Clusters rarely confluent, generally crowded at a little distance from
the margin. *The fronds* vary in height from 2 to 3 inches to 1
foot or more, and differ much in form and division.

ATHYRIUM, (ROTH.) ATHYRIUM.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Named from the Greek (*athuros*) open, which probably refers to the turning back of the indusium.

1. *A. Filix-femina*, (Roth.) Lady Fern. *Newm.* p. 237, ed. 3, p. 207.

Locality. Moist shady situations, on a sandy soil. *P. Fl. June, July.* *Area*, 1, 2, * 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* Moist coppices near "The Earldoms," and Landford Common, sparingly. "Near Pewsey," *Flor. Marl.*

2. *South-middle District.* "Woods at Hare Trip Lane, Devizes," *Miss A. Cunningham.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Alder copses near Spye Park Lodge.

5. *North-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Little Bedwyn parish," *Rev. F. H. Buckerfield.* "Near Tottenham," *Flor. Marl.*

Not frequent in any of the Districts. *Fronde* usually 2 to 3 feet high, broadly lanceolate, twice pinnate. The lower pairs of pinnae decreasing in size, The segments oblong-lanceolate, and pinnatifid, with pointed teeth. *Sori* very irregular in form, being sometimes straight, and in other instances so short as to appear nearly circular, although the curved reniform or semi-lunar outline is the most common. It varies much in size and in the degree of division of its fronds, and several forms have received names as varieties. This fern seems to claim precedence in beauty over every other British species. The exquisite grace of its habit, the elegance of its cutting, and the brilliant delicacy of its colour, combine to render it an object of general admiration.

ASPLENIUM, (LINN.) SPLEENWORT.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Name. From *a* (priv), and (*splen*) the spleen; in allusion to its supposed medicinal properties.

1. *A. Adiantum-nigrum*, (Linn.) black Spleenwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1950. *Newm.* 225.

Locality. Rocks and walls, and dry banks of hollow lanes. *P. Fl.* June, September. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Fronde*s tufted, usually from 6 inches to 1 foot high, triangular, attenuated or ovate, twice or thrice pinnate. Pinnæ triangular. Pinnules ovate or ovate-lanceolate, inciso, pinnatifid, sharply toothed. *Sori* linear-elongate, sometimes when old covering the whole surface. *The rachis* is bare about half its length, and this part is glossy, and of a deep purple, almost black.

2. *A. Trichomanes*, (Linn.) common Spleenwort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 576. *Newm.* 285. *Ed.* 3, p. 252.

Locality. Rocks and walls. *P. Fl.* May, October. *Area* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Generally distributed throughout all the Districts.* *Fronde*s linear, pinnate. Pinnæ opposite, roundish-oblong, obtuse; crenated, stalked, truncated and cuneate below. *Rachis* purple or black, keeled beneath. *Sori* oblong-linear, and distinct when young, but often uniting in a circular mass when old. This little fern generally selects a northern aspect, or at least a position not exposed to the sun.

3. *A. Ruta-muraria*, (Linn.) Wall Rue. *Engl. Bot. t.* 150. *Newm.* p. 261, 264. *Amesium*, *Newm.* ed. 3, p. 253, 256.

Locality. Old walls, abundant. *P. Fl.* May, September. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts.* *Fronde*s deltoid, bipinnate. Pinnules rhomboid wedge-shaped, notched or toothed on the upper margin. *Indusium* jagged. *Fronde*s 3 to 4 inches long.

SCOLOPENDRIUM, (SM.) HARTS-TONGUE.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Named from the lines of fructification resembling the feet of a *Scolopendra*. The English name Harts-tongue, refers to the shape of the leaf.

1. *S. vulgare*, (Sym.) common Harts-tongue. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1150. *Newm.* p. 289, 292. *S. officinarum*, Sw. *Asplenium*, *Scolopendrium*, Link. *Phyllitis*, *Newm.*, ed. 3, p. 271, 275.

Locality. Old walls, and damp banks of hollow lanes. *P. Fl.* July, August. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *General in all the Districts.* *Fronde*s simple, oblong-ligulate, acute, heart-shaped at the base. Stipes very scaly. *Fronde*s from 6 inches to 2 feet long, often crisped and multifid.

CETERACH (WILLD.) RUSTYBACK.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

. Named from the Persian *Chetherak*.

1. *C. officinarum*, (Willd.) common Ceterach, or Scale-fern. *Natolepum*, Newm., 293. *Asplenium*, Hook. *Scolopendrium*, Sm. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1244.

Locality. Old walls, and rocks, chiefly on limestone. *P. Fl.* April, October. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Pewsey Church-yard, and near the Wharf," *Flor. Marl.* Probably introduced with stone from Bath.

2. *South-middle District.* Old walls at Seend, near Devizes.

3. *South-west District.* "South wall of the Park at Wilton, and on a wall at Donhead St. Mary," *Mr. James Hussey*.

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Abundant on old walls at Melksham, Monkton Farleigh, and South Wraxhall.

5. *North-east District.* Old walls at Morden, Purton, and Swindon. *This fern is of rare occurrence in South Wilts*, but more frequent in the northern portion of the county. *Fronde* tufted, spreading, linear-lanceolate, deeply pinnatifid, or pinnate, covered beneath with dense scales. Segments oblong, obtuse, waved, or slightly lobed on the margin. *Fronde* 3 to 6 inches long, green and smooth above. It often accompanies *Asplenium Ruta-muraria*, and *Trichomanes*.

BLECHNUM, (LINN.) HARD-FERN.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Named from the Greek (*blechron*) or (*blechnon*) a kind of fern.

1. *B. boreale*, (Sw.) northern Hard-fern. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1159. *Lomaria spicant*, Newm., 89.

Locality. In woods, thickets, stony and heathy places. *P. Fl.* July. *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Landford and Whiteparish," *Rev. E. Simms*. "Ditches on Alderbury Common," *Maton, Nat. Hist. Wilts*.

2. *South-middle District.* Potterne Wood.

3. *South-west District.* "Heathy ground between Donhead St. Mary and Semley," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

4. *North-west District.* Rudloe, in a wood near Weavern Mill overhanging Box Brook, and Spye Park, but rare.

5. *North-east District.* "Neighbourhood of Little Bedwyn parish," *Rev. F. H. Buckerfield.* "Martinsell, Wan's-Dyke, and West Woods," *Flor. Marlb. Local in Wills.* *Fronde* linear-lanceolate, of two forms: *fertile ones* erect, pectinate-pinnate, with distant, narrow, linear, acute pinnæ: *barren ones* spreading, with broadly-linear, blunt, approximate lobes. The barren fronds, which remain throughout the winter, are always more or less spreading in their habit, and generally prostrate. The fertile fronds are always erect, from 1 to 2 feet in height, and distantly pinnated.

PTERIS, (LINN.) BRAKES, OR BRACKEN.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Pteris, the common Greek name for fern.

1. *P. aquilina*, (Linn.) Eagle Fern. When the main stalk is cut across, the pith has the figure of an oak, or as some have fancied, the imperial or spreading eagle, which induced Linnæus to apply to it the trivial name of *aquilina*. *Engl. Bot. t.* 1679. *Newm.* 93. *Eupteris*, Newm.

Locality. Woods, hedges, heaths and parks. *P. Fl. July.* *Area*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Abundant in all the Districts.* *Fronde* tripartite, Branches bipinnate. Pinnules linear-lanceolate, superior undivided, inferior pinnatifid. The segments oblong, obtuse. *Fronde* 1 to 6 feet high, very much divided with spreading branches. This is the common park fern—the favourite haunt of the deer:—

"The wild buck bells from ferny brake."

[*Osmunda regalis*, (Linn.) Flowering Fern, *Engl. Bot. t.* 209, *Newm.* 331, was formerly to be found on Alderbury Common (*South-east District*), *Dr. Maton*, "*Botanist's Guide*," and still more recently on Landford Common—in this latter locality I fear this noble

ferri has been nearly rooted out to a considerable extent for trans-plantation to Ferneries.]

BOTRYCHIUM, (Sw.) MOON-WORT.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Named from the Greek (*bōtrus*) a bunch of grapes, which the branched clusters of globular thecæ somewhat resemble.

1. *B. Lunaria*, (Sw.) common Moon-wort. *Engl. Bot. t.* 318. *Newm.* 337. *Osmunda*, Linn.

Locality. Dry pastures and commons. *P. Fl.* June, July. *Area*, 1, * 3, * 5.

South Division.

1. *South-east District.* "Alderbury Common," *Dr. Maton, Bot. Guide.* "Pewsey Downs, plentiful in one spot," *Rev. T. F. Ravenshaw, Flor. Marlb.*

3. *South-west District.* In a low meadow near Netherhampton. "Harnham Hill, as well as all along the range of chalk towards Shaftesbury, in places between Harnham Hill and Whitesheet Hill," *Mr. James Hussey.*

North Division.

5. *North-east District.* "Bedwyn Common, Marlborough Common, and Forest Hill," *Flor. Marlb.* *Rare and local in Wilts.* *Barren frond* pinnate. Pinnæ lunate or fan-shaped, notched or crenate on the outer margin. *Fertile frond* springing apparently from the common rachis, which is taller of the two, and rises to the height of 5 or 6 inches, and is in perfection about Midsummer. This plant is liable to be overlooked in consequence of the small size, and frequent cropping of the fructifying frond by cattle.

OPHIO-GLOSSUM, (LINN.) ADDER'S TONGUE.

Linn. Cl. xxiv., Ord. i.

Name. From (*ophis*) a serpent, and (*glossa*) a tongue; from the resemblance of the spike.

1. *O. vulgatum*, (Linn.) common Adder's tongue. *Engl. Bot. t.* 108. *Newm.* 349.

Locality. Damp meadows and pastures. *P. Fl.* May, June.

Area, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Recorded in all the Districts, but local in its distribution. Barren frond* ovate, obtuse, spathe-like. *Fertile frond* club-shaped, springing apparently from the common rachis. *Height* 4 to 12 inches, erect, varying according to the luxuriance of the surrounding vegetation. *The barren frond* is often forked at the extremity, occasionally deeply lobed, and in very luxuriant specimens, two or three spikes of fructification are developed instead of one.

On Certain Wiltshire Traditions, Charms and Superstitions.

By the REV. A. C. SMITH.

(Read before the Society at the Annual Meeting at Swindon, September 16th, 1873.)

AS the education of the people progresses, and bids fair in due course of time to penetrate into the most retired hamlets of the county, it is manifest that the long-cherished traditions and superstitions which still linger lovingly and very tenaciously in the hearts of our old-fashioned peasantry, must gradually give way. Not however, I suspect, altogether; for these are the things which in some cases will be found to be too deeply-rooted to be eradicated in the life-time of those who hold them; nay I doubt not, in some instances they will cling to the memories, and obtain a certain credence in the minds of some who are yet unborn, so hard is it to do away with a once-credited belief, be it founded on never so absurd a basis.

Still the more uneducated of our people, even in the most retired corners of the county, are beginning to be very shy of alluding to these traditions and superstitions, though this was not the case

within my own memory : and I have repeatedly noticed that those who were ready enough to enunciate their belief in such generally-received maxims twenty years ago, can scarcely be persuaded to speak of them at present. And this, not from any misgivings as to their truth, but because they shrink from exposing their cherished notions to the scepticism of the unbelieving, and naturally hide amongst themselves the opinions which they soon learn to see are ridiculed and scoffed at by the outside world.

It is time then for the Wiltshire Archæological Society to try, by means of its many members, to rescue the memory of such superstitions and traditions from oblivion, before they are buried in the bosoms of our most uncommunicative classes : and as every day makes the task more difficult, I would urge on my fellowarchæologists to assist in committing to paper instances of this kind with which they may become acquainted ; assured, as I am, that they will soon possess a value which most people perhaps now little dream of, as the march of Education carries off in its rapid strides (not, I think, the traditions and superstitions themselves, but) the key by which alone we can hope to get at them, viz., the willingness to relate them on the part of their possessors.

I proceed now to mention two or three examples of these traditions and superstitions, as they have come before my own notice ; and I would observe here, that I class them together, because they are so intimately connected that I cannot sever them : the one runs into the other as it were insensibly, and it is difficult to say where the one ends, and the other begins.

Sickness and death are perhaps the two subjects which have called forth most of these old traditions, and no wonder. For whilst the monasteries flourished, the people looked confidently, and not without reason, to the good fathers for medical aid ; but when the religious houses were dissolved, and those on whose advice they had been accustomed to rely were dispersed, they were obliged to shift for themselves, as they best could. Thus, when the science of medicine was at the lowest ebb, and a people ignorant of the principles of the healing art, but deeply distressed at the danger of their loved ones, knew not where to turn for remedies, nor how to

treat the suffering patient, then the charm of the wise man, or the advice of the cunning woman of the district was sought for with eagerness; their ridiculous directions were followed to the letter, and implicitly believed; and should the patient chance to recover, that charm or that prescription was ever after treasured up as of specific virtue, and its efficacy in like cases loudly declared by its well-assured though very credulous admirers. Nor was it likely that the prescriber, once proved to have given good advice, should henceforth fail to be considered infallible; his nostrums received with avidity, himself honoured, and his pockets filled, almost despite himself; for he would be consulted on every conceivable subject, and his words treasured up as undoubted wisdom, and that though he were, (as not unfrequently seems to have been the case) the veriest ignoramus in the whole country side.

Nor let any one suppose that the office of the cunning man or woman has died out in Wiltshire. There is generally one such to be found in most neighbourhoods; or if not, the credulous applicant for advice will appreciate the prescription given him at a higher value, if he has to walk ten or twenty miles in order to obtain it: and then he comes home and follows up the charm (for it is generally nothing else) to the letter; and twists three pieces of cotton round his garden gate at the full moon, for curing the fits under which his child was labouring; or places a roasted apple, with many fetish rites, on the top of the cupboard, for driving away the evil spirits which haunted his premises; or performs some of the innumerable other remedies of a similar character, of which these modern wizards have a goodly store at command: and should the charm by any accident not succeed, of course the failure was to be attributed, not at all to its fallibility, but to some accidental omission or error in working it out on the part of the patient and his friends. Such superstitious practices as these, are, I am afraid, far more common amongst our Wiltshire labourers, at this day, than many people would suppose; but they are very deplorable, and they betoken a very low perception of Christian truth, and they should be combated on every possible opportunity. Above all, the poor ignorant dupes should be protected as far as possible from the wiles of the imposter:

but with the cunning man or woman, who trade upon the simplicity of the people, no parley should be held: but their nefarious traffic should be exposed, and destroyed at all cost. In my own immediate neighbourhood I am glad to think that such credulity has generally ceased, partly because when a gross case of such pretended cunning occurred there, some twelve or fourteen years ago, and some time afterwards came under my notice, special pains were taken to expose it; but still more perhaps because I positively assured the cunning woman that if any other instance of pretended advice on her part occurred, I would certainly prosecute her for obtaining money under false pretences: and this is a course of action which I earnestly recommend to all who have the opportunity of suppressing this miserable deception.

One of the most thoroughly accepted Wiltshire superstitions, is the passing the body of a crippled child through a cleft ash tree. I recollect, when I was a boy, this charm was tried by a labourer on my father's estate. This man first selected a well-grown healthy young ash; and then with many rites and ceremonies, and at early dawn, split the tree where the stem forked into branches, passed the body of the suffering infant through the cleft, and then carefully bound up the wounded tree, not without a large lump of moistened clay: the cure of the child depending altogether on the recovery of the tree; for should the tree perish under the somewhat severe treatment it had undergone, the child must infallibly perish too, whereas if the tree survived, the cure of the child was certain. I have reason to believe that this superstitious practice still exists in some parts of this county, probably the remnant of a very ancient custom, dating back to the period when in the Teutonic Mythology the ash was sacred to the gods.¹

While speaking of the ash-tree, I may mention another very current tradition, which, if not now, at all events very lately, received implicit credence amongst the Wiltshire labourers: and that was, that if a hole be bored in an ash-tree, and a live shrew mouse (*sorex tetragonurus*) be enclosed in the hole, the branches of that

¹ See Rev. C. A. John's *Forest Trees*, vol. i., page 133, also Evelyn's *Sylva*, vol. i., page, 151, and White's *Selborne*, page 187.

tree would ever after prove efficacious against cramp or lameness in cattle; a gentle tap with such a branch at once dispersing all tendency to such ailments, which were absurdly supposed to be caused by this, one of the most harmless creatures in existence, having run over the animal so affected. Hence the ash-tree so treated was known as the "Shrew-ash," and doubtless highly was it revered, and much was it accounted of by all who dwelt near.¹

As to the many portents which are supposed to foretell death to some member of the household, I do not know that the Wiltshire peasant is more credulous of them than others; though I can from my own personal knowledge avouch that he implicitly believes in some. Such, for instance, as the startling omen of a *shroud in the candle*, when the tallow gutters off in a portentous ribbon: and more than once has such candle been set aside in the cottage, and reserved for my particular inspection. Such again as the ominous noise of the timber-loving beetle, commonly known as the "*death-watch*," and which the witty Dean of St. Patrick has thus pleasantly described:—

"A wood worm
That lies in old wood, like a hare in her form;
With teeth or with claws it will bite or will scratch,
And chambermaids christen this worm a 'death-watch':
Because, like a watch, it always cries click;
Then woe be to those in the house who are sick!
For, sure as a gun, they will give up the ghost,
If the maggot cries click, when it scratches the post;
But a kettle of scalding hot water ejected,
Infallibly cures the timber affected;
The omen is broken, the danger is over,
The maggot will die, and the sick will recover."

Such again as the alarming cry (for it is nothing else) of the "deaths-head hawk moth" (*Acherontia atropos*), which, though rarely heard, never fails to predict a speedy end to the unhappy listener; while the markings on its back represent to his fertile imagination the head of a perfect skeleton, with the limb-bones crossed beneath.¹

¹ See Rev. C. A. St. John's Forest Trees, vol. i., pp. 134-5, also White's Selborne.

² See Knapp's Journal of a Naturalist, p. 327.

Or, again, the dreaded hooting of the Tawny Owl, so certain to betoken a fatal termination to the sufferer, but to whose window the innocent bird had only been attracted by the light which so generally is burning in a sick-room.¹

And now, to return again to the cunning men and women, let me next call attention to the horrible medicines, which these imposters, both of old and modern days, recommended, and whose efficacy was never doubted by those who swallowed them, but which were oftentimes relied upon the more, in proportion to their repulsiveness. Some of these prescriptions were comparatively harmless, but some, probably with a view to enhance the opinion of their value, or create a belief in the wisdom of their advisers, were not only nauseous and disgusting, but productive of most horrible cruelty. Thus a powder composed of mice burnt alive was recommended for one complaint, that of pounded wood-lice for another, while the ashes of earth-worms were a sovereign remedy in a third.² These however are comparatively common-place medicines; for to this day the swallowing of live frogs is resorted to as a remedy for certain ailments amongst cattle, and I am not by any means certain that the same receipt is not also followed out by human beings in some parts of Wilts, to one instance of which I myself was an eye-witness in my boyhood. Still more common, but not less disgusting, is the swallowing of live sheep-ticks for the curing of rheumatism: but if I were to enumerate the abominations, which in the way of specifics or charms, many of the people in this county still take, with implicit faith in their efficacy, I should not only weary my readers, but disgust them too. Let these then suffice as a sample, but only as a sample, for few are at all aware to how great an extent this form of superstitious practice still prevails amongst us.

But to mark the supreme indifference to reason, and the mere working of a charm, which is really the light in which many of our rustics regard the prescriptions of medical men, I will give the following case, which occurred within my own personal knowledge,

¹ Waterton's *Essays in Natural History*, series i., p. 173.

² Knapp's *Journal of a Naturalist*,

within the limits of the borough of Devizes. A labourer, being confined to his bed with a rather sharp attack of pleurisy, was visited by the parish doctor, who, together with other remedies, said he would send a blister, which should be at once applied to the patient's chest. On the following day, when the medical gentleman visited his patient, he was met at the door by the sick man's wife, who, with great glee, expressed her admiration at the effects of the blister, which had done wonders; and said that her husband was in consequence much the better. The doctor of course expressed his satisfaction, but when he came to examine the sick man, he was surprised to find no trace of a blister, and on enquiring how that was, the wife with great readiness explained, "You see, Sir, he had'nt got no chest, but he's got a good-sized box in the corner, and we clapp'd en on that:" and there, sure enough, on a deal box, was the blister which had worked such a magic cure, to the no small merriment of the doctor.

After this authentic anecdote, I fancy I shall hear remarks of a disparaging character, as regards the shrewdness of the Wiltshire labourer; and I dare say the word "Moonraker" may be mentioned, without much reverence for the term: and I should like to say a few words here on this epithet, as applied to Wiltshiremen, because it is (I believe) very greatly misunderstood. Everybody in the county indeed knows the generally-received origin of the name, how the labourers of a certain parish in this county were surprised on a moonlight night, as they were raking in a pond; and when in answer to the enquiry what they were searching for, they answered that they were trying to get the moon out of the pond, which they took for a good North Wiltshire cheese, they were ridiculed in no measured terms, and were thought the most simple and credulous of dullards. But the laugh was not altogether against them, neither were our Wiltshire "Moonrakers" so simple as they seemed: for when their questioners had gone off in a merry mood at their simplicity, these shrewd (if not very honest) men raked out of the pond many a keg of smuggled spirits, which had been hidden there; for this was in reality their occupation on that moonlit night. And if the trade of the smuggler seems to any somewhat an unlikely one

to be pursued in this inland county, so far removed from the coast, it will probably surprise them to be told that there are certain retired villages in the heart of the downs of North Wiltshire, and not very far distant from Swindon, whose whole population, some seventy years ago, was employed in little else; and who, in connection with others on Salisbury Plain, and others again on the Dorset or Hampshire coast, carried cargoes of contraband goods by the little-frequented ridgeways or trackways, or paths little known to and seldom used by any but themselves, which ran along the edge of the downs; and so handed them on to the very middle of England, doubtless dispersing some of them on the way, and driving a very lucrative business. The trade of the smuggler (it must be remembered) was by many in those days not thought very dishonest, and there was a dash and peril attending it which in great part concealed its ugly character; but when these same villages of smugglers became also villages of sheep-stealers, and the two trades were carried on by the same gang, they not only verified the old Wiltshire saying:—

“Salisbury Plain, Salisbury Plain,
Never without a thief, or twain,”

but these lawless occupations were a severe tax upon their neighbours, and so, in process of time, they were denounced by all honest men, followed up and put down with a high hand, and while a few of the ringleaders were sent to the gallows, considerable numbers of them were transported for life; and I am old enough to remember in one of those villages being struck with the extraordinary number of widows, until it was explained to me that they were only so called by courtesy, their husbands having (as it was euphoniously described) “gone abroad;” though it might have been added, “at their country’s expense,” and “to Botany Bay;” and “for the term of their natural lives.”

To return to our subject: and to pass on to superstitious traditions not connected with illness or death, I may mention, as an instance of this kind, that on taking refuge some years since from a storm of rain in a cottage in a village adjoining my own, I remarked a

diminutive loaf of bread, no larger than a small apple, suspended from the ceiling. On asking its intention, I found a great reluctance to enter on the subject, but at length the woman of the house told me that "it was said if a loaf baked on Good Friday were hung up in the cottage, it would ensure that light bread should be baked all the year through; there, she did'nt know as it would come true, but as she happened to bake last Good Friday, she thought she'd try it." On my enquiry as to the result she said "her bread had been light and good ever since," which would have been a more satisfactory conclusion to those who adhere to such traditions, if she had not added, "but then to be sure my bread always had been so before."

As I have given a receipt for light bread, it is only right that I should follow it up in this, (the heart of the North Wilts dairies) with a valuable piece of advice about cheese, which I heartily commend to the attention of all whom it may concern: at all events it has the merit of considerable antiquity, and bears strong internal evidence that it is of genuine Wiltshire origin.

"If you'll have a good cheese, and have'n old,
You must turn 'n seven times before he's cold."*

I have yet another Wiltshire proverb, of at least equal antiquity, and of (I should suppose) about equal value; the day of whose merit is at least, I think, gone by.

"Ere Christmas be passed, let your horse be let blood,
For many a purpose it doth him much good:
The day of St. Stephen old fathers did use,
If that do mislike thee, some other day choose."

But to return from weighty proverbs to empty superstitions. There is scarcely any subject about which our people are more superstitious than about bees: these are, in very many cases, the only live creatures they keep, so to them they confide their joys and sorrows, going out to whisper to them immediate intelligence of a birth, a death, or a wedding in the family. Moreover, observing their wonderful sagacity, they regard them with something akin to awe, and nothing will persuade them to do what the bees would not

approve. As an instance in point: about twenty years ago I was awaiting the arrival of a friend by stage coach at Beckhampton in early spring, when seeing a long row of bee-hives, and being desirous of procuring some early swarms, I made a proposal to the owner to sell me some; when the good woman replied that though she had more than she wanted, she would not do so on any account, for that "the bees did not like it, and it was most unlucky to sell them." Of course I began to argue with her that this was mere delusion on her part, but she cut me short by saying that on one occasion she had been so persuaded, and had promised her first swarm to a gentleman for ten shillings, and "if you'll believe it, Sir," she continued, "my first swarm came out and pitched on a dead hedge, which, you know, is very unlucky." "Well" (said I) "if that was all the harm that came of it, it was no great matter." "No" (she replied) "but that same year, and very soon after too, my little boy died!" After this, there was no more to be said, for nothing would ever convince that woman and probably most of her neighbours, but that the parting with her bees for money was the real cause of her child's death, foreshadowed too, as it was, by their settling on the dead hedge. I will add, lest any of my readers should entertain similar qualms of conscience, and be beset with similar terrors from the sale or purchase of bees, that since that time I have purchased many a swarm, and am still, as I have been for twenty years, a rather extensive bee-master, but that I have never yet experienced any calamity beyond an occasional sting, from offending my bees.

There is still, I rejoice to say, an innocent belief in the good luck likely to result from the protection of swallows and martins which resort to the shelter of the cottage eaves or porch at the breeding season: and a horror of doing injury to the robin or the wren, arising from the old popular tradition that

"The Robin Redbreast and the Wren,
Are God Almighty's cock and hen,"

whilst on the other hand, there is an unfortunate notion equally prevalent in our county, that the harmless hedgehog sucks the cows, a feat which, of all creatures, the hedgehog seems least capable of

performing. And again it is generally affirmed, that the owl is a destroyer of young pigeons, thus mistaking the policeman for the thief, for it is in search of the rats which often prove so destructive in our dove-cotes, and not with any evil intentions against the young pigeons, that the owl is sometimes seen exploring such places, which entail upon him suspicion, and very often an untimely end.

Of course it is held in Wiltshire, as elsewhere, an unfortunate omen to upset any salt at table; or to listen to the first cry of the cuckoo without turning money in your pocket; or to see a solitary magpie as you journey along: but these, (though I fear they have degenerated in modern days to mere superstition) were originally rather traditions founded on reason. For as regards salt, it was, (and is in the East to this day) considered symbolical of hospitality and friendship, and I suppose an accidental upsetting the salt betokened an approaching dissolution of friendship, as an intentional spilling of that emblem of good-will marked an open rupture. Then with regard to the cuckoo, the intention of the saying was, that after the pinching rigours of winter were past, whoever had any money in his pocket to turn at the coming of the cuckoo, was a fortunate man. While as to the magpie, it was a fisherman's saying in the first place, and applied only to the season of spring, when it was unlucky for the angler to see a single magpie, because that betokened cold and stormy weather, when one magpie would remain on the nest, sitting on the eggs or young, to keep them warm: whereas it was lucky to see two, for when both parents went out together, the weather must be assuredly warm and settled.

In candour however I must acknowledge that the Wiltshire rustic is sometimes a little dull, and has been known to exhibit marks the reverse of brilliancy. As for instance, in the case of a cooper not a great way from Calne, who, baffled in his attempts to hold the head of a cask in place while he fixed it, happily bethought him to put his little boy inside, who should support it with his hands: but it did not occur to him how effectually he had incarcerated his son, till he heard the plaintive voice of his firstborn exclaiming from the interior, "Fe-ather, how be I to get out?" This anecdote is however equalled, if not surpassed, by the famous story of the man who

travelled with his son, by coach, from Melksham to London, and it was on arrival at the latter place, that, after the father and the guard had made an ineffectual search for a brown paper parcel, which, on starting from Melksham, both had seen safely stowed away in the hind boot, the boy exclaimed, "La, faather, I zeed un drap out at Vize."

I cannot however conclude this paper with such anecdotes as these, lest, harmless as they are, they leave the impression on the minds of any that I esteem the intellect of the Wiltshire labourer as below the average of his fellows in other parts of England. Most emphatically I declare that I do not: and in refutation of any such opinion, let the statistics of the education of the several counties in England conclusively declare. Granted that the Wiltshireman has something to unlearn, as well as something to learn; that he may be, and undoubtedly is too credulous; and that there is still a considerable leaning on his part towards charms and superstitions: still, I maintain that of the two extremes it is better to believe too much than too little; and I for one, far prefer such ignorant credulity as I have described above, to that fatal scepticism and open infidelity, now alas! so prevalent in England. Moreover, if our Wiltshireman is in some respects ignorant, and dull, and slow, and heavy, I think we may claim for him, at the same time, that he is generally honest and straightforward, and upright and true. For good sterling worth, and for hearty, trustworthy, genuine goodwill, commend me to our average Wiltshireman; and surely that is a character neither to be despised nor ridiculed. He has his peculiarities of belief and of habits, and he is somewhat prejudiced in favour of those peculiarities; indeed he is generally tenacious, not to say obstinate in support of them: but may we not say the the same of Archæologists, and indeed of most other —ologists, in regard to their respective hobbies? but for kindness of heart, readiness to help his neighbour in distress, large-hearted unaffected sympathy, ungrudging bestowal of his time and energies, even his hard-earned money in the service of a friend in trouble; in short for his unselfishness and real charity, I have seen very many instances amongst our Wiltshire labourers, which would advantageously compare with similar traits in any class of life.

The Ancient Wiltshire Dykes.

By the Rev. Preb. W. H. JONES, M.A., F.S.A.,

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AMONGST the memorials of the distant past that are to be found so plentifully in Wiltshire, few are more interesting than its large dykes, which may still be seen, though only in fragments, in various parts of the county. They are to be found *northward* as far as to Monkton Farleigh, Lacock, and Marlborough, and extend *southward* to the very borders of Wiltshire. It is the object of this paper to offer suggestions as to their names, purposes, and probable dates.

In the course of this essay, attention will be directed not only to those fragments of those ancient works that still remain, as yet undestroyed by the plough-share, or by other ruthless and less excusable agencies, but to those entries or allusions in ancient charters, which enable us to trace the lines of such dykes in places where there is no longer any outward sign of them. It would have been desirable if possible to have provided an illustrative map to accompany this paper, but one on a sufficiently large scale to be of much real use was hardly feasible. I will therefore ask my readers kindly, with a coloured pencil, to mark on a map of Wilts the various lines of dykes which do not already appear, and which I endeavour to trace out from ancient documents. Two of the sheets of Cruchley's Reduced Ordnance Map (Nos. 11 and 18) uncoloured, and printed on thicker paper, are, as far as my experience goes, as suitable as any for the purpose.

My plan will be, first of all, to offer a few remarks on the various theories that have been put forth by way of explaining the objects for which these ancient dykes were first made—the different heads under which they may be classed—and the people who first dug them.

The most probable opinion concerning their chief purpose, is, I

can have no hesitation in saying, that they were simply *boundary-lines*. As I proceed I think I shall be able to give some evidence, more or less direct, of this fact, but it may be said at once that to suppose them to be military lines of defence is to the last degree improbable. They might serve occasionally, it is true, to throw impediments in the way of a party of freebooters, but to maintain them as, so to speak, outworks or fortifications, would require an organized body of men to guard them, and the maintenance of such a force would be beyond the means of races only imperfectly civilized. It is freely admitted, moreover, with regard to those camps or fortifications which are to be traced here and there in the neighbourhood of Wansdyke—such as Mæsknoll, Stantonbury, and Hampton Down Camp—that they are all appendages to the dyke, and not the dyke to them;—in plain words, the Wansdyke, whatever subsidiary purpose it served afterwards, was originally a boundary line.

These ancient boundary-lines admit of a *three-fold* division:—(1) Those defining the limits of the British tribes before the Roman conquest—(2) Those made by the Romanized Britons.—(3) Those thrown up by our English ancestors.

Have we examples of each of them in Wilts? General opinion hitherto has, I believe, said “No.” Still I cannot help thinking that something may be said on the other side. And as the object of papers published in this Magazine is to invite discussion, and so to elicit truth, I venture, with all deference, even though I may be running counter to generally-received ideas on the subject, to put forth other views, for which I ask a candid consideration.

Stukeley was, I believe, the first to direct attention to the Wiltshire dykes, and the theory he started respecting them was at all events ingenious, and, for want of a better, perhaps, has found not a few adherents. He considered that they were constructed by the Belgæ, who, according to Cæsar, came over not very long before his time, from that portion of ancient Gaul which corresponded with modern Belgium and Holland, and portions of Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, and was by the Romans called Gallia Belgica, and effected a conquest of this part of England, marking their various conquests by these dykes as successive lines of defence. Stukeley enumerated *three* of these

in Wilts. Bokerley Dyke—the dyke immediately north of Old Sarum, anciently called *Wond' dic*, and now as Under-ditch giving name to one of the Wiltshire hundreds—and Wansdyke. To these Warton added *two* others found in Wiltshire, viz., Grimsdyke, south of Salisbury, and the Old Dyke that runs over Salisbury Plain to the North of Heytesbury. Neither of these authorities, however, points out the districts which they suppose to have been marked out by these boundary-lines, and the proximity of the lines to each other is adduced as a proof of the desperate resistance which the Belgæ had to surmount before they could effect their conquest. But, as Dr. Guest observes, “the resistance must have been desperate indeed, which contested the possession of a few miles of worthless down land; and the love of property equally strong, which could think such an acquisition worthy of being secured at the expense of so much labour.”

But the question will naturally be asked, “Who were these Belgæ?”—and “What authority is there for the assumption that they overspread the south of Britain in successive waves of conquest, and dug these great dykes as boundary-lines to the territory they acquired from time to time?”—In answer to the former question we reply, that they were, according to Cæsar, for some centuries before Christ the most energetic and powerful—and among half-civilized races this means the most aggressive—of the Gaulish tribes. Further we learn, from the same authority, that the “maritime portion of Britain in his time was inhabited by those, who for the sake of booty and war, passed over from Belgium (*ex Belgio transierunt*), and that this people, in almost every case, *retained the names* of the native states from which they had migrated to this island, where they made war, and settled, and began to till the land.” Such words at all events imply a series of predatory inroads, some of which were followed by Belgic settlements. Well then, we know from Ptolemy, that the territory occupied in his time (that is *c.* A.D. 120, some 65 years after Cæsar) by the Belgæ, comprehended large portions of Hants, Wilts, and Somerset; for he mentions as their towns Venta (Winchester), Ischalis (Ilchester), and *Ἰδαρυθέρμα*, better known as Aquæ Calidæ (Bath). As these successive lines of

boundary were evidently made by a people who came up from the South, (a reason for this statement shall be mentioned presently), that is from the coast, to separate themselves from the tribes of the interior, there is nothing at the first blush unreasonable in this supposition. It will have been observed, in the extract from Cæsar, that he says expressly that the Belgæ who settled in this country gave names to places occupied by them similar to those of the country which they had left. As regards the larger districts this is evident; thus the Atrebatii of Belgica had their counterpart in the Atrebatii of Wilts and Berks; the Catalauni, in the Cateuchani inhabiting the central parts north of the Thames.¹ But Cæsar's words would lead us to expect (at least I think they justify this extension of their meaning) a considerable number of what, for the present, I will call Belgic names, in the district occupied by them. Now the Belgæ were without doubt a Celtic race in the main, and a branch of the Celts nearly related to the Cymry. Strabo was no careless or incorrect historian, and he not only states that the Celtic name was given to all the Gauls, but distinctly affirms that the language spoken by the Celts was, with few variations, the language spoken by the Belgæ. Have we then in Wiltshire, and in particular in the neighbourhood of some of these large dykes, a large infusion of the Celtic element in the local names? Undoubtedly we have, as has been attempted to be shewn in the pages of this Magazine.² I suppose there is no county in England in which we have so many names of places derived from a Celtic source. This may go for what it is worth, but it does seem to me to give some additional interest to the conjecture which we are discussing.

One other point may be noticed before I speak of each of the dykes more particularly. As Dr. Guest puts it—"It seems reasonable to infer, that when one of these boundary-lines was drawn between two neighbouring tribes, the earth-work was constructed by the more civilized race; or, in other words, by the race which had the clearest notions of the value and the rights of property. We

¹ See Nicholas' "Pedigree of the English People," p. 41.

² See above pp. 156, 253—"On the Celtic Element in Wiltshire Local Names."

know from Roman history that the Britons of the coast were a more civilized race than those who dwelt further in-land; and it will be observed that the dykes supposed to have been made by the Belgæ, as they gradually expelled the British tribes who preceded them, always have their foss to the *northward*."—Here is another incidental confirmation of the feasibility of our theory, for no doubt they must first of all have landed somewhere on the southern coast of Hants (as the Welsh traditions point to the Isle of Wight as their first place of settlement) and gradually worked their way northwards.

I will now speak of the various dykes of which we have remains in Wilts, and explain the conclusions to which, having regard to the facts I have endeavoured to explain, I have come to respecting them.

I.—BOKERLY DYKE. This is near Martin and Damerham, in the southern extremity of the County, close by the Dorsetshire border, and is no doubt a very ancient dyke. There is but a fragment of it remaining in Wilts. It can be traced, however, southward, between Holt Forest and Cranborne Chase. Dr. Guest thinks it may have crossed the Stour, south of Blandford, and then have joined Combe Bank, a work precisely of the same character in that vicinity. Further on there is another fragment, which, as late as Hutchins' time, was a "great ditch like Wansdyke, in the road from Bindon to Weymouth, extending for several miles." Its mutilated remains are still to be seen between Oare and Bindon, and at one time it was continued no doubt to the coast. The bank of this dyke is to the eastward, so that it seems no improbable supposition that it was a portion of the western boundary of an early, perhaps the first, Belgic conquest, and that all those fragments are portions of what was one line of boundary. Have we any traces of the line of this dyke to the north? Though all traces, as far as I know, of earth-works have disappeared, yet I think there is a name which indicates the existence of such at one time. About seven or eight miles to the north-west of this dyke, just to the north of Hindon, we have Bockerly Hill and Bockerly Coppice, the one in Pertwood, and the other in Chicklade. These are in the immediate vicinity of a number of ancient British remains, such as tumuli, villages, &c., and all along

the route which we may suppose it to have taken are names which seem certainly to have in them a Celtic element, such, *e.g.*, Quidham, Trough, Ebbes-borne, Wardour, Bridesor, Knoyle, Fonthill (olim Funtel), Teffont, Pen Hill, Keesley, and the Deverels. Little weight may perhaps be attached to this circumstance. Still, as far as it goes, it contains nothing antagonistic to our theory—on the contrary it gives a show of support to it.

It has been already suggested, in the pages of this Magazine,¹ that the name BOKERLY may be derived either from the Welsh word *Bwrch* (= a wall or rampart); or from the Welsh *Bwg* (in Cornish, *Bucha*), a spirit or ghost, primarily an object which causes terror. Our word "bogey" is derived from it. In Lancashire "boggart" means an apparition or hobgoblin. The original Welsh word was also used in its original sense to a comparatively late period. Thus in an old version of the Bible (1535) in Psalm xci. you read, "So that thou shalt not nede to be afrayed for any *bugges* (bogies, or evil spirits)—in our version it is 'terrors'—by night." There is this to support this etymology, that it carries out the idea so common in ancient times respecting these and similar works, that they were made by the help of evil spirits; hence such names as Giant's Causeway, and Devil's Dyke, which we have in other parts of England.

Few, I should think, would have any hesitation in pronouncing BOKERLY to be a very ancient dyke—perhaps the oldest in Wilts. There is no reason why it should not have been first dug some *two* or *three* centuries before the Christian era.

II.—GRIMSDYKE, to the south of Salisbury.

There are several fragments of dykes to which the quasi-generic name of GRIMSDYKE is given. It is by no means easy to form them into anything like a regularly connected boundary-line. Still, by means of ancient charters, we are able to trace their course both east and west. Thus in a charter relating to Ebbesbourn (now Bishopton) you have the expression, as denoting a boundary-point, "on *ða greátan díc*," *i.e.*, on the "great dyke," which is probably an allusion

¹ See above, p. 175.

to a portion of this Grimsdyke, and indicates its western course. Close by that point you have VERNDITCH (or VERNDYKE), in the present parish of Broad-Chalk, for the meaning of which name we may refer our readers to a previous page of this number of the Magazine (p. 269). Then next, in a charter¹ relating to Downton, an immediately adjoining parish, you have more than one allusion to "the dyke," as a boundary-point, an expression that probably refers to some portion of this Grimsdyke, since in a charter relating to an estate at Fyrstfield (Frustesfeld) belonging to the Abbess of Wilton (now termed the Earldoms), we meet with the more exact description "of ðám wege on ða ealdan díc," *i.e.*, "from that way to the *old dyke*."² So that we may fairly infer that at all events this dyke, of which we are now writing, ran from what we now call Bishopston to Verndyke, thence along a portion of the Downton boundary, and thence to what is now designated "the Earldoms," and forming a portion of the northern boundary of this manor, it then stretched onward to the north-east, till it came near a place which takes its name from it, *viz.*, Grimestead, within comparatively recent times corrupted into Grinstead.

III.—GRIMSDYKE, to the north of Salisbury.

This dyke can also be traced, by means of ancient charters, westward to within some two miles of Bokerly Hill, to which allusion has been already made. Thus in a charter relating to Sherrington³ we have the southern boundary thus described: "ðon on Grimesdíc, andlang díc" (then to Grimsdyke, along the dyke, &c). In one relating to the next parish, Stockton, you again find the description "on díc-geat ðet west andlang díc on Wylle-weg⁴" *i.e.*, "to the dyke-gate (=entrance), then west along the dyke to the Welsh-way" (or British trackway). Indeed you can clearly trace the dyke at this point to the present day. It would there seem to have been utilized as a southern boundary for

¹ Cod. Dipl., 1108.

² *Ibid*, 395.

³ See Sir R. C. Hoare's "Registrum Wiltunense," p. 13.

⁴ Cod. Dipl., 1078.

Wily and Little Langford. Then it went through Grovely Wood,¹ in the direction possibly of the Roman Road, which may still be traced, till it reached the vicinity of Dichæmatún² (Ditch-hampton) a village which takes its name from this "dyke." Then it takes a north-east direction, skirting South Newton (it is called in a charter relating to it "the *old dyke*," Cod. Dipl. 395), and then passes to the north of Old Sarum. Here it would seem to have been called *Wond' dic*, for this was the old spelling of what is now called *Underditch*,³ and gives its name to the Hundred in which it is situated.

And now for a few words as to the meaning of the name GRIMSDYKE, and the purpose, and probable date, of those which have been just described.

Stukeley and others have thought that this term was derived from the Anglo-Saxon *grime*, which means an elf or witch, and so was equivalent to "witches' work; for the vulgar generally think those extraordinary works made by the help of the devil." Dr. Guest, however, questions this derivation, because the genitive case of *grime*, is *grim-an*, and therefore would make *Griman-dic*, and inclines to the idea that the word *Grimes-dic* really means, what we have every reason for believing its purpose to have been, *boundary dyke*. What he says amounts to this:—He looks on the word *grime* as connected with the *gruma*, or *groma*, of the Agrimensors. Or he would connect it with another Latin term which he finds, viz., *grumi*, οἱ τῶν ὄρων λίθοι, *boundary-stones*, observing that our Anglo-Saxon charters not unfrequently use Latin phrases when describing boundaries, some of which must have been adopted by our ancestors soon after their arrival in the island. He considers

¹ It may be interesting to notice that in the Calendar of the Inquis. post mortem for VI. Rich. 2, we have this entry under "Thomas Blanchard,"—Bereford S. Martini in *foresta de Grovelie*, balliva ex parte australi de *Grymes-diche*.

² In the boundaries of Ditchampton as contained in the Wilton Chartulary (Cod. Dipl., 778) we have the expression: "on ðane greátan þorn ðe stynt wið Grimes-díc" (at the great thorn that stands near Grimsdyke).

³ For the probable, or, it may be, possible, derivation of Underditch, see above, p. 269.

that such an hypothesis would agree well with expressions we often find in charters, such as *grim-setan*, which can only be rendered the "dwellers on the *grim*, or boundary."¹

I must confess, that, with the deepest respect for Dr. Guest's learning, and the weight of his opinion, there does appear to me in all this to be a little hyper-criticism. For (1) we have in charters the very form he demands—thus *Griman-leáh* is the Anglo-Saxon name of what is now Grimley in Worcestershire; then (2) we all know how the process of "phonetic decay" is ever busy with names, and especially shews itself in dropping inflexions, or substituting the more common for rarer forms, just as the old forms of the plural *housen* and *shoon*, which you may still hear from Wiltshire villagers, are now dropped for *houses* and *shoes*; and then (3) the name is too common for such a supposition to be tenable. Thus the Norwegians had their *Foss-grims*, and no one would be venturesome enough to say that they were indebted for the name to Roman surveyors. So that I have not the least doubt that the word is connected with that root which we still preserve in our word *grim*, and bears testimony to the superstition of our ancestors, who always connected with wild dismal places and large works the names of grim and fabulous creatures.

As to the purpose served by the Grimsdykes, I conceive them to have been boundary-lines, not indeed of territories, but of much smaller extent of land, of tribes, or clans, or, it may be, of families. Two points in connection with them are, to my mind, conclusive against their being regarded as Belgic dykes. (1) They are very much smaller than Bokerley, which, if any be so, is undoubtedly a Belgic work; and then (2) with regard to the two nearest Old Sarum, one has its foss to the south, which seems to imply that it was the boundary of lands belonging to owners on the north, and not of people pressing up from the south; and, moreover, it intersects Bokerley Dyke, and is therefore a more recent work. As to the other, that runs just to the north of Old Sarum, to suppose it a Belgic work implies that a people strong enough to

¹ See Archæol. Journ. (Salisb.) p. 29.

capture that strong fortress were compelled to desist there, and, from inability to conquer the people in the valley, to place their boundary-line within a very short distance of what was naturally the key to the whole position for many miles. I believe that these Grims-dykes are the boundaries thrown up at a time when the land began to be portioned out amongst tribes, or clans, and when the rights of property as belonging to individuals was hardly recognized. There is no reason why they should not be attributed to the Romanized Britons, especially towards the close of the Roman rule. Or perhaps they may have been formed by our English ancestors soon after they obtained a permanent footing in this country. I incline to the former view, because they are many of them in the immediate vicinity of British villages, and so called castles, some of them, as in the case of Whichbury, leading to them. The fact that the English afterwards utilized them as boundary-lines, and gave them a name derived from their own tongue, or superstitions, is by no means inconsistent with this hypothesis. Moreover that they were boundary lines at one time separating races is clear from names that still remain. Thus on the south of Grimsdyke below Salisbury you have Cerdices-ford (now Chardford), and just north of the same dyke you have Brit-ford. The date of these Grimsdykes I should be inclined to place in the *fourth* or *fifth* century—certainly some five hundred years after Bokerley.

IV.—THE OLD DYKE. This is no doubt a very ancient dyke. It can be traced almost across the county from west to east. Its name would seem to have been given to it as though to distinguish it from another and comparatively more recent work. And this would seem in all probability to be Wansdyke, of which we shall speak presently, which runs a few miles to the north of it, and like it, can be traced across the county.

There can be little doubt as to the OLD DYKE being of British origin, and it well may be anterior to the Roman conquest. It has its foss to the north, so that we infer that it was made by a people coming up from the south. All along its course are remains of British villages and earthworks, to say nothing of numberless tumuli, some of them of large size, and of the shape which, authorities tell

us, indicate the greatest antiquity. The most western portion which remains can be traced from Boreham Down, in the north part of Warminster parish; thence it runs along till it comes to Knook Castle, the two ancient encampments of Battlesbury and Scratchbury being about two miles to the south of it. Thence it goes on to within a couple of miles of Tilshead, and in its course turns at right angles to avoid, as it would seem, interfering with what is now called the Tilshead Long Barrow. Again you trace it just above what is called Silver Barrow (a name corrupted from *Sel-berg*, i.e., great barrow); here it diverges to the north, and you trace it again close by Ell Barrow, that is, *eald-berg* (= old barrow), and across Compton Down. Again it goes northward, and you meet with it close by Chisenbury Camp and Lidbury Camp, and it reaches what are called the Twin Barrows, close by Combe Hill. It would seem no unlikely conclusion that it then went on to Sidbury, an ancient encampment in the parish of North Tidworth; but from this we cannot, as far as I know, trace it, for the Amesbury bounds mentioned by Dr. Guest are certainly too far from it to be considered as portions of it. An incidental proof of this Old Dyke having been a boundary-line seems to be given to us in the name of one of the parishes close by it—I mean *Imber*. It was written *Im-mere* till within two hundred years. This is a corruption of *Ge-mære*, which means “the boundary.” Moreover, the names of places in its immediate neighbourhood, many of them having in them the Celtic rather than Teutonic element, incidentally prove its antiquity, e.g. Knook, Chittern, Orcheston, Up-Avon, Combe Hill. My opinion is clearly that this is a very early, possibly a Belgic, work, not so ancient it may be as Bokerly, but still probably dug originally more than two thousand years ago, or some two hundred years before the Christian era.

V.—WANSDYKE. This is the greatest of all the Wiltshire Dykes. This magnificent earthwork reached from the Bristol Channel, across Somerset and Wilts, to the woodlands of Berkshire. Dr. Guest tells us that “the general consent of our antiquaries has fixed on Wansdyke as the last of the Belgic boundaries.” What others have said about this great dyke, while it to a certain

extent endorses this statement, nevertheless adds some important qualification. Mr. Scarth, in a paper contributed to the Archæological Association, on "Ancient Earthworks near Bath," after noticing Camden's opinion, that the Wansdyke was "called from Woden, that false imagined god and father of the English Saxons, who made it as a limit to divide the two kingdoms of the Mercians and West Saxons asunder," goes on to say—"Sir R. C. Hoare observes, that this dyke was most probably, in ancient times, the boundary of the Belgæ before the invasion of Cæsar. But we must not suppose that in those early times it existed in its present elevated and extended state, for its increased strength may be attributed to the Saxons. This, in another place, he states to have been clearly demonstrated by cutting through the dyke in two places, where *the more recent work appeared superadded to the old*. Stukeley also points out where he observed that the dyke had been *turned to the purpose of a Roman road*, and part of the agger left as a parapet to protect the road on the side of a deep declivity. Stukeley's words are,—“The Roman workmen have thrown in most part of the rampire, still preserving it as a terrace to prevent the danger and the terror of the descent on the other side.” Mr. Lemon also says, “the Saxon bank and ditch are plainly visible, being made *on the foundation of the previous Roman road*, in the grounds of Mr. Fuller, at Neston.” Thus we have three periods of history marked in Wansdyke: its Belgic origin or foundation,—its Roman adaptation,—its Saxon completion.

On these statements and opinions I would venture to make a few remarks.

And, first of all, as to the meaning of the Name. On this there can be little doubt: it is clearly Woden's-Dyke. It occurs in charters as Wódnes-díc and is not unfrequently met with. Near it is a place now called Woodborough but which was originally Wódnes-beorg *i.e.*, Woden's-hill. Applied to the dyke, the appellation would seem to have reference to its being a *boundary-line*, for Woden, like Mercurius, was the god of boundaries.¹ Numerous references

¹ See Saxons in England, i., 52, 343.

might be given to the land-limits of charters, in which trees, stones, and posts, were set up in Woden's name, apparently with the view of giving a religious sanction to the divisions of land. The name it will be observed is not Celtic, but Teutonic, imposed by the English settlers in the days of their heathenism, and therefore at the latest at the close of the sixth century. Did they give the name to a work which they found already made, or did they themselves execute it, and, having done so, dedicate it to Woden as to a tutelary deity?

Then next, it may be observed, that as regards the names of places, or even the encampments along the course of Wansdyke, they too are almost entirely Anglo-Saxon. With the sole exception of Mæs-Knoll (hill of battle) all the rest near this place, such as Hampton Down, Stantonbury, Stokesleigh, Stanton Drew, Wellow, are English names. So too in Wiltshire, nearly every place along its course has an English name—Farleigh, Box, Neston, Shaw, Bromham, Heddington, Cannings, Rybury, Alton, Hewish, Overton. As it enters Berkshire you have a British name or two, such as Savernake and Bedwin, but these are decidedly the exception. So far then as the names of places are concerned and have any weight, the Wansdyke might probably be an English work.

And then further as to the *three* periods of its history, which, according to the opinions I have quoted, are marked in Wansdyke, viz.—(1) its Belgic origin—(2) its Roman adaptation—(3) its English completion,—I own that I think a little play has been given to fancy. I confess that I am somewhat sceptical as to the first—Stukeley's "rampire" tale seems to me but a lame story. The idea of a Roman road running at the top of an embankment of any size suggests engineering and other difficulties not easily to be overcome. At most, the previous embankment, if there at all, must have been but of small size, and corresponding more with the Grimsdykes that I have already described than with the last frontier-wall of the Belgic territory. Mr. Lemon, it will have been noticed, observes that at Neston "the Saxon bank and ditch are plainly visible, *being made on the foundation of the previous Roman road.*" Now Dr. Guest tells us, that the distinction between a British and Roman

road is this,—that *the former* appears as a ditch with a low mound on each side of it, the dense population which Cæsar tells us lived here naturally wearing their lines of communication into hollows—*the latter* as a mound simply. Is there any difficulty in supposing after all that we have only two works instead of three, and that the Wansdyke was thrown up in many parts on the Roman road, or bank, which preceded it? It is at least strange, if any work of importance existed here before the Roman road, that no writer notices it; the more so, as in the Itinerary of Antoninus we have an account of all the stations along its course from Somerset to Berkshire—Aquæ Solis—Verlucio—Cunetio—Spinæ.

But even admitting that there is some truth in the opinions I am discussing, and that there was a Belgic Dyke, on the line of what was afterwards called Wansdyke, existing before ever the Romans set foot in our country, it would be by no means inconsistent to contend, that the enlargement of this dyke, and its utilization as a boundary-line, might be the work of the English settlers in the fifth and following century. I confess that I incline much to Camden's opinion that *at one time*, at all events, Wansdyke was the northern boundary of the conquests of the West Saxons. Many of the contests in its neighbourhood were probably caused by disputes on the subject of boundaries. Why may it not have been dug—or, if previously existing, enlarged—and constituted as a boundary-line, as the chiefs of the West Saxons succeeded in obtaining a hold of the country up to that point? We have historical records of Offa, King of Mercia, (A.D. 755—792), having caused a large dyke, still called by his name, to be dug, separating his kingdom from Wales. Why may not a precedent for that great work have been set some two hundred years previously in Wansdyke?

The sum of what has been written in this paper amounts to this:—

(a) That there are in Wilts ancient dykes of various ages and constructed for various purposes; that the fragments of them which we find in different parts of our county may, by means of the descriptions in charters, be so connected together, as to lead us to believe that they were in all some *five* in number; and that the principal

object secured by them was to form boundary-lines, either for clans, or tribes, or nations.

(b) That the most ancient of these dykes are probably **BOKERLY DYKE**, and that what is termed, as though in contradistinction to some other similar and more recent work, **THE OLD DYKE**;—that these are what have been of late years designated **Belgic works**, and that their dates may very possibly be *three hundred*, or *two hundred*, years before Christ.

(c) That the next in point of antiquity are the **GRIMSDYKES**, near Salisbury,—and that very possibly these were *tribal* boundaries, formed by the Romanized Britons, towards the close of the Roman rule, or about A.D. 300—400.

(d) That the last in point of date is that which is the northernmost of all, the **WANSDYKE**: and that though it is quite possible there was an older and smaller earthwork before it, yet that *in its present form*, it is just as likely to have been to a considerable extent an English work, and possibly of the date of the *sixth* century.

W. H. JONES.

Bradford-on-Avon,
June, 1874.



Donation to the Museum and Library.

The Council have the pleasure of acknowledging the donation of £50 towards the fittings of the Museum and Library, from T. H. Poynder, Esq., of Hartham Park.

WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Abstract of the Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society, from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1873,
both days inclusive.

DR.	£ s. d.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£ s. d.	CR.
1873. To Balance brought from last account	377 0 0	1873. By sundry payments, including Postage, Carriage, Advertising, &c.	23 1 1	
„ Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions, received of Members.....	175 9 0	„ Cash paid for Books	22 0 0	
„ Cash received for sale of Magazines	6 18 7	„ Ditto, printing, engraving, &c., on account of Magazine, viz., balance of No. 39. and 40, and on account of No. 41	93 13 2	
„ Ditto for Jackson's Aubrey.....	3 15 0	„ Ditto, Insurance	0 10 3	
„ Locke & Co., interest on deposit of £200	5 0 0	„ Ditto, Land Tax, Museum.....	0 14 0	
		„ Ditto, Salary and Commission	18 15 6	
		„ Ditto, Expenses at Museum, furniture, &c.....	50 0 6	
		„ Balance	359 8 1	
				£568 2 7

WILLIAM NOTT,
Financial Assistant Secretary.



