

S. 31.







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DEVIZES:

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

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EDITED BY  
H. C. BRETNALL, F.S.A.,  
Granham West, Marlborough.

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



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EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, STATION ROAD.

*Price 8s.      Members Gratis.*

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

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## RECORDS BRANCH.

The Branch was founded in 1937 to promote the publication of original literary sources for the history of the county and of the means of reference thereto. The activities of the Branch have had to be temporarily suspended, but those interested in joining when publication is resumed should send their names to Mr. A. H. Macdonald, Half-acre, Marlborough.

The Branch has issued the following :—

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ACCOUNTS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GARRISONS OF GREAT CHALFIELD AND MALMESBURY, 1645—1646. Edited by J. H. P. Pafford. 1940, pp. 112.

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"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

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LACOCK ABBEY.

By LT.-COL. H. F. CHETTLE, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Last year the National Trust received one of the best and most nearly perfect gifts for which it could have hoped. The simple beauty of Lacock village and the unequal graces of Lacock Abbey form a possession which the heiress of the Sharingtons and the Talbots did well and generously to place outside the chances of private ownership, and to protect from the possible negligences of public authority.

Lacock Abbey has received much and expert attention, over many years, in the *Wiltshire Magazine*. If, as we may hope, it is entering on the happiness of years without a history, this is the occasion to collect the scattered evidences of the past.

The Order of Augustinian canonesses, to which the abbey for three hundred years belonged, asserted its descent from a nunnery founded at Hippo under the leadership of St. Perpetua, the sister of St. Augustine. Their Rule was an adaptation of Augustine's letter (211) to Perpetua's convent, and it was probably drawn up by Cassian or under his influence about the time of Augustine's death in 430 (Dom John Chapman in *Downside Review*, October, 1931; 395, 405). They were introduced to England in or after 1130, at Goring in Oxfordshire. They were commonly women of substance who entered a nunnery and lived under the rule of obedience and celibacy, but did not take vows, renounce property, or abjure the world for life; in England they lived as nuns while they were in residence, but they "absented themselves more frequently" (Lina Eckenstein: *Woman under Monasticism*, 196).

There were in England at (or shortly before) the Dissolution about 130 nunneries, of which only fifteen had revenues exceeding £200 a year. Nineteen of the total were Augustinian; they were widely distributed over the province of Canterbury, but only one (Moxby) was in that of York (Eileen Power: *Medieval English Nunneries*, I, 685—690). Three (Burnham, Canonsleigh and Lacock) were abbeys, ruled by abbesses and "claustral" prioresses; the others were priories, ruled by "conventual" prioresses.

Abbesses—even the Benedictine four who held of the king "by an entire barony"—were debarred from Parliament by their sex (Ecken-

stein, 203); they were equally excluded from a direct share in county business, though a great endowment would give them great local influence. An abbess or a prioress was not summoned to the General Chapters of her Order. On the other hand, the provincial General Chapters commonly left the visitation of nunneries to the diocesan bishops, against whom even the Cistercian nunneries hardly succeeded in establishing exemption (Power, 481—2). In theory, the Lateran Council of 1215 had enjoined not only the holding of General Chapters but also the visitation by their representatives and on behalf of the Holy See of convents “non solum monachorum sed etiam monialium”, and the order to visit nunneries was repeated later by the Benedictines (W.A. Pantin: *Chapters of the English Black Monks*, I, 20, 134, 177, 274; H. E. Salter: *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ix). But in 1404 the prioress of Canonsleigh refused to be visited except by the bishop (Salter, xxx, 169), and her example was followed at Lacock in 1518.

The Superior of an Augustinian nunnery was elected by the nuns, freely as a rule, on the patron's *congé d'élire*. She lived, normally, “in closer contact with the members of her convent” than the Benedictine head “and took her meals at the same table as the nuns” (Eckenstein, 371). Priests were attached to nunneries to celebrate the Mass; but there were also, among the convents' officials, women chaplains, who may be described as the superiors' personal assistants, and who were usually changed every year (Power, 63—4).

Lacock Abbey stands “in a spacious and level meadow, surrounded by elms, at the bottom of which winds, with many devious inflections, the river Avon” (W. L. Bowles and J. G. Nichols: *Annals of Lacock Abbey*, i). Here, on her own property, Ela, the widow of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, determined to found a nunnery. In April, 1229, she made an agreement with the rector of Lacock, mentioning the chaplains who should celebrate mass in her abbey and her intention to place it under the jurisdiction of the bishop and chapter of Salisbury (Bowles, xi—xii). Her charter of foundation was confirmed by the king on the 31st January, 1230 (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I, 112). On the 26th February, 1230, she obtained the royal permission to assign her manor of Lacock “ad quandam abbatiam construendam” (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1225—32, 328). It was probably she who then obtained the disafforestation of Lacock, hitherto within Melksham Forest (cp. G. B. Grundy in *Wilts Mag.*, XLVIII, 581). Here, “per revelationes habuit ut in prato testudinum, anglice Snaylesmede . . . . monasterium aedificaret in honorem Sanctae Mariae Sanctique Bernardi, et usque ad finem complevit sumptibus suis propriis, id est de comitatu Sarum . . . . una die duo Monasteria fundavit, primo mane xvi Kal. Maij a<sup>o</sup> MCCXXXII apud Lacock . . . . et Henton post nonam” (Bowles, iii). The building was of Haslebury stone, from a quarry near Box (*Wilts Mag.*, XLVII, 556); or as described by Harold Brakspear (*Archæologia*, LVII, 129), of hard local stone rubble dressed with good Bath oolite. It was supplied with

water from a spring on Bowden Hill, covered by a conduit-house, which Sir William Sharington replaced later by a small stone building with a pointed roof (J. E. Jackson in *Wilts Mag.*, IV, 284; C. H. Talbot in *Wilts Mag.*, XII, 232, XIX, 162—3).

Ela's charter of foundation gave to the abbey the manor and advowson of Lacock in free, pure and perpetual alms, free of all secular service (Bowles, viii—ix); and by a subsequent charter she bestowed on it the manors of Hatherop (Glos) and Bishopstrow (Wilts) and other property (Bowles, ix—x). The first canoness who took the veil was Alice Garinges (who came, perhaps, from the premier Augustinian nunnery of Goring); in December, 1238, on the advice of Edmund Rich and others, Ela herself entered the convent (Bowles, iii—iv). On the 7th August, 1237, she had obtained for it the grant of a fair on the eve, the feast and the morrow of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, I, 230; Bowles, xvi); and in February or April, 1238, she had received five marks from the king in repayment of a tax that the prioress had paid (*Calendar of Liberate Rolls*, 1226—40, 322).

The first superior of the convent was the prioress Wymarca (Bowles, 278). On the 15th August, 1239, she and the convent formally acknowledged that their elect superior was obliged to receive the episcopal blessing in Salisbury Cathedral (*Rolls Series*, 97, 251). A year later Ela herself became the first abbess. In May, 1241, the abbey of Stanley gave to Lacock their quarry at Haslebury in exchange for the original quarry that Lacock had bought from Henry Crok (Bowles, xxii). The rest of Ela's reign of seventeen years was marked by a steady stream of royal gifts to the abbey: in 1242, a market at Lacock every Tuesday and a grant of wood for her hearth once a week out of Melksham Forest (Bowles, xiv—xvii; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, I, 274; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232—47, 287); in 1246, four oaks out of Chippenham Forest, and in 1247 fifty marks (*Cal. Lib. Rolls*, 1245—51, 69, 139); and in January, 1257, free warren, a Monday market and an eight-day fair, all at the convent's manor of Chitterne (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, I, 460).

Ela, feeling herself old and weak, resigned on the 31st December, 1257, and "appointed" Beatrice of Kent her successor (Bowles, iv). The royal beneficence did not fail: in June, 1260, the king gave to the abbey forty acres of Melksham Forest to supply their needs of wood, with liberty to enclose with a ditch and a hedge (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, II, 25—6; *Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscellaneous*, I, 243; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1259—61*, 22—3; *Dugdale's Monasticon*, VI, 504; *Wilts Mag.*, L, 48); and in October following, quittance from cheminage in the Royal forests in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, free warren in all their demesne lands without the royal forests, and a Friday market at Lacock (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, II, 29).

Ela died in August, 1261, and was buried in the choir of the abbey church (Bowles, iv). In 1249, in her stall at Lacock, she had seen her son William, who was killed in battle against the Saracens, ascending into heaven (Bowles, i). The patronage of the abbey passed to his

son, a minor ; by 1274 (if it devolved as that of Hinton did) it was in the hands of Margaret de Lacy, Countess of Lincoln, Ela's great-granddaughter ; and from Margaret it descended to the house of Lancaster.

The Longespée family retained for two generations a practical interest in the abbey. Stephen, a younger son of the countess, devised land to it, and was buried in 1260 within its walls—as was also, many years later, the heart of his brother Nicholas, rector of Lacock and bishop of Salisbury (Bowles, 157—8, i). One of Ela's daughters, Ela, Countess of Warwick, visited Lacock in 1287 ; another, Ida FitzWalter, had two daughters nuns at Lacock (Bowles, 162, i). A friend, Amicia, Countess of Devon and Lady of the Isle of Wight, gave to the abbey her manor of Shorwell, her daughter Margaret as a nun, and her heart for burial in the Church (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313—17, 126 ; Bowles, 279—80).

Fifteen oaks came from the royal forests in 1264, and ten in 1285 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1261—4, 335—6 ; 1279—88, 311). An unspecified petition of the abbess received a favourable reply at the Parliament of Acton Burnell, Michaelmas, 1283 (*Camden 3rd Series*, LI, 16).

Beatrice of Kent was still abbess in 1269 (*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, IV, 9378). Her successor was apparently Alice, mentioned in 1282 and 1286 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, IV, 9244 ; R. B. Pugh : *Fines relating to Wiltshire*, 28) ; the fourth abbess, Juliana, is mentioned in 1288 and 1290 (Bowles, 278, xxiii—xxiv).

The "Taxation of Pope Nicholas" in 1291 assessed the abbey's revenues, from properties in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and the Isle of Wight, at £101 12s. 4d. a year (*Taxation of Pope Nicholas* ; Bowles, 278—9). About this time a schedule of customary alms, pittances and the like had been drawn up (in French) for Lacock (W. G. Clark-Maxwell in *Archæological Journal*, LXIX, 120—1).

Agnes, the fifth abbess, had succeeded by 1299 (Bowles, 280) ; Joan de Montfort, the sixth, ruled from 1303 or earlier to 1332 (Bowles, 280, xxv ; Pugh, 49 ; *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo*, 194 ; *Cat. Anc. Deeds*, IV, 9228). On the 20th March, 1303, Simon of Ghent, Bishop of Salisbury, assigned the "curam penitencie" of the nuns of Lacock to Brother William of Cirencester, of the Order of Friars Preachers ; and a week later, in accordance with an injunction of Boniface VIII, he issued instructions to the nuns of Lacock and five other houses "pro earum inclusione" (*Reg. Sim.*, 860, 109) ; the name of the porter, John of Minsterworth, is mentioned in 1313 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, IV, 9395). In March, 1311, the abbey was allowed to appropriate Lacock Church (*Reg. Sim.*, 192—4 ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307—13, 326), and a series of related transactions began. The bishop stipulated that Sir John Bluet, lord of the manor of Lackham (in Lacock), who was interested in the advowson, should have, to him and his successors, the right to nominate a suitable nun in perpetuity (*Wilts Mag.*, XXXIII, 368). Appropriation was a form of saving ; and in August, 1315, the abbess concluded an agreement (in French) with Sir John Bluet as to building a great Lady

Chapel on the south side of the presbytery (Harold Brakspear in *Archæologia*, LVIII, 132; C. H. Talbot in *Wilts Mag.*, XVI, 350—9). Two months later Bluet acknowledged that he owed the convent £56 6s. 8d. (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313—18, 311).

Joan de Montfort passes out of history as a co-defendant in an action for detention of beasts (Public Record Office: *Lists and Indexes*, XXXII, ii, 706). Her successor, Katherine le Cras, was elected in 1332 and is mentioned again in September, 1332 (Sir T. Phillipps: *Register of Wyvill*, 23; *Cat. Anc. Deeds*, IV, 10, 280); and the eighth abess, Sibilla de Ste Croix, is mentioned by name in June, 1347 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, IV, 9381)<sup>1</sup>. New aspects of daily life at Lacock emerge in these times. The king promises in 1332 that a corrody granted at his request shall not be a precedent (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1330—4, 322). The abess's bailiff at Bishopstrow is mentioned in 1338 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1338—40, 150). In 1339, and again in 1341, the king undertakes to pay for wool taken by his collectors in Wiltshire (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1338—40, 297; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1341—3, 209). In 1347 the abess and convent appeal to Parliament for redress against disturbancè in respect of their manor of Shorwell, Isle of Wight; and an enquiry is ordered (*Rotuli Parliamen-torum*, II, 182—3).

The "Black Death" reached Wiltshire in the autumn of 1348. We do not know whether it ravaged Lacock, but the ninth abess, Matilda (or Maud) de Montfort, was elected in 1349 (Clark-Maxwell, 123). She and one of her nuns, Margery Swinford, received indults in 1351 to choose confessors who could give plenary remission at the hour of death (*Calendar of Papal Letters*, III, 375—6). On the 3rd May, 1352, the chapter of the abbey established an obit for John Goodhyne "pro quadam summa pecunie sibi pre manibus soluta ad ardua negocia sua expedienda"; and the occasion was possibly the rebuilding of the cloisters, begun, as Mr. Brakspear states, in the mid-fourteenth century (*Archæologia*, LVII, 136—9). Perhaps this benefactor was the same John Goodhyne or Goodwin who was co-founder of the house of White Friars at Marlborough.

Matilda de Montfort died early in 1356, and the Black Prince, then (by an unexplained devolution) the patron, issued his *congé d'élire* on the 8th February (*Black Prince's Register*, IV, 180). The prioress and convent chose Agnes of Brymesden, a nun, and on the 18th February the Prince notified his approval to the bishop of Salisbury and requested the Bishop's confirmation; but Agnes was taken ill, and on the 1st March the Prince issued a commission for taking her fealty and acknowledgment of service (*Bl. Pr. Reg.*, IV, 183—4). She died in October, 1361, and the Prince again issued his licence to elect a successor; on the 20th November he informed the bishop of his assent to the election of Faith Selyman (*Bl. Pr. Reg.*, IV, 400, 405). Faith's reign, equally uneventful, lasted until 1380.

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<sup>1</sup> A reference to Sibilla as abess in 1329 (*Wilts Mag.*, XXVI, 44) seems to be a mistake.

Agnes de Wick (or Wyke), the twelfth abbess, was elected in June, 1380, and ruled the abbey until 1399 or later; John of Gaunt, who had succeeded to the advowson, issued the *congé d'élire* (in French) and approved the election (*John of Gaunt's Register*, 1379—83, 20, 924; Clark-Maxwell, 118). The king sent a yeoman of his chapel in 1381 to enjoy the corrody which Margery att Milne had had at the late King's command (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1381—5, 90). He gave the nuns leave in 1388 to enclose their forty acres of forest with a paling instead of the inadequate ditches and hedges, and to hold the land in mortmain (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385—88); and he confirmed charters of Henry III and Edward II in their favour in February, 1399 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1395—99, 482). About this time a building was made over the cloister; the dorter was altered to take in the west part of the reredorter or *necessarium*; and the abbess's quarters were formed on the first floor of the west range (Brakspear, 132, 148, 155—7). Two pleasant domestic details stand out in the known period of Agnes's incumbency. Joan, daughter of Nicholas Samborne, took the veil in 1395—6, and her recorded expenditure of £17 6s. 2d. included the cost of clothes; mattress, coverlet, tester, blankets and bed; a mazer (10s.) and a silver spoon; a fee of 20s. to the abbess, and a present of 2s. to each of the convent, who evidently numbered twenty; she may perhaps have bought other clothes already for her noviciate (Clark-Maxwell, 117—9). And Robert Erghum, by his will dated in 1398, bequeathed the beautiful psalter which the rector of Marnhull gave him to his sister Agnes for her life and then to the abbess of Lacock, directing that it should never be alienated (*Somerset Record Society*, XIX, 295).

Building operations, as sometimes happened, had outrun the abbey's means. The Pope confirmed, in 1400, the appropriation of Lacock Church, on the ground of their poverty (*Cal. Pap. Lett.*, V, 327—9); and in May and July, 1403, the King granted to the poor nuns of Lacock exemption from the tenth on their benefices (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1401—5, 223, 241).

The name of the thirteenth known abbess, Helen, a third de Montfort, appears in 1408 as presenting to Lacock vicarage (Bowles, 281), and she left her initials on the west range (Brakspear, 154). She obtained two papal indulgences in 1422 (*Cal. Pap. Lett.*, VII, 325, 327), and confirmation of certain charters in 1429 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429—36, 28—9). In 1426 she was party to a quitclaim for the abduction of Eleanor, daughter of John Montfort<sup>2</sup> and ward of Sir Walter Hungerford (J. E. Jackson in *Aubrey's Wiltshire*, 93 n).

The fourteenth known abbess, Agnes Fray or Frary, is mentioned in 1429 and 1434 (Phillipps, 27; *Wilts Mag.*, XXVI, 45; Bowles, 281). Agnes Draper, elected in her stead in 1445 (*Wilts Mag.*, XXVI, 45), was still abbess in February, 1467 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1461—67, 527); and a pavement tile found at Lacock, among much earlier and much later

<sup>2</sup> No doubt these four Montforts were of one family (perhaps the Montforts of Nunney), for family association was strong in nunneries.

tiles, is dated during her abbacy (F. Stevens in *Wilts Mag.*, XLVII, 375—6). In 1446—7, at an inquisition *post mortem*, she asserted (against all reason) that none of three named men nor any other had ever held a corrody or sustentation or the office of gatekeeper in the convent of Lacock (*Ducatus Lancastriæ*, 3). In July, 1447, Lacock Abbey (of the King's foundation as Duke of Lancaster) was exempted for forty years from paying tenths and other taxes, on a petition showing that their bell-tower and bells, bakery and brewery, and two great barns with corn therein, and all their buildings at Chitterne, had been struck and burned by lightning (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446—52, 86); and the annals of the abbey, written by a chaplain to the year 1448 and included in the Cottonian MSS, were in their turn practically destroyed by fire in 1731 (*Monasticon*, VI, 500; Bowles, v—vii). The sixteen years from 1467 to 1483 have left no traceable evidence of the history of Lacock.

An unnamed abbess died on the 6th February, 1483; Margery of Gloucester was at once elected in her place, and died in 1517 (Bowles, 281, xlvii; *Monasticon*, VI, 500). Joan Temys, last and seventeenth known abbess, succeeded (Bowles, 281). It was in Margery's time, in 1500, that Peter Waghuens of Malines made the "nuns' boiler" or "caldron", holding 67 gallons, which may still be seen at Lacock (Bowles, 360; John Britton : *Beauties of Wiltshire*, III, 242; local information); and in 1517 it was decided in Chancery that the patronage of the abbey belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster and not to the Crown as such<sup>3</sup> (Bowles, 320).

In 1518, under Joan Temys, it was reported to the Provincial General Chapter of the Augustinian Canons that the abbess of Lacock refused to be visited on behalf of the Chapter, as not belonging to it, and instructions were given that the next visitors should visit her before Easter "et hoc nolente[m] a diuinis suspendere" (Salter, 139).<sup>4</sup> There is no record of the result; but a more momentous inspection was to come.

The Parliament of 1533 transferred the Pope's right of visiting monasteries to the king, and Cromwell's visitation of 1535—36 was made for the purposes (among others) of obtaining recognition of the royal supremacy and securing evidence of disorder in the smaller houses. It was completed by February, 1536, and the Act was then passed which transferred to the king the property of all houses whose clear annual income did not exceed £200. The revenues of Lacock had been returned in 1534 as £203 12s. 3½d., against deductions and appropriations amounting to £74 17s. 7½d., the nett income being thus £128 14s. 8d.; among the expenses were the maintenance of three priests at £6 a year, alms £9 1s. 6d., fees £21 6s. 8d., and £2 13s. 4d.

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned in the Public Record Office *Lists and Indexes*, XXXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> An undated document issued by the General Chapter assessed the cost to Lacock of a visitation at £1 6s. 8d. (Salter, 193).



every third year to the bishop of Salisbury for his ordinary visitation (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, II, 115—8; *Monasticon*, VI, 500; Bowles, 284—90). At Lacock the abbey held 147 acres of arable land and 133½ of meadows and pasture (Bowles, 296). Of Joan's relatives, her brother Thomas (M.P. for Westbury 1529—1536) was steward of the courts of the manor, at £4 a year, and her brother Christopher steward of the abbess's house (Bowles, 284—90); her brother-in-law Robert Bathe held the demesne lands at Bishopstrow for £6 13s. 4d. a year and farmed the pasture of the abbess's sheep there for £2 13s. 4d. a year (Bowles, 313); her first cousin, Sir Edward Baynton, was chief steward of the abbey (G. Baskerville: *English Monks and the Suppression*, 197); and Thomas Temys had also a lease for eighty years of the Isle of Wight property (Bowles, 320).

Lacock was visited in August, 1535, by Thomas Legh and John ap Rice. The latter reported to Cromwell that they could find no excesses; the house was well ordered; the rules were written in old French, like the French of the common law, but the sisters understood it well (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, IX, 138—9, 160). Next year Lacock and 29 other "lesser" houses were fined for "tolerance and continuance", Lacock having to pay £300 (*L. & P.*, XIII, ii, 457 (i) (3)).

The "County commissioners", more sympathetic and more methodical, held a second enquiry. Their report (Brakspear, 126—7) described Lacock as a house "of great and large buildings, set in a town. To the same and all other adjoynynge by common reporte a great relief". They raised the nett valuation to £194 9s. 2d., with £16 3s. 4d. for the demesne. They found fourteen professed nuns and three novices, "by report and in appearance of vertuous lyvyng, all desyryng to continue religio"; and four chaplains, three waiting servants, nine officers of the household, a clerk and a sexton, nine women servants, and fifteen hinds. The church, the mansion, and all the other houses were in very good estate; the value of the lead and the bells was put at £100 10s; and there were jewels and plate valued at £64 19s., ornaments at £17 12s., "stuff" at £21 18s. 2d, and "stokkes and stores" at £257 0s. 10d. The house owed nothing, and nothing was owed to it (unlike most nunneries, it had recovered from fifteenth-century distresses). There was no "great wood", but there were 110 acres of coppice valued at £75 1s. 4d.

Neither this temperate eulogy nor the fine of £300 could save Lacock abbey from the king. On the 20th January, 1539, Petre wrote to Cromwell that he and Tregonwell had received the surrender; the demesnes were all leased out, and enquiry would be made on that point before they went away; they would leave the house with Mr. Sharington (*L. & P.* XIV, i, 100). The surrender is dated on the following day, sealed but not signed. Pensions were at once awarded: £40 a year to the abbess, £5 to the prioress, Elizabeth Monmorte, and £4 to £2 to each of fifteen others (*L. & P.* XIV, i, 110). The sisters went

out into the world; the three chaplains and the confessor left their chambers in the west range (Brakspear, 153—4); and "Mr. Sharington" came in. But before he gained an effective title there was an interval of State management, interesting for its summary of property at Lacock. In 1539—40 the "king's Ministers" received £60 0s. 9½d. from that part of the endowment, including the farm of the abbess's lodging, with two houses called the parsonage and the gatehouse; the bakehouse, brewery, barns, stables, dovecotes, orchards, pools, &c.; the farm (1/-) of the fishing on the Avon from the footbridge between Lacock and Beaulay<sup>5</sup> to the end of the meadow called Rydingmeade; 307 acres of arable land; and a sheepwalk and three acres (Bowles, 334).

On the 26th July, 1540, there were granted in fee to William Sharington and Eleanor his wife, for £783 13s. 10d., (1) the house and site of the late abbey of Lacock, the church, steeple and churchyard, the lordship and manor, the rectory and church and advowson of the vicarage and the other possessions of the convent in Wiltshire, and (2) certain property of Amesbury nunnery, at a rent of £5 18s. 10d. for the Lacock property and 6s. for the Amesbury property, and subject to the payment of £2 a year to Thomas Mardytt as bailiff and rent-collector of Lacock manor and £1 to the vicar of Lacock (*L. & P.*, XV, 942 (110)). Sharington paid the money by four instalments in 1540—1544 (*Wills Mag.*, XXVII, 160). A good deal of the other property of the abbey went to members of the Temys family (*L. & P.*, XIX, 141 (74); Bowles, 284—90, 313; Baskerville, 197).

William Sharington, one of the most despicable characters in Tudor history, was now about 45 years old. He and Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord Seymour of Sudeley, had been in the service of Sir Francis Bryan, and their fortunes rose together. His second wife, the Eleanor named above, died soon after he bought Lacock, and in June, 1542, he had licence to resettle the property on a London alderman's widow, Grace Pagett, whom he married later (*L. & P.*, XVII, 443 (3)). In May, 1546, he became vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, and on the 19th February, 1547, at Edward VI's coronation, he was knighted. He entered into the treasonable intrigues which Lord Seymour carried on during 1547 and 1548, and lent him money derived from illegal coining and from shearing and clipping coin; and in January, 1549, he fell with Seymour. On the 6th January Lacock was searched by the Council's agents; on the 19th Sharington was arrested and put in the Tower; in February he confessed all he knew, thus helping to send Seymour to the block; and in March he was duly attainted (*Dictionary of National Biography*). But he had saved his own life; on the 5th November, 1549, he was pardoned (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1548—9, 246); in January, 1550, he was restored in blood (*D.N.B.*); and on the 2nd February, 1550, by a payment of £12,866 12s. 2d. he bought back the

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<sup>5</sup> Bewley Court Priory, between Lacock and Bowden Hill, may perhaps represent a grange of the abbey.

lordship, manor, rectory and church of Lacock (and still paid a rent of £6 4s. 10d. a year) and other property (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1549—51, 188—9). He died in 1553, without issue, and his brother Henry succeeded to Lacock. In that year Joan Temys and six other nuns (one now married) were still drawing their pensions (Bowles, 282—3).

Sir William Sharington, unlike the majority of the grantees of monastic property, had not destroyed the monastic buildings but had adapted them for use as a dwelling-house. The precinct, as he took it over, was an irregular oblong of about eighteen acres, bounded on the south by the old road from London to Bath, on the east by the Avon, on the north by fields, and on the west by the churchyard and the yard of the home farm (Brakspear, 128). Within it, he spared the sacristy, the chapter-house, the calefactory and the dormitory on the east side, the refectory and its undercroft on the north, and the kitchen at the west end, and he built the octagonal tower with its muniment room, and the stable court (Lilian Dickins & Mary Stanton : *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence*, 299). He added pavement tiles bearing his arms (Stevens, 375). He sold the bells when he rebuilt Ray bridge "to divert the travelling by his house" (Talbot in *Wilts Mag.*, XVI, 352).

John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, a friend of Sir Henry Sharington, preached his last sermon at Lacock in September, 1571 (*D.N.B.*); and Queen Elizabeth visited the house in 1574 (Bowles, 359).

Sir Henry had three daughters and coheirs (Bowles, 298), of whom Olive, the youngest, fell in love with John Talbot of Salwarp, in Worcestershire; the story was told that one night she jumped from the battlements of the abbey church tower into his arms, and that her father said : " Since she made such leapes, she should e'en marry him " (Aubrey, 92). At any rate they married. John Talbot died in 1581, and his widow, to whom the Lacock property had passed, married (and survived) Sir Robert Stapleton and lived until 1646. In 1610 Lady Stapleton obtained leave from Quarter Sessions to build cottages on the waste of the manor for the homeless poor of Lacock (Historical MSS. Commission : *Various Collections*, I, 82; B. H. Cunnington : *Records of the County of Wilts*, 31). Early in May, 1612, the dying Earl of Salisbury slept at Lacock on his way to Bath, and he was there again from the 21st to the 23rd May on his way back to London (John Nichols : *Progresses of King James I*, II, 446—7; Godfrey Goodman : *Court of King James I*, 147). In 1642 Lady Stapleton's son, Sharington Talbot, died, and she herself was succeeded in 1646 by her grandson, also named Sharington Talbot.

About December, 1644, Lacock House (as it was then called) was occupied by Parliamentary forces; they retired in February, 1645, on Lord Hopton's approach, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bovell garrisoned it with Hopton's regiment (C. H. Firth : *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, I, 467—8).

He stood a fortnight's siege in May, but in July, sallying out on a

Sunday to plunder, he was routed by the Chatfield garrison (J. H. P. Pafford: *Parliamentary Garrisons*, 24). Sharington Talbot was taken prisoner in March (Bowles, 359). On the 23rd September, 1645, immediately after the capture of Devizes, Colonel Pickering was sent with three regiments to attack Lacock; Colonel Bovell, "though in truth there were good works about it", capitulated, on honourable terms, at the first summons, and marched out in Fairfax's presence (and apparently in Cromwell's) on the 24th (Firth, 476; Joshua Sprigge: *Anglia Rediviva*, 35-6, 334, 336). Part of the outbuildings was long known as "Oliver Cromwell's stable" (Britton, III, 236), but the local belief is now that he stabled his horses under the reredorter. The owner was fined £1,000, as an active Royalist, in 1647; in October, 1649, the fine was remitted, as he had paid £165 in respect of his Wiltshire property and was "very much in debt" (*Calendar of Committee for Advance of Money*, 834). He died in 1677.

Sharington Talbot's son and heir, John, had given parole and security for peaceable conduct in 1659, and thereupon three horses which the Gloucestershire militia had seized were restored to him (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1659-60, 209). He is "said to have been the first person who received King Charles the Second in his arms upon his landing in England at the Restoration" and to have been knighted on the spot (Britton, III, 236-7; Lord Braybooke's note to Pepys's *Diary*, 17th Jan., 1668). The house gained a certain celebrity in his time. Charles dined there in 1663 (*Wilts Mag.*, IV, 313). Thomas Dingley sketched the "South-West prospect from the porter's lodge" in 1684, and detailed some of the rooms (*History from Marble* (Camden Society 1868), 503, 505-8; Dickins & Stanton, 298). A friend of Thomas Hearne's came in 1712 and noted that the Chapter House still existed, which was the burying place "for ye Nuns, &c. The kitchen is also intire, & there is to be seen the Nuns' old Boyler"; the owner, he added, was "an errant Whig" (Hearne's *Collections*, VI, 70). It is said, however, that Queen Anne visited the house, and that on that occasion a side of bacon and a sack of peas were boiled in the "boiler" (Aubrey, 90 n). Sir John, who sat in Parliament and is commemorated in Lacock church, died in 1714; he was succeeded by John Ivory Talbot, son of his daughter Anne and Sir John Ivory.

During his long ownership of Lacock, from 1714 to 1772, John Ivory Talbot considerably altered the house and grounds. He "disposed of" a larger "boiler", seven feet across, in 1716; but in 1747, irritated by the window tax, he blocked up some ground-floor windows and removed Waghens's caldron to a stand in the garden; he composed a commemorative Latin inscription, but apparently did not inscribe it (Aubrey, 90 n; *Wilts Mag.*, XXVI, 49). He pulled down the mill, which stood north-east of the abbey, and diverted the stream, to make room for a new garden (Brakspear, 128). He began to alter the house in a pleasant early Georgian style, but he soon began to "gothicise"; he "spoilt the west wall of the old kitchen and the windows of the stone gallery on the east side of the house, in both instances adding . . .

battlements"; he also fixed plaster tracery "to the walls of the 'great stable' at the lodge gates, which was converted into a barn" in 1727—30 (Dickins & Stanton, 300—1). But in 1753 he was introduced to Sanderson Miller, a Warwickshire squire and amateur architect, with whose help he rebuilt the great hall; he made a new entrance with flat windows on either side, and in these he inserted stained glass, some from the old windows and some collected from elsewhere; he put in a new chimney-piece of Painswick stone; the roof was safely in position by October, 1754, gay with the coats of arms of his friends and neighbours, whom he summoned to celebrate its completion; and in May, 1755—January, 1756, Victor Alexander Suderbach filled the niches in the walls with plaster of Paris figures of the foundress and others (Dickins & Stanton, 303—9). Lord William Seymour painted the bosses of the cloister vaulting; Miller produced a "Gothick Gateway"; Talbot added "an handsome Sweep for a Coach and Six and built the Ah Ah likewise in front of the Hall" (Dickins & Stanton, 305—8). Thus, apart from subsequent minor alterations, John Ivory Talbot completed the development of Lacock Abbey; and he left a still existing map of the house and grounds, made for him in 1714 (*Wilts Mag.*, XXXI, 200—1; Brakspear, 127).

John Ivory Talbot's eldest son John died unmarried, devising Lacock to his sister Mrs. Davenport and her heirs (Britton, III, 237). Her son William Davenport Talbot succeeded her, and died in 1800. He had leased the house to the countess dowager of Shrewsbury, under whom, from 1795 (or earlier) to her death in 1809, it "became an hospitable asylum for the expatriated votaries of religion", the refugee French clergy; and the next occupant was John Rock Grosett, M.P. for Chippenham (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795, I, 374; Britton, III, 237; *Monasticon*, VI, 500).

William Henry Fox Talbot, the next owner (1800—1877), was a pioneer in photography; his photograph of a window in the abbey, taken in 1835, is said to have been the first ever printed (*Wiltshire Times*, 16th November, 1935). During his ownership the house was further altered by an architect (Thomas?) Harrison (C. H. Talbot in *Wilts Mag.*, XII, 228). Coffins containing skeletons were found in 1823 under the site of the chapel (Britton, III, 241). In 1827 John Darley was employed to make drawings of the house, and then a small building against the north side of the frater was pulled down and the South wall of the house (the six western bays of the north wall of the abbey church) was altered by inserting oriel windows (Brakspear, 158, 130; *Wilts Mag.*, XVI, 354).

W. H. F. Talbot died at the abbey in 1877. His son, Charles Henry, succeeded; he reopened the windows of the "nuns' sittingroom" and placed the boiler there, and in 1898 he excavated the site of the abbey church and established its plan (Brakspear, 130). His niece succeeded in 1916.

During the present war St. George's School, Kensington, was evacuated to the village and taught in the Abbey.

The following are some extant illustrations of Lacock Abbey :—

1732. S. & N. Buck's view.
1801. South-East view ; J. Carter del., G. Hollis sc. (Bowles, 317).  
Fourteen drawings by John Carter, in the library at Stourhead  
in 1855 (*Wilts Mag.*, II, 122—3).
1815. Engraved by L. C. Smith after a drawing by S. Prout (Britton,  
III, 241).
1826. Great Hall, and Garden Front ; drawn by J. P. Neale, engraved  
by E. I. Roberts and T. Jeavons (J. P. Neale : *Views of Seats*,  
*2nd Series*, III).
1827. Drawings by John Darley, now at Lacock.
1834. Engraving by G. Hollis, from a drawing by Mrs. W. H. Fox  
Talbot (Bowles, frontispiece).
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## A WILTSHIREWOMAN'S TOMB IN CARISBROOKE CHURCH.

By J. J. SLADE.

In the parish church of Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, there is one monument—and only one, if we disregard an incised slab that formerly covered the grave of a Prior of the monastery of which this was the church. It is to the memory of Lady Margaret Wadham, wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham and daughter of one of the several Sir John Seymours of Wolf Hall. Concerning this lady two inaccurate statements have been current. First, that she was grandmother of the Sir Nicholas Wadham who with his wife Dorothy (that lady as his widow being the actual executor) founded Wadham College, Oxford; second, that she (the subject of the monument) was sister of Jane Seymour, Queen of Henry VIII. It would give additional interest to the monument if these statements were, or one of them was, correct, but the facts disprove them. The first error was excusable. Lady Margaret's husband was grandfather of the founder of Wadham, but the son who carried on the succession was by the first wife, who was Joan, daughter of Robert Hill of Halsway (sometimes it is given as Anstey), near Truro. John Wadham was issue of that marriage, and his son, Nicholas, married Dorothy Petre, second daughter of the well-known Sir William Petre. Margaret Wadham was the second wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham, the grandfather. As to her place in the Seymour family: the belief that she was sister of Jane is of respectable antiquity and had an equally respectable origin, if Sir John Oglander's memoirs were that origin: Sir John Oglander of Nunwell was one of the principal landowners of the Isle of Wight in and around the time of Charles I. He was the Pepys of his time so far as the Island was concerned, and his naive and refreshingly candid comments on men and things are still preserved, in a bulky folio, in his old home. Here is his peccant entry, which has place in his notes on the Captains of the Island:—"In Henry VIII time one Wadham a Knight who lyeth buryed in Carisbroke church with his wife who was sister to Edward VI his mother". (A double error: Sir Nicholas certainly was not "buried" there.) Sir John's records were of course useful to any subsequent historian, and they were material for Sir Richard Worsley of Appeldurcombe, who in the following century wrote the History of the Isle of Wight. His History is the standard work of the kind, and all later writers (there are many) use it as a quarry, accepting its statements as statements of facts. Among these writers was the Rev. E. Boucher James, who was Vicar of Carisbrooke from 1858 to 1892. In the late eighties and early nineties he wrote voluminously on persons and events connected with the Island, the Wadhams being among the former. His repetition of the alleged relationship of Margaret Seymour to Jane Seymour brought correction. A Mr. Long, a Hampshire antiquary of repute, and evidently of that school which tests the credibility of the material before it, declared that Margaret was Jane's aunt, not her sister. In proof



SIXTEENTH CENTURY TOMB OF LADY WADHAM.

Reproduced from the *History of Carisbrooke Church*, by kind permission of the Rev. Harold Ewbank, Vicar, to whom we are indebted for the loan of the block.





thereof he produced genealogical data, which is the best that can be offered in such circumstances. Here are his words: "There were two, if not three, John Seymours in succession before the Sir John father of Jane. He had three daughters, Jane married to Henry VIII, Elizabeth to Sir A. Oughtred, and Dorothy to Sir Clement Smith. The two last had second husbands, but neither of them was Sir Nicholas Wadham. The father of this Sir John Seymour was John, living in the reign of Henry VII. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Darrell, of Littlecote, Wilts, and by her had four sons and four daughters. One of these, Margaret, was the wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham".

Nothing could be more precise, and although one may wonder why a Hampshire student of such matters investigated a subject of purely Wiltshire concern, it seems fairly obvious that he had before him the full pedigree of the Seymour family—perhaps that "splendid pedigree of the Seymours" that "Mr. Tucker, Rouge Croix of the Herald's College, made a few remarks on" when the members of our Society visited Tottenham House in the course of one of the annual meetings. The theory of "Margaret sister of Jane" is imbedded in the records. It is in papers of the Wadham family that have come down to modern descendants, which would be strong evidence in its favour if Mr. Long's categorical statements were not before us. As it is, the safe course is to follow the D.N.B., and declare that Lady Margaret Wadham was aunt of Jane the Queen.

The Seymours of Wolf Hall did not disgrace themselves by linking with the Wadhams. W. H. Hamilton-Rogers, in his "Memorials of the West", gives a chapter to "The Founders of Wadham College", and he describes the family as "ancient and honourable". It was seated at Edge, in Branscombe, one of the "most romantic and picturesque" parts of Devonshire. Its appearance in the Isle of Wight was due to a marriage with a co-heiress of Sir Stephen Popham (sometimes so entitled, and sometimes as plain "Esquire"), by which her husband became possessed of several manors in the East Wight. This Popham family was seated in Hampshire. (Sir Stephen was not one of the Pophams of Littlecote, which had not yet passed from the Darrells, though there was probably affinity between the Hampshire Pophams and the Chief Justice who acquired Littlecote.) The Wadham who married into the Island was grandfather of Sir Nicholas Wadham who married Margaret Seymour, and by the third generation the newcomers may be said to have graduated to receive some of the honours. So Sir Nicholas the grandson was made Governor of the Island and Captain of Carisbrooke Castle; Steward of the Crown Lands and Master of the Hunt, also of "game within the forest there". As H.R.H. the Princess Beatrice, the late Governor, held also the ancient office of Coroner of the Island, it is likely that Sir Nicholas did so. But when he is credited, in addition, with the shrievalties of the counties of Somerset, Dorset and Devon, all within the years of his Governorship (1498—1517), it is permissible to doubt it. No apology shall be offered for intruding these few details of the Wadhams in general and Nicholas

in particular, for there was a branch of the family in Wiltshire (as noted below), and it is permissible to examine their credentials, to see how far they added to or detracted from the dignity of an illustrious Wiltshire house. The result of the survey is satisfactory.

The Carisbrooke tomb is partially recessed in the north wall of the nave of what was the church of the monastery. It is not magnificent. The late Percy Stone, F.S.A., whose volumes on the ancient churches, vanished monasteries, and old manor houses of the Island are the standard work on the subject, was not enthusiastic about it. He described the figures at the back as "roughly sculptured", though he admitted that there is "delicate foliage". There is no comparison with the other monuments of the Seymours or with the monuments of the Wadhams—with the elaborate tomb of Edward, Earl of Hertford, in Salisbury Cathedral or the effigied tomb of that Earl's grandfather, Sir John Seymour himself, in Great Bedwyn church, nor with a rich structure of marble and alabaster in Ilminster church that commemorates the founder and foundress of Wadham College. The mark of the Carisbrooke tomb is feminine simplicity; this, with its symbolism of the charitable deeds of the lady commemorated, arouses affection for the subject rather than admiration for the artist. It cannot be charged against it that it helps to "convert the House of God into the mausoleum of man". The central figure, a lady kneeling on a cushion upon a Purbeck marble table, is carved in detachment. She has a pedimental head-dress; her gown has a waistband with long fringed ends, loose sleeves embroidered, and cuffs. Her hands indicate prayer, though not in the customary manner. Above her, carved in the wall at the back, is a shield, thus described: "Wadham quartering Chiselden, Popham—and Rende—impaling Seymour, two wings in lure dependant". The Seymour wings, however, are not exact, though they are of the conventional angel character; probably because of lack of sufficient room one pair, divided, does duty for two conjoined pairs. Above the lady, projecting from the parapet of the canopy, is an angel holding a shield that bears the sacred monogram. The wall at the back, on each side of these central features, is divided into twelve panels which may be described as so many blank perpendicular window spaces, having within their framework semi-traceried heads and shafts, with roses in the spandrels. The six upper panels are vacant; in the lower range are the distinctive features of the tomb. There is a tradition that Lady Wadham founded a hospital for cripples. There is no trace of such a foundation; it may have been a home that did not long survive the benefactress. That she was such a benefactress is an inescapable conclusion from the characters of these little figures, carved in bas-relief. On her right is a man with his feet awry, leaning on a crutch; a woman whose defect is not apparent; and another man who may be an imbecile. On the left are:—a woman holding, probably, a medicament with one hand, the other hanging helplessly; a man with his legs distorted; another man, with bandaged legs, leaning on a crutch. The other features of the monument include, at the sides, shafts with capitals

of the style in vogue at the end of the 15th century. A noticeable detail is the range of sculptured panels, square in shape, decorating the wall below the table. At one time, until a comparatively recent date, these were hidden by the heavy seating of the nave. The seats at this point have been shortened to allow a clear space, giving a complete view of the tomb; and the panels are revealed. Justly so; they are a complicated design of quatrefoils enclosing trefoils and in the centre the Wadham rose, all deeply cut. In the ceiling of the canopy is a double rose flanked by quatrefoils and trefoils; these, protected by their position, concealed from careless view by the foliation pendant from the edge of the canopy, are as fresh and sharp as if the sculptor had just laid aside his chisel. One writer has described it as groining, but he must have made a hasty examination; the ceiling is flat.

The Wadham family was not alien from Wiltshire. Without attempting to disentangle the whole complicated matter, one or two leading facts may be briefly stated. The ancient family of Kalway (sometimes Keilway, sometimes Kelway) of Tytherton Kelways had a John Keilway whose widow married a second time. The second husband was John Wadham of Edge and Merefield. Edge, as already stated, was the Devonshire seat of the Wadhams, and when Sir John Wadham, grandfather of Sir Nicholas, married the daughter of Sir Stephen Popham, he appears to have acquired other Popham property besides that in the Island, viz., Merefield in Ilton near Ilminster, which connection accounts for the Wadham monument in Ilminster church. So when Sir John Wadham married the widow of John Kaleway, he acquired Wiltshire property. This is proved by documents printed in Aubrey's Wiltshire Collections concerning transfers of land at Eston Pyers and Yatton between Sir John Wadham and John Suyfmore (clerk). The name of John Meryfield also occurs. The same authority (Aubrey and Jackson) shows Wadham arms under the heading of Mere as in the church there. The date of these documents is 1644. The two families of Wadham and Seymour are indicated in a carved bench-end at Reeve, near Exeter, bearing the rose and the wings. This is illustrated in "Memorials of the West", but Rogers does not give any explanation of it in his voluminous genealogical details. It was of course carved subsequently to the marriage which caused the erection of the tomb that is the subject of this article.

## FURTHER NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE MANOR OF EAST WINTERSLOW.

By CAPT. H. B. TREVOR-COX, M.P.

The history of Clarendon Palace is of considerable importance and there is no comprehensive standard work on this subject. The Constitutions of Clarendon signed at this Palace in 1164 are noted in the English history books. William the Conqueror appears to have held a military inspection of his armed forces there on June 3rd, 1072, before the invasion of Scotland. Henry I used the Palace and in Plantagenet times Henry II and Henry III took an active interest in Clarendon. Henry III spent much time enlarging and ornamenting Clarendon with splendid examples of mediæval craftsmanship. In 1246 and 1252, for example, the King's chamber was painted with scenes from the Bible and with portraits of former Kings and Queens.

Edward I and II often visited Clarendon: the latter summoned a Parliament to meet there in 1317. Edward III rebuilt the great Hall in 1358—9. In 1356 Philip of Navarre did homage to the King at Clarendon, as King of France and Duke of Normandy. The long reign of Edward III (1327—1377) seems to mark the highest point of political development and building activity at Clarendon. Richard II often hunted in the forest near the Palace.

Henry VI paid many visits to this Plantagenet seat and retired there for a year in 1453 when suffering from mental affliction. Clarendon still appears to have been used as a royal palace in 1485, when Household officials were appointed to superintend the forest, park and buildings. After these years a decline appears in the importance of Clarendon; and more time was spent by the Kings of England at the Court of St. James, Hampton Court and other royal residences. Dr. Tancred Borenius has written a most interesting account of this period in his interim report on the excavation work at Clarendon (*Antiquaries Journal*, Jan., 1936, vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 55—84).

About four miles away from Clarendon, there lies in the fold of the hills which border Salisbury Plain the hamlet of East Winterslow. The founder of the Manor seems to have been Matthew Turpin, the King's falconer in 1187 (*Pipe Rolls*, 34 Henry II, p. 180). When the King hunted on Salisbury Plain he would pass by East Winterslow. It may be for this reason that Turpin chose this spot to build a house, sheltered from the weather in the hollow of the low hills which overlook the plain, where there were three good wells, surrounded by clay land which grows good corn crops.

The service of this Manor is of interest. Whenever the King came to Clarendon the owner had to provide a barrel of claret and a cup for his sovereign's use. He was allowed to keep the cup and any claret left after the King's departure. (*I.P.M.*, 1361, Nov. 22nd, Westminster, p. 221. "John de la Roche—held the said Manor in fee tail in chief, by the grand serjeanty of making wine called 'Clare' at the King's cost,

upon warning, when the King comes to Clarendon and serving him therewith in a cup at his coming . . .". See also *Exchequer I.P.M.*, ser. 1, File 16, No. 15, 8 Nov. 35 Edward III, and *I.P.M.*, 50 Edward III (9 April, 1376), Sir John Roche, Knight, and *I.P.M.*, 30 Edward III a.q.s. File 321, No. 15.

Some of these documents give more details about this Manor. For example, in Matthew Turpin's time (1279) an inquisition states that there was pasture for 400 sheep, and 16 beasts, and gives the value of the rent of assize, works of the customars, rent of hens, pannage of pigs and of pleas and perquisites. The garden with the easement of the court was worth 16s. a year and the dove-cote 4s. "The profit of the wood scarcely sufficed to support the house, the fuel and the hedges of the court" in that year.

In 1361, in Gilbert de Berewyk's time, the place was described as a "capital messuage" (a manorial unit with a house, garden, farm buildings and so on), a dove-cote, two carucates of land, 12 acres of wood, common pasture for six working cattle, 12 oxen and 300 sheep. There was one free tenant, ten half virgators and a cottar.

In 1327 Nicholas de Pershute had found somewhat different conditions—200 acres of arable land, and 40 acres of wood, two free tenants and 15 villeins. Each villein had to pay 45s. a year rent to the lord, and mow in summer for three days for  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Each had to reap from the Gules of August to the feast of St. Michael, except on Saturdays and feast days. Each villein received 1d. a day and one great sheaf and had to pay yearly for "Churchshut" at Martinmas, one cock and three hens, price  $5\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The name Roche Court occurs in a number of documents; Rithis Court (probably Roches Court), in 1467—77 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467—77*, p. 533); Roche Courte in 1632 (*I.P.M.*, 16, Chas. I, Pt. 1, No. 78), and Roche Court in 1750. (Hoare's *History of Wilts*, "Hundred of Alderbury").

In 1632 the Manor of East Winterslow was held of the King in chief, by knight's service, while in 1327 it was held of the King in chief by the service of one quarter of a knight's fee. The 1632 Inquisition mentions the death of Katherine Mompesson on 17th Jan., 1630, and her right to the moiety of the Manor and Lordship of East Winterslow, *alias* Roche Courte in East Winterslow. It is not known how she came into the possession of this estate. Katherine Davy, daughter of John Davy of Harnham, Wilts, at the age of 17 married Thomas Mompesson, brother of Sir Giles Mompesson, M.P., of monopoly fame (see *Dictionary of National Biography*) on 5th March, 1628, at Salisbury. She died on 17th January, 1630, thirteen days after the birth of her son Thomas, who was later knighted as M.P. for Co. Wilts and was the father of Sir Charles Mompesson, the member for Sarum. Sir Thomas Mompesson built Mompesson House in the Close, Salisbury, towards the end of the seventeenth century. It may be that Thomas Mompesson rebuilt

Roche Courte about 1628 for his young wife, as the house was considerably altered about this time.

The architectural features of the house, as Colt Hoare has remarked in his History, still retain many of their original characteristics. The house is chiefly Jacobean in character, but some rooms date back to the fifteenth century. The south and west frontage form an L shape, in rose-coloured brick, with stone mullioned windows and quoins similar to Bramshill in Hampshire, which was built about 1606. Five rooms are oak-panelled, dating from the early part of the seventeenth century to about 1700. The fifteenth century kitchens were housed in a room at the lower end of the Hall, which remains untouched to-day, being 44ft. long, 17ft. wide, and about 25ft. high with an open timbered roof, and a brick floor, under which is a 200ft. deep well. The plan of the mediæval house can be clearly seen. The four rooms next to the kitchen just described formerly comprised the hall, and the two rooms on the west side of the house provided a solar or retiring room for the lord of the manor and his wife.

Sir John Roche seems to have carried out important work in the County of Wilts and at Westminster. Roche and Berewyk were the two M.Ps. for the county and were given various missions by the King. On one occasion in 1348 these two members were commanded by the King to take over a Wiltshire abbey (the abbey of Stanleze) and put its finances in order (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward III, Vol. 8, page 199).

Roche died between 1399 and 1405. An interesting document (*Membrane*, 7 d, dated London, 1st June, 22 Rich. II, 1399), disposes of Roche's property. The manor of East Winterslow is specially mentioned, with four score and twelve messuages, 2,000 acres of pasture and so on. Witnesses to this document were Sir John Dauteseye (there was an M.P. of this name in 1381) and Walter Hungerford (perhaps the Speaker in 1414). Roche may have gone abroad soon after this, and died or been killed in the wars on the Continent.

Although the Manor has a 750 years history, there are no local ghost stories. Local tradition said that "John O' Gaunt's cup-bearer lived there"; and this is not far out. The other story was that the monks in the middle ages chained malefactors up in the brick cellars. However, there is no evidence to support this.

The tithe barn was erected at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is scheduled as an ancient monument. The manor-house, the walled-in garden, the inner and outer courtyard and the group of farm buildings with the tithe barn, form a typical Wiltshire manorial unit.

The West Winterslow Manor House was burned down at the end of the 18th century.

It was suggested once that Hill Farm might have some historical interest attached to it. This is unlikely as it is an eighteenth century house, with no special architectural features. It is shown on the maps

about 1810 with no farm buildings attached and was not mentioned by Colt Hoare.

The Parliamentary tradition is noteworthy. The following members of Parliament have owned the property:—N. de Pershute, Gilbert de Berewyck, Sir John Roche, Sir Walter de Beauchamp (speaker in 1417), Sir Thos. Mompesson, and Sir Charles Mompesson. Sir Peter de la Mere, one of the first speakers of the House of Commons, had a daughter, Willelma, who married John de la Roche II.

Many questions, however, remain unsolved, including the gap in the story for the years 1579—1629, as the *I.P.M's* have not yet been published. It is not known how the Mompesson family first came on the scene. Sir John Roche's end is also unknown. There is apparently no inquisition giving any available details.

There seems to have been another rival manor at Bromham, where Gilbert Roche may have lived. As East Winterslow and Clarendon declined in importance, the Baynton family seem to have transferred their interests there about 1580.

The full story of the degraded Sir Giles Mompesson has been told elsewhere, so has that of Bishop Richard Beauchamp, the famous Bishop of Salisbury, whose mother was Elizabeth Roche. Beauchamp built St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

These notes may be of some interest to research workers in the future, though the 750 years history of this small Wiltshire manor is nearly complete.

## APPENDIX A.

### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

#### A LIST OF THOSE WHO HAD SOME CONNECTION WITH THE MANOR OF EAST WINTERSLOW.

From a Return relative to Members of Parliament 1213—1702.

Published by the Stationery Office, 1878.

Page in the Return	Date of the Parliament	Name	Constituency
31	1309	Nicholaus de Pureshet, Miles	Southampton County
33	1311	Nicholaus de Pershute, Miles	do.
44	1313	Nichalaus de Pershete	do.
61	1320	Johannes de Roches	do.
68	1322	Johannes de Roches	do.
82	1327/8	Gilbertus de Berewyk	Wilts County
85	1328	do.	do.
97	1331/2	Johannes de Roches	Southampton County
108	1335	Johannes de la Roche	Wilts County
112	1336	Johannes de Roches, Miles	do.
118	1337	Johannes de Roches	Southampton County



Page in the Re- turn	Date of the Parlia- ment	Name	Constituency
123	1338	Gilbertus de Berewyk	Wilts County
127	1339	Johannes de la Roche	do.
142	1346	Gilbertus de Berewyk	do.
149	1350/1	Gilbertus de Berewyk	do.
160	1357	Gilbertus de Berewyk	do.
209	1381	Johannes de Roches, chivaler	do.
211	1382	do.	do.
213	1382	do.	do.
216	1382/3	do.	do.
221	1384	do.	do.
240	1390	Johannes de Roche	do.
248	1393/4	Johannes de Roches	do.
254	1396/7	Johannes de Roches, chivaler	do.
259	1399	Johannes Roches, chivaler	do.
296	1420	Johannes Rous	do.
320	1430/1	Johannes Beynton	do.
331	1436/7	Johannes Beynton, chivaler	do.
337	1446/7	Willielmus Beauchamp, miles et chivaler	do.
340	1448/9	Johannes Baynton, miles	do.
359	1467	Rogerus Tocotes, miles	do.
362	1472	do.	do.
365	1477/8	Johannes Cheyne, armiger	do.
370	1529	Edwardus Baynton, miles	do.
395	1555	Andro Bainton, gent	Marlborough Borough
405	1558/9	Andrew Baynton, esq.	Calne Borough
406	1562/3	Edward Baynton, esq.	Wilts County
411	1572	Sir Edward Baynton, knt. <i>vice</i> William Alleyne, gent... deceased	Calne Borough
416	1584	Henry Bainton, esq.	Devizes Borough
420	1586	do.	do.
425	1588	do.	Old Sarum
		Edward Bainton, knt.	Chippenham Borough
430	1592/3	Henry Baynton, esq. Richard Mompesson, esq.	Devizes Borough do.
435	1597	Henry Baynton, esq.	Wilts County
446	1603	Sir Henry Bainton, knt.	Devizes Borough
450	1620/1	Sir Edward Baynton, knt.	Wilts County
461	1623/4	do.	Devizes Borough
466	1625	do.	do.
472	1625/6	do.	Chippenham Borough
484	1640	do.	do.
		Edward Baynton, esq.	Devizes Borough

Page in the Return	Date of the Parliament	Name	Constituency
495	1640	Sir Edward Baynton, knt. Edward Bainton, esq., of Bromham, Co. Wilts	Chippenham Borough Devizes Borough
531	1661	Thomas Mompesson, esq., of Little Bathampton	Wilton Borough
538	1678 9	Sir Thomas Mompesson, knt., of the Close of Sarum	Salisbury City
544	1679	do.	do.
550	1680/1	Sir Thomas Mompesson, knt.	Old Sarum Borough
556	1685	do.	do.
562	1688/9	do.	Wilts County
570	1689/90	do.	Old Sarum Borough
577	1695	Sir Thomas Mompesson, knt., of the Close of Salisbury	Salisbury City
584	1698	Charles Mompesson, esq.	Old Sarum Borough
591	1700/1	do. Sir Thomas Mompesson, knt., of the Close of Salisbury	do. Salisbury City

Spellings as in the original record.

## APPENDIX B.

More information is now available about the Roche family. Colt Hoare only mentions one Roche. The chronology (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, vol. L, pp. 379—381) notes two members. But it now seems that there were three John de Roches who followed each other in succession:—

John de Roches I (see *I.P.M.*, c. Edward II, file 23 (17), writ 6, July, 4 Edward II, i.e., 1311.

*I.P.M.* says "His son John, aged 22, is his next heir".

John de Roches II, Sheriff of Wiltshire, 1355, is the first M.P. (see Appendix A). He married Agnes, daughter of Gilbert de Berewyk (see *I.P.M.* relating to Gilbert, 1361). He died before 1373. (See *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward III, 1370—4, p. 369.)

John de Roches III, son of John and Agnes de Berewyck (see *I.P.M.*, Edward III, vol. xi, 37, Edward III). This John died at some date after 1399.

It will be noted that it was John II and his father-in-law Gilbert de Berewyk who looked after Stanleze Abbey, while the document of 1399 relates to the property of John III.

John de Roches, knight, was appointed the King's ambassador to Aragon on 30th October, 1377, with Gerald de Menta, clerk (Ford. iv., 23). See Foreign accounts, 51, Edw. III., m.b., and Diplomatic Correspondence of Ric. II, ed. by Edouard Perroy, 1933, vol. xlviii, p. 180. This probably was Roches of Winterslow, as it is unlikely that there were two knights of the same name serving the King in 1377.

## PARISH BOUNDARIES IN RELATION TO WANSDYKE.

By A. SHAW MELLOR.

It is with considerable diffidence that I venture to approach the subject of the age of Wansdyke, in as much as from the time of Leland at least the question has engaged the attention of many expert archæologists, and has produced quite a large volume of literature bearing upon it. Many dates have been suggested, from the period of that elusive nation the Belgæ, whose name seems to have been almost an obsession in the minds of the earlier archæologists, to well into Saxon times. It is only because for some time I have been impressed by a fact in connection with the earthwork, which, as far as I can ascertain, has hardly been noticed before, that I submit a theory which may be of interest, if it does not convince.

It must have occurred to many of those who are interested in local geography, and have access to large-scale maps of this country, how often the boundaries of parishes follow for various distances the lines of Roman roads where such are known to have existed; in fact, where such boundaries follow a straight line for any distance, it is, to some extent, evidence that a Roman road once existed there, although all traces of it may have disappeared. There are many such instances in the county of Wilts, and I wish to call attention to a particular one with reference to the parish boundaries along the line of Wansdyke from Morgan's Hill near Calstone to a point north of the village of Monkton Farleigh, about two miles east of the city of Bath. To anyone who has access to a map showing the parish boundaries along this line, it is remarkable how, with the exception of a short distance in the neighbourhood of the Roman Station of Verlucio, north of the village of Chittoe, the parishes on either side of this portion of Wansdyke are all abruptly delineated, and are bounded by the Dyke.

There is little doubt that most parishes in this country originated as ecclesiastical districts; the Greek word *παροικία*, later Latin *parochia*, in fact means *district*, and when, after the Anglo-Saxon conquest and the conversion of the inhabitants of this country to Christianity, churches came to be erected in the land to serve the population, it is obvious that the congregations would be drawn from the districts of which the new churches were the centres. It is evident that these districts could not exceed a certain size, in order that the churches might be easily accessible, and the parish gradually came to be regarded as the township which was assigned to the ministration of a priest, to whom its tithes and other dues were paid. The beginning of the parochial system in England has been attributed to Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury at the end of the seventh century; however that may be, it is clear that the system is an ancient one, and commenced soon after the emergence of England from the dark age of the fifth and sixth centuries. It may be assumed that at this time the network of

Roman roads was still largely in existence, if not in use, and when it became necessary to fix boundaries to the various parishes, it was only natural that such well defined limits as already in many cases existed in the shape of straight and frequently embanked passage-ways should be adopted by mutual consent. If this was the case, it is quite possible that many such road boundaries of parishes came into existence as early as the seventh century, and, notwithstanding the historical changes and chances that have occurred since then, remain in their geographical positions to the present day.

Wansdyke, that archæological mystery, which, in all probability, originally stretched from the Bristol Channel to the neighbourhood of Inkpen Beacon, is remarkable for the local irregularities of its course, with one exception, and that is the portion to which I have referred above, a length of about fourteen miles which follows a straight line nearly due east and west. I think that practically all archæologists who have studied the subject are agreed that along this fourteen miles the earthwork is either superimposed on the Roman road from Cunetio to Aquæ Sulis, or has been thrown up on one side of it or the other. In September, 1939, I made a partial section of the Dyke in Neston Park, by kind permission of Lt.-Col. Fuller; unfortunately I was unable to complete my investigation owing to the outbreak of war, but I was able to demonstrate that here the Dyke is double, a smaller vallum on the north, a larger and higher one on the south, with small intervening ditch, and a large wide ditch north of the smaller vallum. The larger vallum appeared definitely to be placed on a stratum of large and small stones, of local origin, about twelve inches thick. This stratum, in my opinion, represents the material of the road, and I have little doubt that at the point of my section the earthwork is superimposed on the road.

I do not propose to discuss the purpose for which Wansdyke was constructed, or whether the whole work was constructed at one stage, but will content myself with expressing the opinion that it was in the nature of a boundary or *limes*, possibly intended to be a defensive work in case of need. If we refer to the general map of the earthwork in "The Mystery of Wansdyke", by Messrs. A. F. Major and E. J. Burrow, we find the straight portion to be very conspicuous, and it is a prominent feature of the Dyke; in its course of fourteen miles it forms the boundary of no less than nine parishes on the north and south, with the exception of the part in the region of the Station of Verlucio. But I think that there is a good explanation for this hiatus at the Station, which is that here the Dyke disappears in a large complex of ill-defined Roman remains, probably the site of many buildings, and possibly streets, of the Roman period, the ruins of which very likely existed when the parish boundaries were defined. The site of the Station is in the parish of Chittoe, the boundaries of which are irregular, and bear no relation to Wansdyke.

A little north of Monkton Farleigh the courses of the Roman road

and of the Dyke part company on the confines of the parishes immediately surrounding the City of Bath; on the east in a similar manner they part company on the slope of Morgan's Hill, but here the road as it proceeds east still forms the boundary of three parishes, nearly as far as Beckhampton. But, as far as I can ascertain, the Wansdyke, after it deviates from the road at Morgan's Hill, no longer forms any parish boundary until it disappears near Inkpen Beacon, nor can I discover that it does so as it proceeds westwards from Bath to its termination.

These facts are, to my mind, most suggestive as to the date of the construction of the Dyke, as opposed to that of the construction of the road. The results of excavations on the Dyke by Gen. Pitt-Rivers<sup>1</sup> and others go to show that the earthwork was constructed not earlier than the Roman occupation, and probably later; assuming that the parish boundaries were aligned on the road towards the end of the seventh century or in the early part of the eighth, it seems to the writer a reasonable conjecture that the constructors of the Dyke used that portion of the road between Morgan's Hill and Monkton Farleigh as a convenient alignment for their work, and that the parish boundaries already existed at that time. If this conjecture is accepted, the date for the construction of the Dyke cannot be earlier than the seventh or eighth centuries. Gen. Pitt-Rivers says<sup>2</sup> "We must bear in mind that there is nothing in our evidence to disprove the supposition that both these works (Bokerly and Wansdyke) may have been thrown up by the Saxons. During the seventh and eighth centuries the wars between the West Saxons and the Mercians were continued up to the time of Offa (757—796). The great work drawn along the frontier of Wales, to keep the people of the country in check, is attributed to Offa, and it is not impossible that Wansdyke may, in like manner, have been thrown up by the West Saxons as a defence against him. The frontier between Wessex and Mercia appears constantly to have been shifting, but the line of Wansdyke represents, more or less, the ordinary boundary that existed between the two tribes".

The only reference bearing upon the relation between Wansdyke and parish boundaries that I have been able to discover in the literature on the subject is a note by the Rev. C. S. Taylor<sup>3</sup>, who favours a late Anglo-Saxon origin. He argues that Wansdyke cannot have been made before the country was settled and parish boundaries fixed, as otherwise it would have been used as a parish boundary in Wiltshire in preference to the Roman road. I think that the facts to which I have called attention tend to give strength to his contention, and I am inclined to agree with him.

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<sup>1</sup> *W.A.M.*, xxvi, 335.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xxvi, 342.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, xxvii, 131. A full review of this article and its arguments will be found in *W.A.M.*, xxxiv., 113.

Since I wrote the above, our Editor, Mr. H. C. Brentnall, has kindly called my attention to two instances where small portions of the Dyke, east and west of the fourteen mile stretch, do form portions of parish boundaries. The first is a short piece of a few hundred yards between the parishes of West Overton and Alton Priors. My own view is that this short piece is an accidental coincidence; the contiguous boundaries of the parishes of West Overton, Alton Priors, Alton Barnes, Wilcot, Huish, and East Kennet are here most irregular in any case, and since the Dyke, between Morgan's Hill and Savernake Forest, traverses no less than eleven parishes, it is not very surprising that a small piece of it happens to coincide with a parish boundary.

With regard to the other section to which Mr. Brentnall refers, this lies south of Bath, where the Dyke forms the boundary between the parishes of South Lyncombe and South Stoke for nearly a mile; this section of the Dyke is suspiciously straight, it branches off from the Fosseway, and I am inclined to think that it may have been thrown up on an already existing Roman road. There must have been a network of roads surrounding Bath in the Roman period, and it is possible that this portion of the boundary was aligned on a Roman road. If this possibility is accepted, it adds more weight to my surmise regarding the period of the construction of Wansdyke.

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## WILTSHIRE PLANT NOTES—[6].

By J. D. GROSE.

Most of the plants in this list were found in 1944. Despite war conditions it has been possible to add a few new species to the Wiltshire flora, and new localities for some of our rarer plants.

Abbreviations used are :—

A.E.A.D.	Capt. A. E. A. Dunston, Donhead.
B.W.	Mrs. Welch, Richmond.
C.D.H.	Mr. C. D. Heginbotham, Devizes.
C.R.C.	Lt.-Col. C. R. Congreve, Salisbury.
D.McC.	Lt.-Col. D. McClintock, Tunbridge Wells.
D.M.F.	Miss Frowde, Colerne.
L.G.P.	Mr. L. G. Peirson, Marlborough College.
M.C.	The Hon. Marjorie Cross, Salisbury.
M. le F.S.	Mrs. Shepherd, Lydiard Millicent.
N.P.	Mr. N. Peskett, Swindon.
R.Q.	The Rev. Canon R. Quirk, Salisbury.

The numbers refer to the botanical divisions of Wiltshire, based largely on Preston's *Flowering Plants of Wilts*. A dagger denotes that a plant is an alien.

- † *Adonis annua* L. 10, South of Harnham, C.R.C.  
*Helleborus viridis* L. var. *occidentalis* (Reut.) Druce. 10, Still at Berwick St. John, whence it was recorded in 1902.  
*Aquilegia vulgaris* L. 5, Hound Wood, Farley, C.R.C.  
*Berberis vulgaris* L. 7, Still at Old Sarum.  
*Papaver hybridum* L. 7, Cornfield near Alton Barnes, L.G.P.  
† *Sisymbrium orientale* L. 7, Larkhill, D.McC.  
† *Erysimum Cheiranthoides* L. 9, West Harnham, B.W.  
† *Camelina sativa* Crantz. 10, Charlton, near Downton, M.C.  
† *Diplotaxis tenuifolia* (L.) DC. 3, Rodbourne, Swindon, N.P. Not previously recorded for Wiltshire. The plant is abundant over a limited area.  
† *D. muralis* (L.) DC. var. *caulescens* Kittel. 3, Purton, M. le F.S.  
*Lepidium campestre* (L.) R.Br. 3, Near Water Eaton Copse, N.P.  
*Viola odorata* L. var. *variegata* DC. 5, Near Pheasant Inn, Winterslow.  
*V. odorata* L. var. *subcarnea* (Jord.) Parl. 3, Hannington. 5, Near Pheasant Inn, Winterslow.  
† *Saponaria officinalis* L. 9, Still at Chilmark, where a white-flowered form was also observed, A.E.A.D.  
*Stellaria neglecta* Weihe. 1, Between Staples Hill and Murhill. 3, Ashmead Brake. Cloatley End. 8, Norton Bavant. 9, Between West Harnham and Bemerton.  
*Hypericum dubium* Leers. 5, Landford Common.  
*Geranium pyrenaicum* Burm. fil. 7, Larkhill, D.McC. 9, Wingreen Down, A.E.A.D.

- † *G. phaeum* L. 8, Near Maiden Bradley.  
*Rhamnus Frangula* L. 1, Between Round Hill and Scotland (Horningsham).  
† *Melilotus alba* Desr. 2, Haugh. 3, Mannington, N.P.  
† *M. arvensis* L. 2, Haugh. 5, Near Clarendon, C.R.C. 9, Crouch's Down.  
*Trifolium arvense*. 5, Hound Wood, Farley, C.R.C.  
*T. striatum* L. 9, Refound at Harnham, C.R.C.  
*Astragalus glycyphyllos* L. 1, Near Slaughterford, D.M.F.  
*Lathyrus sylvestris* L. 3, Hodson, N.P. 5, Near Pepperbox Hill, C.R.C.  
*L. Aphaca* L. 7, Abundant in the cornfields and beside the track between North Newton and Wilsford.  
† *Poterium polygamum* Waldst. & Kit. 9, Camp Down.  
*P. officinale* A. Gray. 2, Highway Common. 3, N. Wroughton, N.P.  
† *Sorbus torminalis* (L.) Crantz. 8, Mapperton Hill, perhaps planted.  
† *Ribes nigrum* L. 1, Shockerwick, D.M.F. 5, Landford Common.  
† *R. rubrum* L. var. *sativum* Reichb. The Red Currant normally ripens very little fruit in our woods, but in 1944 large quantities were seen in many places.  
*Tillaea muscosa* L. 1, Near Yarnfield Gate. Track between Witham Park and Tynning Wood. One plant in Tynning Wood. As far as at present ascertained, the plant is scarce in these places, but it occurs in much greater quantity a few yards away on the Somerset side of the border. Not previously recorded for Wiltshire or Somerset.  
*Peplis Portula* L. 3, Coate Water, M. le F.S.  
† *Epilobium adenocaulon* Hausskn. 3, Coate Water. Not previously recorded for North Wilts.  
*E. montanum* x *obscurum*. 5, North of Plaitford.  
† *Anthriscus Cerefolium* Hoffm. 7, Salisbury, C.R.C.  
† *Archangelica officinalis* Hoffm. 4, Manton, escape, L.G.P.  
*Caucalis arvensis* Huds. 7, Pewsey Hill, N.P. and J.D.G. 9, West Harnham, B.W.  
*C. nodosa* (L.) Crantz. 10, Near Peter's Finger, C.R.C.  
*Adoxa Moschatellina* L. 6, Near Figsbury Rings, C.R.C. This species is uncommon in South-East Wilts.  
*Galium palustre* L. A very broad-leaved form. 7, Bank of Avon, Salisbury, C.R.C.  
*G. Aparine* L. A compact form with tiny leaves and many small immature fruits. 4, Avebury, C.R.C., M.C. and R.Q.  
*Valerianella carinata* Lois. 1, Wall near Gatcombe Mill. Hedgebank near Lugbury (Nettleton).  
*V. rimosa* Bast. 10, Clearbury Hill, C.R.C.  
*Dipsacus pilosus* L. 1, Near Sleight Farm, Stert, C.D.H. 8, Long Lane, White Sheet.  
*Succisa pratensis* Moench. White-flowered form. 9, Starveacre, Donhead St. Andrew, A.E.A.D.



*Erigeron acer* L. 10, Near Clearbury Hill, C.R.C.

† *E. canadensis* L. 3, Coate Water.

*Anthemis arvensis* L. 1, Holt. 2, Broughton Gifford.

*Chrysanthemum segetum* L. 7, Wedhampton. Foxley Corner. 10, Ivy Church.

*Tanacetum vulgare* L. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

† *Doronicum Pardalianches* L. 8, Winterbourne Stoke, A.E.A.D.

† *D. plantagineum* L. 9, Donhead St. Andrew, A.E.A.D.

*Senecio vulgaris* L. var. *radiatus* Koch. 10, Near Alderbury, C.R.C.

*Carduus crispus* x *nutans*. 2, Near Roach Wood.

x *Cirsium Woodwardii* Wats. 3, The field at Penhill in which this rare hybrid grew has been ploughed. I have the plant in cultivation, and would gladly send roots to any interested botanist.

*Serratula tinctoria* L. White-flowered form. 8, Great Ridge, R.Q.

*S. tinctoria* L. var. *integrifolia* Koch. 2, Somerford Common, N.P.

*Centaurea Cyanus* L. 9, Near Wilton, M.C. 10, Cornfield between Salisbury and Alderbury, C.R.C.

*Crepis capillaris* (L.) Wallr. 3, A robust plant over three feet in height, Coate Water, N.P.

† *Tragopogon porrifolius* L. 3, Railway Bank, Old Swindon, N.P.

*Campanula latifolia* L. 4, Preshute, L.G.P. Gore Copse, L.G.P.

*C. patula* L. 10, Still at Alderbury, B.W., C.R.C. and M.C.

*Vaccinium Myrtillus* L. 9, Berry Wood Lane, Donhead, A.E.A.D.

*Monotropa Hypopitys* L. 5, Near Pepperbox Hill, C.R.C. and M.C.

*Primula vulgaris* Huds. Wine-red form. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.

*Anagallis arvensis* L. subsp. *foemina* Schinz & Thellung. 2, Refound near Quidhampton Wood, N.P.

*Samolus Valerandi* L. 3, Pool in Great Wood, Stanton.

*Ligustrum vulgare* L. var. *auriflorum* Hoefk. 2, Between Alderton and Luckington. This yellow-flowered form grew in a wild situation associated with normal bushes. Apparently it has not previously been recorded for Britain.

† *Polemonium caeruleum* L. 2, Between Calne and Black Dog Halt.

† *Pulmonaria officinalis* L. 3, Well established at Burderop, N.P.

*Solanum nigrum* L. 4, Abundant in a garden at Marlborough, L.G.P.

† *Physalis Alkekengi* L. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S.

† *Verbascum phlomoides* L. 7, Salisbury, B.W.

*Linaria repens* (L.) Mill. 10, I regret that in my note on this plant (*W.A.M.*, 1, 349), I overlooked Mrs. Welch's Charlton record of 1929. The species is, of course, a true native there.

*Antirrhinum Orontium* L. 5, North of Plaitford. 8, Fugglestone St. Peter.

*Veronica agrestis* L. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. There has been much confusion with this species, and old records are unreliable unless they can be verified by specimens.

- V. polita* Fries. A form with some of the capsules three-lobed. 3, Highworth.
- † *Melampyrum arvense* L. 4, Barton Bottom, L.G.P.
- Rhinanthus calcareus* Wilmott. 2, Rainscombe Bottom. 7, Pewsey Hill, N.P. and J.D.G.
- x *Mentha piperita* L. 9, Tisbury, C.R.C.
- x *M. piperita* L. var. *Druceana* Briq. 2, Cherhill.
- Stachys arvensis* L. 5, Near Landford Manor.
- Lamium hybridum* Vill. 7, Wedhampton.
- † *Chenopodium Bonus-Henricus* L. 7, Little Durnford. 8, Near Long Knoll. Rodmead Farm. 9, West Harnham, B.W. 11, Near Higher Bridmore Farm.
- † *C. hybridum* L. 7, Palace grounds, Salisbury, M.C. 10, Near Salisbury on Southampton Road, C.R.C.
- C. polyspermum* L. 1, Great Ashley. 2, Brinkworth. Wootton Fields. 3, South Marston. Kingsdown, Swindon.
- Polygonum Bistorta* L. 1, Jugg's Mead, Ford, D.M.F.
- P. nodosum* Pers. 3, Hodson. Coate Water.
- P. nodosum* Pers. var. *inundatum* C. E. Britton. 3, Coate Water.
- Rumex obtusifolius* x *sanguineus* var. *viridis* 6, Near Porton. This hybrid may not be uncommon, being probably overlooked.
- R. pulcher* L. 1, Henley, Box. (The record for Lydiard Millicent, W.A.M., 1, 76, was an error.)
- R. maritimus* L. 3, Coate Water. Not previously recorded for Wilts.
- † *Euphorbia virgata* Waldst. & Kit. 7, Stonehenge, N.P.
- † *Mercurialis annua* L. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D.
- Daphne Mezereum* L. 9, Chicks Grove, Tisbury, A.E.A.D.
- † *Ulmus carpiniifolia* x *glabra*. 2, Broad Town. Near Cherhill.
- Salix aurita* x *viminialis*. 2, Wootton Fields. 4, Ramsbury.
- Spiranthes autumnalis* Rich. 5, Pepperbox Hill, C.R.C.
- Orchis praetermissa* Druce. 9, Snipe Marsh, Donhead, A.E.A.D.
- Ophrys apifera* Huds. 9, Donhead St. Mary, A.E.A.D. Fovant, C.R.C.
- O. muscifera* Huds. 5, Hound Wood, Farley, C.R.C. 9, Alec's Shade, Donhead, A.E.A.D.
- † *Galanthus nivalis* L. 11, Abundant in Farnham Common Woods (Wilts portion), A.E.A.D.
- Convallaria majalis*, L. 5, Wood near Farley, C.R.C. and R.Q. This may, perhaps, be the locality given in Preston's *Flowering Plants of Wilts*, p. 302, 1888.
- Allium ursinum* L. 5, Pepperbox Hill, C.R.C.
- † *Ornithogalum umbellatum* L. 2, Near Chittoe, N.P. 3, Ladder Lane, Swindon, N.P. 4, Near Uffcott, N.P.
- O. pyrenaicum* L. 3, Hedgebank, North Wroughton, N.P.
- Gagea lutea* (L.) Ker-Gawler. 5, Near Hill Farm, Winterslow.
- Paris quadrifolia* L. 11, Still at Ashcombe Bottom, A.E.A.D.

*Juncus bulbosus* L. 10, Gravel-pit near Common Plantation, Alderbury.

*Luzula sylvatica* (Huds.) Gaud. 1, Near Yarnfield Gate. 9, East Knoyle. 11, Near Cox's Lodge, Stourton.

*L. Forsteri* (Sm.) DC. 5, East Grimstead.

*Typha angustifolia* L. 5, Clarendon Lake, C.D.H.

*Sparganium simplex* Huds. 2, Lydiard Plain. Near Little Somerford. 3, Mannington. 5, Farley.

*Scirpus setaceus* L. 9, East Knoyle.

*Carex Pseudo-cyperus* L. 2, Wootton Fields.

*C. pitulifera* L. 1, Near Yarnfield Gate.

*Catabrosa aquatica* (L.) Beauv. 5, West Dean.

*Vulpia bromoides* (L.) S. F. Gray. 2, Studley. 9, Baverstock.

† *Festuca heterophylla* Lam. 11, Cranborne Chase (Wilts portion). Not previously recorded for South Wilts.

† *Bromus madritensis* L. 4, Casual, Rockley, L.G.P.

*Asplenium Ruta-muraria* L. 9, Donhead Hall, A.E.A.D. Near Fonthill Abbey, A.E.A.D. Despite its abundance over a great part of the county, this fern is scarce in S.W. Wilts.

*Athyrium Filix-foemina* (L.) Roth. 3, Burderop Wood. 5, Landford Common. 9, East Knoyle.

*Dryopteris Filix-mas* (L.) Schott. var. *incisa* (Moore). 7, Park Copse, Oare, L.G.P.

*D. spinulosa* (Muell.) O. Kuntze. 4, Gore Copse, L.G.P. Savernake Forest, L.G.P.

*Ophioglossum vulgatum* L. 2, Bincknoll, N.P. Between Charlcutt and Foxham. 3, Near Clout's Wood, Wroughton, N.P. Near Cloatley. Near Elcombe Hall, N.P.

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I am greatly indebted to Mrs. B. Welch for help in compilation of these notes.

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# THE PIONEER VEGETATION OF THE BED OF COATE WATER.

By J. D. GROSE.

During the dry winter of 1943—4, the water-level at Coate Water became very low, exposing many acres of the sandy bed of the lake. Probably these stretches have not been previously uncovered in living memory. The water continued to recede until the late autumn of 1944, but the observations on which these notes are based are confined to the area which had become exposed during the winter.

By late March the bed was studded with tiny seedlings, but it was not until June that many plants could be identified with certainty, and even then it was necessary to mark several doubtful ones for later examination. Lists and estimates of frequency were made in June, July and August. In a study of these lists, two factors must be remembered. Firstly, it should be noted that the soil became progressively drier as the season advanced, and secondly, that the more lowly plants tended to become crowded out, or their numbers diminished by the taller ones.

Abbreviations used below to denote relative frequency are :—d, dominant ; ld, locally dominant ; a, abundant ; c, common ; f, frequent ; s, scarce.

	June.	July.	August.
<i>Ranunculus repens</i> ...	—	—	s
<i>R. sceleratus</i> ...	c	f	s
<i>R. heterophyllus</i> ? ...	s	—	—
<i>Nuphar lutea</i> ...	s	s	s
<i>Papaver Rhoeas</i> ...	s	s	—
<i>Rorippa amphibia</i> ...	c	f	f
<i>R. islandica</i> ...	f	f	f
<i>Capsella Bursa-pastoris</i> ...	s	—	—
<i>Stellaria aquatica</i> ...	a	a, ld	a, ld
<i>S. media</i> ...	—	s	—
<i>Medicago lupulina</i> ...	—	s	—
<i>Trifolium hybridum</i> ...	—	—	s
<i>Potentilla Anserina</i> ...	—	s	—
<i>Epilobium angustifolium</i> ...	—	—	s
<i>E. hirsutum</i> ...	s	f	c
<i>E. parviflorum</i> ...	f	c	c
<i>E. obscurum</i> ...	f	s	s
<i>E. adenocaulon</i> ...	—	f	f
<i>Galium Aparine</i> ...	s	s	s
<i>Erigeron canadensis</i> ...	—	s	s
<i>Gnaphalium uliginosum</i> ...	—	s	—
<i>Bidens tripartita</i> ...	—	—	s

<i>Matricaria inodora</i>	...	f	s	s
<i>Tussilago Farfara</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>Senecio Jacobaea</i>	...	s	f	f
<i>S. vulgaris</i>	...	s	s	s
<i>Cirsium lanceolatum</i>	...	—	s	f
<i>Crepis capillaris</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>Leontodon hispidus</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>L. autumnalis</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>Taraxacum vulgare</i>	...	—	s	—
<i>Sonchus asper</i>	...	s	f	f
<i>Myosotis caespitosa</i>	...	—	s	—
<i>Veronica Beccabunga</i>	...	?	s	—
<i>Bartsia Odontites</i>	...	—	s	—
<i>Mentha aquatica</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>Plantago major</i>	...	s	s	s
<i>Chenopodium rubrum</i>	...	a	a, d	a
<i>C. album</i>	...	—	s	—
<i>Atriplex patula</i>	...	s	s	s
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i>	...	s	s	s
<i>P. lapathifolium</i>	...	f	f	a, d
<i>P. nodosum</i>	...	f	c	a
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	...	—	s	—
<i>R. maritimus</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>Salix triandra</i>	...	—	s	f
<i>S. viminalis</i>	...	—	—	f
<i>S. Caprea</i>	...	s	s	f
<i>S. Caprea</i> x <i>atrocinerea</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>Juncus articulatus</i>	...	s	s	s
<i>J. bufonius</i>	...	s	f	s
<i>Eleocharis palustris</i>	...	f, ld	f, ld	f, ld
<i>Scirpus lacustris</i>	...	s, ld	s, ld	s, ld
<i>Alopecurus aequalis</i>	...	a	a	a
<i>A. myosuroides</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>Phleum pratense</i>	...	s	s	s
<i>Agrostis tenuis</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>Deschampsia caespitosa</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>Holcus lanatus</i>	...	f	s	s
<i>Trisetum flavescens</i>	...	—	s	—
<i>Avena sativa</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>Poa trivialis</i>	...	f	s	—
<i>P. annua</i>	...	—	s	s
<i>Glyceria maxima</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>G. fluitans</i>	...	—	—	s
<i>Lolium perenne</i>	...	f	s	s
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	...	—	s	s

Comparison may usefully be made with the columns C and D of plants growing on the canal-spoil near Okus (*W.A.M.*, vol. 1, pp. 342)

—344). This reveals that the rate of increase or decrease of many species, under the somewhat similar conditions, bears a close resemblance to that shown by the present list. Of the twenty-nine species common to both lists, fifteen demonstrate this striking similarity, while only six, four of them grasses, show any marked diversion from the expected progression. These divergencies may be largely attributed to the presence of the tall-growing *Chenopodium rubrum* and *Polygonum lapathifolium*, plants which were absent on the canal-spoil.

The most noticeable feature of the colony at Coate was the great height that many of the plants, particularly the grasses, attained. *Alopecurus myosuroides* (Field-Fox-tail Grass) reached 3ft. 6in. *Trisetum flavescens*, *Holcus lanatus*, *Phleum pratense* and *Agrostis tenuis* also grew to remarkable heights. *Alopecurus aequalis*, a rare grass which has been known at Coate for many years, was abundant throughout the season, but the other grasses occurred only in a few scattered patches.

*Chenopodium rubrum* (Red Goosefoot) grew in dense masses and in July it was dominant over most of the ground on which observations were taken. By August it had largely been supplanted by the taller-growing *Polygona* (*P. lapathifolium* and *P. nodosum*), which became dominant and occurred in a maze of varying forms, with many robust plants reaching 3 ft., and some over 3 ft. 6 in.

*Stellaria aquatica* (Great Chickweed) was abundant at all times, and in some places was dominant. It formed a tangled mass through which it was difficult to walk, but the flowers were few and small.

It is interesting to note how several early arrivals, e.g., *Capsella Bursa-pastoris* (Shepherd's Purse) and *Matricaria inodora* (Mayweed) disappeared or diminished in quantity under the competition of the larger species. *Nuphar lutea* (Yellow water-lily), however, withstood this competition and the apparent dryness of the ground, and continued to thrive and flower deep down below the tall vegetation. *Eleocharis palustris* (Club-rush) and *Scirpus lacustris* (Bulrush) in isolated colonies also held their own against all opposition.

Two of the species, *Epilobium adenocaulon* and *Rumex maritimus* (Golden Dock) have not previously been recorded for North Wilts. The former was no doubt wind-borne, and may have been in the neighbourhood for some years, but it is tempting to think that *Rumex maritimus* is a survival of an old flora which was present in what was probably marshy ground here before the construction of the reservoir in 1822. It was nowhere abundant, but occurred here and there all round the lake at about the same level.

Particular interest attaches to the Willow seedlings. It is very difficult to assess the true status of these trees. They are often planted and also grow from broken branches or from sticks or posts placed in the ground for various purposes. The fact that the three species mentioned can also spring from seed suggests a probability that they

are native species in the district. The hybrid, *S. Caprea x atrocinerea*, of which a single seedling was found, grows at a distance of about half-a-mile from the lake.

The water-level of Coate rose quickly towards the end of 1944, reaching the safety-duct constructed a few years ago, and the whole of this area has been submerged.

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

PART VI.<sup>1</sup>

By T. F. G. W. DUNSTON, B.A., and CAPTAIN A. E. A. DUNSTON.

We only have a few species to add to our previous records, but fungi during 1944 have been far from plentiful. It is, however, satisfactory to record two very uncommon species. All have been identified by Mr. A. A. Pearson, F.L.S., who has again provided a few field notes, for which we are grateful.

*Geaster umblicatus*, Fr. This *Geaster* has a sessile endoperidium with a well-defined slightly depressed disc at the apex, in the centre of which is the striate opening or peristome. We are glad to record this rare species for Wiltshire.

Hedge, Donhead St. Mary.

*Pluteus gracilis* (Bres.), Lange. Looks exactly like a small mushroom and peels in the same way. It has, however, pink spores. It differs from *Pluteus pellitus* in being entirely without horned cystidia.

Donhead St. Mary.

*Lepiota mastoidea*, Fr. This noble species, which sometimes grows in large numbers on chalk downs, is very like *L. excoriata*; but the latter has a flat pileus without the very prominent pointed umbo which characterises *L. mastoidea*.

Ludwell, Donhead St. Mary.

*L. Georginae*, W. G. Sm. This rare agaric was not gathered in a really fresh condition, and instead of being a bright crimson it had turned brown. The surface of the pileus when fresh shows a thick viscid pruinosity which subsequently turns into a brown powder and is found to be made up of globose cells.

Garden, Donhead St. Mary.

*Cortinarius (Myx) collinius* (Sow.), Fr. The series of concentric scales or rings on the very glutinous stem makes this an easy species to determine. It seems to be happy in many habitats, especially under aspen.

Donhead St. Mary.

*Cortinarius (Tela) glandicolor*, Fr. One of the commonest among the *Cortinariii*. All parts are dark brown, almost black, when moist. As with so many of the small *Cortinariii* of the *Telamonia* section, the

<sup>1</sup> For Parts I and II see *W.A.M.*, xlvi, 321—347 and 471—487; for Part III see xlix, 147—156; and for Parts IV and V see l, 1—12 and 333—335.



stem must be examined when the specimen is gathered, as the white ring gets rubbed off.

Donhead St. Andrew.

*Collybia maculata* (A. & S.), Fr. It is strange that this, which is among the commonest of our agarics, should have been left out of our lists. All parts are white or creamy, and usually the pileus has rusty spots. The gills are very crowded, and the spores, if scraped together in a mass, will be found to have a pinkish tinge.

Donhead St. Mary.

*C. acervata*, Fr. We are recording this under *Collybia*, though it may equally well be placed under *Marasmius*. It is the same as what so frequently is recorded as *Marasmius erythropus* (Pers.), Fr. The caespitose habitat and rich chestnut colour of the stem make this common species easy to identify.

Donhead St. Mary.

*Leptonia euchroa* (Pers.), Fr. This is one of the few *Leptonias* that grow on wood, and we were glad to gather specimens with their deep violaceous colour.

Donhead Hall Woods, Donhead St. Mary.

*Mycena chlorantha*, Fr. We are recording under this name the pale green specimens that appear to be rather common in the southwest of England. Typical *M. chlorantha* has a deeper colour, and the pale green forms are determined by different authors as *M. olivas-cens* and *M. lineata*, or as forms of *M. filopes* (Bull), Fr. They all have a smell of iodoform and belong to the group of which *M. melata* is the commonest species.

Donhead St. Andrew.

*Poria mucida* (Pers.), Fr. This is only a thin form of *Irpex obliquus*, which perhaps would be more correctly placed in the genus *Poria* rather than *Irpex*.

Donhead St. Mary.

*Solenia anomola* (Pers.), Fr. The only common species among the *Solenias*, and if we do not often see it, that is because we do not examine bits of rotten wood and other debris more carefully. It consists of a series of minute cup-shaped fungi so closely pressed together that they look like a homogeneous mass.

Donhead St. Mary.

*Sebacina calcea* (Pers.), Bres. In the genus *Sebacina*, which belongs to the Tremellinaceae, the basidia are divided by longitudinal septa and the sterigmata are very long and thick in comparison with ordinary basidia. Most species of *Sebacina* consist of a rather mucous milky substance hardly visible on branches or twigs lying on the ground. *S. calcea*, however, is of a hard substance, usually chalk white, then buff-coloured.

Donhead St. Mary.

## DEVIZES "COURTS" AND THE OLD TOWN DITCH.

By B. H. CUNNINGTON, F.S.A., SCOT.

The courts of Devizes, present some interesting and historical facts respecting the building of the town. There are more than 20 Courts, besides "Places," "Yards," "Groves," etc. But in order to appreciate the reasons for their names, it would be advisable to outline the route of the great outer ditch that originally formed the boundary of the borough and defence of the Castle.

The Castle was built by Bishop Roger of Salisbury early in the 12th century, and was reputed by some writers to have been the most strongly fortified castle in England, if not in Europe. The great outer ditch, starting from the valley at the railway station, crossed Northgate Street somewhere between "Sandcliff" and Station Road. It passed through the gasworks, and here, some years ago, when excavations were being made for a new gasometer, I was able to get its dimensions. It measured about 25ft. wide, 7ft. deep, and 4ft. wide at the bottom. The ditch crosses the Wharf and Wharf Street, the west side of Victoria Road, then following approximately the course of Commercial Road, crossing Sidmouth Street, behind Southbroom Terrace, the top end of Hare and Hounds Street, and on to the top of Long Street, where it continues down Hillworth Road on the right-hand side, ending in the valley just beyond Gallows Ditch pond.

Thus we see that the Castle and the town were surrounded by this ditch except on the western side, where the natural declivity of the country gave all the defence that was necessary. An inner ditch, started in the main Station Road and passing in front of the Corn Exchange, ended somewhere about where Eastcroft Hill is crossed by the railway. Unfortunately, few details are known concerning this ditch, but when the Corn Exchange was built in 1857 it was located, and a section showed that it was 20ft. deep, with very steep sides.

Between these two ditches was the Outer Ward or Bailey of the Castle, and here the town of Devizes was built. The principal business houses and weaving factories, etc., as well, perhaps, the private dwelling houses, were erected in this area. The Market was held in the space facing St. Mary's Church for many years, until it was removed to its present site. When the great outer ditch was made, the earth dug out formed a high inner bank that was further strengthened by a wooden stockade on the top. Immediately beneath this bank was a path or roadway, following approximately New Park Street, Monday Market Street, Sheep Street, Bridewell Street, and into Long Street at a point just below the South Gate of the town that was situated a few yards inside the ditch. The North Gate was near the Brewery and the East Gate, or "Mary Port", was near Albion Place in Sidmouth Street. The inner path or roadway presumably continued down Hillworth, until it ended at the beginning of the valley just beyond Gallows Ditch pond.

The proprietors of the weaving and other business places, in order to have their workpeople as near their jobs as possible, built cottages in the rear of their premises with entrances, or courts, opening into New Park Street. About the middle of the 16th century, when the Castle was in ruins, the great outer ditch was filled in, and more cottages built on the site of the bank, with entrances to the courts opening into New Park Street. Many of these courts, as well as the earlier ones, took the name of the builder of the cottages, and probably these owners were important personages in the town. For example, to this day there is "Hillier's Court", and a Hillier was Mayor in 1664 and 1671 and 1698. There is also "Reynolds Court": a John Reynolds was Mayor in 1458, George Reynolds in 1571 and 1577. We also have "Lewis's Court": Edward Lewis was Mayor in 1615. "Reed's Place" may well have been named after Ralph Roed (Reed), who was Mayor in 1346, and "Willis's Court" after John Willis, who was Mayor in 1584.

There seems little doubt, therefore, that the Devizes courts were often named after the owners of property in the town. Tylee's Court, being outside the great ditch, does not come within the area. John Tylee was Mayor in 1811.

In 1538 Devizes Castle was in ruins, consequently the great outer ditch was no longer required, so it was filled in—no doubt with the soil of the inner bank. Here it is recorded that the inhabitants of the town cultivated the ditch adjoining their premises. The ditch would have been of considerable use 100 years later, when in 1643 the town was besieged by the Parliamentarians in the Civil War, but the people did not know this was coming.

During the early part of this month, December, 1944, excavations for an electric cable were made down Hillworth Road and across the road at the top of Long Street. This work showed that the great outer ditch crossed Long Street about where number 30 is, entered Hillworth, occupying nearly the whole width of the road and inclining towards the left side until past the railway bridge. Just beyond the bridge is a gate, and at this spot the ditch turns slightly from the road towards the field, and was easily traced up to Gallows Ditch pond in the cable trench. As the sub-soil of Devizes is upper greensand that is light in colour, and the filled-in ditch is fine black earth, there was no difficulty in tracing its course through these excavations.—*From the Wiltshire Gazette.*

## A HISTORY OF MARLBOROUGH GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

By A. R. STEDMAN, B.A.

*Headmaster of the School.*

## I.

## HOSPITAL AND CHANTRIES.

Marlborough Grammar School stands to-day on the site of the medieval Hospital of St. John Baptist whose endowments it has inherited. The hospitals of the middle ages (and there were twenty-six in Wiltshire<sup>1</sup>) were charitable institutions, founded generally under the influence of the religious revival of the twelfth century, and devoted to the care of the aged and infirm, to the dispensing of hospitality to travellers and pilgrims to sacred shrines, and sometimes (though not this hospital) to the care of lepers.<sup>2</sup> While teaching was often associated with medieval hospitals and chantries,<sup>3</sup> there is no evidence that such was the case at Marlborough.<sup>4</sup> The hospitals were often, as at Marlborough, under the patronage of the burgesses,<sup>5</sup> and though possessing some measure of independence, were under episcopal control and an integral part of parochial life. It is thus noteworthy that as early as 1220 there is evidence of a profession of canonical obedience from Walter, the prior of St. John's Hospital, Marlborough, and the brothers there to the Bishop of Sarum and the prebendary of Blewbury and Marlborough.<sup>6</sup> Dedicated, as were eight other Wiltshire hospitals,<sup>7</sup> to St. John Baptist (of the wandering life<sup>8</sup>) and standing in the Marsh ward at the junction of the roads from east to west and north to south, and near one of the Kennet fords, the Marlborough hospital must have been used by religious pilgrims on their way to Canterbury, Winchester or Gloucester.

The Hospital of St. John was founded by Levenoth, son of Levenoth,<sup>9</sup> member of a family mentioned as Levenot in the Domesday Survey as resident in the surrounding countryside in the time of Edward the Confessor.<sup>10</sup> In 1167 the name occurs as Levenod in

<sup>1</sup> Clay: *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, London 1909, 328, 329.

<sup>2</sup> Clay: *op. cit.*, 329 errs on this point. <sup>3</sup> Leach: *The Schools of Medieval England*, London 1909, *passim*. <sup>4</sup> cf. Christopher Wordsworth: *Letter to Marlborough Times*, 29th Nov., 1902, in which he refuted such a suggestion made by J. Milburn in the *Devizes Gazette* 24th Nov., 1898. <sup>5</sup> cf. *Salisbury Institutions*, below. <sup>6</sup> *Charters illustrating the History of Salisbury in the 12th and 13th centuries*. British Museum. <sup>7</sup> Clay: *op. cit.*, 329. <sup>8</sup> The fame of the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem, kept for travellers by the Knights Hospitallers, accounts for the popularity of the dedication of houses unconnected with the Order to St. John Baptist, Clay, *op. cit.*, 250. <sup>9</sup> Tanner: *Notitia Monastica*, Cambridge, 1744, reprinted 1787, Wiltshire xxv. (2). <sup>10</sup> Jones: *Domesday for Wilts*, Bath, 1865, 92. *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine* (hereinafter called *W.A.M.*), 1, 398.

Marlborough in the Pipe Roll of Henry II.<sup>11</sup> In 1223 it appears as Levenad, a man of some financial standing in the town;<sup>12</sup> and a certain Peter Levenat was a member of a jury of the Borough at a Hundred Court in Edward I's day.<sup>13</sup> In 1333 the name persists as Lythenath.<sup>14</sup>

It is impossible further to identify the founder, and the precise date of foundation is unknown. But it was obviously earlier than 1215, at which date the *Rotuli Cartarum* contain confirmation of a grant, previously made, of a charter to the Hospital of St. John and to the "brothers and sisters there serving God." The endowments are given as one virgate of land with its appurtenances in Kennett, given by Henry of Kennett; land in Marlborough given by John, the son of Alured; the land in the Marsh of Marlborough in which the hospital was founded and which was given by Levenoth, the son of Levenoth; and those lands in Marlborough which Walter Pinnok gave.<sup>15</sup> The national survey of church lands of 1535 gives the value of the hospital as £7 0s. 4d., less an annual rental of 2s. paid to the Queen—compared with a valuation of £12 placed upon St. Peter's, £10 9s. 4d., on St. Mary's, and £8 on Preshute—and estimates its oblations at 5s.<sup>16</sup> The Chantry Certificate of 1546 in the Court of Augmentations gives the annual value as £8 15s. of which 25s., represents the value of the Hospital itself and two adjoining closes.<sup>17</sup> This suggests a medium-sized hospital, consisting probably of a great hall, dormitories for thirteen beds, and a chapel in which Mass and the canonical hours were celebrated daily by a Warden who was always in orders.<sup>18</sup>

Building was still in progress in the thirties, for in 1236 the Close Roll informs us that instructions were given to Isturmay (Esturmy) of Savernake to supply "ten beams for building purposes to the Master of St. John's, Marlborough".<sup>19</sup> In 1233 the brothers and sisters of St. John were permitted to have one man going daily for dry and dead wood from Savernake Forest "to collect as much as he can with his hands only, without any iron tool or axe, and to carry the same to the said hospital on his back for the hearth of the said brothers and sisters".<sup>20</sup> Grants of simple protection were, according to the Patent

<sup>11</sup> Pipe Roll, 14 Henry II, '*per visum Levenodi*'. <sup>12</sup> Close Roll, 7 Henry III. <sup>13</sup> *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 3 Edward I (*Burgus de Merleberge*, March 1275). <sup>14</sup> Sir T. Phillipps, *Abbrev. Ped. Fin. Wilts*; gives John Lythenath in Marlborough at this date. The first *th* is possibly an error. <sup>15</sup> *Rotuli Cartarum* p. 205. cf. Dugdale: *Monasticon*, 1846 ed., VI, 669—670. <sup>16</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, II, 147, which gives oblations 5s.; lands and tenements in Marlborough £4 7s. 4d.; Highway 2s.; Oare 8d.; Manton 13s.; Lockeridge 8s. 4d.; East Kennett 10s.; Ogbourne St. Andrew 10s.; Mildenhall 4s. <sup>17</sup> Chantry Certificate C 93/47/16, P.R.O. <sup>18</sup> cf. Clay: *op. cit.*, 156. <sup>19</sup> Close Rolls, 13th June, 1236. <sup>20</sup> Patent Rolls, 7th July, 1233.

Rolls, given for three years in 1251,<sup>21</sup> by the Queen for one year in 1254,<sup>22</sup> and for seven years in 1258;<sup>23</sup> and permission was granted in 1337 to collect alms in churches for one year.<sup>24</sup>

It is possible to give the names of many of the Wardens, Masters, or Priors, mainly from the Salisbury Institutions;<sup>25</sup>

“Presented by the Mayor and Burgesses—major et universa fraternitas, sive communitas, burgensium.”

1220 Walter, prior,<sup>26</sup>

1266 Robert, “prior hospitalis”.<sup>27</sup>

1315 W. de Borehale or Brohhulle.

1318 Ric. de Wetwang, prior.

1349 Walter Gibbs; exchanged with

1353 Nic. Perham.

13— Ric. Syvet; resigned about 1417 (Vicar of St. Mary's, Marlborough, 1384—1414).

1417 T. South.

14— T. Smyth; deceased about 1457.

1457 W. White; deceased (Vicar of St. Mary's, Marlborough, 1458—62).

1462 J. Browning.

1499 John Walker, “chaplain at St. John's hospital or priory”.<sup>28</sup>

1502 W. Highway; resigned.

In the days of the hospital's greatest usefulness, the Master devoted his whole time to his post, but as in so many other cases,<sup>29</sup> there is evidence that in the early sixteenth century he combined the care of the sick with a cure of souls:

1506 T. Bartlett, deceased (Rector of Collingbourne Ducis, ?—1506).

1510—1548? Robert Richardson (Vicar of St. Mary's Marlborough, 1495—1522; Rector of Collingbourne Ducis 1506—1544).

The holding of the Mastership in plurality after 1506 and the necessity to take down the dilapidated building in 1577<sup>30</sup> suggest that by this

<sup>21</sup> Patent Rolls, 1251. <sup>22</sup> Patent Rolls, 1254. <sup>23</sup> Patent Rolls, 7th June 1258. <sup>24</sup> Patent Rolls, 8th May, 1337. <sup>25</sup> Sir T. Phillipps: *Institutiones Wilton*. (1822—5), 13, 15, 46, 106, 148, 153, 181, 184, 189. *W.A.M.* xxxvi, 539, 582. <sup>26</sup> *Charters illustrating the History of Salisbury in the 12th and 13th Centuries*. <sup>27</sup> *Abbrev. Placit.* 51 Hen. III: a law suit concerning the hospital lands at East Kennett. <sup>28</sup> Lambeth Misc. Roll 1453. “List of Clergy for an ecclesiastical visitation at Marlborough by Master Roger Churche, Doctor of Decrees, Commissioner for Cardinal Morton, sede Sarum vacante, 4th Nov., 1499. *W.A.M.* xxxvi, 557. <sup>29</sup> Clay: *op. cit.* 220, 221. <sup>30</sup> *Chamberlain's Accounts of the Borough of Marlborough*, 3 vols., (hereinafter called C.A.) I, *sub anno* 1577.

time the Hospital had outlived its usefulness. It was doomed by the Acts of 1545 and 1547 for dissolving chantries, free chapels, hospitals, and guilds. Such institutions as were in private hands were generally completely suppressed, but the Hospital of St. John in Marlborough, being in the hands of a corporate body, could reasonably expect to be retained in a modified form; <sup>31</sup> and so it is not surprising to find the burgesses of Marlborough petitioning Edward VI in 1548: "also there is an hospitall within Marlborowe (whereof the incumbente is ded) of clere yerely value of £7 16s. 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. wiche the sayd mayre and commons humbly desyre the kingis highnes and his mooste honorable Councill to converte into a ffreescole for the inducement of youth within the same towne, and in the countrey next thereabout."<sup>32</sup> The burgesses had to part with their valuable service of pewter, which had been handed down from mayor to mayor, in order to get their request.<sup>33</sup> And so in 1550 the old Hospital building became a school.

The second source of the new school's endowment was the Jesus service in St. Peter's and St. Mary's churches, services in many places called the "morrow mass" and evidence of popular religious enthusiasm in the early sixteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The Jesus service at St. Peter's, held every Friday<sup>35</sup> at an altar supposedly on the south wall,<sup>36</sup> had been endowed on August 29th, 1519, by John Bowear, who bequeathed an annual gift of twenty shillings from a house called the Angel.<sup>37</sup> From the 1565 Survey Book we learn that the endowment had been increased on January 21st, 1521, by the gift of seven acres and a yardland called Stockamforde in West Bedwyn by John Barstaple of Marlborough, producing five shillings a year;<sup>38</sup> by John Blytheway's gift on August 1st, 1526, of a tenement in the Marsh Ward of an annual rental of sixteen shillings "toward the sustentacion of a chappelen in Jesus Service to the entent he and his friends might be prayed for evermoor",<sup>39</sup> and by William Serle's bequest on April 1st, 1527, of two tenements in Kingsbury Street of an annual value of seven shillings.<sup>40</sup> There was also a tenement called the Hermitage, with a garden called Moreforeste, of an annual value of 6s. 8d., attached to the service, but

<sup>31</sup> Clay: *op. cit.*, 235. <sup>32</sup> Chantry Certificate E 301/58/54 P.R.O.  
<sup>33</sup> Clay: *op. cit.*, 263 adds "'as hath byn credibly reported' says a book formerly belonging to the Chamber". The nature and whereabouts of this book are unknown. <sup>34</sup> cf. Gasquet: *Parish Life in Medieval England*, London, 1906, 142, 143. <sup>35</sup> The Will of William Serle (below) contains the phrase "if the priest recited not his name every fryday".  
<sup>36</sup> cf. *W.A.M.* xxxvi, 578. <sup>37</sup> "The booke of all souche landes as are belonging to the maior and burgesses off the towne and boroughe off Marleboroughe, made in the seventhe yeare of the reigne of oure sovereigne lady quene Elizabeth" in possession of the Marlborough Corporation (hereinafter called *Survey Book*) 1565. <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

this did not come to the School, for it was bequeathed on December 4th, 1550, to the poor of St. Peter's by the last priest, John Birdseye, an old man of sixty-seven, "a very honest poore man, albeit not able to serve a cure by reason of his age, and hath none other living but this service only".<sup>41</sup>

The Jesus service in St. Mary's was endowed by the gift of William Serle, dated 1st April, 1527, of three tenements, two of which were in the Green Ward, and the third, called the Kyllyngehouse, in Kingsbury Street, the three producing four shillings a year.<sup>42</sup> Nothing further is known of this service, though it seems probable that the same priest officiated at both St. Peter's and St. Mary's.

The total value of the endowments of the Jesus service in St. Peter's was given in 1548 as 107*s.* 4*d.* and of the goods and ornaments as 4*s.* 2*d.*,<sup>43</sup> the goods being "a masse boke and payre of vestments of grene satten a Bruges; one corporas cloth case, with a cloth; two alter clothes; a payre of candel stykes; two paxes; and a bell." All these were sold as one among thirty-seven lots by the Crown agents, Walter Mildmay and Robert Keilway, to T. Chaffyne of Mere on June 15th, 1548.<sup>44</sup> The value of the Jesus service in St. Mary's in 1548 was 25*s.* 4*d.*<sup>45</sup>

The Letters Patent founding the School, which were once in the possession of the Mayor and burgesses of Marlborough, have been lost, but all the relevant details are given in the Patent Roll.<sup>46</sup> On October 18th, 1550, Edward VI, in consideration of the sum of £61 6*s.* 8*d.*,<sup>47</sup> paid to the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the Crown in the legal money of England, gave and conceded to the Mayor and burgesses of Marleborough, alias Marlebrige, alias Merleberghe, in the County of Wilts, and their heirs, executors and

<sup>41</sup> Chantry Certificate. E 301/58/47 P.R.O. <sup>42</sup> Survey Book, 1565.

<sup>43</sup> Chantry Certificate E 301/58/47. Canon Christopher Wordsworth, *W.A.M.* xxxvi, 566—7, is in error. He omits five items in the St. Peter's Chantry Certificate with the result that he cannot account for the total income of 107*s.* 4*d.*; he gives the value of the goods and ornaments as 104*s.* 2*d.* instead of 4*s.* 2*d.*; and he was apparently unaware of the Chantry Certificate for the Jesus Service in St. Mary's.

<sup>44</sup> *W.A.M.* xxii, 319—329; xxxvi, 579. <sup>45</sup> Chantry Certificate E 301/58/52. <sup>46</sup> Patent Roll 4 Ed. VI, part 3 (C 66/828) m. 9. <sup>47</sup> The total annual value of the Chantry lands in 1548 was £6 12*s.* 8*d.* But the Hermitage was bequeathed before the foundation of the School to the poor of St. Peter's. Its annual value is given as 6*s.* 8*d.*, but in the Survey Book 1565 it was given as 10*s.* It is suggested that when the value of the Chantry lands was assessed in 1550 this 10*s.* was deducted from £6 12*s.* 8*d.* This gave an assumed annual value of £6 2*s.* 8*d.* The Mayor and Burgesses paid £61 6*s.* 8*d.*, which they regarded as ten years' purchase of the Chantry lands.



administrators, all those messuages, tenements, buildings and gardens which were formerly used for the support of the Jesus service in the parish churches of St. Peter and the Blessed Virgin in Marlborough; and also the whole of the Hospital of St. John in Marlborough, and all the lands at Marlborough, Nanton,<sup>48</sup> Mildenhall, Kennet, Okeborne (alias Ogbourne) and Elcote, which formerly belonged to the said Hospital, and which came to the Crown by virtue of the act for dissolving chantries, colleges, guilds and fraternities, passed at Westminster in the first year of the reign, and which were of the clear annual value of £14 17s. 8d.;<sup>49</sup> to be held of the King, his heirs and successors, as of the Manor of Woodstock in the County of Oxford, in like fealty, in free socage and not in chief. And the said Mayor and burgesses were given full power and authority to erect a Grammar School in the aforesaid town of Marlborough and to make suitable and wholesome ordinances and statutes in writing for the government, direction and order of the schoolmaster of the said school for the time being, and also of the scholars of the same school, and other things touching or concerning the school.

The appointment of the schoolmaster was vested perpetually in the head of the Somerset family, who for over a hundred years had held the office of hereditary ranger, warden or seneschal of the King's Forest of Savernake, owning the family mansion of Wolfhall, the Castle of Marlborough with the manor of Barton, and Aldbourne Chase. In the early sixteenth century the wardenship was held by that Sir John Seymour who is buried at Great Bedwyn. He was the father of Jane Seymour, Henry VIII's third wife and mother of Edward VI, and of Edward Seymour, who was created Earl of Hertford, and later Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England.<sup>50</sup> Thus when the young Edward VI approved the petition of the burgesses of Marlborough for the foundation of a Grammar School, it is not surprising to find that by the Letters Patent it was provided that the King's uncle, Edward, Duke of Somerset, and his heirs were to have the right of appointing the master in the said school as often as that office should be void.

Thus in 1550 through the efforts of the burgesses, and the interest of the Duke of Somerset, the School came into existence in the buildings of the old Hospital, and was supported by its endowments.

<sup>48</sup> i.e. Manton. <sup>49</sup> i.e. the annual value of the Hospital lands £8 15s. 0d., together with the assumed annual value of the Chantry lands £6 2s. 8d. <sup>50</sup> Waylen: *A History Military and Municipal of the Town (otherwise called the city) of Marlborough*, London 1854, 141, 142

## II BEGINNINGS.

The precise date when teaching began cannot be ascertained; in 1565 the building was still generally known as the hospital but was occasionally called the house;<sup>1</sup> by 1572 it was always called the school.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gyll, the first Master of the School of whom we have any record, is mentioned in the first year of the Chamberlain's Accounts, 1572,<sup>3</sup> as receiving an annual salary of £13 6s. 8d.,<sup>4</sup> a stipend well above the £6 or £7 normally paid to Masters of Grammar Schools and Fellows of Colleges at this period. He found it necessary to repair his dilapidated school house in 1573, and the Corporation granted him twenty shillings towards his expenses.<sup>5</sup> His successor, Mr. Coggyne, who came in 1575,<sup>6</sup> tried to prop up the schoolhouse in the next year at a cost of 12*d.*, and arranged for the smith to fix two strengthening irons; but a few months later he had to spend 8*d.* for "six days work for two men to cart the earthe and stone at the scholehouse wall that fell downe".<sup>7</sup>

And so in 1577 and 1578 the old Hospital building was demolished and a new School House erected at a total cost of £112.<sup>8</sup> A collection in the town produced 46s. 7½*d.*,<sup>9</sup> and Mr. Doctor Spencer, who probably lived at Wroughton and whose family was connected with Corpus Christi College, Oxford,<sup>10</sup> gave twenty shillings.<sup>11</sup>

Materials began to arrive—sifted earth at 8*d.* a load, lime and sand, lathes and hurdles, and a few bricks. Masons at a shilling a day, labourers at eightpence, and an old man at sevenpence, built the walls. Walter the carpenter received his £12 in instalments as he laid floors and fitted doors, and fenced the "half parc" on to which the main school window looked. Seventy feet of glass were bought for thirty-five shillings and "two lbs. of lathe nailes to naile up the glasse" for fourpence. "Pore old women" were paid twelve pence for the moss which they brought to Brush, the tyler, and his men, who, when they had finished the roof, were paid six shillings "for seelinge the inner

<sup>1</sup> "Chieffe quitte rentes belonginge to the house of St. Johnes" in Survey Book 1565. The phrase "house of St. John" was common and usually indicated a house for travellers. Clay, *op. cit.*, 250. <sup>2</sup> C.A. I, *passim*. <sup>3</sup> C.A. I, *s.a.* 1572. <sup>4</sup> This appears to bear some relation to the income of the Foundation in 1550, viz., £14 17s. 8*d.* <sup>5</sup> C.A. I, *s.a.* 1573. <sup>6</sup> C.A. I, *s.a.* 1575: "for one half year". <sup>7</sup> C.A. I, *s.a.* 1576. <sup>8</sup> C.A. I, *s.a.* 1577. <sup>9</sup> C.A. I, *s.a.* 1578. <sup>10</sup> On 7th May 1579 a certain John Spencer, aged 19, already reader in Greek, was admitted to a fellowship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appropriated to natives of Wilts, and in 1607 became President. He came from Suffolk and how he acquired his Wiltshire residential qualification is unknown. In 1617 Christopher Spencer, "famulus praesidis" mentions in his will his brother at Wroughton; therein he made bequests to the sons of Mr. Doctor Spencer. *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* I, 245—248. <sup>11</sup> Through George Smith. C.A. *s.a.* 1578.

side of the scholehouse". The minimum of furniture was provided—"two table bordes for the scholehouse and for making trestles for the same and for setting them up . . . 7s. 4d."<sup>12</sup> There is no indication when the School first used "scobs"—hinged lockers used as seats, which were characteristic of Marlborough and Winchester<sup>13</sup>—but it must have been early, for replacement of the existing set was necessary in 1660.<sup>14</sup> A lock and key (6d.) for the door,<sup>15</sup> a bucket (6d.) for the well,<sup>16</sup> and clock (12d.) for the schoolroom<sup>17</sup> completed the initial equipment. A certain amount of tidying up had to be done. "Two toppes of trees that laid in the scholehouse" were sold for 22d.,<sup>18</sup> and the churchwardens of St. Mary's agreed to pay £4 for surplus freestone for paving the chancel of their church in 1583.<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Coggynes died in the latter half of 1582,<sup>20</sup> and his widow was presented with 6s. 8d. by the Corporation on her departure from the town.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Evans (1583—1594)<sup>22</sup> succeeded. The Common Council had built their School without a chimney, thereby taking little notice of their own ordinance of 1575:

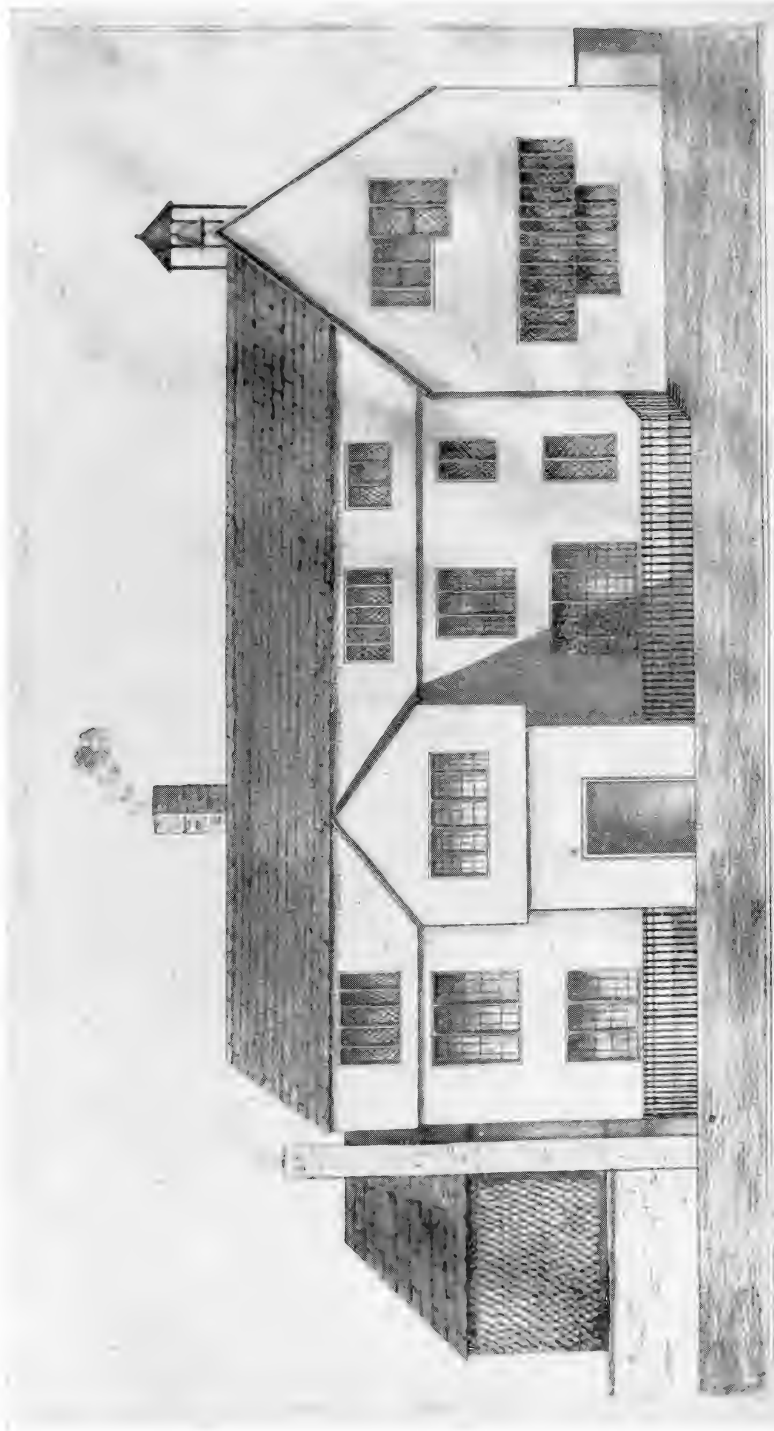
"Item it is farther ordered and decreed that . . . if any inhabitant shall make or keep his fyre in a dangerous place, or dangerously without a chymney without redressing thereof being sufficiently warned, that evry such offender shall forfeyt to the use of the Chamber of the said borough xxs., and if such offender shall not be able to satisfy the same, they to suffer imprysonment at the pleasure of the mayor for the tyme being".<sup>23</sup>

In 1587 the Council remedied the defect by building a chimney at a cost of forty shillings with a further eight shillings for a mantelpiece, and had the walls plastered.<sup>24</sup> Thereafter for fifty years, during the masterships of Mr. Wydley (1595—1598),<sup>25</sup> Mr. Hemerford (1599—1602),<sup>26</sup> Mr. Arthur Hearne (1602—1611),<sup>27</sup> and Mr. Smith (1612—1633),<sup>28</sup> no structural alterations were made to the building except

<sup>12</sup> Details from C.A. I, s.a. 1577, 1578. <sup>13</sup> cf. *W.A.M.* xxx, 269; Wright: *English Dialect Dictionary* London, 1904, V, 253. <sup>14</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1660. <sup>15</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1580. <sup>16</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1578. <sup>17</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1584. <sup>18</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1580. <sup>19</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1585. <sup>20</sup> C.A. I, s.a. "for the time of his being schoolmaster. £11 13s. 4d.". <sup>21</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1582. <sup>22</sup> His name first occurs C.A. I, s.a. 1588. <sup>23</sup> The Orders, Decrees and Ordinances of the Borough and Town of Marlborough: roll of parchment comprising 16 sheets stitched together; transcribed by B. H. Cunningham, *Devizes* 1929; (hereinafter called *Orders and Decrees*) XIV. <sup>24</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1587. <sup>25</sup> Name given C.A. I, s.a. 1595. <sup>26</sup> Name first given C.A. I, s.a. 1599; last mention C.A. I, s.a. 1602; "for the first quarter" ? B.A. St. John's College, Oxford, 1594—5, Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses*; Vicar of Purton 1601; Foster, *Index Ecclesiasticus*. <sup>27</sup> Rector of St. Peter's, Marlborough, 1611—1630. <sup>28</sup> Name first given C.A. I, s.a. 1612; last mention C.A. I, s.a. 1633; "three quarters".



PLATE I.



*The Free Grammar School at Marlborough. Architect, R. D. Lloyd Jones, Esq. 1840.*

THE SCHOOL BUILDING, 1578—1790, North Front.

"the lofting of a chamber" in 1622 at a cost of forty shillings,<sup>29</sup> and expenditure was limited to thatching and cleansing the privies, sweeping the chimney, frequent and costly re-glazing of the windows, mending the locks, limewashing and "sweeping the School overhead",<sup>30</sup> and repairing the hedge between the School close and the adjoining almshouse.<sup>31</sup> And new equipment was confined to a "grate weighing 49lbs.", a useful installation bought from Looker the blacksmith in 1633 for fourteen shillings,<sup>32</sup> "a liste of bords and nails and pynnes" for clothes pegs,<sup>33</sup> and the occasional purchase of an hour-glass.<sup>34</sup>

From a drawing made in the eighteenth century<sup>35</sup> it is possible to obtain an accurate picture of the School building. The rectangular schoolroom ran from north to south, with its shorter side, well lighted by an upper and lower set of windows, abutting the roadway. It was a lofty building with its rafters uncovered and its walls plastered, and was surmounted by a slated and open turret protecting the bell.<sup>36</sup> The Master's house ran eastwards from the schoolroom and at right angles to it, and was divided into two equal parts by a projecting porch, which protected the main door and which had a small square room built above it (1623?).<sup>37</sup> The house was three-storeyed with its staircase built between the Master's quarters and the schoolroom. The ground floor contained the Master's living rooms, the first floor his bedrooms, and the top floor the boys' dormitories. The schoolroom itself was unheated, for the main chimney (1587)<sup>38</sup> was built centrally at the back of the Master's house, and the second chimney (1629)<sup>39</sup> in the brewhouse (re-built 1687),<sup>40</sup> which adjoined the eastern end of the house. The whole building was slated (1578 and 1660)<sup>41</sup> and well lighted by leaded windows, and the Master's sitting-rooms were separated from the road by a row of palings each side of the main door. The well, fitted with a pump in 1677,<sup>42</sup> and the thatched earth closets<sup>43</sup> were in the rear. The playground and the Master's garden were bounded by earth walls (1652),<sup>44</sup> which were replaced in 1691 by 78 feet of freestone, for which the Corporation paid £4 4s. 6d. and which John Tanner erected at a charge of £9 18s. 6d.,<sup>45</sup> and on the southern side by the Town Mill water, which required periodical weeding.<sup>46</sup> The playground was thus so low lying that it had to be ditched and kept from flooding by the frequent addition of loads of earth.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>29</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1622. <sup>30</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1617. <sup>31</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1633. <sup>32</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1633. The family kept the forge at the ford until recently. <sup>33</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1618. <sup>34</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1620. <sup>35</sup> Plate I. <sup>36</sup> Was this the hospital bell? There is no entry in C.A. I. <sup>37</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1623. <sup>38</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1587. <sup>39</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1629. <sup>40</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1687; "new building the School brewhouse £4". <sup>41</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1578: 1660; "new slating the School house £5 8s. 6d.". <sup>42</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1677. <sup>43</sup> cf. C.A. I, s.a. 1585, 1590, etc. <sup>44</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1652 "mud walls". <sup>45</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1691. <sup>46</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1649. <sup>47</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1640.

We have no certain information about the number of boys in the School at this time, but the entry in 1601 "to the schollers at the free schole 12d"<sup>48</sup> suggests a dozen, while a similar gift in 1611 of 3s. 4d.<sup>49</sup> probably indicates an increase to 40; for we know that at this period the School was expanding. The leaving age was certainly not higher than sixteen and probably in many cases appreciably less. In 1603 "a table conteyning the School Orders" was purchased for 18d.,<sup>50</sup> was repaired in 1637 at a cost of 8d.,<sup>51</sup> and was renewed in 1647<sup>52</sup> and 1659.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately no trace of these first Orders of the School can be found.

School work was based on the trivium of the medieval educational curriculum, which meant, with the decline of logic as a school subject, a thorough grounding in Latin grammar, preparatory to the university study of the quadrivium. This emphasis upon Latin grammar as the most important school subject, accompanied by the study of Latin authors, was for the essentially practical purpose of giving the boys control over the medium of the culture of their own and preceding days. The boy then proceeded to the writing of themes on an approved pattern—commending his set subject (exordium), stating fully its contents (narratio), justifying it (confirmatio), refuting objections (confutatio), and finally stating his conclusions (conclusio). And then came rhetoric, the crown of school classical studies in the early seventeenth century, the writing and delivery of a speech in Latin.<sup>54</sup>

We can get some idea of the education given in the School at this early period from the catalogue of the Old Library.<sup>55</sup> In 1901 it still contained 34 books published before 1650, and though it is possible that some may have been presented later, they give a picture of the curriculum in the early seventeenth century. Only one book can be definitely assigned to the Library before 1650—J. Minsheu's *Guide into the Tongues* (London 1617), which was "bought of Mr. Clarke, pastor of St. Maries Church, 1583—1643". But the most interesting was Despautère's *Universa Grammatica* (London 1594), the general grammatical treatise, in Latin verse, which on the continent replaced the old *Doctrinale* as Lyly's *Primer* replaced it in England. The study of language was further represented by Godenius: *Observationes Linguae Latinae* (Frankfort 1601); by Budaeus: *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (Paris 1529); by Buxtorf: *Lexicon Hebraicum* (Basle 1639); and by

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<sup>48</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1601; "12th December". <sup>49</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1611.  
<sup>50</sup> C.A. s.a. 1603. <sup>51</sup> C.A. s.a. 1637. <sup>52</sup> C.A. s.a. 1647. <sup>53</sup> C.A. s.a. 1659. <sup>54</sup> cf. Foster Watson; *English Grammar Schools, passim*. <sup>55</sup> In July 1903 the Governors of the School sold the 326 volumes which formed the School Library to J. E. S. Tuckett, an assistant master at Marlborough College. In 1901 Canon Christopher Wordsworth had catalogued the books then in the Library. This catalogue was found in 1944, and is now in the Adderley Library of Marlborough College.

the *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Talmudi et Arabic* (Hanover, 1612). Of more than usual significance in view of Italian influences in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was a first edition of Florio's Italian dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (Blount, London, 1598).

While there was no early copy of Quintilian extant in 1901, the approach to oratory can be illustrated by Clenard: *Institutiones sive Meditationes in Graecam Linguam* (Frankfort 1590); by Nizolius: *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* (Basle 1595); by Alsted: *Thesaurus Chronologicus* (Herbonae Nassivorum 1628); and by Lambinus: *Commentarii in Aeschinam et Demosthenem adversus Ctesephontem* (Paris 1564). Texts were represented by Homer (Froben of Basle 1559), Isocrates (Cologne 1618), Xenophon (Paris 1581), Plutarch (Frankfort 1620), Lucian (Basle 1563), Pliny (Geneva 1625), Plautus (Elzevir 1652), and Justinian's *Institutes* (1574).

Ancient history was covered by Dempster: *Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum* (Paris 1613), and by Herodianus: *Historia Graeco-latina* (Paris 1581). There were copies of the Old Testament in Hebrew and of the New Testament in Greek (Plantin of Antwerp 1584), and of the whole Bible in Latin (Amsterdam 1596). English Literature was represented solely by Camden's *Britannia* (London 1637) and Raleigh's *History of the World* (London 1614). Thus the curriculum consisted entirely of the study of the classics and led naturally to oratory.

It speaks well for the early Masters of the School that the writing and public declamation of a speech became possible in 1611<sup>56</sup> and continued yearly at the Mayor's election throughout Mr. Smith's Master-ship until 1631.<sup>57</sup> Ten shillings was paid for it out of the Borough funds, and an entry in 1631 suggest that two shillings went to the boy and eight shillings to the schoolmaster under whose guidance it was written.<sup>58</sup>

Such speech-making must have been fostered in part by the local performances of licensed players who, in the greatest age of the English drama, brought some of its spirit to the Marlborough Guildhall. For year by year from 1587—1622 the Chamberlain made a grant of from ten to twenty shillings to one or more groups of players. There seems to have been a Puritan element in the Common Council which objected to stage performances, for the Roll of Orders of the Borough of Marlborough contains the following decree, dated September 24th, 1602:

"Item yt is ordered and agreed by the assent and consent aforesaid that from hencefourth no licence be geven by any of the Chief officers of the said burrough nor the playenge or usinge of any Stage playes or enterluds be from hencefourth permitted or suffered to be used or acted in the said Guildhall".<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1611. <sup>57</sup> Thereafter entries cease until C.A. I, s.a. 1670.

<sup>58</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1631. <sup>59</sup> *Orders and Decrees*, XLVIII.



But the players must have then gone elsewhere,<sup>60</sup> for the only gaps were 1592—3, 1604—5, and 1610—12 when there were severe outbreaks of the plague in Marlborough.<sup>61</sup> Attendance at such dramatic performances,<sup>62</sup> for the admission fee was but nominal, must have familiarised the boys with the plays of the University Wits, and of Marlowe and Shakespeare, and given them a mastery of their own language. The decline of the companies of players, who were monarchists in politics and conformists in religion, was due to the growth of the Parliamentary party and of Puritanism in the boroughs; for, to the Puritan, play and plague were closely associated: "to play in plague time increases the plague by infection, to play out of plague time calls down the plague from God". And Marlborough was rapidly becoming a Puritan stronghold, and two of the School's old boys were to join its champions in London.

For Mr. Smith had as his pupils two of the sons of the Rev. Joseph Sedgewick, the Vicar of Ogbourne St. Andrew, Obadiah (1600—57) and John (1601—43), who linked the School with the political and religious disputes of the early seventeenth century. There was a striking similarity about their careers.<sup>63</sup> Both were "educated in grammar learning" at the Marlborough Free School; both proceeded to The Queen's College, Oxford, and almost immediately transferred to Magdalen Hall; and both after ordination worked with much opposition in London, Obadiah as a lecturer at St. Mildred's, Bread Street, and Vicar of Coggeshall, and John as a curate to his brother and Rector of St. Alphege, London Wall, and of Cripplegate. Both were violently opposed to episcopacy. It was said of Obadiah that on hot days "he used to unbutton his doublet in the pulpit, that his breath might be the longer, and his voice more audible to rail against the King's Party"; and of John that he "was a violent preacher to the soldiers, to bring them into miseries and confusion, and to bring them at length in civil warr, the cutting of throates, resting away estates, and the murder and

<sup>60</sup> Tradition says, to Knapton's yard off the upper side of the High Street, probably at that date an inn-yard. <sup>61</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1593; many entries s.a. 1603—"money given by Ladie Wroughton 6s., King's bounty £20, from Ogbourne St. Andrew 5s., collected in the town £16 18s."; s.a. 1604; s.a. 1609, 1610. <sup>62</sup> The players were: Leicester's, 1587; Beauchamp's, 1590—1; Lord Admiral's, 1590; Queen's, 1590, 1598, 1609, 1613, 1614, 1616, 1617, 1620; the late Queen's, 1621, 1622; Worcester's, 1591; Lord Chamberlain's, 1594, 1597; Chandos's, 1596, 1603; Pembroke's, 1600; Hertford's, 1606; King's, 1603, 1618; Lady Elizabeth's, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1619, 1621, 1622; Dudley's, 1613; Prince Charles', 1615, 1617, 1620, 1621, 1622; Suffolk's, 1617; unnamed, 1587, 1601, C.A. I, s.a.p. <sup>63</sup> Wood, ed. Bliss: *Athenæ Oxonienses* III, 65, 443; *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereinafter called *D.N.B.*) XVII, 1121, 1122; Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses*.

banishment of princes". Obadiah was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines,<sup>64</sup> and John a member of a sub-committee for the advancement of money to carry on the war against the King. Both became chaplains to regiments.<sup>65</sup> John died in 1643, but Obadiah, who had married Priscilla Goddard at Ogbourne St. Andrew in 1638, after eight years as Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, returned to Marlborough to die, a wealthy man, in 1657, and to be buried in Ogbourne St. Andrew beside his father, "not with his head toward the east, but toward the south, because there wanted room to lay his body otherwise".

It was a local tragedy that Mr. Smith who had brought the School to such a high standard, should find his work rewarded by dismissal. For the Marlborough Orders contain the following entry on September 28th, 1633 :

"Item yt is ordered enacted consented and agreed on by the Mayor and Burgesses viz by the Comon Councell of this Corporacon with an unanimous consent (nullo contradicente) That Mr. Smith now schoolmaster of the grama schoole (for diverse misdemeanors now laid unto his charge and for which he was this present day convented before the said Comon Councell) shall no longer contynue schoolmaster of the said schoole then untill the feast day of the Annunciacon of the blessed Virgin Mary next cominge. fforasmuch as uppou Councell had concerning this order yt is questionable whither by vertue of this order the schoolmaster be legally removed, yt is therefore by the mutuall assents of the right honorable Willm Earle of Hertford, Lord of this burrough, and of the Mayor and Burgesses of the same burrough agreed that this order shall be no way prejudiciall either to the said Earle or his heires or unto the said Mayor and Burgesses. (Signed), Will Hertforde".<sup>66</sup>

The Mayor and Burgesses got their way; the Earl of Hertford received from them sixty pounds of sugar<sup>67</sup>—twice his annual present; and Mr. Smith, who received the Council's decision by special messenger,<sup>68</sup> compensated by a gift of £30 from the Chamberlain's funds,<sup>69</sup> retired to die in the next year and be buried in St. Mary's, Marlborough, where the entry in the Register is dated November 26th, 1634.

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<sup>64</sup> Other local members were Nicholas Proffet of St. Peter's Marlborough (whose son after five years at the Grammar School was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1655), Thomas Bayly of Manningford Bruce and Henry Scudder of Collingbourne. Calamy: *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (revised by Palmer), London 1774. 2nd ed. 3 vols. London 1802, I, 7, 8. <sup>65</sup> Obadiah to Col. Hollis's, and John to the Earl of Stamford's regiment. Calamy, *op. cit.* I, 10. <sup>66</sup> *Orders and Decrees*, LV; <sup>67</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1633. <sup>68</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1633. <sup>69</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1633.

It is clear that in the early seventeenth century the Corporation were in continual dispute with the Earl of Hertford; <sup>70</sup> and in 1637 they became involved in a Chancery suit with John Martin, the Master of the Grammar School appointed by the Earl in 1633.<sup>71</sup> For a Chancery decree of 11th November, 1637, tells us that Mr. Martin claimed that King Edward VI granted to the Mayor, etc., chantry lands to the yearly value of £6. 2s. 8d. at ten years' purchase and hospital lands to the yearly value of £8 15s. freely towards the erection of a school; accordingly a school was founded and 20 marks <sup>72</sup> yearly allowed to the then schoolmaster. The lands, he said, were in 1637 worth £100 yearly at the least, but the defendants refused to increase the Master's salary. The Lord Keeper decided that all the hospital lands ought to have been employed for the schoolmaster's maintenance and appointed a commission to find out the hospital's lands and their true value, to appoint an augmentation of the Master's maintenance, and to make other orders for settling the said school.<sup>73</sup>

The Commissioners were entertained at a cost of £3 14s. 10d. by the Corporation <sup>74</sup> and the Town Clerk was paid £42 6s. 6d. for his expenses.<sup>75</sup> No schedule of the hospital lands was apparently drawn up, but on 14th February, 1638, a further decree was made. Upon the report of the Commissioners it was agreed by the Lord Keeper that the defendants should pay the plaintiff £30 for his costs and should henceforth pay the schoolmaster £30 yearly for his stipend and keep in repair the school, schoolhouse and appurtenances as they had usually done. It being alleged that the schoolmaster neglected the children of townsmen and did not have that regard to them as to the children of country gentlemen and other foreigners, the Lord Keeper wished the schoolmaster to take notice of this complaint, and if it were just to reform the wrong. The Commissioners' other orders were to be submitted to the Bishop of the diocese, who would certify his opinion of them to the Lord Keeper.<sup>76</sup>

Thus Mr. Martin had won his case but did not live to enjoy his increased salary.<sup>77</sup> This Chancery suit is interesting primarily for its reference to the growth of the boarding element in the School, for it was not unusual at this period for the day grammar schools catering for the boys of a restricted locality to convert themselves into boarding schools serving a wider area and attracting the sons of country gentlemen.<sup>78</sup> There may therefore be some substance in the tradition that

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<sup>70</sup> C. A. I, s.a. 1622, 1626; Order LV of 1633. <sup>71</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1633: "his quarteridge due at Michaelmas". <sup>72</sup> i.e. £13 6s. 8d. <sup>73</sup> John Martin, Schoolmaster of Marlborough v. the Mayor and Burgesses of Marlborough. C 133/174 fol. 190 P.R.O., <sup>74</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1639. <sup>75</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1639. <sup>76</sup> John Martin, Schoolmaster of Marlborough v. The Mayor and Burgesses of Marlborough. C 133/174 fol. 361 P.R.O. <sup>77</sup> He was buried at St. Mary's, Marlborough 16th Mar. 1837/8. <sup>78</sup> cf. J. B. Mullinger: *English Grammar Schools*, in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VII, 336.

among their number at the School was Sir James Long (1617—1692) of Draycott,<sup>79</sup> who commanded a royalist regiment in the Civil War, in which he was captured by Cromwell and of which he wrote a now lost history.

Mr. Martin was succeeded by Mr. Prior (1638—47)<sup>80</sup> and by Mr. Jacob North (1648—1658),<sup>81</sup> of whom little is recorded. Fortunately the School house, which had been repaired in 1638<sup>82</sup>, was untouched by the great fire of 1653 which destroyed practically all the houses on both sides of the High Street from St. Peter's Church, which escaped, to St. Mary's, which was seriously damaged.

But with the Restoration official interest in the School was renewed. This is probably accounted for by the fact that in 1663 ten of the twelve members of the Common Council were replaced by men of royalist sympathies.<sup>83</sup>

The Common Council was particularly considerate to Mr. Welch (1659—1669). He had to be relieved for part of 1662 by a Mr. Taylor;<sup>84</sup> in 1663 more than half his quarter's salary was paid to his servant, Eleanor Prist;<sup>85</sup> and in 1668 he was assisted by a Mr. Symons;<sup>86</sup> and when he found himself unable to continue as Master, he was employed as an assistant (1669—1673) at £10 a year,<sup>87</sup> deducted from the salary of his successor, Mr. Abraham Power (1669—1672, buried at St. Mary's April 19th, 1672), who had originally come temporarily to carry on the School in an emergency in 1668.

Money was now again spent on the School. In 1660 the roof was renewed, one guinea was spent for "setting up a new rank of scobs", and Holbrook, the well-known Marlborough blacksmith, did the iron work involved in the making of a new front door.<sup>88</sup> From 1668 to 1670 over £110 was spent on repairs, during which the schoolmaster for a time apparently lived elsewhere.<sup>89</sup> It was apparently customary for the schoolmaster or the boys to buy such books as were necessary or to rely on presentations, for the early town accounts contain only one such item—for binding two books in 1647<sup>90</sup>—but a dictionary (18s.) was presented to the School in 1670,<sup>91</sup> a service book was bought for 16s. in 1675,<sup>92</sup> and in 1678 William Lester was paid £2 15s. for work

<sup>79</sup> Carlisle: *Endowed Grammar Schools*, London 1818, II, 745. <sup>80</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1638, 1646. <sup>81</sup> Named yearly in C.A. I. Married 24th Mar., 1655/6 in St. Mary's, Marlborough, to Elizabeth Crapon, widow. Phillimore and Sadler: *Wiltshire Parish Registers*, 1906, London, II, 79. The transcriptions were made by E. Ll. Gwillim, an old boy of the School. <sup>82</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1638. <sup>83</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.* 331. <sup>84</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1662. <sup>85</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1663. <sup>86</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1668. <sup>87</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1669—1672: £7 10s. 0d. only in 1673. <sup>88</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1660. <sup>89</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1668; "Mr. Power's rent, £1 13s. 10d." <sup>90</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1647. <sup>91</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1670. <sup>92</sup> C.A. I s.a. 1675.

at the Library.<sup>93</sup> Chains were purchased for the dictionaries in 1679.<sup>94</sup>

And a series of small incidents indicate a friendly spirit. The Justices took wine at the School in 1660,<sup>95</sup> and in 1672 the Corporation made a gift of wine to the Master.<sup>96</sup> The coronation in 1661 was celebrated by a gift of twelve pounds of figs to the boys.<sup>97</sup> Ribbons were purchased for the schoolboys at a cost of £1 3s. 9d. in 1676, and two shillings was given to the Master's maids.<sup>98</sup> And in 1670 the annual speech at the Mayor's election was resumed and rewarded by a gift of five shillings.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1678. This item may, however, refer to St. Mary's Library. <sup>94</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1679. <sup>95</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1660. <sup>96</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1679; "His Grace, 16s., the bishop, 13s., the schoolmaster, 5s." <sup>97</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1661. <sup>98</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1676. <sup>99</sup> In a few years the boy's name is given: 1670 John Webb; 1671, Jeremiah Williams; 1676, Paris; 1677, Walter Shropshire; 1678, Grinfield; C.A. I, s.a.p.

## III.

## BACKGROUND FOR THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The last quarter of the seventeenth century was a period of vital importance in the history of the School, for, in the first place, Saverake Forest passed in 1676 from the Seymours to the Bruces, when Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, married Anne, sister and heiress of William Seymour, Duke of Somerset. This connection was at first a personal one, if we accept the tradition that Thomas Bruce (1655—1741) had himself been a boy in the School.<sup>1</sup> But his adherence to the cause of James II, his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and his participation in the plot of 1695, led to his retirement to Brussels in the following year, where he remained until his death.<sup>2</sup>

Thus from 1676 the nomination of the Master of Marlborough Grammar School was vested in the Ailesbury family, who soon secured dominance in the town, which became their pocket borough.<sup>3</sup> But they were successful over a period of two hundred years in appointing to the School a succession of Masters, each of whom served the School well for an average period of twenty-five years, and not one of whom failed in his task. Moreover, the Ailesbury family were patrons not only of Collingbourne Ducis and Great Bedwyn in Wiltshire but also of Maulden in Bedfordshire, and of West Tanfield and the more valuable rectory of Wath, near Ripon; it is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the next two hundred years they presented on occasion an old boy or a Master to one or other living.

Moreover a study of the Library catalogue suggests that its greatest expansion took place at the end of the seventeenth century, the period when the foundations of the School's prosperity were being laid; for it is apparent that at this time the School had a number of distinguished patrons. In 1685 T. Hunt, a senior member of the Corporation, gave Heyleyn's *Cosmography* (1677). In 1686 and 1687 the Corporation, represented by three of its senior members as given in the Court Books<sup>4</sup>—William Greenfield, Christopher Lipyeatt and T. Hunt—gave Skinner's *Etymologica Linguae Anglicanae* (1671), Blome's *Geographical Description of the World* (1670), and Helvicus's *Historical and Chronological Theatre* (1687). In 1687 Sam Jones, *Maecenas egregius* (as one inscription calls him) gave Lloyd's *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* (1686). In 1689 Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort, gave Howell's *Institution of General History of the World* (1680). G. Walker, "armiger Marlboroughensis", whose memorial tablet is in the chancel of Mildenhall Church, gave two volumes in 1691—Seaman's *Novum Testamentum Turcice* (1666) and his *Turcicae Linguae Grammatica* (1670). It is probably no

<sup>1</sup> Carlisle: *op. cit.* II, 745. <sup>2</sup> *D.N.B.* III, 132. <sup>3</sup> A Bruce represented Marlborough 1679—85, 1702—5, 1708—1715. (Waylen *op. cit.* 522—3).

<sup>4</sup> Marlborough Court Books 3, folio 100.

mere coincidence that these donations were made just at the time when Edward Pococke, a distinguished student of Hebrew and Arabic, and the son of a more distinguished orientalist, came to Mildenhall Rectory;<sup>5</sup> for he was interested in the School, to which his grandson later came. Soon after this Reuben Bourne, "armiger Margabergensis", who was buried at St. Mary's in 1695, gave Rycaut's *Turkish History* (1687), one of the five volumes of the old library still in the school's possession. Cornelius Yate, Vicar of St. Mary's 1677—1707 and Archdeacon of Wilts 1696—1720, the first Vicar of St. Mary's to enjoy the use of the Vicarial library presented to the Mayor and Corporation by William White of Pewsey, gave Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (Basle 1535) and Thucydides' *History* (1696). Other donations of this period came from the Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1689, Mrs. Bond of Ogbourne in 1691, Henry Levett, a physician of Exeter College, Oxford in 1696, and from Hollidge, a Bristol merchant. And in 1686 J. Watton, the assistant master, gave the earliest printed book in the library—Juvenal's *Satires*, printed by Simon Vincent at Lyons on 3rd October, 1523.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that these presentations consist mainly of geographical and historical works and include an English Dictionary from the Corporation—evidence of the wider curriculum which came, under the influence of dissenting academies, in the late seventeenth century.

At this time, too, the Corporation again became alive to its responsibilities. For on March 25th, 1678, the Mayor and Common Council exercised their right under the Letters Patent of 1550 to make new Rules and Orders "concerning the Government of the Schoolmaster and Scholars for the time being".<sup>7</sup> There can be no doubt they were actuated thereto by their dispute with John Butler who had been Master only since 1674.<sup>8</sup> On January 2nd, 1678, the Common Council made the following decision:

"It is ordered, enacted, consented and agreed on by the Mayor and Burgesses, vizt. by the Comon Councill of this Burrough and Corporacon, That John Butler clerke nowe scholemaster of the Gramar Schoole for divres misdemeanors laid to his charge and proved agst him uppon oath before the sd Mayor & Comon Councill shall noe longer contynue schoolmaster of the said Schoole then until the feast of the Annunciacon of the Blessed Virgin Marye now next comeinge".<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *D.N.B.* XVI, II. <sup>6</sup> All details from Library Catalogue. <sup>7</sup> "Rules and Orders, made by the Mayor and Common Council of the Borough and Town of Marlborough, in the County of Wilts, on the 25th Day of March in the Year of our Lord God, One Thousand six hundred and seventy eight, concerning the Government of the Schoolmaster and Scholars for the time being of the Free Grammar School of the said Town" (hereinafter called *Statutes*): (Copy made in early 19th century: original lost). <sup>8</sup> *C.A. I, s.a. 1674*: "half year's salary". <sup>9</sup> *Orders and Decrees LXXIII.*

The Master, appointed to his post by the Duke of Somerset, questioned the power of the Common Council to sit thus in judgment upon him, as one of his predecessors had done in 1633, for in the next entry on the roll, dated January 9th, 1678, we read :

“ Forasmuch as it now appears unto this Cort. vizt. the Mayor and Comon Councell of this Burrough that the above named John Butler the Schoolemaster of this Towne hath given out in speeches that he will trye the tytle of the said Mayor and Burgesses to the said school yt is nowe therefore adjudged ordered and consented and agreed that the said John Butler be for the reasons above said forthwith removed from the said Schoole and shall not be any longer schoolemaster there, but shall be removed from the said schoole and howse with the appurtenances . . . with all the speed that may be att the costs of the Chamber of this Burrough ”<sup>10</sup>

We do not know the cause of the dispute, but the Corporation got its way. John Butler was removed in 1678, but continued to live in the borough. But that feeling ran high for some time is clear, for on October 10th, 1679, a certain Francis Mundy, cheesemonger, was chased by the dispossessed schoolmaster, armed with a cane, from Poulton Hill to Portfields and thence to the old bowling-green near the Common.<sup>11</sup> John Butler, however, seems to have been given some responsibility for the almshouse, for on April 10th, 1678, the Corporation entered into an agreement with him for its rebuilding.<sup>12</sup>

Having removed the Master, the Mayor and burgesses now sought to exercise some control over his successors. The Master is to devote all his time to his work in the School for “ he shall not undertake any benefice or preach frequently abroad, nor use any employment that shall be an impediment to the discharge of his duty in the School ”.<sup>13</sup> The schoolmaster, it was stated, “ shall not be absent from the School above the space of one school day, at any one time, without leave first obtained from the Mayor for the time being ; and at such time as he shall have occasion to be longer absent, he shall signify to the Mayor how many days he will be absent.”<sup>14</sup> The Mayor is to be the Visitor of the School : “ the Mayor for the time being with such surveyors or visitors as he shall bring with him, shall visit the School twice a year, and after school exercise is performed by some of the scholars, the learned examiners who shall accompany the Mayor and other visitors, shall examine every class or form, and those scholars who shall be best approved shall receive a premium or reward not exceeding . . . ”.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* LXXIV. <sup>11</sup> Information by Francis Mundy taken by John Hawkins and Rolfe Baylye, 10th Oct., 1679. <sup>12</sup> Waylen *op. cit.* 467. Entries in C.A. I, *s.a.* 1679. <sup>13</sup> *Statutes* 2. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 9. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 11 : no amount stated. This generosity seems to have been shortlived, for there are but three entries in C.A. I,—*s.a.* 1680 : “ To 10 schollers 10s.” ; *s.a.* 1681 : “ To the schollers 11s.” ; *s.a.* 1683 : “ gave away at the Schoole by order 30s.”.



Moreover, "the Mayor for the time being shall send one of the surveyors of the School, once a month at least, to see that the schoolmaster be diligent in his place".<sup>16</sup> The Master's power of expulsion was to be subject to Mayoral approval.<sup>17</sup> And if any boy felt that he was not placed in school order "according to his proceeding in learning and without partiality", there was a right of appeal to the Mayor or visitors.<sup>18</sup> Every November "the schoolmaster for the time being shall take care that some one of his senior scholars shall yearly and every year, on the day the Mayor is sworn in, in the open street before the Mayor's door, immediately after the Mayor is sworn, make an oration in Greek<sup>19</sup> or Latin, or both, unto the Mayor and his brethren"<sup>20</sup> And week by week the whole School was reminded of the Mayor's authority, for "every scholar shall on every Lord's Day, both morning and afternoon, so soon as the sermon bell begins to ring, repair to the schoolmaster's house, and from thence attend their Master unto the Mayor's house, and from thence repair in order, with their Master unto the church to which the Mayor shall go, and there demean themselves soberly and orderly, during the whole time of Divine Service and Sermon".<sup>21</sup>

The Marlborough Council at this period was markedly royalist and Anglican. On August 6th, 1678, it had been decreed that no member of the Common Council, burgess or freeman, should permit his wife, children or servant to "resort unto or frequent any Conventicles or unlawfull Assemblies to be had or kept within this Burrough or elsewhere",<sup>22</sup> and on September 26th, 1679, the one nonconforming member of the Corporation, Francis Penstone, was removed.<sup>23</sup> Hence it is not surprising to find the Corporation emphasising that the School is to be Anglican.

The Master himself "shall be a man sound in the Protestant religion; owned and professed in the Church of England, of a sober and blameless conversation".<sup>24</sup> The School day shall "begin with the prayer established in the Liturgy in the morning, and so end with the like prayer in the evening";<sup>25</sup> and daily at one o'clock "there shall be a chapter of the Bible read whereunto every scholar shall give diligent heed and attention, every one having his Bible in his hand".<sup>26</sup> Every

<sup>16</sup> *Statutes* 18. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 21. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 22. <sup>19</sup> This is the first mention of the teaching of Greek, which became universal in the Grammar Schools in the early seventeenth century. The usual Grammar was Camden's (1597) known after 1647 as the Eton Greek Grammar. The aim of the teacher was twofold, the study of the New Testament in Greek, and the reading of "lively patterns of oratory to obtain the art of gallant expression" (Hoole). There is no evidence of the teaching of the third sacred language, Hebrew, in the School. <sup>20</sup> *Statute* 25. <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 24. <sup>22</sup> *Orders and Decrees* LXXV. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* LXXVI; Marlborough Court Books, No. 3, folio 125, 126. <sup>24</sup> *Statute* 1. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 3. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

Saturday the Master "shall catechise his scholars according to the Rubric"<sup>27</sup> and he must "from time to time appoint a convenient number of them to be catechised in the church, at such time as the minister of each parish do catechise".<sup>28</sup> That there was a political aspect to catechising at this period is suggested by the fact that in the very year in which these School statutes were made the Vicar of St. Mary's received by will<sup>29</sup> £5 a year "to catechise every Evening Prayer according to the Rubric in the Liturgy, and in every way also be loyal to his King and an obedient son of the Church", the bequest to be withdrawn if he did not "carefully perform those duties of catechising, loyalty and obedience".

But Marlborough was a stronghold of Puritanism. It is possible to estimate its strength accurately at this time, for in 1676, but two years before these Orders were made, the Marlborough return to Henry Compton, Bishop of London's requisition, showed that there were, over the age of sixteen, in St. Mary's Parish, 1,850 Anglicans, and 150 Non-conformists, and in St. Peter's Parish, 1,100 Anglicans and 100 Non-conformists, the largest number of Nonconformists in any Wiltshire borough.<sup>30</sup>

The leader of the dissenting community was certainly William Hughes, the dispossessed Vicar of St. Mary's, who was helped by Daniel Burgess the elder (d. 1679), who, on his ejection from Collingbourne Ducis, "retired to Marlborough, where he had some estate, and sometimes preached there for Mr. William Hughes";<sup>31</sup> by his son, Daniel Burgess the younger, who, after running a school in Ireland, was resident in Marlborough from 1674 to 1685;<sup>32</sup> and probably on occasion by Noah Webb, who from his house at Frimley "rode forty miles every week, for three quarters of a year together, to preach at Auburn in Wilts", and whose funeral sermon was preached in 1676 by the elder Burgess.<sup>33</sup> On Hughes's death in 1687 the dissenting congregation was held together from 1689 until his death in 1700 by Samuel Tomlyns, "a good critic in Greek and Hebrew and an excellent textuary . . . mighty in the Scriptures, for his head, memory, heart and tongue were full of them".<sup>34</sup>

Other nonconforming ministers working in the town at this period were the Wiltshire-born Thomas Baylie, a Fifth Monarchy man, who after his ejection from Mildenhall rectory at the Restoration carried on a conventicle in Marlborough until his death in 1663;<sup>35</sup> and Matthew Pemberton<sup>36</sup> and his successor, William Gough, who had in early life

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 8. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 8. <sup>29</sup> Will of William White, 25th Oct. 1677, proved in P.C.C. 1678. Endowed Charities Report, 1905: Wilts: Marlborough 39. <sup>30</sup> cf. *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* III, 537. <sup>31</sup> Calamy; *op. cit.* III, 362. <sup>32</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.* 315, 316; *D.N.B.* III, 308; Appendix to his Funeral Sermon preached by Matthew Henry, Jan. 26th 1712/3 London. <sup>33</sup> Calamy, *op. cit.* II, 284. <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* II, 263. <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* III, 368. <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* II, 13.

kept a school at Warminster, who brought up his two sons as scholars and sent them to Oxford,<sup>37</sup> and who preached William Hughes's funeral sermon.<sup>38</sup> The culmination of this activity came in 1706, when the main dissenting families—the Fosters, Merrimans, Hawkes, Goughs and Burgesses—erected a meeting-house.<sup>39</sup>

And so it is not surprising to find that for twenty-five years after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the Grammar School had to meet the opposition of a rival establishment conducted by William Hughes, who was ejected from the Vicarage of St. Mary's in 1662, but who managed to keep his dissenting community together until his death in 1687. For, having a wife and six young children to keep, William Hughes purchased a house "where he taught school; and notwithstanding the rigour of the times, several gentlemen round the country sent their children to him; as also did several in London; so that he soon had a large school which he maintained several years, though not without many interruptions from persons of the Establishment."<sup>40</sup> His efforts must have seriously depleted the numbers who sat at the feet of the Grammar School Masters—Mr. Welch (1659—1669), Mr. Abraham Power (1669—1672), Mr. Butler 1674—1678), and Mr. Carr (1679—1703)<sup>41</sup>—and had their effect on those who framed the School Orders. For combined with a due observance of Anglican religious practices, we find signs of the Puritan tradition.

The Master "shall take special care that his scholars do duly frequent the public prayers and ordinances of God in the church every Lord's Day; as also on Lecture and Holy Days; and demean themselves soberly and orderly until the prayers and sermon are ended".<sup>42</sup> And he "shall diligently endeavour to see the Lord's Day kept free from any profanation, as much as in him lieth".<sup>43</sup> Every Monday the Master "shall examine what every scholar hath learned of the sermon on the Lord's Day before"<sup>44</sup>. And at all times the "Master shall have a special care of the good manners and decent deportment of the scholars and shall exemplary punish all misdemeanours; especially the sins of swearing, cursing, lying, filching, filthy and obscene talking or art in gaming for any thing or price, or foul language to any person".<sup>45</sup>

No boy was to be allowed to wash in the river "unless it be by the allowance of the parent, given under his hand to the schoolmaster, that he may be blameless if any fault befall such child".<sup>46</sup> And there is a similar modern touch about the regulation: "No scholar shall with knife, or otherwise with stone, lead, or other materials; cut, deface, or break the windows, wainscot, forms, seats, table of orders, desks, doors, or tables in any part of the house or school, neither deface

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* I, 290. <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* III, 366. <sup>39</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.* 484, no authority cited. <sup>40</sup> Calamy, *op. cit.* III, 366. <sup>41</sup> First entry 1678; "Wm. Carr his midsummer salary": last entry 1702 "Wm. Kerr £7 10s. 0d.". <sup>42</sup> *Statutes* 7. <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 20. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 8. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 20. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

or in any way abuse any of the books in the said School; the Master, upon conviction of the offender or offenders, shall give him or them exemplary punishment that others thereby may be deterred from doing the same".<sup>47</sup>

The education of the School is to be a classical one. The Master must be "able to teach and instruct children in the Greek and Latin tongues".<sup>48</sup> And the scholars were required to demean themselves "soberly and orderly" in the school and to "learn in silence".<sup>49</sup> Conversation in Latin is to be the ideal: "no scholar who hath attained to be able to speak Latin, shall neither within School nor without, when they are amongst the scholars of the same or higher forms, speak English; and the Master shall appoint which are the forms that shall observe this order of speaking Latin, and shall take care that it be observed, and due correction given to them that do neglect it".<sup>50</sup> This proficiency in Latin speaking, which was everywhere valued so highly, was probably obtained through the reading of Cicero's Epistles and the Comedies of Terence, the study of the Colloquies of Vives, Corderius or Castellion, and the use of phrase books. It was not regarded as the goal of classical scholarship; Latin was a living language essential for all, except the soldier, the craftsman and the farmer.

Reading and writing were inferior branches of study which could safely be left to a person with inferior qualifications. For we are told in the very last Statute that one hour a day is to be devoted to instruction in writing "by the Usher or by such other person or persons as shall be empowered by their parents to teach them to write";<sup>51</sup> and the Master is required to see that "his scholars diligently apply themselves to learn to write".<sup>52</sup>

The School holidays were fixed from St. Thomas's Eve to the next day after Twelfth Day, if it shall happen on Monday or Tuesday, otherwise on the Monday following; from Good Friday to the Monday after Easter Week; and from the Friday before Pentecost to Trinity Monday.<sup>53</sup> School hours were long. From March 1st to October 1st, the day began at 6 a.m., and in the winter months at 7 a.m.<sup>54</sup> The dinner interval was from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.,<sup>55</sup> and afternoon school finished at 4 p.m.<sup>56</sup> The half-days were on Thursdays (if there had been no other holiday in the week) and Saturdays, with the possibility of one merit afternoon a month, when the boys shall have "leave to

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 23. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 6. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 12. <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 12. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 26. <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 26. <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 17; This rule was obsolete in 1721 when Thomas Smith of Shaw House, Melksham, whose younger son was then in the School, wrote his *Diary* (printed in *W.A.M.*, xi, 82). The holidays then were apparently six weeks at Christmas, three weeks at Easter, and four weeks at Whitsun. <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 5. <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 3. <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

play, scholar with scholar, in such convenient place as shall be appointed by the Master, and not otherwise".<sup>57</sup>

Provision was made for the removal of unsatisfactory pupils from the School: "If it shall happen any one or more of the scholars frequenting the said School shall prove dull and incapable of learning, the Master, after one year's trial, finding no amendment, shall give notice to the parents or nearest friend of the said child or children, to the end he or they, may be bred up in some other course".<sup>58</sup> And "such stubborn youths that are pertinaciously and exemplarily bad, after two admonitions, whereby their parents or friends be acquainted, shall the third time, with the consent of the Mayor for the time being, be expelled from the School."<sup>59</sup>

The Master was required to teach gratis all children of parents of seven years' standing in the town, and of any foreigners settling in the town who become burgesses in a shorter period, provided always the "children be clean, and free from all contagious sickness".<sup>60</sup> Every entrant was to be able to "read over his accidence within book" and write his own name.<sup>61</sup> His parents were required to pay to the schoolmaster "twelve pence for an income at first entrance into the School",<sup>62</sup> and it was further required that for maintenance expenses "every scholar shall pay twopence every quarter towards the scholar's bell, and sweeping of the School, and shall bring to the schoolmaster towards winter's fire the sum of one shilling and six pence and no more".<sup>63</sup>

In addition to his day pupils the Master could admit boarders, and full advantage was to be taken by successive Masters of this clause, thereby increasing the School's prestige and reputation: "the schoolmaster shall from time to time be at liberty to teach the children of foreign dwellers out of the said town as well as the children of those of the town; provided that the children of the town be not neglected thereby, and all other children be conformable to these Orders".<sup>64</sup> No maximum numbers or fees were prescribed for these boarders, who were soon to be attracted to the School in increasing numbers by the scholarships at Brasenose College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge, founded under the provisions of the Duchess of Somerset's will.

Sarah had become Duchess of Somerset on her marriage into the family which had been instrumental in founding the School. The Protector's son, who had been restored to royal favour by Elizabeth and created Earl of Hertford, but had later incurred the Queen's displeasure by his marriage with Lady Catherine Grey, had been succeeded by his grandson, William, who was raised to the Dukedom

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 19. <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 10. <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 21. <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 4. <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 13. <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 4. <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 15. <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

by Charles II. He was unmarried, and died in 1671.<sup>65</sup> The succession then passed to his uncle, Lord John Seymour, who had married Sarah, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edward Alston of Bedfordshire, President of the Royal College of Physicians. Sarah had married firstly Sir George Grimston who died in 1653; secondly John Seymour, the fourth Duke of Somerset, who died in 1675; and thirdly, Henry, the second Lord Coleraine. An original portrait of her, now lost, was painted between 1675 and 1692, the date of her death; and Brasenose has a copy made in 1728. This was engraved in 1736, and in the eighteenth century every Somerset scholar had to purchase a copy at a cost of two shillings.<sup>66</sup>

Nothing further is known of this duchess, who was, by her will, dated 17th May, 1686, to become famous as a local benefactor.<sup>67</sup> She endowed an almshouse at Froxfield for thirty poor widows with her estates in Froxfield, Milton, Fyfield, Huish and Chirton. She bequeathed the manor of Broad Town for the purpose of apprenticing poor boys born or residing in Wiltshire. And she gave the manor of Thornhill for the foundation of scholarships to Brasenose College, Oxford, and the manorial property and leasehold farm at Wootton Rivers for similar scholarships to St. John's College, Cambridge, the scholarships to both colleges being reserved for boys from Marlborough Grammar School, Hereford Cathedral School, and Manchester Grammar School.<sup>68</sup> At Brasenose the first scholar was to be chosen from Manchester, the second from Hereford, and the third from Marlborough; at St. John's the first was to be chosen from Marlborough, the second from Hereford and the third from Manchester. The benefaction was regulated by deeds made by the Duchess with Dr. Yate, the Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, dated 17th February, 1679, and with Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, dated 12th July, 1682.

By these agreements, Brasenose College and St. John's had to give notice of a vacancy within thirty days to the Master of the school from which a scholar was to be elected; and if this regulation were not observed, the privilege of electing to the scholarships was forfeited for seven years and vested during that time in the Duchess's Trustees, viz., Henry Lord Delamere, Sir Samuel Grimstone, and Sir William Gregory, and their heirs. If any of the scholars were absent for more than three months in any one year, for any reason whatever, his place was *ipso facto* void. Scholars were to receive five shillings a week for seven full years from their admission (except during absence contrary to the statutes, promotion to a fellowship, or expulsion); were to have

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<sup>65</sup> Waylen *op. cit.* 143. <sup>66</sup> Brasenose College, Oxford, *Monograph VII*, p. 19. <sup>67</sup> The Will is at B.N.C. <sup>68</sup> Her father was of St. John's College, Cambridge, her first husband of Brasenose College, Oxford, and her second husband M.P. for Marlborough.

one chamber found them in the College with four studies, or else four distinct studies. They were to be provided with a new cap and gown on admission and at the beginning of their third and fifth years, for which the Duchess made an annual allowance of five pounds; while undergraduates, their gowns were to be of cloth with open sleeves, like the students of Christ Church, and they were to wear square caps without tassels. She stipulated that the "said scholars shall at their admission be required to speak the Latin tongue in their public and private conferences with one another, under penalty of twopence for every default". The Bishop of Lincoln was requested to visit the Brasenose scholars every third year, and the Bishop of Ely was to be the Cambridge visitor. Every year a Latin speech was to be made in Hall by the Somerset Scholars in succession to commemorate the Duchess, at which time forty shillings was to be distributed to the Principal, Fellows, and Scholars present at prayers; of which the Principal was to have a double share.

The Duchess had obviously a certain amount of business acumen, for with regard to the Thornhill and Wootton Rivers Manors she stipulated that no new lease was to be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years; and that the best improved rent which could be procured was to be taken. At the time of the grant the income from each estate was £160 per annum, but she estimated that when the current leases had expired, the Thornhill Estate would be worth £560 per annum and the Wootton Rivers Estate about £530 per annum. A new scholarship was to be added for every annual increase of £15 in the annual value of the endowments assigned to each College. The fine taken on the assumption of leases was not to be more than a third of the improved rent; threequarters of this was to go to the College, and the fourth part was to be used to buy books for the Somerset Scholars.

The Duchess gave her leasehold farm in the manor of Thornhill for the establishment of six other scholarships at Brasenose College for the sons of such persons as could not afford to bestow much upon the education of their children; these Thornhill Manor Scholars were to study divinity and to enter the ministry.

By a codicil annexed to the will and dated 1691 the Duchess gave the advowson of the living of Wootton Rivers in Wiltshire to the Principal, Fellows and Scholars of Brasenose College, Oxford, and to the Master, Fellows and Scholars of St. John's College, Cambridge, who were to present alternately one of the scholars upon her foundation who had been educated in the College whose turn it was to present.

Some years later this scholarship endowment was increased by the will of Jane Browne, widow, of Cottles, Wilts, dated 3rd November, 1705, with a codicil dated 21st March, 1706.<sup>69</sup> Jane Browne's identity

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<sup>69</sup> 129 Poley: Proved in P.C.C. 16th May, 1707.

is unknown, but she was obviously a woman of good social position, for she mentions her "lovinge kinswoman Mary Legh, now wife of Edward Legh, son of my Lord Legh", who later succeeded to the title; and her residuary legatee was her kinsman Gabriel Hale, grandson of Sir Matthew Hale, to whom she left her new dwelling-house "soe hospitality and good housekeeping may be kept and maintained". She apparently came of a county family, for her executors were Cornelius Yate, Archdeacon of Wilts, George Walker of Marlborough, and John Horton of Broughton.

After making small bequests for the teaching of reading to the children of the parish of Atford (i.e. Atworth), her will contained the following bequest to the School:

"And five pounds per annum, more part of the said Rente Charge or Annuity of one and thirty pounds per annum,<sup>70</sup> to be paid yearely for ever towards maintaining one poor Scholler of and from the Free School in Marleborough fitted there for the University in some Colledge or Hall in the University of Oxford<sup>71</sup> for the Terme of one yeare and noe longer, the same poor Scholler from time to time to be nominated and appointed by my said Trustees".

The codicil makes the following amendment: "Whereas I have by such my will given five pounds a yeare, parcell of an Annuity of one and thirty pounds therein mencioned to my Trustees therein named to be paid yearely for ever towards maintaining one poor Scholler of and from the Free School in Marleborough fitted there for the University in some Colledge or Hall in Oxford for the Terme of one yeare and noe longer, Now I doe hereby declare my Will and meaneing to be and doe hereby order that such five pounds a yeare shall be and continue payable to such Scholler for the time being for one, two, three, or more yeare or yeares as my said Trustees and their Heires shall think fitt and Judge to be necessary".

Until 1876 the bequest was paid through the Headmaster to a Somerset scholar at Brasenose College, Oxford; but in recent years the income has been devoted to general school expenses.

Thus in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the School secured the basis for its future development—a close connection with the Ailesbury family, who nominated the Master; a set of statutes which regulated the day to day life of the School; and a definite link with the universities through the Somerset scholarships.

We know little of Mr. Carr, the Master from 1679 to 1703, except that he sent the first Somerset scholars to Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Charged on an estate at Atworth. <sup>71</sup> Not "any university", as the Charity Reports say. <sup>72</sup> Robert Reeke to Cambridge 1685 and John Adee to Oxford 1686. Reeke migrated to St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he graduated in 1691? Rector of Manningford Abbas 1693—1709.



He was apparently successful in putting the Orders of 1678 into effect and maintained friendly relations with the Mayor and burgesses. For they purchased six fine candlesticks for the School in 1678;<sup>73</sup> gave the School an occasional seven shillings as hearth money from 1679 to 1683;<sup>74</sup> distributed ten shillings to the scholars in 1680, eleven shillings in 1681, and thirty shillings in 1683;<sup>75</sup> made a gift of ten shillings to the Master's servants in 1685, 1686, and 1687, and of five shillings in 1702;<sup>76</sup> purchased children's books for 6s. 5d. in 1692 and for 15s. 9d. in 1693.<sup>77</sup> Extensions were made in 1681, the brewhouse was rebuilt in 1687, and seventy-eight feet of freestone were put into the new school wall in 1691 at a cost of over £14—the last repairs to the School for over a century.<sup>78</sup>

It must not, however, be assumed that this concern for the School's affairs was completely disinterested, for it appears that from 1667 to 1695 the Corporation accepted and misappropriated fines on School lands amounting to £329, whereby, as the Lord Chancellor said in 1714, they "were guilty of breach of their trust and have thereby defrauded the said Charity".<sup>79</sup> And the small rents which in consequence followed impoverished the School for the best part of a century.

On Mr. Carr's resignation, Mr. Watton, the undermaster, acted temporarily as Master for a few months, for which he received the sum of £10,<sup>80</sup> until the arrival on September 14th, 1703, of the new Master, Mr. John Hildrop, a man of energy and determination, who, within ten years of his appointment, destroyed the power of the Corporation and established the supremacy of the Master in all school affairs.

The first decade of the eighteenth century was a period of marked political strife in Marlborough. On the one side stood the new Master, appointed by Lord Bruce and supported by Church and Tory interests. With them stood Farwell Perry, the Rector of St. Peter's (1684—1723), an ardent campaigner for the Bruce party,<sup>81</sup> whose daughter had married Servington Salvery, the local doctor's son and an old boy of the School,<sup>82</sup> for whom his father-in-law sought preferment from Lord Bruce.<sup>83</sup> Perry in 1710 made a collection in the town of "as many guineas as he could get" for Dr. Sacheverell,<sup>84</sup> another old boy of the School, and he recommended Lord Bruce to come over on to the doctor's side in April, 1710,<sup>85</sup> with such success that Dr. Sacheverell, on his visit to Marlborough in August, 1710, said that he met with such

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<sup>73</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1678. <sup>74</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682. <sup>75</sup> C.A. I s.a. 1680, 1681, 1683. <sup>76</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1685, 1686, 1687, 1702. <sup>77</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1692, 1693. These may have been for a Charity School. <sup>78</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1681, 1687, 1691. <sup>79</sup> Ch. D. and O. C 33/322/325. P.R.O. <sup>80</sup> C.A. I, s.a. 1703. <sup>81</sup> Historical MSS. Commission: *15th Report*, Appendix, VII, 1898 (hereinafter called *Ailesbury MSS.*) 199. <sup>82</sup> A library book was inscribed "given by Servington Salvery, olim alumnus". <sup>83</sup> *Ailesbury MSS.*, 206, 207. <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 201. <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 201.

extraordinary instance of his Lordship's kindness that he was at a loss to express his gratitude.<sup>86</sup> Opposed to this growing Church, Tory and Bruce interest were the dissenters, many no doubt educated in the old Puritan Academy and now under the pastoral care of John Worth,<sup>87</sup> again entrenched in their control of the borough and patronised by the Duke of Somerset.

To break their power, the Bruces spent freely. As early as 1705 Lord Bruce's agent had reported that "the Marlborough people are very mercenary and resolved to serve the highest bidder, for they have no sort of honour or conscience":<sup>88</sup> Bribery did its work; in 1708 one parliamentary seat, and in 1710 both, fell to the Bruces; and in 1711 their nominee was elected to the mayoralty.<sup>89</sup> For three years the town had two rival mayors (neither of whom paid the schoolmaster his salary) but in effect the Bruces were in full control; for when the pretended mayor entered the town in 1714, headed by a "mob consisting of about twenty or thirty Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Independents shouting 'God bless the Duke of Marlborough', their voices were drowned by the Church people crying out 'God bless the Church, the King and Dr. Sacheverell'".<sup>90</sup>

This political turmoil reacted on the School, for in 1711 the Master complained that part of the Charity lands had been sold, that leases had been granted for inadequate fines, and that his own salary had not been paid regularly. On February 19th, a commission was issued to the Bishop, Dean and Chancellor of the Diocese and many others, asking them to make an enquiry. On October 5th an inquisition was taken at Marlborough Town Hall by Robert Loggan, Chancellor of Sarum, and fourteen other Commissioners from sixteen residents, "honest and lawful men of the said county duly summoned and sworn".<sup>91</sup> On October 17th eight of the Commissioners, Robert Loggan, Farwell Perry, Basil Davenport, Daniel Phettyplace, Richard Jones, Charles Toocker, Edmund Hungerford and Thomas Phettyplace issued their decree.<sup>92</sup> They made the first schedule of the Hospital land and charged the Corporation with misappropriation. "Further it was found that several other lands belonging to the said Hospital of St. John's had been alienated or were out on long leases, but how the fines received by the said Mayor and Burgesses of Marlborough for such fines and alienations had been applied was not found". They decided that at "Michaelmas last past there was due and in arrears to Mr. John Hildrop for his usual salary the sum of £45" and further ordered the Corporation to pay him £19 damages. And as they estimated that the annual income from the Hospital lands exceeded £84, they decreed that the schoolmaster's salary should be raised to £60 a year. The Mayor and Burgesses were also ordered to pay "all rates, taxes and

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* 202. <sup>87</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.* <sup>88</sup> Ailesbury MSS. 190. <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 204.  
<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 216. <sup>91</sup> C 93/47/16. P.R.O. <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

payments, as well ordinary as extraordinary", for the upkeep of the Master's house and of the School, and to let no leases on longer term than twenty-one years in possession or reversion, the reserved rent to be the improved value of the estate. Moreover, the Master was to be a party to all future leases.

The Corporation was not prepared to take such a sweeping victory for the schoolmaster without question, and their appeal was heard by the Lord Chancellor, who gave his decision on February 20th, 1713/14.<sup>93</sup> Counsel for the Mayor and Burgesses made many but unsubstantiated claims; that all the Hospital and Chantry lands had been given absolutely to the Corporation; that it was merely a convenience that authority to found a School was mentioned in the same Letters Patent; that they "chose to allow the schoolmaster a reasonable maintenance out of their own treasury and revenues, and never did endow the School with any lands whatever;" that, in consequence, the Commissioners had no jurisdiction and their decree could be of no effect; and that they could not meet the financial terms of the decree as they had always let the scheduled lands on leases for lives, and the current income was only £25 a year. The Lord Chancellor decided that the Chantry lands were the only estate of which the Corporation of Marlborough were purchasers, and that the Hospital lands were the free gift of the Crown for erecting and maintaining a Grammar School. He re-affirmed all the terms of the Commissioners' decree and ordered the arrears of salary, by this time totalling £150, and the costs of the action to be paid by the Corporation. As to the Master's salary, he ordered the Corporation to show a clear account of their income from the Hospital lands and expenditure on the School since the previous Chancery suit of 1638, and to increase the Master's salary as the balance on the account made it possible. This term, however, did not begin to have any effect until near the end of the century. On April 23rd, 1714, the Corporation entered into a written agreement with Mr. Hildrop on the lines of the decree, "sealing the writings at the Angel" as an entry in the Chamberlain's accounts informs us.<sup>94</sup>

The successful termination of this dispute marks a stage in the history of the relations of the Corporation and the School, for the success of the Master destroyed the power of the Common Council for remainder of the century. In consequence they showed no inclination to spend money on the School buildings, but a succession of forceful Masters, by developing the boarding element in the School, secured for it a reputation over a wide area.

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<sup>93</sup> C 33/322/ folio 325. P.R.O. <sup>94</sup> C.A. I, s.d. 1714.

IV  
THE SCHOOL AND THE PROFESSIONS.

Mr. Carr laid the foundations of the School's connection with the professions. In national affairs his most outstanding pupil was the notorious Dr. Henry Sacheverell.<sup>1</sup> His father, the Rev. Joshua Sacheverell, was instituted to the Rectory of St. Peter's in 1669 and to the Prebend of Winterbourne Earls in Salisbury Cathedral in 1677, and married Sussannah Smith at Easton Royal on December 2nd, 1669. Their third son, Henry, was born in St. Peter's Rectory on February 8th, 1673/4. Eleven years later, on January 21st, 1684/5, his father died, leaving six sons and a daughter; soon afterwards Mrs. Sacheverell married the Rev. Anthony Tate, Vicar of Preshute, and on his death on April 18th, 1688,<sup>2</sup> twice widowed in four years, she was admitted to Bishop Seth Ward's newly-founded<sup>3</sup> College for Clergymen's widows at Salisbury. Here she lived until her death on November 8th, 1722, when she was buried in the cathedral. Thus, having lost his father by death at the age of eleven, and his mother by removal from the town at the age of fifteen, young Henry was adopted by his godfather, Mr. Edward Hearst, an apothecary of Marlborough, who sent him to the Grammar School, and afterwards to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he became a demy, and where his chamber-fellow was Joseph Addison, another Wiltshireman, with whom he established a long friendship. Hearst died in 1690, but his widow continued the education of her husband's god-son at Oxford, where he proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1696, B.D. in 1697, and D.D. in 1708. His violently worded sermons in support of the High Church and Tory causes led to his impeachment in 1709, his suspension from preaching for three years, the burning of his sermons by the common hangman—and the fall of the Whig government. And in the riots that ensued it could have been no mere accident that Dr. Sacheverell's followers in London sacked the meeting-house and burnt the pulpit of Daniel Burgess the younger,<sup>4</sup> who had been resident in Marlborough from 1674 to 1685 and whom Sacheverell must have remembered as an ardent supporter of the Puritan Academy and as an inmate of the Marlborough gaol when he himself was a boy in the Free School.

“ Invidious Whigs, since you have made your Boast,  
That you a Church of England Priest would roast,  
Blame not the Mob for having a Désire  
With Presbyterian Tubs to light the fire ”.<sup>5</sup>

One can understand the Marlborough Corporation seeing fit, in such circumstances, to present an address of loyalty to the Queen.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *D.N.B.* XVII, 569. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*. <sup>2</sup> Parish Registers of Easton Royal, St. Peter's, Marlborough and Preshute. <sup>3</sup> In 1682, *W.A.M.* I, 434. <sup>4</sup> *D.N.B.* III, 308. <sup>5</sup> “Upon the Burning of Mr. Burgess's Pulpit” in *A Collection of Poems for and against Dr. Sacheverell*, London, 1710, p. 17. <sup>6</sup> Printed for Benj. Tooke at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet Street, London, 1710.

The connection of the School with the legal profession begins with two of Mr. Carr's pupils. For Mr. Glanville (1664?—1735), a grandson of the famous judge, Sir John Glanville of Broad Hinton, after proceeding to Trinity College, Oxford, became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. He wrote much ephemeral verse and translated Fontenelle's *A Plurality of Worlds*.<sup>7</sup>

In the closing years of his Mastership, Mr. Carr had as a pupil a boy, Michael Foster,<sup>8</sup> of an old Marlborough legal family which was to be closely linked with the School for over a century. Michael was born on December 16th, 1689, in Marlborough, where his father and his grandfather were attorneys of repute, and where his grandfather, true to his Nonconformist convictions, had refused nomination to the office of Town Clerk and alderman, and his father to the office of alderman, when James II was trying to conciliate dissenters in 1688.<sup>9</sup> Michael went from the School to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1705, and in 1707 entered the Middle Temple. After short periods in London and Marlborough he moved to Bristol, where he became Recorder in 1735, a Serjeant at Law in 1736, and was knighted on his appointment to the King's Bench on April 22nd, 1745. He was instrumental in founding Bristol Infirmary in 1736, the first institution of its kind outside the Metropolis, and he superintended its development for many years. He died on November 7th, 1763, and was buried at Stanton Drew in Somerset, where there is a monument to his memory.<sup>10</sup> Churchill in his *Rosciad* said :

“ Each judge was true and steady to its trust,  
As Mansfield wise, and as old Foster, JUST ”.<sup>11</sup>

He was an authority on Crown Law,<sup>12</sup> and a modern lawyer, Lord Phillimore, has said that he was “remarkable in a period of almost unmixed corruption, coarseness, and ignorance, for masculine sense, deep knowledge and spotless purity.”

Mr. Carr's successor, Dr. John Hildrop, was an old boy of the School and the only old boy to become its Master. He was born at Petersfield, Hampshire, on December 30th, 1682, and educated at Marlborough Grammar School where, says Dr. Rawlinson, he was “remarkable for his good conduct and attention to his studies” and whence he passed in the Michaelmas term 1698 to St. John's College, Oxford, at the age of sixteen, as a Bible Clerk, graduating on July 7th, 1702. He was appointed Master of the School on April 14th, 1703, and came into residence on September 14th following. He proceeded M.A. on June 8th, 1705, and after he had left Marlborough, B.D. and D.D. on June 9th, 1743. But though he knew Marlborough as a boy

<sup>7</sup> Carlisle, *op. cit.* II, 744. *D.N.B.* VII, 1286. *Al. Ox.* <sup>8</sup> *D.N.B.* VII, 500. *Al. Ox.* <sup>9</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.*, 342. <sup>10</sup> Dodson, *Life of Sir Michael Foster*, London, 1811. <sup>11</sup> Churchill, *Rosciad*, 13. <sup>12</sup> Foster: *A Report on some Proceedings of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery in the year 1746 in the County of Surrey.*

and Master for over forty years, and brought up his family there,<sup>13</sup> he had a second career in front of him when he resigned on December 4th, 1733, on his preferment by Lord Bruce to Maulden, where apparently he never resided, and which he resigned on March 23rd, 1734, on his presentation by the same patron to the rectory of Wath, near Ripon, where he was instituted on April 13th, 1734. The Bruce interest in the School seems to have been well established by this time, for two of Dr. Hildrop's pupils were presented to Ailesbury family livings: Thomas Giffard to Great Bedwyn in 1736, and Thomas Lipyeatt to Collingbourne Ducis in 1738. Dr. Hildrop spent a quarter of a century at Wath, becoming domestic chaplain to Lord Bruce in 1742, and his memorial tablet in the chancel of Wath church records that he died there on January 18th, 1756, at the age of seventy-three<sup>14</sup>

To the dissenting community in Marlborough there came in 1715<sup>15</sup> a minister who was to take a part in the later stages of the deist controversy. For Thomas Morgan, who was ordained into the Presbyterian ministry in 1716 at Frome,<sup>16</sup> and who married Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel Merriman,<sup>17</sup> a dissenter of Marlborough, rapidly became a free-thinker and thereby lost the support of the local nonconformists, who in 1725 replaced him by Samuel Billingsley, ordained in Marlborough by the same Presbyterian minister as his predecessor.<sup>18</sup> To counteract the preaching of the local dissenting minister, Dr. Hildrop wrote his *Reflections on Reason* (London, 1722), a satire on free-thinking, which was immediately examined by Thomas Morgan in his *Enthusiasm in Distress* (London, 1722), to which he added postscripts in 1723 and 1724. Both men were to publish their main works after they had left Marlborough—Thomas Morgan his *Moral Philosopher* from 1737—1741, and Dr. Hildrop a number of works which, at first published under the pseudonyms of Phileleutherus Britannicus and Timothy Hooker, enjoyed a temporary popularity, as some people professed to find in them a resemblance to Dean Swift. They display much erudition and a strong turn for good-natured irony but are to-day only of academic interest to any but the professed student of the

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<sup>13</sup> The Baptismal Register of St. Mary's, Marlborough, gives Kathern, July 11th, 1722, William, January 22nd, 1724/5, Frances Susanna, July 27th, 1726. <sup>14</sup> *D.N.B.* IX, 837; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1834, pt. 2, 114; *Al. Ox.*; Foster, *Index Ecclesiasticus*. <sup>15</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.* 484. <sup>16</sup> *D.N.B.* XIII, 932. <sup>17</sup> *The Merriman Family Book*, privately printed, in possession of Rev. T. F. Merriman. For references to the families of Foster, Hawkes, Ward and Merriman see Pedigree, pp. 40, 41. The Marlborough Marriage Registers are defective. <sup>18</sup> *A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Mr. Samuel Billingsley at Marlborough in Wiltshire by John Bowden of Frome.* London, 1725.

deist controversy.<sup>19</sup> In his dispute with Thomas Morgan, the Master was no doubt supported by Leonard Twells, the Vicar of St. Mary's, 1722—1737, a Cambridge man who secured his doctor's degree at Oxford in 1740 for his work in textual criticism written while in Marlborough, 1731—2, where he wrote his *Vindications of the Gospel of St. Matthew* (1735) and his works on demonology (1737). He sent his sons to the Grammar School, whence one, Leonard, proceeded to Oxford,<sup>20</sup> and another, John, to Cambridge with Somerset scholarships, the latter, who died at Cambridge,<sup>21</sup> leaving Marlborough in 1738 a year after his father had proceeded to a London living and a prebendal stall in St. Paul's and to spend his leisure until his death on 19th February, 1741/2, editing *The Theological works of Dr. Pococke*.<sup>22</sup>

Dr. Hildrop had a reputation for scholarship and managed to secure for his pupils their due share of the Somerset scholarships,<sup>23</sup> which in the early days had gone with but two exceptions to pupils of Manchester or Hereford. It was fitting too, that before he left Marlborough, he was to see one of his old pupils embarked on publication. For Devizes-born Richard Bundy (d. 1739) had proceeded from the School<sup>24</sup> to Christ Church, Oxford, where he had graduated in 1713. As chaplain in ordinary, he had accompanied the King to Hanover in 1732, become one of the trustees for founding the colony of Georgia,

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<sup>19</sup> *The Miscellaneous Works of John Hildrop*, London, 1754, comprising, in two volumes, An Essay for the better Regulation and Improvement of Free Thinking; An Essay on Honour; Free Thoughts upon the Brute Creation in Two Letters to a Lady; A Modest Apology for the antient Honourable Family of the Wrongheads; Letter to an M.P. proposing a Bill to revise, amend or repeal certain obsolete Statutes commonly called the Ten Commandments; The Contempt of the Clergy considered; Memoirs of the Life of Simon Shallow. Dr. Hildrop's other works were—*Reflections on Reason*, London, 1722; *A Caveat against Popery*, London, 1735; *A Commentary upon the Second Psalm*, London, 1742. <sup>20</sup> *B.N.C. Register*, p. 323, errs in ascribing to this son the works of his father. <sup>21</sup> *The Register of the College of St. John the Evangelist*, Cambridge, III, 499. <sup>22</sup> *D.N.B.* XIX, 314. <sup>23</sup> At Oxford, Somerset scholarships to T. Church, 1722; R. Hort, 1725; T. Giffard, 1728. Somerset Thornhill Manor scholarships to L. Twells, 1732/3. At Cambridge, Somerset scholarships to J. Pidding, 1716; J. Scott, 1723; R. Grinfield, 1726; T. Lipyeatt, 1728; W. Batt, 1732; J. Cuthbert, 1733. Throughout, this first attempt to compile lists of the Somerset scholars cannot be regarded as exhaustive, for schools are often not given in the Registers. The authorities are College Registers with details from Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (complete, 4 vols., to 1751; thereafter two volumes only published). <sup>24</sup> *D.N.B.* III, 268, gives no school. The School Library copy of Burnet's *History of the Reformation* was inscribed "ex dono Rev. R. Bundy, Aedis Christi Oxon., olim huius scholae alumni".

and as Vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street (1732) and of East Barnet, and prebendary of St. Paul's, he secured for himself a comfortable subsistence. In 1723 he published Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus* and in 1728 began publication of Latrou and Rankie's *Roman History*.

A little later Dr. Hildrop had as a pupil the son of a wealthy clergyman of Taunton—Walter Harte (1709—1774),<sup>25</sup> who ultimately became vice-principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and a canon of Windsor. He was a friend of Pope and Lord Chesterfield and himself a poet. The list of subscribers to the first edition of his *Poems* in 1727 gives us the name of the usher of the School at the time, Mr. Malliard.<sup>26</sup> Harte is best remembered for his two prose works: *The History of Gustavus Adolphus* (1759), and his *Essays on Husbandry* (1764), the first of which shows evidence of wide historical reading and the second of sound agricultural knowledge. His last publication was *The Amaranth*, a volume of religious verse.

More in keeping, however, with Dr. Hildrop's own life of scholarship was the work of Harte's contemporary in the School, Thomas Church (1707—1756),<sup>27</sup> who was born in Marlborough and later became Vicar of Battersea and a prebendary of St. Paul's, and on whom Oxford conferred its degree of doctor of divinity for his vindication against Conyers Middleton<sup>28</sup> of the miraculous element in early Church history.<sup>29</sup> Politically he followed Bolingbroke's Tory principles, and in controversy he showed himself an opponent alike of deism and of the doctrines and principles of the early Methodists.

Of town boys who proceeded to Cambridge, John Pidding, the son of a local barber, became rector of Burnley, Yorkshire, and subsequently of Keighley (1747—1753). Richard Grinfield, "son of R. Grinfield, gentleman" of Marlborough, was licensed as curate of Wilsford on his ordination in 1730. Thomas Lipyeatt, of a well-known Marlborough family, graduated in 1731/2, 7th *in ordine senioritatis*, proceeded M.A. in 1735 and B.D. in 1743, became a Fellow of St. John's in 1734 and a Senior Fellow in 1754. He seems to have been Vicar of Amphill, Bedfordshire, for two years before he was instituted to the Bruce living of Collingbourne Ducis (1738—1743). After holding Meesden (1750—1756) and Horningsea (1756), he became successively rector of Girton (1756—1758) and Great Hallingby (1758—1781), holding both by dispensation in plurality with Layham (1756—1781).

William Batt from Pewsey and Joseph Cuthbert from Cricklade also entered the Church.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> D.N.B. IX, 65. <sup>26</sup> *Poems on Several Occasions*, London, 1727, p. xix. <sup>27</sup> D.N.B. IV, 305. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* XIII, 343. <sup>29</sup> *A Vindication of the miraculous powers which subsisted in the first three centuries of the Christian Church in answer to Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry*, London, 1750. <sup>30</sup> *Register of St. John's College, Cambridge*, III, 70, 72, 445, 447, for details.



The diary of Thomas Smith of Shaw House, Melksham,<sup>31</sup> introduces us to a group of boarders in the School in the early twenties of the century, the sons of country gentlemen descended from wealthy clothiers, a class which in the eighteenth century showed a pronounced interest in secondary education. In 1721 Thomas Smith's elder son had just proceeded to Oriel College, Oxford, but his younger boy, Walter, was still in the School. His companion was Jonathan Scott, the son of Benjamin Scott of Ivy House, Chippenham, a London toll-collector, "unus e Telonariis apud Lond." and years later to be Vicar of Wilsford with Woodford (1759—1774); with them were the two sons of Mr. Bayliffe of Seagry, and Isaac the younger son of Thomas Selfe, the Rector of Bromham (1717—1741), a grandson of Isaac Selfe (1564—1656), Aubrey's "wealthy clothier" whose son, with the purchase of Place House, Melksham, had turned landed proprietor.<sup>32</sup> Thomas Selfe's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was to come into closer connection with the School, for she was married to the next Master, the Rev. William Stone (1733—1750), who was appointed on December 4th, 1733, and was inducted into the living of Ogbourne St. George on May 11th, 1742. A note in the parish register there, almost certainly in his own handwriting, says that he "laid out more money about the Vicarage House and Premises there than any of his predecessors had ever done". This concern for property may account for the insurance of the School buildings during his mastership;<sup>33</sup> it is, however, unfortunate that the Chamberlain's Accounts for 1727—1745 are missing, for they only could tell us whether he made any material improvement to the School building. On his wife's death in 1750 William Stone decided that he could no longer combine his educational and his parochial work and retired to his Ogbourne vicarage, where Sir Thomas Phillipps found two memorial stones, which were probably in the chancel and which have since disappeared.<sup>34</sup>

Mr. Stone's most distinguished pupil was related to Judge Foster, for Michael Dodson (1732—1799)<sup>35</sup> was the only son of the Rev. Joseph Dodson, a protestant dissenting minister settled in Marlborough, and his wife Elizabeth, the sister of Sir Michael Foster. He received his classical education at the Grammar School, his uncle directed his legal studies after his admission to the Middle Temple in 1754, but "his great proficiency for biblical learning he chiefly owed to his own voluntary and subsequent application".<sup>36</sup> True to the nonconformist traditions of both his mother's and his father's families, he stoutly asserted the right of the individual to interpret the Bible as he wished;

<sup>31</sup> *W.A.M.* xi, 82 seq. <sup>32</sup> For the Pedigree of Selfe, *Wilts N. & Q.* iv, 339. <sup>33</sup> *C.A.* II, fly-leaf: "On the School House and Out-houses adjoining—part Flemish Walls and tiled in tenure of William Stone, schoolmaster, £280; on the outhouses adjoining £20". <sup>34</sup> For inscriptions see *Wilts N. & Q.* iv, 199. <sup>35</sup> *D.N.B.* V, 1081. <sup>36</sup> Disney: *A Short Memoir of Michael Dodson*, London, 1800.

in 1783 he joined a small "society for promoting the knowledge of the Scriptures" in London; and in 1790 he produced a *New Translation of Isaiah*. Professionally he was for thirty years a competent Commissioner for Bankrupts and in 1795 produced the standard life of his uncle. He kept in close touch with Marlborough and its School all his life, for he married his cousin, Elizabeth Hawkes,<sup>37</sup> whose father was the leading attorney, and whose brother-in-law, John Ward,<sup>38</sup> was the leading banker in the town. He was, too, remotely connected with the Merriman family, who were to carry the School's connection with the legal profession well into the nineteenth century.

Mr. Stone fully maintained the School's connection with Oxford and Cambridge,<sup>39</sup> for to the School and thence to Cambridge during his mastership the Reades of Crowood and their collateral branch in Oxfordshire and the Grinfields of Mildenhall sent boys. There came also the two sons of Thomas Frampton, the Vicar of Broad Hinton—Algernon, who for a long time (1744—1788) was Rector of the neighbouring parish of Tockenham, and Thomas, who, after a distinguished career in his College culminating in an unsuccessful bid for its Mastership, settled down in true eighteenth century manner to enjoy, till his death in 1803, the proceeds of three livings held in plurality<sup>40</sup> William Hazeland, the son of a Wilcot baker, was senior wrangler in 1749 and for a short period (1761—1763) was Headmaster of the Free Grammar School at Hertford; and John Mainwaring, a Staffordshire boy, who held the living of Church Stretton from 1749 till his death in 1807, was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge<sup>41</sup> in 1788. Richard Pockocke returned to Mildenhall, where his father and grandfather were rectors before him, and Algernon Clavering, whose father was Rector of St. Peter's, Marlborough, and Vicar of Preshute, became Vicar of Broad Hinton.

Thus the School had earned for itself a high reputation over a wide area when the Rev. Thomas Meyler the elder came as its Master in 1750. The son of William Meyler of St. David's, Pembrokeshire, he matriculated at Oxford from Jesus College in 1738 at the age of twenty and graduated in 1741. He was admitted to the diaconate on September 20th, 1740, by the Bishop of Salisbury and ordained priest by the Bishop of Oxford on June 13th, 1742. In 1748 he proceeded M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge. His marriage on May 16th, 1751, in St. Mary's Church to Katherine Chivers<sup>42</sup> marked the settlement of

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<sup>37</sup> Phillimore and Sadler, *op. cit.* II, 51. <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* II, 53. <sup>39</sup> At Oxford, S.S. to R. Pockocke, 1739/40; J. Halsted, 1742; A. Clavering, 1750/1. S.T.M.S. to A. Drewett, 1737/8; W. Jacobs, 1744. At Cambridge, S.S. to A. Frampton, 1736; J. Lipyatt, 1737; R. Franklyn, 1737; H. Read, 1737/8; W. Grinfield, 1738/9; J. Twells, 1738/9; J. Mainwaring, 1742; T. Frampton, 1742/3; W. Hazeland, 1746; G. Goldwyer, 1750. <sup>40</sup> St. John's, Cambridge, *Register* III, 534. <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* III, 526. <sup>42</sup> Phillimore and Sadler, *op. cit.* II, 108.

the family in Marlborough for a hundred years. He remained Master of the School until 1774, at which date he was also chaplain to Lord Umberlade; and thereafter as Rector of St. Peter's (where his portrait can still be seen) and Vicar of Preshute, he was a leading figure in Marlborough until his death on July 12th, 1786. And it was during the years of his mastership and the early years of his successor, Joseph Edwards, that the reputation of the School reached its zenith.

Of the boys who proceeded to Oxford on Somerset scholarships<sup>43</sup> one, Dr. John Napleton, attained to eminence in the Church and University, and another, Charles Francis, became a prominent figure in local life.

John Napleton (1738—1817) left the School for Brasenose Collège in 1755 and after election to a fellowship in 1760 became Vice-principal in 1679 and senior bursar in 1771. He made a name for himself as a reformer at Oxford by his publication in 1773 of his *Considerations on the public Exercises for the first and second degrees in the University of Oxford*. His plans for more thorough examinations in which candidates were to be awarded classes, for an increase in the mathematics syllabus, and for a revision of the Divinity course, had, however, to await the new examination statute of 1800. Meanwhile, in 1790, Napleton had gone to Hereford as Bishop's Chaplain, where in 1796 he became Chancellor of the diocese and praelector in Divinity in the Cathedral, in which office he continued to exhibit his dynamic reforming ability.<sup>44</sup>

Charles Francis (1752—1821) was the son of William and Frances Francis of Marlborough, to whom the son later erected a memorial tablet (now removed) in St. Peter's Church. He left the School for Brasenose College in 1768 and in December 1774 was preferred to the Bruce living of West Tanfield, which he resigned in October, 1780, to go to Wath, another and more valuable of his patron's livings, which he held until 1788.<sup>45</sup> He became a member of the Marlborough Corporation in 1779 and even while in Yorkshire was his patron's adviser on Marlborough municipal politics: "I am persuaded that if the Corporation of Marlborough be unanimous in anything it is their determination to serve the Tottenham Park interest".<sup>46</sup> In 1788 he was appointed Rector of Mildenhall by the patron, Mrs. Pococke, the widow of the previous incumbent. In the same year the Bruces appointed him to the rectory of Collingbourne Ducis (which he held in plurality with Mildenhall) and he became chaplain to the Earl of Ailesbury. He was preferred to the prebend of Yatesbury in Salisbury Cathedral in 1802, which he vacated

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<sup>43</sup> S.S. to C. Francis, 1768; ? T. Propert, 1769; ? W. Rogers, 1771; J. Gillmore, 1773. S.T.M.S. to R. Garrard, 1754; J. Napleton, 1755; T. Beckett, 1769; J. Willis, 1769. <sup>44</sup> Carlisle, *op. cit.* II, 744 (as Mapleton), *D.N.B.* XIV, 88. <sup>45</sup> The "Ward MS." (compiled by the Rev. John Ward c. 1850) in possession of the Rector of Wath, Ripon. <sup>46</sup> Ailesbury MSS., 239.

in 1805 for the prebend of Lyme and Holstock in the same church. For thirty-three years he was a prominent figure in local life and several times mayor. He died in 1821 at the age of seventy.<sup>47</sup> He left £4,000 for the building of "the Protestant Free School of Minal" which was erected in 1824, and £100 for repairs to Mildenhall Church. He bequeathed £200 to augment the living of St. Peter's, Marlborough, and £100 to St. Mary's for a similar purpose, and £100 for the "support and renewal" of Collingbourne Ducis Church.<sup>48</sup> That he left no money to his School may be accounted for by his dispute with the Mayor, John Ward, over the proposed election of three new members to the Marlborough select body which led to his resignation from the Corporation in 1814.<sup>49</sup>

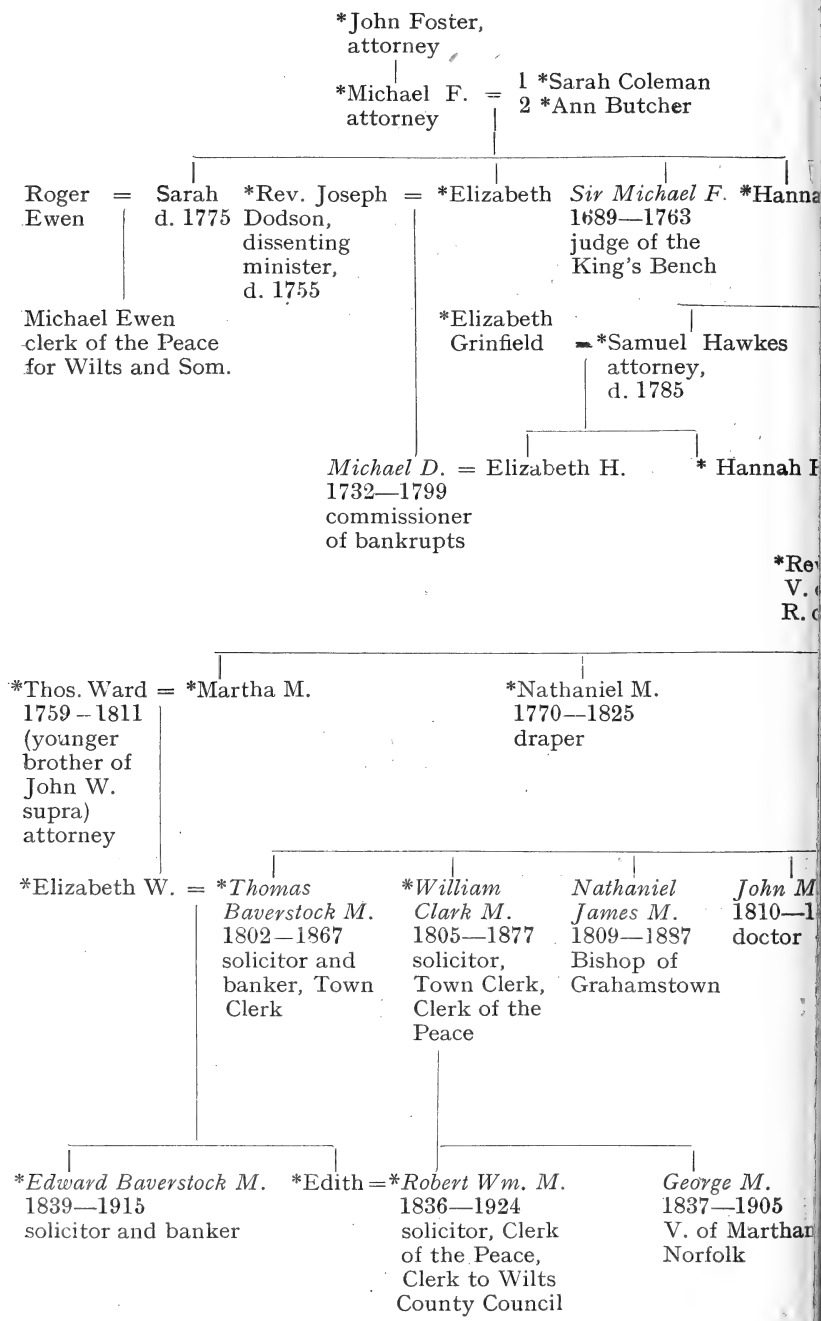
As Francis served the Bruce interest in Marlborough, so did Jonathan Lipyatt on their Yorkshire estates.<sup>50</sup> The son of a prominent Marlborough brewer, Christopher Lipyatt, he had had a distinguished career at Cambridge.<sup>51</sup> In 1780 he followed Francis at West Tanfield and a year later became one of his patron's chaplains and tutor to George, Lord Bruce, eldest son of the Earl of Ailesbury, who died at Nice in 1783. In 1788 he succeeded Francis at Wath, where he remained until his death in 1799.

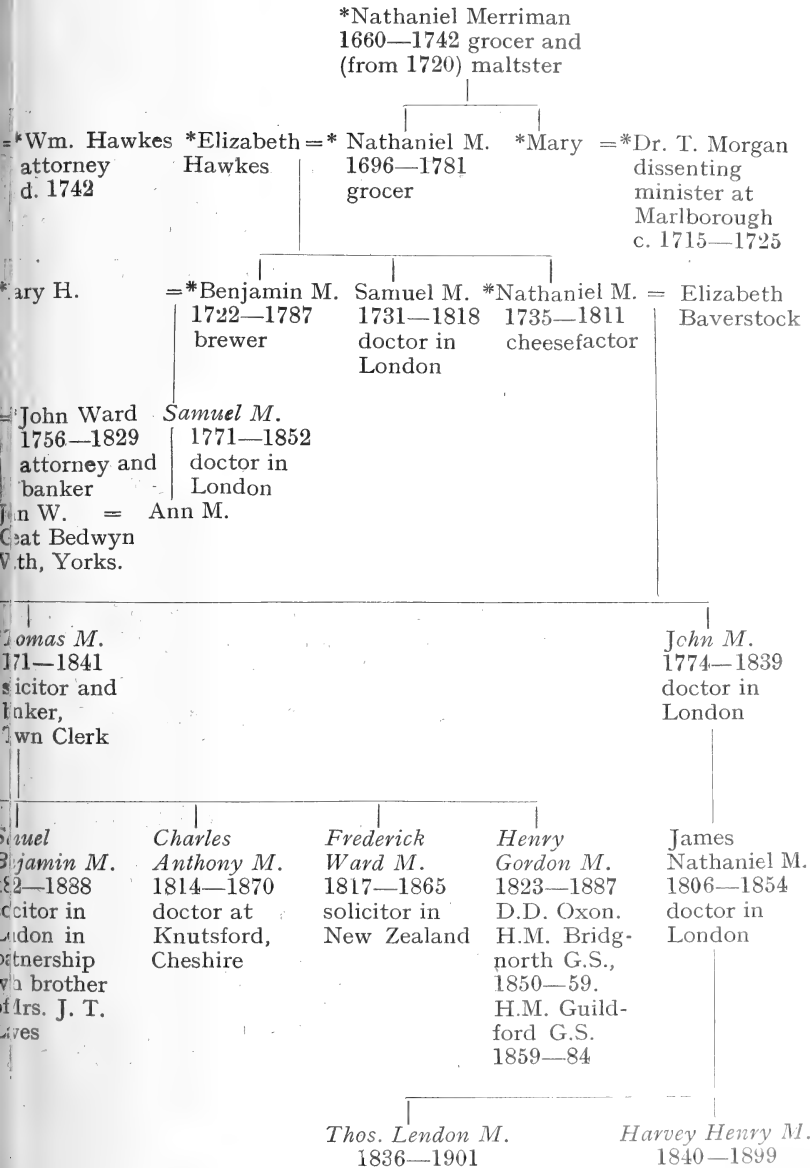
There were from 1750 to 1790 only two other town boys who went to St. John's College, Cambridge—Thomas Smith, the son of a Marlborough maltster, and William Liddiard, who had an intermediate period at Winchester. For Meyler developed the boarding element in the School, establishing a connection with his native county of Pembroke and drawing boys from as far north as Cumberland and Yorkshire, and from as far east as Hertfordshire, a policy which tended to deprive the town boys of the Somerset scholarships. A comparison of the second half of the century with the first, would appear to suggest a decline in the social status of the day scholars, possibly because the wealthier local boys tended to be sent elsewhere as boarders as the century proceeded. The great bulk of the boys went into the Church, but a connection with the army is noticeable in the seventies. Wilmot Hungerford Luttrell of Exeter followed his father in a military career in 1771, becoming a Captain by purchase in the 125th Foot in 1795 and thereafter serving in America, where he had been born.<sup>53</sup> Thomas

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<sup>47</sup> Will proved in P.C.C., 19th November, 1821. He left his MSS. to the Bodleian. <sup>48</sup> Charity Reports, 1905, under places named. <sup>49</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.* 414, 416. <sup>50</sup> Ailesbury MSS., 263, 267. <sup>51</sup> S.S. at Cambridge in Meyler's mastership: J. Reade, 1751; T. Smith, 1752; J. Penfold, 1753; J. Bennet, 1754; W. Plucknett, 1755; W. Liddiard, 1756; W. Whitear, 1758; J. Cayley, 1759; R. Pritchett, 1759; C. P. Pritchett, 1760; T. Grove (s. of Chafin Grove of Zeals) 1761; G. Marsh, 1762; H. Grove (s. of Chafin Grove), 1764; J. H. Wheeler, 1764; R. Wightwick, 1765; J. Lipyatt, 1767; J. Cleobury, 1767; J. Walcam, 1773; W. H. Luttrell, 1773. <sup>53</sup> St. John's, Camb., *Reg.* IV, 366.

FOSTERS, MERRIMANS AND OTHERS.





Italics indicate known pupils of the Grammar School. Early records missing.  
Asterisks indicate Marlborough residents.

Colby, the son of a High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire, entered the Royal Marines in 1777 and became a Brevet Major in 1802.<sup>54</sup> And a local tradition has consistently maintained since the time of his death<sup>55</sup> that Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton (1758—1815)<sup>56</sup> left the School in 1771 to become an Ensign in the 12th Regiment of Foot. He distinguished himself in St. Lucia and became Governor of Trinidad, but is best remembered as the victorious leader of the fighting division at Badajoz and Vittoria in the Peninsular War, and as Wellington's right hand man at the battle of Waterloo, in which he was killed.

At the last mayoral election in his mastership in November 1773, Mr. Meyler preached the sermon, and his son John, though only twelve years of age, was chosen to give the Greek speech,<sup>57</sup> for it seems clear that in this decade at any rate the annual speech was in Greek, a reflection, perhaps, of the revival of interest in Greek studies at the University after 1765.<sup>58</sup> In the next year the Rev. Joseph Edwards succeeded to the mastership. It seems that he was probably the son of William Edwards of Bath, was educated at Manchester Grammar School, and proceeded on a Somerset Iver scholarship to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1765 and M.A. in 1768.<sup>59</sup>

Two of his pupils link the School with the medical profession, and both left the School at the same time. Algernon Frampton the younger went to St. John's College, Cambridge, on a Somerset scholarship,<sup>60</sup> was second wrangler and second Smith's prizeman, and became a Fellow in 1789. He spent two years at Edinburgh in the study of medicine and was subsequently entered at St. Bartholomew's and the London Hospital. He became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1798 and from 1800 to 1841 was Physician to the London Hospital.<sup>61</sup> In the year in which Frampton left the Grammar School, its head boy was Samuel Merriman (1771—1852), the son of Benjamin Merriman, the owner of a large brewery in Marlborough, and his wife Mary, the niece of Sir Michael Foster. He studied medicine in London under his uncle, became an obstetrician of repute, and from 1809 to

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 198. <sup>55</sup> Carlisle *op. cit.* II, 744. <sup>56</sup> *D.N.B.* XV, 1134. <sup>57</sup> C.A. II, fol. 35. <sup>58</sup> In 1771, 1772, 1773, 1778, 1779, 1780 the speech was certainly in Greek. C.A. II, fols. 8, 21, 35, 98, 109, 121. <sup>59</sup> This, however, is not certain, for B.N.C. *Register* states he proceeded D.D., of which there is no local knowledge. St. John's College, Cambridge, states, probably incorrectly, that William Edwards was his son. The monumental inscription at Preshute to Joseph Edwards does not confirm this; he was more probably the master's nephew. <sup>60</sup> At Oxford: S.S. to W. Carter, 1776. S.T.M.S. to E. Goddard 1780 (D.D. 1799, J.P. for Wilts, d. 1839); R. Thorne, 1785; At Cambridge: S.S. to T. Colby, 1774; T. Evans, 1774; J. John, 1775; S. Starkey, 1780 (R. of Everleigh 1791—1805); C. Barbor, 1781 (R. of W. Tanfield 1788—1800); A. Frampton, 1783; W. Edwards, 1792; W. Skey, 1792 (V. of Gt. Bedwyn 1799—1814, V. of Little Bedwyn 1814—42). <sup>61</sup> St. John's Coll., Camb., *Reg.* IV, 260

1826 was consulting physician to the Middlesex Hospital.<sup>62</sup> One of his cousins, John Merriman, left the School in 1788 to be apprenticed to an apothecary in Devizes, and later moved to Kensington, where he had a large and flourishing practice, and became Apothecary Extraordinary to Queen Victoria.<sup>63</sup> He died in 1839.

His elder brother, Thomas Merriman (1771—1841) was also "educated at the Free Grammar School and through life was always pleased with an opportunity of expressing his feelings of interest for and devoted attachment to that Royal Foundation".<sup>64</sup> He became an important figure in Marlborough local government in the early years of the nineteenth century as solicitor to the School, banker,<sup>65</sup> Town Clerk (1794—1814) and Mayor (1814, 1821, 1827, 1833), and was closely associated with the Kennet and Avon Canal, whose Principal Clerk he became. He was in his early days an old-fashioned Whig, but after the Reform Bill of 1832, which he strenuously opposed, he became an uncompromising Conservative. Through his efforts Marlborough sent two Conservative members to the first reformed Parliament and elected a completely Conservative Town Council after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835. He was a staunch churchman, and the porch of St. Mary's was erected in his memory.<sup>66</sup>

It does not appear that in the eighteenth century there was any school in rivalry with the Grammar School, for there is no evidence of the continuance in any form of the old seventeenth century dissenting academy. It is clear that many nonconforming families sent their boys to the Grammar School, and it appears that, when nonconformity was in decline in the middle years of the century, many families passed from dissent to the Church. It is true there was a revival of dissent in 1770 when Matthew Wilks reopened a chapel on Back Lane,<sup>67</sup> built by Thomas Hancock on his own land.<sup>68</sup> In 1778 Cornelius Winter, the friend of Whitefield and Rowland Hill, became its minister, and on his marriage<sup>69</sup> opened a small boarding-school, with which he combined the training of a few intending ministers.<sup>70</sup> Winter left in

<sup>62</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1853, pt. 1, 207—209; *Lancet*, 30th November, 1850, 610—615; *Georgian Era* II, 452—3; *D.N.B.* XIII, 293.

<sup>63</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1839, 98. <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1841, 212. <sup>65</sup> Ward, Merriman and Hillier's Bank, established 1803; c. 1834, called the Marlborough and North Wiltshire Bank; in 1866 the North Wilts Bank; in 1877 the Hampshire and North Wilts Bank; in 1883 the Capital and Counties Bank; and amalgamated with Lloyds Bank in 1918. <sup>66</sup> *The Merriman Family Book*. <sup>67</sup> "The Marlborough Case", MS. in possession of Congregational Church, Marlborough. <sup>68</sup> Will of Thomas Hancock, proved P.C.C., 2nd August, 1788. <sup>69</sup> Phillimore and Sadler, *op. cit.* II, 114. <sup>70</sup> Jay: *Memoirs of the Life and Character of Cornelius Winter*, 2nd edition, London, 1809, 180, 187, 250, 331. Redford and James: *Autobiography of the Rev. William Jay*, 3rd edition, London, 1854, 36, 45, 49. By an Act of 1779 (19 Geo. III, c. 44) Protestants Nonconformists might follow the teaching profession.



1788 and his school apparently closed, but the chapel, endowed by Thomas Hancock, his wife Ann, and two of their sons, Joseph and Benjamin,<sup>71</sup> continued until about 1802, when the congregation was "abruptly and cruelly turned out of the place in which they so long worshipped"<sup>72</sup> by the remaining son John, and the chapel was allowed to fall into ruin. It was not until 1817 that the present chapel was opened on a new site, opposite the Grammar School, in the Marsh.<sup>73</sup>

It seems that the majority of donations to the School library date from the eighteenth century, and so the catalogue may be used as a primary authority for the type of education then given in the school. Over one half of the volumes are devoted to classical studies; and Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Terence are prominent. Oratory is represented by Cicero and by books of selections from Demosthenes and Isocrates as used in the schools at Abingdon, Westminster and Winchester. Only four volumes are devoted to Hebrew, which was apparently not a subject in the curriculum. In view of the deist controversy in the earlier part of the century and the close connection with the Church which thereafter developed, it is noteworthy that there is a strong selection of Anglican works dating almost certainly from Dr. Hildrop's mastership—Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* (1705), Nicholl's *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer* (1712), Pearson's *On the Creed* (given by Dr. Hildrop's usher), Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testaments* (1718), Strype's *Life of Matthew Parker* (1711), and the like. The list of English texts shows the preferences of the eighteenth century, for none of the greater works of the Elizabethan age is included, poetry is represented solely by Pope and Thomson (in first editions), and the main emphasis is upon prose—Addison and Steele; Swift, Smollett and Goldsmith; Clarendon, Burnet and Gibbon. There are but a dozen books on "cosmography", French is represented mainly by translations of the classics, and art and music do not find a place at all.

Such pictures as we can get of the social life of the School in the closing years of the eighteenth century suggest a prosperous school. We are told by a newspaper report of August 20th, 1773: "On Tuesday last was held the Anniversary Meeting of the gentlemen educated at the School in this town. The company, which was numerous and respectable, met at the said School to hear several exercises performed by the young gentlemen, who acquitted themselves with applause, and afterwards adjourned to the Castle Inn where an elegant dinner was provided, and the day spent with much harmony and cheerfulness; and on Wednesday a splendid ball and genteel

<sup>71</sup> Wills proved in P.C.C., 2nd August, 1788; 17th April, 1802; 5th August, 1795; 30th October, 1798. <sup>72</sup> *A Concise Statement of the Proceedings of the Wills Association*, Allbut, Devizes, 1823, 12.

<sup>73</sup> "The Marlborough Case".

collation was given for the ladies".<sup>74</sup> That this was an annual event seems probable from an invitation to a similar function in August, 1786, preserved in the Library of the Wiltshire Archæological Society.<sup>75</sup>

But the number of such occasions for a rest from schoolwork was limited. Every November the boys attended the Mayor's election, and one of their number welcomed him in Greek on the Guildhall steps;<sup>76</sup> they listened to their Master or his predecessor preach the mayoral sermon in St. Mary's,<sup>77</sup> and as the ringers of each church did their best on fifteen shillings worth of beer, they saw the company proceed to the £60 dinner which the Mayor gave, at the Corporation's expense, to his friends.<sup>78</sup> There was, too, a half-holiday on the Feast of St. Peter in June and the Feast of St. Martin in November, when the crowds necessitated the employment of extra constables.<sup>79</sup> And likewise the boys joined in the fun of the fair at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions while the justices enjoyed their dozen bottles of wine, at the charge of the Chamberlain, at the Castle<sup>80</sup> or tried the prisoners in the Guildhall. And occasionally there was an event of major importance. The boys saw the Scots Greys in 1780, when the borough voted them £3 16s., for beer;<sup>81</sup> and they listened to the proclamation of peace in 1783 from the Guildhall steps.<sup>82</sup> But the most memorable event for this generation of schoolboys was the municipal rejoicing in 1788—9 on the King's recovery from an attack of insanity. For it was marked by special "music for the King", by much ringing of bells and drinking of beer, and by a Thanksgiving Ball at a cost of £19 13s.<sup>83</sup>

This seemed to mark in Marlborough the end of the eighteenth century. In 1790 the Corporation decided to rebuild the Town Hall and the Grammar School at the same time, as it had done previously in the late sixteenth century, and was to do again in the early twentieth. Thereafter until his death in 1808 the Master was occupied with material things—the rebuilding of the School, the enclosure and leasing of its land, and the financial stability of the Foundation. And

<sup>74</sup> Quoted Hulme, *The Town, College and Neighbourhood of Marlborough*, London, 1881, 19. <sup>75</sup> Wilts Cuttings I, 359. <sup>76</sup> The Speech was given by: 1771, T. Haggard; 1772, J. Gillman; 1773, J. Meyler (Vicar of Little Bedwyn 1797—1799 and resident there, at least nominally, while Mayor of Marlborough (*infra*, p. 49), Rector of Maulden 1799—1806); 1774, J. Crouch; 1775, William Neate; 1776, G. Mason; 1777, Beaver; 1778, B. Buckerfield, son of the Rector of St. Peter's; 1779, T. Warner; 1780, Charles Barbor; 1781, Tucker, son of the Vicar of St. Mary's; 1782, Richard Thorne; 1783, John Thorne; 1784, McTier and N. Fuidge; 1785, N. Fuidge; 1786 . . . 1787 . . . 1788, Harold; 1789, Warner; 1790, William Price. C.A. II, *s.a.p.*  
<sup>77</sup> Marlborough Court Book No. 8. <sup>78</sup> *cf.* C.A. II, fol. iii. <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.  
<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 355. <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 111. <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 147. <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

the Borough Accounts show all too clearly the social distress which marked the emergence of a new age—heavy bread bills,<sup>84</sup> the setting up of a soup establishment for the poor in 1799<sup>85</sup>, and a rapid rise in the grants to vagrants<sup>86</sup> and in the Poor Rate on School property.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 383. <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 369. <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 369. <sup>87</sup> The Poor Rate paid on School property was £3 17s. in 1771, £4 10s. in 1781, £6 4s. in 1787, £9 in 1791, £12 10s. in 1799, and £13 in 1801. *Ibid.*, 8, 133, 209, 261, 373, 401.

## V.

## NEW FOUNDATIONS.

The growth of the reputation of Marlborough Free School over a wide area in the second half of the eighteenth century led the Corporation to replace the sixteenth century building of lath and plaster, then in a serious state of disrepair, by a new building of red brick in 1791. Several attempts had been made to patch up the old building. In 1785 the Master was allowed £20 for repairs;<sup>1</sup> in 1787 John Rogers purchased 110ft. of timber from the lands at Kennett presumably to prop up the School,<sup>2</sup> and a further £20 was spent in 1788<sup>3</sup> and £13 in 1789.<sup>4</sup> But it was all of no avail. And so Mr Edwards (1774—1808) left his dilapidated Tudor School House in May 1790. For fifteen months the Corporation rented for him Mr. Gregory's house at £12 per annum, in which apparently he continued the School, but the accommodation was so cramped that his own furniture had to be stored, at a charge of two guineas a year, by Mr. Robert Griffiths. By the end of July, 1790, the old School had been pulled down, the old timber sorted and stored, and the rubbish carted away by Joseph Rogers and his men. In August piles were being driven into the Marsh, sarsen stones at two shillings a ton were being brought from Clatford for the foundations, and scaffolding was being erected. Then for a whole year there was desperate activity for all connected with the local building industry; master men earned their 2s. 2d. a day, skilled men their 2s. or 1s. 10d., labourers their 1s. 2d., and boys their 8d.—and payment that year for extra work, though not at any overtime rate, was common.<sup>5</sup> But at each stage of the rebuilding there was a short interval for refreshment. For from the Chamberlain's accounts we learn that 18s. 6d. was allowed for beer on taking down the old building, 10s. 8d. on laying the first stone, 23s. 6d. at the house rearing, and 21s. at the Mayor's election.<sup>6</sup>

Edward Hutchins sent his bricks at 27s. a thousand and his Cornish bricks at 7s. a hundred, and his tumbrils brought lime, sand and gravel. Isaac Wells brought hurdles and lugs, and Wentworth's wagons brought Box stone from Swindon. Robert Crook and Edmund Norris raised the walls. Joseph Rogers' carpenters fixed oak doors and window frames, elm stairs and deal panelling, and made a school-room desk for 44s. and a long stool for 6s. 6d., together with an usher's desk and stool for 13s. Mary Brown's plasterers and tilers and James Gooding's painters and glaziers worked in the Master's house, the schoolroom, the brewhouse and the stables. The well was cleaned out and a new pump provided for 69s. 3d., and a large wooden trough was made for washing. Ninety-three feet of fencing was set in a stone balustrade in front of the School, and the yard was paved. William Brewer of Marlborough did most of the rougher stone work, but Mr.

<sup>1</sup> C.A. II, fol. 173. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 208. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 221. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Details from original bills. <sup>6</sup> C.A. II, fol. 249.

Jones of Swindon carved the finer work for the Master's house—"a neat veined marble chimney piece including wood mouldings and ornaments", and built the double flight of steps which led on the south-west from the schoolroom to the yard.<sup>7</sup>

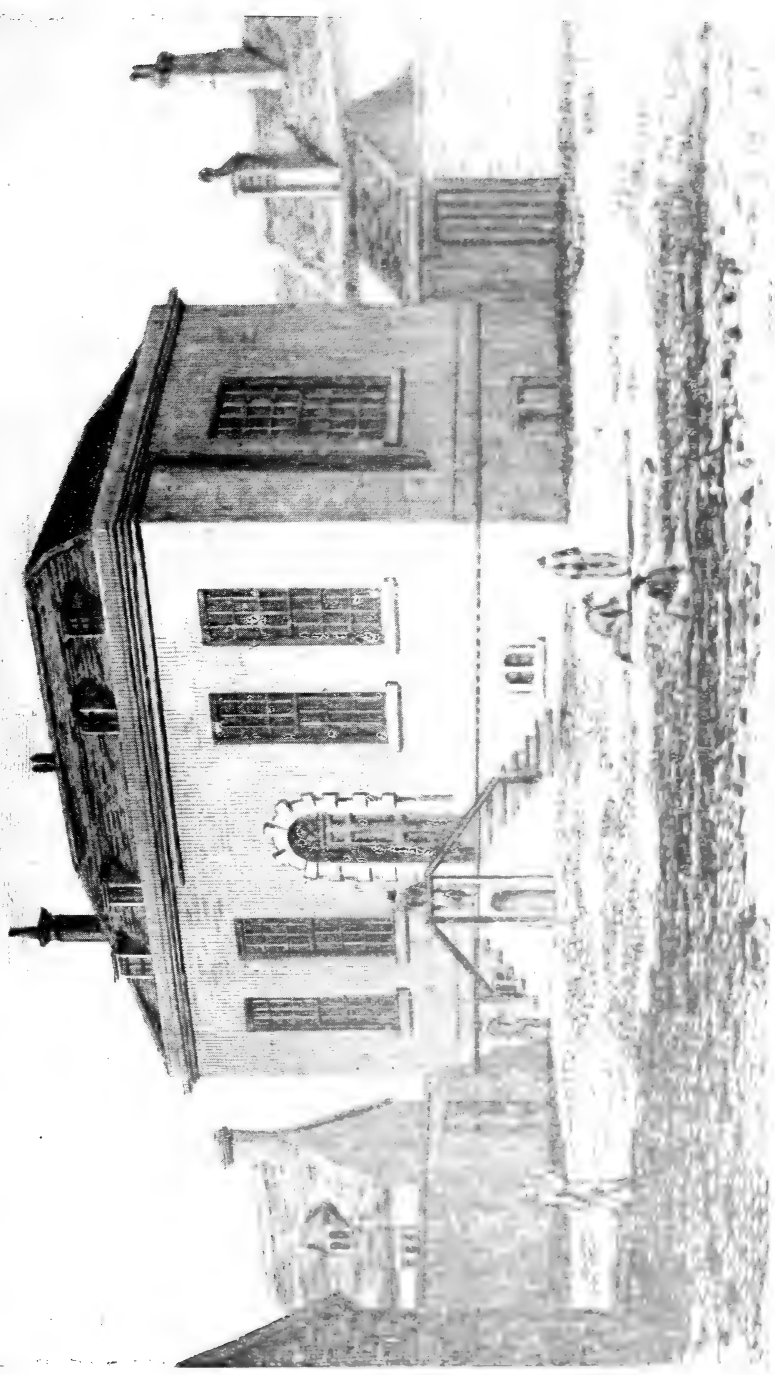
At the end of September, 1791, Mr. Edwards could move into his new house and use his new schoolroom; but until April, 1792, the study of the classics must have been seriously disturbed by the many workmen putting the finishing touches to the building.<sup>8</sup> The total cost of the new school was £1,428, all of which (and over £200 besides) had been collected from private donors; for Mr. Ward, the Marlborough banker, handed over to the Corporation £540 9s. in 1790, £774 6s. in 1791, £151 16s. 6d. in 1792, and the balance of £177 6s. 6d. in 1793—£1,643 18s. in all.<sup>9</sup>

The new School, although of modest proportions according to modern standards, must have towered above its mean surroundings. In the North Marsh the "Plume of Feathers" (with its rented hop gardens in Herd Street and Poulton Mead) was flanked by buildings of some size. But directly opposite was the "Duke of Marlborough on Horseback" and some small tenements; to the west lay Hammond's stables; and to the east a row of derelict cottages with a beerhouse, the "Red Cow", in their midst—all Corporation property.<sup>10</sup>

Six years before this rebuilding, in 1784, Mr. Edwards had persuaded the Corporation to keep a separate account of the income and expenditure of the Foundation.<sup>11</sup> In achieving this improvement he may have been helped by a new Borough Chamberlain,<sup>12</sup> but more probably by the fact that an old Somerset scholar of the School, the Rev. Charles Francis, Rector of Mildenhall, was Mayor in that year.<sup>13</sup> The property then listed as belonging to the School<sup>14</sup> is the same as that given in the Inquisition of 1711, but the annual income had decreased from £84 to £57 4s. 8d. This was due to the eighteenth century practice of taking a fine and leasing land at a nominal rent for three lives. As early as 1784 the Master had won his protracted dispute on this question, when to avoid litigation the Corporation had entered into an agreement in writing with him on November 5th, 1784, that they would not at any time thereafter grant leases upon payment of fine, or for lives, or for terms exceeding twenty-one years, or for less than the improved rent of the land. They also agreed to pay the land tax, and all other taxes and assessments charged upon the School and the house and garden and to keep all the premises in tenantable repair.<sup>15</sup> Consequently higher rents followed as leases expired, and the income of the Foundation rose rapidly to £117 7s. 6d. in the year of Mr. Edwards' death.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Details from original bills. <sup>8</sup> Plate II. J. Boulter 1823. <sup>9</sup> C.A. II, fol. 248. <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 252. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 172, 173. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 167. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 162. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 172. <sup>15</sup> *Inquiry concerning Charities*, 1834, 1393. <sup>16</sup> C.A. III, fol. 80.



THE SCHOOL BUILDING, 1791—1904, from the South-West.



In 1790 "An Act for dividing and allotting several open and common lands within the parishes of Great Bedwyn, Little Bedwyn and Preshute in the County of Wilts" was passed, and on August 31st of the same year the three commissioners met at the house of John Halcomb "known by the name or sign of the Castle Inn at Marlborough" where the necessary oaths were administered to them by John Ward. Their award, dated 13th April, 1792, was definitely to the School's advantage.<sup>17</sup>

In the year 1798-9 the Mayor, the Rev. John Meyler of The Queen's College, Oxford, was particularly interested in the School, for he was the son of the late Master and himself an old boy.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Edwards obviously secured his consent to a further improvement, for in June, 1799, the house in Silverless Street and Cross Close were sold to Lord Ailesbury for £200 10s. The major part of this money was used to redeem the land tax on certain of the School estates, and the balance of £36 was invested in November, 1800, in the purchase of £60 10s. reduced 3% stock.<sup>19</sup> Lord Ailesbury paid the legal costs of this transaction, which was beneficial to the Foundation.<sup>20</sup>

The School accounts, which had shown a small annual deficit to 1803, thereafter began to show a profit of about £12 a year. And this was in spite of the fact that the Master's salary was raised from £30 in 1774, to £50 by the agreement of 1784, to £62 in 1786,<sup>21</sup> and to £70 in 1805.<sup>22</sup> In 1810, soon after a change in the mastership, it was decided to pay the full balance on the School account to the Master,<sup>23</sup> whose salary rose immediately to an average of £80 per annum; and an improved rent on the Manton lands more than doubled this figure after 1816.<sup>24</sup>

Mr. Edward's work had renewed the faith of the Corporation in their School, and in 1807 they contributed £160 from the Borough funds for repairs to the roof, and for the erection of palings in the yard and garden;<sup>25</sup> and in 1809 they found they could spend £45 from the School accounts on minor repairs and redecoration.<sup>26</sup>

Thus Mr. Edwards had been intent for the last twenty-five years of his life on laying material foundations for his successors. It is not surprising to find that the intellectual life of the School appears to have waned. The number of boarders seriously decreased, there were no Somerset scholarships after 1792, and the annual Latin or Greek speech lapsed in 1798.<sup>27</sup> It is significant, too, that during the last few years the boys giving the speech were all from Marlborough. In 1791 Master Harold, the son of a printer, received five shillings for the task,

<sup>17</sup> The award, with maps, is in the office of Messrs. Merrimans, Porter and Long. <sup>18</sup> C.A. II, fol. 348. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 414. <sup>20</sup> *Inquiry concerning Charities*, 1393, 4. <sup>21</sup> C.A. II, fol. 185. <sup>22</sup> C.A. III, fol. 39. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 109. <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 192, 193. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 65. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 95.

<sup>27</sup> Except for a revival, initiated by Thomas Merriman, from 1827 to 1834, when £1 10s. was paid (C.A. III, fol. 345).



but needed the help of Master Pinkney, the son of the surgeon, as prompter.<sup>28</sup> In 1792 T. and R. Fuidge, whose father was Mayor three years before, received five shillings each.<sup>29</sup> In 1793 J. Pinkney received six shillings.<sup>30</sup> In 1794 Taylor, whose father was to be Mayor the succeeding year, and Wells, the son of a local contractor, received three shillings each,<sup>31</sup> as did Wells and Harold in the following year.<sup>32</sup> In 1796 and 1797 the speech was given, but the name of the boy was not thought worth mentioning.<sup>33</sup>

Though classical scholarship was at a low ebb in the School as elsewhere in the opening years of the nineteenth century, the Master, Mr. Edwards, had a reputation for learning, for his memorial tablet at Preshute, where he was instituted in 1795, describes him as "a Scholar, and a ripe and good one".<sup>34</sup> He died on July 12th, 1808, at the age of sixty-five, heart-broken at the death, but eight months earlier, of his only daughter, aged two, and of his only son, aged twenty, within a few weeks of one another.<sup>35</sup> There was no Master for a whole year, and apparently Mrs. Edwards lived in the School house until her admission in March, 1809, to Somerset Hospital.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> C.A. II, fol. 261. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 275. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 289. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 303. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 317. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 331, 345. <sup>34</sup> M.I. Preshute Church. <sup>35</sup> "To the Memory of Mr. Henry S. and Sophia Edwards, the only offspring of the Revd. Joseph and Elizabeth Edwards. Sophia died Nov. 21st, 1807, in the second year of her age; Henry died Dec. 20th, 1807, in the twentieth year of his age".

"Why in such haste to meet Death's cold embrace,  
And thus preoccupy a Father's place?  
The Spirit of the Child went quickly hence,  
Ascending to its blissful residence;  
And shall the Sting of Death, nor Strength of Sin,  
Retard thy Flight, Dear Youth, to enter in,  
Where Virtues guard, an Host of Angels wait,  
The arrival of the just at the strait gate".  
(Memorial Tablet in Preshute Church).

<sup>36</sup> Mr. Edwards's widow was admitted to Somerset Hospital, Froxfield, in March, 1809, on the nomination of one of the Trustees, Francis Warneford of Sevenhampton, Swindon. This Hospital was founded with a bequest of £1,700 under the Will of 17th May, 1686, of Sarah, Duchess of Somerset. The original building for thirty widows was finished in June, 1695, and an extension for a further twenty widows was completed in 1773. No. 6 cottage, to which Elizabeth Edwards was admitted, was reserved for clergy widows from London or Westminster, but as by a resolution of the Trustees in 1785, the qualification was defined as forty days' residence within ten miles of Temple Bar (an easy qualification to which the Charity Commissioners later objected), it would not have been difficult for Mrs. Edwards to qualify. ("Somerset Hospital: a Survey of the Charity Estates", MS. in the custody of the present Steward and Receiver).

## VI.

## THE ZENITH OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL.

It was, no doubt, the realisation of the fact that there was the material basis for the re-creation of a prosperous school which attracted the Rev. James Townsend Lawes to the mastership in 1809 at the age of thirty.<sup>1</sup> He had entered Warminster Free Grammar School, where his father was writing-master,<sup>2</sup> as a scholar in 1788, whence he had proceeded in 1792 to Winchester, and in 1797 to St. Alban Hall, Oxford. He graduated in 1800, was ordained in New Windsor Parish Church in 1801,<sup>3</sup> and thereafter taught at Warminster under Dr. Griffiths, where he had as one of his pupils, Thomas Arnold, the future headmaster of Rugby,<sup>4</sup> who a quarter of a century later paid his tribute to Lawes: "the oldest friend out of my own family that I had in the world, and one of the truest and kindest".<sup>5</sup> He came to Marlborough Grammar School in 1809, and his original form of appointment, signed and sealed by Lord Ailesbury, is there preserved :

BE IT KNOWN to all whom it may concern that I, the Right Honorable Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, and Baron Bruce of Tottenham, in the County of Wilts, Knight of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, in the exercise of my sole and undoubted Right, do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint the Reverend James Townsend Lawes, Bachelor of Arts, to be Master of the Free Grammar School of Marlborough, in the place of the Reverend Joseph Edwards, Clerk, deceased, TO HOLD and enjoy the same with all Buildings, Lands, Revenues, Salaries, and Appurtenances thereunto belonging. GIVEN under my hand and Seal this nineteenth day of June in the Year of Our Lord, One Thousand Eight hundred and Nine.

AILESBUURY L. S.

And with it his episcopal licence, as by Canon Law required, dated May 16th, 1818 :

"to teach and instruct youth, having recourse to you, in the Free Grammar School in Marlborough, in the county of Wilts and diocese of Sarum, in the Rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues, and also in Reading, Arithmetic, and other useful documents of the said Grammar School, as well as in the Principles of the Christian Religion."

Lawes was a pluralist. In 1814 he was appointed to the perpetual

<sup>1</sup> "Events of my life" MS., in possession of School, by J. T. Lawes.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Brice : *Narrative of facts leading to the trial and conviction of the Rev. J. T. Lawes* . . . London, 1816 (hereinafter called *Narrative*). <sup>3</sup> Deacon's Orders in possession of School. <sup>4</sup> Stanley : *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, Vol. I, p. 1. <sup>5</sup> Letter from T. Arnold to Mrs. Lawes, Nov. 6th, 1828, in possession of the School and printed in *W.A.M.* 1, 266, 267.

curacy of Easton Royal, then a royal donative in the gift of the Ailesbury family, who paid the annual stipend of £100. He fulfilled his Sunday duties there and in consequence neglected the requirements of the School Statutes to accompany his boys to Church.<sup>6</sup> He, and later his wife, were buried in Easton Royal chancel; he left the parish £100,<sup>7</sup> and a tablet was erected there in his memory. With Easton he held in plurality the Rectory of Abingdon in Surrey, a living valued at £350 a year, to which he was presented in 1818 by one of his old Warminster pupils, George Evelyn. He had been told that "to none but a resident clergyman will it be presented"<sup>8</sup> and his non-residence may account for the exchange he effected in 1821 for the Rectory of Halberton in Devon. Thus during the last ten years of his mastership he was in a comfortable financial position, for to the £450 derived from his benefices, he added his salary of £180,<sup>9</sup> his school fees and the profits from his boarding house of forty boys. He acquired a certain amount of property in the town, and after his widow's death in 1867, her residence, Wykeham House,<sup>10</sup> in the High Street, and some cottages in Barn Street were sold.<sup>11</sup>

Little information is available about the School at this period. According to Carlisle<sup>12</sup> the number of town boys was usually from ten to twenty, and of others who were not upon the Foundation, generally about forty—a satisfactory number for the period and indicative of a flourishing school.

There were, however, distinct social classes in the School—the boarders, many of whom transferred on his death to a school elsewhere kept by one of Mr. Lawes's relatives; a small group of day boys belonging to the more prominent local families—the Merrimans and the Maurices; and the remaining day boys, "ill clad, dirty and rough in the extreme", who were the special objects of the Master's wrath. There were no organised games and the boys' only recreations were the hunting of squirrels in Savernake Forest and the digging out of dormice to be kept as pets.

The moral tone of the School was not good.<sup>13</sup> It seems clear that

<sup>6</sup> *Narrative 4.* <sup>7</sup> *Further Report of the Commissioners for Inquiry Concerning Charities, 1834, 761*: "for poor and industrious persons being Protestants and members of the Established Church". <sup>8</sup> Letter from George Evelyn to the Rev. J. T. Lawes, December 27th, 1817, in the possession of the School. For Arnold's letter to Mrs. Evelyn on the death of her husband, see Stanley, *op. cit.* I, Letter IV. <sup>9</sup> Average computed from C.A. III. <sup>10</sup> The name commemorates Mr. Lawes's connection with Winchester. <sup>11</sup> *Marlborough Times* (hereinafter called M.T.), 24th August, 1867. <sup>12</sup> *Endowed Grammar Schools, 1818, II, 744.* <sup>13</sup> F. Goddard: *Reminiscences of a Wiltshire Vicar, 1814—93*, reprinted from the *Wiltshire Gazette*, 7th June, 1928, and subsequent issues.

the decline in the social status of the day boys which began in the mid-eighteenth century was still developing; and these strictures on the majority of them may be accounted for by the fact that there was in existence in the first thirty years of the century a private school conducted by Mr. Gresley (d. 1830) where Ivy House now stands. We know it was opened before 1804 when its boys cut the White Horse on Granham Hill;<sup>14</sup> and it may have been to this school that James Hancock, the timber merchant and cabinet maker of Marlborough, sent two of his sons—Thomas (1786—1865), the founder of the india rubber industry,<sup>15</sup> and Walter (1799—1852), the inventor of steam locomotion on roads.<sup>16</sup> The registers of Brasenose College, Oxford, and of St. John's College, Cambridge, moreover, suggest that the standard of classical scholarship was not particularly high. The three Somerset scholars at Oxford from the vicinity—J. Cleobury 1809, W. Smyth 1809, and J. Mayo 1811—were probably from the School, but the only ones of whom we can be certain are J. P. Maurice 1816, A. Crowdy 1820, and C. Seagram 1822, who were elected to Somerset Thornhill Manor scholarships. At Cambridge the registers of this period give no schools, and the only recognisable Marlborough entry as a Somerset scholar is Thomas Williams, 1819.

Several of Mr. Lawes's pupils took a leading part later in the life of the county. H. N. Goddard (1806—1900), whose public life started with an active part in the suppression of the machinery riots in North Wilts in the thirties, was for sixty years a leader in the farming and administrative life of Wiltshire, of which he was High Sheriff in 1860.<sup>17</sup> And the Town Clerk and solicitor to the School, Thomas Merriman, sent all his eight sons to the School. Thomas Baverstock Merriman (1802—1867) later became Town Clerk and was twice Mayor (1842, 1853), as was his partner, William Clark Merriman (1805—1877), who became Clerk of the Peace for the County. These two remained in Marlborough as attorneys at law and bankers at their father's Silverless Street office. But the younger brothers went farther afield. Nathaniel became Bishop of Grahamstown;<sup>18</sup> John and Charles became surgeons, the former at Lancaster and the latter at Knutsford; Samuel became a solicitor in London and Frederick practised law in New Zealand;<sup>19</sup> and Henry became Headmaster successively of Bridgnorth (1850—1859) and Guildford (1859—1884) Grammar Schools.<sup>19</sup>

The friendly assistant master at Warminster who treated the young Arnold so kindly in 1803 must have changed with the assumption of authority, for the brutality of the discipline of the School during Mr. Lawes's mastership—and he himself was raised in the the Spartan tradition of Winchester—was well known locally; and in the dissemination of information the School barber and the maids, we are told,

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Wordsworth in M.T., 26th March, 1904, for the evidence.

<sup>15</sup> D.N.B. VIII, 1160. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1160, 1161. <sup>17</sup> W.A.M. xxxi, 244, 245.

<sup>18</sup> D.N.B. XIII, 294. <sup>19</sup> *The Merriman Family Book.*

played their full part. We learn that Mr. Maurice, the surgeon of Marlborough,<sup>20</sup> who was at that time the School medical officer, "is constantly in the habit of attending at the School as a medical man". One boy, Clift, was beaten "the whole way down his back most cruelly"; another, Reilly, received a blow on the side of his head, causing the blood to flow over his exercise books; Hillier and Ripley were struck violently on the arm, the latter "so heavily that he had to have his arm in a sling"; and Pinniger's ears were boxed so soundly that suppuration ensued. Goddard was well thrashed before Mrs. Lawes's approving gaze; and when Mrs. Merriman worried over her son's sore head, she was told by Mrs. Codrington, to whose family Mrs. Lawes had once been governess, that it was "only a mother's fears".<sup>21</sup>

And finally came the case of Courtenay Boyle Brice. He entered the School as a boarder in 1810, and two years later, when twelve years of age, "complained of a pain on the side of the head, and a weakness in his eyes. . . . He had received a blow with a dictionary from Mr. Lawes . . . Mr. Maurice, a surgeon of Marlborough, applied leeches to both temples". His father having come to live soon after near Marlborough, Courtenay and his younger brother both became day boys. And then "on 16th Sept. 1814 Master Brice went to school after breakfast to show his theme to Mr. Lawes; on that day a holiday had been obtained by Mr. Francis. His theme had been incorrect, and he was desired to alter it—he did so—and took it with him to school; he gave the theme to Mr. Lawes, who, finding it still wrong, desired the boy to go into a passage leading from the school; Mr. Lawes went to his study, and after being there a few minutes, he called to the boy, and desired him to go into the study. . . . Mr. Lawes took his key from his pocket, and, opening a closet, took a rod from it, and began to beat the boy about the head and face . . . and raising his hand, with his fist clenched, struck the boy a violent blow upon the head, which made him insensible at the time". Six weeks later the boy suffered from constipation, relieved by large doses of quicksilver; from fainting fits; from a tumour, dispersed by leeches; and from epileptic fits, during which it took four men to hold him down.<sup>22</sup> The father brought an action against the Master, which was tried by special jury in the court of King's Bench. The medical evidence was conflicting; the press tended to support Mr. Lawes, who produced twenty affidavits in his favour. The one witness, a boy Bayliffe, was not permitted by his mother to give evidence; and there was perhaps more than a measure of truth in Mr. Lawes's earliest comment—"You idle young rascal, you deserve it". But the Master was, quite rightly on the evidence, found guilty, forced to make a public apology, and fined a

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<sup>20</sup> Thelwall Maurice, d. 1830, who in 1789 founded the family medical practice which still persists. <sup>21</sup> *Narrative* 28, 61—63. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 34.

nominal 6s. 8d.<sup>23</sup> The father appealed to the Mayor, as Visitor of the School, to remove Mr. Lawes,<sup>24</sup> but no action was taken.

The decision in fact made no difference to the Master's brutality, for Canon Francis Goddard (1814—1893), for a long period Vicar of Hilmarton, who was at the School from 1824 to 1828, when Mr. Lawes "was suffering from a very painful disease, afterwards fatal to him", has told us that Mr. Lawes, "the greatest tyrant that ever tormented little and big boys", used to strike every boy as he entered the schoolroom; but that the boys thought "that old Lawes was even more tender-hearted than his wife, who was seldom known to plead for mercy for any delinquent".<sup>25</sup>

Mr. Lawes was a prominent figure in Marlborough, in the last days of the unreformed Corporation, when there were but five capital burgesses<sup>26</sup>, and when the dominance of the Bruces was at its zenith.<sup>27</sup> He was on intimate terms with the governing caste in the town, for whom he gave frequent dances in his house. He was the last of the old type of Master, and the last under whom the curriculum of the School was purely classical<sup>28</sup> The present School has two links with him. "In pursuance of a benevolent intention verbally expressed" by her husband, Mrs. Lawes placed £100 in the hands of trustees to be transferred to the School on her death; in 1867 the bequest, then worth £90, was transferred to the Charity Commission.<sup>29</sup> As "Lawes's gift", it still forms part of the School endowment. And the present School bell was recast in the old Aldbourne Foundry, now long closed, in 1816. The inscription reads:—

LAWES A.M. 1816.

By

J. WELLS ALDBOURNE

Recast during the

Mastership of the Rev. J.T.

The Classical School reached its zenith in the forties under a grandson

<sup>23</sup> The verdict and fine are as given in Waylen, *op. cit.*, 471, but the records are not complete. J. T. Lawes by indictment 16th September, 54 George III (K.B. 11/72 No.16) was charged with assault and the jury returned a true bill. By writ of certiorari, 26th May, 55 George III, the proceedings were transferred to K.B. There is, however, no reference in the Great Doggett Book (Ind. 6666) to the Crown Roll on which the proceedings should be recorded at length. <sup>24</sup> Letter 17th July, 1815, quoted in *Narrative*, 63—67. <sup>25</sup> F. Goddard, *op. cit.* <sup>26</sup> C. A. and Marlborough Court Books, *passim*. Oldfield: *History of Boroughs of Great Britain*, London, 1792, gives the number of voters as three. <sup>27</sup> The Bruces represented Marlborough in the Commons 1768—1780, 1790—1814, 1818—1830, 1832—53. Waylen, *op. cit.*, 523, 524. <sup>28</sup> Mr. Lawes's presentations to the Library included editors of Cicero, Herodotus, Horace and Livy, Scapula's *Lexicon*, and Labbe's *Fructus Pronunciationis catholici indices*. His undermaster, Mr. C. Hoyle, gave editions of Aristotle. <sup>29</sup> Documents in possession of the School.

of a previous Master, the Rev. Thomas Meyler,<sup>30</sup> of Pembroke College, Oxford, who was nominated a fortnight after his predecessor's death, and ruled the School until his death on November 28th, 1852, at the age of fifty-three.

Like his two immediate predecessors, he ignored the Rule of 1678 that the Master should not undertake other work, but he appears to have put his School before his parish of Baydon, to which he was instituted in 1833 and where he employed a curate; the parish registers prove that he took but one wedding there, only ten out of a hundred and seventy baptisms, and only four out of a hundred and thirty-four burials.<sup>31</sup> He was a strict disciplinarian, but without the brutality of his predecessor, for he rivalled Dr. Matthew Wilkinson, the first Master of Marlborough College, in his use of the cane; and Tom Moore, who sent his two sons to the School, records in his Journal an occasion when they came home black and blue from head to foot.<sup>32</sup> But the Master earned the affection of his boys, who at this period were generally called Meylerians, and on his death they placed a stained glass window in St. Mary's Church, where there is also a memorial tablet.

The best known of the boys in the School in the early years of Mr. Meyler's mastership was Edward Caswall (1814—1878), who while still at Brasenose College, Oxford, earned a reputation as a university wit through the repeated reprinting, under the pseudonym of "Scriblerus Redivivus", of his popular *Pluck Examination Papers* and *The Art of Pluck*, entertaining reflections on the intellectual and social life of

<sup>30</sup> The School possesses a portrait. A possible explanation of the appointment of a grandson of a previous Master lies in the fact that the Rev. T. Meyler the elder had married Katherine Chivers on May 16th, 1751, at St. Mary's. Their son, the Rev. J. Meyler, spent a good part of his life in Marlborough, and when he died in middle age in 1806, as Rector of Maulden, Bedfordshire (to which he was presented in 1799 and where he was succeeded by another Grammar School boy, William Ralfe), his widow appears to have returned to live in Marlborough with her sister-in-law, Elizabeth. That the family were settled in Marlborough is suggested by the fact that Mrs. Meyler continued until 1835 to hold the six acres in Portfields which her husband had first obtained by payment of a fine of £40 in 1794 (C.A. II., 304), and by the Parish Register, which gives the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth at St. Peter's in 1822 and the burial of his daughter Catherine at St. Mary's in 1842. The grave of Thomas Meyler the younger is in the south-east corner of St. Mary's churchyard. <sup>31</sup> Details extracted from the Parish Registers by the Rev. J. S. Holmes, Vicar. <sup>32</sup> Both are buried in Bromham churchyard where the inscriptions read:

"John Russell Moore, who died November 23rd, 1842, aged 19 years.  
Thomas Lansdowne Parr Moore, born 24th October, 1818; died in Africa, January, 1846".

Oxford in the thirties, which with other ephemeral trifles of his youth he wished in later life to be buried in oblivion. In 1850 he left the Anglican ministry and was received into the Birmingham Oratory; on his death he was buried next to his friend, Cardinal Newman.<sup>33</sup>

Both Mr. Lawes and Mr. Meyler were men of standing in the town and staunch supporters of the Castle Club,<sup>33a</sup> which probably had indirectly a great influence in the administration of the borough. And though Mr. Meyler must have realised the ultimate effect of the coming of the new school on his own position and his ancient Foundation, he gave a generous welcome to Marlborough College at the banquet which the Mayor, Mr. T. B. Merriman, gave to the Council at the Ailesbury Arms on August 26th, 1843.<sup>34</sup> The Master was a good classical scholar and his boys received a good grounding in the classics through King Edward's Latin Grammar and Charles Wordworth's Greek Grammar (in Latin), the School textbooks, as with the aid of the Latin interpretations in Hederic's lexicon they struggled through Cæsar and Virgil, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Euripides.<sup>35</sup>

Though he published nothing, he was a pioneer in the study of local history, for he made copious extracts from the Rolls of Parliament, the Records of the Tower of London and of the Court of the Exchequer, as well as from the publications of his own day: Sir Thomas Phillipps' *Monumental Remains*, the *Collectanea Topographica Genealogica* and Neale's *Collegiate Churches*.<sup>36</sup> But outside the classroom and the study,

<sup>33</sup> D.N.B. III, 1185. Introduction to 1893 edition (Blackwell, Oxford) of *The Art of Pluck*. The best known of his hymns is a translation of the Golden Sequence, "Come, Thou Holy Spirit, Come" (Hymns A. and M., 156). <sup>33a</sup> The Castle Club was founded in 1774, with 67 members, all drawn from County Society over a wide area, to meet for dinner at the Castle on the Friday before the full moon. From 1782 meetings were confined to the six summer months. In October, 1842, the meeting place was changed to the Duke's (of Marlborough's) Arms, at one time Wildman's or Wilday's Hotel, and now renamed the Ailesbury Arms. The Club, which numbered about 38 in the forties, ended in 1846. The Rev. J. Edwards (with his predecessor, the Rev. T. Meyler the elder), was an original member, but resigned in 1787. The Rev. J. T. Lawes was elected on September 18th, 1812, and the Rev. T. Meyler the younger, who was a regular attendant, and often Chairman, on August 7th, 1829. "Rules and Regulations of the Marlborough Castle Club; also a list of the Names of all Gentlemen who have been members of the Society since its Foundation 1774", vol. v, in the possession of Messrs. Merrimans, Porter & Long, Marlborough. <sup>34</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.*, 455. <sup>35</sup> *Marlborough Grammar School in the Forties: Reminiscences of an old Meylerian* (R. W. Merriman). Pamphlet 20pp., Marlborough, 1921, p. 8. <sup>36</sup> "Memoranda of Marlborough", 2 MS. volumes compiled by T. Meyler, now in the possession of the School.



Mr. Meyler could take a presentable photograph of the Town Mill and turn a good ivory whistmarker on his lathe; and he excelled in archery,<sup>37</sup> a fashionable sport which survived in Marlborough until the late seventies in a meadow on the south side of George Lane.

In 1834 the Commissioners reported that the school was in "high repute".<sup>38</sup> There were then fourteen free scholars (i.e., sons of burgesses and residents of seven years standing) who followed the same classical curriculum as the day scholars and boarders, and received in addition a general education for a further fee of five guineas a year.<sup>39</sup> Day scholars not on the Foundation paid sixteen guineas a year. The School roll numbered only forty,<sup>40</sup> and so the Master had not by 1834 made up the loss of boarders which occurred on Mr. Lawes's death, when many boys had transferred to the even crueller Mr. Shapcote at Southampton Grammar School.<sup>41</sup> To the fee income must be added the Master's boarding charges and his share of the endowment. The balance sheet for the year 1828—9 shows that both the gross income of the Foundation (£203) and the Master's salary (£152) had depreciated considerably since 1816.<sup>42</sup>

In the early forties the School began to increase, and numbers reached about seventy by 1846, when the growth of the School necessitated building. Mr. Meyler bought the large hall of the Berkshire Archery Club, and re-erected it as a dining hall, and built a fives court behind it. He purchased the building in Sebastapol Square,<sup>43</sup> and the bricked-in doorways in the boys' cloakroom to-day mark the entrance to the assistant-masters' common-room on the ground floor and the staircase which led to the boys' dormitories upstairs. He put gas in his house and in the schoolroom to replace the tallow dips. He erected a covered playground at the north-west corner of the School site, adjoining the Parade, and fitted it with a trapeze, parallel bars and a rope.<sup>44</sup> He rented from the Corporation an acre of land adjoining a school meadow across the road,<sup>45</sup> and converted his private garden at the south-eastern end of the school site into a junior playground.<sup>46</sup>

Mr. R. W. Merriman and Dr. O. Codrington compiled a list of boys they remembered at the School during the period 1846—1851,<sup>47</sup> and an

<sup>37</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.*, 11. <sup>38</sup> *Inquiry Concerning Charities*, 1834, p. 1395. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>41</sup> F. Goddard, *op. cit.* <sup>42</sup> C.A. III, fol. 349, 350. The figures given in the *Inquiry Concerning Charities*, p. 1395, are incorrect. <sup>43</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.*, 4. This was an almshouse of which the Corporation were originally Trustees and which was conveyed on 18th March, 1725, to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of St. Mary. It contained in 1834, 43 inmates of whom 14 were old and infirm. On the establishment of the Union Workhouse in 1837 it was sold to the Rev. T. Meyler for £415. (Memoranda of Marlborough.) <sup>44</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.*, 6. <sup>45</sup> *Inquiry Concerning Charities*, 1395. <sup>46</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.*, 4. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 14—20.

analysis of the information there given is a good indication of the character of the School. One hundred and six boys are listed, but in many cases the information is far from complete. That the School drew its boys from the professional classes is suggested by the fact that the father's occupation is given in forty-five cases; viz., clergymen, nineteen; solicitors, nine; doctors, seven; landowners, four; and of the day boys: wine merchant, three; banker, one; estate agent, one; auctioneer, one. The rougher element among the day boys is no longer mentioned, for they seem to have been excluded by the annual fee of five guineas required from Foundationers for instruction in subjects other than classics, and were at this time probably attracted to the recently built Church elementary schools in the borough. And certainly the School was mainly non-local, for the homes of the boys are given as follows: Marlborough, eight; boarders from Wiltshire, twenty-nine; boarders from neighbouring counties, ten; boarders from distant counties, sixteen; and boarders whose homes are not specified, forty-three.

There had been a tendency since the beginning of the century for a small number of boys to migrate to larger schools, and in the forties Winchester had succeeded Harrow in popularity, and was itself soon to be superseded by Marlborough College. Thus in the list we find that five boys migrated to Marlborough College (including William Jebb Few, the son of one of the founders), and three to Winchester; nineteen boys went on to the University.

Some idea of the function of the School may be gathered from the professions adopted by the boys which are given as: Church, nine; army, six; navy, four; law, four; medicine, three; farming, two; civil and diplomatic service, two; teaching, two; politics, one; banking, one; architect, one; auctioneer, one; wine merchant, one. Three of the boys went to Australia, two to New Zealand, and one to India.

The third generation of the Merriman family attended the School during Mr. Meyler's headmastership, though all completed their education at Winchester. Edward Baverstock Merriman (1839—1915) passed from the family banking business to the chairmanship of the Capital and Counties Bank, and became estate agent to Lord Ailesbury. His cousin, Robert William Merriman (1836—1924), was clerk to the Marlborough Municipal Trustees, Clerk of the Peace for the County, and from 1887 for thirty-seven years the first Clerk to the Wiltshire County Council. A younger brother, George Merriman (1837—1905), entered the Church, and of his two distant cousins one, Thomas Lendon Merriman (1836—1901), became a clerk in the War Office, and the other, Henry Harvey Merriman (1840—1899), became a brewer and distiller in Lancashire.<sup>48</sup>

Of others who attained a certain eminence in their chosen professions one might mention William Codrington, the Admiral Superintendent at Chatham, and his brother, Oliver Codrington, the Deputy Surgeon

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<sup>48</sup> *Merriman Family Book.*

General; Robert Dixon, the Headmaster of Nottingham School, and Robert C. Stiles, the Headmaster of Shepton Mallet Grammar School; Edmund Douglas Fane, His Majesty's Ambassador to Madrid; Frederick Halcomb, Clerk to the House of Assembly at Adelaide; and Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood.

The list of scholarships also indicates a flourishing School, and Oxford, as the Commissioners noted,<sup>49</sup> was at this period more popular than Cambridge, probably because the Somerset scholarships there were now more valuable.<sup>50</sup>

Religious education was inevitably an integral feature of the School, and involved the reading of the Greek Testament, the repetition of the Thirty-nine Articles with a study of *Tomline on the Articles*, and much learning of the Catechism, Collects, and Epistles. Morning and Evening Prayers in School were supplemented on Sundays and Saints' Days by attendance at St. Mary's Church, where the boys sat until

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<sup>49</sup> *Inquiry Concerning Charities*, 1396. <sup>50</sup> In 1833 Brasenose College re-arranged the Somerset Thornhill scholarships. The six best, financed by the whole revenues of the Manor Farm, the Thornhill Manor scholarships, were, according to the Duchess of Somerset's will, reserved for boys intended for the Ministry whose parents were "not so well able to contribute to their education". These remained at £52 per annum, and were to be filled alternately from Marlborough Grammar School, Hereford Cathedral School, and Manchester Grammar School. The remaining portion of the estate was used for the maintenance of "additional Somerset scholars". The value of these, the Somerset Thornhill Scholarships, was now raised from £15 to £36 8s., and their number fixed at twelve, four from each of the three schools. Letter from the Principal of Brasenose College to the Rev. T. Meyler, June 5th, 1833. A Somerset Scholarship at Cambridge at this period was worth only £25 per annum.

At Oxford: Somerset scholarships to F. Goddard, 1833; H. Dumbleton (and S.T.M.S.), 1839; H. A. Middleton (and S.T.M.S.), 1844; S. T. H. Jervois, 1844; G. M. Squibb (and S.T.M.S.), 1845; J. Lukin (and S.T.M.S.), 1846; W. H. Lukin, 1848; P. H. Moore, 1849; T. N. Hicks, 1850; E. J. Owen, 1850; J. E. Codrington (and S.T.M.S.), 1852; C. Knipe, 1852; S.T.M. scholarships to W. Cockin, 1832 (Headmaster of Kidderminster Grammar School, 1843); E. Caswall, 1832; R. Stanley, 1833; R. Ogle, 1836; J. G. Cazenave, 1839, (President of the Union 1845, D.D. 1874, Chancellor of Edinburgh Cathedral 1878). R. Ogle became a barrister of the Middle Temple: the remainder entered the Church.

The native counties of B.N.C. admissions from the Grammar School (including commoners) are given as Wilts 6, Hants 3, Berks 2, Dorset 3, Salop 2, London 3, Northumberland 1, Ireland 1.

At Cambridge: Somerset scholarships to W. Coleman, 1843; J. S. J. Watson, 1843; H. E. Tuckey, 1848; B. H. Williams, 1849.

1844 in the old north gallery.<sup>51</sup> It is still possible to detect the outlines of the old windows. The tone of the School was good. There was practically no bullying, for the mild punishment by the boys themselves of those whose misconduct or bad work had caused the loss of a half-holiday, and known as "running the gauntlet," hardly comes in this category. There was apparently none of the cruelty which at this time characterised Marlborough College.<sup>52</sup>

The School uniform consisted of black Eton jacket, grey trousers, and a fully-fashioned peaked cap. Boys continued to be admitted to the School as early as eight or nine years of age. School life, according to Mr. Halcomb, was rigorous. The hours on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays were from 6.10 a.m. to 8.30 a.m., from 9.50 a.m. to twelve noon, and from 1.50 p.m. to 4 p.m. On Wednesdays and Saturdays, the half holidays, the hours were the same for work until midday. There was evening preparation each day of the week. The one classroom was used for all the pupils, the two undermasters taking the younger boys, and the Master sitting with the seniors, nearest the fire at the head of the top table, at a reading desk removed from St. Mary's Church at its restoration in 1844.<sup>53</sup> One can well understand that the boys looked forward to the weekly visit of a local confectioner, Jeffreys by name, and frequently sought leave up town to buy hot sausages from a dame at No. 7 High Street.<sup>54</sup>

Mr. R. W. Merriman has given us a vivid picture of out-of-classroom life in the late forties. Cricket was played by the seniors on the Plain, near the present Savernake Hospital, and by the juniors in the playground; and in the matches with Marlborough College the game often went to Grammar School boys. Football and hockey were attempted, but with no rules. Bathing took place at Poulton hatches. On free afternoons squirrel hunting in Savernake Forest was a common pastime. The seniors were armed with squalers, a piece of lead of the size and shape of a pea, and fixed to a cane about eighteen inches long, and bought from Piper, the plumber in the Marsh. The staff supervised, and the unfortunate juniors, their heads protected by a wickerwork covering, acted as armigers and retrieved the weapons. The use of the catapult, common at Marlborough College, was forbidden to the Grammar School boys. In the playground the ring-taw form of marbles was the fashionable game, and various forms of skipping and walking on stilts, with occasional tilting matches, were common. But "giant strides" was the most popular game. For this a stout high pole was fitted with a revolving crosspiece, to which four long ropes looped at the lower end were fixed. By placing one knee in the loop,

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<sup>51</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.*, 9, 10. <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 9. <sup>53</sup> C. H. Halcomb : *Life in the School seventy years ago*, article in *School Magazine*, 1914.

<sup>54</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.* 8.

and working with the other foot, it was possible to complete each half-circle at quite a good speed.<sup>55</sup>

Quite early in his mastership Mr. Meyler had made a reasonably successful effort to broaden the curriculum. The Master was assisted in his classical work by a second master (one of whom went as Headmaster of Streatham Grammar School<sup>56</sup>), who was always a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and who gave occasional lessons in English History to his classes.<sup>57</sup> The one or two other masters taught drawing and arithmetic, and for a long period it had been agreed that the extra fees for non-classical subjects should be assigned to the payment of the assistant staff. For free scholars (i.e. Foundationers) this extra fee was five guineas. It seems certain, however, that more was done for the boarders, for the extra charges for them were four guineas for English, one guinea for arithmetic, four guineas for French, and four guineas each for drawing and music.<sup>58</sup>

Consequent on the passing of the Grammar Schools Act in 1840, making it easier to effect reforms in the older educational foundations, a friendly petition was presented on May 6th, 1842, by certain inhabitants of Marlborough—Sir Erasmus Williams, Stephen Brown, Charles Gregory, William Halcomb, William White, David Pierce Maurice, Charles May and Thomas Reeves Rich—asking for a remodelling of the old Statutes and an assurance that Mr. Meyler's extension of education "to include the other branches of Science and Literature" in order that boys might qualify for "superior trade and mercantile business" might be made permanent. They also asked that the Lord Chancellor should appoint a Visitor and a permanent Governing Body or name two trustees to act with the three who remained: Thomas Halcomb, John Gardner and John Edmeads. The Master and the Marquis of Ailesbury briefed Sir C. Wetherell, and the Trustees Mr. Romilly, who asked and obtained a dismissal of the petition with costs. The Lord Chancellor agreed with the defendants that the conversion of the School to a commercial school would be contrary to the Founder's intentions, and would jeopardise the Somerset scholarships. He stated that the endowment was so small that he could not approve the diversion of any of it to such instruction, which he felt should continue to be given under the existing arrangements at an additional fee.<sup>59</sup>

But belief in the insufficiency of a classical education for all—and especially for the town boys—grew rapidly in the succeeding ten years, and the demand for a broader curriculum could not be stifled by a judicial decision.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 4, 5. See Plate III, by one of the drawing masters, Unger, and dated 1844. <sup>56</sup> Merriman, *op. cit.*, 19. <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 19. <sup>58</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.*, 476, no authority cited. <sup>59</sup> Book of Decrees and Orders (Chancery), 1843 B folio 1 (C33/934, fol. 1) P.R.O.



THE SCHOOL BUILDING AND MYSTER'S HOUSE, 1844, FROM THE SOUTH.



## VII.

## CLASSICAL AND MODERN.

The death of the Rev. T. Meyler in 1852 after a headmastership of twenty-four years re-focused attention on the deficiencies of the Royal Free Grammar School or King Edward's School, by both of which names the Marlborough Grammar School was then more commonly known. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 had taken all rights of supervision from the Marlborough Town Council, without appointing any official Visitors, and the Municipal Charity Trustees, who had replaced the Corporation in 1837, were concerned only with the management of the School estates, and could exercise no control whatever over the Master. In spite of the legal decision of 1843 it was still complained of the late Master that he was not sufficiently progressive, and certainly the classical education provided by the School, though suited to the needs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, appealed only to a dozen or so town boys in the mid-nineteenth. The foundation of Marlborough College in 1843 had had an immediate effect, for by 1853 there were only fourteen boarders and six local boys in the School.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Somerset scholarships at Brasenose College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge, had in recent years gone to "foreigners" boarding with the Master; only two or three town boys had been elected to a scholarship in a generation.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that the Charter of Marlborough College was under revision at this very moment led Lord Bruce, to whom the Marquis of Ailesbury had referred certain letters criticising "the system of education hitherto pursued at the School",<sup>3</sup> to put forward a scheme for amalgamating the two schools. The scheme suggested was as follows:—

- " 1. To unite King Edward's School and the College as one institution with two departments or branches of education—the English branch to be carried on at King Edward's School House, and the Classical branch to be carried on at the College, under one Headmaster, with an under-master specially attached to the English branch, who should reside at the present Grammar School House, and have charge of the scholars there.
2. The property of King Edward's School to be kept and managed as at present, and the Charity Trustees to pay the proceeds to the Headmaster, towards the salaries and expenses of King Edward's School exclusively.

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<sup>1</sup> "To the Mayor, Burgesses and other inhabitants of the Town of Marlborough", pamphlet 44 pp., by Lord Bruce, Emberlin and Harold, Marlborough, 1853 (hereinafter called *Bruce pamphlet*), p. 12. Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868 (hereinafter called *S.I.C.*), xiv, 20. <sup>2</sup> *Bruce pamphlet*, 7. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.



3. The education at King Edward's School to include the rudiments of the Latin language, and Greek if required, French, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Physical Science, and such kinds of general instruction as would fit a boy for professional and commercial pursuits.
4. The Bishop of the Diocese, the Marquis of Ailesbury, and the Mayor to be joint Visitors of King Edward's School, with powers to require all the terms of the union to be maintained in both branches.
5. Burgesses or residents at Marlborough, who had at present the privilege of sending their sons to King Edward's School, to have the same right as heretofore to send their sons there on the same terms.
6. The same parties, as above stated, to have in addition the privilege of sending their sons to the Classical School (i.e., the College) on the same terms as to the Grammar School; to be admissible between the ages of ten and fourteen on passing an examination in Latin Grammar and the first four rules in arithmetic.
7. The playgrounds of each school to be appropriated to their respective scholars.
8. Boarders to be received at King Edward's School under such regulations as the Headmaster and Visitors might determine.
9. All exhibitions of both the schools to be open for competition to all the scholars, whether Foundation boys or others. In cases of equal merit the town boys, that is those on the Foundation, to have a preference in all the King Edward's School exhibitions, and the boys not on the Foundation to have a preference in all the College exhibitions. Moreover, if a Foundation boy should be within ten of the top of the Classical School, he should be entitled as of right to the best vacant Somerset exhibition.
10. The examiners to be unconnected with either School and to be approved by the Visitors of King Edward's School as well as by the Council<sup>3a</sup> and, if necessary, by Brasenose and St. John's Colleges.
17. The Headmaster of King Edward's School to be appointed by the Marquis of Ailesbury on the presentation of the Council of Marlborough College, and the Under-Master having charge of the English School to be appointed on such conditions as might be thereafter agreed upon by Lord Ailesbury and the Council of the College".<sup>4</sup>

Lord Bruce maintained that his scheme would give the town boys either a good classical education at the College or an adequate scientific and commercial education at King Edward's School. It would permanently fix Marlborough College, whose lease had then only four years to run,<sup>5</sup> and which was faced with bankruptcy and annihilation,<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3a</sup> i.e., of Marlborough College. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 23—27. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. <sup>6</sup> A. G. Bradley and others : *History of Marlborough College*, 1923 ; 173—5.

to the town, and so further the commercial prosperity of Marlborough.<sup>7</sup> It would graft Marlborough College to an ancient foundation. Dr. Cotton, the Master of Marlborough, was believed to be in favour of the plan,<sup>8</sup> and Lord Bruce had ascertained from the Council of the College "that they would be ready to entertain and consider in detail a plan for such an annexation, if submitted to them on the part of the town".<sup>9</sup>

The publication of Lord Bruce's plan roused a storm of opposition in Marlborough. On March 1st, 1853, the Trustees of the Marlborough Municipal Charities, under their Chairman, the Rev. Sir Erasmus H. G. Williams, Rector of St. Peter's (1829—1857), decided to send a request to Mr. W. Emberlin, Mayor of Marlborough, for a public meeting, and a similar request came from thirty-six prominent citizens on March 12th.<sup>10</sup> On March 14th Sir Erasmus Williams wrote an open letter to his "Brothers and Friends" stating that Lord Bruce's pamphlet "evidently bears the *imprimatur* of the College Council", who intend to seek a "matrimonial alliance with the Royal Free Grammar School, for the sake of her wealth (*spolia opima*), and then, like other fortune hunters, to turn her adrift or to treat her with contempt and degradation". He saw signs of the encroachment on the Common by the College, and even had fears for the ultimate safety of his Rectory. The local Press was more discreet but definitely antagonistic to the plan, as were also the old boys, if one may judge from a letter from an "Old Free School Scholar from North Wilts".<sup>11</sup> And Dr. Norwood has related that he has seen and read a handbill circulated to the burghers of Marlborough calling upon them not to let their old and famous Grammar School be amalgamated or in any way identified with "the bankrupt institution in the Bath Road".<sup>12</sup> The town meeting was held on March 17th, 1853, in the Town Hall, and by a large majority it was decided that it was not desirable to unite the two schools, "the meeting being of the opinion that the Royal Free Grammar School contains within itself sufficient means for the extension of education to provide for the wants of the town".<sup>13</sup> Sir Erasmus Williams was responsible for the victory. He maintained in his speech that the effect of the proposals would have been to downgrade the Grammar School: "If my lord's plan is intended to attract a great many inhabitants to the town by reducing the Grammar School to a second or third or fourth or fifth rate commercial school, why not make it a national school at once? Really, if this be a measure of reform at all, it must be 'Irish reform'".

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<sup>7</sup> Lord Bruce maintained that in 1853 the College was spending £15,000 a year in the town; *Bruce pamphlet* 41. <sup>8</sup> M.T., 27th November, 1875. <sup>9</sup> *Bruce pamphlet* 33. <sup>10</sup> Originals in possession of the School. <sup>11</sup> Pamphlets: Wiltshire Cuttings III, 129—131, in Library of Wiltshire Archaeological Society, Devizes. <sup>12</sup> *Marlborough College 1843—1943, a brief survey to commemorate the centenary*, Cambridge 1943, p. 45. <sup>13</sup> Minutes in possession of the School.

The college is avaricious: "The College comes here and asks for the scholarships; they have long been casting their 'sheep's eyes' at them, and when they have got them, the town boys may go to York". For he said they would not go to the College: "What mother would consent to send her children down to the College, to be called snobs and charity boys?"<sup>14</sup>

A further proposition was carried asking the Marquis of Ailesbury to obtain a pledge from the Master to be appointed to widen the curriculum to enable boys "not only to qualify for admission to the universities, with a view to the learned professions, but also for preparing them for the superior trades and mercantile business".<sup>15</sup>

As a result of the meeting Lord Bruce withdrew his proposals, without, however, changing his opinions. The Rev. Frederick Hookey Bond, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and one of Dr. Matthew Wilkinson's appointments to the staff of Marlborough College, where he had been an assistant-master for seven years (1846—1853),<sup>16</sup> had been in charge of the Grammar School during these discussions, and he was now appointed Master. He maintained a close connection with Marlborough College, for he transferred two of his sons there,<sup>17</sup> appointed its drawing master to his staff in 1856, and in 1862 appointed an old Marlburian, the Rev. W. H. Longhurst, as classics master.<sup>18</sup> And throughout his mastership an average of six Grammar School boys were transferred annually to Marlborough College.<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Bond's mastership was marked by a pronounced increase in numbers. There were twenty-four boarders in 1853,<sup>20</sup> between forty and fifty in 1861,<sup>21</sup> and sixty in 1868;<sup>22</sup> but the number had decreased to thirty in 1876.<sup>23</sup> Although it was generally maintained that the fee of six guineas (later reduced to five guineas) a year would restrict the number of day boys,<sup>24</sup> the fact remained that their numbers rose from six in 1853<sup>25</sup> to thirty in 1868,<sup>26</sup> and to forty in 1876,<sup>27</sup> a reflection on the economic prosperity of Marlborough in the sixties and seventies of the last century. The day boys, however, did not reach such a high academic standard as the boarders, for they left school at an earlier age; and in 1868 it was reported that rarely more than one day boy a year reached the classical Upper Sixth, and that no Foundationer

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in pamphlet, no title, London, 1872, by an old Marlburian, for private circulation. <sup>15</sup> Minutes. <sup>16</sup> *Marlborough College Register*. <sup>17</sup> F. G. Bond, who entered the Navy, and H. C. Bond, who became Headmaster of Bromley Park School (*M.C. Register*). The third son, F. B. Bond, was transferred from the School to Bath College; he was well known as an architect and archæologist (*Times*, 13th March, 1945). <sup>18</sup> *W.A.M.* 1, 501. <sup>19</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 32. <sup>20</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 28. <sup>21</sup> *M.T.*, 5th February, 1876. <sup>22</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 28. <sup>23</sup> *M.T.*, 5th, February, 1876. <sup>24</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 31. <sup>25</sup> *Bruce pamphlet* 12. <sup>26</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 28. <sup>27</sup> *M.T.*, 5th February, 1876.

had obtained a Somerset scholarship in the previous fourteen years.<sup>28</sup>

In the sixties, when the reputation of the School was at its zenith, there were four assistant-masters.<sup>29</sup> The senior classical master was always a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, but the remaining three came generally from other universities. The value of the School endowments had appreciated to £246 per annum, and of this the Headmaster received £218.<sup>30</sup> All tuition and boarding fees were payable to him, but he was responsible for the payment of the staff, both teaching and domestic.

The classical or upper school, composed of the major part of the boarders and a few privileged day boys, remained the core of the School, and was under the immediate direction of the Headmaster, in whose house they lived. The charge for boarding was forty-five or fifty guineas a year; and in 1869 school bills averaged £66, with the highest at £79, and the lowest at £59. Studies were shared by four or five boys; four meals were provided daily with meat at one.<sup>31</sup>

The special prizes established in the School by Lord Bruce for English essay, and for Latin prose on the Lawes bequest, went normally to boys on the classical side. Two or three boys proceeded annually to the University, and at Brasenose College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge, there was a creditable number of Somerset scholars.<sup>32</sup> Other scholarships are not easy to trace in view of the complete disappearance of all School records, but G. H. P. Barlow was Hornby prizeman at Brasenose in 1861; R. Purvis (who later entered

<sup>28</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 29. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 29. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 32. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 31. <sup>32</sup> Oxford: Open scholarships to R. B. Leach, 1855; E. C. W. Austin (and S. T. M. S.), 1864; H. E. Clayton (and Somerset and S. T. M. S.), 1871; Somerset scholarships to F. Lillington, 1856; G. H. Squire (and S. T. M. S.), 1855; W. H. Maber, 1859; A. H. ETTY, 1860; C. E. E. Williams (and S. T. M.S.), 1869; F. P. Chappell (and S. T. M. S.), 1869.

Maber went into the I.C.S., Austin and Chappell were called to the bar, Williams became Headmaster of Summerfields, Oxford, the remainder entered the Church.

Cambridge: R. Dixon, 1853; J. A. Boodle, 1855; A. Squibb, 1856.

By a Statute made 16th May, 1860, and sanctioned by the Queen in Council, 16th April, 1861, the Somerset scholarships were equalised at £50 per annum and thereafter termed exhibitions; they could then be held with open scholarships. (*Statutes of the College of St. John the Evangelist, in the University of Cambridge*, pp. 55—57.) The wearing of the special scholar's gown was thereafter discontinued.

S. B. Barlow, 1861; W. F. Smith (open), 1862; T. Johns, 1862; Bourne (open), 1864; Beor, 1864; W. Lee Warner (open), 1865; W. Greenhill (open), 1866; W. A. Jones, 1866; R. R. Webb (open), 1868; J. M. Johnson, 1868; E. Ede, 1868; A. Sutton (open), 1869; R. W. Phillips, 1870; W. H. Gwillim, 1870; B. H. Cox, 1871; F. W. Jaques (and sizarship), 1872; T. W. Thomas, 1873; A. Yate, 1873; J. H. Gwillim, 1874; A. Sells, 1874; E. C. T. Eddrup, 1875; M. Jaques, 1875.

Parliament) obtained a minor scholarship in international law and jurisprudence at Downing College, Cambridge, in 1866; and R. Maguire was elected to a postmastership at Merton College, Oxford, and to a mathematical scholarship at The Queen's College, Oxford, in 1873.

The classical side also prepared boys for the public schools, and Gatty obtained a scholarship at Winchester in 1863, and Street at Durham in 1864. When candidates were first entered for the Oxford Local Examinations in 1874 (the same year that Marlborough College took its first Certificate examination), one boy emerged as "first classic"; the entry of boys for this examination was, however, as in most schools, intended mainly to encourage the modern side.<sup>33</sup>

For, in deference to the opinion expressed at the Town Meeting in 1853, and at the request of the Marquis of Ailesbury, a modern side was established, and in 1856 placed under the more immediate control of Mr. S. Featherstone, who from 1856 to 1859 held a part-time appointment as drawing master at Marlborough College, where a modern side had been established in 1854. In 1859 he came to the Grammar School as a full-time master.<sup>34</sup> At this time "the School buildings in their appearance and arrangement were hardly worthy of the Foundation",<sup>35</sup> consisting only of two classrooms, one of which was also used as a dining room. The Master had already extended the boarding house for his classical scholars at his own expense;<sup>36</sup> he now rented a house opposite the School for Mr. Featherstone and twenty-five boys.<sup>37</sup> The growth of the modern side was rapid. In 1868 there were twenty-three boarders and seventeen day boys on the modern side, compared with thirty-seven boarders and thirteen day boys on the classical side.<sup>38</sup> Complaints were made in the town that the modern side was neglected, but such information as is available does not confirm this. It was, in fact, reported in 1868 that the standard of work on the modern side was most creditable,<sup>39</sup> and in the seventies Mr. Bond remarked on the increasing time that was given to the preparation of boys for the professions. But the town was dissatisfied, and the fact that the Master had given Mr. Featherstone leave of absence, as necessary in the early seventies to qualify by residence for graduation at Oxford with a view to Holy Orders, led to much ill-feeling in the town, which reached its culmination in 1876, when both Mr. Featherstone was offered a living, and the Master decided to retire.<sup>40</sup>

Although in 1869 Mr. Stanton, the Assistant Commissioner, had stated that he could find no foundation for reports that the interests of the day boys were subordinated to those of the boarders,<sup>41</sup> there can be no doubt that the Foundationers were despised by the boarders.

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<sup>33</sup> M.T., 13th December, 1873. <sup>34</sup> M.T., 22nd and 29th January, 1876. <sup>35</sup> S.I.C. xiv, 29. <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 34. <sup>37</sup> Now Moffat House, London Road. <sup>38</sup> S.I.C. xiv, 29. <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>40</sup> M.T., 22nd and 29th January, 1876. <sup>41</sup> S.I.C. xiv, 30.

There was of course a social difference. The boarders were the sons of professional men and were destined for the Army or the Church. "The day boys were the sons of tradesmen and respectable inhabitants"<sup>42</sup> and stayed in the town to run their family businesses. Mr. Bond truthfully stated on his retirement in 1876 that he could not pass a business house which did not contain his old boys.<sup>43</sup> The town boys, with the exception of those "privileged" ones on the classical side, were called "nippers" or "cads" and were not allowed to use the playground, ostensibly because it was the Master's private property and not adequate in size even for the boarders. The boarders only could use the covered space which had been fitted up with gymnastic apparatus. They only could be members of the cricket and football teams and School clubs, and enter the annual athletic sports. On Sundays and Saints' Days the boarders still went with the Master to St. Mary's Church, but the day boys remained at school with the undermaster.<sup>44</sup> The townspeople complained that the Master gave the major part of his time and interest to preparing his classical scholars for Oxford and Cambridge and hinted that he charged them more than the normal tuition fee, a charge which Mr. Gwillim, a local solicitor whose sons were on the classical side, refuted.<sup>45</sup>

That the School at this period was in a healthy state is the keynote of a letter from Mr. James Pirie, an assistant-master who left in 1868 with one of his colleagues, Mr. Todd, for the City of London School: "the boys in those days were on the whole exceedingly bright and manly, and the tone of the School generally a thoroughly happy one, one and all looking up to Mr. Bond as one of themselves—a big brother and a trusty friend".<sup>46</sup>

Discipline was apparently easier, for caning in public, now reserved to the Master and the master of the modern department, was more often replaced by impositions and confinements to the School premises, an obvious imitation of Marlborough College "gates".<sup>47</sup> The boys had a long day, for all rose at 6.30 a.m., and the juniors went to bed at 9 p.m. and the seniors at 10.15 p.m.; and forty-three hours a week were devoted to classwork on working days, with a further two hours on Sundays.<sup>48</sup>

There are indications of a quite vigorous corporate life in the School. The cricket score books show a succession of local matches played on Savernake Forest Cricket Ground. In 1871 Rugby football "according to the Marlborough rules", that is, with the emendations made in the Marlborough College game in 1869, was introduced and played on the Common. In 1873 the eight-page "Marlborough Grammarian" with the Town Arms on its cover and with the motto "Erimus"<sup>49</sup> began bi-monthly publication.<sup>50</sup> In 1873, consequent on the issue of

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 28. <sup>43</sup> M.T., 29th January, 1876, <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>45</sup> M.T., 12th February, 1876. <sup>46</sup> Quoted M.T., 9th October, 1905. <sup>47</sup> *S.I.C.* xiv, 32. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 31, 32. <sup>49</sup> A humorous reference to the Ailesbury motto "Fuimus". <sup>50</sup> M.T. 7th June, 1873.

new government regulations in 1870, a Cadet Rifle Corps was established. The annual Charades and the annual Prize-giving at the end of the two half-years were local events of importance, and internal examinations, reports and promotions were half-yearly.<sup>51</sup> The three-term year did not come until 1875.<sup>52</sup>

Meanwhile in the early seventies the old question of the amalgamation of the Grammar School and the College was revived. The Commissioners of 1868 had observed that the number of Trustees was reduced to three and that only one of these, Mr. D. P. Maurice, was resident in the town. As a result, in 1870 twelve new Trustees were appointed. The Master almost immediately submitted to them a series of proposals which were approved on December 20th, 1871, at a meeting with the Marquis of Ailesbury.<sup>54</sup> They were certainly not prompted by the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1868, for Mr. Stanton had expressed himself definitely as of the contrary opinion.<sup>55</sup> Mr. Bond appears to have been their sole author, and was, no doubt, prompted thereto by the rapid decline in the number of boarders and increase in the number of day boys in the early seventies. The proposals were as follows:—

- “1. The Grammar School to be united with the College on the footing of a branch institution; its buildings and financial management to be distinct; the system of teaching to be subject to such an amount of supervision and direction on the part of the Master of the College as shall be called for by the responsibility thus thrown upon him.
2. Future Headmasters of the Grammar School to be appointed by the Marquis of Ailesbury as heretofore.
3. The School to be “semi-classical”; the interests of the town and neighbourhood to be regarded especially
  - a. By the maintenance, with such improvements as may be deemed necessary, of the present “modern or commercial” School, with power to continue to educate pupils until seventeen years of age; the fees paid by home boarders (or day scholars) being accommodated to their respective wants, i.e. pupils in the lower (III Grade) forms and below fourteen years of age to pay four guineas per annum; pupils in the higher (II Grade) forms to pay eight guineas per annum.
  - b. The classical portion of the School to prepare pupils for Marlborough College, receiving them for two years at least between their ninth and fourteenth years. It should be understood that this portion of the School is necessary in

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<sup>51</sup> S.I.C. xiv, 32. <sup>52</sup> M.T., 20th March, 1875. <sup>54</sup> The proposals were published by Mr. D. P. Maurice in M.T., 4th December, 1875. Mr. Bond, M.T., 11th December, 1875, said they had been discussed three years before. <sup>55</sup> S.I.C. xiv, 30.

order to supplement the fund for finding properly qualified masters for the whole School, which the fees of the home boarders alone could not do. But day boys are not to be kept out by boarders.

4. The Somerset scholarships to be transferred to Marlborough College, subject, however, to preference of such boys as, having reached a certain fixed form in the College, shall be the sons of burgesses or resident inhabitants of Marlborough or shall have qualified by two years previous residence at the Grammar School.
5. The College to encourage boys to spend two years at the Grammar School.
6. The new Scheme to be started in the present buildings. The Headmaster of the Grammar School to form a building fund by putting aside £10 for each boy being prepared for the College, £5 from the endowment and £5 from the College nomination fee.
7. Sons of burgesses or residents to proceed to the College free of nomination, but a maximum number to be fixed by the Trustees and the Council of Marlborough College".

Mr. Bond with the backing of Mr. D. P. Maurice converted the Trustees; Lord Ailesbury could not but approve a plan similar to that he had himself proposed in 1853. News of the proposals leaked out, and an anonymous pamphleteer of 1872 sought to rouse the borough: "Men of Marlborough, pause and ponder ere you give—throw away, to 'foreigners' the means whereby your own sons might attain to wealth and honour. Be up and doing: and by wise and prompt measures, take such steps as shall, once and for ever, secure you against these repeated attempts at spoliation and robbery. . . . England expects that every man will do his duty—and if we neglect ours in this, to our lasting shame it will be said that those living in the year 1872 have done more harm to Marlborough than a century could bring back".<sup>56</sup>

On the publication of the scheme in 1875 Dr. Farrar, the Master of Marlborough, was careful to point out that he himself had heard of the scheme only in an informal way and his Council had not considered it.<sup>57</sup> It seems difficult to believe that either the Master or the Council would have been particularly interested, for Dr. Cotton and Dr. Bradley had by 1870 brought Marlborough College to the front rank of public schools, and given it a financial stability which was already becoming apparent to all in extensions to the School and the opening of new boarding houses in the Bath Road.

Thus Mr. Bond's scheme had no hope of success, and when it was announced that he had handed in his resignation to the Marquis of Ailesbury at Christmas, 1875,<sup>58</sup> the long-suppressed discontent of the Marlborough tradesmen became vocal. Mr. Milburn asked for

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<sup>56</sup> Pamphlet as in note 14. <sup>57</sup> M.T., 11th December, 1875. <sup>58</sup> M.T., 27th November, 1875.



middle class school for boys and girls, suitable to the requirements of the many rather than as at present of the few", and envisaged a co-educational commercial school of three hundred pupils with fees at a guinea a term.<sup>59</sup> The Town Council held a secret meeting and suggested the preparation of a Memorial to the Endowed School Commissioners pleading for a commercial school.<sup>60</sup> A semi-private meeting of parents drew up such a memorial, and it was signed by about seventy tradesmen.<sup>61</sup> The Marquis of Ailesbury courteously acknowledged its receipt and transmitted it to the Charity Commissioners<sup>62</sup> but seized the opportunity to point out that many of the ideas now suggested were first put forward by him in 1853 and then decisively rejected by the town.<sup>63</sup> Attacks, certainly unjustified, were made on the Master, who quite naturally felt unable to accede to the suggestion of the Marquis that he should continue in office until Christmas, 1876.<sup>64</sup> In consequence the School closed at midsummer, when Mr. Bond went into a long retirement at Bath, and though a Mr. Taylor, lately an assistant-master at Evesham Grammar School, opened a school in the Yeomanry Store in February, 1877, it had no connection with the Grammar School.<sup>65</sup>

This closure in July, 1876, effected the greatest change in the School's history. For when it re-opened in January, 1879, the School was no longer to be under the unfettered control of the Master, but was to be administered under a Scheme of the Charity Commission, framed in accordance with the Endowed Schools Acts, which gave it a permanent governing body. The School's social complexion was henceforth completely changed: its clientèle became purely local and, in the main, commercial and not professional; its boarding house was to exist but in name, and its connection with the universities was to be broken. In the educational confusion of the late nineteenth century its standard of work was to fall, with decreasing numbers, to a low level, which necessitated a second closure in 1899. It has been left to the twentieth century to rebuild the School on new foundations as an integral part of secondary education in Wiltshire.

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<sup>59</sup> M.T., 15th January, 1876. <sup>60</sup> M.T., 22nd January, 1876. <sup>61</sup> M.T., 29th January, 1876. <sup>62</sup> Charity Reports, 1905, Marlborough, 19. <sup>63</sup> M.T., 5th February 1876. <sup>64</sup> M.T., 12th August, 1876. <sup>65</sup> M.T., 3rd February, 1877.

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## WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[This list is in no way exhaustive. The Editor asks all who are in a position to do so to assist in making the record under this heading as complete as possible.]

**Alfred Williams. His Life and Work. By Leonard Clark. Basil Blackwood, Oxford, 1945.** 8vo., xi + 206pp.

This is a full and interesting biography of a remarkable personality. Born at South Marston in 1877, Alfred Williams left the village school at the age of eleven, and after a few years of farm work, entered the G.W.R. works at Swindon, where he eventually became a hammerman. When about twenty years old, he devoted himself energetically in his spare time to the study of English literature, Latin and Greek. A few years later he published his first book of poems—*Songs of Wiltshire*, which attracted considerable attention, among those who became interested in his work being Lord Fitzmaurice, who remained his friend and helper throughout his life. After some years of this strenuous, physical and mental work, Williams's health broke down, and he was compelled to relinquish his work at Swindon. His writings brought him little material reward, and only the assistance of his friends at this time saved him from actual want.

In 1916 Williams volunteered for the Army, and served as an artilleryman in India. Here he became intensely interested in the life, literature, and religions of the country, and with characteristic energy began the study of Sanskrit. On his return home he found that the house in which his wife had been living had been sold; and he determined to build one with his own hands. With the assistance only of his wife and one aged mason, this work was accomplished, and Williams settled down to supplement his scanty literary earnings by some not very successful market-gardening. He still pursued his Sanskrit studies, and his last published work was a translation and adaptation of *Tales from the Panchatantra*.

His end came suddenly and in tragic circumstances. His wife, to whom he was devoted, was found to be suffering from incurable cancer, and for many months was in a hospital at Swindon. Although Williams was himself ill, he visited her twice daily. After returning from one of these visits he died suddenly, alone in the cottage they had built.

Mr. Clark's book leaves in the mind a rather pathetic impression of a man of strong and determined character and indomitable energy, who, feeling that his work did not receive its due measure of appreciation and success, became gradually disheartened and embittered by a sense of failure and frustration. The author's estimate of Williams's literary quality is that of a wholehearted admirer. "His final achievement . . . was supreme, and certainly matched by few others in this century". It is questionable whether this judgment will be accepted by all readers.

C. W. PUGH.

**Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire. With an Essay on "Those Leisured Ladies" by Edith Olivier. Faber and Faber, 1905.**

The four ladies are: Miss Ann Moberly, one of Bishop Moberly's fifteen children, who became the first Principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford and is best known to the curious as one of the participators in a psychic "Adventure" at Versailles; Mrs. Alfred Morrison, who lived at Beckford's Fonthill and later in Carlton House Terrace, a famous hostess both of society leaders and of those who practised all manner of arts and crafts; Miss Barbara Townsend, who was born at Mompesson House in Salisbury Close and died there ninety-seven years later, an artist with unconventional views on many subjects; and Mrs. Percy Wyndham, who with her husband built Clouds and rebuilt it after its destruction by fire, and entertained there the literary and political friends of her son, George Wyndham.

None of these four would have pictured herself, in the phrase Miss Olivier so happily borrows, as "the foster-child of silence and slow time"—of that we may be sure,

But we, to whom our age allows

Scarce space to wipe our weary brows,

may see them so, even if we remember that the author of those very lines was himself a contemporary, though an urban one, of Miss Olivier's "leisured ladies" and placed *his* Golden Age

in that past Georgian day

When men were less inclined to say

That 'Time is Gold' and overlay

With toil their pleasure.

H. C. B.

**The Coate Reservoir System : by J. B. Jones. November, 1944.**

This pamphlet, illustrated by two photographs (the Culvert Inlet and the Coate "Precipices") and a map of the district on the back cover (which shows no scale), repeats and reinforces the plea advanced in the newspaper article reviewed in the last issue (*W.A.M.*, 1, 491). In that review it was remarked that nothing had been heard of the *Dorcan* as a name for the Upper Cole since the days of Saxon land-charters. But the author in private correspondence has confirmed its survival and has heard quite recently the alternative forms *Doreen* and *During*. The persistence in these forms of at least the Celtic *dwr* seems clear, and scepticism is silenced.

H. C. B.

**Report of the Marlborough College Natural History Society for the Year 1944. No. 93.**

An increase from 24 pages to 28 might be welcomed by the sanguine as a turn of the tide. But the last pre-war issue contained 160 pages and a number of half-tone plates, a "target" which will hardly be reached again till other targets have ceased to cumber the field. But

this brief record shows the Society's activities continuing and giving highly satisfactory results.

Of birds, 118 species were recorded against a steady average of 104. The Cirl Bunting persists and a Blacktailed Godwit was seen at Coate in August. Perhaps the most remarkable find was a live Puffin in the Kennet on August 1st, when conditions precluded any theories of storm influence. The flower list contains 435 species and varieties, a large increase on the record of 1943.

Meteorological observations occupy more than half the Report. They include a series of tables reviewing the records of the 80 years over which the Society has maintained them, an arduous but valuable piece of work. There is also a summary of the weather of the last ten years, which shows that it has maintained its reputation for variety. The most interesting features were the great display of the Aurora on January 25th, 1938, and the glazed frost of January, 1940. Last year the Kennet above Marlborough was dry for three months. An increasing weakness in its flow has been observed over a number of years and is causing anxiety in many quarters.

H. C. B.

**Vicarage Picturesque.** Article by Geoffrey Grigson in *The Architectural Review* for October, 1943, which deals with Bremhill Vicarage and its associations with William Lisle Bowles. "Shenstone's hills were 'white over with sheep'. So was Bowles's glebe; and if Tom Moore told the truth, his sheep bells, to complete the sentiment, were 'tuned in thirds and fifths'. The only difference in spirit was æsthetic paganism in Shenstone's mid-eighteenth century domain, and clerical morality, crosses over the garden-seat and the turrets, and a missal in the oratory, and no temples to Pan, in the garden of the vicar, where, in his root-house, he entertained poets and scientists and patrons, and philosophers, and refugees from France". Eleven excellent illustrations: two of them after engravings in Bowles's *History of Bremhill*, the others from recent photographs. These include two of the house, and views of the obelisk, the fountain, the vases and the Gothic seat.

JOHN PIPER.

**Fonthill Abbey.** Article by H. A. N. Brockman in *The Architectural Review* for June, 1944. Informative and readable article on the history and associations of Fonthill, illustrated with twenty-two reproductions of engravings from Britton, Rutter and other sources. "The principal attribute of Fonthill Abbey, and the one which has the most to teach us to-day, was that great quality of adventure, which is so painfully absent in the majority of to-day's designs". "The architectural significance of Fonthill has been obscured, during the whole passage of time since its disappearance, by the subsequent moral intensity and earnestness of the 'realistic' period of the Gothic Revival". The illustrations include reproductions of portraits of Beckford and James Wyatt the architect.

JOHN PIPER.

## NOTES.

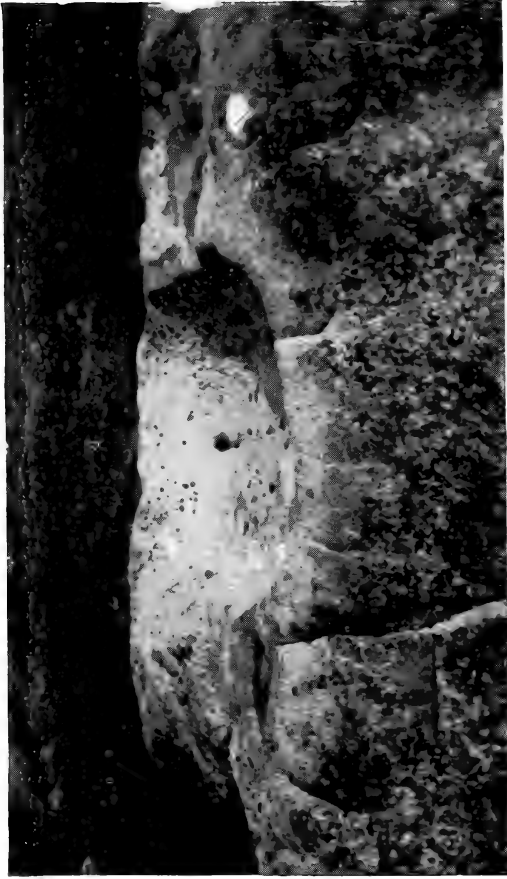
**The Templars' Bath.** From Rockley (N.W. of Marlborough) a track leading N.W. reaches, at a distance of about three quarters of a mile, Temple Bottom Barn, situated in a pleasant flat valley surrounded by hills. Here there was formerly a chambered long barrow now unfortunately destroyed, but one very large stone still remains just below plough level, known to men who work about the site. Hereabouts also are many remains of a village of Roman date but of native occupation; later a Preceptory of Knights Templars stood here in the days of Henry II. About 750 yards W. of this spot, and to the left of the road leading to Temple Farm, is the object here described, somewhat hidden by low bushes and nettles.

Years ago the small valley was filled by a drift of large sarsen stones sitting through the ages waiting for their doom in an industrial age. They were smashed up, but one was said to be a Templar's Bath, while other tales spoke of its use in Roman times, and so it was spared, protected by its reputation, perhaps also by that superstitious dread of interfering with the unknown, which is common to the aborigines of the down-lands.

A large table-like stone, roughly 11 × 9 feet and three feet high, has an elongated oval depression sunk into the flat top towards the E. side, five feet seven inches long from E. to W. and four feet wide in the opposite diameter, sinking gradually to a depth of 13½ inches in the centre line of the longest diameter. From the E. side is a drain hole one foot long falling at a gradient of 3 in 8. For the first five inches this drain is about two inches in diameter and pentagonal, evidently cut by a thin flat metal tool, while the remaining seven inches is round and has been formed by jumping with a round chisel-edge bar; the outside has been hammered back to meet the hole to save labour in boring. A careful study of the interior proves that this also was dug out by an iron tool and a microscopic examination has produced actual fragments of the tool itself. (The late Sir Flinders Petrie, when down here, examined the stone and agreed with my diagnosis.) This would point to an age not before Roman times, but also to any later period. Metal hard enough for the purpose would hardly be available before. The date must therefore remain problematical, unless what follows can be brought forward as evidence for a date in Roman times.

On the Roman Wall in Northumberland, about eight miles W. of Newcastle, is the Roman Station of Vindobala, now Rudchester. To the S.W. of this is an outcrop of rock in which is sunk a similar depression to that above described but larger—twelve feet by four with a depth of two feet—having a drain hole on one end. It is thought to be of Roman work and has been variously described as a bath, a giant's grave and a brewer's vat. About the latter use it is told that the Romans made a drink of the bells of heather and that the hollow stone was used to brew the liquor, the art of which is now lost. The practice, however, is usually ascribed to the Picts,





THE "TEMPLARS' BATH", TEMPLE BOTTOM, PRESHUTE.

*Photo by A. D. Passmore.*

The illustration shows the top of our local basin, looking E. with the drain hole in the centre.

So we leave the Templar's Bath with its origin unknown, hoping for its future preservation. Careful excavation might produce a surround of foundations or the post holes of a wooden hut, while someone in a dry summer might find the foundations of the Templars' building marked by brown or yellow marks in the turf not very far away.

A. D. PASSMORE.

Mr. Passmore has kindly provided the block which illustrates this note.

**A Swallow-hole on Draycot Hill.** Early in May this year, by the courtesy of Mr. A. G. Stratton of Alton Priors, I inspected a deep hole which had suddenly revealed itself on his land. It was situated on the side of the shallow valley N.E. of Pit House barn behind the escarpment of Draycot Hill, some 850 feet above sea level. The cavity was shaped like an inverted bowl 6ft. deep and roughly 10 feet long by 6ft. wide at the bottom. The sides rounded in to an opening where the surface soil had collapsed over an area about 6ft. by 4ft. The whole cavity was formed within a deep layer of clay-with-flints, which here overlies the upper chalk, though the local sheet of the geological map shows it rapidly disappearing a little further east.

This horizon and the appearance of the walls of the hollow precluded any human agency in its formation, and the discovery was reported to Dr. Kenneth Oakley, late of the Geological Survey. From the detailed description submitted he pronounced the cavity to be a "swallow-hole, a natural hollow produced by solution of chalk along a fissure, or at the intersection of fissures, below the clay-with-flints, which has subsequently undergone collapse".

The field in which this pocket developed has been under the plough for many years, but this year it was being "subsoiled" for the purpose of breaking up the clay pan about 6 inches below the surface. The deeper working pierced the crust, which was less than a foot thick in all, and exposed the hole. Probably the dome-like shape of the cavity in the stiff clay accounts, as much as the slow rate of attenuation of the crust, for the fact that no horse has disappeared into it while ploughing in earlier years.

These swallow-holes are of fairly common occurrence in suitable formations. Many dimples in the surface of clay arable may well be due to a like cause. Larger hollows due to such collapses are sometimes confused with old marling-pits.

H. C. B.

**Fauna of Savernake Forest.** It may not yet be generally known that the red and fallow deer which for so many years (though not continuously since the Middle Ages) have roamed the glades of Savernake were corralled on the open heathland in front of Littleton House when the Forestry Commissioners assumed control of the Forest. The round-up was completed in the spring of 1940. But now that Durley Heath is now under crops, and the remaining deer, now confined



to some 30 head, mainly red deer, are confined to a paddock. It is hoped at a later date to extend their range and numbers behind the House. There have, however, been no roe deer in the Forest within recent memory, and the appearance of a few in February of this year beside the Salisbury road seem to indicate an escape from some other deer park. The most startling animal encountered in Savernake in historic times was a lion reported by a much shaken A.A. Scout some ten years ago. It turned out to be a tame one taken there for exercise by its owner and unwarily released in the neighbourhood of a public road. The grey squirrels, which have increased enormously this year, are a more serious menace.

H. C. B.

**Hermaphrodite Willow.** Walking along the bank of the canal near Bradford-on-Avon towards the end of March this year, when the willows were in full flower, I noticed a spray on a male tree fully loaded with male catkins but bearing one female catkin amongst them. I sent the specimen to Kew and received the following note on it :

'The willow enclosed with your letter is a hybrid of *Salix atrocinerea*. Male trees bearing occasional female catkins are well-known in willows, but they generally occur on the hybrids and then only in small numbers. The exception to this is the well-known Weeping Willow, which is generally called *S. babylonica* but is actually *S. chrysocoma*. On this tree the catkins are of both sexes, and sometimes mixed sexes are found. The one female catkin on your own specimen bore two hermaphrodite flowers, one of which had the stamen and carpel both on long pedicels, and the other the stamen and carpel united on one long stalk'.

D. E. HARVIE.

**Slitting Cows' Ears.** Recently a well-known man had to see a cow that was ill in a district in Wilts. On reaching the farm he was met by a woman who said : "When my husband was alive these animals were never bad ; on each Good Friday morning before noon he used to go out and slit their ears with a brand new razor, and now that this is not done they are".

This is an interesting case of the survival of a pagan custom dating back to the first introduction of iron into this country nearly three thousand years ago. I remember when walking through a Wilts market seeing cows with split ears ; perhaps the custom is more common than we think.

A. D. PASSMORE.

**A Wanborough Seal.** A man working on a farm at Quenington in Gloucestershire picked up a latten seal of a common 14th century form, on which is the inscription S<sup>i</sup> RICARDI DE WANBERGE. (S<sup>i</sup> for *sigillum*.) The only Richard known to us at the presumed date in Wanborough is Richard Delamere, who held land in the parish in 1330, and the seal is therefore probably his. It bears also in fine workmanship a falcon tearing a hare with beak and claws, but the size of the hare has necessitated some cramping in the figure of the falcon. It was presented to me by the late Mrs. Titcombe.

A. D. PASSMORE.

**Lacock Abbey.** Colonel Chettle asks that the following additional notes to the article with which this issue begins may be placed on record. They refer to articles which appeared in the last volume of this *Magazine*, which he was unable to consult before his account was printed.

The 40 acres of Melksham Forest (from which the Abbey drew its firewood (p. 3 *supra*.) are identified by Mr. Elphinstone Fyffe, *W.A.M.* 1, 48—51 ;

Mr. Hinton's article, *W.A.M.* 1, 120—135, throws considerable light on the history of Ray bridge (p. 10 *supra*) ;

Elizabeth Zouche, mentioned *W.A.M.* 1, 459, was Abbess of Shaftesbury and does not therefore appear in the list of Lacock Abbesses at p. 7 *supra*.

**Long Barrows undamaged.** The heading does not imply that this condition is exceptional, but that reports to the contrary with regard to particular barrows have been exaggerated or unjustified. These reports reached Mr. Cunnington, who promptly communicated with the C.R.E., Southern Command. In the case of Lanhill Long Barrow he received the assurance that it was still intact and not damaged. An inquiry about Knighton Long Barrow elicited the reply that the area had been visited and two barrows found to be in existence.

"Knighton Long Barrow on the northern outskirts of Larkhill Camp is untouched except for an observation post and a survey point mounted thereon. The other barrow to the east of the Neolithic earthwork on Alton Down also appears to be untouched". (This latter is also a long barrow.)

All protected monuments on War Department land are marked with wrought iron stars on 4ft. posts, and have been so marked for more than 20 years.

**Gift to Museum.** Through the kindness of Dr. Shaw Mellor of Box, the Museum has acquired a fine example of an early Victorian constable's truncheon. It is 16½ inches long, painted black with a crown in red-and-gold at the top end and V.R. in gold beneath. The lower end is turned and forms a good handle, above which is painted Box. WILTS in black on a gold band. This is a valuable addition to the Society's collection of Wilts constables' truncheons, and as every village and town had constables with truncheons, there are still many of these interesting relics scattered about Wilts, perhaps in private hands or exposed for sale in shops. It is hoped that if any of our members know of one, they will do their utmost to obtain it for the Museum. Truncheons (never called batons) for special constables and police were first ordered by the Home Office in 1814, though the words "truncheons and staves" for watchmen and others had been in use in this country for two or three hundred years previously. B. H. C.

## WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

**Captain the Marquess of Lansdowne**, Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry, reported prisoner of war in August, 1944, is now believed to have been killed in action at that time.

The Most Hon. Charles Hope Petty-Fitzmaurice, seventh Marquess of Lansdowne, County Somerset, and bearer of many other titles in the Peerages of Great Britain, Scotland and Ireland, was born January 9th, 1917, and succeeded the sixth Marquess in 1936, his elder brother, Henry, Earl of Kerry, having died unmarried in 1933. Educated at Eton and Balliol, he was gazetted second-lieutenant in 1939 and served from the very beginning of the war. He was present in the action at El Alamein and afterwards wounded elsewhere in North Africa.

His younger brother, Edward Petty-Fitzmaurice of the Irish Guards, was reported missing in the same month but almost immediately known to have been killed in action. Lord Lansdowne, who was unmarried, is therefore succeeded by his cousin Captain George John Charles Mercer-Nairne, the Royal Scots Greys, who was born in 1912 and married in 1938.

The Society will wish the expression of our sympathy with Lady Colum Crichton-Stuart, Lord Lansdowne's mother and our Patron, for the double loss which she has suffered.

Obit., *Times*, January 4th, 1945.

**Captain William Howard Bomyn Alexander**, of Upavon House, died January 22nd, 1945, at the age of 61, after a long illness. Coming of an old Yorkshire family, he succeeded his father on the farm at Upavon and Enford. A senior member of the Tedworth Hunt Committee, a follower of the Courtney Tracey Otterhounds and Master of the Pewsey Vale and the Downton Beagles. Member for 35 years of the Pewsey Rural District Council, he interested himself keenly in all its affairs. He was a popular broadcaster in the Wiltshire dialect.

Obit., *Marlborough Times*, January 26th, 1945.

**Sir Basil Edward Peto**, first Baronet of Barnstaple, died at Iford Gate-House, near Bradford-on-Avon, January 28th, 1945, at the age of 82. Born August 13th, 1862, seventh son of Sir Samuel Morton Peto, first Baronet of Somerleyton, Suffolk. Educated at Harrow and actively engaged in various businesses as partner or director. Spent much time in America in the eighties on the affairs of the Morgan Crucible Co. Entered politics in 1910 as Conservative member for Devizes, retiring in 1918. Re-entered Parliament as Conservative member for Barnstaple in 1922, losing the seat next year but regaining it in 1924. He retired finally in 1935. His independent attitude on many questions cost him at one time the withdrawal of the Conservative whip but not the confidence of his constituents.

As a Wiltshire M.P. he lived at Worton Littlecourt in his constituency,

and on his final retirement returned to the county to occupy the home in which he died. He was a J.P. for Trowbridge. He is succeeded in the title by his son, Lt.-Col. James Michael Peto.

Obit., *Wilts Gazette*, February 1st, 1945.

**Major Maurice Rawlence**, of Bemerton, died January 28th, 1945, at the age of 59. The son of E. A. Rawlence of Salisbury, he was educated at Dean Close School, Cheltenham, and commissioned in the Royal Engineers, 1904. Saw service in India; was wounded in France and mentioned in despatches, 1915; served in Mesopotamia 1916—18, winning the D.S.O. and the Italian Silver Medal; continued to serve in Palestine till 1929. Took up active work in Wiltshire local government; member of Salisbury Corporation, and Mayor 1937. County Councillor from 1931; Alderman 1944. He was a member of many committees and Chairman of the Finance Committee for the last two years.

Obit., *Wilts Gazette*, February 1st, 1945.

**Brigadier-General Walter Robert Butler Doran, C.B.**, of Down House, Redlynch, died there on February 6th, 1945. Born December 15th, 1861, son of Sir John Doran, K.C.B., of County Wexford; commissioned to the Royal Irish Regiment, 1882; served in Egyptian campaign and was present at Kassassin and Tel el Kebir; was in the Nile and Hazara Expeditions 1885, 1888; graduated from the Staff College, 1895, and saw further service with the Egyptian Army, being mentioned in despatches; gained the D.S.O. in the Boer War and held staff appointments thereafter with numerous distinctions. His brigade was heavily engaged at Armentières in 1914. Went to Gallipoli in 1915 to command a brigade at Helles; afterwards Brigadier-General, General Staff, at Aldershot. Retired in 1919 with honorary rank of Brigadier-General.

Obit., *Times*, February 9th, 1945.

**Sir John Evelyn Gladstone**, fourth Baronet of Fasque and Balfour, died at Bowden Park, Chippenham, February 12th, 1945, aged 89. Born November 23rd, 1855, the only son of Captain J. N. Gladstone, R.N., and early left an orphan, he owed much to the care of his aunt, Mrs. W. E. Gladstone. Following in the footsteps of his distinguished uncle, he was educated at Eton and Christchurch. For a time assistant private secretary to the Post-Master General, he was for most of his life engaged in Wiltshire public affairs. Served in the Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry; became a Deputy-Lieutenant of the County and was High Sheriff 1897. For many years a member of the County Council, of which he became an Alderman, but resigned 25 years ago. For 57 years member of the Chippenham Bench and long its chairman, only retiring in 1937. Married in 1888 Gertrude Theresa, daughter of Sir Charles Miller, Bart., of Alton, Hants, and left three daughters. His successor in the baronetcy is his cousin, Capt. Albert Charles Gladstone, constable of Flint Castle.

Obits., *Times*, February 14th; *Wilts Gazette*, February 15th, 1945.

**William Goslin, V.C.**, of Wroughton, died February 12th, 1945, aged 52. He was born at Wanborough and emigrated to Canada but returned on the outbreak of war, 1914. He won the V.C. as sergeant in the 3rd Wessex Brigade Royal Field Artillery (T.F.) at Arras in April, 1917, where "his gallant and prompt action saved the lives of the whole detachment". He returned to Wiltshire to become a farmer at Wroughton.

Obit., *Times*, February 17th, 1945.

**George Simpson**, died at Quorndon, Forest Row, Sussex, February 13th, 1945, aged 90. Born November 16th, 1854, son of George Simpson of Devizes, whom he succeeded as proprietor of *The Wiltshire Gazette*, founded by his grandfather (also George Simpson) in 1816. Educated at Marlborough Grammar School and in Hanover. J.P. for Devizes Borough; Chairman of the Municipal Charity Trustees and member of the Committee of Devizes Hospital. Took an active interest in politics, field sport and poultry keeping, and in institutions belonging to the journalistic profession. At his death he was the oldest member of the Wiltshire (Masonic) Lodge of Fidelity. Married, in 1884, Emily, daughter of Walter Priestly of Paris, and had three children, who died before him. His interest in Devizes was shown in frequent visits after his retirement to Sussex 30 years ago.

Obits., *Wilts Gazette* and *Bath and Wilts Chronicle*, February 22nd, 1945.

**Edward Coward**, of Southgate House, Devizes, a member of a long-lived family, died at the age of 86 on February 25th, 1945. Son of Richard Coward of Roundway, whom he succeeded in the management of his farm. Retired to Devizes in 1914. For many years a member of the Wilts County Council, eventually becoming an Alderman. For 18 years the Roundway representative on the Devizes R.D.C. Married in 1894 his cousin Florence Annie, daughter of Edward Coward of Heaton Mersey and Bowdon, Cheshire, but had no children. He was also cousin of George Simpson, the subject of the preceding notice.

Edward Coward will be remembered as a keen sportsman, a great lover of the Wiltshire Downs and a generous benefactor of all good causes. To him and Mrs. Coward Devizes owes the gift of the Leipzig Plantation on Roundway Down, a favourite resort of the townspeople, and now preserved for their use in perpetuity.

Obits., *Bath and Wilts Chronicle*, February 26th; *Wilts Gazette*, March 1st, 1945.

He wrote—

*Notes on Farming Families of the 19th Century in Wiltshire* (W.A.M., xlv);

*William Gaby, his Booke* (two articles in W.A.M., xlvi).

**The Rev. John Anthony Sturton**, of Sparrows, Easterton, died February 27th, 1945. Son of the Rev. J. Sturton of Woodborough.

B.A. Oxon, 1895. Deacon 1897. Priest 1898. Curate of Ashbourne, 1897—9; of Lyme Regis, 1899—1904. Member of the Society of St. Andrew (Sarum), 1904—7. Vicar of Market Lavington, 1907—1939.

**Canon Francis Hardwicke Manley**, died at Great Somerford, March 27th, 1945, aged 93. Born in March, 1855. Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford. B.A., 1874. M.A., 1877. Assistant Master, Winchester College, 1875—6; Felsted School, 1876—87. Deacon, 1876. Priest, 1877. Vicar of Little Dunmow, 1885—7. Rector of Broad Somerford, 1887. Hon. Canon of Bristol, 1916. Rural Dean of Malmesbury, 1919.

Canon Manley was devoted to his Church at Great (or Broad) Somerford and effected many improvements there. He was also greatly interested in educational matters, both elementary and secondary, and was for some time Chairman of the Governors of Malmesbury Secondary School. He was also a member of the Malmesbury Board of Guardians and Rural Council. The local Horticultural Society was of his inception and the object of his pride and care. A mathematician of some distinction, his intellectual interests were manifold and his knowledge extensive. He was Editor of *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, for many years a member of the Committee of our Society and a valued contributor to the pages of this *Magazine*. A list of his articles in various publications is appended.

In *W.A.M.* :

*Notes on the History of Great Somerford* (xxxix).

*Customs of the Manor of Purton (1597)* (xl).

*Grittleton Manor Rolls* (xlv).

*Disafforesting of Braden* (xlv).

*Parliamentary Surveys of the Crown Lands in Braden Forest, 1661* (xlvi).

*A Subscription Book of the Deans of Sarum* (xlvi).

*A Mediæval Dispute as to the right of presentation to Somerford Magna Rectory* (xlvii).

*The Evans Family of N. Wilts* (xliii).

*A List of M.P.s for Wilts, 1295—1852* (xlvii).

In *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* :

*The Washington Memorials at Garsden* (vols. vi, vii).

*Notes on the Jason Family of Broad Somerford* (vii).

*The Tympanum of the Rood Screen at Dauntsey* (vi).

*Tobias Crispe, D.D., Rector of Brinkworth* (vii).

*Elizabethan Royal Arms in Little Somerford Church* (viii).

*Maudit's Park Tithe Dispute* (viii).

*Burton Hill House and its Owners* (viii).

Obit., *Wilts Gazette*, March 29th, 1945.

**Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Hoel Llewellyn, D.S.O.**, died at Caen Hill, Devizes, April 2nd, 1945, at the age of 73. Born November 24th, 1871, son of Col. E. H. Llewellyn, M.P. Entered the Navy as midshipman and served on E. coast of Africa, 1888—9; was

mentioned in despatches. Artillery officer in Matabele Campaign, 1893—4, and again mentioned. Captain in British South African Police, 1896. J.P., Matabeleland. Served in second Matabele Campaign, 1896—7, and recommended for V.C. Fought throughout the Boer War and four times mentioned. Won the D.S.O., 1900. S.A. Constabulary, 1901; Commandant Lichtenberg District, 1902. Chief Constable of Wiltshire, 1908, but returned to active service, 1914. Wounded in the M.E.F., 1915. Col. A.A.G. General Headquarters' Staff. Provost-Marshal of Egypt and the M.E.F. Served in France with the Tank Corps and was mentioned three times. Married first, in 1902, Winifred, daughter of A. Berens, and, secondly, in 1933, Mary Constance, daughter of W. Sandeman. He leaves no children.

Sir Hoel Llewellyn was the third Chief Constable of Wilts since the institution of the office. His care for the interests of the police force and the steps he took to increase its efficiency won him the recognition of a knighthood in 1943. During the late war he was also the titular head of the County Civil Defence, though his health and his other duties made it necessary to delegate some of the more arduous responsibilities involved. He had already tendered his resignation of the office of Chief Constable to take effect in June this year.

Obits., *Bath and Wilts Chronicle*, April 3rd; *Times*, April 4th; *Wilts Gazette*, April 5th, 1945.

**The Rt. Rev. Albert Ernest Joscelyne, D.D.**, died at Donhead St. Mary, May 3rd, 1945, at the age of 79. Educated at Merchant Taylors' and Jesus College, Oxford (Scholar). B.A., 1889; M.A., 1891; B.D., 1894; D.D., 1898. Deacon, 1890; Priest, 1891. Curate of St. George's in the East, 1890—95. Vicar of St. George's, Millom (Cumberland), 1895—1903; of St. Peter's, Islington, 1903—5. Bishop Coadjutor of Jamaica, 1905; resigned, 1913. Perpetual Curate of St. Mark's, Sarum, 1913—19. Prebendary of Yatesbury in Sarum Cathedral, 1915; Archdeacon of Sherborne and Vicar of Chardstock, 1919. Author of religious publications.

Obit., *Times*, May 8th, 1945.

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*Local Secretaries and other members are asked to send the Editor published obituaries of Wiltshire personalities, which may otherwise escape his vigilance. Please add the source and date of publication.*

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## ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

**Museum.**

- Presented by MR. A. SHAW MELLOR : Constable's Staff from Box,  
 " " MR. G. E. ANSTIE : 18th Century Brass-barrelled Carbine  
 of "blunderbuss" type.  
 " " MR. J. G. TARRANT : Metal Helmet Badge—" 2nd Wilt-  
 shire Rifle Volunteers " (*circ.* 1870).

**Library.**

- Presented by THE AUTHOR (MR. G. M. YOUNG) : *Mr. Gladstone,*  
 Romanes Lecture, June, 1944.  
 " " MR. G. E. ANSTIE : Map of Devizes Park, 1654. Coach  
 road map of route from Salisbury to Campden (Glos.).  
 Deed relating to Devizes property.  
 " " REV. CANON GODDARD : " *Alfred Watson, His Life*  
*and Work* " (Leonard Clark).  
 " " BRITISH RECORDS ASSOCIATION : *For the parishes of*  
*St. Quinton, Seagry, Corston, and Fenny Hill*.  
 " " MISS G. A. WISE : Deeds relating to properties at  
 Ludgershall.  
 " " MISS MANLEY : " *Account of possessions of Malmesbury*  
*Abbey with remarks on Braden* " (Akerman).  
 " *Alumni Oxonienses* ", 12 vols.  
 " *Athenæ Oxonienses* " (Wood), 2 vols.  
 " *Ancestry of Washington* " (Walters).  
 Aubrey's " *Collections for Wilts* " Pt. 1.  
 Bremhill Overseer's Book, 1781—86.  
 Great Somerford : MS. list of property owners and  
 occupiers (N.D.).  
 Great Chalfield : " *History and Antiquities of the Manor*  
*and Church* " (Walker).  
 " *History of Grittleton* " (Jackson).  
 " *History of N. Wraxall* " (W. J. Lewis).  
 " *Liber Valorum* " (Wilts), 1710.  
 " *Life of Sir Stephen Fox* ".  
 Maps and Plans (10) of Somerford, Purton, Braydon,  
 Dauntsey, etc.  
 Notes (MS.) on some Purton families (Maskelyne).  
 " *Notes on Wiltshire Names* ", vol. 1 (Longstaff, all  
 published).  
 " *Records of Chippenham* " (Goldney).  
 " *The House of Cromwell* " (Waylen).  
 " *Poems of Stephen Duck* ", 1736; another edition (small  
 8vo.), 1738.  
 Terrier of the Parsonage lands at Steeple Langford, 1699  
 and 1710, with documents relating to Hanging Langford.



Presented by MISS MANLEY: A large number of deeds relating to Wiltshire properties and families.

A large quantity of miscellaneous MS. notes on genealogy, local history, etc., of Wiltshire.

„ „ Mr. W. A. WEBB: Typescript copy of the Parish Registers of Calne, 1598—1812.

Addendum to Parish Registers of Seend.

„ „ THE AUTHOR (J. B. JONES) "The Coate Reservoir System", with a map and two photographs (1944).

THE BRITISH RECORDS ASSOCIATION: The following Maps:—

Plan of Leasehold Cottages and Land taken from the Waste, etc., at Farley Hill, Wilts, Manor of Bealme (no date).

The Manor and Tything of Corston in the parish of Malmesbury (1834).

The Parish of Stanton St. Quintin (1834).

The Manors of Stanton St. Quintin, Corston and Seagry. Surveyed for Sir Edward Des'. Bouverie, Baron<sup>e</sup>., by John Edgar, 1720 (mounted on rollers).

„ „ MRS. E. COWARD:—

"Kaleidoscopia Wiltoniensis, or . . . view of the County of Wilts during the contested election . . . 1818".

"General View of the Agriculture of Wiltshire" (Davis).

"Diary of a Dean, being an account of the examination of Silbury Hill" (Merewether).

"Roundway Hill", a poem (T. Needham Rees).

"Natural History of Wilts" (Maton).

"Scheme for Bancroft and other Charities in Devizes".

"Stonehenge" (Flinders Petrie).

"Stonehenge and its Barrows" (W. Long).

"On the purpose, the age, and the builders of Stonehenge" (E. S. Maskelyne).

Three MS. Farm Account Books (1787—1807).

"Wilts Compounders" (Waylen).

"Devizes Miscellany" vol. II (1852).

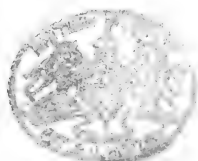
"Wiltshire Poll Books", 1818—19.

"Introduction to the Archæology of Wiltshire" (M. E. Cunningham).

Cruchley's Map of Wiltshire, coloured geologically.

Three sheets Ordnance Map of Wiltshire, 25in. scale, nine sheets 6in. scale.

Four Wiltshire Road Acts.



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Vol. LI.

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THE

# WILTSHIRE

Archæological & Natural History

# MAGAZINE

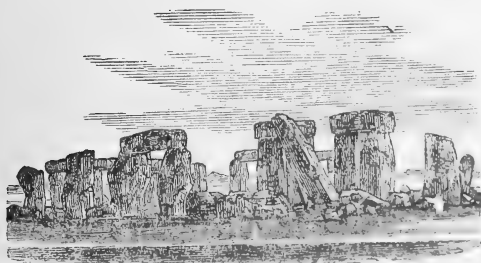
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EDITED BY

H. C. BRETNALL, F.S.A.,  
Granham West, Marlborough.

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



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## RECORDS BRANCH.

The Branch was founded in 1937 to promote the publication of original literary sources for the history of the county and of the means of reference thereto. The activities of the Branch have had to be temporarily suspended, but those interested in joining when publication is resumed should send their names to Mr. A. H. Macdonald, Half-acre, Marlborough.

It is hoped that conditions will permit the resumption of the Branch's activities in the course of 1946.

The Branch has issued the following :—

ABSTRACTS OF FEET OF FINES RELATING TO WILTSHIRE FOR THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I AND EDWARD II. Edited by R. B. Pugh. 1939, pp. xix + 190.

ACCOUNTS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GARRISONS OF GREAT CHALFIELD AND MALMESBURY, 1645—1646. Edited by J. H. P. Pafford. 1940, pp. 112.

Unbound copies of the first of these can be obtained by members of the Branch. The second is out of print.

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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

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A HAND LIST OF WILTSHIRE ENCLOSURE ACTS AND  
AWARDS.

By W. E. TATE, F.R.HIST. S.

ENCLOSURE FACTS AND STATISTICS.

A very competent authority<sup>1</sup> has said "The difficulty in the way of gaining an understanding of the true effects of enclosure . . . is the lack of statistical evidence". It is understandable enough that this difficulty should arise for the enclosures of the 16th and 17th centuries, but it is surprising that the same difficulty should obtain with reference to the Parliamentary enclosures of the 18th and 19th centuries. The problem is not wholly the lack of evidence upon certain points, but also the existence of widely differing estimates given by different authorities concerning the same phenomena.

The first important statistics upon the question are, we think, those given in the *Reports* of the Parliamentary Committees and Select Committees of 1795, 1797, and 1800.<sup>2</sup> These, especially the 1797<sup>3</sup> report.

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. W. Hasbach, *The English Agricultural Labourer*, 1908, App. II (V), p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Report from the Select Committee . . . on promoting the cultivation of Waste . . . Lands . . . 1795, Report from the Committee . . . on promoting the cultivation of Waste . . . Lands and common Arable Fields, 1797, Report of the Select Committee on . . . the means of facilitating . . . the Enclosure of Waste Lands . . . Common Arable Fields . . . etc.* (1800). All reprinted by the Commons Preservation Society, 1866.



contain tables of the numbers of Enclosure Acts passed in each year for each county. These were taken bodily by Sir John Porter for his *Progress of the Nation*, the figures in which replaced the earlier estimates in Chalmers' *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain*. In 1870 Sir Robert Hunter in the *Statistical Journal*<sup>4</sup> gave a similar table of Enclosure Acts in counties, under three headings: Acts passed in the 18th century, Acts passed 1800—42, and Enclosures under the General Acts, 1845—69. Much more detailed statistics appear in the late Dr. Slater's<sup>5</sup> book, and in Prof. Gonner's work cited below. This last work contains some twenty statistical appendices, the data in which are drawn primarily from the Acts, though some are taken from the Awards and from "good estimates".<sup>6</sup> Dr. Slater's tables on the other hand are based entirely upon such Enclosure Acts as were to be found in the library of the British Museum (Dr. Slater having assumed that the British Museum collection was more or less a complete one), and upon these only in so far as their preambles contained specific mention of open field arable land.

Various blue-book Lists of Enclosure Acts and Awards have been issued from time to time. In 1865 the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records printed a list of plans<sup>7</sup> attached to Awards enrolled in Chancery, and in the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. The next year this was followed by a list<sup>8</sup> of the Awards themselves, including a few enrolled among national records other than those mentioned above. Early lists of Enclosure Acts, together with other local Acts had already been published in Bramwell's *Analytical Table of Private Statutes*<sup>9</sup>, and in Vardon's *Index to Local and Personal and Private Acts, 1798—1879*.<sup>10</sup> In 1843 a list of Enclosure Acts alone appeared in *Lord Worsley's Return*, several times re-issued, having been revised to date, and last appearing in 1914.<sup>11</sup> The Stationery Office *List of Acts Local and Personal*<sup>12</sup> includes particulars of all Acts 1800—99. Enclosure Awards deposited or enrolled among county records are indexed in a blue-book<sup>13</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Reprint above cited, pp. 50—7.

<sup>4</sup> *Statistical Journal*, vol. . . , p. . .

<sup>5</sup> *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, 1908.

<sup>6</sup> *Common Land and Inclosure*, 1912. Appendixes.

<sup>7</sup> *Report*, XXVI, 1865, Apps. 1a, 1b, 1—15.

<sup>8</sup> *Report*, XXVII, 1866, Apps. 1a, 1g, pp. 1—29.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Vols., 1813 and 1835, reprinted 1813.

<sup>10</sup> 1840.

<sup>11</sup> P.P. (H.C.), 325 (1843), P.P. (H.C.), 399 (1914).

<sup>12</sup> *Index to Local Acts*, 41 Geo. III (1801), to 62—3 Vic. (1899) . . . . . 1900.

<sup>13</sup> P.P. (H.C.), 50 (1904).

issued in 1904, based upon the answers returned to a questionnaire circulated to all Clerks of the Peace in 1913. Awards under the general acts of 1845 *et seq.* are listed in another blue-book<sup>14</sup> issued in 1893.

Most of these lists, however, are put together in a very haphazard and unmethodical fashion. The two Reports of the Deputy Keeper do not tally with one another, much less with all the remaining lists, and while the 1914 Blue-book is generally very reliable, so far as it goes, that of 1904 is a perfect masterpiece of muddle and inaccuracy, every Clerk of the Peace having compiled his county list according to his own ideas, and the national return being composed simply of the county lists combined. It will be understandable enough that the value of the lists varies widely from county to county. Some of them are so carefully compiled that it would be almost impossible to improve on them, others are so confused and inaccurate as to be almost worthless. Like the lists in the Deputy Keeper's Reports, the Blue-book of 1904 contains some references to non-Parliamentary enclosures. Another respect in which this book is of great value is that it is the only printed record of enclosures under the early General Acts,<sup>15</sup> the awards for which, unlike all others, were never enrolled nationally, but only locally. Such enclosures, forming a class intermediate between those of the eighteenth century, which were generally attained with complete disregard for all interests save those of the dominant landed class, and the latest enclosures under the General Acts, where considerations of public interests have been paramount, deserve very much more attention than they have ever received.

As we have indicated above, Dr. Slater's lists of Enclosure Acts purport to include all Acts covering lands which included any proportion of open field arable land. Acts relating to the enclosure of common meadow, pasture, and waste alone, are excluded from them.<sup>16</sup> Although there are many errors in these lists, some of which it is believed have been corrected in those below, we have generally accepted Dr. Slater's decisions, whether or not any Act included reference to open field arable, though in some instances it has been possible to correct a few

---

<sup>14</sup> P.P. (H.C.), 455 (1893). A few county lists have been printed. For a bibliography of these see a note by the present author in *Bull. Inst. Hist. R.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 54, pp. 97—101, 1941.

<sup>15</sup> Especially of Enclosures under the 1836 Act, 6 & 7 Wm. IV, c. 115.

<sup>16</sup> Though Acts including common field *and* waste or meadow, however small the proportion of common field might be, are included. Dr. Slater's working methods are described above upon the authority of a letter to the author.

of his mistakes by reference to the 1866 Report, which gives quite full particulars of the lands affected, or to the 1904 Blue-book, or by inquiry from students of local history in the county concerned.

It is submitted, then, that the lists below are likely to be useful to historians in that they contain :

- (1) A complete list of Enclosure Acts and of enclosures under the General Acts.
- (2) An indication (based upon Dr. Slater's work) as to which Acts included any proportion, however small, of open field arable, and which Acts related to common meadow and waste alone.
- (3) A list (we believe the only one in print, apart from the scattered and inaccurate references in the 1904 Blue-book), of enclosures under the General Acts of 1836 *et seq.*
- (4) Particulars of all formal agreements enrolled with the Clerk of the Peace, and relating to non-Parliamentary enclosures in Wiltshire, and similar particulars of such agreements c. 1750—1840, enrolled in the national courts.
- (5) Details of the enrolment of all Enclosure Awards enrolled either in the national courts at Westminster or among the records of the county. (It seems that Acts rarely made no provision for the enrolment of Awards somewhere or other, and such Awards as were not enrolled either at Westminster or with the Clerk of the Peace were generally entered among the records of local manorial courts. In Middlesex and Yorkshire, however, they seem often to have been enrolled in the local statutory Registries of Deeds).
- (6) Notes of all enclosures in parishes which at the time of enclosure were in this county, but which have since been transferred to another. It is hardly necessary to point out that in such instances the records of both counties should be searched if one fails to trace the Enclosure Award in one of them.
- (7) Notes of all mistakes in previous compilations upon such important data as dates, areas, etc., in so far as it has been possible to check these, and of all major changes in the official names of parishes which have taken place subsequent to the enclosures. These it is hoped will enable the inquirer to identify with some degree of assurance the data relating to any particular enclosure.

This article is a section of a work which will eventually, it is hoped, cover the whole of England. Though it cannot claim to be anything more than a mere compilation, it is hoped that at any rate it may be a useful one. It is quite certain that despite all our care it must contain errors. We shall be very grateful if any fellow student noting such will be good enough to send us a postcard correcting them. Similarly we shall be indebted to any user of the lists who is able to

fill any of the gaps which still remain in them. Such corrections will be entered in a copy of this work deposited in the library of the London School of Economics, and in another, available for reference in the library of the Public Record Office. Copies of the various county sections are being sent to the Clerks of the Peace throughout the country, and these will be available similarly for corrections and additions relating to the separate counties.

#### EARLY METHODS OF ENCLOSURE.

There seems little need here to enter into a detailed discussion of either the Open Field System or of the Enclosure Movement. It may suffice to call attention to the fact that the English Enclosure Act evolved quite naturally from the methods which had been adopted to carry out enclosure in earlier times. Throughout the 17th century it has been usual for lords and tenants who desired to enclose their lands to do so by private agreement,<sup>17</sup> either with or without securing confirmation of this in the Chancery or the Court of Exchequer. Sometimes it appears that a Chancery suit was undertaken in order to bring pressure to bear upon a dissentient minority. Naturally there followed from this a demand for a General Act confirming decrees obtained in this fashion, and when a Bill to this effect was rejected in 1664, the same end was achieved by the introduction within the next century of a whole series of Private Acts, many of these, especially the early ones, confirming arrangements already come to by private agreement. It was natural that enclosure by Act should develop in an age when the power of the legislature was rapidly overshadowing that of the monarchy. After all, both the Chancery Decree and the Private Act are essentially the answer of the sovereign to the petition of the subject, the Chancery Decree being issued when the petition has been addressed to the king in his Chancery, the Private Act when the petition has been addressed to the king in his court of Parliament.<sup>18</sup> And in fact, as Lord Ernle<sup>19</sup> points out, after the Restoration the jurisdiction of the Chancery was first supplemented, then ousted, by the Private Act of Parliament.

#### *Enclosure by Private Act.*

Stray Enclosure Acts appear before 1702, but they are rare in the extreme. There are but six in all.<sup>20</sup> Two more follow in Queen Anne's reign; eighteen in that of George I, but the number swells to 229 in 1727—1760, and after 1760 the tide of enclosure flows fast. The table below shows which counties have Enclosure Acts before 1760.

<sup>17</sup> Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, 1920, p. 136.

<sup>18</sup> Gonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 55—6 and 183.

<sup>19</sup> Ernle, *History of English Agriculture*, 1917, p. 162.

<sup>20</sup> The eight earliest enclosures of this sort are: Radipool, Dorset, 1602, Marden, Herefs., 1606, Malvern Chase, Gloucs., Herefs., Wores., 1664, Horton, Gloucs., 1668, Hambleton, Rutlands, 1692, Salford, Oxon. 1696, Ropley, Hants, 1709 and Farmington. Hants. 1713.

COUNTY	Before 1702	1702- 1714	1714- 1727	1727- 1760	Total before 1760
Bedfordshire ...	—	—	—	2	2
Berkshire ...	—	—	1	5	6
Buckinghamshire ...	—	—	—	3	3
Derbyshire ...	—	—	1	6	7
Dorset ...	1	—	—	2	3
Durham ...	—	—	—	4	4
Gloucestershire ...	2	1	3	11	17
Hampshire ...	—	1	—	12	13
Herefordshire ...	1	—	—	—	1
Hertfordshire ...	—	—	—	1	1
Huntingdonshire ...	—	—	—	3	3
Kent ...	—	—	—	1	1
Lancashire ...	—	—	2	5	7
Leicestershire ...	—	—	—	16	16
Lincolnshire ...	—	—	—	15	15
Norfolk ...	—	—	2	5	7
Northamptonshire ...	—	—	—	21	21
Northumberland ...	—	—	—	8	8
Nottinghamshire ...	—	—	—	10	10
Oxfordshire ...	1	—	—	5	6
Rutland ...	1	—	—	4	5
Somerset ...	—	—	2	1	3
Staffordshire ...	—	—	3	3	6
Suffolk ...	—	—	—	2	2
Warwickshire ...	—	—	2	31	33
Wiltshire ...	—	—	1	6	7
Worcestershire ...	—	—	—	3	3
Yorkshire, E. Riding	—	—	1	15	16
"    N. Riding	—	—	—	13	13
"    W. Riding	—	—	—	17	17
Total ...	6	2	18	230	256

It will be seen that these amount to but 256 Acts in all, and that nearly half of these are accounted for by the three midland counties of Warwick, Northampton, and Gloucester, and the vast areas of the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire.

From these early Acts, sanctioning existing agreements, there gradually developed the more typical Enclosure Act appointing commissioners to make the partition, and confirming in advance the award they should make. The vast majority of the Acts from 1760 onwards are of this type, and operations under this kind of Act are quite familiar to the student from the admirable accounts given in any of the works cited. Enclosures under Acts of this sort are listed in sections A and B below.

*The General Acts.*

The enormous expense attaching to enclosure carried out by this method early caused a demand for a General Act to simplify and cheapen proceedings.<sup>21</sup> After a hundred and forty years of more or less continuous agitation this demand was at last met by the passing of the General Enclosure Act of 1801.<sup>22</sup> This Act, which arrived on the Statute Book after a great part of the work of enclosure had already been completed without its aid, was a "Clauses Act" only. References to it are incorporated in almost all the special Enclosure Acts passed in the years following 1801. The next General Act of any great importance was that of 1836.<sup>23</sup> This permitted enclosure by the consent of a majority of the proprietors (generally at least two-thirds), without an application to Parliament. No account of enclosures under it has appeared in any of the Parliamentary publications (save for the very incomplete references in the second of the three blue-books cited above), and they have been almost entirely neglected by historians. This is unfortunate, since in some respects they are the most interesting of all enclosures, lying as they do in a class intermediate between those enclosures carried out essentially by Parliamentary authority, often without the real consent of many of the landowners affected, and those affected by agreement of the landowners concerned, without the formality and expense incurred by an application for Parliamentary sanction. This Act properly related to open fields only, though actually many enclosures of lands other than open field were quite improperly carried out by its means. It was extended to cover lands other than open field by a further Act, four years later.<sup>24</sup> Enclosures under these two Acts are listed below in sections C and D. It is probable that further enquiry will transfer to section D some at any rate of those listed in section C,

The third really important General Act was that of 1845.<sup>25</sup> This set up a body of Enclosure Commissioners, who had power to authorise the enclosure of lands not including any "waste of a manor", by Provisional Order, without Parliamentary sanction, and had the more restricted power of authorising the enclosure of lands including the waste of any manor or manors by a similar Provisional Order, but this had to be confirmed by Parliament after inclusion in the schedule of an annual Enclosure Act. Sections E (I) and (II) and F (I) (not represented in Wiltshire) and (II) give lists of all enclosures carried out under the 1845 Act, and the (annual) General Acts which followed it. That is: sections C—F give complete lists of all enclosures carried out under any General Act except the first (Clauses) Act. For references to Acts merely incorporating the general clauses it will usually be sufficient to take all the Private Acts in sections A and B from 1801 onwards.

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<sup>21</sup> Gonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 56—8, and references there cited.

<sup>22</sup> 41 Geo. III, c. 101.

<sup>23</sup> 6 & 7 Wm. IV, c. 115.

<sup>24</sup> 3 & 4 Vic., c. 31.

<sup>25</sup> 6 & 7 Vic., c. 118.

*Enclosure Awards.*

Among the many series of historical records relating to the story of the countryside which are preserved either in the various local repositories within each county, or among the national archives in the Public Record Office, there are few, if any, to rival in interest and importance the long line of Enclosure Awards covering largely the period of the reign of King George III, 1760—1820, but, as will be seen in the lists below, on occasion dealing with a period half a century after this and about a century before it. Especially with regard to agrotechnical matters and the social and economic problems which are so closely interwoven with them, there is all the difference between the Awards, which form an extensive, continuous and fairly systematic series, and the scanty, isolated and fragmentary scraps of evidence which, apart from the Enclosure Returns of 1517,<sup>26</sup> 1549 and the 1620's and '30's, are our sole source of information as to the agrarian problem in earlier ages. The fact that the series of Enclosure Awards is almost a complete one makes it possible, too, to summarise its contents and to base an argument upon them, with some degree of confidence and honesty, and without the haunting fear that records not quoted because they have disappeared may contain evidence very much outweighing that in the records cited. Therefore it is not too much to claim that these Enclosure Awards of Georgian times are in their evidential value infinitely more weighty than all other enclosure records taken together. It is surprising, then, that so little attention has been given to them by local historians.

The primary purpose of the Awards was at once to achieve and to register the change from the ancient methods of husbandry, the use of open field arable land, of common meadow and of common pasture—the “common” *par excellence*—to the modern system of land ownership, tenure and cultivation “in severalty”. But the Awards have much more than merely legal or agrotechnical interest and importance. They form the best—in many cases the only—source of accurate information as to the distribution of land ownership in English villages of a century and a half ago. They are full of useful information as to the types of land tenure prevalent in the different districts. In perhaps half the villages of the country they serve as ultimate title deeds to a great part of the land, both that belonging to ordinary proprietors and that allotted to rectors, vicars, and lay impropriators in lieu of tithe and glebe. They record the lands forming the endowments of ancient village charities and schools. They are the final authority for information as to the course and breadth of the highways, and the existence of foot-paths, bridle ways, and rights of way, and the courses, breadths and liability for cleansing of most of the surface drains. The Awards and the plans which are generally appended to them register the ownership of hedges and fences; they distinguish between titheable and non-

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<sup>26</sup> Dealt with most admirably by the late I. R. Leadam in his *Domesday of Inclosures* (1897).

titheable lands (many villages in the Midlands having had their tithes commuted largely under Enclosure Acts, so that the Enclosure Awards in many counties are better sources of information as to tithe than are the Tithe Awards), and they specify the allotments of land for public purposes—generally to the parish Surveyors of Highways for use as parish gravel pits—which are the origins of the greater part of what land still remains vested in the ownership of such minor local government bodies as Parish Meetings and Parish Councils.

Accordingly the Enclosure Awards are invaluable sources of information, not only to the historian or antiquary, and to him whether his interest be mainly ecclesiastical or civil, economic or social, but also to the present-day administrator who is concerned with land drainage, highways and footpaths, the provision of allotments, charity administration, or the use made by the minor local government bodies of the endowments entrusted to them.

#### *Enrolment.*

It is no wonder that, as is noted in the *Report*<sup>27</sup> of the Public Records Commission of 1910—16, the Enclosure Awards are "more often consulted than any other documents in the county repositories", and no less an authority than Lord Passfield,<sup>28</sup> in the evidence which he gave before the same Commission, was at pains to point out the value of these records to the local and, for that matter, to the national historian. His arguments were re-inforced by those of Sir Lawrence Chubb, who, in his capacity as Secretary to what was then the Footpaths and Commons Preservation Society, had had much occasion to use the Awards for evidential purposes. Sir Lawrence estimated that "many" of the Awards existed in one copy only, and that "a considerable proportion" of them had entirely disappeared. Another witness put this proportion as high as a third. It is because so many of the original Awards have been lost that we have thought it well to include here details of the "enrolment" of all Awards where such enrolment could be traced. The original Award *should* of course be either in the parish chest of the place concerned, or in the custody of its Parish Council or Parish Meeting. Even where it is still in proper custody, it is often difficult of access to the inquirer, especially the inquirer from outside, and there are evident advantages to the student who intends to examine a whole series of Awards in finding them all together in one place, in recognized custody. Any series of enrolled copies is therefore particularly valuable, though very often the enrolled Awards lacked the plans which are attached to nearly all the original Awards. It was quite usual for an Enclosure Act to order that in addition to the Commissioners' original Award, which was to be deposited with the public books and writings of the parish concerned, a duplicate copy, with or without its plan, should be entered on the rolls of some court of record.

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<sup>27</sup> *Rep.* III, Pt. 1, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Rep.* III, Pt. 3, p. 10.



At first this enrolment was often carried out in some of the national courts, the Chancery, or the Court of King's Bench, latterly usually in the Court of Common Pleas, and, for parishes having Duchy property, usually in the records of the royal Duchy of Lancaster; afterwards often among the county records. Early records are often to be found among the minutes of Quarter Sessions; for later ones the counties often purchased special volumes, in which Enclosure Awards are to be found entered among registrations of annuities, lists of Papists' estates, parochial agreements for the establishment of "Gilbert" Unions, and administrative oddments generally. Sometimes Awards were entered among the records of the courts of honours or manors, and it may well be that the work now in progress in the Record Office, that of listing all the Court Rolls known to survive in England, may lead eventually to the discovery of a number of enrolled Enclosure Awards whose whereabouts are now unknown. It seems certain that there was some substance in the allegation made that some Commissioners, anxious to ensure that the Award deposited in the parish should be the only copy, and that its custodian therefore should receive any fees payable upon its consultation or extraction, disregarded the terms of the Act and enrolled the Award nowhere at all.

#### *Other Enclosure Records.*

Normally, therefore, the inquirer interested in the enclosure of any particular parish has three principal sources of information open to him, the *House of Commons Journals*, which will give an account of the proceedings leading to the passing of the Act; the Act itself; and the Award executed in pursuance of it, or the enrolled copy of this Award, if the original is not to be found. Data concerning these last two will normally be found in the columns below, and from these it is a simple matter to turn up the first-named. When the original Award is not to be found, particulars of the enrolment given below will often enable one to obtain access to such an enrolled copy. From these three sources it should not be difficult to make out the story of any particular enclosure as a more or less continuous narrative. Even so, however, the story will lack beginning, middle and end.

Obviously, for enclosures of open field—by far the most interesting variety—it should begin with the gradually growing discontent of the leading proprietors in the place with the rigid and inelastic open field system, which prevented them from modernising their methods of husbandry as they wished; the informal discussions they would hold among themselves, and the tentative inquiries made of the attorneys who specialised in this class of business as to the cost of an attempt at enclosure. Probably in many cases this would be followed by a visit to a neighbouring township which had recently been enclosed, or by long discussions with its proprietors after business had been concluded on market day. Then would come the ceaseless propaganda among the smaller and more conservatively minded landowners in favour of the scheme, the insistence upon the benefits that could be expected to

accrue from it—the modernisation of obsolete technique and the abolition of outworn customs which it would make possible. Farmers would benefit by the enormous increase of productivity which was confidently predicted, the lord of the manor would receive a sufficient compensation for his not-very-valuable interest in the soil of the common, the incumbent could have his tithe commuted at a handsome valuation, the highways might well be improved while the enthusiasm for progress lasted, the “deserving poor” would find small plots in severalty much easier to work than scattered scraps in the open fields, and would be much better off without the largely illusory benefits of the common. Even if they secured no compensation whatever for, e.g., common “rights” which had actually been exercised by pure usurpation, they would have no difficulty in finding work upon the new large, well cultivated farms. Certainly they would benefit by the removal of the very real temptation to idleness which the possession of a large common entailed. The *undeserving* poor, especially the insubordinate squatters, living in riotous squalor in their tumble-down hovels on the common, would be both better and better off if they were compelled to work regularly for an employer. Everyone in the parish would gain by the increase of employment in hedging, ditching, fencing, draining and the fall in the rates which was confidently expected as soon as the common ceased to form a constant attraction to all the beggars, wastrels and drunkards in the district.

Then the story should deal with the methods used to induce the small freeholders at last to give a reluctant consent, and with the gradual buying out of those who proved recalcitrant to the last, until finally the promoters had the necessary quantum of consent in support of their proposal.

Of all this, however, the greater part of the records have perished, and the story can but be pieced together from casual and fragmentary references. It is clear, however, that this, or something very like it, must have happened before ever the enclosure petition was drafted by the local attorney, to be presented to the House by one of the County Members and to be embodied in a Bill, and finally in an Act of Parliament.

The missing middle of the story: how, when and where the Commissioners met, how they regulated their proceedings, dealt with the infinity of claims, just, unjust and dubious, submitted to them, tried to harmonise conflicting interests, and eventually reduced the systemless chaos of the open-field parish to something more in accordance with their conception of what a reasonably well-ordered parish should be, can hardly be discovered without the aid of the Commissioners' working papers. It is very doubtful whether many of the Commissions kept any minutes at all (there was no statutory rule that they should do so), and of the few Commissions that were business-like enough to keep proper minute-books but few records are known to survive. Neither the British Museum nor the Public Record Office has any, nor are there any among the collections of the London School of Economics.

It is very much to be desired that such minute-books as are known to survive should be properly edited and published, since, until this is done, the student will never be able to obtain a grasp of the Commissioners' working methods.<sup>29</sup>

The end of the story is not yet. Not will it arrive until the much discussed "Land Question" shall finally be settled (if indeed any such settlement is possible) in a fashion which shall be just as well to the landowner and the peasant as to the community at large, whose vital interests are so closely concerned in it. Whether enclosure tended to land monopoly, as is often alleged; what its effect was in the long run upon the productivity of English land; did it actually result in the "high farming" advocated by its pioneers, or was its outcome at last the reversion to something approaching prairie methods, bringing rural depopulation and unemployment in their train; were the smaller proprietors actually maintained in the possession of their holdings or, if they were dispossessed in later years, how far enclosure may be fairly blamed for their disappearance; what prospects they had of attaining the precarious dignity of a farm tenancy of their own, and how far they went to swell the ranks of the new urban proletariat, whose existence nowadays, divorced from all means of production, both manufacturing and agricultural, is the cause of much concern to all men of goodwill—these questions and many like them are not unworthy of attention, and, given it, should at length be capable of solution. It will be more than adequate recompense for the labour involved in this compilation, if its publication contributes, in however modest a degree, towards the elucidation of such questions and the solution of such problems.

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<sup>29</sup> We believe that the only minute-books to be so printed are that for Drayton Parslow, Bucks, 1797—1801, edited by Mr. G. Eland in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. XI, No. 25, 1923, and that for East Drayton, Notts, edited by the present author and printed in the (Nottinghamshire) Thoroton Society *Transactions*, Vol. XLI, 1937. It is thought that the only published account of and guide to such records is an article by the present author in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for April, 1942.

## WILTSHIRE FIELD SYSTEMS.

Reference to the map in Prof. Gray's book<sup>1</sup> will show that Wiltshire lies wholly within the area marked out by him as formerly the home of two- and three-field agriculture in England. Dr. and Mrs. Orwin's<sup>2</sup> later researches have somewhat modified Prof. Gray's earlier findings. They show that three extensive areas within the county, one around Swindon in the north, and the others along the eastern and western boundaries of the shire, seem never to have been generally in open field cultivation. Of the twenty odd references to open field agriculture noted in Anglo-Saxon charter material, two relate to townships in this county.<sup>3</sup> The places are Afene (Avon, now part of Woodford), A.D. 963, and Winterburnan (Winterbourne, unidentified) in a charter which is not earlier than A.D. 964 (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 1145).

In the 13th century the land was still extensively in a two-field condition, especially in the downland area.<sup>4</sup> Prof. Gray has very carefully listed a great number of local references in documentary material proving that at specific dates ranging from 1201—2 to 1813 certain Wiltshire townships were in a two-field or a three-field condition. His list of two-field townships comprises<sup>5</sup>: Berwick St. James, 42 Hen. III, 1257—8; Axford, 9 Eliz., 1566—7; Badbury, 10 Hen. VIII, 1518—19; Brokenborough, 18 Ric. II, 1394—5; Colerne, 14 Ed. III, 1340—1; Cowfold with Norton, 19 Ric. II, 1395—6; East Heytesbury, 12 Ed. III, 1338—9; Great Heytesbury, 14 Ed. III, 1340—1; Grittleton, 10 Hen. VIII, 1518—19; Hurdcott, 12 Ed. III, 1338—9; Kington, 10 Hen. VIII, 1518—19; Maddington, 14 Ed. III, 1340—1; Marden, 3 John, 1201—2; Nettleton, 10 Hen. VIII, 1518—19; Newnton, 19 Ric. II, 1395—6; Sherston, 1205—22; and 19 Ric. II, 1395—6; South Damerham, 10 Hen. VIII, 1518—19; Stanton St. Quinton (*recte* Stanton St. Quintin), Swallowcliff, *ante* 13th cent.; Warminster, 1217—18; Winterbourne (there are several Winterbournes in the county), 13th century and 10 Hen. VIII, 1518—19; West Overton, 9 Eliz., 1566—7, and Yatesbury, 7 John, 1205—6.

Three-field townships<sup>6</sup> he has noted at Aldbourne (six fields—i.e. three, each divided into two), 1813; Ashton Keynes,<sup>7</sup> 1 Jac. I, 1603—4; Castle Combe, 46 Ed. III, 1372—3; Durrington, 8 Ed. III, 1334—5; Sharncott, 8 Ed. III, 1334—5; Bremhill and Foxham, Charlton, Crudwell, "Kemele" (*recte* Kemble, now in Glos.), Purton and Sutton, each 19 Ric. II, 1395—6; Alvediston, "Aven" (*recte* Avon? in Bremhill), Broad Chalk, Burcombe, Chilhampton, "Dichampton" (*recte*

<sup>1</sup> Prof. H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., 1915, frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> *The Open Fields*, 1938, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 501—3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 502—3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Ditchampton), Dinton, East Overton, Fuggleston, Newton Tony, North Ugford, Quidhampton, South Newton, Stoford, Washerne (in Wilton) and Wylve (all 9 Eliz., 1566—7), and Hinton, North Ashton, North Bradley, Semington, Southwick, and Steeple Ashton, each *temp.* Jac. I. 1603—25.

It will be seen that no township appears in both lists, so here this type of evidence is not available, as in some other counties, as to certain narrow limits of date within which the change from two-field to three-field management must have taken place. There are, however, other odd scraps of information bearing upon this same point. A late 14th cent. memorandum from Corsham<sup>8</sup> makes it clear that in the demesne here a two-course system was gradually giving place to one of three shifts about this time. The custom of "unhook", i.e. of extracting from the land a third crop upon some part of the third field, which would normally have lain fallow was, of course, especially prevalent in Gloucestershire. It extended also into Wiltshire, and one of the two instances cited by Prof. Vinogradoff is that of Brokenborough<sup>9</sup> in the 13th cent. In this county, evidently, field structure was fairly fluid, and the open field system was capable of modification to most fresh needs and new demands. By 1566—7 no less than four local manors are known to have been each in four fields. They are Bower Chalk, Chilmark, Hilcott, and Stockton.<sup>10</sup>

Irregular field systems are also found in this county as one would have expected, especially in remote upland valleys. Such are recorded at Christian Malford, where in 1518—9 there were two main fields and at least four subsidiary ones. Other irregular systems are recorded at Bedwyn and Berwick St. John in 1566—67. At Ashton Keynes in 1603, although the general plan of the place is still that of an open field village, numerous irregularities have developed.

Prof. Tawney<sup>11</sup> notes one or two local manors as instances of the very early disappearance of the old uniformity of tenants' holdings which indicates one of the first breaches in the structure of the open-field village community. In Estoverton (East Overton, now part of West Overton) by 1567 they had come to vary from 2 to 69 acres, at Homington from 809a. to 52a. and 63a. By way of exception, he notes that at Washerne nearly all the copyholders held 20a. each. But this is a marked exception to the general rule. At Castle Combe this consolidation had been going on since 1340—54. At South Newton in 1315 there were seven holders of a virgate of 23a, seventeen half-virgators with 12a. each, and a few cottagers. By 1567 the customary tenants were fewer in number, but occupied a larger acreage; there was but one virgator, and the other estates ranged from 7a. to 96a.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74—5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92—3, quoting Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>11</sup> *Agrarian Problem* . . . 1912, pp. 101 and 33 *et passim*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68—9, 73—4 *et passim*.

*Early Enclosures in Wiltshire.*

Having in mind those features of the county's rural economy which have been outlined above, one is not surprised to find that enclosure here developed early. In mediaeval times the abbot of Malmesbury had agreed with the men of Newentone<sup>13</sup> (presumably Long Newnton; so identified below) as to the mutual relinquishment of pasture rights in Asslegg (Ashley, now in Glos.), Cheggeberge (Chedglow in Crudwell), and Newentone (Long Newnton, now in Glos.), and a similar agreement was made in 1227 between John Biset and the Abbot of Glastonbury concerning Rockbourne and Damerham (now in Hants).<sup>14</sup>

By the early 16th century the wave of enclosure had spread to the open arable fields. At Christian Malford in 1518—19 nearly half the copyhold land was held in closes.<sup>15</sup> About the same time Wiltshire, like the neighbouring counties, was reported on by Wolsey's Enclosure and Depopulation Commission of 1517. The certificates have survived neither in their original form nor in the Lansdowne MSS. transcripts.<sup>16</sup> It is known, however, that a few—a very few—proceedings took place upon them.<sup>17</sup> No details are at present available as to the places affected.

Leland visited this county as others, a few years after this, and his notes give valuable information as to its agrarian condition. He journeyed from Cirencester, Glos., by Malmesbury, Chippenham, Bradford and Trowbridge, and so on to Bath; from Cranborne by Blagdon (Dorset), Salisbury and Downton to Fordingbridge, Hants; from Salisbury to Stockbridge, Hants; from Shalbourne, Wilts, by Ramsbury to Marlborough; from Lambourne, Berks, by Great Bedwyn, Shalbourne, Ramsbury, Marlborough, Steeple Ashton, Trowbridge, Bath (and on to Bristol); from Marshfield, Glos., by Bradford(-on-Avon)<sup>18</sup> and Trowbridge to Frome, Somerset; from Frome, Norton St. Phillip and Farleigh, Som., to Bradford; and from Nunney, Som., through Selwood Forest to Stalbridge, Dorset. His references are<sup>19</sup> :— (From Cirencester, Glos.) . . . . “ to Malmesbyre (Malmesbury) viij miles. First I roode about a mile on Fosse, then I turnid on the lifte hand, and cam al by champayne grounde, fruteful of corne and grasse, but very litle wood. . . . Riding betwixt Malmesbyri and Chip-

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, quoting *Registrum Malmesburiense*, Vol. II, pp. 250—1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, quoting Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire*, S. Damerham, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Prof. E. F. Gay, in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, N.S., Vol. XIV, 1900, p. 238 fn. 2.

<sup>17</sup> I. R. Leadam, *Domesday of Inclosures*, 1897, Vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> In Miss Toulmin Smith's edition of the *Itinerary* this part of the tour is not rubricated or indexed as in Wilts, but there can be no doubt which of the Southern Bradfords is meant.

<sup>19</sup> *Itinerary*, c. 1540, ed. Miss L. T. Smith, 1907—10, Vol. I, pp. 130—7, 258—69, Vol. IV., p. 130, Vol. V, pp. 79—84, 96—8, and 106—7.

penham al the ground on that side of the ryver was chaumpain, fruteful of corne and grasse but litle wod. Al the quarters of the foreste of Braden be welle wooddid ever along from Malmesbyri to Chippenham Wood (near Chippenham) . . . to Alington (Allington, N.W. of Chippenham) and Cosham (Corsham) Haselbyri (Hazlebury) Munkton-Farley (Monkton Farleigh). . . . From Haselbyri to Monkton the countre beginnith to wax woddy and so forth lyke to Bradeford (Bradford-on-Avon) about a 2 miles from Munketon-Farley : and also to part into hilles and vales. . . . From Bradeford to Thorough-bridg (Trowbridge) about a 2 miles by good corne, pasture and wood. . . . From Thorough-bridg to Castelle-Farley (Farleigh Hungerford, Som.), about a 3 miles by good corne, pasture, and nere Farley self plenty of wood . . . (and so on to Bath). . . . (From Craneburne, *i.e.*, Cranborne, Dorset) . . . I passid about a 2 mile or more, al by playne champain ground, leving Blackden (Blagdon) the Kinges great park hard on the lift hond. Thens a 6 miles by like ground to Homington . . . and so [to] Saresbyri (Salisbury) al champayn ground a 2 miles. . . . From Harnham bridge to Dunton (Downton) . . . a 4 miles. Thens to Fording bridge of stone (Fordingbridge, Hants), a 4 miles. . . . From Saresbyri to Thomas Beketes bridge of 2 stone archis (St. Thomas's Bridge in Laverstock) a mile al by champayn. . . . Passing a 3 miles forther I left a mile of on the righte hond Bukholt (Buckholt, Hants) Woodde, a great thing. . . . Thens 8 miles al by champayn grounde baren of woode to Stoke-bridge (Stockbridge, Hants), . . . Goyng oute of Chaubierne village (Shalbourne, Wilts), 3 miles from Hungreforde . . . I passed over a litle streme. . . . Thens a 2 miles by woddy ground to litle Bedwyne (Little Bedwyn). . . . Thens a 2 miles to Ramesbury (Ramsbury) by neatly woddy grounde. . . . From Ramesbyri to Marlbyri (Marlborough) 3 myle by hilly ground, good corne and woodde. . . . From Lameburne (Lambourne, Berks), on to Ramesbyri towne about a 5 miles, first by champayne grounde fruteful of corne then by hills frutefull of woodd and corne. . . . From Ramesbyri on to Great Bedewine a 3 miles, most parte thrwge the forest of Savernake. . . . From Bedwine a good mile to Chauburne village. . . . From Ramesbury on to Marlebyri a 3 miles by hilly grounde, frewtfull of corne and wod. . . . From Marlebyri over Kenet (the R. Kennet), and so into Savernake (the swete oke) forest, and a 4 miles or more to Peusey (Pewsey) . . . and there I passed over Avon ryver, and so by playne champaine ground, frutfull of grasse andcorne, especially good whete and barley . . . by . . . Manifordes (the Manningfords) . . . to Newton (North Newnton) village 2 myles and more from Pewsey . . . to Uphaven (Upavon) . . . 2 myles lower. . . . From Newton to Hilcote an hamlet of the same paroché half a myle. The[n] a 7 myles to the Vyes (Devizes) by champayne ground . . . the forest of Blakemore (Blackmoor, E. of Melksham) lyeth in a botom toward northe west, not far from the towne. . . . From the Vies to Steple Assheton (Steeple Ashton) a 6 myles by cham-

paine, but frutefull grownde and good wood plenty in some places. . . . From Steple Asscheton to Brooke Haule (now Brook House, 2 m. N.W. of Westbury, not Brooks Place, as Miss Toulmin Smith has it) about a 2 mile by woody ground. . . . From Brooke Haule onto Westbyri by low ground havinge wod, pasture and corne a mile and a halfe . . . From Troughbridge on to Bathe by very hilly ground a 7 miles". From Bath Leland went on to Kelston, which is not and never was in Wilts as he says . . . (From Marshfield, Gloucs.) "Thens a 4 myles farther I passid by hilly grownde, and went over a stone bridge (? at Bathford). . . . Thens by hilly, stony and woody ground a 3 miles onto Bradeford. . . . Thens on to Throughbridge (Trowbridge). . . . Thens on to Broke (Brooke Hall) by woody grownde 2 myles. . . . From Brooke on to Frome Celwood (Frome) in Somerseshire a 4 myles, muche by woody ground and pasture on tyll I cam within a myle of it where is champaine. From Frome onto Nunney Delamare (Nunney, Som.) . . . a 2 myles al by champayne grounde frutefull of corne . . . [Thens] partely by [foreste grounde and partelye by champayne a 4 myles onto Stourton] . . . From Stourton onto . . . (?) a 4 myles muche by woddy ground. Heere I passid over Cale water (a tributary of the Stour) at a greate forde and so rydde scant a mile over Moreland (Blackmore Vale) . . . and to Stapleford (should be Staplebridge, now Stalbridge, Dorset)".

It will be seen that Leland mentions areas both of open field and of enclosure in the county. By the middle of the century agrarian change was causing serious social upheavals here. According to King Edward VI the 1549 disturbances actually began here and spread from hence to neighbouring counties, though John Hales says they began in Somerset and spread thence to (*inter alia*) Wiltshire.<sup>20</sup> King Edward says that when "the people began to rise in Wiltshier, Sir William Harbert<sup>21</sup> did put them downe, overrun, and slay them'. In May, 1549, the sheriff and justices of Hampshire were warned of disturbances in Somerset and Wiltshire. Apparently the cause of the revolt here was mainly agrarian, and the discontent was aroused in the first place by Sir William Herbert's imparcation of ground near Wilton House. John Paston sent to the Earl of Rutland in May some details of the Rising. "Ther ys a grete number of the commonse uppe abowte Salssebery in Wylleshere and they have pluckyd downe Sir Wyllyam Harberde's park that ys abowte hys new howse, and dyverse other parkysse and commonse that be inclosyd in that cuntre, but harme thay doe to parson (nobody). Thay saye thay wylle obaye the Kynges maestee (majesty) and my lord Protector with alle the counselle, but thay saye thay wyl nat have ther commonse and ther growndes to be inclosyd and soo taken from them.

<sup>20</sup> Prof. E. F. Gay in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, N.S., Vol. XVIII, 1904, p. 200 fn. 3, p. 203 . . . fn. 2.

<sup>21</sup> This is Sir William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke of the second creation. H.M.C. xi, iv, Rutland MSS.



. . . . Ther is neyther gentylle man nor yet a man of any substance as furforthe as I can lerne amoynge them ”.

The county had not been included among those to which the 1536 Depopulation Act<sup>22</sup> was to apply, but it came under the operation of the Act of 1597<sup>23</sup>. The inference seems to be that it had not been much affected by agrarian change by the early part of the century, and that this developed fairly extensively before the end of the century. A local manor known to have been enclosed about this time is Ashton Keynes, where nearly a third of the copyhold land was held in severalty by 1603—4.<sup>24</sup> However, in 1607, the county is still described as (preponderantly) open.<sup>25</sup> “ In Dorset, Wiltshire, Hamshire, Barkeshire and other places champion the farmers do much inrich their land indeed with the sheepfold ”. Norden was a Wiltshireman, and presumably was in a position to know the facts.<sup>26</sup> There seems little evidence available as to enclosure locally about the middle of the 17th century, though there must have been some, since an undated document (assigned to 1632), in the State Papers Domestic refers to the preparation of a warrant for a commission to enquire into depopulation and conversion in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.<sup>27</sup> An interesting picture of agrarian grievance in one Wiltshire township about the time of the Commonwealth is given by the story of Wootton Bassett. Here a certain Sir Francis Englefield persecuted the inhabitants for 56 years, enclosing 1,900a. of their 2,000a. of common, seizing their charters, vexing his tenants with lawsuits, and overcharging the common with his own cattle.

A petition from this place<sup>28</sup> (c. 1632) sets forth that the mayor and free-tenants of this borough had enjoyed from time immemorial, *free common* of pasture for the feeding of all manner of ruther beasts, as cowes, &c., in FASTERNE (VASTERN) Great Park, which contained, by estimation, 2,000 acres of ground or upwards and that soon after the manor came into the possession of Sir Francis Englefield, Knight, that gentleman did inclose the park, leaving out to the free tenants of the borough that part which was called Wotton Lawnd, and contained

<sup>22</sup> 27 Hen. VIII c. 22 (1536), Slater, *English Peasantry* . . . 1907, pp. 324—5. Miss Leonard in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, N.S., Vol. XIX, 1905, p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> 39 Eliz. c. 2 (1597), Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>24</sup> Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

<sup>25</sup> Norden, *Surveiours Dialogue*, 1607, Bk. 5, p. 232. Miss Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>26</sup> D. McDonald, *Agricultural Writers*, 1908, pp. 61—6.

<sup>27</sup> Miss Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 129 fn. 1, and Gonner, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>28</sup> Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XV, Wiltshire, 1814, pp. 642—4. Tawney, *Agrarian Problem* . . . 1912, pp. 148, 251—2. Sir F. Englefield acquired the manor 1555—6.

only 100 acres. The petition then proceeds to state that, notwithstanding this infringement of their ancient rights, the inhabitants submitted without resistance and established new regulations of common in conformity with the contracted area of their lands, giving to the mayor of the town for the time being "two cowes feeding, and to the constable one cowes feeding and to every inhabitant of the said borough one cowes feeding and no more, as well the poor as the rich, and every one to make and maintaine a certain parallel of bound, set forth to every person; and ever after that enclosure, for the space of fifty-six years or neere thereabouts, any messuage, burgage, or tenant (tenement?) that was bought or sold within the said borough did always buy and sell the said cowes leaze together with the said messuage or burgage, as part and member of the same, as doth and may appeare by divers deeds, which are yet to be seen; and about which time, as we have been informed, and do verily believe, that Sir Francis Englefield, heire of the aforesaid Sir Francis Englefield, did, by some means, gain the charter of our towne into his hands, and as lately we have heard that his successors now keepeth it; and do believe that at the same time he did likewise gaine the deed of the said common; and he thereby knowing that the towne had nothing to shew for the right of common but by prescription did begin suits in law with the said free tenants for their common, and did vex them with so many suits in law, for the space of seven or eight years at least, and never suffered any one to come to tryal in all that space, but did divers times attempt to gain possession thereof by putting in of divers sorts of cattell, inasmuch that at length, when his servants did put in cowes by force into the said common, many times and present (*sic*) upon putting of them in, the Lord in His mercy did send thunder and lightning from heaven, which did make the cattle of the said Sir Francis Englefield to run so violent out of the said ground, that at one time one of the beasts were (*sic*) killed therewith, and it was so often, that people that were not there in presence to see it when it did thunder would say that Sir Francis Englefield's men were putting in their cattell into the Lawnd, and so it was; and as soone as those cattell were gone forth it would presently be very calme and faire, and the cattel of the towne would never stir, but follow their feeding as at other times, and never offer to move out of the way, but follow their feeding; and this did continue so long, he being too powerfull for them, that the said free tenants were not able to wage law any longer, for one *John Rosier*, one of the free tenants, was thereby enforced to sell all his land (to the value of 500<sup>l</sup>) with following the suits in law, and many others were thereby impoverished, and were thereby enforced to yeeld up their right, and take a lease of the said Sir Francis Englefield for term of his life; and the said mayor and free tenants hath (*sic*) now lost their right of common in the Lawnd neare about twenty years, which this now Sir Francis Englefield, his heirs and his trustees, now detaineth from them.

And as for our common we do verily believe that no corporation in *England* as much wronged is as we are, for we are put out of all

common that ever we had, and hath not so much as one foot of common left unto us nor never shall have any; we are thereby grown so in poverty, unless it please God to move the hearts of this honourable house to commiserate our cause, and to exact something for us, that we may enjoy our right again.

*And we your Orators shall be ever bound to pray for your healths and prosperity in the Lord”.*

Signed by the mayor and 22 inhabitants with this *notandum*:

“Divers more hands we might have had, but that many of them doth rent bargains of the lord of the manner, and they are fearful that they shall be put forth of their bargaines, and then shall not tell how to live, otherwise they would have set to their hands”.

Even after duly discounting the tenants' statements, one can judge that they had some very genuine grievances. No doubt, if Sir Francis ventured upon such highhanded proceedings in a borough town, with its own governing body and its own two members in the House of Commons, other landlords in the area could certainly hope to enclose other commons or open fields belonging to much less vocal and less influential village communities.

As to the effect of such enclosures in either town or countryside, a classical reference is that in Aubrey,<sup>29</sup> “Anciently in the hundreds of Malmesbury and Chippenham, were but very few enclosures, and that near houses. This county was then a lovely campania, as now about Sherston and Coteswold. My grandfather Lyte did remember when all between Cromhalls Eston (Easton Piers) and Castle Combe was so, and when Easton, Yatton, and Combe did intercommon together. In my remembrance much hath been enclosed, and every day more and more is taken in. Anciently the Leghs (now corruptly called Sleights —i.e., pastures) were noble large grounds as yet the Demeane land at Castle Combe are. I doe remember about 1633 but one enclosure to Chipnam Field, which was at the north end, and by this time I thinke it is all enclosed”. So likewise in his remembrance was all between Kington St. Michael and Draycot Cerne common field. The west field of Kington St. Michael (between Easton Piers and Heywood) was enclosed in 1664. “Then were a world of labouring people maintained by the plough as yet in Northamptonshire, etc. There were no rates for the poore even in my grandfather's daies; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the Church Ale at Whitsuntide did their businesse. . . . Since the Reformation and Inclosures aforesaid these parts have swarmed with poore people. The Parish of Calne pays to the poore (1663) £500 per annum, and the Parish of Chippenham little less, as appears by the Poor's bookes there. Inclosures are for the private, not for the public good. For a shepherd and his dogge,

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<sup>29</sup> *Natural History of Wiltshire*, under date 1685, with a reference to c. 1550, as quoted by Miss Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 140 and Scrutton, *Commons and Common Fields*, 1886, pp. 99, 100.

or a milk mayd can manage that land that upon arable employed the hands of severall scores of labourers ”.

By 1685 the county was still roughly half open, if Prof. Gonner's<sup>30</sup> calculation may be relied on. He bases his estimate upon Ogilby's *Britannia*, published in this year, and supposes that the percentage of unfenced road is probably a fair indication of the percentage of open land in the shire. Wiltshire with some 47 per cent. appears 11th of the 37 counties listed in order of their percentage of open road. Ogilby marks a fair amount of roadway in Wiltshire, the highways from Southampton by Salisbury and Marlborough to Lechlade and to Burford, Oxon, with a cross-road at Upavon from Andover, Hants, to meet the Gloucester-Taunton road, with an eastern branch from Marlborough through Reading to London, and with another cross-road at Swindon from Oxford to Bristol, and a cross-road from Devizes joining this same Gloucester-Taunton road at Glastonbury. Much of the south and east of the county is shown as open, but the roads in the north and west, especially near Malmesbury, are recorded as enclosed, though they had been open in Leland's time. This clearly proves extensive enclosure in the late 16th or early or middle 17th centuries. In fact the district in south Wiltshire between Warminster and Salisbury formed, if Ogilby is to be relied on, the eastern vertex of the great triangular area which formed the main open district still surviving in the 1680's.<sup>31</sup>

Celia Fiennes,<sup>32</sup> whose *Journal* is a valuable source for the agrarian condition of England towards the end of the 17th century, was a local woman. She describes the country near her home at Newton Tony as a "fine open champion country". Evidently she was more accustomed to open-field or common country than to a severalty, since in her description of the countryside she is much more apt to notice the presence than the absence of hedges. She also describes the down country between Amesbury and Stonehenge, as "all on the downs, a fine champion country", but Dr. Slater<sup>33</sup> gives reason to suppose that this may not here mean that the country was in any way commonable. "Using the word enclosure in its broad sense, it may be said that in Wessex the process of inclosure has least of all taken visible shape either in the growing of hedges, or building of walls, or in the conversion of arable to pasture, or pasture to arable, or in the scattering of the habitations of the inhabitants . . . but that it has most profoundly affected the social life of the villages".

The 18th century writers give some further scraps of information. Nourse<sup>34</sup> writes in 1700 and informs us that there is still much open

<sup>30</sup> Ogilby, *Britannia*, 1675. Gonner, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>31</sup> Gonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 172—3.

<sup>32</sup> *Through England on a Side Saddle* . . . (c. 1689), 1889.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 234—5.

<sup>34</sup> *Campania Fœlix* . . . 1700, p. 45.

ground in the Cotswolds. Defoe<sup>35</sup> has more to say of the agriculture of Wiltshire than he has of most counties. He describes it as the "most pleasant and fertile. As the east and south parts of Wiltshire are . . . all hilly in plains and grassy downs. . . . So all the south and west part of Wiltshire . . . are low and flat, being a rich inclosed country. . . . The number of sheep fed on these downs is lessened rather than increased, because of the many thousand acres of the carpet ground being, of late years, turned into arable land and sowed with wheat. . . . The north part of Wiltshire, being arable . . . they sow a very great quantity of barley. . . . The down(s) . . . which are generally called Salisbury Plain . . . were formerly all left open to be fed by . . . sheep . . . (but are now arable and are vastly improved by the use of the sheep fold). . . . If this way . . . were practised in some parts of England and especially in Scotland, they would find it . . . effectively improve the waste lands. . . . The Vale of the White Horse (from Marlborough (? Swindon) to Abingdon, Berks) is a very fertile and fruitful Vale . . .". From Shaftesbury he saw "a new scene or prospect (viz) of Somerset and Wiltshire, where 'tis all enclosed and grown with woods, forests, and planted hedge-rows". According to Hale,<sup>36</sup> the noted starving parts of Hampshire and Wiltshire could be made like Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire by enclosure. Young notes the large farms still prevalent in the district between Devizes and Salisbury, and much regrets the waste of Salisbury Plain on pasture when it was fit for tillage. He refers to the open field in the north of the county as still under the old three or four course rotations—two or three white crops and a fallow. Between Marlborough and Hungerford (Berks) there were watered meadows, and some of the land was under improved rotations by 1771. In the south-east of the county some of the open-field farmers had agreed to sow clover and rye grass in place of the fallow, and some had even gone so far as to lay out a fourth field for the purpose.

Concerning the agrarian history of Wiltshire, as for that of other counties, Marshall is, in general, a good deal more reliable than Young. Marshall<sup>37</sup> wrote apparently in 1792. He says "From Basingstoke to Salisbury the state of inclosure varies. To the eastward the country is mostly inclosed, much of it in large regular inclosures. More westward, it is entirely open; as are the tops of the higher hills throughout. Extensive views, with no other break than what is given by corn or flocks, fallows or the sheep fold. . . . To the southward of the town (of Salisbury) there are some well-sized square fields, with good

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<sup>35</sup> Defoe, *Tour* . . . 1724—6, reprint of 1928, pp. 187—99, 279—89.

<sup>36</sup> *Compleat Body of Husbandry*, 1756, quoted by G. E. Fussell, in *Min. of Ag. Journ.*, Nov., 1936, p. 736 and references there cited.

<sup>37</sup> *Rural Economy of Southern Counties* . . ., 1798.

live hedges (at least on three sides) apparently of forty or fifty years' growth; yet, extraordinary as it is, many of these fields lie open to the roads; the fences on the sides next the lanes lying in a state of neglect. And, to the north of the Avon, the country for many miles every way, lies open, unless about villages and hamlets, and along the narrow bottoms of the western valleys. To the eastward of Salisbury an attempt has been made at inclosure; the ruins of the hedges are still evident; broken banks, with here and there a hawthorn. And similar instances are observable in other parts of the Downs. Are we to infer from hence, that chalkdown lands are not proper to be kept in a state of inclosure? Or that where sheep are kept in flocks, and few cattle are kept, fences are not requisite? Or is the foliage of shrub a natural and favourite food of sheep and hence, in a country chiefly stocked with sheep, it is difficult to preserve a live hedge from destruction? (From Ludgershall to Basingstoke) "The country is wholly inclosed: excepting a few plots to the right, mostly in large square fields, doubtless from a state of open down, the hedges in general of a middle age: some instances of vacant inclosure. . . . With respect to the present state of appropriation of this tract of country (i.e. the whole of the district he calls "The Western Chalk Hills"), the mere traveller is liable to be deceived. From the more public roads, the whole appears to be in a state of divided prosperity. But, on a closer examination, much of it is found to be in a state of commonage. In the immediate environs of Salisbury, there are evident remains of a common field lying in narrow strips intermixed in the south of England manner, and not far from it a common cow pasture and a common meadow. About Mere I observed the same appearances. In the valley of Amesbury much of the land remains, I understand, under similar circumstances, though they do not so evidently appear in the arable lands, which by the aggregation of estates, or of farms, or by exchanges among landlords and their tenants, lie mostly in well-sized pieces. But the after-estate whether of the stubble or the meadows is enjoyed in common. And the grass downs of the common field townships are in a state of common pasture the year round: being stinted by the arable lands".

Marshall in his work on Gloucestershire<sup>38</sup> gives some account of the agriculture of the natural region he styles North Wiltshire. He describes it as all in large estates and mainly in grassland. The farms were larger than almost anywhere else in the country. "Requisite alterations" had recently been made. The "youngest grassland he knew was forty years old". "The entire district appears to have been heretofore under the plow; though few traces of common field are at present evident". The district was, of course, as it still is, a region of dairy management, and the only features of its farming which Marshall thought it worth while to comment on were connected with dairy work.

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<sup>38</sup> *Rural Economy of Gloucestershire, 1789*, Vol. II, pp. 104-82.

There are two Board of Agriculture Reports<sup>39</sup> on the county, respectively by Thomas Davis senior and Thomas Davis junior. The elder Davis was agent to the Marquis of Bath, and had acted as an Enclosure Commissioner. Marshall describes him as "a man of wide experience in all rural matters". At the time when the elder Davis wrote, the north of the county was "for the most part enclosed, but not entirely so, there being still a few common fields remaining, and some commons".

The commons were in a very neglected condition, and the common fields in a very bad state of husbandry. Enclosure had been very slow during the last fifty years, partly owing to the great difficulty and expense of making roads in a country naturally wet and deep, where the old public roads had been until recently quite impassable. Several new turnpike roads had been made in the district however, so that more enclosure was hoped for. In the south-east of the county many common fields had lately been enclosed, though many still remained open.

Among other things, Davis gives his version of the origin of common meadows. "They shut up, and in some places enclosed such parts of their common pasture which were most proper to mow for hay, dividing them into certain specific quantities, either by land marks or lot, for mowing, and suffering the common herds of cattle to feed on them again as soon as the hay was carried off."<sup>40</sup>

He mentions three disadvantages of open fields which have usually escaped remark. The first is the difficulty of raising feed for the winter feed of sheep, which were considered, as they always have been, as very necessary for the manuring of the arable by folding—a difficulty which, in the absence of roots, we can readily understand. The second is that an excessive number of horses was needed to cultivate the detached and scattered lands. Here he explains what must have puzzled many people, the size of the mediæval plough teams, which were normally eight and sometimes as many as ten or even twelve oxen or horses, although we know that where oxen are still used, two or four are sufficient to do the work, now that the land lies together. Were these large teams often awkward for actual work?<sup>41</sup> The third objection to common fields which he mentions is the obligation to plough and crop all kinds of soil alike.

Although a strong advocate of enclosure, he admits that common field farming sometimes kept the land from getting in a worse state, inasmuch as bad farmers were kept up to the mark by good ones on a good plan of husbandry. Sometimes, on enclosure, there had been actual deterioration in crops through farmers having their own way.

<sup>39</sup> T. Davis, *General View* . . . 1794. T. Davis, *General View* . . . 1811.

<sup>40</sup> This from Curtler.

<sup>41</sup> I very much doubt it. W.E.T.

Of South Wiltshire he says "there are some very extensive tracts of waste lands in this district, but the greatest half (*sic*) of the parishes are wholly or partly in a common field state.

"The greater part of this county was formerly and at no very remote period, in the hands of great proprietors. Almost every manor had its resident lord, who held part of the lands in demesne, and granted out the rest by copy or lease to under-tenants, usually for three lives renewable. A state of commonage, and particularly of open common fields, was peculiarly favourable to this tenure. Inclosure naturally lead to its extinction. The North-west of the county, being much better adapted to inclosures and the subdivision of property than the South, was inclosed first; while the South-east or Down district has undergone few inclosures and still fewer subdivisions".

Cobbett, traversing this same south-eastern district of Wiltshire in 1825, found the common-field or tenantry system completely superseded by that of great farms. Parliamentary enclosure alone had effected the change "which appears to have been so complete in the space of a single generation, 1793—1825".<sup>42</sup> The valley of the Avon is Cobbett's celebrated instance of rural depopulation following, *inter alia*, enclosure, and he gives in his text a sketch map of it showing the 29 churches and some of the 50 mansion houses formerly existing and flourishing in the area, and in his time the mansions mostly decayed, and the churches enormously too big for the populations, which in some instances could well be accommodated in the church porches. Probably Dr. Slater<sup>43</sup> is right in considering that here, more than in most counties, the social consequence of enclosure were appalling in the fact that they degraded the tiller of the soil from a responsible member of a self-governing village community into a pauperised half-starved labourer. Sir Francis Eden's<sup>44</sup> opinions on the matter would have been very valuable, but he says relatively little of Wiltshire in his book. Of Bradford he says "Very few acres of common", of Seend "waste land not more than 12 acres", of Trowbridge "about 30 acres of common". These are the only Wiltshire parishes he mentions. In the two first-named the condition of the poor was deplorable, in the last considerably better. This however was mainly a manufacturing district.

#### *Survivals of Open Land in Wiltshire.*

An interesting survival of burghal management of common lands is recorded of Malmesbury in 1814.<sup>45</sup>

"West of the town (Malmesbury) is a large tract of ground called

<sup>42</sup> *Rural Rides*, reprint of 1941, Vol. II, pp. 34—79 and *passim* pp. 80—99.

<sup>43</sup> Slater *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>44</sup> *State of the Poor*, 1797, reprint of 1928, pp. 342—8.

<sup>45</sup> Britton, *op. cit.*, p. 1814. Presumably these are the lands enclosed in 1819 (List B.) and 1821 (List B.).



Malmsbury Common, which presents a deplorable scene of waste and desolation. It is nearly covered with furze or gorse and, for the want of proper drainage, is almost unpassable for horses or carriages in wet weather. This common belongs to the Borough, and each freeman is privileged to turn a horse or cow into it and cut the furze for fuel. A high part of the ground nearest to the town is called *Hundred Hill*, and is partly enclosed. Each landholder of the borough has one acre of this district: and each of the common council of the borough is entitled to a plot of about two or three acres. To every one of the capital burgesses is assigned a field of from six to fifteen acres. These inclosed pieces of land are at once useful to the community and valuable to the possessors, and show what might be affected on the waste common by management and skill".

As to other open lands in the county I have been able to find very little. According to the official return of 1874,<sup>46</sup> there were in 1873 44 Wiltshire parishes containing open arable fields, of a total area of 18,000a. with possibly another 4,500a. in other parishes in the county. There were also some 9,250a. of common. No doubt the first figure is a gross over-estimate, and I give it merely for what it is worth. The second figure relates presumably mainly to some still surviving commonable down, and perhaps to part of Salisbury Plain.

#### *Wiltshire Enclosure Acts and Awards.*

The lists of Wiltshire Enclosure Acts and Awards which follow show one or two features which seem to call for comment. In general the list of enclosures of open field (List A) bears out what has been said above as to the fairly general and quite late survival of open arable lands in the county. Of the 121 parliamentary enclosures of open field, etc., only five are before 1766. From then onwards for a decade or so there is an enclosure every two or three years. Then by about 1777 the tide of enclosure is at flood, and for half a century there is hardly a year without one or more Acts. The peak periods are numerous, even in the 1780's, when many counties had hardly an Act passed. The highest of them all are in 1809 and 1814 with six Acts each.

Enclosure of waste, etc. (List B), only developed rather later. There are seven Acts before 1800, and 27 after this year. The peak period here is in 1808, when the Napoleonic Wars made necessary the breaking up of waste.

Enclosures under the 1836 General Act (List C) are surprisingly high in number—there are no less than ten. This seems to show that in some Wiltshire parishes the village community contrived to maintain a rather precarious existence well into the 1840's, and then to arrange for its own extinction by a process at once economical, expeditious, and more or less equitable. The three enclosures under the Acts of 1836

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<sup>46</sup> P.P. (H.C.) 85, 1874, For a criticism of the statistics in the *Blue-book*, see Slater, *op. cit.*, pp. 36—43.

and 1840 (List D) probably refer to the common pastures of similar village communities. What has been said of List C above is borne out by the fact that there are no less than seven entries in the two parts of List E, those of lands belonging to communities with sufficient tenacity to resist all attacks until within living memory. The list of common enclosures under the 1845, etc., General Acts (List F, i and ii) seems to call for little comment. The schedule of enclosures by agreement (List G) contains no less than eight entries, mostly in the early years of the 19th century. One may hope that these represent enclosures carried out in accordance with the general wishes of communities without the expense and formality of Parliamentary proceedings; and in this county it seems likely enough that such may have been the case.

LISTS OF WILTSHIRE ENCLOSURE ACTS AND AWARDS.

*Contractions used.*

- \*. Enrolled copy of Award has plan attached (rare in this county).  
 (.). Estimated acreage.  
 a. Acres.  
 Ch. Award enrolled on Chancery Close Roll in Public Record Office.  
 C.P. Award enrolled on Common Pleas Recovery Roll in Public Record Office. Also Common of Pasture.  
 C.R. Award enrolled among County Records in custody of Clerk of the Peace.  
 (H.) Hamlet.  
 K.B. Award enrolled on King's Bench Plea Rolls in Public Record Office.

Names of manors, tithings, parishes, etc., are commonly indicated in the *Notes* by their initial letters only. References in the same to other entries are by dates of *Acts* (first column) not of Awards.

Wherever possible, place-names have been given in their generally accepted *modern* forms. All Acts in the official return<sup>1</sup> are included. Those in Dr. Slater's lists<sup>2</sup>, as including open field arable, are in list A. Those not in Dr. Slater's list presumably relate to meadow and waste alone. These are in list B. The 1836<sup>3</sup> Act authorised the enclosure of

<sup>1</sup> P.P. (H.C.) 399, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *The English Peasantry* . . . 1908 App. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 6 and 7 Wm. IV, c. 115 (1836).

open field alone, though it was frequently used to carry out the enclosure of open lands of other classes.<sup>4</sup> Unless evidence to the contrary is available, it is assumed here that the Act was properly applied, so that enclosures under it are of common field. These are in list C. This Act was extended in 1840<sup>5</sup> to cover lammas lands, etc., and enclosures carried out under the 1836 and 1840 Acts are listed in list D.

The General Act of 1845<sup>6</sup> authorised enclosure of lands other than common pastures by provisional order alone. This provision remained in force until the sixth Amending Act<sup>7</sup> with an exceptional clause in favour of enclosures actually in progress in 1852. So for some ten years from 1845 proposed enclosures not including the waste of a manor were not submitted to Parliament for approval. After 1852 all enclosures required statutory authorisation, and this was given in the annual General Act. Lists E and F cover enclosures in those two classes. The data have been obtained from the various official blue-books,<sup>8</sup> from the Enclosure Commissioners' annual reports, and from the Ministry<sup>9</sup> of Agriculture memorandum for Awards from 1893 onwards.<sup>10</sup> Enclosures by agreement listed in list G must be a very small proportion of these actually carried out, but they are the ones of which formal written record survives either in the Public Record Office or among the County records. It has not been possible to classify them, like the others, into enclosures containing common field, and those consisting only of common pasture, meadow, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Cooke Enclosures, and Rights of Common*, 1864, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> 3 and 4 Vic. c. 31 (1840).

<sup>6</sup> 6 and 7 Vic. c. 118 (1845).

<sup>7</sup> 15 and 16 Vic. c. 39 (1852).

<sup>8</sup> *P.P.* above cited also *P.P.s* 455 (1893) and 50 (1904).

<sup>9</sup> No. 702/L.G.

<sup>10</sup> Such local lists as are available have been consulted, and the data have been checked by various persons whose help is acknowledged elsewhere.

List A. Enclosure by Private Act of Lands including Open Field Arable.

Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1725	Compton Bassett	n.s.	?	?	One field only.
1732	Staunton (awaits identification)	800	?	?	There are 3 (or 4) Stantons in Wilts. The whole area enclosed was O.F.
1741	Sherston Magna	1000	1743	C.R.	Two fields here. All authorities except 1904 Blue-book index as B. only.
1748	Badbury (H) in Chisledon	n.s.	1748	C.R.	Not B. Blumnsden as in Slater. Award date seems quite wrong, unless Act confirms pre-existing agreement.
1749	Broad Blunston (T) in Blunston St. Andrew	(700)	1700	C.R.	1904 Blue-book says this Award was 26 Jan., 1767, under Agreement of 21 Nov., 1765. Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet says Award 25 Jan., 1757. I take it that this last entry is wrong and that the Agreement of 1765 was to seek parliamentary powers. The Act was 6 Geo. III c. 8.
1766	Heddington	n.s.	1767	C.R.	Slater indexes as A.K. only. Total area is made up of 70a. O.F., 490a. C.P., and 176a. open meadow.
1767	Leigh (M) in Ashen Keynes ( <i>Recte</i> Ashton Keynes), (P)	736	?	Ch. 3. Geo. III, 1767-8.	Not C. in Endford as in Slater and 1914 Blue-book.
1770	Compton (M) or (Ms) in Enford	1010	1772	C.R.	Both places are now in Glos.]
[1772	Kemble and Pool ( <i>recte</i> Pool Keynes)	1500	?	?	
1774	Titcombe <i>als.</i> ( <i>et recte</i> ), Tidcombe (P)	845	?	K.B. 22 Geo. III, 1782	Area consisted of 450a. O.F., 395a. C.P.
1775	Southcott and Kepnell Down ( <i>recte</i> Kepnal Down), Work Down, etc., in Pewsey	n.s.	1826	C.R.	Act. 15 Geo. III, not 6 Geo. III as in 1904 Blue-book. Is date of Award correct? It seems very late. Or is this 1826 Award under the 1825 Act below?

1776	Liddington and Medbourn(e) ( <i>recte</i> Medbourne) (H)	1066	1777	C.R.	
1777	Market Lavington	n.s.	1781	C.R.	
1777	Ramsbury Town, Park Town, Whittenditch ( <i>recte</i> Whittont- ditch), Eastridge, and Bayn- don (Ts) and (L) (or Ls?) in Ramsbury (M)	1737	1782	C.R.	Act not 1778 as in Slater, who indexes as R, Whitton, etc. Deed poll of 1784 for ex- change of vicarial tithes enrolled C.P., 24 Geo. III, 1784. B. is now Baydon Manor (Marridge Hill) but not in Baydon P.
1777	Earl Stoke ( <i>recte</i> Erlestoke)	n.s.	?	C.P. 19	
1777	Ashton Keynes (M) and (P)	n.s.		Geo. III, 1778	
1778	Highworth (P)		1778	C.R.	
1778	Ogbourne St. Andrew's (T)	n.s.	1780	C.R.	
1778	Coate (M) and (T) in Bishop's Cannings	n.s.	1780	C.R. ?	Not Coates as in Slater. He and Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet index as C. only. C. is a tithing of B's. C.
1779	Milston and Brigmerston (M)	n.s.	?	?	
1779	Mildenhall	(800)	?	?	
1779	Wanborough	n.s.	1780	C.R.	
1779	Chisledon	1242	1780	C.R.	Area consists of 1230a, O.F., 12a. C.P.
1780	Charleton ( <i>recte</i> Charlton)	n.s.	1780	C.R.	There are 5 Charltons in Wilts.
1780	Warminster and Corsley	4000	1783	C.R.	Indexed in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as W. only.
1781	Chicklade	n.s.	1781	C.R.	
1782	Kingston Deverill	2500	1785	C.R.	
1782	Stanton St. Quintin	n.s.	1783	C.R.	
1783	Heytesbury	5700	1785	C.R.	
1783	Odstock, Homington, West Harnham, and Netherhampton	n.s.	1787	C.R.	Indexed by Slater as N., O., etc. Four separate awards for the four places named.
			1787	C.R.	

Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
(1788 continued)					
1785	Coleerne Down	1543	1787	C.R.	Or, are W.H. and N. both under same Award 17 Mar., 1787? Four separate entries in 1904 Blue-book, and Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet. Not Netherampton as in Slater. Area consisted of 1305a. O.F., 238a. C.P.
1785	Foffont ( <i>recte</i> Fovant), Swallow-cliff ( <i>recte</i> S.cliffe), Eb(b)esborne Wake ( <i>recte</i> Ebbesbourne), Broadchalk(e) ( <i>recte</i> Broad Chalke), Bowerchalk(e) ( <i>recte</i> Bower Chalke), Alvedeston ( <i>recte</i> Alvediston), Bishopston(e) ( <i>recte</i> Bishopstone), and Fifield ( <i>recte</i> F. Bavant)	n.s.	1787	C.R.	
1786	Berwick St. John	n.s.	1794	C.R.	Act not 1785 as in Slater
1788	Netherhaven <i>als.</i> ( <i>et recte</i> )	3300	1790	C.R.	
1789	Netheravon	n.s.	1793	C.R.	Separate Awards for B.S.J. and F.A.
1789	Urchfont and Beechingstoke	n.s.	1790	C.R.	
1789	Berwick St. James and Fisher-ton Anger	1650	1790	C.R.	
1790	Deverill Longbridge ( <i>recte</i> L.D.), Hussey Deverill, and Monkton Deverill (Ms)	n.s.	1795	C.R.	Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet indexes D.L. and D.M. only. Not D., L.H., etc., as in Slater. All three places are now in the parishes of L.D. and M.D.
1790	Great Bedwin, Little Bedwin ( <i>recte</i> G. and L. Bedwyn), and Preshute	n.s.	1792	C.R.	Original Award* in hands of Messrs. Merrimans, Solicitors, Marlborough.
1792	Avebury	n.s.	1795	C.R.	
1792	Knooke ( <i>recte</i> Knook)	n.s.	1798	C.R.	

- |      |  |          |      |                      |                      |   |
|------|--|----------|------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 1792 | Ogbourn(e) St. George ( <i>recte</i> Ogbourne St. George)  | Durnford | n.s. | 1796                 | C.R.                 | Two Awards under same Act. I do not know why the second was needed.   |
| 1793 |  |          | n.s. | { 1794<br>1795       | C.R.<br>C.R.         | Act not 1793 as in Slater. C d.I.F. Manor is in Enford parish. Four separate Awards under same Act respectively for I, K, F, and C. County records include separate deed of 1799 for exchanges in K.                        |
| 1794 | Keevil, Idmaston (now Idmiston), Fittleton and Chisenbury de la Folly ( <i>recte</i> Foley) (Ms) |          | n.s. | 1795<br>1796<br>1796 | C.R.<br>C.R.<br>C.R. | Act not 1793, and second place not Bedbow as in Slater. 1904 Blue-book indexes as now in the three parishes of C, B, C, and M. Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet indexes as B, etc., and B.C. None of these was ever in Marden. |
| 1794 | Roundway, Bedborough, Chittoe, and Bishops Cannings (Ts), in Marden                              |          | n.s. | 1812                 | C.R.                 | Separate Awards for W.E., and A. According to Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet A. is in Amesbury. It must, however, be the next parish east.   |
| 1795 | Winterbo(u)rne Earls ( <i>recte</i> Winterbourne Earls, and Allington                            |          | n.s. | 1796                 | C.R.                 | Only a small irregular angle of the S.W. of Wroughton parish is thus excluded.  |
| 1795 | Wroughton (part in the Hundred of Elstub and Everley)  |          | n.s. | 1796                 | C.R.                 | Slater indexes as W. and U., Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as E. and U. Elcombe   |
| 1796 | Elcomb(e) ( <i>recte</i> Elcombe) (M) in Wroughton, and Uffcott (T) in Broad Hinton              |          | n.s. | 1797                 | C.R.                 | was in Elstub and Everley ( <i>cf</i> Wroughton 1795 <i>supra</i> )   |
| 1797 | Allcannings ( <i>now</i> All Cannings) and Allington (Hs) or (Ts)                                |          | n.s. | 1799                 | C.R.                 | Allington is a tithing of A.C.  |
| 1797 | Easterton (H) or (T)   |          | n.s. | 1798                 | C.R.                 | Formerly a tithing of Market Lavington, now a separate parish.  |
| 1797 | Great Chiverell and Little Chiverell ( <i>now</i> Great Cheverell and Little Cheverell)          |          | n.s. | 1802                 | C.R.                 | Not G. and L. Chiverell as in Slater. Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet indexes as C. only.   |



Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1798	Upton and Milton (Ts) in East Knoyle <i>als.</i> Bishops Knoyle	820	1799	C.R.	Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet indexes as M. and U. in K., Slater as U. and M., only. 1904 Blue-book omits citation of Act, which should be 38 Geo. III c. 22.
[1798	Wichbury ( <i>recte</i> Whitsbury)	n.s.	?	?	Now in Hants. This enclosure includes also Rockbo(u)rne ( <i>recte</i> Rockbourne), Hants. Award appears to be enrolled neither in Wilts nor Hants C.R.]
1798	Shrewton	n.s.	1801	C.R.	
1798	Sutton Veney	n.s.	1804	C.R.	
1799	Oare (T) in Wilcot and Huish	n.s.	?	?	Slater indexes as O. only. Award in possession of Capt. G. Montagu, Wilcot.
1799	Puriton <i>als.</i> ( <i>et recte</i> ) Purton	n.s.	1799	C.R.	
1799	Stratford under the Castle ( <i>now</i> Stratford <i>sub</i> Castle), and Milton	n.s.	1800	C.R.	This Milton is not identifiable. There is none near S.S.C. apparently.
1800	Shalbourn ( <i>recte</i> Shalbourne)	n.s.	1805	(Wilts) C.R.	Indexed in 1904 Blue-book as partly in Berks. Here counted as wholly in Wilts as it is to-day.
1800	Chirton <i>als.</i> Cherrington ( <i>recte</i> Chirton (M) or (T))	n.s.	1808	C.R.	Not Cherton as in Slater. 1904 Blue-book says in Chirton and Conock (a tithing of Chirton).
1801	Manningford Bruce	n.s.	1810	C.R.	Indexed by Slater as C. only, by 1914 Blue-book as D. only.
1801	Charlton in Downton	n.s.	1807	C.R.	Slater indexes under Glos., and says 1942a, 1904 Blue-book indexes as in Glos., that of 1914 as partly in each county. Actually D.A. is in Glos. The other two now form a combined parish, Latton-cum-Eisey, in Wilts.
1801	Down Ampney, Latton and Eisey	1142	1805	(Glos.) C.R.	

1801	Wilsford	n.s.	1808	C.R.	There are two Ws. in Wilts, W. in Pewsey Vale and W. near Salisbury. This is said in the 1904 Blue-book to be Will(e)sford Dauntsey. The spelling Willesford belongs to the more northerly parish. The manorial addition has not been traced.
1802	Westbury	5100	1808	C.R.	See note under Wilsford 1801 above. I may have confused these two enclosures, and if so, while the area is correct, it is this Act for which an Award of 1808 is enrolled among C.R.
1802	Wilsford	800	?	?	Not Uphavon as in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet.
1802	Uphaven ( <i>recte</i> Uphavon)	3350	1804	C.R.	
1802	Coomb(e) Byset <i>als.</i> ( <i>et recte</i> ) Coombe Bissett.	n.s.	1800	C.R.	
1802	West Grimstead and White-parish	n.s.	{ 1805 1805	C.R. C.R.	Not W. Grimstead as in Slater. Separate Awards for W.G. and W.
1803	Upton Scudmore <i>als.</i> Upton Skidmore ( <i>recte</i> Upton Scudmore)	n.s.	1805	C.R.	
1805	Norton Bavant	n.s.	1809	C.R.	
1805	Somerford Keynes	n.s.	1807	C.R.	
1805	Aldbourne <i>als.</i> Aldborne <i>als.</i> Alborne ( <i>recte</i> Aldbourne), (T) and (P)	n.s.	?	C.P. 50 Geo. III, 1810	Original Award now in C.R. Deposited there recently, since enrolled in C.P., and not entered in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet, or 1904 Blue-book.
1805	Enford, Fifield, Coombe, Long-street, and East Chisenbury in Enford	n.s.	1808	C.R.	Not Enford as in Slater. Indexed in 1914 Blue-book and Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as E. only.
1806	Great Somerford, <i>als.</i> Broad Somerford, <i>als.</i> Somerford Magna ( <i>recte</i> Great Somerford)	1648	1809	C.R.	Slater says total area 948a., 900a. O.F., 48a. C.P.

Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1807	Mere	5000	1821	C.R.	Details as given are found only in 1914 Blue-book. Slater indexes as B. and W., other authorities as B. only.
1808	Bishopstrow, Warminster, Norton Bavant, and Sutton Veny	n.s.	1811	C.R.	
1808	Codford St. Peter	600	1810	C.R.	Slater says 2425a., 1904 Blue-book indexes as B.S.M. and S., in B.S.M., and S.N., that of 1914 has B.S.M. and S.N., Slater B.S.M., S.N., and B. B. is in Dinton parish.
1809	Barford St. Martin, and Stowford ( <i>recte</i> Stoford) in South Newton (and Baverstock ?)	3155	1815	C.R.	
1809	Stockton	1500	1818	C.R.	Slater says area 530a., consisting of 400a. O.F., and 130a. C.P.
1809	Orcheston St. George	695	?	?	
1809	Chilton Foliat	400	?	?	Indexed as partly in Berks (as, for civil purposes, it partly is) here reckoned wholly in Wilts, as it largely remains. Award is enrolled among neither Berks nor Wilts, C.R.
1809	West Kington	950	1811	C.R.	Not Bishopston as in Slater.
1809	Bishopstone, <i>als.</i> Bushopstone ( <i>recte</i> Bishopstone)	n.s.	1813	C.R.	
1810	WinterbourneStoke, and Stapleford	n.s.	{ 1812 1812	C.R. C.R.	Not 3 units, as in Slater. Two separate Awards. One each for W.S., and S. Act 50 Geo. III, c. 75, not, of course, 41 Geo. III as in 1904 Blue-book (though no doubt, like almost all the Acts <i>post</i> 1801, it incorporates by reference the general clauses of the General Act of 1801, 41 Geo. III, c. 109).
1810	Pitton and Farley	1500	1819	C.R.	
1811	Biddestone St. Nicholas, Biddestone St. Peter, and Slaughterford	293	1812	C.R.	Not Biddestone as in Slater.
1811	Tilshead	n.s.	1814	C.R.	Not Tilshead as in Slater.

1812	Nettleton	526	1814	C.R.	Slater says area 981a.
1812	Martin (H., <i>recte</i> Marten) in Great Bedwin ( <i>recte</i> G. Bedwyn)	350	1815	C.R.	
1813	Steeple Ashton	n.s.	1818	C.R.	
1813	Calne, Calstone Wellington, and Blackland	n.s.	1818	C.R.	Not Calstone, Wellington, etc., as in Slater. 1914 Blue-book omits C.W. 955a. according to Slater.
1813	Winterbourne Monckton ( <i>recte</i> Winterbourne Monkton)	965	?	Ch., 56 Geo. III, 1815—6	
1814	Sutton Mandeville	545	1813	C.R.	375a. O.F., 170a. C.P. 1914 Blue-book says under Agreement of 6 Dec., 1811. Actually under Act 54 Geo. III, c. LXXIV. I take it that the Agreement was one to seek an Act, as at Heddington, 1766 above. Here apparently the procedure was Agreement, Award, Act.
1814	Littlecot ( <i>recte</i> Littlecott) (T) in Enford	n.s.	1817	C.R.	Slater indexes under E. only and misspells this as Exford.
1814	Ashton Gifford in Codford St. Peter	n.s.	1815	C.R.	Indexed in 1914 Blue-book as C.S.P. only.
1814	East and West Overton, Fifield ( <i>recte</i> Fyfield) and Lockes-ridge (Ts) in Overton	n.s.	1821	C.R.	Slater indexes as O. only, 1914 Blue-book omits W.O. The name of the whole parish is West Overton-cum-Fyfield.
1814	Broad Chalke and Chilmark	3577	1861	C.R.	Not Broadchalk as in Slater. Award date seems very late.
1814	Chelworth, in Cricklade St. Sampson and Cricklade St. Mary	n.s.	?	?	In Slater as Cricklade only. 1914 Blue-book also omits to index Chelworth. Amending Act passed 1815.
1814	Conock (T) or (H) in Chirton(P)	n.s.	?	K.B., 56 Geo. III, 1816	Not Cherton as in Deputy Keeper's Report 27.

Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1815	Bourton, Easton, Horton, Nurstead ( <i>recte</i> Nurstead), and Week(Ts), in Bishops Cannings	n.s.	1819	C.R.	Slater indexes as B.C. only. Not B. Canning, as in 1914 Blue-book.
1815	Upton Lovell	1500	1825	C.R.	<i>als.</i> Upton Lovell.
1816	Chitterne St. Mary and Chitterne All Saints	5784	1818	C.R.	Slater indexes as C. only. The 2 parishes are now amalgamated. Other authorities, except 1914 Blue-book, index as C.S.M. only. Act also repeats an earlier Enclosure Act of 1810, 50 Geo. III, c. 18, apparently never put in operation, so not listed above.
1816	Wick <i>als.</i> Week ( <i>recte</i> Wick), in Downton, and East Harnham in Britford	n.s.	{ 1847 1847	C.R. C.R.	1914 Blue-book omits E.H. and W., Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet indexes as E.H. and W., and omits D. and B. Two separate Awards, for W. and E.H. respectively. E.H. is now a separate parish (with West Harnham) included in New Sarum.
1816	Everley <i>als.</i> Everleigh.	n.s.	?	?	
1816	Crudwell	n.s.	1841	C.R.	
1818	Leverstock and Ford (T)	1211	1820	C.R.	
[1818	South Damerham (P)	n.s.	?	Ch., 1841*	Now in Hants.]
1818	Berwick St. Leonard	1100	1840	C.R.	
1818	Froxfield and Fifield ( <i>recte</i> Fyfield), in Froxfield and Milton ( <i>recte</i> Milton Lilborne)	n.s.	1823	C.R.	Indexed in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as Froxfield in Fifield, in Slater and 1914 Blue-book as Froxfield and Milton. The latter is correct. Fyfield is a tithing of M.L. The units in this Award are widely separated.
1819	St. Pauls (P) in Malmesbury	n.s.	?	?	
1819	Durrington and Knighton (T) in Figheldean	n.s.	1819 1823	C.R. C.R.	1914 Blue-book and Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet give no authority for the 1819 enclosure (that of D.), I take it that this was

under the 1819 Act, as the 1823 Award (for K. in F.) certainly was. If not, presumably this is a non-parliamentary enclosure, or possibly the 1819 document is an agreement to *seek* an Act, similar to those recorded above under Heddington 1765, and Sutton Mandeville, 1814.

Slater and 1914 Blue-book index as R.C. only, Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as H. in R.C.

Calstone Wellington is one place, a parish now included in Calne Without.

Slater says (350a.)

Slater and 1914 Blue-book index as D only. 1904 Blue-book as D. within T. Magna. T. civil parish now includes T.M. and T. Ewyas.

Slater indexes as W, B. N., and F. only. Part of B. is now in Wilton, which also shares F.S.P. with Bemerton, now a ward of Salisbury.

Indexed in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as C. only, in 1914 Blue-book as B. only.

Indexed in 1914 Blue-book as S.L., in that of 1904 as under 41 Geo. III (for which see note under Pitton and Farley 1810 above), and 1 and 2 Geo. IV. (no doubt 1 and 2 Geo. IV. c. 23 amending 41 Geo. III c. 109). It is also—as it is not indexed—under the private Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 1.

C.R.

1820

n.s.

1819 Hayden, Hayden Wick. (*recte* Haydon, Haydon W.) and Moredon (*recte* Moredon in Rodborne Cheney

C.R.

1822

n.s.

1820 Cherhill, Calne, Calstone and Wellington, and Compton Bassett

?

1837

330

1821 Broad Hinton and Cliffe Pypard  
1822 Dinton in Telfont

C.R.

1860

n.s.

1825 Wilton, Burcombe, Netherhampton, and Figglestone (*recte* Fugglestone) St. Peter

C.R.

1828

n.s.

1827 Ham  
1828 Corton in Boyton

C.R.

1829

2300

C.R.

1836

1000

1833 Hanging Langford in Steeple Langford

*B. Enclosure by Private Act of Lands not including Open Field Arable.*

Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1732	Puriton <i>als.</i> Pirton ( <i>vecte</i> Purton)	?	?	?	This is entered twice in 1904 Blue-book—once without any date for Award. There may be two Awards, one under each Act.
1737	Purton Common and Purton Stoke in Purton <i>als.</i> Purton ( <i>vecte</i> Purton)	?	1738	C.R.	
1774	Milton Lilbourne ( <i>vecte</i> Lilborne), Milton Abbotts, and Milton Havering (Ts) in Milton.	?	1782	C.R.	Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet indexes as S.M. only, and wrongly says Award is 1770. 1904 Blue-book indexes as in Crudwell. I cannot trace relation between this Act and that of 1814.
1775	Stockham Marsh in Bremhill	?	1777	C.R.	
1786	Great and Little Chelworth (Ms) and (T) in Cricklade St. Sampson	?	1788	C.R.	This enclosure also covers Road, Somerset. Separate Awards for W. and M.? At any rate there are two separate entries in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet (though only one in 1904 Blue-book). The same pamphlet gives the place first-named as Wychurch. It was originally Whitchurch.
1790	North Bradley	?	1792	(Som.) C.R.	
1790	Whychurch, and Milborne ( <i>vecte</i> Milbourne) and Little Somerford (Ms), in Little Somerford and Malmesbury	?	1792	C.R.	Conner suggests that the Act confirms an agreement.
1802	Oaksey Common in Oaksey (M)	96	?	Ch., 43 Geo. III, 1802-3	
1803	Rushall	n.s.	1804	C.R.	1914 Blue-book and Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet index as N.B. only.
1803	Alderbury	n.s.	1809	C.R.	
1804	North Bradley and Southwick	800	1807	C.R.	
1805	Lea and Cle(a)verton (both forms admissible)	192	1806	C.R.	

1806	Brinkworth	500	1808	C.R.	1914 Blue-book indexes as H. only, the present name of the parish.
1808	Hankerton, in Hankerton and Cloatley	n.s.	1809	C.R.	
1808	Chute	650	?	?	
1808	Little Somerford	139	?	?	
[1809	West Wellow	500	1811	C.R.	Now in Hants.]
[1810	Ashridge (M) in Wokingham and Hurst	900	?	C.P., 56 Geo. III, 1815*	Indexed in Deputy Keeper's Report 26 as A. in W., in Report 27 as A. only, and in other authorities as W. and H. only. This area lies in E. Berks. It was a detached part of Wilts at this date.]
1811	Bromham	260	1814	C.R.	
1813	Melksham	480	1814	C.R.	
1813	Downton	n.s.	1825	C.R.	
1815	Hilperton and Trowbridge	105	1816	C.R.	
1815	Collingbourne Kingstone, Babbage and Poulton, in Collingbourne Kingston, Burbage and Mildenhall	n.s.	1824	C.R.	Not C., K., B., and M., as in 1914 Blue-book, which omits P. Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet omits M.
1816	Corsham	n.s.	1819	C.R.	
1818	Bradford	n.s.	?	?	
1820	Woodshaw, Greenhill, and Nore Marsh in Wootton Bassett	n.s.	1824	C.R.	W. and G. are tithings of W.B.
1821	Great Durnford (now Durnford)	n.s.	1824	C.R.	Act 1 & 2 Geo. IV, not 2 Geo. IV as in 1904 Blue-book. Little Durnford was a separate manor in the parish.
1821	Kings Heath <i>als.</i> Malmesbury Common in Malmesbury	500	1832	C.R.	Act 1 & 2 Geo. IV, not 2 Geo. IV, as in 1904 Blue-book, and common not K.H. and M.C., as in same.
1822	Wingfield	90	1823	C.R.	Or Winkfield.
1824	Potterne and Marston	n.s.	1835	C.R.	1904 Blue-book omits M.
1825	Pewsey	400	?	?	See note under Pewsey 1775 above.



Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1828	Cranbo(u)rne Chase, Ashcombe, Ashgrove, Berwick St. John, Bower Chalk, Donhead St. Andrews, Ebbesbourne ( <i>recte</i> E. Wake), Fifield ( <i>recte</i> F. Bavant), and Tollard Royal	n.s.	1829	C.R. and Dorset C.R.	This is a public Act ? for disfranchising C.C. which lay partly in Wilts, partly in Dorset. 17 Dorset townships or parishes were affected, as well as these in Wilts. It is of course reckoned under both counties. The third and fifth places named are not -B., S.J., D., S.A., etc., as in 1904 Blue-book <i>sub</i> Dorset. Ashcombe is in B.S.J., Ashgrove in T.R.
1831	Compton Bassett	90	1837	C.R.	This Act also authorises division of old parish of T. into three new parishes under these names. They are now rejoined again as T. C.R. include plan showing the new parish boundaries. C.R. also includes Enclosure Commissioners minute-book.
1834	East Tisbury, West Tisbury, and Wardour	n.s.	1836	C.R.	
<i>C. Enclosures of Open Field Arable, etc., under 6 &amp; 7 Wm. IV. c. 115 (1836).</i>					
1836	Codford St. Mary	?	1844	C.R.	Now part of Codford parish. Indexed in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as D.M. only. Act of 41 Geo. III under which the 1904 Blue-book enters this is, of course, only General Act of 1801. See above p. 133.
1836	Dolemead in Christian Malford and Bremhill	?	1843	C.R.	
1836	Figheldean	?	1844	C.R.	Now joined with West G. in civil parish of Grimstead.
1836	East Grinstead ( <i>recte</i> Grimstead)	?	1849	C.R.	
1836	Hacklestone (now commonly Haxton) in Fittleton	?	1839	C.R.	Indexed in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as H. only. 1904 Blue-book says under 41 Geo. III (see note under Dolemead, etc., above).

1836	North Newton	?	1840	C.R.	Indexed as W. in Wylve (an alternative spelling, as also Wilvy, of one name) in 1904 Blue-book.
1836	Porton in Idmiston	?	1850	C.R.	
1836	West Lavington	?	1840	C.R.	
1836	Wiley	?	1861	C.R.	
1836	Wootton Rivers	?	1842	C.R.	

*D. Enclosures of Waste, Etc., under 6 & 7 Wm. IV c. 115 (1836), and 3 & 4 Vic. c. 31 (1840).*

1836 and 1840	Littleton Drew	?	1841	C.R.	There are two Ss. in Wilts, S. Parva or S. Pinkney, and S. Magna, formerly a separate parish, now amalgamated. Date of Award seems very late.
1836 and 1840	Pinkney <i>als.</i> Sherston Parva (now Sherston)	?	1844	C.R.	
1836 and 1840	Seagry and Christian Malford	?	1883	C.R.	

*E. Enclosures under the General Acts of 1845 et seq. of Lands including Open Field Arable.*  
(i) *By Provisional Order not needing specific Parliamentary Confirmation.*

		Area in P.O.			
1845	Maddington and Tenantry Down	862	1853	C.R.	Not in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet. In 1904 Blue-book (wrongly?)—in confusion with the other Maddington enclosure below) as under 16 & 17 Vic. c. 3.
(ii) <i>By Provisional Order confirmed in pursuance of Annual General Act.</i>					
1848	Winterbourne Dauntsey	440	1851	C.R.	Not Winterborne D. as in Slater.
1852	Winterbourne Gunner	551	1853	C.R.	Not Winterborne G. as in Slater.
1852	Homanton Fields and Tenantry Down in Maddington	554	1855	C.R.	Not Homerton as in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet.
1863	Steeple Langford	983	1866	C.R.	

Date of Act.	Place(s)	Area est. in Act.	Date of Award.	Award enrolled.	Notes.
1865	Charlton Common Fields, and Broad Down, in Donhead St. Mary	535	1867	C.R.	Indexed in 1914 Blue-book as D.S.M. only.

F. Enclosures under the General Acts of 1845 et seq. of Lands not including Open Field Arable.

(i) By Provisional Order not needing specific Parliamentary Confirmation.

NONE.

(ii) By Provisional Order confirmed in pursuance of Annual General Act.

1851	Spray Leaze and No Mans Ball in Ludgershall	77	1853	C.R.	
1852	Trowle Common in Bradford	181	1853	C.R.	
1853	Chisenbury Farm in Enford	692	1856	C.R.	In 1904 Blue-book and Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet given as East Chisenbury and thus distinguished from C. de la Foley (cf. 1794 and 1805 in List A.).
1854	Tinhead Cowleaze in Edington	88	1865	C.R.	Not T.C.L. as in 1904 Blue-book. T. is a tithing of E.
1855	Bower Chalke	946	1860	C.R.	Not Bowerchalke as in 1914 Blue-book.
[1858	Todmore als. Toadmore Common, and the Gravel Patch in Shorncliffe	54	1859	C.R.	In 1914 Blue-book as S. only, in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as T.C. in S. only. S. is a parish amalgamated with Somerford Keynes and now in Glos.]
1858	Landford Common	56	1861	C.R.	
1858	Landford Wood	760	1860	C.R.	
1862	West Boscombe	600	1866	C.R.	In 1914 Blue-book as B. only. B. is now a part of Allington (next Amesbury) parish.

1863	Holt Great Common, Holt Little Common and Holt <i>als.</i> Ham Green, in Holt (T) in Bradford Marston Mead in Marston Maisey	7	1867	C.R.	Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet omits B., 1914 Blue-book indexes only as Holt (T) in Bradford. 1914 Blue-Book indexes as Marston Maisey only.
1864	Marston Mead in Marston Maisey	99	1866	C.R.	
1865	East Knoyle	365	1867	C.R.	
1867	Allington Mead in Chippenham and Langley Burrell (Ps)	36	1869	C.R.	

*G. Enclosures by Private Agreement with Award enrolled among National or County Records.*

Date of Agreement.			Area est. in Agreement or Award.		
1810	Bapton in Fisherton Delamere and Bapton	?	1810	C.R.	Indexed in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet as B. only. B. is now part of Stockton; F.D. is united with Wyle. In Langley Burrell.
1837	Birds Marsh and Langley Common	?	1838	C.R.	
1821	Broad Town and Thornhill	?	1822	C.R.	Thornhill is partly, at least, in Clyffe Pypard.
?	Durrington ?	?	1819	C.R.	Is this an enclosure by agreement?
1807	Fisherton Delamere	?	1807	C.R.	Not F. de la Mere, as in Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet.
1809	Great Wishford	?	1809	C.R.	
1802	Manningford Bohun	?	1805	C.R.	
1794	Sherrington	?	1796	C.R.	

*Notes and Queries :*

I take it that the somewhat cryptic entries "Momes Leaze Roll 60 and 61", and "Purton Roll 67—76", in the Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet refer to early enrolment of Awards among Quarter Sessions records. The 1904 Blue-book and the same pamphlet also index among Enclosure Awards the manor enfranchisement of Potterne in 1851 under 4 & 5 Vic. and the Commissioner's minute-book and the plans of new parishes at Tisbury, etc., 1835—6. Almost all the Acts above noted (except of course the General Acts) are Private Acts. The only local enclosure under Public Act was that of Cranborne Chase 1828—9.

There is a Repealing Act for Chitterne St. Mary 1810 (1815), and an Amending Act for Chelworth, etc. (1814), 1815. South Damerham 1818—c. 1841 is now in Hants, and is reckoned there; so is West Wellow 1809—11. Ashridge 1810—c. 1815 now belongs to Berks, as geographically it should. Todmore 1858—9 is now in Glos. Both Blue-books, Slater and the Clerk of the Peace's pamphlet all index in Wilts the Award for Shalbo(u)rne (*recte* Shalbourne), 1800—5, and Poulton, 1795—6. Both awards are enrolled in Wilts C.R., but Poulton, formerly Wilts detached, is now in Glos. and Shalbourne was formerly partly in Berks. Hurst (in E. Berks) 1807—12, Hungerford 1811—20, and Shinfield (S. of Reading) 1846—63, are all counted by the 1914 Blue-book as partly in Wilts, partly in Berks. Slater reckons all in Berks, where the Awards are enrolled, and so do I, but at this date they were parts of Wilts (two of them detached). Slater quite wrongly indexes in Wilts, Roade and Ashton 1816—19, actually in Northants. Road and North Bradley 1790—2 appear in the 1914 Blue-book as in Wilts and Somerset. R., till lately partly in Wilts, is now all in Somerset, N.B. in Wilts, so, although the Award is enrolled only among Somerset C.R., I reckon this enclosure under both counties. Wichbury and Rockbourne 1798—? are entered in Slater correctly as in Hants. Though W. (Whitsbury) was formerly in Wilts, R. was always in Hants, so this enclosure also I reckon under Hants. The Award is enrolled among neither series of C.R. Chilton Foliat, 1809—?, is entered correctly in the 1914 Blue-book as in Berks and Wilts, but here it is reckoned as wholly in Wilts. The Award is enrolled in neither series of C.R. Down Ampney, Latton and Eisey 1801—5, is indexed by the 1914 Blue-book as in Berks and Wilts, by Slater and the 1904 Blue-book as in Glos. where the Award is enrolled. D.A. is in Glos. and L. and E. are certainly in Wilts. This enclosure also I reckon in Wilts. Heddington 1766—7 and Sutton Mandeville 1814—3 (?) are indexed as respectively under indentures of 1765 and 1811. I take it that these indentures are agreements to seek parliamentary powers, not to carry out enclosure without them.

In carrying out this further instalment of my work I have had a great deal of help from the following: P. A. S. Stringer, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for the County; Mrs. R. Scott, and Mr. H. C. Brentnall,

the Society's Editor. It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge here my indebtedness to those who have aided me. I have also to record my obligations to the Leverhulme Research Trustees and their secretary, Dr. L. Haden Guest, M.P., for the interest they have taken in my work and the practical help they have given me in completing this part of it.

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## A WILTSHIREWOMAN'S MONUMENT IN GODSHILL CHURCH ?

By J. J. SLADE.

When Percy Goddard Stone, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, took notes of the parish church of Godshill for his *Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, he found there several things that displeased him. The meddlesome monks of the Middle Ages had done work in Decorated style when the contemporary style was Perpendicular, which was misleading. Queen's College, Oxford, which had received the revenues taken from the religious house at Sheen, also offended. "It (the church) suffered much during the time it was in College hands". Then—"the churchwarden's heavy hand is painfully apparent throughout the edifice"—the windows especially were "the vilest churchwarden". But worse was to come. He turned to the monuments and gazed at them at first with some toleration. The Hacket-Leigh effigies of alabaster that for four centuries have gazed at the sculptured arch which canopies their tomb; the knightly Worsley and his wife, who for rather fewer years have knelt nearby in petrified prayer—these and another left him unmoved by any violent emotion. But he went farther down the north aisle, westward, and in a short time hurried from the church tempestuously, went home, and penned the following paragraph:—"Of the pretentious monuments of the Georgian owners of Appuldurcombe the less said the better. Out of all proportion to the space they occupy, they are fit only for the company of their congeners in Westminster Abbey. Here at Godshill they dwarf their surroundings and conjure up uncharitable thoughts in the mind of the spectator".

Although Stone referred to monuments (plural) there can be little doubt he had in mind particularly what is in the north transept; the other "Georgians" are of the mural sort, not excessively "monumental". There is one other that comes into the impeached category, but it is, by the severest test, inoffensive—a hatchment. Both of these are relevant to this article, but particularly the first.

"Somewhere about 1666 Sir Robert Worsley married Mary, daughter of the Hon. James Herbert, second son of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chancellor to Charles II, by whom he had issue Robert and Henry. Robert married Frances, daughter of Thomas, Lord Weymouth, by whom he had several children who died in his lifetime".<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing paragraph is quoted from Sir Richard Worsley's "History of the Isle of Wight" (published about 1790), under the parochial heading of Godshill, in which parish Appuldurcombe, the

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<sup>1</sup> Three successive generations of the Worsleys made west country marriages. Sir Thomas, in 1747, married Elizabeth, daughter of the 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery.

seat of the Worsleys, is situated. But the two marriages present us with difficulties. Neither is chronicled in Burke. That authority names one Frances Thynne, but she was a daughter of Henry, son of the first Viscount, and she married Algernon (Seymour), Lord Percy and Duke of Somerset. An inquiry of the Marquis of Bath brought the definite reply that Worsley is correct, that Frances, daughter of the first Viscount, married Robert Worsley in September, 1690. This is recorded at Longleat, but not chronicled in Burke.

A search for agreement between Worsley and Burke as to the marriage of Mary Herbert brings another negative result. Sir Robert Worsley is not named in the record, and "the Hon. James Herbert, second son of Philip, Earl of Pembroke" cannot be identified with any certainty. Worsley's date ("somewhere about 1666") is not helpful. The 4th Earl of Pembroke died in 1655, and his successor, the 5th Earl, died in 1669. Between these two dates comes "about 1666", leaving margins of eleven years and four years "pre" and "post" respectively. But the 5th Earl, who held Wilton House in these fourteen years, has no such distinction recorded as "Lord Chancellor to Charles II": in fact no office at all is recorded as held by him. He had three sons, but none named James. Of his five daughters one was named Mary, but she married a Sir John Sydenham, of Brympton in Somerset. If a very generous interpretation may be given to Worsley's "somewhere about 1666" and we go back to the 4th Earl, the search at first gives some promise. He was Lord Chancellor of the Household to Charles I, and he had a younger son named James. But according to Burke (verified by reference to Wilton House) he married Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Spiller, Kt., of Laleham. That this Earl (the 4th) was associated with the Isle of Wight is an indisputable fact, although Burke does not appear to know it. From 1642 to 1647 he was Captain (Governor) of the Island, having previously come to it in command of a Parliamentary force. He gave up the Governorship in time to avoid the doubtful distinction of being gaoler to the King, which fell to Colonel Robert Hammond.

The facts having brought the search to a dead end, the puzzle must be left for others to solve, with just this suggestion: Sir Richard Worsley, the historian with his family records at hand, could hardly have made such an extraordinary error as to record a marriage that never took place, especially with a family of such distinction as the Herberts of Wilton. The hypothesis of imagination must be ruled out, and we must fall back on the assumption that his records were imperfect; clearly they were so as regards the date. Burke's omission of it must be bracketed with that of Frances Thynne's marriage.

To return to the hatchment. When Thomas Thynne, Esquire—although he had succeeded to the estates, he was a commoner, not a knight as were his predecessors at Longleat—when Thomas Thynne riding in his coach in Pall Mall, died from the bullets of assassins hired it was said, by Count Königsmark, he died unmarried. Longleat thus



passed to the branch of the family seated at Kempsford in Gloucestershire, represented there by Sir Thomas Thynne, Baronet. He was a second cousin of the young man who, having lived so splendidly, died so tragically.

Sir Thomas had sat in Parliament for several years and on succeeding to Longleat became a Viscount, jumping over the Barony but incorporating both the titles—Baron Thynne of Warminster, co. Wilts, and Viscount Weymouth. He had two children, a son and a daughter, Frances, named after her mother, who was Frances, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Winchelsea. This Frances (the younger) was the lady whose family arms are represented on the hatchment hanging in Godshill Church.

Assuming that her father removed from Kempsford to Wiltshire as soon as he succeeded to Longleat, and the creation of the Viscounty suggests that he did, Frances Thynne spent some eight years in his Wiltshire home; this is shown by the date of her marriage given in the pedigree at Longleat—September, 1690. That great house, which, as Britton says, in its grandeur “strikes every beholder with astonishment” (the word beloved of old writers to express admiration is fitting here), was not complete, for the Viscount did a considerable amount of work to it, but its walls had already become mellowed by a full century of wind and rain and sunshine. Substantially it looked to the “astonished” spectator much as we see it to-day, and it is not without interest to compare it with the building which, for some time at least, was the Island home of the Wiltshire bride—and, according to Worsley, of an earlier Wiltshire bride. The marriage of Frances Thynne took place in 1690, and this date appears on an interesting document, an etching giving a clear illustration of Appuldurcombe House. A cartouche included in the etching states that it is the house “as I saw it in 1690”. Why this concurrence of the two dates? A reasonable suggestion is that it was the date when Sir Robert Worsley became possessed of the property, he being then 21 years of age. If so, his bride went direct from one stately home to another as stately. Here in the etching is a wide-spreading façade—a large central block with well-advanced and duplicated wings, a long range of mullioned windows, many gables, a forest of chimneys, an ample courtyard—in short, a house of true Elizabethan type. For reasons unknown to us Sir Robert Worsley pulled it down. To the inscription already quoted, “Appuldurcombe as I saw it in 1690” he adds these words—“of which I have not left one stone standing”. He built another, which, in Stone’s words, was “the first residence” in the Island. It is of the semi-classical style favoured in the 18th century, quadrangular, with the principal front winged. The interior was handsomely decorated. It remained the seat of the Worsleys for over a century—not long for such a mansion. Then the line died out. It had flourished in the Island for full three hundred years. Its founder was a cadet of an old Lancashire family. James Worsley, a page in the Court of Henry VII, who in the next reign became Keeper of the King’s Wardrobe in the

Tower of London. By marriage he acquired the wealth of the Hacketts and Leighs, including Appuldurcombe, and he succeeded as Captain of the Island that Sir Nicholas Wadham whose wife's tomb in Carisbrooke church was the subject of an article in a recent issue of the *Magazine*. There were in all ten Worsleys seated at Appuldurcombe, three besides the first being Captains of the Island. The Thynne strain died with Sir Robert's two sons, who pre-deceased him, and the Worsley line with a daughter, who married a Pelham, the first Earl of Yarborough. He also died, leaving no heir, in 1846, and since his death Appuldurcombe has had only casual tenants. First, "a superior academy for young gentlemen"; then refugee monks from France; latest, the military. Not now can it be compared with Longleat; it is a case of contrast.

As to these "Georgian" monuments that so annoyed the author of the *Antiquities*. As stated above, the two that are relevant to the present discussion are, as it happens, respectively the most conspicuous and the least conspicuous. The least conspicuous is the hatchment. It seems to have been a sort of fashion of families connected with Godshill to hang their hatchments in the church; there are five or six of them. This, surely, is an unusual, though not unparalleled, custom. The one we are concerned with is that of the Sir Robert Worsley who married Frances Thynne; he died in 1747. It hangs on the wall over the south aisle arcade, facing the south transept (the Hackett chapel). Persons with good sight may be able to see the wyvern, earliest of the heraldic emblems of the Worsleys; there appears to be the body of the creature, but the dragon wings are not prominent, if they are there. The lions rampant of the Thynnes are more easily seen.

The other monument must be approached in a questioning mood, not only because of Stone's indictment but (more important) as to the intention of its builder, who was the same Sir Robert Worsley. It has no inscription, but a typescript card placed upon it says that he intended it as a memorial to himself and his brother Henry. At the same time he rebuilt the transept in which it stands. Further, Italian artists who were at work in the new house were engaged here also. (The style is that of the Italian classical.) This statement as to Sir Robert's intention challenges criticism, and a writer for a Wiltshire magazine must take up the challenge. What is the authority for the ascription? Is it contemporary, or near contemporary? Why should Sir Robert's brother be commemorated and not his wife? It is inherently improbable, and the monument itself carries strong evidence to the contrary. Its central feature is a sarcophagus (conventional), on each side of which is a bust—one of a man, the other of a woman. These busts are emphatically not conventional, merely ornamental accessories like the two little urchins of the Bartolozzi type (without the Bartolozzi merry-ness) with which the artist overloaded his design. They are emphatically portraits of real people, and the only reasonable

explanation of their presence is that they are likenesses in marble of Sir Robert Worsley and his wife, and that this monument is in part a memorial to the lady who left her home at Longleat in September, 1690, as the bride of Sir Robert Worsley.

The reader shall not be troubled with a detailed description of it. Whatever opinion may be held of its size (it covers the north wall of the transept), its workmanship is excellent. It is mainly of white marble, relieved with classical columns and pilasters in colour (probably composition with the colours in lacquer). The pedimental structure is top-heavy, but the cornice has a finely carved frieze, the carving being of symbolical emblems in deep relief in panels.

Percy Stone expresses present-day tastes, but tastes change with the times, and the wheel may come full circle. Anyhow Bishop John Wordsworth rightly insisted that the work in our churches should be respected as expressing the ideas of the successive generations that have used them.

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## DEVIZES STREET NAMES AND THEIR ORIGIN.

By B. HOWARD CUNNINGTON, F.S.A. SCOT.

The names by which the streets of Devizes are known derive their origin from several sources, and contribute interesting details to the history of the town. Some are named after important personages who have either lived in the town or had connections with it; others from the manner of their construction or their situation.

In the early days of the town, the Market Place of to-day was the outer Bailey of the Castle and the weekly market for cattle was held in the wide space in front of St. Mary's Church extending from the road now known as New Park Road to Monday Market Street. Brownstone House and the Castle Hotel were, of course, not built. The Corn Market was held in front of the White Bear Inn, where stood a tall stone pillar or cross, to mark the site. Stalls for the sale of fish, vegetables and other household necessities were erected in the streets on market and fair days.

In 1630 the Town Council passed an order that "The Hosiers should stand on Market and ffayre days in a street called High Street, between the house of Mr. Lewin and that of Matthew Allen where for time out of mind they have stood, and soe Southwards. Those that sell carrots and turnips, cabbages and other garden stuff, from the White Swan down and soe Southwards. (The White Swan Hotel was in the Market Place on the site of the present Food Office.) The Smyths shall stand in a street called St. John's Street, next unto the fishers southward. The Shoemakers shall stand in the street called St. John's, next unto the Smyths southward provided always that for want of room on ffayre dayes the said Shoemakers shall remove themselves unto the place where they now stand".

In 1642 it was ordered that "The Shoemakers shall henceforth on Market and Ffayre dayes stand with their wares in and upon the void piece of ground called The Gunne and the garden thereunto adjoining where anciently they have stood, and not elsewhere". Besides these specified trading sites, there were the Yarn Cross, Butter Cross and Cheese Cross, the last named being removed in 1687 and a platform put up in its place. The Tanners' Cross was where the Russian Gun stood, until recently, in front of the Town Hall. This should not be confused with "The Gunne" of 1642.

Some of the names of the streets have been changed since the 17th Century and in recent years many new streets have been made owing to the expansion of the Town on all sides except the west. Sidmouth Street, for instance, named after Viscount Sidmouth, one time Recorder and Member of Parliament for Devizes, was formerly known as "Leg of Mutton Street", after the Inn there now renamed "The Unicorn". The end of Sheep Street, nearest to Chapel Corner was called Angel Street after the Angel Inn, later renamed "The Prince of Wales", but

now closed. Hare and Hounds Street was known as "Kilberrey's Row", after the owner of the houses there, and Morris's Lane has a similar origin. I have been unable to find out why the present Hare and Hounds Court was originally called "Magpye Alley".

In 1835, the Town Council ordered that all the streets should be labelled and have their names put up in prominent places. For some reason Short Street was overlooked, and it required a special resolution in 1843 to have it labelled like the others.

Long Street is approximately 383 yards in length from the turning to Hillworth, once the site of the South Gate of the town, down to the "Elm Tree," from where High Street begins. New Park Street", to-day beginning at the Brewery where the North Gate of the Town formerly stood, is 470 yards long to the White Bear Inn, but before the Market was removed to its present site it ended at the turning to Quakers Walk, now Park Road, and was "Market Street" from there to the White Bear, a distance of about 150 yards. The other streets are all considerably shorter than the two mentioned above, and thus it will be seen that Long Street was actually the longest street in the town.

The Brittox is 127 yards long, including Wine Street. The North side of the Market Place was known as "Castle Street" with a length of 184 yards. It began at The Little Brittox and terminated about where the present Cinema stands. There begins Northgate Street, which extended to just beyond the Brewery, where, in the early days of the town, stood the North Gate; it would then be 115 yards long. I owe these figures to the Borough Surveyor.

Castle Lane, which skirts the side of the Bear Hotel, was formerly known as "Castle Orchard Lane".

It has been generally supposed that Long Street was named after James Long of Wedhampton, a well-known benefactor of the district, to whose memory the monument was erected on the top of Etchilhampston Hill by public subscription in 1771. He was supposed to have built some of the older houses in Long Street, though I have not come across his name in connection with any affairs of the Borough. But a John Long was Sheriff of Wilts in the 17th century, and Sir James Tilney Long was Member of Parliament for Devizes in 1780 and 1784, so it is just possible that Long Street was so named after one or other of these notabilities, though it seems more probable that the name of Long Street was applied to the Longest Street in the Town, in the same way that the Shortest was and is still called Short Street. Wine Street, also very short, is really a part of the Brittox.

On reaching the Elm Tree Inn (formerly known as "The Salutation"), Long Street comes to an end and divides into two shorter streets, the right named High Street and the left, continuing the slope of Long Street, St. John's Street, after the nearby church. After passing the Town Hall the road rises slightly until it joins up with Wine Street on the right (so named as early as 1632). New Park Street, beginning at the Brewery, was so named before 1575 after "The New Park"

or Roundway Park, as it is now called. New Park Street was so named before the reign of King Edward III, thus proving that Devizes even at that early date had an "Old Park" and a "New Park". At about the same time Roundway Park was called "Ryndway" and the name continued to be so spelt until after 1679. But by 1784 it was called Roundway as now.

New Street, apparently, was merely a continuation of the lane called Couch Lane, which crosses New Park Street and enters the Market Place. In my younger days it was called "Snuff Street" from Messrs. Anstie's tobacco factory.

From the far end of Short Street there was formerly a continuation into the Brittox about where Messrs. Sloper's establishment is, known as "Butchers' Row", this being the site of the butchers' shops.

Monday Market Street has a name of somewhat doubtful origin. In Dore's Map of Devizes it is called Monday's Market Street, and the Town Council once granted the tolls of this Market to a man named Monday. Yet the fact must not be overlooked that there was once a regular Market on Mondays, though not on such a large scale as on Thursdays.

Continuing through Monday Market Street we come to Chapel Corner, so called as early as 1632. It forms one end of Maryport Street, the other end being at the top of the Brittox. Just beyond Chapel Corner, on the left, begins Sidmouth Street, and here was the "St. Mary Port" or eastern gate of the town. Continuing southward we come to Sheep Street, so named because in the wide open street the Sheep Market was held. Passing Hare and Hounds Street and Morris's Lane we enter Bridewell Street. In years gone by this was a very important street, for here was the Town Prison or "Bridewell", now No. 12, "The Grange". The old iron-studded door with its little observation grill is still the entrance to "The Grange".

The origin of the name Bridewell is interesting. It originated from St. Bride's Palace and its famous well, off Fleet Street, London. Originally a palace of the Kings of England, it was converted into a workhouse and house of correction in the reign of Henry VI. This prison became the standard model for "houses of correction" to which the name of "Bridewell" was attached throughout the country.

Leaving Bridewell Street, we re-enter Long Street a few yards below the original site of the South Gate. In our tour we have practically followed the line of the path or road that ran inside the great outer ditch of the town immediately beneath the rampart.

There remain a few streets to be considered. High Street, already mentioned, claims attention. Usually the High Street of a town is the main or principal street, where most of the best shops are situated, but here we must find another reason for the name because Devizes High Street is short and not even the ordinary width. Standing at the Elm Tree Inn, it will be seen that High Street slopes slightly upward on its way to the Brittox, and even to-day it is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet

higher than the almost parallel St. John's Street, notwithstanding the many improvements made since the reign of Queen Anne. It seems almost certain, therefore, that in the early days High Street stood considerably higher than it does to-day, above the level of St. John's Street, and so acquired its name.

The short passage known as the Chequers running from High Street to St. John's Street in all probability derived its name from that of an Inn situated in the passage. Probably this Inn was of some note, for early last century the Town Council ordered "a pitched crossing" to be made from High Street into the Chequers.

We now come to the Brittox. This street, 127 yards long, was by far the most important in the town, and to this day it is one of the most busy so far as shopping is concerned. It was so called as far back as 1562 and probably before then, but the word was spelt "Brytox", and in 1632 "Brittoxe". It meant a "structure of wood", but it is quite possible that the "britesque" which here appears to have flanked the entrance to the Castle, took a more permanent form and included an earthwork, whose perpendicular face was sustained by timber and stone.

The late Canon Jackson in an address on "The Town of Devizes" at the annual meeting of our Society in 1863 said:—

"All the world has heard of 'The Brittox, Devizes', but all the world does not know what 'The Brittox' means. It is a very singular name and there has been doubt about its origin. But there is none. An old French word 'bretesque'—in mediæval Latin, 'bretechia'—was the name used for a wooden tower placed over the drawbridge at the entrance of a castle. Here (at Devizes Castle) there was a tower of this kind: the street leading to it might be called The Bretesk (Street) and the word 'street' has been dropped.

In the word 'Bretesk' the letter *s* comes before the *k*, but the people found it more convenient to put the *k* before the *s*. Just as they changed 'ask' into ax, wasp into 'wapse' and 'hasp' into 'hapse', so 'Bretesk' becomes 'Breteks' and hence 'Brittox'". (From a newspaper report of the meeting).

By a deed dated 1741 James Filkes agrees to grant James Webb 'all the house, stables and gardens in a certain street in Devizes known by the name of the 'Britaux''. This spelling of the name of the street is about half way between that suggested by Canon Jackson as stated above and the way it is spelt to-day. As late as the reign of Charles I, the Wilts Committee in their financial accounts refer to "Britische money", probably referring to a levy made for furnishing stockades. It appears, therefore, that the Brittox was a stockaded entrance to the Castle with two right-angled defence points, one at the top where it joins Maryport Street, and the other at Chapel Corner just inside the eastern gate of the town.

The shops on the right hand side going towards Maryport Street were mainly rebuilt by Captain Taylor at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. He also built Trafalgar Place and

Southgate House. The Little Brittox was formerly a passage, possibly "Mortimer's Passage", as Mortimer's Court is at the Market Place end on the right.

Wine Street was so called because at the corner where Messrs. Boots shop is there was a wine business of very long standing, for in 1667 the Chamberlains paid Robert Ings "18s. for wine". In 1834 W. Cunnington bought this wine business formerly carried on by a Mr. Ings and moved it from "Boots Corner" to The Old Town Hall.

Wine Street Alley was originally a through passage leading from St. John's Street into Wine Street, with its exit by the side of the Old Town Hall, but in 1832 an order was granted at the Quarter Sessions authorising Mr. Ings to close the Wine Street end as the alley was useless. This resolution was necessary in order that Wine Street might be widened and improved. In this alley, now blind, may still be seen two of the oldest houses in the Town, dating from the late 16th or early 17th century.

Wharf Street, opening out of New Park Street, is so called from its being the way into the Wharf on the canal, but it is of course a modern addition to the streets of Devizes, as the canal was not made until the early years of the last century.

A very interesting old pathway that passes through the town is the one over the Green. Originally it began at Brickley Lane (formerly Brick Kiln Lane), which begins at Nursteed at the Devizes end of Monument Hill, and passed behind St. James' Church, along Church Walk, crossed the Green, as now, went down Hare and Hounds Street and Morris's Lane, crossing Long Street to "The Ark", up Eastcroft Hill (formerly called Nestcot Hill) out into Hillworth at Gallows Ditch, and thence on to Hartmoor and Potterne, skirting the boundaries of Old Park.

Concerning the name "Eastcroft" (East Field) one may be surprised at first to find that a field south of the Castle and the town, as well as a house within a few yards of the site where formerly stood the South Gate of Devizes, should be called East Croft. Perhaps the following may be the correct solution. Originally Old Park covered a very extensive area, and "The East Croft" may have formed its eastern boundary in the same way that "Whistley Lane" (or "West Ley", i.e., meadow) may have been the westerly boundary.

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## MALMESBURY, ITS CASTLE AND WALLS.

BY HENRY REES, F.R.G.S.

Much has been written concerning the Benedictine Abbey of Malmesbury; but of its castle and mediæval walls very little is known.

From the point of view of defence the site must have been ideal. "Nature", says Leland, "hath diked the town strongly". The steep-sided valleys which are characteristic of all the streams of the neighbourhood are no doubt a relic of the Ice Age. The district was never completely covered by the ice sheet, but in winter the snow must have lain thickly over wide areas; with the spring snow-melt the streams must have been swollen to several times their present size, and their flood waters must have cut deeply into the plateau which forms part of the dip slope of the Cotswolds.

Two of these streams, deeply entrenched in their valleys, approach to within 250 yards of each other near Malmesbury Abbey; they then diverge, to join eventually south-east of the town, forming there the main channel of the Bristol Avon (see fig. 1). Thus a natural trench some 50 feet deep formed a protective barrier to the town on all sides except the north-west; here a narrow ridge provided access for a potential enemy. This was the obvious position for a castle, and here, where now stands the Bell Hotel, the site of a castle is marked on the Ordnance Survey 6in. and 25in. maps.

It is feasible that an ancient British fortification may have preceded the Norman castle; indeed, a manuscript<sup>1</sup> written about 1366 boldly states that in the year 642 a British king, Dunwallo Molmutius, built a castle here; that the Abbey was founded in the shadow of its walls, and by the permission of its garrison. However, the writer, probably a Malmesbury monk, was treating of events which had taken place 700 years earlier, and in the absence of any corroborative evidence his statements must remain suspect.

What is probably the most important reference is contained in the "Gesta Regum Anglicorum" of William of Malmesbury. In a passage written about the year 1140 he says: "Roger, who wished to manifest his magnificence by building, had erected extensive castles at Sherborne and more especially at Devizes. At Malmesbury, even in the churchyard and scarcely a stone's throw from the principal church, he had begun a castle".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Sir R. H. Luce, "Pages from the History of the Benedictine Monastery of Malmesbury." Devizes, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Luce, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

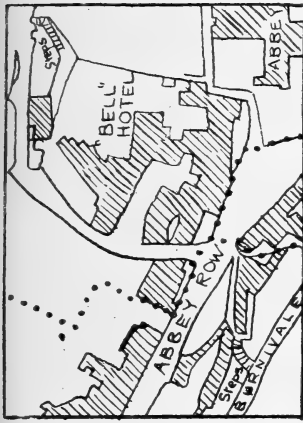
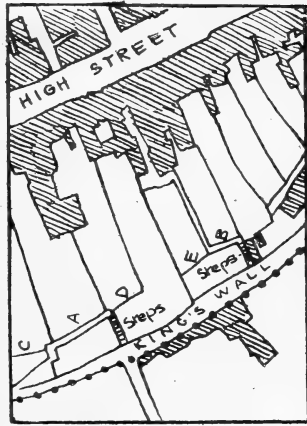


FIG. 2



Parish boundary shown thus: .....  
0 100 yds.

FIG. 3

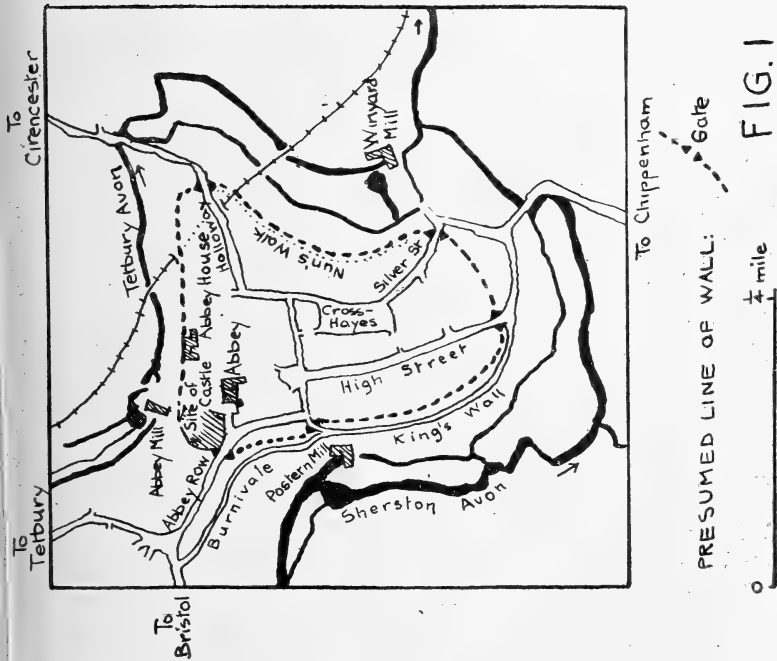


FIG. 1

PRESUMED LINE OF WALL: .....  
0 1/4 mile

MALMESBURY, ITS CASTLE AND WALLS.

This Roger, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Salisbury, is stated by William to have died in 1139. The monk was thus writing of contemporary events, and his statements are likely to be trustworthy. It will be noted that the exact date of the building of the castle is not stated. We know only that it was erected before 1139, the year of the builder's death. In that same year, according to William, the town was surprised and burnt by a ruffian taking advantage of the disturbed conditions prevailing during the civil war between Stephen and the Empress Maud.

Here the story is continued by Henry of Huntingdon. In 1153 Maud's son, Henry, landed on the south coast, made for Malmesbury, "laid siege to the castle, and after an assault took it". But though the town was taken, the main tower, which was held by Jordan for the King, remained unsubdued.<sup>1</sup> This passage suggests that there were other fortified sections apart from Jordan's tower, i.e., that the castle was of considerable size. The King was unable to relieve the castle, and it soon fell into Henry's hands.

The next reference to the castle is made in a British Museum manuscript, evidently from Malmesbury Abbey: "That John . . ." (i.e., King John, 1199—1215) ". . . granted to this church . . ." (i.e., Malmesbury Abbey) ". . . the castle of Malmesbury, to be destroyed. . . ." <sup>2</sup> It is asserted by Bird that the reason for the destruction of the castle was the need for enlargement of the Abbey.<sup>3</sup> There is evidence, however, that relations between the Abbey and the castle garrison had become somewhat strained, for a letter from Pope Alexander gave to the Abbot authority to excommunicate members of garrison for their depredations on the Abbey.<sup>4</sup>

Bird later mentions his doubts concerning the actual destruction of the castle. "But either some portion of it must have been left, or some other built near it, because there certainly was some stronghold fit to receive a garrison of soldiers in Charles the First's wars".<sup>5</sup> The reference, however, is rather vague. With walls and gates the garrison could presumably manage without a castle.

The last mention of the castle appears to be in a compilation dealing with the history of Wiltshire.<sup>6</sup> Of Malmesbury the author states, "It is an antient Borough Town, formerly defended by a Castle, *which lies*

<sup>1</sup> Luce, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Bird, "History of Malmesbury", 1876.

<sup>4</sup> Luce, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *A Compleat History of Wiltshire*, printed by E. and R. Nutt and sold by T. Cox, 1730", p. 105.

*now in ruins*". So late a reference to the existence of the castle ruins is somewhat startling when one reflects that the castle was granted to be destroyed in the reign of John. It may perhaps be doubted legitimately whether the author of the "Compleat History" had personally visited all the places he described, or whether he had relied rather on hearsay. Possibly the ruins of the castle were being confused with those of the mediaeval gates, which did last till a relatively late date.

Though by no means conclusive, the evidence suggests that the castle had a very short life. Erected about 1130; destroyed about 1210, it had lasted only some 80 years.

Regarding the site of this castle, Bird writes (p. 66), "The castle stood on the neck of land between the abbey and Westport; and by reason of the narrowness there, it could be but a kind of gate or port, and from hence it is likely Westport takes its name". Although there can be no certainty on this point, it appears likely that Bird was mistaken in regarding the castle and West Gate as identical. The shape of the site of the "Bell" Hotel,<sup>1</sup> the fact that the older eastern portion of the building is still known as "Castle House"; the position assigned to the site by the Ordnance Survey; the reference to the position of the castle in the very church yard—all these point to a site not on "the narrow neck of land between the Abbey and Westport", but rather that on which the hotel now stands.

To-day there is apparently nothing left of the castle. The oldest part of the hotel has been assigned to the 13th century,<sup>2</sup> when it formed part of the Abbey buildings.

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In looking for the remains of the mediaeval walls certain considerations should be borne in mind:—

(1) Normally the position of defensive walls is indicated by the shape of roads following their inner faces. Such a road naturally benefits from the protection afforded by the wall, and allows the easy distribution of supplies to the garrison. While the walls in time disappear, the position of the road rarely changes.

(2) The natural position for a defensive wall lies at or near the summit of a slope, especially where there is a break of slope.

(3) Parish and borough boundaries are usually of great antiquity and in some cases offer guidance as to the exact location of a wall.

(4) Field and garden boundaries do not readily change their positions. Gardens which were adjacent to the walls will even to-day usually possess a common lower boundary.

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<sup>1</sup> See fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On a plan exhibited in the Abbey.

In the north, for a short distance, the town wall presumably coincided with the castle ramparts. The steeply sloping section of the gardens of the Bell Hotel exhibit in general two tiers of walls. The outer is the lower of the two, with an average height of about 6ft. Rising above this, a lofty inner wall of cemented stone rises to some 15ft., its base being almost level with the top of the outer wall. It is most likely this inner wall which marks the site of the main castle defence.

To-day the "Bell" as viewed from the north has all the appearances of a fortress; yet so far as can be judged from two early engravings<sup>1</sup> the present-day walls have little direct descent from mediaeval times. The prints in question are dated 1789 and depict the north-west face of the Abbey viewed from points near the Abbey Mill.<sup>2</sup> The forerunner of the "Bell" Hotel is shown to the right of the Abbey ruins and is surrounded by what is apparently a single low stone wall. There is no sign on these prints of any wall corresponding in position to the supposed site of the town wall.

East of the "Bell" there is now an orchard, the property of Abbey House. The slope remains quite steep; at its summit is a hedge, but no sign of any wall; possibly the hedge marks its position. Beyond the orchard lies Abbey House, a Tudor mansion which has been enlarged in the style of the period by a modern architect. The house has been built on the remains of some Abbey buildings, showing remnants in the basement of what was probably the refectory. A path and a drive follow the northern face of Abbey House, separated by a stone wall, the drive being several feet higher than the path. The drive, though constructed in modern times, corresponds with the line of an earlier way. There is little evidence on the ground to suggest where the town wall passed, or indeed, whether there ever was a wall distinct from the northern face of the Abbey buildings.

Farther east, however, the lower boundaries of the gardens are so straight as to suggest the line of the wall. Beyond the railway tunnel the present-day stone walls appear to be the direct descendants of the fortification. The western portion is well built, with mortar, and in good repair, in places more than 6ft. high. The eastern portion is lower, consisting of simple stone slabs. From this neighbourhood the wall must have cut across the land now occupied by a garden adjoining Holloway, to reach the East Gate guarding the Cirencester road. The garden contains a vertical slope faced with stone; but this work is modern, replacing an earlier fence. The wall, nevertheless, cannot have been far from here. This was the section of which Moffat wrote in 1805, ". . . forming grand and massive boundaries on each side

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<sup>1</sup> Two plates by I. Hanks (artist) and F. Jukes (engraver) in possession of Malmesbury Museum. Dated 1789.

<sup>2</sup> For the location of all names see fig. 1.

of the road. The great height, winding direction and fine masonry which these ruins exhibit cannot fail to arrest the attention of the traveller".<sup>1</sup>

The remains of the East Gate, indicated on the modern 6in. map, consist only of a bulge in the high stone wall lining the south-east side of Holloway. According to Bird, this, "the eastern gate, situated in Holloway, was the last which was standing, and that was taken down by order of the commissioners of the turnpike road in 1778".<sup>2</sup> Here is a notable steepening in the road surface as it rises from the Tetbury Avon; at this point the parish boundary leaves Holloway to pass to the south; and it was here that in 1940 the Home Guard constructed their road blocks against a possible German invasion.

Near the remains of the East Gate begins the Nuns' Walk,<sup>3</sup> a pleasant tree-lined path built near the crest of the slope and overlooking the Tetbury Avon. It is not a public footpath; indeed, at no point does it link with any road, but it can be approached from the river bank by a flight of rough steps of recent construction. Passing behind the Catholic School the lane runs parallel with the river and ends behind Crosshayes House. Much of its western side is built quite solidly of large stone blocks sufficient to withstand the pressure of the earth above it, which is level with its summit. The two stone arches—now bricked up—which are visible in this wall are of little historic importance, having been merely the entrances to cellars used for storing ice.

The lower slope, which falls away steeply from the Nuns' Walk, is overgrown with nettles, creeper and shrubs; but at several points there is clear evidence of stonework facing this bank. There is thus some justification for concluding that the Nuns' Walk lay inside the wall, its purpose being to provide a patrol line for those guarding the town. The stonework may be the only remnant in Malmesbury of the original town wall.

It is well to remember that considerable artificial levelling has taken place towards the northern end of the Nuns' Walk in connection with the construction of the railway tunnel and embankment and with the building of the Catholic School, whose ground level lies several feet above the level of the Walk. The facing of the wall here may well be hidden under masses of material deposited during the tunnel excavations and now cultivated as a garden.

The line of the wall is very clearly continued beyond the Nuns' Walk by the lower boundaries of the gardens to houses on the east side of Silver Street. Silver Street itself descends steeply from the Crosshayes to the river; at or near the point where the road changes to a flight of

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<sup>1</sup> Moffat, "History of Malmesbury", 1805, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Known also as the "Long Walk" and the "Priests' Walk".

steps was located the small gate leading to Winyard Mill, still standing, though presumably rebuilt since its mediaeval function as a fulling mill. Nothing remains of this gate, but a flight of stone steps leading up from the street gives access to a pathway about 20 yards long between two sets of houses. It is quite narrow and may represent the actual width of the town wall. Similar short stretches appear above King's Wall, and will be noticed later.

From this point the continuation of the circuit can be noticed quite clearly on the 25 inch map. Its longest stretch, some 65 yards, now forms the northern boundary of the yard belonging to the new Telephone Exchange. The wall is apparently of recent construction, in parts quite new. Even the oldest section seems to be of later construction than the house in High Street at which it terminates. At all points the gardens adjoining it to the north run flush with its summit.

It must have been at about this point that the South Gate formerly stood, guarding the Chippenham road. The standard histories do not mention its destruction; it was standing, however, at the time of Leland's visit in 1542: "In the town be 4 gates by the names of Est, West, North and South, ruinus al".<sup>1</sup>

From the foot of the High Street there stretches in a gentle curve for nearly 400 yards the lane known at least since the 13th century as King's Wall.<sup>2</sup> For very nearly the whole of this length the boundary of the Parish of St. Paul Malmesbury Within (the parent parish) follows the outer wall of this lane. The query naturally arises, does this boundary represent the line of the mediaeval wall? Was King's Wall a patrol line similar in function to the "Nun's Walk"?

Two considerations throw light on the problem. In the first place, King's Wall lies rather too far down the slope to provide the ideal position for a defensive line. In the second place, there are unmistakable signs on the large scale maps of a second line parallel with King's wall but high above it. This line appears as a common lower boundary wall to the gardens of houses lining the High Street,<sup>3</sup> and in three separate places there are actual paths<sup>4</sup> overlooking King's Wall and possibly representing the width of the town wall in a similar way to the short path leading off Silver Street. The longest of these pathways extends for a distance of nearly 60 yards, passing at the foot of the gardens belonging to the Bank House and the "King's Arms" Hotel.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Luce, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> An early spelling was "Kyngeswalle"—see the Wiltshire volume of the English Place-name Society, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> See fig. 3, C, D and E.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 3, A and B and bottom of plan.

Below the northern terminus of King's Wall the 25 inch map marks a corn mill, brewery and malthouse (now the Linolite Works); these, however, on a map of 1831<sup>1</sup> are named Postern Mill; above this point stood the Postern Gate, in the words of Bird,<sup>2</sup> ". . . a little to the south-west of St. Paul's Church, the remains of which . . ." (i.e., of the gate) ". . . were removed in 1794 by Mr. R. Robins, of Malmesbury. Postern gates or sallyports in fortifications, were underground passages leading from the inner to the outer works, designed for the conveyance of soldiers or artillery. The gateway above noticed was probably erected after the subterraneous works had been destroyed, and improperly called by the same name."

From this point to the West Gate the line of the wall is by no means clear. The parish boundary in general follows the inner side of Burnivale but for about 40 yards, where the slope is more gentle, it leaves Burnivale to pass parallel to it but at a short distance to the east. This boundary, showing as it does some regard for the contours, may have followed the wall closely; alternatively, the wall may be indicated by a remarkably continuous line of garden boundaries; or by the greatly curving present day wall slightly below this line. The problem is baffling. At all events, whatever may have been the true position of the wall, it seems fairly clear that Burnivale lay outside it.

Thus we again reach the site of the West Gate, from which our perambulation began. Bird's views on the position of the gate have been noticed above. The Ordnance Survey have not indicated the site on the large scale maps, but several considerations point to a position in Abbey Row adjoining the "Bell". The area is shown in Fig. 2. Here the parish boundary, after having followed King's Wall, reaches and crosses Abbey Row (just as the Holloway boundary crosses the main road at the East Gate); inspection on the ground shows a slight but perceptible break of slope; while a massive wall curves away to the south, followed by the parish boundary. Indeed, the tiny house opposite the "Bell" boldly carries the name "West-gate House". Though the title may be modern, it would appear to be justified.

In conclusion, one must emphasize the lack of direct evidence regarding the sites of castle and walls. The borough coat of arms (fig. 4), dating from the 16th or 17th century, shows a stylised castle overlooking the water of the Avon and surrounded by ears of corn. With this exception, not a single print or sketch of the fortifications is known. Not a map or plan of any description apparently exists prior

<sup>1</sup> Plan of Malmesbury by John Wilkins, 1831. C. Burton, delineator, R. Cartwright, Lithographer. In possession of the Town Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 189. [But the tunnel postern was a much later development in fortification. At this date a postern gate was unlikely to be more than a sallyport communicating with the open country. H.C.B. (by permission)].



to that of 1831 mentioned above. In these circumstances one is forced to rely on indirect evidence such as that here advanced.

Finally, the writer wishes to acknowledge the kindness shown to him by those local people who have allowed him access to private property.

FIG. 4 The Seal of Malmesbury.



Moffat, "History of Malmesbury,"  
1805, facing p. 97.

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## AN EARLY BRITISH COIN FROM BOX.

By A. SHAW MELLOR.

The garden at Box House is immediately adjacent to the large Roman Villa site, which was excavated by the late Sir Harold Brakspear in the years 1902—1903<sup>1</sup>. During that excavation no evidence was discovered of any pre-Roman occupation, such as is occasionally to be found in modern excavations on Roman sites; such evidence may have been present, but was not discovered. No coins were unearthed during the excavation, which is surprising; during the excavation of the smaller site at Atworth in 1937—1938<sup>2</sup> no less than 71 coins were found, and the only explanation of the absence of coins at Box must be that they were somehow overlooked during the digging. Two coins were found casually on the site at other times, namely a brass of Valens and an aureus of Galba.

From time to time Roman coins have been unearthed in the soil of Box House garden, including an interesting silver one of the Empress Julia Soæmias, the mother of Elagabalus, which is the earliest coin found so far. A short time ago a small coin was turned up in this garden, much corroded and encrusted; after appropriate treatment it was seen to be an unusual one, but the writer was unable to place it, beyond forming the opinion that it was not of Roman origin. In these circumstances it was handed to Mr. Harold Mattingly of the British Museum, who has most kindly described it. He says "It is, as I thought, native British, more or less the turn of our era, a little before or after the birth of Christ. It is a complete debasement of an originally gold piece, with (obverse) a laureate head, (reverse) a horse. It is of a class attributed by Sir John Evans<sup>3</sup> to the Wilts—Dorset district".

The piece illustrated in Sir John Evan's book is very similar to the Box House one, and with the aid of the eye of faith one can recognise the head and horse portrayed thereon, but it would be useless to reproduce the new discovery here.

The finding of this coin is of interest because it is, to some extent, evidence of a pre-Roman occupation of the Box Villa site.

<sup>1</sup> *W.A.M.*, xxxiii, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xlix, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, Sir John. *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 117, Plate G. 5 and 6.

## THE VICAR'S LIBRARY, ST. MARY'S, MARLBOROUGH.

By E. G. H. KEMPSON.

For nearly three centuries there has existed in Marlborough, almost unknown to its inhabitants, a collection of books called the St. Mary's Vicar's Library. It was collected during the middle of the seventeenth century by a man who had little or no connection with Marlborough. It has been the object of the writer of this paper to attempt to illuminate the almost complete black-out that has surrounded its early history. Nobody could pretend that the result is anything but dim, but three figures emerge from the gloom; and it is on them that light must first be thrown. The most important of them is William White, the man who, working in and around Oxford for the whole of his life, founded the Marlborough library by the will he made in 1677. Next, and nearly fifty years his junior, comes Cornelius Yeate, the first Vicar at Marlborough to benefit under the terms of White's will. Thirdly there is Thomas Pierce, quarrelsome in an age of quarrels, whose friendship with each of the other two was probably the ultimate cause of a vicar's library being formed at all.

William White, the fourth son of Henry White 'the weaver,' was born at Witney in June, 1604<sup>1</sup>. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford on July 13th, 1621, graduated on February 25th, 1624/5 and proceeded M.A. on June 27th, 1628. After some years of preaching in the neighbourhood of Oxford, in 1632 he was appointed Master of Magdalen College School. He was a keen Latinist and seems to have been a worthy successor to John Stanbridge, the second headmaster of the school, who from 1488 to 1494 had helped make this newly-founded school next after Winchester College more famous 'than any other institution in the kingdom for the revival of learning and the cultivation of the only study which in those days could be popularly diffused, namely, that of the Latin language'.<sup>2</sup> College and school were closely linked and 'Magdalen was essentially the home of the Classical Renaissance in Oxford'.<sup>3</sup>

In 1648 White was ejected from his mastership by the Parliamentary commissioners. After the neglect of their first summons, his reply to their questioning on May 17, 1648 was too equivocal to be appreciated. 'The Question concerninge submittinge to the present Visitation', he

<sup>1</sup> Witney Registers, 1601, 1604.

<sup>2</sup> *Public Schools Enquiry Commission*, 1866.

<sup>3</sup> H. Rashdall, *Medieval Universities*, ed. Powicke and Emden, iii, p. 231.

wrote, 'I dare not directly Answer without further advisement'.<sup>1</sup> Some months passed in procrastination, but he was finally replaced by one, William Wroth, who continued until 1657.<sup>2</sup> However, White was fortunate to obtain privately of Dr. Brian Duppa, lately Bishop of Salisbury, the rectory of Pusey near Faringdon in Berkshire, which was then in Salisbury diocese; during the troubles and the Commonwealth he kept it 'by the favour of friends and the smallness of its profits'.<sup>3</sup> In 1662<sup>4</sup> after the Restoration, Dr. Thomas Pierce, recently elected President of Magdalen College and a former pupil of William White, got his college to present White with the additional rectory of Appleton, seven miles nearer to Oxford. Two years later the two of them built a new rectory there,<sup>5</sup> and here White settled for a time, leaving a Richard Dolphin as his curate at Pusey. However, in 1672 he also built himself a new rectory at Pusey<sup>6</sup> into which he moved and where he remained for the rest of his life, Dolphin meanwhile taking his place at Appleton.<sup>7</sup>

In 1678 White died and was buried in the chancel of the old Church at Pusey. When the present church was built in 1745 on a different site, his memorial stone was laid in the floor of the new chancel. It is inscribed: 'Wm. White, began to live; that is, died; the xxxi. May m.dc.lxxviii'. There is also, let into the outside of the south wall of the chancel, a stone inscribed with an epitaph to a young son of his: 'William White: God that sent him into the world May the 21th 1651 said May the 10th 1655 Returne thou sonne of sorie man. Psal. 90.3.'

<sup>1</sup> M. Burrows, *Visitors of Oxford Univ.*, pp. 97, 514. For the dilemma into which the members of the University were put, 'either to be perjured or destroyed', see T. Pierce, *An impartial Inquiry into the Nature of Sin*, 1660, pp. 224—231.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Bloxam, *Magd. Coll. Register*, iii, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, iii, col. 1167.

<sup>4</sup> Bloxam, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> At what is now the old rectory in a cupboard in a wall of an upstairs passage is a square stone with the annexed inscription. It doubtless was originally part of an outside wall. (I owe this discovery to the kind enterprise of Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn).

<sup>6</sup> The present early nineteenth century rectory has, let into the north wall of its garden, a stone which almost certainly came from White's house. It bears the inscription shown in the margin.

<sup>7</sup> Pusey Register, 1670 and its transcript in Salisbury Dioc. Registry, 1668/9; Appleton Register, 1672—8; S. Foster, *Alumni Oxon. 1500—1714*, s.v. Dolphin.

1664  
T<sup>H</sup>. PIERCE  
P  
M C  
W<sup>M</sup>. WHITE  
A.D.  
M DC LXXII  
W  
ÆT LXVIII

White had always been accounted a noted philologist and a loyal and pious divine, and his different interests can be discerned in the books he wrote. He assumed the pen-name of Gulielmus Phalerius<sup>1</sup> and, as Master of a famous classical school, it is natural that his first book should be educational: *Ad Grammaticen Ordinariam Supplementa, et Pædagogica quædam Alia*.<sup>2</sup> His way of teaching 'was to give hard English to be made into Latine'; and one of his pupils tells us that 'Mr. White framed Latine sentences in the belly of each other for his Schollars, as he phrased it'.<sup>3</sup> Something of his learning and industry may be gathered from the annotations that he made during the period from 1656 to 1658 in his interleaved copy of Thomas Draxe's *Calliepeia*. Here he explicitly proposes producing an English-Latin dictionary not founded on the work of previous authorities but on the original authors themselves. It does not seem, however, that he was ever able to fulfil his intention.

By this time White, like many others, was weary of the quarrels and bitterness that had for so long clouded the scene. For many years the much-travelled John Durie had been working towards the welding together of all the reformed churches of Europe; and White felt that the moment for the realisation of such a scheme, at least in England, was now at hand. His next work, *Via ad pacem ecclesiasticam*,<sup>4</sup> partly written before the Restoration, but published three months after it, is an expression of this feeling. It is a thirty-page pamphlet, more than half of which consists of comments, mainly favourable, on Grotius' attitude to toleration. It forms a reasoned plea for Church unity, but White is clearly less willing than Durie to compromise. He writes in Latin so as to avoid controversy among the uninstructed.<sup>5</sup> The general tenor of the work may be shown by translations of a few passages from it. 'When peace and truth cannot be had together, in

<sup>1</sup> *φαληρός* = white-crested; in 1630 he had called himself *Ἰεραμὸς ὁ Οὔριος* (*sic*).

<sup>2</sup> 8°, London 1648; 2nd edition enlarged, R.W. pro R. Davis Bibliopolâ Oxoniensi 1652. No complete copy of either of these editions is known, though there is a title-page of the second in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Rawl. MS. D 191, pp. 4, 11 (Bodleian): partly quoted in R. S. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, 1940, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> 4°, London 1660, Robertus White, pro Richardo Davis, Bibliopolâ Oxoniensi. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Cambridge University Library.

<sup>5</sup> cf. T. Pierce, dedication to *An impartial Inquiry into the Nature of Sin*, dated May 2nd, 1660: 'If I shall ever again appear, in the behalf of any one of the five controverted points, it will be likelyest to be in *Latine* (as being the Scholars *Mother-tongue*) and onely in order to *reconcilement*'.

that case a passion for peace is to be preferred to a passion for truth'.<sup>1</sup> 'Let us have unity of purpose, even if we lack uniformity of worship'. 'God will most certainly show, in his own good time, although perhaps not in ours, what each party should properly decide and do'. It should be remembered that White was a convinced Royalist and Episcopalian, writing immediately after a time during which all that he cherished most had been at stake.

But, apart from his book, we are able to realise the breadth of White's churchmanship by looking round his library. Here are to be found the calm and rich learning of Charles I's chaplain, Dr. Hammond, and the virulent yet not always extravagant railings of Thomas Edwards; the Welsh evangelism of Walter Cradock and the confident catholicism of Father Cressy. But there is much—too much for most of us—from the tireless pens of controversialists like Thomas Pierce and his Northamptonshire neighbours. Richard Baxter complains of Pierce that he 'breathed out blood-thirsty malice, in a very Rhetorical fluent style'<sup>2</sup> and John Saltmarsh is led to lament 'how Truth hath been carried out of sight from the Reader with the Labyrinth of *Replies* and *Rejoynders*,<sup>3</sup>

As if Divinity had catch'd

The Itch, on Purpose to be scratch'd.<sup>4</sup>

Imperceptibly, however, certain religious and political differences were being settled. The Royalist clergy and the once Roundhead squirearchy were being drawn together. For many years past the Puritan family of Pusey had occupied the big house in the village of Pusey; so it is scarcely surprising to find that in 1674 the young squire, Richard, was married to the rector's only surviving child, Elizabeth. William White was evidently fully satisfied with the link thus set up; at any rate by his will made only three years later he appoints her heiress of his estates at Weale, near Bampton.

White realised that the way to peace rested rather on a change of heart. For him, simple religious faith and worship were the true foundations of the Christian life. Family prayers and weekly catechising in church were the means by which he tried to foster it in his parish. And in fact the last<sup>5</sup> of his published works was *Paraphrasis*

<sup>1</sup> cf. T. Pierce, *The New Discoverer Discover'd*, p. 35 (presentation copy to William White dated Aug. 24th, 1659) 'There are a great many truths of so small importance, that one would part with them *all* for a dram of charity'.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, i, 113.

<sup>3</sup> J. Saltmarsh, *An end of One Controversie*, 1646, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> S. Butler, *Hudibras*, I, i, 165.

<sup>5</sup> Bliss, on the authority of Ashmole, adds (Wood, *op. cit.*) *The Plain Man's Path*, but it appears probable that this is *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, which went through twenty-five editions between 1601 and 1640, but is now generally ascribed to Arthur Dent.

*cum Annotatis ad Difficiliora loca Catechismi Anglicani*, which appeared anonymously in 1674.<sup>1</sup> It is a little book, in Latin and in English, with clear explanations which might be equally useful for the same purpose at the present time. In particular White encourages people not to be deterred from becoming godparents: usually godparents cannot and should not be expected to take the place of parents in the religious instruction of children; their function is only an extension of the duty that falls to every Christian adult.

His emphasis on catechising is brought out by a further clause in his will. He leaves an annual sum of five pounds as a charge on his Bampton estates to be paid to 'Mr. Yate, vicar of S. Maryes in Marlborough<sup>2</sup> and his successors for ever<sup>3</sup> upon this condition that hee and they for all time coming doe catechize every evening Prayer according to the Rubricks in the Liturgie,<sup>4</sup> and every way else bee Loyall to his King and an obedient son of the Church; and if in the judgment of the Dean of Sarum the said Mr. Yate and his successors doe not carefully perform these duties of Catechizing Loyalty and Obedience,' the five pounds were to be disposed of otherwise 'and not to the negligent Vicar of S. Maryes'.<sup>5</sup> The Dean of Salisbury at this time was White's friend, Dr. Thomas Pierce, who had previously been President of Magdalen. By his office of dean, he was also patron of the living of St. Mary's, Marlborough.

<sup>1</sup> 8°, *sine loco*. A copy of this is in the Bodleian *s.v.* Catechism (8°, C. 591, Linc.).

<sup>2</sup> Miss C. Fell Smith erroneously says St. Mary's, Oxford, in her article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> The payments were made regularly until the Rev. R. H. Tucker's incumbency (1796—1838). Subsequent vicars experienced considerable difficulty in procuring payment, and legal proceedings were taken in 1862 which settled matters for a time (*see* Rev. E. B. Warren's MS. Notebook, p. 21, kept in St. Mary's vestry; also *The Charity Commissioners' Report on the Marlborough Parishes*, 1905, p. 39). Payments were continued at least until 1912, but now once more they have lapsed.

<sup>4</sup> Previous to 1662 the rubric had enjoined that catechising should take place half an hour before Evensong, but thenceforward it was to be held after the Second Lesson, i.e. in the presence of the congregation.

<sup>5</sup> The Rev. W. Gardiner, B.D. (1887—1897) left his mark as a catechetical teacher; and the Right Rev. L. G. Mylne (1897—1905) with the assistance of the Rev. R. de C. Thelwall, curate-missioner, issued *The Marlborough Catechism* (Mowbray 1898). It was reserved for Mrs. George Linnaeus Banks (Isabella Varley) in her Wiltshire novel *Glory* (drafted in 1849 but first published in 1877) to conceive in fiction a 'negligent Vicar of St. Mary's' (information due to the late Canon Christopher Wordsworth).

The chief feature of White's will, however, is the clause by which he left his library to the Mayor and Corporation of Marlborough for the use of Mr. Yeate,<sup>1</sup> Vicar of St. Mary's and his successors for ever.<sup>2</sup> It does not seem possible to determine why White chose to leave his books to Yeate. White had ended his time as Master of Magdalen School before Yeate was born. But it is at least possible that Pierce was the intermediary; for Pierce remained the close friend of White when he was at Appleton and Pusey; and when their friendship was most marked Yeate was an undergraduate at St. Mary's Hall. Moreover in 1677, only a month before White made his will, Pierce, now become Dean of Salisbury, presented Yeate to his first cure, the vicarage of St. Mary's, Marlborough.

Thomas Pierce, born at Devizes in 1622, had been chorister and demy at Magdalen under White and became fellow in 1643. In 1644 he abandoned Calvinism and became a bitter opponent of the Calvinists. He was expelled from Magdalen in 1648 by the Parliamentary Visitors. He was a voluminous controversialist, and many presentation copies of his writings are preserved in White's library. During the troubles he became tutor to Robert Spencer, afterwards second earl of Sunderland, and held the Spencer living of Brington in Northamptonshire from about 1655 to 1675<sup>3</sup>. In 1660 he was appointed chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II and was restored to his fellowship at Magdalen. Furthermore, in 1661 he was elected President of his college, though not until initial opposition from some of the fellows was silenced by a peremptory letter from court. As President he had a stormy time and resigned in 1672. In 1675 he became Dean of Salisbury but quarrelled violently with Bishop Seth Ward over the Bishop's right to the disposal of the prebends of Sarum. However, the Bishop's rights were upheld by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Promotion, who 'obliged the proud dean to ask pardon, though the

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<sup>1</sup> His name should preferably be spelled Yeate; the three signatures of his that are known are Cor: Yeat: Archidiac: Wilt: (in a 1696 *Memorandum confirming an Act for the better Security of the King*, no. LXXIX of *The Orders, Decrees, and Ordinances of the Borough and Town of Marlborough*, ed. B. H. Cunningham); Cor: Yeate (in a 1702 Oath of Allegiance to Queen Anne now among the Marlborough Borough Records); and Cor: Yeate Vic: (reproduced in S. Lewis, *History of St. Mary Islington*). He is Yeate in two powers of attorney on behalf of his widow Lucy, dated 1720 and 1724 (Salisbury Diocesan Registry); in White's will he is Yate; but in the Evesham Parish Registers and the Marlborough Chamberlains' Accounts he is Yeates, Yates and Yeate.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of parochial libraries, compiled by William Blades, see *The Bookworm*, Sept., Oct., Nov., 1866.

<sup>3</sup> H. I. Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy*, vol. xi.



heat and fury this dispute was carried on with, hastened very much the Bishop's death'.<sup>1</sup>

Cornelius Yeate, the recipient of White's library, was born in May, 1651, one of twin sons, the youngest children of John Yeate, an Evesham man, who had married Alice Yarnoll in 1638<sup>2</sup>. He was at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, from 1668 to 1671, proceeded M.A. in 1674 and was appointed in 1677, as we have seen, to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Marlborough, through the patronage of the Dean of Salisbury. Like the Dean, he too was involved in controversy with the Bishop, though independently of the Dean. It appears that Yeate was dissatisfied because the Bishop had repeatedly promised him preferment 'at what time there were vacant Prebends many in one Year, yet he never did anything towards the Augmentation of my Poor Maintenance: so that indeed I was weary of depending any longer upon Complements'.<sup>3</sup> Like the Dean he had convinced himself that, since the disposal of Prebends was ultimately the King's right and only secondarily that of the Bishop, it was reasonable to apply direct to the King for promotion. In fact, he had the strongly Royalist and Anglican Mayor and Magistrates of Marlborough on his side, and we find them making a petition to the King in 1682 on his behalf through the agency of the Lord Bruce, who had been member for Marlborough since 1679. 'His four years' ministry among us for a very small income', they humbly submitted, 'should be encouraged by the addition of some prebend or other promotion, as his Majesty should think fit'.<sup>4</sup> In addition Yeate made an address 'under Four Heads of Information' to the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Promotion.<sup>5</sup> 'He used his Bishop exceedingly ill', is a contemporary comment;

<sup>1</sup> See *A Vindication of the King's Sovereign Rights*, by Dr. T. Pierce, written anonymously and privately printed in 1683, but in 1684 provided with *A Paraenetical Preface to the Impartial and Unpassionate Reader*, in which the authorship is disclosed. This learned pamphlet was reprinted in 1719 as a part of *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral of Salisbury and the Abbey of Bath* edited anonymously by Dr. T. Rawlinson.

<sup>2</sup> Registers of All Saints', Evesham.

<sup>3</sup> See Yeate's letter to 'a Person of Great Honour, an Eminent Officer at Court', in Pierce's *Vindication*.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix I. The settled income of the vicarage amounted to about £30 per annum. In the Marlborough Chamberlains' Accounts at Easter time in 1682 is the unusual record of a payment of £10 'to Mr. Yates by Order'. Does this imply that the borough was practising what it preached? It should be noted, however, that there are payments of the same amount in both 1689 and 1693 to Mr. Perry, rector of St. Peter's, Marlborough.

<sup>5</sup> Tanner MS. 143, pp. 105 (=172), 103 (=170), 174—5 (Bodleian).

indeed the story is a sordid one and feelings were embittered by the Bishop's recent appointment of his own nephew to a vacant canonry. But the quashing of the Dean's pretensions by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners meant that Yeate's plea was equally unavailing. In any case no preferment came during Seth Ward's tenure of the bishopric. However, in 1691, his successor, Gilbert Burnet, presented Yeate to the prebend of Bishopstone, and in 1696 he was further promoted Archdeacon of Wilts, and the latter office he held till his death. He remained Vicar of Marlborough until 1707, when he was appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, Islington, which was then a prosperous village a mile or two north of London. Here he earned a reputation for learning and won the general esteem of the parish by his exemplary life.<sup>1</sup> On April 12th, 1720, he died and was buried in Islington churchyard. On the reconstruction of the church in 1751, the tablet that had been erected to his memory was set up in the north aisle.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the history of the library itself, we know that on White's death in 1678 his books were 'trussed up into bundles' by his son-in-law, Richard Pusey, and carried by his 'team' the twenty-four miles that separate Pusey from Marlborough.<sup>3</sup> They were kept in Yeate's house, probably for the rest of his time at Marlborough;<sup>4</sup> the borough had 'paid William Lester the sum of £2 15s. for worke att the Library',<sup>5</sup> and a catalogue was kept in the chest of the Mayor and Magistrates. When Yeate left for Islington, the church underwent considerable alteration: a gallery was built across the west end, the north side for the use of the Grammar School boys and the south for the parish;<sup>6</sup> in addition or perhaps as part of it, but raised on columns and reached by a stairway, was a wooden chamber in the south-west corner of the church, in which the books were kept.<sup>7</sup>

The little that is known of the library during the eighteenth century suggests increasing neglect, and the catalogue was soon lost. The vicarage, a four-roomed house which stood on the site of what is now No. 8, The Green,<sup>8</sup> was either empty or let to others from a date as early as 1777; and certainly R. H. Tucker, who was appointed vicar

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Post*, April 14th, 1720.

<sup>2</sup> S. Lewis, *History of St. Mary Islington*, 1842, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> See White's will below.

<sup>4</sup> They were still there in 1698; see *Notes and Queries*, Aug. 30th, 1856.

<sup>5</sup> Marlborough Chamberlains' Accounts at a date between June and August, 1678.

<sup>6</sup> St. Mary's Vestry Meeting Book, 1626—68, s.a. 1839. The gallery was pulled down in 1877, three years after the building of the chancel.

<sup>7</sup> Waylen, *History of Marlborough*, 1854, p. 483.

<sup>8</sup> A view of this house is to be seen in one of George Maton's paintings, now hanging in the Borough Offices at Marlborough.

in 1796, lived at Ogbourne St. Andrew until 1819, when he came back to the Green.<sup>1</sup>

In 1812 the Rector of Mildenhall held his first ruri-decanal visitation of St. Mary's, and he left an injunction for 'the Parish Library Ceiling to be mended, the Room and Books to be cleaned, the Books arranged and a Catalogue of them to be made by the Vicar'.<sup>2</sup> If we may trust the memory of an octogenarian, Tucker for the space of forty years did little but collect his tithes.<sup>3</sup> His successor tells us that 'there was no service on wet Sundays; when a sick person wanted a visit, the vicar sent a shilling, and said that would do him more good than his prayers; the Holy Communion had not been administered for eighteen months.' He resigned in 1838, because the Bishop, Dr. Denison, called upon him to restore a text which the old gentleman had ordered to be chiselled off a new gravestone, declaring that 'he would have no Methodism in *his churchyard*'.<sup>4</sup>

With the arrival of Josiah Bateman fresh vitality came to the parish. The Marquess of Ailesbury provided two acres of land in St. Martin's for a new vicarage in exchange for the house on the Green, where Tucker continued to live until his death in 1843.<sup>5</sup> Bateman saw that the time had come to improve and increase the seating accommodation in the church. With this end in view he removed the library to the vicarage, and in 1844 his successor completed the re-pewing of the whole church<sup>6</sup> 'in correct taste'.<sup>7</sup>

But it was not long before the very presence of the library was resented. In 1898 it had become 'perfectly useless for modern purposes of study or reference. Two or three of the books were of considerable antiquarian interest, but the remainder valueless or nearly so'. With these words Bishop Mylne, the new vicar, applied to the Mayor and Corporation for permission to sell the books, and thus both give more shelf-room for his own large library and at the same time increase the value of the benefice. The Mayor and Corporation would not agree, but decided instead to house the books in the old Market House. When this was pulled down in 1900, they were removed to the old Grammar School. Here it was that Christopher Wordsworth, then Rector of St. Peter's, catalogued them in 1903. His work forms the

<sup>1</sup> Poor-rate lists in St. Mary's church chest.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xli, pp. 129, 134. In 1812 just half of the incumbents from the Marlborough deanery were non-resident.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. R. Hisco Whitworth, *Marlborough Times*, Sept. 3rd, 1904. The income of the vicarage at this time, however, was only £90.

<sup>4</sup> The text was, 'Prepare to meet Thy God'. J. Bateman, under the pseudonym 'Senex', *Clerical Reminiscences*, 1880, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> E. B. Warren, *An Account of the Parish of St. Mary's, Marlborough*, 1862, MS. in St. Mary's vestry.

<sup>6</sup> Vestry Meeting Book, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Salisbury Herald*, Sept. 20th, 1844.

basis of the notes here given, and he not only recognised the value of the collection but had many of the rarities rebound and repaired, and informed the librarians at the Bodleian, the Cambridge University Library and the British Museum of some of the interesting items.

But the library was still in danger of being dispersed. A utilitarian age was growing impatient of the accumulation of the past. In 1901 Canon Wordsworth had also catalogued the library belonging to the Marlborough Grammar School, a library which in part dated from only a few years later than the Vicar's Library. By the turn of the century, however, the Grammar School had fallen on evil days, and the Governors were compelled to realise what money they could; so in July, 1903, the library was sold to one of the assistant masters at the College and dispersed.<sup>1</sup> It is fortunate that a similar fate did not befall the Vicar's Library. But when the Grammar School was rebuilt in 1905 the Vicar's Library was transferred to the new Town Hall and kept in the attic, safe and dry, but much exposed to dust.

In 1912, application to sell the books was again sought. The Vicar, the Rev. A. E. G. Peters, empowered his trustees, the Mayor and Corporation of Marlborough, to get the Charity Commissioners' assent. They were not averse, and Sotheby's were to value the books for a fee of ten guineas. Action was however deferred owing to the personal wish of Dr. Ridgeway, the Bishop of Salisbury, who was now patron of the living.<sup>2</sup> It was therefore decided that the books should be returned to the Vicar. At this stage the Bishop was led to withdraw his objection, but the Mayor and Corporation were not prepared to change their minds and made a further request to the Vicar to move the books, and themselves repudiated responsibility for their care.<sup>3</sup> In May, 1914, Mr. Peters arranged for Sotheby's to inspect the library, with what result I do not know. The books remained in the Town Hall, but in 1928 Canon Hoste, first rector of the combined parishes of St. Peter's and St. Mary's, had them protected from dust by newspapers.

In February, 1942, during the height of the salvage campaign, it was suggested that these old books might be usefully set aside for pulping. Little seemed to be known of them and there was no catalogue to be found. However, on inspecting them after removing Canon Hoste's preservative copies of *The Times*, I found them to be of such interest that I invited Dr. F. E. Hutchinson, now Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, to come and give his opinion on them. In April, 1942, he made a hand-list of the more interesting items and suggested that we should at least preserve these. Action was therefore deferred, and the better books were removed to the room above the porch of St. Peter's

<sup>1</sup> J. E. S. Tuckett bought the 330 volumes for £3 10s.

<sup>2</sup> The patronage remained in the hands of the Dean and Chapter until 1838, after which it was transferred to the Bishop.

<sup>3</sup> Feb. 24th, 1913.

Church, where there were more light and air. Eighteen months later I showed the books to Mr. George Smith of Great Bedwyn, a bibliographer of great experience, and his knowledge and enthusiasm convinced me of the importance of keeping the library together as a whole. The Rector, Canon Swann, was anxious to adopt whatever course was wisest, and on consultation with the Chancellor of the diocese, he decided to hand the library over as a gift to Marlborough College, where there was likely to be a succession of people interested in it. This was in June, 1944. In the following October Canon Wordsworth's catalogue came to light, and in it a transcript of part of William White's will appointing the Mayor and Corporation trustees; consequently Canon Swann's 'gift' was legally null and void, and it was left to the trustees to decide what action should be taken. Finally, on November 9th, 1944, the library was made over by the trustees as a permanent loan to the College, where it is kept at present in one of the class-rooms. There it is likely to remain, until conditions allow of the rebuilding of the school libraries, when it is hoped it may be more fitly displayed.

William White's name should stand high among the great book-collectors of his day. His library was the collection of a schoolmaster, a scholar and a divine, a Royalist from Oxford. As a collection it has an interest of its own, and it has remained for the most part unaltered since his death. However, by his will White had requested that each Vicar should 'give one good Book to the study that is not there already, to the end It may bee a convenient Library for any Minister of whatsoever abilityes and Inclinations'. Judging by the number of Vicars and the number of volumes printed subsequent to 1678, most Vicars seem to have fulfilled his wish. Few of the books so added are of great interest, though among them is a copy of *The Works of King Charles I*, edited by White's old pupil, William Fulman.

The books are in very fair condition, though some title-pages are missing, particularly among the bound volumes of pamphlets. Signs of damp are rare, and few of the volumes have been notably ill-used.

In the library as a whole there are about 600 books containing some 745 items. They may be roughly classified as follows:—

Theology, English	240	Political tracts	60
"    Latin	120	History	15
Early Fathers	15	Law	12
Liturgy and the Bible	20	Medicine	15
Works of scholarship and school books	115	Science	9
Classics	80	Travel	4
Literature	40		

It is worth noting the high proportion of educational works. Foremost among these comes a volume containing the now scarce grammatical tracts of John Stanbridge, a former Master of Magdalen School, and of his pupil, Robert Whittinton. These were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's foreman and successor, and probably

three of them are unique editions. They are in contemporary binding and date from around 1520.

The story of how these tracts were nearly lost to the library is worth recounting. The volume was in the library when Canon Wordsworth made his catalogue in 1903, but it was missing when I first inspected it in 1942. The only clue to its whereabouts was a letter from the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York written in 1936, asking the Vicar of Marlborough if he would have photostats made of some of the title-pages to assist them in some bibliographical work which they were undertaking. Canon Jones sent the book to the Cambridge University Library and got them to make the photostats. Apparently the University Library heard that the books at Marlborough were badly cared for, and it was suggested that this volume, being of some value, should be kept, at any rate for the time, at Cambridge. This was forgotten and was only brought to light again as the result of a chance conversation between Mr. George Smith of Bedwyn and Mr. H. R. Creswick, now Bodley's Librarian: the library at Marlborough was mentioned and the fact that it had now been made over to the College. Mr. Creswick's sole recollection of the library was that a Wynkyn de Worde book from it had been sent to him when he was an assistant at Cambridge. The result is that the book has now been returned and is once more where it belongs.

Other educational works are the first (1512) edition of *De duplici copia*, a book on style written by Erasmus for use at Colet's school at St. Paul's; until recently also a 1537 edition of Lily's St. Paul's grammar, as well as Wolsey's Ipswich grammar (though both of these are now lost); *Positions for the Training up of children* by Richard Mulcaster, first headmaster of Merchant Taylors and early advocate of music and physical training as school subjects; two works of Vives, the Spanish educationalist who was possibly Queen Mary's tutor; *Flowers gathered out of Terence* by Nicholas Udall, headmaster of Eton; a Greek grammar by Edward Grant of Westminster; various editions of the classics by Thomas Farnaby, who ran a flourishing school of some three hundred pupils, mostly sons of noblemen, in Goldsmiths' Alley; the *Progymnasma scholasticum* of Stockwood of Tonbridge; works on rhetoric and music by Charles Butler, headmaster of Basingstoke free-school and pioneer of spelling reform. Other books are due to Thomas Godwin of Abingdon, the elder Brinsley of Ashby de la Zouch, and John Clarke of Lincoln. There are also English editions of works by Comenius, who did so much to refashion educational method throughout Europe. Of different interest are an apparently unique edition of Aesop, printed in italic by Peter Treveris as early as 1531 or 1532,<sup>1</sup> and a presentation copy of Dr. Fell's edition of Nemesius.

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<sup>1</sup> The first book printed in italic in England is dated 1528.

There are three incunabula. The oldest, *Dyalogus dictus Malogranatum*, is a work describing the threefold stages of the Christian's life. It was compiled at the Cistercian monastery at Königsaal near Prag and printed in 1487 by Louis de Renchen at Cologne; the second is an edition of *Legenda Aurea Sanctorum* printed in 1494 by J. Trechsel at Lyons; the third (of which there appears to be no other copy in the public libraries of England, France and Belgium) is Gregory's *Omelia super Ezechielem* printed in Paris by Gering and Rembolt probably in 1498; it is additionally interesting because bound up with it are a number of manuscript sermons written in black and green ink of a nearly contemporary date, some in English, others in Latin, and couched in a highly figurative style. All three of these books are in very fair condition, though the *Omelia*, like the copy mentioned by Hain, wants its first leaf; and only the Golden Legend has its capitals inserted.

Liturgical works include an apparently unique edition of the Sarum *Manuale* printed for Anthony Verard. No copy of this book is mentioned in Macfarlane's *Antoine Vêrard*, and it is undated; but from the stated location of Verard's shop in Paris and from typographical considerations it was probably printed between 1503 and 1507. In any case it must be one of the three or four earliest printed Sarum Manuals. There are also a Sarum Book of Hours by Regnault (1535—6), a *Psalterium* printed by Jolande Bonhomme (1553) and a Sarum Primer (1558).

Canon Law is represented by Cardinal Panormitanus' *Apparatus solennis* on the Clementine decretals; Roman Law by a complete Justinian in Latin printed by Plantin, as well as by a Greek translation of the *Institutes*; English Law by Littleton's *Tenures* and Kitchin's *Le Court Leete et Court Baron* and Selden's *History of Tithes*; and there are several early editions of Erasmus and many of the works of Grotius.

Of general literature we have Chapman's Homer (an imperfect copy of the first twelve books of the Iliad), Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (in the 1640 edition), Cornwallis's *Essays and Paradoxes*, Browne's *Religio Medici* (the first authorised edition of 1643), a sermon of Dr. Donne, another of Foxe the martyrologist, two editions of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Milton's anonymous *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline*, the fourth and fifth editions of Camden's *Britannia*, Stow's *Survey of London*, North's Plutarch, Lodge's Josephus, many of the works of Richard Baxter and Dr. Henry Hammond (the latter mainly presentation copies), Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* and the first (Dublin) edition of *A Disswasive from Popery*, two or three Marprelate tracts, and plays by Thomas Tomkis (*Lingua*) and Barten Holyday (*Technogamia*).

The medical books are mostly of German origin, though there is the second edition of Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia*. There are few other scientific or mathematical works, but Digges' *Stratioticos* turns

out to be not a little applicable to our own wartime experiences, with its alternative methods of stemming invasion, and its pungent comments on the Pioneers (to which we would not subscribe);

"If any Souldier be found in any band of so cowardly and base a minde, as neither his duetie to the service, nor regard of his own safetie, nor the hope of credite and advancement can move him to weare, use and keepe his Armour and Furniture neate and clean, and to take delight in the exercise of the weapon hee carrieth : Such a one (as a person desparate ever to make a soldier) I would wish for example with shame to be disarmed and made a Pioner, to be always employed in the most abject, drudging servile workes with lesse pay than any other."<sup>1</sup>

Political life is vividly illustrated by Oliver St. John's speech on Ship-Money and by two successive issues of the *Journall* describing the Duke of Buckingham's expedition to the Island of Rhee. Then there are tracts by Pym and Prynne, the *Declaration concerning Lawful Sports*, Dr. Maynwaring's notorious sermon *On Religion and Allegiance* and many other proclamations and pamphlets.

During the past twelve months three notable volumes have been added to the library through the generosity of Mr. George Smith. First and foremost is the 1506 Paris edition of Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, a noble book with its satisfying use of red and its scholarly pages hemmed in with nearly overwhelming commentary. Next come the two fine volumes of the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*; and lastly there is a volume containing four of Whittinton's tracts, printed by Peter Treveris, not in perfect condition, but an admirable companion to the Wynkyn de Worde volume already mentioned.

Some score or so of the books have interesting contemporary bindings. There is a good example of John Reynes' Baptism of Christ and St. George and the Dragon; but most of the other signed bindings are not in first-class preservation. One however has the Mass of St. Gregory on one side of it and a four-compartment panel of Saints signed by S.G. on the other; this panel is nearly always found with the initials defaced.<sup>2</sup> There are also examples of work by Spierinck, Robert Way and Pierre Auctorre.

The work of restoring and rebinding the more hardly used volumes has been put in train, and some thirty or forty have already been repaired by expert hands. It would be gratifying, however, if at some future time copies of William White's own works could be obtained, for, with a modesty not very common in authors, the founder included none of his own works in the well-stocked library he bequeathed to the Marlborough Vicars.

<sup>1</sup> Leonard Digges : *Stratioticos*, 2nd ed., 1590, pp. 369—379 and 107—8.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from J. B. Oldham, and G. D. Hobson's *Blind-Stamp Panels in the English Book Trade c. 1485—1553*, 1943, p. 61.



## WILLIAM WHITE'S WILL.

In the Name of God, Amen. I W<sup>m</sup> White of Pusey alias Pesey in the County of Berks Clerk, doe make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following, revoking all former Wills & Testaments whatsoever, Inprimis, into thy hands, O Blessed Jesu, I commend my spirit. Item my body to be buried there where I have appointed. Item I give unto the Mayre & Corporation of Marlborough in the County of Wilts & their successors for ever for the use of M<sup>r</sup> Yate Vicar of S. Maryes in thatt town & of his successors for ever All my Bookes & Papers whatsoever, with this double Petition unto him & them, First, whereas I have given order to my Executors to burn & abolish all my Diaries from the yeere 1628 & other papers not fit for any to looke upon besides my selfe, If now any of these things have escapt the fire, I desire them forthwith to turn their eyes from them & forthwith to burn them; as allsoe to make the most favourable Construction of those my Marginall scriblings and Animadversions that I have made in many of the bookes for I thought not good my selfe to burne those Diaries in any of my sicknesses, because I could not know but I might recover & make such good uses of them, as I have for these last nine & fourty yeeres of my life. Secondly, that every one of the vicars would give one good Book to the study that is not there allready, to the end It may bee a convenient Library for any Minister of whatsoever abilityes & Inclinations. Item, I give unto my onely Daughter & Heire Elizabeth Pusey all my houses & Lands in Bampton & West-Weale in the County of Oxon to Her, and to her Heires for ever, charged nevertheless with five pounds per Annum for ever to be paid every yeere on New-yeeres day to the aforesaid M<sup>r</sup> Yate & his successors for ever, upon this condition that Hee and they for all time coming doe catechize every evening Prayer according to the Rubricks in the Liturgie, and every way else bee Loyall to his King & an obedient son of the Church. Allsoe I beseech him & them as much as they can to take occasion in Private to perswade all whatsoever, as to other good dutyes, so especially to Familie Prayers; And if Hee can bring them to noe Other, then for All the familie twice every day, All of them together and all speaking aloud, & All upon their knees, devoutly and Leasurely to say over these Foure Devotions, First, *In the Name of the Father & of the Son & of the Holy Ghost. Amen.* Secondly, *Our Father which art in Heaven*———. Thirdly, *Glory bee to the Father, and to the Son, and*———. fourthly, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*———. These Devotions, I say, wherein is comprehended not onely the Heart of oure whole Christian Religion, but allsoe the summe of all Prayers & Praises that are necessary. And what Householder or Familie soe unlearned and employed but may worthiely perform this duty & allsoe find time constantly for It? but being done as is directed is no doubt

as acceptable devotion as any whatsoever from those that are more able for opportunityes & gifts both. And if in the judgment of the Dean of Sarum the said M<sup>r</sup> Yate and his successors doe not carefully perform these duties of Catechizing Loyalty & Obedience then my will is that my sonne Pusey & his heires not without the consent and approbation of the Dean of Sarum, doe dispose of these five pounds as they think good, (for instance towards the Placing out some poor child) and not to the negligent Vicar of S. Maryes. And if my said Daughter Elizabeth & her Heires doe not take care to pay the said five pounds every Yeere on New-yeeres day or then about to the said Vicar of S. Maryes (whose Receipt shall bee the discharge of my said Daughter and Her Heires) I then give and bequeath the aforesaid Houses and Lands in Bampton and Weale aforesaid to the Warden & Scholars of Wadham College in Oxford for ever upon Condition that they the aforesaid Warden & Scholars doe pay the aforesaid five pounds yeerely as in this my Will appointed. Item, whereas above twelve months since I surrenderd halfe the fulling Mill commonly called Woodford Mill in the Tything of Curbridge within the Parish of Witney in Oxfordshire aforesaid for the use of my last Will & testament (*sic*) Now my Will is that my Brother Thomas White have and enjoy the said halfe during his naturall life & after him his Son Henry White during his naturall life & after him his Son Robert White during his naturall life They and each of them paying halfe the Lords Rent halfe of the charge of Reparations & of all other payments whatsoever And after the expiration of their naturall lives that then the said halfe of the Mill return to my said Daughter & her heires for ever according to the custom of the Manner of Witney. Last of all I make my said Daughter, Elizabeth Pusey my full & whole Executrix of this my last Will & Testament, And all my goods & chattells hereby or hereafter not otherwise disposed of (after my Debts alsoe & Legacyes paid & funerall expences discharged) I give unto her and I doe hereby charge and require her my said Executrix with her husband Mr. Richard Pusey alias Pesey to assent to and perform all the Legacyes before & hereafter that shall be found in a Codicill to bee hereunto annexed especially to that of the Bookes & to the trussing them up into Bundles & so carrying them with their Teem to Marlborough And in case soe they doe not or refuse soe to assent or doe, I then ordaine constitute and appoint my foresaid Brother Thomas White & his sonne Henry & Grandchild Robert aforesaid my full & whole executors joyntly & severally of this my last Will & Testament and in as full & ample manner as my said Daughter is, and my will is shee bee, if in assenting and doeing as aforesaid shee shew her selfe soe obedient as I hope she will. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seale this five & twentieth day of October in the nine & twentieth yeere of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second, By the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland defender of the Faith etc. And in the yeere of our Lord 1677.

Signed, sealed & declared to bee the last Will & Testament of the above-named W<sup>m</sup> White, in the Presence of us.

Edward Hill

W<sup>m</sup> White

Mary Pusey

the marke of

Juratum xxiiij Junij Anno Dom : 1678

+

Edward Hill

Adam Winchester

Probatum apud London . . . primo die mensis Julij 1678  
coram Domino Leolino Jenkins . . . juramento Elizabethae  
Pusey aliter White filiae et executricis etc. . . .

Memorandum That this fourth of May One thousand six Hundred seventy and eight I W<sup>m</sup> White of Pusey Berks Clerk doe make and annex this as a Codicill to my Will, and declare that the same shall be accepted as part of my Will. viz Inprimis I give unto the poore of Appleton and Pusey ten pounds of lawfull money of England to bee distributed among them at the discretion of my executour by the churchwardens of the Respective places, on the day after my decease, Item I give unto my old man W<sup>m</sup> Baily ten shillings per annum, and when his worke fails Him, twenty shillings per annum during his naturall life to bee paid Him out of that five and twenty shillings a yeere which I reserved out of the Grant of my House and lands in Great Coxwell, to M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Pusey Widow. Item I give unto my present man Adam Winchester twenty nobles of lawfull money of England to bee paid Him within one yeere after my decease. . Item I give unto my Grandchild Mary Pusey fifty pounds of lawfull money of England to be put out to use for Her as soone as may bee at five pounds per Cent; and rather than trust it in any dangerous hands at foure pounds per Cent. Item I give unto Mary Pusey and Edward Pusey the younger children of M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Pusey widow, ten pounds a piece of lawfull money of England to bee paid unto them within one yeere after my decease. Item I give unto Joseph Shury and Jane Goodluck twenty shillings a piece, to be paid unto them within one yeere after my decease. But to Betty the elder mayd, I give nothing, because when shee was hired, shee said shee could dresse meat and doe all other ordinary houshold bussinesse, whereas indeed shee could not doe any thing to the purpose, till shewed & taught to our great trouble and disappointment. In Witness whereof I hereunto set my hand & seale the day and yeere above written.

Signed & acknowledged in the presence of

Edward Hill

W<sup>m</sup> White

## APPENDIX I.

The Petition of the Town of Marlborough for Mr. Corn. Yeats.

[Tanner MS. 34, p. 160.]

*TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MA<sup>ty</sup>*

The humble petition of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>s most dutifull and Loyal Subjects the Mayo<sup>r</sup> Justices of the peace and Magistrates of this yo<sup>r</sup> Auncient Corporation of Marleborough in the County of Wilts

*MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH*

That Cornelius Yeates Ma<sup>r</sup> of Arts Vicar of St. Mary within this yo<sup>r</sup> Corporation is a person exactly observant of the Rites of the Church of England Orthodox in his Preacheinge pious in his Conversation And whom it hath pleased God to bless with a good Success in his fower yeares Ministrye heere amonge us But hath a very small Maintenance the Settled Inc<sup>o</sup> of his place ( 'though a very large parish) not amountinge in the utmost to Thirty pounds p<sup>r</sup> Ann.

Wee therefore y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>s peticon<sup>ers</sup> (well Consideringe how much it is the interest of this church and Kingdome of which you are ymmediately under Christ Supream Governor, that pious Loyall Mynisters especially in such a Corporation as this should att least be competently provided for) thinke yt our bounden dueties by these in most humble manner to acquaint yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> herewith Earnestly Ymploringe that yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> will be graciously pleased to take the same into yo<sup>r</sup> Sacred consideracion that by the Addition of some p<sup>r</sup>bend or other promotion As yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall thinke fitt soe the said Cornelius Yeates may be encouraged to continue with us.

Thomas Cotton maior<sup>1</sup>  
Willm Grinfeild } justices of  
Rolfe Baylye } the peace  
Robert Carpenter  
Chris. Lipyeat  
Jo Morgan  
John Hawkins  
Matt. Fowler

Tho Hunt  
John Kem  
James Cutts  
John Horner  
Tho Bayly  
Nath Popjoy  
John Pleasted  
Tho. Brunsdon

And wee yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>s most humble petitioners shall as wee are in duety bound Ever pray, etc.

*On the back in another hand is written*

He us'd his Bp. exceedingly ill.

<sup>1</sup> Mayor 1681—2.

## APPENDIX II.

Vicars of St Mary's, Marlborough, since the foundation of the Library.

1677	Cornelius Yeate	1838	Josiah Bateman
1707	Martin Hinton	1840	Charles Welland Edmondstone
1707	Henry Danvers	1847	George Stallard
1710	Mountrich Hill	1851	Edward Blackburn Warren
1722	Leonard Twells	1872	John Parr
1737	George Watts	1887	William Gardiner
1740	Thomas Pyle	1897	Louis George Mylne, Bishop
1742	George Palmer	1905	Arthur Edward George Peters
1765	John Clarke	1917	Charles Dixon Hoste
1766	Henry Whinfield	1929	John Jones
1786	Montague Barton	1941	Albert Swann
1796	Robert Hardy Tucker		

## APPENDIX III.

Some books of interest in the Library, including editions not mentioned in *The Short-title Catalogue of English Books, 1475—1640*.

Aesop: Aesopi Phrygis et vita et fabellae. 8°, *P. Treveris* [1531—2?]. Italic, 93 mm. to 20 ll. Title-page Border no. 17 (McKerrow and Ferguson).

Bayly, Lewis *Bp.*: The practice of pietie, amplified by the Author. The 17 edition. 12°, *London, f. R. Allott, 1626*.

Becon, Thomas: The sicke mans salve. 8°, *London, J. Daye, 1579*. Title-page Border no. 86 (McKerrow and Ferguson).

Buchler, Joannes: Sacrarum profanarumque phrasium poeticarum thesaurus, edit. 13a. 12°, *Londini, J. Norton, sumpt. J. Rothwelli, 1637*.

Butler, Charles: de oratoria libri duo. 4°, *Oxoniae, G. Turner imp. authoris, 1629*.

Cato, Dionysius: Catonis disticha de moribus cum scholiis Des. Erasmi Roterodami, adjecta sunt dicta Graeca Sapientum, eadem per Ausonium, Mimi Publani, Isocratis ad Demonicum oratio paraenetica. 16°, *Londini, ex typ. Societatis Stationariorum, 1634*.

Cicero: Lessons and exercises out of Cicero ad Atticum after the method of Dr [George] Webbe. 4°, *London, F. K., 1627*.

Draxe, Thomas: Calliepeia, or, a rich store-house of proper, choyce and elegant Latine words collected out of Tullies works. 8°, *London, A. Griffin, f. J. Norton a. R. Whittaker, 1636*.

Erasmus, Desiderius: D. Erasmi Roterodami de duplici copia rerū ac verborū commentarii duo. De ratione studii & instituendi pueros commentarii totidē. De puero Iesu Concio scholastica: & quaedam carmina ad eandem rem pertinentia. 4°, *In Aedibus Ascensianis ad Idus Iulias Anni Md. XII*. (Six copies in Germany, nonē in England or France).

- : Erasmi Rot. Detectio praestigiarum cuiusdam libelli germanice scripti, ficto auctoris titulo. 8°, *Basileæ apud Ioan. Frob. An. M.D. XXVI. Mense Iunio.*
- : Modus orandi Deum: opus nunc primum & natum & excusum typis. 8°, *Basileæ apud Ioannem Frob. Annō. M.D. XXIII. Mense Octobri.*
- Gallus, O. [anon]: Dyalogus dictus Malogranatum. *Colophon*: Explicit dyalogus dictus Malogranatum compilatus a quodam venerabili abbate monasterij Aule regie [Königsaal] in Bohemia ordinis Cysterciensis. 4°, [*Coloniae, Louis de Renchen*], Anno dñi. M. cccc. lxxxvij. [Hain \*7451.]
- Geveren, Sheltoo à: Of the ende of this worlde *tr.* T. Rogers (Unlike STC 11805, it has 60 ff., instead of 56). 4°, *London, T. Gardyner a. T. Dawson f. A. Maunsel, 1578.*
- Gregory: Omelia beati Gregorii pape super Ezechielem. 8°, [*Paris, J. Gering & B. Rembolt, 1498 ?; Hain \*7945; wants leaf 1.*]
- Gulielmus, *parisiensis*: Postilla sive expositio epystolarum et evangeliorum. 8°, *Rothomagi, imp. J. le forestier, 1507.*
- Komensky, Jan Amos: Porta linguarum, the gate of tongues unlocked and opened. 2nd edition by John Anchoran. 8°, *London, T. Cotes f. T. Slater, 1633.*
- Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum. 4°, *Parisius nuper impressum impensis honesti viri Anthonij verard mercatoris librarij in eadem urbe iuxta ecclesiam beate Marie moram trahentis [1503—7 ?], (Verard's type no. 14; not mentioned in Macfarlane: Antoine Vêrard.)* This book was exhibited at the Marlborough meeting of the Wilts Arch. Soc. in 1859 and at Winchester in 1945.
- Psalterium cum hymnis. 8°, *Parisiis ex officina libraria Jolâde bôhôme, vidue spectabilis viri Thielmanni Kerwer, 1551, [wants Sig. ✚ 1, q 6—8, H 4].*
- Sermones parati de tempore et de sanctis summa diligentia revisi. 4°, *Hagenaw, in officina Henrici Gran, impensis ac sumptibus circumspecti viri Joannis Klobloch. Anno MDXIII ipsa vigilia Bartholomei apostoli.*
- Sorocold, Thomas: Supplications of Saints. A book of prayers and prayes. 21 ed. 12°, *London, I. D. f. H. Overton, 1634.*
- Stockwood, John: Disputatiuncularum grammaticalium libellus, ed. 5a. 12°, *Londini, p. Assignationem B. Norton, 1634.*
- : The Treatise of the figures at the end of the rules of construction in the Latine grammar construed. 8°, *London, J. Norton, 1609.*
- Tedeschi, Nicholas, *Abp.*: Apparatus solen̄is in clemētinas de nouo correctus cum additionibus. 8°, *impressum Lugd. in calcographia Jacobi mareschal huius artis experti. Anno. M. cccccxiiij, die vero x. Januarij.*

Virgilius Maro, Publius: Opera. 8°, Londini, ex typo. Societatis Stationariorum 1622.

Voragine, Jacobus de: Legenda aurea sanctorum. *Colophon*: Finit aurea legenda sanctorum que lombardica hystoria nōiatur: compilata per fratrem Jacobū de voragine natiōe Janueñ. ordinis fratrū predicatorum. Necnō cū quibusdā alijs legendis nouiter superadditis. Anno dñi. M. ccccxciiij, die vero. xviiij. nouembris. 8°, [*Lugduni, J. Trechsel. Copinger's supplement to Hain, 6459*].

Stanbridge and Whittinton tracts, bound in one quarto vol., printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

Stanbridge, John:

1. Accidentia ex stanbrigiana editione nuper recognita. STC 23148a ? [wants A 1] [1529 ?].
2. Paruulorum institutiō ex stābrigiana collectione. STC 23168 (though there described as 8°) [wants A 1], 1521.
3. Gradus comparationum cum verbis anomalis simul et eorū compositis [first six leaves of quire A; wants at least two leaves] [c. 1523—1525]. (Unique).
4. *Vulgaria Stanbrigi. Colophon, C 6<sup>r</sup>*: Imprynted at London ī Fletestrete by Wynkyn de Worde at the sygne of the sonne. [c. 1514—1515.] *Collation, A—C<sup>6</sup>* [wants A 1]. (Unique).
5. *Vocabula magistri Stābrigi sua saltem editione edita. Colophon, D 4<sup>r</sup>*: Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde in Fletestrete at y<sup>e</sup> sygne of the Sōne. The yere of our lorde M. cccc xxi. A 1<sup>r</sup>, woodcut of Master and three boys (as in no. 2 above). *Collation, A—D<sup>6</sup>, 4* (Unique).

Whittinton, Robert:

6. De octo partibus orationis opusculū. STC 25500, 1521 (id. Jul.).
7. Declinationes nominum. STC 25448, 1521.
8. De heteroclytis nominibus. STC 25461, 1519 (7 id. Jul.).
9. De nominum generibus. STC 25483, 1521 (prid. non. Feb.).
10. Verborū praeterita et supina. STC 25558, 1521.
11. Syntaxis. STC 25548, 1521 (id. Oct.).
12. *Vulgaria. STC 25572, 1521.*
13. Lucubrationes. STC 25530, 1521.
- 14—15. De syllabarum quantitate. STC 25515, 1521.

Sulpicius, Joannes:

16. Stans puer ad mensam. cf. STC 23428—30 [wants A 1 and A 6].
- [17. Sum es fui. Gradus comparationū cum verbis anomalis simul cum eorum compositis. (These are four leaves from quire A of another edition of no. 3 above, inserted in this volume in 1905 from the binding of Origen, 1530. The pages are faultily arranged owing to reversal of imposition.) STC 23163, 1532.]

Whittinton tracts printed by Peter Treveris, presented by Mr. George Smith, Bedwyn, and bound together 1945 :

1. De octo partibus orationis aeditio. STC 25507 [wants C 4], [‘impressum Anno 1523’ in a contemporary hand, though STC says 1530 ?].
2. Syntaxis. Not in STC, [wants I 4], 1522 (id. Feb.).
3. Secunda grāmaticae pars de syllabarū quantitate. STC 25522 [wants O 6 of part 1, D 2—4 of part 2], [1530 ?].
4. De synonymis ; lucubrationes. *Collation*, A—D<sup>8, 4</sup>, E<sup>4</sup> [wants C 8].



## WILTSHIRE BIRD NOTES.

By L. G. PEIRSON.

These few notes, mainly a list of unusual occurrences, refer, unless otherwise dated, to the period November, 1944, to October, 1945. They are largely of birds seen in the Marlborough district. I am grateful to those who have sent me records from other parts of the county.

Hooded crows were seen near Marlborough in November, December, and several times in late January.

Lesser Redpolls were seen near Burbage in May and near Marlborough in October.

Cirl Buntings have now established themselves near Marlborough in several places and one was seen at Broad Hinton.

Mr. R. S. Newall reports a Redstart at Stockton Wood at the end of August.

The Long-eared Owl is very scarce near Marlborough. I have two records from Oare Hill and Totterdown, but unfortunately both are second-hand.

Short-eared Owls came again to Totterdown in October, and four were seen at the same time.

What was probably a Snowy Owl was reported from near Marlborough at the end of January. I should not have recorded so great a rarity on the basis of one observation had it not been for the fact that Snowy Owls were reported from several places in England at just about the same time.

Peregrine Falcons were seen near Marlborough in November, February, March and early May.

I have a record of a Merlin shot at Tollard Royal early in 1943, and what was very probably a Merlin was seen near Ramsbury in March, 1945.

Buzzards are undoubtedly spreading eastwards from their haunts in Wales and the Devonian peninsular. I hear of a pair at Tollard Royal from 1941 to 1943, and of birds seen at Warminster in 1943 and 1944. They reached Marlborough for certain in 1944 and were again seen early in 1945. In spite of protests two of these fine birds were slaughtered near Totterdown in September, but one survived and was seen in October.

Mr. D. C. Lloyd reports a Harrier, probably a Hen Harrier, seen near Milk Hill in October.

Mrs. Ruth Barnes saw a single Hobby near Seagry in May, 1943, and a pair in May, 1944.

*The Marlborough Times* records the shooting of a Bittern at Knighton, near Ramsbury, in February and the corpse of another Bittern floated down the Nadder into the garden of Brigadier H. C. Ponsoby at Tisbury in March.

A White-fronted Goose was seen near Ramsbury in January.

There are several interesting records of ducks. Smew at Coate in January; a drake Gadwall at Fyfield, near Marlborough, from February to June; Pintail at Shearwater, near Warminster, at Ramsbury and at Wilton Water in January; Shoveller at Shearwater, near Warminster, during the winter of 1943—1944 and again in January, 1945, and a pair at Wilton Water (near Marlborough) in May; Tufted Duck at Wilton Water and at Chilton Foliat not merely in the winter but also in the early summer; Sheldrake at Bowood in the winter of 1944—1945; and a Scaup-Duck at Wilton Water in February.

What was very probably a Black-necked Grebe was seen at Coate in late September.

Mr. R. S. Newall reports a Shag fishing at Eelhouse Hatches, Stockton, in the autumn of 1944 and again in January, 1945.

A Wader was seen at Fyfield, near Marlborough, in early May. It was watched closely on several days. The identification was most puzzling but I am practically certain it was a Ruff.

Mr. R. S. Newall reports a Corncrake killed by a car in early September near Wylye.

## WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

### PROPOSED EXTENSION OF MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

For many years past our members have been aware that the Museum and Library do not give sufficient space for the proper development of the objects for which the Wiltshire Archæological Society was founded, namely, the advancement of the Archæology, Natural History and Geology of the County, together with the formation of a Library of Books, Deeds and Prints, etc., pertaining to Wiltshire, that can be readily available to students of these subjects. Every year offers of exhibits have regretfully had to be declined through lack of space, and there are already more books and MSS. than can be contained in the Library.

Several years ago the Society realised the growing inadequacy of the premises, and a building fund was started in order that the situation might be remedied at some future time, but the urgency of the matter had become so clear that the Committee had for some months been giving anxious consideration to every form of solution of the problem without arriving at one which would be wholly satisfactory.

This autumn, however, an opportunity presented itself for making a great improvement in the position by adding to the receptive capacity of both Museum and Library, by regrouping both sections, and by adding accommodation for professional assistance. The adjoining house—41, Long Street—was shortly to become vacant, and the owner gave the Society the option, until the end of November, of purchasing it; and most generously offered it at £500 less than the valuation.

The Committee gave careful thought to the proposition, and was strongly of the opinion that the offer should be accepted. The purchase price, adaptation of the premises, regrouping of the collections, and incidental expenses were estimated at a total of £4,000, toward which the Museum Extension Fund had available the sum of £1,500. For the balance of £2,500. the Society had to look almost entirely to its members.

The Committee was fully alive to the magnitude of the task, but firmly convinced that, unless the premises and the facilities for students and public alike could be improved in the way suggested, the very value of the Museum's existence might be called in question. An appeal was therefore made to all members of the Society and other interested persons in the middle of October asking for their kind help to provide the £2,500 required. Members will be glad to know that it has been completely successful.

In these circumstances the Committee felt fully justified in proceeding with the scheme which the prompt and liberal response of the

contributors made possible. The option on the adjoining house was taken up and the necessary deposit paid. It will not be possible for the Society to take possession before next summer, but thereafter the necessary alterations will be carried out as rapidly as conditions permit.

The cost of printing the appeal was defrayed by Canon Ketchley and the postages by the Hon. Curator, who spared no pains to procure a successful result. The efforts of the President to the same end also call for particular acknowledgment. Both these gentlemen combine an intimate knowledge of the county with a persuasiveness for which members of the Society have good, if sometimes rueful, reason to be grateful.

A full list of subscribers will appear in the next number of the *Magazine*, and it will then be apparent how greatly the Society is indebted to certain contributors. Without their assistance the efforts of the rest, valuable though they were, could never have brought the scheme to fruition.

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## WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[This list is in no way exhaustive. The Editor asks all who are in a position to do so to assist in making the record under this heading as complete as possible.]

**A History of Marlborough Grammar School, by A. R. Stedman.** Privately printed.

This book bears no date, but future ages will be able to assign it, by internal evidence, to the present year. It is a reprint with due acknowledgments of the article which appeared in the last issue of this *Magazine* together with three additional sections and another illustration (The School Building, 1905).

Only one existing school in Wiltshire can claim an earlier foundation than this Grammar School of King Edward VI's, though that, indeed, is more than twice as old, the charter of the Choristers' School at Salisbury dating from Stephen's reign. If Fynamore's Endowment can be said to survive at Calne, it runs the Marlborough foundation pretty close, for it dates from 1557. But in itself it was never considerable, and it seems to have been merged in recent years in Bentley's School, which was founded in 1663 and has now become the Calne Secondary School. Lord Weymouth's Grammar School at Warminster began its career in 1707. The story of the Sarum Choristers' School has been told by Mrs. Robertson; may we hope that others of our more ancient foundations may one day find their historians?

Mr. Stedman's article, as printed in these pages, described as much of the fortunes of his school as could claim an antiquarian interest. Of that, the larger part of his book, it would be unbecoming for the *Magazine* to speak. The new sections trace the conversion of the school to its present status and belong to an educational movement which shows no present signs of coming to rest.

From 1878 the Grammar School was in decline. In 1899 it died of inanition to be reborn six years later in a new building of regrettable design as a grant-aided Secondary School for boys and girls. In the capable hands of its new headmaster, Sydney Pontefract, ably seconded behind the scenes (though of this there is no hint in the present record) by an equally capable and talented wife, the school of King Edward revived again. As the educational centre of a wide area it attracted an ever increasing stream of pupils and has continued to do so under its present head, the author of this History. For the first time since the seventies of the last century, the Somerset endowments at both Cambridge and Oxford have provided within the last three years funds for successful candidates from Marlborough Grammar School.

The last section deals with the School's estates and their handling by the Corporation of Marlborough. By the original Foundation Deed of

1550 all the lands of St. John's Hospital and the endowments of the Jesus Services celebrated in the two parish churches of the town were made over to the Mayor and burgesses with authority to erect a grammar school and administer it. It appears, however, that certain properties of the Hospital had already been appropriated by the Borough and that after 1550 the remainder passed into the general Corporation estate, so that by 1581 they were lost, as specific endowments, to the School. By 1637 the same fate had befallen the lands which had supported the Jesus Services.

Mr. Stedman scents malversation. He argues, as did some of his earlier predecessors, that all the lands mentioned in the Foundation Deed were intended for the sole benefit of the School. We may readily agree with him, but it was never specifically laid down. The lands passed to the Mayor and burgesses with "full power and authority" to found a school, but it was not an express condition of the grant that they should be used for that purpose or even that a school should actually be founded. By an ingenious but convincing piece of arithmetic Mr. Stedman shows that the consideration paid by the Borough for the acquisition of all the properties amounted exactly to ten years' purchase of the Service lands alone and included nothing for the Hospital endowments; but that hardly seems to invalidate the contention of the Corporation before the Lord Chancellor in 1714 that there was no obligation to use the income solely for the purpose of the School. And the Lord Chancellor, waiving the issue as regards the Service lands, found only that the property of the Hospital was the free gift of the Crown for the support of the School. This it got and nothing more. For the rest of its income it depended upon the fees of its pupils, till successive Acts of Parliament abolished the only argument calculated to convince the great majority that education is worth anything at all.

H. C. B.

**The Witch of Chedworth** by J. B. Jones, published by the Author at 18, St. Margaret's Road, Swindon. [1945, Price 2s. 6d.]

This is a novel of the last age of Roman Britain. Contemporary literature is provokingly casual in its references to this island; epigraphic evidence is slender and uninformative: writers of the succeeding period only bewilder us. The best evidence is supplied by the spade, but the tale it unfolds is more eloquent of destruction than of a flourishing social system. Mr. Jones has gone to all these sources and invented others. The reader who troubles himself about authorities must beware of spurious documentation, but that is all part of Mr. Jones's way of telling his story.

It has been long on the stocks. Twenty-two years went to its completion, and three years of war delayed its publication. So much we gather from Mr. Jones's Foreword, and we may take it that the quarter-century was spent in the search for every authentic scrap of information bearing on his theme. The result is the presentation in three dimensions

of a period of British history which most of us have seen, at best, in two. We are taken from the years preceding the great inroads of the Picts in 367 to the final departure of the legions, but the focus of our vision is kept constantly on the Cotswolds with the Roman villa at Chedworth—Falcombe Villa, as Mr. Jones usually calls it—for the central point.

It makes a graphic story, the more persuasive because its hero rises to no extravagant heights of achievement or esteem ; his ultimate rank is that of *primus viarius*, a kind of military foreman, we gather, on the Fosse-way. At times we are reminded of Apuleius, at others of G. W. Stevens, whose *Monologues of the Dead* contain no livelier portraits than Mr. Jones's of Britain's imperial pair, Gratian and Potentilla, the latter, surely, a creation of his own. The conclusion of the drama has an element of Greek tragedy with less than the Attic respect for our susceptibilities. But the main theme of the tale recalls the "woes of the Britons" and the appeal to Aetius, for which Mr. Jones's story finds no place.

The woes of the Britons were manifold. Internally they centered on military and administrative incompetence and the revival of old tribal jealousies, as of Atrebate, Belgian and Dobunian ; externally they were the Picts in the North, the Scots in the western, the Saxons in the eastern estuaries. Mr. Jones's references to the Saxons have a special bitterness attributable, perhaps, to the period of writing, perhaps to ancestral sympathy with the Celt. Indeed, these forerunners of Hengist and Horsa had little to commend them, even when we remember the part their nation played in our own presence in this island. One phrase of Mr. Jones's lingers. He speaks of a certain Duke Fullofaudes (an historical *Dux Britanniarum*, probably of Frankish origin) defeated in a mixed Pictish invasion and "eaten by Attacots". But the Attacotti would appear to have been Irish.

The author's evident affection for the Fosse and the Coln Valley above Fosse Bridge informs the whole novel. He writes of "Cotteswold", the privilege of intimacy, and we may accept his local topography without cavil. But we know of no "Ringordon" on the Marlborough Downs, though it is made to lie between such recognizable features as Sound Bottom and Barbury Castle. But this is just one of Mr. Jones's mystifications, designed to give an unhistorical battle an unidentifiable site. He is fond of the modern touch and uses it with humour and vivacity, though it is startling to find a Roman centurion quoting Milton. But these are trifles detracting nothing from the interest of Mr. Jones's tale, which may readily be commended to all who are curious about a period of our remoter history of which we can never hope to learn the whole truth.

H. C. B.

**Excavations by Dauntsey's School Archæological Society, 1945.** The Archæological Society of Dauntsey's School was founded in 1940, and between that year and 1945 its members

have carried out trial excavations on a Romano-British site near West Lavington, an interim report on which has been produced as an illustrated cyclostyled document for limited distribution and is now available in the Library of the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

The excavators and compilers of this report are to be congratulated on having carried out an interesting trial excavation which is now described in a sensibly objective account. The site lies on the upper greensand in the grounds of Littleton Panell Manor House, and attention was first drawn to its potentialities by the discovery of sherds on the surface. Trial trenches were dug, which showed the probable existence of an occupation level about one foot six inches below the surface, with at one point remains of a setting of greensand blocks associated with traces of a hearth which suggest the foundations of a hut. Post-holes were not identified, though the excavators (with an honesty one would like to see in many more ambitious and majestic Excavation Reports) admit that "in our inexperience we may have missed them". But greensand is an extremely tricky soil in which to excavate, and the slight stake-holes of a light wattle shelter would be quite likely to leave no trace for even the most experienced.

The finds included several sherds of decorated Terra Sigillata, which have been reported on by Dr. Felix Oswald and by him assigned to a consistent mid second-century date, though the presence of New Forest ware and of fourth-century rim types, as well as a coin of Constantine, show occupation to a later date. Fragments of painted plaster are interesting as showing the rather pathetic attempts at sophistication which we know from other "native" sites were incongruously introduced among the barbarities of the squalid wattle-and-daub.

Excavation seems to have been as carefully conducted as the circumstances of irregular voluntary labour allowed, but the plan of the trenches and the remains of structures revealed should have been drawn to scale and with rather more precision, especially in Trench III where the presumed hut foundation was encountered. It is difficult satisfactorily to reconcile the good photograph of this feature included in the report (though without any visual scale) with the rough plan of the excavations, and while miracles of draughtmanship are obviously not to be expected, a study of the plans published in recent excavation reports published by the Society of Antiquaries or the Prehistoric Society would set future excavators at Dauntsey's a standard to which they should try to attain. And although the total depth of the excavation was slight, sections should have been drawn and reproduced if only as a discipline in recording and observation.

It is to be hoped that the Society will continue its activities, though the difficulties of continuity with an ever-changing membership are stressed by the authors of this report. Quite apart from the intricate problems of excavation, there is an immense amount of field-work and surveying to be done even in Wiltshire, where archæological effort has been continuous since the days of Aubrey—field and ditch systems



which may indicate something of the pattern of the earliest agrarian systems in Britain yet known are still imperfectly worked out, while the combination of such field-work with the documentary evidence of Saxon and early medieval land-boundaries brings history out into the open air and makes it something more solid than a class-room abstraction. To all such activities the Wiltshire Archæological Society can but offer its very best wishes, and welcome a junior society's entry into the field.

STUART PIGGOTT.

**It Happened like That.** Under this heading and over the initials R.Q., the *Salisbury Diocesan Gazette* for September, 1945, printed an account of a journey which ended on a platform overlooking the deep trench of a western valley. Thence an official guided the party into a rock-hewn tunnel lit by electricity 80 feet below the surface. The doors of a great chamber 250 paces from the entrance admitted them to an array of shelving in a clear, dry atmosphere maintained at a constant temperature of 63 degrees. Blue lights, whose interruption by the smoke of any possible fire would ring an alarm bell, testified to the care with which innumerable cases were there preserved. The writer signed a receipt and received—the Sarum copy of Magna Carta.

The Charter of 1215 exists to-day in four copies. Two remain with the Cathedrals in which they were originally deposited—Lincoln and Salisbury. The other two are now in the British Museum. A copy of a later version is the subject of a succeeding Note.

**Savernake Forest.** An article in the *Marlborough Times* of November 9th, 1945, reported an interview with the District Officer of the Forestry Commission: it was stated that the policy of the Commission was to preserve the amenities of the Forest and replant it with oak, retaining, however, the fine beech avenues and the thorn along the roads. When the new plantations were sufficiently grown, it was intended to throw the whole forest open as a National Park.

This decision is very welcome, and it is reassuring to be told, though the fact has been known for a thousand years, that the Forest soil is recognised by the Commission as ideal for hardwoods. Only in the frost hollows has it been necessary to interplant with Scotch pine. Local residents noted also with sympathy a reference to the ravages of the grey squirrel.

Collingbourne Woods are being replanted with beech and cherry—an alluring prospect for future springs. Other outlying woods have been closefelled, a policy which may have been inevitable but has certainly been detrimental to the landscape east and south of the Forest.

**The Swindon Review.** A local Miscellany of the Arts. Published by the Library, Museum, Arts and Music Committee of the Swindon Town Council, December, 1945. Price 2s.

We signal with pleasure the appearance of this *Nova Swindoniae* in

the Wiltshire Inky Way, a most unusual, but equally welcome, expression of municipal enterprise. Each activity of the Committee responsible for the publication has found a place in this Miscellany to do credit alike to the judgment of the Editorial Board, who remain becomingly anonymous, and to the quality of the contributors. A reproduction in colour of a pleasing watercolour by Sir William Rothenstein has the place of honour, and there are a number of other pictures in a variety of processes among the stories, poems and articles that fill the 50 quarto pages. As Sir Kenneth Clark remarks in the "personal message" which opens the review: "Unfortunately, individual enthusiasts for beauty do not usually choose to live in new industrial towns, but retire to Burford or Chipping Campden, where they are less needed". Whether æsthetic considerations had much to do with the place of residence selected by the bulk of the contributors may well be doubted, but it is of good omen that Swindon should be able to claim so many of them as its citizens. Others live elsewhere and lend their aid in testimony of their interest in the venture.

To call this publication a "Nova" is to remind ourselves of the common fate of new stars. We hope that the *Swindon Review* will shine with undiminished lustre in many future issues. H. C. B.

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## NOTES.

**The Lacock Abbey copy of Magna Carta.** Miss Talbot, whose gift of the Abbey and village of Lacock to the National Trust was recorded in this *Magazine* last December, has laid the nation under a new obligation by presenting to the British Museum her copy of Henry III's version of the Charter. This was actually the fourth edition, from which, among other things, the Forest clauses were abstracted for separate issue, and it was in contra-distinction to this Charter of the Forests that the revised document became known as the *Great Charter*. It was promulgated in the year 1225.

"This splendid document, which is one of only two extant originals, the other being preserved at Durham, shows Magna Carta in its final form, as it still remains on the Statute-book, and it completes the representation of the Charter in the national collection in a most satisfactory way. The Museum already possesses the original Articles of the Barons and two of the four surviving originals of the Magna Carta of 1215. . . .

The Lacock Charter is an extremely beautiful document in a remarkable state of preservation, with a nearly complete impression of the first Great Seal of Henry III; the seal has the original green silk bag, and the document itself is protected by an apparently contemporary piece of white linen sewn to the top edge, which has, no doubt, helped materially in its preservation. It was from this copy that Sir William Blackstone printed the text in his edition of the *Great Charter* published in 1759. It is not known how it came to be preserved in Lacock Abbey; there is a contemporary, or almost contemporary, endorsement "*Ex deposito militum Wiltisir*" ("*Deposited by the Knights of Wiltshire*"), and it may be its possession was due to the foundress, Ela, Countess of Salisbury in her own right, and wife of William Longsword, natural son of Henry II, who became Earl of Salisbury on his marriage to her in 1198. He was Sheriff of Wiltshire from 1213 until his death in 1226, and may well have received the document as an official deposit; it is suggested that his widow may have placed it later for safety in Lacock Abbey, which she founded in 1232, and this conjecture is at least probable." (From *The Times* of July 16th, 1945.)

**The British Records Association** appended to the above account a plea for the safeguarding of other documents for which the British Museum cannot be asked to find room. They are to be found in the offices of solicitors and estate agents, in the vaults of banks and in business offices. They have turned up even in a labourer's cottage. They include the records of manors, turnpike trusts, Guardians of the Poor, jewellers, tailors, saddlers, tea-merchants, athletic clubs, manufacturers and private persons, and, since history begins yesterday, the

archives of the W.V.S., the H.G., the N.F.S. contain much that will be invaluable to future historians when the significance of those initials has long been forgotten.

The British Records Association has been formed to protect such documents and provides a special section to answer inquiries about suitable resting-places for them. Such inquiries should be addressed to Miss V. B. Redstone, 8, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.

Another organization with a different object is

**The Register of British Archives**, a new activity of the Historical MSS. Commission. This should ultimately embrace every traceable document of importance whether in private hands or in local depositories. It is in no sense an attempt to obtain possession of such documents. The promoters are not a holding organization but card-index compilers with a target of some 250,000 cards. Mr. R. L. Atkinson of the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2, will welcome any information which will help to fill them.

**A correction** received from Mr. F. H. Hinton.

"My article on the Court Books of Lacock, etc., in the *Magazine* for December, 1944, contains an error.

On p. 449 is the statement that 'the Liddington Manor had been one of the estates of the Abbey of Lacock before the Dissolution (see W. H. Bowles' *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*). In March, 1598, the Homage of Liddington presented that a certain tenement "in Cote within the Manor of Liddington . . . was granted by the Abbess Elizabeth Zouche . . ."

Bowles' statement referred to one of the estates of the Abbey in monastic days—Wiclescote, which, he says, "seems to be identical with Coate . . ." This led me to conclude too hastily that the Abbess of Lacock had made the grant.

Col. Chettle informs me that Elizabeth Zouche's name does not appear as an Abbess of Lacock and has also discovered that she was Abbess of Shaftesbury at the time of the grant.

If Bowles correctly identified Wiclescote with Coate, both Lacock and Shaftesbury held estates there.

I greatly regret the error and am sincerely grateful to Col. Chettle, who went to considerable trouble in tracing Elizabeth's whereabouts, for drawing my attention to it."

"**Imber** on the down, four miles from any town" has a strong hold on the county's affections. Perhaps it is due to the village's isolation, which the old rhyme seriously underestimates, perhaps to the sudden contrast it affords to the downs that surround it. But it has, or had, an interesting Church dating from the 13th century, model cottages on which much money had been lavished, and a good manor house.

To the removal of its inhabitants under stress of war we can hardly take exception, but an undertaking was given that they should be reinstated, and the fulfilment of that undertaking is still awaited. In the interval the place has been wantonly wrecked. Church, chapel, school, cottages and manor have suffered from the vandalism of persons whose identity is either unknown or unrevealed. Many people became justifiably angry; various Ministries went into a huddle about it, but for a full five months no information has emerged. Will the presentation, in accordance with recent precedent, of the freedom of Imber to some military unit be the outcome? But by the time this note appears the opportunity is likely to have gone by.

**The Marlborough Maces** which date from 1653, are peculiar in their construction: their heads are removable to leave in each mace a cup. Knowledge of this fact had been lost for at least a hundred years when it was recovered in the course of repairs effected in 1907. But it was reserved for the late mayor, Col. C. W. Hughes, to utilize it on August 19th of this year after a Thanksgiving Service for the double victory of the Allies. The names of those who drank were thereafter added to the record of former users preserved in the mace-heads.

If that record is complete, the cups had only three times previously been used, and only one of those occasions would seem to have clear justification in the fortunes of the Kingdom. The first occasion was January 2nd, 1675. It has been conjectured that it commemorated that Treaty of Westminster which ended the inglorious Dutch War. But that treaty was signed eleven months before.

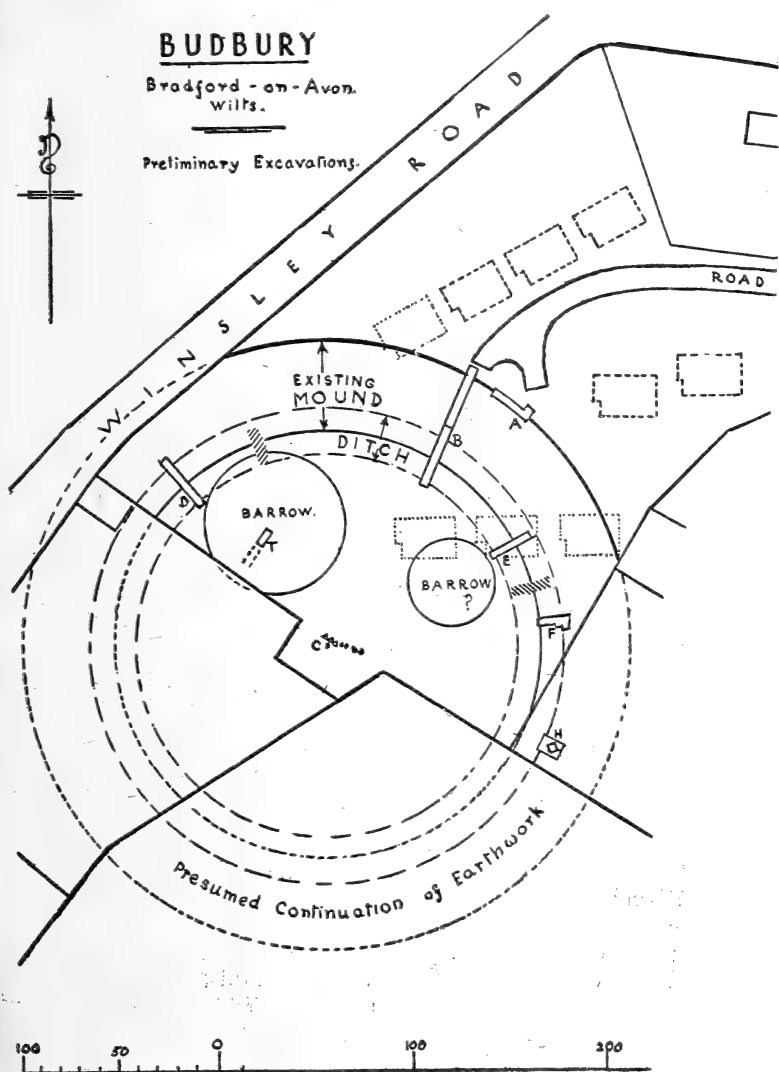
The second drinking took place on November 17th, 1717, with no nearer public event than the defeat of the Old Pretender two years previously. Mr. G. M. Young has suggested, as more in keeping with local interest, that it may have been an outcome of the Bangorian controversy following the suspension of Convocation for its attack on Bishop Hoadly. That attack might well stir Marlborough's ancient Puritanism, with the memory of Dr. Sacheverell still rankling in the town of his birth.

The mace cups were used for the third time on September 28th, 1783, and here the national motive proposed by Col. Hughes seems very adequate. The Peace of Versailles which ended the American War had been signed early in the same month.

But we are chiefly struck by the opportunities for such ceremonial conviviality missed even before the secret of the maces was apparently forgotten. If the Restoration of 1660 left Marlborough cold, the Revolution might have been sufficiently popular to warrant a health unto their Majesties in 1689. More surprising is it that none of the Duke of Marlborough's victories unscrewed the mace-heads of his titular borough. Even the *Annus Mirabilis*, 1759, found the mayor and corporation equally unresponsive.

**BUDBURY**Bradford-on-Avon,  
Wilts.

Preliminary Excavations.



Reproduced by courtesy of the *Wiltshire Times*.

*A, B, D, E, F, G, and T are excavations. C is the presumed centre of the circle. The hatchings indicate presumed "interruptions" or causeways across the inner ditch. The sites of the proposed houses are shown dotted.*

**Budbury and other sites.** Much has appeared during the autumn in the London and local press about Mr. Guy Underwood's discoveries at Bradford-on-Avon and his efforts to preserve the Budbury earthworks for proper examination before the local housing scheme invaded them. Very briefly it may be said that his efforts, gallant though they were, have failed. In the meantime, since no expert archæologist could be found to assist him, Mr. Underwood did what he could with the help of schoolboy labour. Hasty trenches were cut in the hope of proving the nature of the work and providing arguments for a modification of the building plans.

Mr. Underwood would be the last to claim any knowledge of modern scientific technique, and stratigraphical evidence is unfortunately lacking. But sherds of Early Bronze Age pottery were found somewhere in the larger of the two barrows shown in the illustration and a skeleton was apparently reached but not entirely removed. Fragments of hæmatite in the form of red ochre, mostly in its matrix of carboniferous limestone, (a stone foreign to the district), were also found in this barrow. The small one is still unproved.

From the fact that the ditch lies inside the bank it had been too hastily inferred that this circle was comparable to Avebury or Arbor Low. A more likely hypothesis now gaining ground would make the work an instance of several barrows enclosed in a single ditch (and Mr. Underwood, it should be said, would not now show, as in his plan, the northern barrow encroaching on the ditch). But if that be the explanation, the excentric position of the supposed barrows implies the former existence of others in the S.W. half of the area, now used for gardens, and cases of more than two barrows within the same ditch are at least unusual. It should be added that the ditch has been dug into in three places, but if Mr. Underwood's "interruptions" are verified, the "barrow circle" will present anachronistic features.

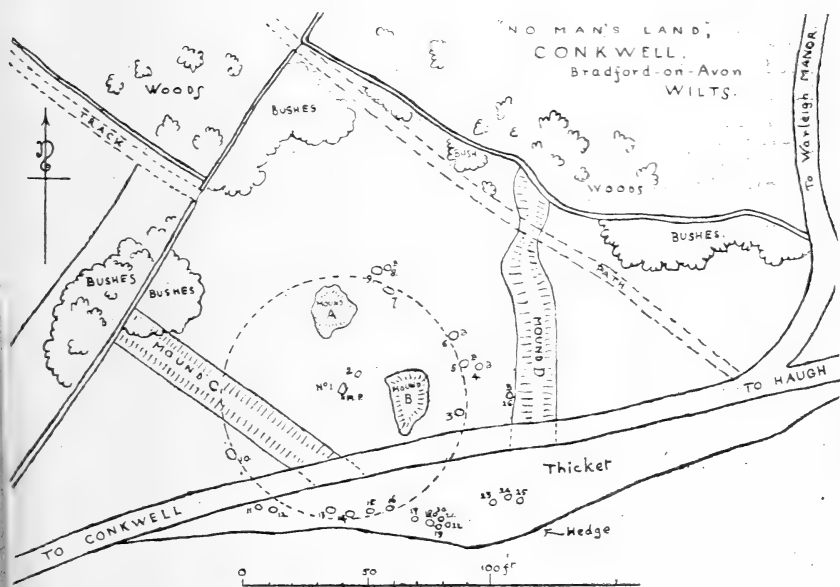
In some quarters it has been assumed that these are the earthworks which gave rise to the field-name "Bed and Bolster" recorded by Canon Jones. Mr. Underwood identifies this field with a paddock S. of Budbury Farm some 220ft. E. of his circle, and in it he finds an arc of another bank implying a second circle lying S.E. of the first and approaching within 100ft. of it. Such a feature, on the barrow circle hypothesis, is by no means improbable, but this, like the former, awaits a clear verdict. Here, in the part still visible, Mr. Underwood reports no barrow.

Barrow circles, it may be noted, will hardly explain the name *Budbury*, of which no early form connects with *beorg*. Something more *burh*-like would seem to have existed on this high ground, and for that the name Budbury should still be reserved.

The Conkwell "stone circle" is another of Mr. Underwood's discoveries, but there has been no opportunity to test it by much digging. Here again the discoverer would welcome expert assistance.

Surface blocks of the local stone are common features of the district, but it may at least be said that to the casual visitor Mr. Underwood's interpretation seems plausible. In the plan here printed, which we owe to Mr. Underwood, the stones marked B were buried; No. 1 is at the centre. Only stone No. 13 (S. of the road) still stands. It is about 5ft. high; mounds A and B rise 18ins., C and D about 3ft. They seem to complicate the problem, though a thorough examination of C might help to solve it; so far, trenching has revealed only rubble. In D, two weathered stones 5 or 6ft. long was discovered. A and B prove to be rough platforms of rock, unusual features in a circle. No pottery has yet been found, nor flints, but a few stones which may be mauls and some 'foreign' hæmatite, as at Budbury.

Mr. Underwood hopes to continue these researches at No Man's Land in the new year, with expert help if possible.



**St. Martin's Chapel, Chisbury.** The fund raised for the safeguarding of this charming example of 14th century architecture is now closed. As reported in December, 1942, roof timbers and thatch were repaired and the building secured from further immediate decay. For this purpose the Savernake Estate contributed the necessary timber



and the tenant of the farm on which it lies provided the straw. To the Society's fund the following members contributed :—

	£	s.	d.
The Rev. Canon Goddard		10	0
Mrs. Goddard		10	0
A. P. D. Penrose	2	2	0
H. C. Brentnall	2	2	0
Lt. Col. J. M. Peto	50	0	0
	£55	4	0

Of this sum £40 12s. 6d. was paid to the thatcher, whom Mr. Penrose found to do the work.

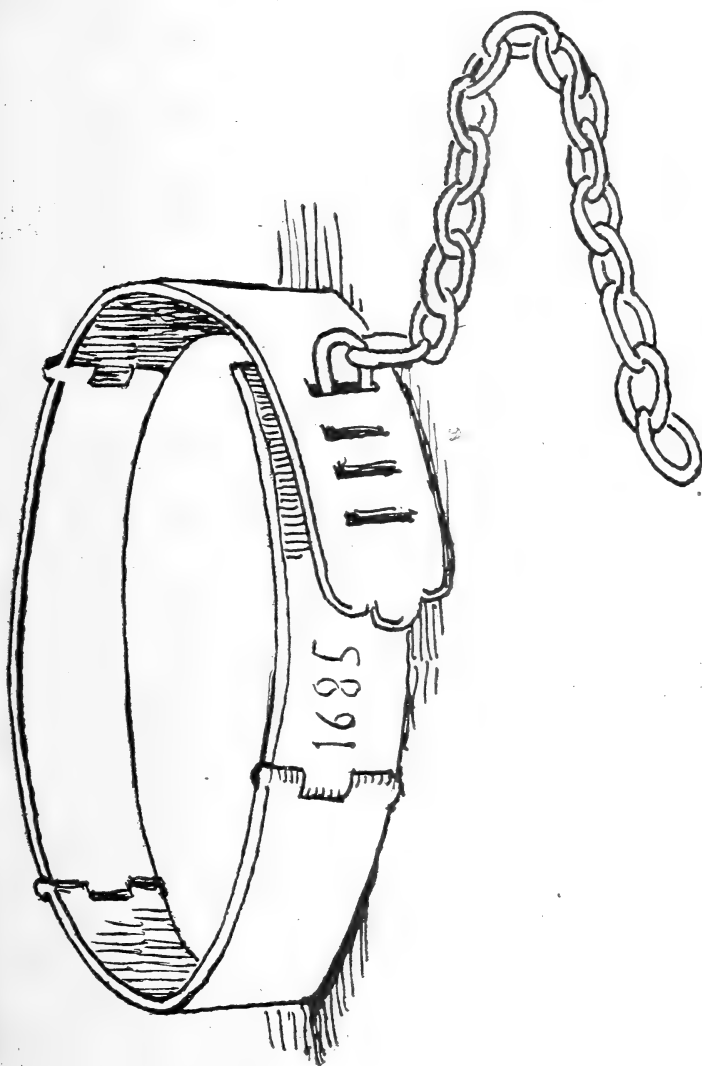
In the following winter a violent storm did some small further damage to the thatch, not serious enough to admit the weather but needing repair. All efforts, however, to secure the services of a thatcher failed. Meanwhile the tenant, in the exercise of his undoubted right, has filled the chapel, which has long been used as a barn, with hay, so that all entry is impossible. In these circumstances the Society do not feel justified in spending further sums upon the building, which is in no immediate danger. The balance of £14 11s. 6d. has therefore been refunded to Lt.-Col., now Sir Michael, Peto as the principal contributor.

H. C. BRENTNALL, *Treasurer*.

**The Jougs.** Among recent donations to the Museum is a fine example of the Jougs, kindly deposited on loan by Mr. R. Hale, of Brickfield Farm, East Coulston. It had been in his family for many years, but how it came into his possession Mr. Hale is unable to say.

Mrs. Guy Jackson has kindly made the accompanying sketch to illustrate this brief description of an old time form of punishment. It is an iron ring or collar with hinges and loops to adjust its size to the neck of the offender and had at one time a padlock and chain, but unfortunately these are missing, though Mrs. Jackson has drawn the chain to show how the implement worked. The iron collar is 1½ inches wide, has four adjustment slots, and when opened to its fullest extent is 7 inches in diameter. Round the collar is inscribed, "Samuel Jones at the Manor of Ramsbury, 1685".

In Henry Machyn's Diary, 1550—63, published by the Camden Society in 1848, is an account of how a young fellow was tied to a post in Cheapside, London, with an iron collar round his neck and whipped for "pretended visions and opprobrious and seditious words". In Scotland young persons who disobeyed their parents or otherwise offended were forced to wear the jougs. In 1574 David Leyes of St. Andrews was sentenced by the Kirk Sessions to stand at the Market Cross for two hours "in the jaggs" and then carried round the town. In 1649 a servant in Wigtown was brought before the Bench of Magistrates for raising her hand and abusing her mistress. She was sentenced to stand for one hour with the jougs round her neck,



THE JOUGS (about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).  
Inscribed on the collar: "Samuel Jones at the Manor of Ramsbury. 1685".

In a recent issue of *Country Life* there is a description of the jougs of Kilmaurs. It says "they still dangle from the walls of the Old Town Hall in the centre of the main street of the small Ayrshire town of Kilmaurs. These served much the same purpose as the stocks, more commonly seen in England, and are reported to have been last used to punish theft in 1812". An example of the jougs is to be seen in the Priory Church at Bridlington, and there are still the chain and staple in the north aisle of the Church at Wakefield that were used for fastening up persons who disturbed the service. In *Bygone England*, by William Andrews, there are many instances recorded of the use of this degrading though painless form of punishment, but this is the only example I have heard of in Wiltshire. Perhaps some of our readers may know of others.

Samuel Jones succeeded to the Ramsbury estates in the year inscribed on the jougs, but died the year after. By the marriage of Mary Eleanora Jones to Francis Burdett in 1766 the property passed into the family of its present holder, Sir Francis Burdett. The court-house of the manor, in which misdemeanants were presumably committed to the jougs, passed into other hands and was destroyed by fire about 1910.

B. H. C.

**Albino Blackbirds.** During the last four years, 1942-3-4-5, I have had a pair of blackbirds nesting in my garden hedge. Each year they have hatched two black and one white chick; this year, 1945, producing a second brood, again two black and one white.

The first two broods hardly struck me as extraordinary, but from the 1944 brood I took the white bird, put it in a cage and hung it on my motor shed, where the old bird continually fed it until it could feed itself. When it could fly, I released it and saw it about the garden for a fortnight. It was then very bedraggled and looked as if it had been through a rather rough period, so I caught it again and put it back in the cage for another fortnight. After its second release it stayed in the district until early in 1945, when it was probably destroyed by some means.

Of the first brood of 1945 I kept the white for a short while before releasing it. This one was still in the district during September. The white chick from the second brood has been given to the London Zoological Society and is in their aviary at Regent's Park.

Both parent birds are perfectly normal in colour and size, and appear quite healthy. Their usual haunts are on the outskirts of the town with houses backing on open country, principally of pasture with a few acres of arable land intermixed. The soil on which their food is obtained is greensand over clay, and the vegetation includes no abnormal features. There is a reservoir within half a mile. I give them snails during the winter months, when food is scarce.

R. B. W. CHOULES.

## WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

GENERAL SIR RICHARD HAKING, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., died at Old Mill Cottage, Bulford, on June 9th, 1945, at the age of 83. His military career began in 1881, and he was a Brigadier-General in 1914, commanding the 1st Division in 1915 and thereafter the 11th Corps in France and Italy. He became chairman of the British Section of the Armistice Commission and had charge of British troops in East Prussia and Danzig, of which city he served as Commissioner for three years. His last command was that of G.O.C. British troops in Egypt 1923—7. He was Colonel of the Hampshire Regiment and a popular figure at British Legion gatherings at Tidworth, becoming president of the local branch in succession to Colonel Heward Bell. His interest in the welfare of ex-servicemen was also manifested in his presidency of the Salisbury Plain Branch of the Old Contemptibles' Association.

Obit. *Marlborough Times*, June 15th, 1945.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM FINLAY, P.C., K.B.E., 2nd VISCOUNT AND BARON FINLAY OF NAIRN, died in a nursing home on June 29th, 1945, age 69. He had lived for over 30 years at the house he built in this county, Fairway, Great Bedwyn.

The only son of the 1st Viscount Finlay, Lord Chancellor 1916—1918, he was born October 15th, 1875, and educated at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge, where he was President of the Union. He took his degree in 1897 and was called to the Bar in 1898, joining the Northern Circuit. He was Junior Counsel to the Board of Inland Revenue 1905 to 1914, when he took silk; Chairman of the Contraband Committee 1916; Vice-Chairman of the Allied Blockade Committee 1917—19; K.B.E. 1920, and officer of the Legion of Honour and of the Italian Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. After acting as Commissioner to various Circuits he was promoted to the Bench in 1924, on which he was concerned particularly with Revenue business. In 1938 he was made a Lord Justice of Appeal. At the beginning of the present year he became the United Kingdom representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, of which his neighbour, Lord Wright of Durlley, is the chairman.

Lord Finlay has been described as a scholar with a vein of old-world culture, and his capacity for quotation in prose or verse was remarkable. But his interest in the life of the village below his garden was equally characteristic. He never willingly missed the prize-giving at Great Bedwyn School, and his addresses in the Parish Church on Maunday Thursdays were delivered with equal regularity. He was Chairman of the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions.

He married in 1903 Beatrice Marion, only daughter of E. K. Hall of Kevin, County Nairn, who predeceased him. He leaves one daughter,

the Hon. Mrs. Rosalind Mary Hayes. In the absence of a male heir the viscounty and barony become extinct.

Obits., *Times*, July 2nd; *Wiltshire Gazette*, July 5th; *Marlborough Times*, July 6th, 1945.

CAPTAIN NOEL THEODORE BARWELL TURNER, of Five Ways, Baydon, died July 4th, 1945. Born at Leeds in 1885, he went to sea as an engineer and afterwards, from 1908 to 1914 worked in the same capacity on a tea garden in Assam. During the first Great War he served in France and Belgium. Receiving a commission in 1916 in the Indian Army, he raised and commanded a Bullock Corps, which he took to the Persian Gulf. Afterwards he commanded a Mule Corps throughout the Kurdish campaign. For these services he was awarded the M.B.E. and two mentions in dispatches.

In 1930 he married, at Mosul, Miss Hussey, of Baydon, and when his wife was evacuated with all other white women and children from the country, he resigned his commission to follow her to England. Here he began poultry breeding and developed the business so successfully that his birds acquired an international reputation.

The lists of his public services and interests is a lengthy one. He served on the Parish and Rural District Councils, as school manager and churchwarden, and in numerous ways brought his special knowledge of poultry to the assistance of his county and country. He hunted, painted and studied natural history, and during the late war discharged many functions in the A.R.P. organisations of his downland village. He gathered in the course of his 60 years a wide variety of experience and generously expended his powers in the cause of his fellow men.

Obit., *Marlborough Times*, July 13th, 1945.

CYRIL RAVENHILL EVERETT, F.S.G., died July 22nd, 1945, at Salisbury, aged 76. Third son of the late Rev. A. J. Everett, formerly Rector of Sutton Veny, Wilts. Educated at Newton Abbot College. Married Edith Winifred, elder daughter of the late Rev. A. J. Clark. Besides being a skilled genealogist, he was indefatigable in his researches into the history of the Cathedral and Close. He left to the Cathedral some 100 record books embodying his results, dealing with the buildings and houses, the Canons, Vicars Choral, Church Courts and Chantries, and with the secular buildings of the city, and the early history of Old Sarum. Such was the width and detail of his work, in which his aim was to discover the past and make it more accessible, not by a *réchauffé* of other men's work but by searching the old records and making transcripts or digests of things that interested him. Another collection of his records has been left to the Library of this Society. These magnificent bequests will surely be of value to future students.

D. M.

KATHERINE OCTAVIA BUCKNALL ESTCOURT died at Porch House, Lacock, on August 12th, 1945, at the age of 92. The youngest daughter of the Rev. E. H. B. Estcourt, rector of Eckington, Derbyshire, she came of a well-known Gloucestershire family established on the Wiltshire border. Her grandfather, uncle and only brother were all members of Parliament during the last century for Devizes and North Wilts, and the last of these became Baron Estcourt in 1903, a peerage which was extinguished by his death in 1915.

Obit., *Wiltshire Gazette*, August 16th, 1945.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR ERIC CLARE EDMUND PHIPPS, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., of West Stowell House in the Vale of Pewsey, died in London on August 13th, 1945, and was buried at Alton Barnes.

Born in 1875, the only son of Sir Constantine Phipps, he came of a family with a strong diplomatic tradition. His great-grandfather, the 1st Earl of Mulgrave, was Foreign Secretary, 1805—6; his great-uncle, the 1st Marquess of Normanby, was Minister in Florence and Ambassador in Paris; his father was Minister in Brussels, 1900—1906.

Sir Eric, who was educated mainly abroad, graduated from Paris University and was afterwards at King's College, Cambridge. He entered the Diplomatic Service in 1899 and held posts abroad in Paris, Brussels, Constantinople, Rome and Paris again, with two periods of service at the Foreign Office in London. In 1912 he became First Secretary and head of the Chancery in what was then St. Petersburg, whence he went with a similar appointment to Madrid. Returning to Paris in 1916, he was promoted to be Counsellor in 1919 and, after serving at the Peace Conference, was transferred again to the Foreign Office. In 1920 he went as Counsellor to Brussels and two years later as Minister to Paris.

His first independent post was that of Minister in Vienna in 1928, where he did much to increase British prestige. He was transferred as Ambassador to Berlin in 1933, the year of Hitler's rise to power. There he saw, and duly reported, the trend which events were taking. In 1937 he was appointed to the Embassy in Paris, where he stayed till the outbreak of war, thus closing his diplomatic career in the city in which it had begun.

Many foreign decorations were conferred upon him including the Commandership of the Order of Leopold and the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. His services were particularly appreciated in France.

His first wife, Yvonne, daughter of the Comte de Louvencourt, died in 1909. He married secondly in 1911 Frances, daughter of Herbert Ward, sculptor, of Paris, and by her had four sons and two daughters. His second son, Lieutenant Alan Phipps, R.N., was killed at Leros in 1942.

Obit., *Times*, August 14th, 1945.

ERIC RÜCKER EDDISON, C.B., C.M.G., died at his home, Dark Lane, Marlborough, on August 18th, 1945.

The son of Octavius Eddison of Adel, Yorkshire, he was born in 1882, and educated at Eton and Trinity, Oxford. He entered the Board of Trade in 1906 and was private secretary to three successive Presidents from 1915 to 1929. In 1923 he became Secretary to the Imperial Economic Conference and afterwards head of various departments of the Board. During his last eight years of service he was Deputy Comptroller-General of the Department of Overseas Trade. He was awarded the C.M.G. in 1924 and, five years later, the C.B. He retired in 1938 to devote himself to the literary work which has earned him a name as a romantic and an Icelandic scholar both here and in America. He married, in 1909, Winifred, daughter of George Henderson, who, with their daughter, Mrs. Jean Higson, survives him.

Through the war, despite his delicate health, he gave much time to lonely vigils in a Civil Defence Control-room. There, while the telephones were silent, he pursued his literary labours, taking (as others, worse equipped, did not) that prison for an hermitage. To his acquaintances his outstanding characteristics were his generous helpfulness and his genuine modesty. The vigour of his fantasy he veiled from all but his intimates and the readers of his books, the chief of which are here listed:

*The Worm Ouroboros*, 1922.

*Styrbiorn the Strong*, 1926.

*Egil's Saga* (translated from the Icelandic), 1930.

*Mistress of Mistresses*, 1935.

*A Fish Dinner in Memison*, 1941 (only an American edition so far published).

Obits., *The Times*, August 24th, 1945; *Marlborough Times*, same date.

CANON JAMES CAREY, Rector of Collingbourne Ducis, died in Savernake Hospital on August 25th, 1945, from injuries received in a road accident at Marlborough four days earlier. He was 70 years of age.

He took his B.A. at Liverpool in 1897 and was ordained in 1909. After holding various curacies in and around Liverpool, he came into Wiltshire in 1911 to fill a like post at All Cannings. He became Vicar of Little Bedwyn in 1916 and Rector of Collingbourne Ducis in 1926. In 1934 he was made Rural Dean of Pewsey and in May of the present year accepted a Canonry and the Prebend of Slape in Salisbury Cathedral.

His activities were manifold, for he gave his help and guidance unstintingly to organizations in his district and the diocese, interesting himself particularly in educational matters. He was Chairman of the Managers of Tidworth Down School; Secretary of the local

sub-committee of the Voluntary Schools' Association, and for many years a Diocesan Inspector of Schools. He leaves a widow, who was Miss Robina MacMahon of Liverpool, and a daughter, Dr. Lois Leitch.

Obit., *Marlborough Times*, August 30th, 1945.

MAISIE GAY, who in private life was Mrs. Oscar Harris, died at Kingsdown, Box, on September 14th, 1945, at the age of 62.

The daughter of Peter Munro-Noble, she was born in 1883 and educated in Germany and at the North London Collegiate School. Her first stage engagement was in musical comedy at Blackpool in 1903. She arrived in the West End in 1908 and played with increasing success in many musical comedies and revues in this country and America. In 1929 she toured Australia and in 1930 began a career on the films which was cut short by ill-health. Her last appearance on the London stage was in 1932. She retired to Box, but increasing disablement confined her for the last ten years to her bed. She was able, however, in 1941 to give a series of broadcast talks to invalids, with whom her own misfortune made her especially sympathetic.

Obits., *The Times*, September 16th, 1945; *Wiltshire Gazette*, same date.

GODFREY GEORGE BECHER, Registrar of Marlborough College, died there on November 3rd, 1945, in his 60th year.

The son of J. H. Becher of Southwell, Notts, he was born in 1885 and educated at Bradfield and Trinity, Cambridge. He joined the staff of Marlborough College in 1909 and served for 30 years as Housemaster of Junior Houses. He was appointed Registrar in 1930, the first holder of that office, from which he was due to retire next year.

Obit., *Marlborough Times*, November 9th, 1945.

HENRY CHARLES SOMERS AUGUSTUS SOMERSET, O.B.E., died at Sheldon Manor, Chippenham, on November 25th, 1945. He was the only son of Lord Henry Somerset, second son of the eighth Duke of Beaufort, and Lady Isabel Somers-Cooks. Born in 1874, he was educated at Marlborough and Balliol, served in the South African War, gaining the Queen's Medal with clasp, and in the First World War as Staff Captain, receiving the 1914 Star and the O.B.E., and becoming Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He contested Croydon as a Liberal in 1906. He was a traveller, a member of the R.Y.S., and at one time a balloonist attached to the French Army. He was D.L. for Worcestershire and Herefordshire, and a J.P. for Surrey. He married, first, Lady Katherine Beauclerk, daughter of the tenth Duke of St. Albans, by whom he had two sons; secondly, Brenda, widow of the



third Marquess of Dufferin. On the death of the ninth Duke of Beaufort he became heir to the dukedom, and his elder son, Captain Henry Robert Somers Fitzroy de Vere Somerset, D.S.O., now becomes heir presumptive.

Obit., *The Times*, November 28th, 1945.

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## ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

### Museum.

- Presented by REV. CANON KETCHLEY : Encaustic tile from Braden-  
stoke Abbey.
- „ „ SQ.-LDR. N. N. E. BRAY : Examples of Iron Age pottery  
found in excavations at Broadbury, near Chisenbury.  
Bronze Age beaker from a destroyed barrow at the  
Central Flying School, Upavon. Spring of a tubular  
padlock (Roman ?) found in the same neighbourhood.
- „ „ MR. R. HALE : Iron jousgs from Ramsbury. (On loan.)

### Library.

- Presented by MR. R. D. OWEN : Act for paving, lighting . . . the  
Borough of Devizes, 1825.
- „ „ MR. W. A. WEBB : Typescript copy of Parish Register  
of Calne, 1538—1598, and extracts from Calne church-  
warden's books, 1527—1683.  
Typescript copy of Parish Registers of Poulshot, 1627  
—1812, with Bishop's Transcripts, 1596—1626.
- „ „ THE AUTHOR (MR. A. R. STEDMAN) : "A History of  
Marlborough Grammar School".
- „ „ MR. A. D. PASSMORE : "Wales and the Drovers" (P. C.  
Hughes). Pamphlet, "Blessed Margaret of Salisbury".  
"A sketch of the life of the last of the Plantaganets"  
(G. Ambrose Lee).
- „ „ MR. F. C. PITT : "History of the 4th Batt. Wiltshire  
Home Guard".
- „ „ MR. B. H. CUNNINGTON : Copies of A.R.P. handbooks  
and instructions issued during the war.  
Wages and account book of Wm. Hunt, farmer of  
West Lavington, 1726—40.
- „ „ MR. G. W. JACKSON : Many Deeds (18th century) relating  
to Devizes properties.
- „ „ REV. E. C. GARDNER : Letters, &c., relating to property  
in Marlborough (18th century).
- „ „ MR. W. H. HALLAM : "Notes on Swindon Street Names".  
MS. notes on "Wanborough Church and Parish".  
"History of St. Mark's Church, Swindon, 1845—1945".
- „ „ MR. C. BIRNSTINGL : "Search for Arms in Wilts in 1612"  
(original document, see *W.A.M.*, xlvii, 637—9).

Presented by **BRITISH RECORDS ASSOCIATION** : A collection of 80 Wiltshire documents including :—Court Rolls of Chirton, 1725—1886. Court Book of Patney, 1726—1818. Rent Books and Surveys of Manors of Lavington, Dauntsey, Lavington Rector, Chirton, Edington (all 19th century). Rent-roll of Watson Taylor estates in Wilts, 1838. Valuation of part estates of Earl Radnor in Coleshill, Shrivenham, Great Coxwell, Faringdon, Highworth, Cricklade, Malmesbury, Lea, Westport, Wootton Bassett, Market Lavington (1810). Hundred of Swanborough Court Leet and view of frankpledge presentments (1766—1840). Chirton Enclosure Act and Minute Book of the Commissioners (1800).

„ „ **THE AUTHOR** : “The Witch of Chedworth”, by J. B. Jones.

„ „ **MR. J. B. JONES** ; “The Swindon Review”, first issue, December, 1945.

Bequeathed by **MR. C. R. EVERETT** : A large and valuable collection of books and MSS., received too late for classification.

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BALANCES ACCOUNT AS AT 31st DECEMBER 1944.

1944		INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
Jan. 1.	To Balances forward from 1943 (Note : Cash and Petty Cash for both General and Museum Maintenance Funds pooled as agreed by the Committee, viz.— 2½% Conversion Stock (at cost) ... .. Consols at cost (Museum Maintenance Fund) ... .. General Fund at Bank ... .. Ditto—Petty Cash ... ..	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
				Dec. 31. By Balances as at 31st Dec., 1944 ... ..	
				2½% Conversion Stock (at cost) ... ..	47 10 0
				Consols at cost (Museum Maintenance Fund) General Fund—Petty Cash ... ..	200 0 0
				Ditto—due to Museum Purchases Fund ... ..	3 16 6
				Deficit Museum Main- tenance ... ..	3 11 4
				Surplus General Fund ... ..	50 11 6
					13 0 11
					<u>37 10 7</u>
					<u>£285 5 9</u>

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MUSEUM PURCHASES FUND.

1944		INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
Jan. 1.	Balance—General Fund Petty Cash ... .. Sale (old books) ... ..	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
				Dec. 31. Balance—General Fund ... ..	51 19 2
				Petty Cash ... ..	1 9 4
					<u>53 8 6</u>
					<u>£53 8 6</u>

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
1944	£. s. d.	1944	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. To Balance from 1943 Account	83 12 1	Dec. 31. By One-tenth of £85 14s., transferred to General Fund	8 11 5
„ Interest	2 1 11	„ Balance—Deposit Account	77 2 7
	<u>£85 14 0</u>		<u>£85 14 0</u>

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Audited and found correct in accordance with the books, vouchers and explanations given.

JAMES ORAM

19th November, 1945.

Hon. Auditor.

Treasurer : C. W. PUGH.

Financial Secretary : RALPH D. OWEN.

## THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

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CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOCIETY'S MUSEUM Part II. 2nd Edition, 1935. Illustrated, 2s. 6d. By post 3s.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT STONE MONUMENTS OF WILTSHIRE, STONEHENGE, AND AVEBURY, with other references, by W. J. Harrison, F.G.S., pp 169., 4 illustrations. No. 89 (1901) of *W.A.M.* Describes 947 books, papers, &c., by 732 authors. 5s. 6d.

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All Members of the Society are asked to give an annual subscription towards the upkeep of the Devizes Museum and Library. Both the Museum and the Library are concerned in the first place with objects of interest from this County, and with books, pamphlets, MSS., drawings, maps, prints and photographs connected with Wiltshire, and together they form one of the most important branches of the Society's Work. The Library is the only institution of the kind in Wiltshire, so far as its collection of all kinds of material for the history of the County is concerned.

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Please address to The Museum, Devizes.

Subscriptions should be sent to MR. R. D. OWEN, Bank Chambers, Devizes.

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## Wiltshire Bird Notes.

Observers in the County are invited to send their records to L. G. PEIRSON at Marlborough College, Wilts, for inclusion in the *Magazine* under this heading.

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The Society has a number of  
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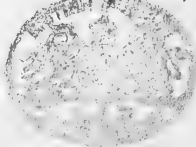
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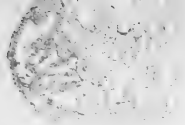
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 Archæological & Natural History  
**MAGAZINE**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
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EDITED BY  
 H. C. BRETNALL, F.S.A.,  
 Granham West, Marlborough.

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



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## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

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

The annual subscription is now under review, and will be decided at the coming General Meeting of the Society.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year* are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, MR. R. D. OWEN, Bank Chambers, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of *Magazines* should be addressed.

The Numbers of this *Magazine* will be delivered gratis, as issued, to Members who are not in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions; but in accordance with Byelaw No. 8 "The Financial Secretary shall give notice to Members in arrear, and the Society's publications will not be forwarded to Members whose Subscriptions shall remain unpaid after such notice."

Articles and other communications intended for the *Magazine*, and correspondence relating to them, should be addressed to the Editor, Granham West, Marlborough.

*All other correspondence*, except as specified elsewhere on this cover, to be addressed to the Hon. Assistant Secretary, Mr. Owen Meyrick, Thornhanger, Marlborough.

## RECORDS BRANCH.

The Branch was founded in 1937 to promote the publication of original literary sources for the history of the county and of the means of reference thereto. The activities of the Branch are now being resumed, and those who wish to join should send their names to Mr. A. H. Macdonald, Half-acre, Marlborough.

The Branch has issued the following:—

ABSTRACTS OF FEET OF FINES RELATING TO WILTSHIRE FOR THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I AND EDWARD II. Edited by R. B. Pugh. 1939, pp. xix + 190.

ACCOUNTS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GARRISONS OF GREAT CHALFIELD AND MALMESBURY, 1645—1646. Edited by J. H. P. Pafford. 1940, pp. 112.

Unbound copies of the first of these can be obtained by members of the Branch. The second is out of print.

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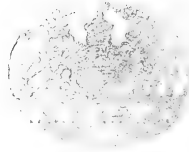
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THE  
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—Ovid.

No. CLXXXIV.

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WILTSHIRE PLANT NOTES—[7].

By J. D. GROSE.

1945 was remarkable for the very early spring and summer. Many flowers, including even late summer species, bloomed two or three weeks before their normal times. The wild roses had an exceptionally long flowering period, starting in May, a month earlier than usual, and lasting to late July. Wild strawberries and raspberries were particularly fine and plentiful. Blackberries were early, ripe fruit being picked in South Wiltshire at the end of July, but the sunless August and September delayed the main crop until the normal season. Small Broom-rape, Pyramidal Orchis and Bee Orchis flowered abundantly, and, among cornfield plants, Venus' Looking-glass and the two *Fluellens* appeared to be much more frequent than usual.

I am glad to be able to record several additions to the Wiltshire flora, the most interesting, perhaps, being *Arum italicum* found by Lt.-Col. Congreve at Salisbury, and *Teucrium Botrys* found by Mr. Peskett in company with the writer at Uffcott. In the present list I have devoted more space than formerly to confirmations of old records, and to colour-forms of common plants. These two aspects of the study of our local flora deserve more attention than they have had in the past. I am indebted to several referees who have kindly examined and named critical plants belonging to the groups in which they specialize, and to my correspondents for their notes.

Abbreviations used are :—

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| A.B.J.     | Mr. A. B. Jackson, Kew.   |
| B.W.       | Mrs. Welch, Richmond.   |
| C.D.H.     | Mr. C. D. Heginbotham, Devizes.                                       |
| C.E.H.     | Mr. C. E. Hubbard, Kew.   |
| C.R.C.     | Lt.-Col. C. R. Congreve, Salisbury.                                   |
| D.M.F.     | Miss Frowde, Colerne.   |
| F.P.       | Mrs. Partridge, Hamspray.   |
| G.H.       | Mr. G. Hazzard, Winterslow.   |
| J.D.G.     | Mr. J. D. Grose, Swindon.   |
| J.P.M.B.   | Mr. J. P. M. Brenan, Oxford.  |
| L.G.P.     | Mr. L. G. Peirson, Marlborough College.                               |
| M.C.F.     | Miss Foster, Aldbourne.   |
| M. le F.S. | Mrs. Shepherd, Lydiard Millicent.                                     |
| N.P.       | Mr. N. Peskett, Swindon.  |
| R.Q.       | The Rev. Canon R. Quirk, Salisbury.                                   |
| †          | Indicates that the plant is not native.                               |
| det.       | Signifies that a specimen has been identified by the authority named. |

*Thalictrum flavum* L. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 7, Bulford, confirming Southby's record of 1853.

*Helleborus viridis* L. var. *occidentalis* (Reut.) Druce. 5, Roche Court, E. Winterslow, G.H. 11, Still abundant at Tollard Royal, as noted by Goddard in 1888.

*H. foetidus* L. 6, Porton Camp, G.H.

*Aquilegia vulgaris* L. 2, Sandy Lane. 5, Winterslow, G.H., confirming Hussey's record of 1858. 11, Tollard Royal.

† *Delphinium Gayanum* Wilmott. 3, Oatfield, Broome Lane, Swindon, N.P.

*Berberis vulgaris* L. 3, Hankerton Field Farm. Lane near Chedglow.

*Rorippa sylvestris* (L.) Besser. 2, Cornfield, Clear's Farm, Seend. 7, Near Sharcott, L.G.P. Water-meadow near East Harnham, C.R.C.

*R. amphibia* (L.) Besser. 2, Great Somerford. Dauntsey Park. Near Seagry. 3, South Marston. 9, Near Compton Wood.

† *Barbarea intermedia* Bor. 4, Clench Common, det. A.B. Jackson.

† *B. intermedia* Bor. var. *fallax* Loret. & Barr. 1, Holt Junction, det. A. B. Jackson.

*Arabis hirsuta* (L.) Scop. 4, Rivar Down, F.P. Baydon, M.C.F. Spring Hill, Ramsbury, M. le F.S. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 7, Martinsell Hill, N.P.

† *Sisymbrium orientale* L. 3, Shaw, N.P.

† *Erysimum Cheiranthoides* L. 2, Malmesbury Common. 7, The Butts, Salisbury, C.R.C.

† *Diplotaxis muralis* (L.) DC. var. *caulescens* Kittel. 3, Rushey Platt, Swindon, N.P. and J.D.G.

† *Lepidium Draba* L. 3, Near Liddington, N.P. 7, Sling.

*L. campestre* (L.) R.Br. 2, Dauntsey. 5, Winterslow, G.H.

*Helianthemum nummularium* (L.) Mill. (*H. Chamaecistus*). Pale yellow form. 7, Giant's Grave, Martinsell.

*Viola canina* L. 8, Near Heath Wood, Grovely.

*V. palustris* L. 2, Spye Park, confirming Meredith's record of 1860. This is the only known station in North Wilts.

*Sagina nodosa* (L.) Fenzl. 2, Spye Park, N.P.

*Spergula sativa* Boenn. 1, Heddington. St. Edith's Marsh. 7, Bulford Station. This species seems to be much less common in the county than *S. arvensis*.

*Spergularia campestris* (All.) Aschers. (*S. rubra*). 2, Spye Park, confirming Flower's record of 1864. 4, Near Ashlade Firs, Savernake Forest, confirming Sowerby's record of 1888. 7, Foot of wall near the Cathedral, Salisbury.

*Montia verna* Neck. 2, Cornfield, Clear's Farm, Seend. A remarkable habitat, but I understand that the field was, until recently, part of a rough, damp heath. 9, Lake-side, Wincome Park.

*Hypericum Androsaemum* L. 9, Wood near Manor Farm, Dinton.

*Malva moschata* L. White-flowered form. 7, Fargo Plantation.

*Malva neglecta* Wallr. (*M. rotundifolia*). 6, Collingbourne Wood, F.P. Near Porton. 10, Odstock.

*Geranium pratense* L. White-flowered form. 2, Goatacre, N.P. Great Somerford.

*G. pyrenaicum* Burm. fil. White-flowered form. 2, Near Chittoe, C.D.H.

*G. dissectum* L. White-flowered form. 2, Christian Malford Halt.

*G. molle* L. White-flowered form. 2, Sandy Lane, C.D.H. 3, Old Swindon, N.P. 7, Near Sling Plantation. 8, Near Fargo Plantation.

*G. molle* L. Form with double flowers. 4, Uffcott, N.P. and J.D.G.

*G. rotundifolium* L. 8, Shrewton, confirming Roger's record of 1888.

*G. pusillum* Burm. fil. 3, Lydiard Millicent, N.P. and J.D.G. 7, Little Durnford.

† *Oxalis stricta* L. 9, Dinton.

† *Impatiens capensis* Meerb. (*I. fulva*). 1, Bank of Avon near Limpley Stoke, J.P.M.B.

*Ononis spinosa* L. White-flowered form. 3, Moredon, N.P. and J.D.G.

*Trifolium medium* L. 1, Near Gatcombe Mill. 2, Bincknoll, N.P. Wootton Bassett. Hullavington. 5, Winterslow, G.H.

*T. pratense* L. White-flowered form. 5, Near Nightwood Copse, C.R.C. and J.D.G.

*T. arvense* L. 1, Heddington.

*T. striatum* L. 2, Spye Park, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. Near Prickmoor Wood, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

*T. filiforme* L. 2, Spye Park, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 4, Ham, F.P. Near Puthall Gate.

*Astragalus glycyphyllos* L. 1, Near Isolation Hospital, Devizes, C.D.H. Lane between Weevern and Biddestone, D.M.F. 2, Near Gotshill Farm, Foxham, N.P. 3, Common Platt, N.P.

† *Coronilla varia* L. 7, Sling.

*Ornithopus perpusillus* L. 2, Spye Park, confirming Babington's record of 1839. 3, Sandy field near Coate Water.

*Vicia sylvatica* L. 4, Wood on north slope of Martinsell.

† *V. villosa* Roth. 7, Salisbury, B.W.

† *V. lutea* L. 2, Railway track, Christian Malford, N.P. The two earlier records for the county must be considered doubtful.

*Lathyrus sylvestris* L. 2, Silk Wood, A.B.J. Near Morgan's Hill, N.P. 5, Near West Grimstead, C.R.C.

*L. tuberosus* L. 4, Border of West Woods, det. A. J. Wilmott and A. B. Jackson. Not previously recorded for Wiltshire. The plant has also been reported for Winterslow to G.H., but he has not yet seen a specimen.

*L. Nissolia* L. 2, Near Swallett Gate.

*L. Aphaca* L. 5, Winterslow, G.H.

† *Prunus domestica* L. 4, Uffcott, N.P. and J.D.G.



*Agrimonia odorata* Mill. 5, Near Clarendon Lake, C.R.C. and J.D.G. 6, New Warren Farm, Newton Tony. 7, Broomsgrove Wood. 9, Near Baverstock.

*Pyrus communis* L. 2, Near Cowage Grove. Near Bincknoll.

† *Ribes nigrum* L. 2, Between Atworth and Wormwood Farm.

*Hippuris vulgaris* L. 11, Tollard Royal.

*Peplis Portula* L. 2, Webb's Wood, N.P. and J.D.G. Spye Park.

*Epilobium hirsutum* L. x *parviflorum* Schreb. 10, Stratford Tony.

*E. Lamyi* F. Schultz. 6, Southgrove Copse, det. G. M. Ash. Not previously recorded for Wiltshire.

† *E. adenocaulon* Hausskn. 4, Cake Wood, M. le F.S. and J.D.G., det. G.M.Ash. 5, Near Clarendon Lake, C.R.C. and J.D.G., det. G. M. Ash.

*E. roseum* Schreb. 3, Burderop Wood, det. G.M.Ash, confirming Miss Todd's record of 1912. 4, High Street, Marlborough, det. G.M.Ash. 5, West Grimstead, C.R.C. and J.D.G., det. G. M. Ash. 9, Dinton Station, det. G. M. Ash.

*E. lanceolatum* Seb. and Maur. Railway bank near Christian Malford, det. G.M.Ash. Not previously recorded for North Wilts.

*E. palustre* L. 2, Spye Park.

*Oenanthe crocata* L. 1, In 1944, two Italian prisoners died within an hour of eating the roots of this plant at Smithwick Farm, Rowde. In exactly similar circumstances, two French prisoners-of-war died at Pembroke during the Napoleonic Wars. Apparently the plant was mistaken for some edible species, perhaps *Apium graveolens* (Wild Celery), which, though little more than a garden escape in Wiltshire, is frequent as a maritime plant in Europe.

*Oe. Lachenalii* C. Gmel. 3, Okus, Swindon.

*Caucalis arvensis* Huds. 3, Chiseldon. 4, Near Red Barn, Salthrop, N.P. and J.D.G. 7, Wood Bridge. Wilsford.

*Galium tricornis* Stokes. 2, Hillays, Hullavington. 4, Uffcott, N.P. and J.D.G.

*Valerianella rimosa* Bast. 2, Lane between Weevern and Biddestone, D.M.F.

*Dipsacus pilosus* L. 9, River-bank near Compton Wood.

*Succisa pratensis* Moench. (*Scabiosa Succisa*). White-flowered form. 2, Near Melsome Wood, N.P. and J.D.G.

*Knautia arvensis* (L.) Coult. (*Scabiosa arvensis*). White-flowered form. 4, West Kennett. Near Old Eagle, Rockley.

*Eupatorium cannabinum* L. White-flowered form. 10, Coombe Bissett.

*Erigeron acer* L. 3, Brick-pit, Badbury, N.P. and J.D.G. 7, Sling. 10, Nunton.

† *E. canadensis* L. 2, Sandy Lane, N.P. 4, Marlborough Common. 5, Near Nightwood Copse, C.R.C. and J.D.G.

*Filago minima* Pers. 2, Spye Park.

*Gnaphalium sylvaticum* L. 2, Nash Hill.

*Chrysanthemum segetum* L. 7, Chirton. Broomsgrove Farm. 10, Near Common Plantation, C.R.C.

*Matricaria Chamomilla* L. 3, South Marston.

† *M. matricarioides* (Less.) Porter (*M. suaveolens*). A monstrous form in which many stems have coalesced laterally to produce a plant with an inflorescence 12.5 cm. across. 7, The Butts, Salisbury, C.R.C.

† *Senecio saracenicus* L. 1, Near Limpley Stoke, confirming Lockey's 1833 record, J.P.M.B.

*S. sylvaticus* L. 2, Near Chittoe. 3, Webb's Wood, N.P. and J.D.G. 4, Ham Hill, F.P. 10, Common Plantation, C.R.C.

*S. vulgaris* L. var. *radiatus* Koch. 6, Near Beacon Hill, Bulford.

*Carduus crispus* L. x *nutans* L. 11, Win Green.

*C. tenuiflorus* Curt. 2, Morgan's Hill, N.P. This is an extension of four miles from the well-known Tan Hill station; the plant may be increasing.

*Cirsium vulgare* (Savi.) Airy-Shaw (*C. lanceolatum*). White-flowered form. 3, Salthrop.

*C. acaule* (L.) Weber. White-flowered form. 2, Near Gotshill Farm, Foxham, N.P.

*Centaurea Cyanus* L. 4, Uffcott, N.P. and J.D.G. 11, Ox Drove.

† *Crepis biennis* L. 2, Ballard's Ash, N.P. Upper Town, Christian Malford. 3, Wroughton Hill, N.P. Stratton St. Margaret, N.P. and J.D.G.

† *Hieracium brunneo-croceum* Pugsley. 7, Naturalized in scrub between West Chisenbury and Enford.

*H. Lachenalii* Gmel. 2, Between Hullavington and Sherston, det. H. W. Pugsley.

*Leontodon Leysseri* (Wallr.) Wilmott (*Thrinicia hirta*). 2, Spye Park.

† *Lactuca Serriola* L. 2, Hullavington, det. A. J. Wilmott.

† *Tragopogon porrifolius* L. 5, Farley Copse, G.H. Roche Court Woods, G.H.

*Campanula glomerata* L. White-flowered form. 4, West Woods.

*C. latifolia* L. 3, Hodson Wood.

† *C. rapunculoides* L. 10, Wood on Monk's Down.

*Monotropa Hypopitys* L. 5, Near Oxenwood, F.P. 6, Near Park House, Bulford.

*Primula veris* L. x *vulgaris* Huds. 2, Hillocks Wood, Lyneham, N.P. and J.D.G. Tockenham Wick, N.P. and J.D.G. Near Webb's Wood. 5, Winterslow, G.H.

*Anagallis tenella* (L.) Murr. 2, Spye Park, confirming Flower's 1860 record. Between Spye Park and Bewley Common, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 4, Chilton Foliat, confirming Somerset's 1901 record, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

*A. arvensis* L. subsp. *phoenicea* Schinz and Keller var. *coerulea* Lüdi. 2, Hillays, Hullavington. Var. *carnea* Schrank. 4, Oare Hill, N.P.

*Samolus Valerandi* L. 2, Near Avongrove Wood, N.P. Spye Park.

*Centaureum pulchellum* (Sw.) Druce. 2, Spye Park.

*Myosotis arvensis* (L.) Hill var. *sylvestris* Schlecht. 3, Burderop Wood.

*Atropa Bella-donna* L. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 10, North border of Great Yews. This station appears to be about half-a-mile from the locality south-east of the wood, where it was found by B.W. in 1941.

† *Hyoscyamus niger* L. 4, Old Eagle, Rockley.

*Verbascum Thapsus* L. White-flowered form. 7, Sling.

*Linaria spuria* (L.) Mill. 2, Hullavington. Norton. 3, Moredon, N.P. and J.D.G. 4, Fields below Ham Hill, F.P. 6, Newton Tony. 7, Bulford. 8, Between Shrewton and Elston. South Newton. 10, Between Coombe Bissett and Stratford Tony. This species seems to be becoming more frequent.

*L. Elatine* (L.) Mill. 2, Norton. 3, Moredon, N.P. and J.D.G. 4, Ham, F.P. 10, Between Coombe Bissett and Stratford Tony.

*Scrophularia nodosa* L. var. *Bobartii* Pryor. 6, Southgrove Copse.

*Veronica montana* L. 2, Near Nonsuch. Spye Park. 3, Five Lanes, Crudwell. 4, Cake Wood, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

*V. aquatica* Benquerel. 2, Near Norton Manor. 9, West Harnham, C.R.C.

*V. agrestis* L. 3, Rushey Platt, N.P. and J.D.G.

*Euphrasia confusa* Pugsl. f. *albida* Pugsl. 11, Berwick Down, det. H. W. Pugsley.

† *Rhinanthus major* Ehrh. 2, Near Norton, det. A. J. Wilmott. Not previously recorded for Wiltshire.

*R. calcareus* Wilmott. 4, East Kennett. Milk Hill. 10, Winkelbury Hill.

*Lathraea Squamaria* L. 4, Chisbury, F.P. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 11, Larmer Grounds.

*Mentha rotundifolia* (L.) Huds. 9, Dinton.

*M. longifolia* (L.) Huds. 6, Newton Tony, det. J. E. Lousley.

† x *M. piperita* L. 3, Common Head, N.P.

x *M. gentilis* L. 6, Stream near Wilbury House, Newton Tony. This locality is about two miles higher up the stream than the Boscombe station recorded in 1939.

x *M. rubra* Sm. 7, Sling. 9, Tisbury, C.R.C.

*Origanum vulgare* L. White-flowered form. 2, Neston Park.

*Calamintha Acinos* Clairv. White-flowered form. 6, Between Newton Tony and Tower Hill.

*Salvia horminioides* Pourr. (*S. verbenaca*). 3, Moredon, N.P. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 7, Fifield.

*Nepeta Cataria* L. 9, Between Baverstock and Middle Hills.

*Scutellaria minor* Huds. 2, Spye Park, confirming Prior's record of 1839. 5, Wood near Livery, G.H.

x *Stachys ambigua* Sm. 4, Ogbourne Maizey, det. A. J. Wilmott. Not previously recorded for North Wilts.

† *Leonurus Cardiaca* L. 4, Rockley.

*Teucrium Botrys* L. 4, Chalky field between Uffcott and Fiddler's Hill, N.P. and J.D.G. Previously known only in Kent, Hants, Surrey and Glos.

*Plantago Coronopus* L. 2, Abundant in and near Spye Park, confirming Babington's 1839 record.

† *Cheropodium Bonus-Henricus* L. 2, Nash Hill, Lacock. 5, West Winterslow, G.H. 7, Between Bulford and Totterdown.

*C. rubrum* L. var. *pseudo-botryoides* Wats. 3, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S. Placed doubtfully under this variety by Mr. Brenan, but its true status is most uncertain. Further information on this remarkable plant will be published in the forthcoming Botanical Exchange Club Report.

† *Axyris Amarantoides* L. 2, Lucerne field, Norton.

*Polygonum nodosum* Pers. 3, Ashton Keynes, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. Rushey Platt, Swindon, N.P. and J.D.G. 4, Pond on Poulton Downs. 6, Newton Tony. 8, Shrewton.

*P. nodosum* Pers. var. *incrassatum* Rouy f. *stenophylla* C. E. Britton. 3, Coate, det. A.H.G. Alston and A. B. Jackson.

*Rumex maritimus* L. 3, Wroughton Wharf, N.P. The second record for the Golden Dock in Wiltshire.

*Daphne Mezereum* L. 5, Wood between Winterslow and Dean, G.H.

† *Euphorbia Lathyris* L. 5, Livery Copse, G.H.

† *Ulmus carpinifolia* Gled. x *glabra* Huds. 3, Badbury, det. R. Melville. This hybrid elm may not be uncommon in the county, but it is probably not native.

*Salix alba* L. x *fragilis* L. ♂ 3, Haydon Wick, det. R. Melville.

♀ 4, Chilton Foliat, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

*S. Caprea* L. x *atrocinerea* Brot. x *viminialis* L. ♂ 2, Bincknoll, det. R. Melville. ♀ 2, River bank near Swallett Gate, det. R. Melville. Dr. Melville tells me that these compound willow hybrids may not be uncommon, as hybrids are generally fertile and readily cross with others in their chromosome group.

*S. aurita* L. x *viminialis* L. 7, Compton, det. R. Melville.

*S. atrocinerea* Brot. x *Caprea* L. 3, Wroughton, det. R. Melville.

*Salix arenaria* L. (*S. repens* var. *argentea*). 2, Malmesbury Common. A shallow ditch has enabled this plant to escape the almost total destruction of the native vegetation of Malmesbury Common. There are now two known localities for the Creeping Willow in North Wilts.

*Spiranthes spiralis* (L.) Koch. 5, Near Winterslow, G.H.

*Orchis ustulata* L. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 8, Between Steeple Langford and Cow Down, C.R.C.

*Ophrys muscifera* Huds. 4, Ham Hill, F.P. 5, Winterslow, G.H.

*Iris foetidissima* L. 1, Potterne Wood, C.D.H. 5, Bentley Wood, G.H.

† *Ornithogalum umbellatum* L. 3, Between Purton and Lydiard Millicent, N.P.

*Juncus subnodulosus* Schrank. 3, Near South Marston, N.P. and J.D.G.

- J. bulbosus* L. 2, Webb's Wood, N.P. and J.D.G.  
*J. bulbosus* L. var. *Kochii* (F. Schultz) Druce. 2, Spye Park.  
*J. compressus* Jacq. 7, Near Patney Station.  
*Luzula sylvatica* (Huds.) Gaud. 9, East Knoyle. Wincome Park.  
 Semley Common.  
*L. Forsteri* (Sm.) DC. 10, Clarendon Woods.  
*Sparganium simplex* Huds. 7, Near Peter's Finger.  
*Arum italicum* Mill. 7, Field near the River Avon, Salisbury, C.R.C.  
 Under trees in an adjoining garden, R.Q., det. A. J. Wilmott. The occurrence of this plant in Wiltshire is unexpected and interesting. It is usually found near the sea, although the North Hampshire locality is an inland one. The habitat, also, is unusual, and it is possible that its origin may some day be traced to a wooded slope higher up the Avon or one of its tributaries.  
*Lemna polyrrhiza* L. 5, Pond in Conholt Park.  
*Butomus umbellatus* L. 3, Near South Marston, N.P. and J.D.G.  
 9, Near Compton Wood.  
*Triglochin palustris* L. 4, Chilton Foliat, M. le F.S.  
*Potamogeton pusillus* L. 3, Ashton Keynes, M. le F.S., det. J. E. Dandy and G. Taylor. The true *P. pusillus* appears to be more uncommon in Wiltshire than *P. Berchtoldii* Fieb.  
*Zannichellia palustris* L. 3, Canal between Swindon and Stratton, N.P. and J.D.G.  
*Scirpus sylvaticus* L. 2, Spye Park.  
*S. setaceus* L. 2, Between Spye Park and Bewley Common, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.  
*Blysmus compressus* (L.) Panz. ex Link. 7, Damp field near Bulford Station.  
*Carex strigosa* Huds. 2, Between Bowood Park and Sandy Lane.  
*C. pilulifera* L. 2, Chittoe. 2 and 3, Webb's Wood. 3, Lydiard Plain, N.P. and J.D.G. 9, Grovely Hill. 10, Alderbury Common, C.R.C.  
*C. pallescens* L. 2, Near Chittoe. 3, Webb's Wood, N.P. and J.D.G.  
*C. Goodenowii* Gay. 7, Salisbury, C.R.C.  
 x *C. axillaris* Good. 2, Hankerton.  
*C. Pairaei* F. Schultz. 2, Sandy Lane.  
*C. paniculata* L. 7, West Amesbury.  
*Argostis canina* L. var. *arida* Schlecht. 2, Gravel-pit between Wans House and Spye Park, det. W. R. Philipson.  
*Calamagrostis epigejos* (L.) Roth. 2, Fosse Way near Cream Gorse. Malmesbury Common.  
*Aira caryophyllea* L. 3, Rail track, Kingsdown, Stanton Fitzwarren.  
 4, Near Ashlade Firs, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 4, Barton Down.  
*Deschampsia flexuosa* (L.) Trin. 4, Ashlade Firs.  
 † *Avena Ludoviciana* Durieu. 1, Littleton Pannell, C.E.H.  
*Sieglingia decumbens* (L.) Bernh. 3, Hodson.

*Poa nemoralis* L. 1, Potterne Wood. Gatcombe Hill. 2, Chittoe. 7, Coombe. Wall-top, Salisbury, C.R.C. 9, Dinton. 10, New Hall, Bodenham.

*Glyceria plicata* Fr. 4, Chilton Foliat, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

*G. declinata* Bréb. 2, Pond near Chaddington Farm, M. le F.S., det. C. E. Hubbard. The third record for Wiltshire.

*Festuca elatior* L. subsp. *arundinacea* (Schreb.) Hack. 3, Near Clout's Wood, Wroughton, det. W. O. Howarth. 7, Between Ram Alley and Savernake.

*F. tenuifolia* Sibth. 2, Gravel-pit between Spye Park and Wans House, det. W. O. Howarth.

*Vulpia bromoides* (L.) S. F. Gray. 2, Near Chittoe. 4, Near Ashlade Firs.

*Equisetum palustre* L. var. *polystachyum* Weigel. 2, Spye Park.

*Blechnum Spicant* (L.) With. 4, Bedwyn Common. 9, Wincombe Park.

*Polystichum setiferum* (Forsk.) Woyнар. (*P. angulare*). 1, Potterne Wood. 9, Near Ferne House.

† *Azolla filiculoides* Lam. 7, Honey Street, N.P. Pewsey Wharf. This species is spreading rapidly eastwards along the Kennet and Avon Canal.

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## NOTES ON SOME EARLY IRON AGE SITES IN THE MARLBOROUGH DISTRICT.

By O. MEYRICK.

Whilst many minor earthworks have been destroyed and larger ones mutilated in the course of the war, the plough and military operations have also brought much to light, as on three of the four prehistoric sites dealt with in this paper, and it is desirable that any such evidence should be put on record.

### 1. MARTINSELL.

From Martinsell a spur runs out westward to form a narrow ridge, with the high bank and ditch (known as the Giant's Grave) of a promontory fort at the tip. At the other end of the ridge, just before it rises sharply to the hill-top camp on the summit of Martinsell, sherds picked up before the war included a fragment of furrowed hæmatite-coated pot. (The position lies in the N.E. corner of the 6in. O.S. Sheet Wilts 35 S.E., below the 900ft. contour line and is shown on Figure I).

Since then this part of the ridge-top has come under the plough, and a quantity of Iron Age A pottery has been turned up, of late Hallstatt-La Tène I type. Besides much hæmatite-coated ware (predominantly furrowed, though one cordoned piece was found), there are also fragments of black pottery with rows of punch-marks, impressed concentric circles, and incised straight lines and curves, in one case still retaining traces of white filling, and much finger-tip pottery with ornament round the rim or shoulder, well-baked and with very little grit; pieces of tanged lugs also occur. All these are counterparts of All Cannings Cross types, and one can assume that the two settlements were roughly contemporary. Both sarsen and flint hammer-stones are in evidence; iron fragments include the tip of an implement, possibly an awl. Of a very small number of casually selected bones submitted to Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson, F.S.A. and kindly identified by him, three belong to red deer, remains of which were notably scarce at All Cannings Cross. But Martinsell lies, of course, much nearer to the cover afforded by the ancient Forest of Savernake.

The eastern limit of the pottery exposed lies where the ground starts to climb steeply towards the main hill-top; to the west, stray sherds can be found on mole-hills almost as far as the Giant's Grave and well within the small outer bank that is held to be part of the promontory camp system. If it really is so, the settlement would probably serve to date the promontory fort, whose simple defences suggest some such early period of the Iron Age.

A straight ditch, now almost silted up, about 60 yards east of the site, can be traced for 100 yards or more running N.W.—S.E. across the ridge, broken only by an old chalk-pit. Excavation alone would reveal whether it can be dated to the settlement.

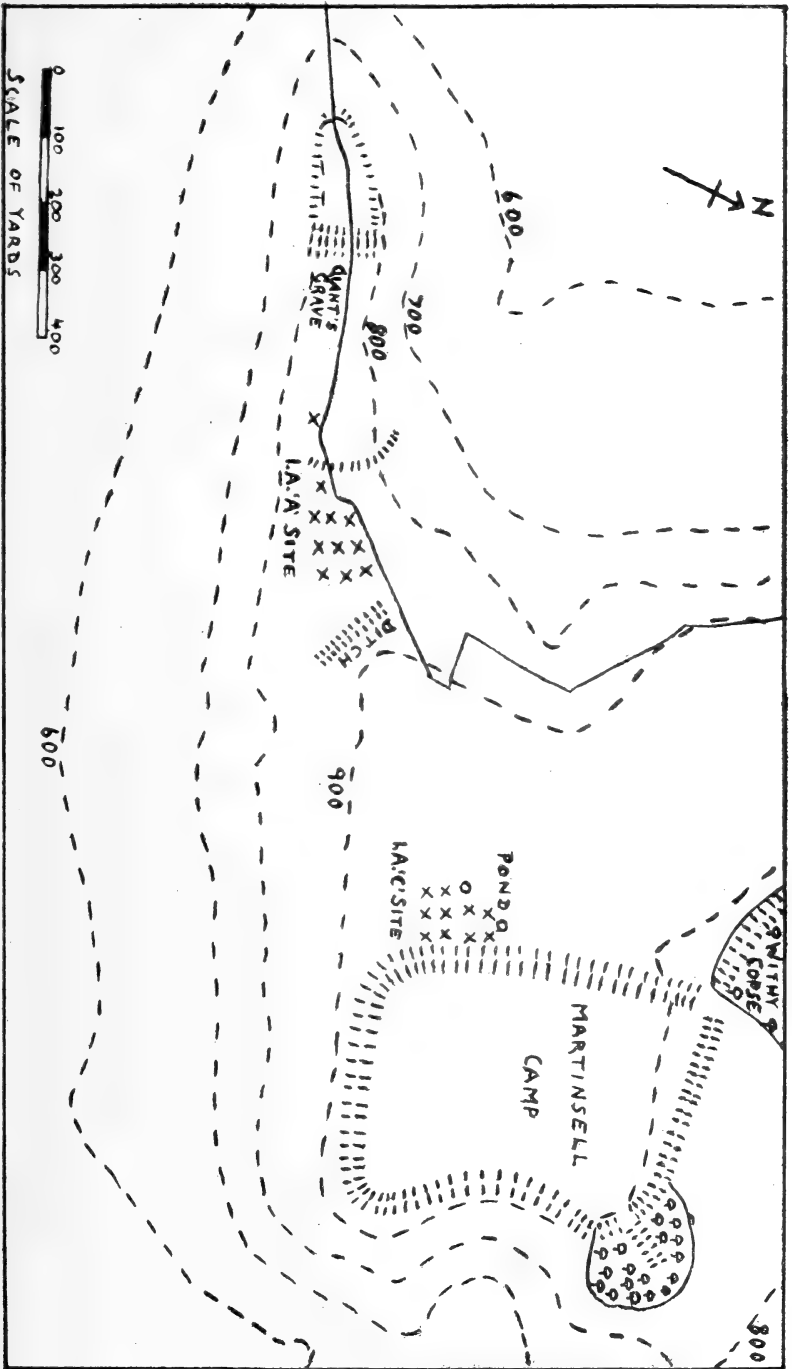


FIGURE I. MARTINSELL



No pottery of later date has been found on the site, except for a very few Romano-British sherds, one a rim of mortarium of first or second century type; these are not enough to indicate any permanent occupation, and the site seems to have been abandoned comparatively early in the Iron Age, before the coming of the bead-rim. The site then in use was on the summit of Martinsell, where bead-rim and associated wares are plentiful immediately west of the hill-top camp, between the rampart and the two adjacent ponds, and may presumably be connected with that earthwork (dug into without result by Sir R. C. Hoare) and the Withy Copse rubbish-dump.<sup>1</sup> These finds are also shown on Figure I.

## II. STANTON ST. BERNARD DOWN.

Along the south-eastern brow of the ridge known as Harestone Down, running from East Kennett Long Barrow to Wansdyke (O.S. map 35, N.W.), much Early Iron Age pottery is thrown up, in particular slightly to the east of the E. Kennett-Stanton boundary, and also south-east of the prominent round barrow on the crest of the ridge (Stanton St. Bernard 4 on Goddard's list), but also scattered between these areas, which are about a quarter of a mile apart. (See Figure II.)

Hæmatite ware is scanty and, apart from one lattice-work pattern, the only recognisable decoration is finger-tip; the vessels are mostly of coarse sandy ware, often thickly flinted, very like some of the Swallowcliffe Down pottery,<sup>2</sup> and suggestive of an Iron Age A2 dating.

At the northern end of the habitation site are also a number of sherds of Late Bronze Age type, in and about what appears to be a small rectangular enclosure, its banks so much levelled as to be barely noticeable. The position is shown on the accompanying map, on a gentle slope below the main exposure of Iron Age pottery.

A Romano-British settlement has been noted hereabouts<sup>3</sup>, and Romano-British sherds occur over much the same area, but more freely on the crest of the ridge, coins of Constantius Gallus and Valentinian I pointing to an occupation till the end of the 4th century A.D.

## III. FYFIELD DOWN.

The site on Fyfield Down a little over 2 miles N.E. of Avebury, marked on O.S. Sheet 28, N.E. as an "Ancient Village", is strewn with Romano-British sherds, but there is ample evidence of earlier habitation. A considerable amount of Iron Age A pottery is thrown up, and this includes a number of pieces of hæmatite-coated ware (one cordoned fragment among them); other sherds show irregular rows of small punch-marks and incised or lightly tooled diagonal lines; rough finger-tip ornament also occurs. The great part of the pottery is without

<sup>1</sup> *W.A.M.*, xxxvi, 125.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xliii, 59-93.

<sup>3</sup> *W.A.M.*, xlv, 193.

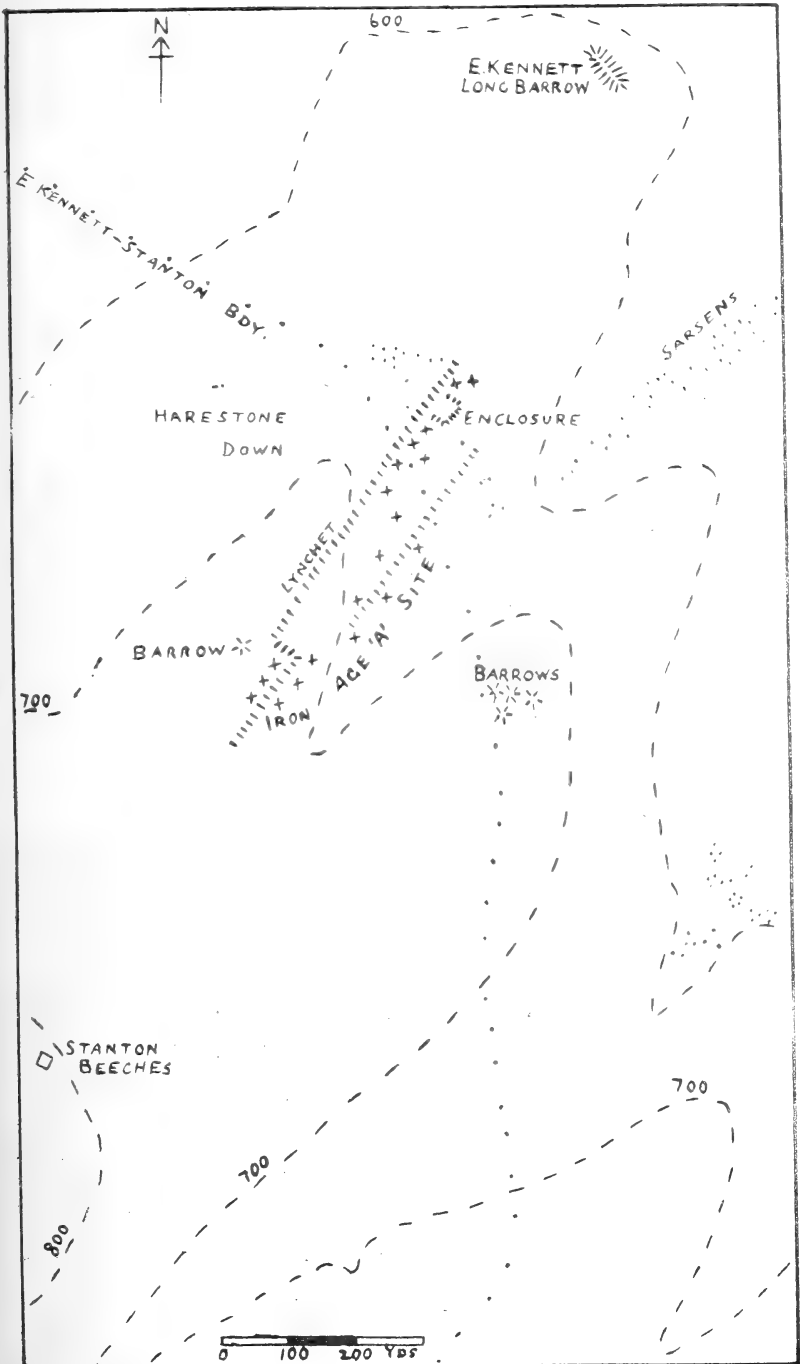


FIGURE II. STANTON ST BERNARD DOWN.

decoration, and much of it is very roughly made with large particles of flint, and is perhaps fairly late Iron Age A. Of several perforated lugs picked up, whole or broken, one at least is tanged, while another is countersunk. This appears to be a northward extension from S. Wilts of the known distribution of the countersunk handle.<sup>1</sup> Some hand-made, as well as much wheel-turned, bead-rim ware is to be found on the site.

A small bronze brooch of La Tène I type was found with the pin missing. The spring of the bow is coated with rust, and traces can be seen on the catch-plate; it is suggested that when the original pin was lost an iron one was fitted in its place. It may be noted that two similar specimens found at All Cannings Cross had rust round the spring where an iron rivet had been inserted, though the bronze pin was still intact in both cases; in the Fyfield Down brooch a bronze rod through the coils is still in place.

A large iron brooch is probably of La Tène III type; the loop crosses in front of the spring, and the catch-plate is pierced with a triangular opening. This brooch also has lost its pin.

The only hammerstones seen are of sarsen, which is not surprising on a site adjoining so thick an outcrop of "Grey Wethers".

That occupation went on through Roman times till the 4th century A.D. may be inferred from the occurrence of late roulette-notched and rosette-stamped ware.

Any attempt at excavation has been impossible under the circumstances, but diggings in the course of army operations indicate the presence of pits on the north side of the settlement.

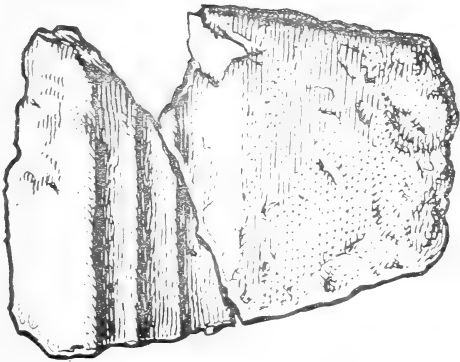
The site is shown in an air photograph in "Prehistoric Britain" by Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes as an example of the Celtic field system.

#### **IV. BARBURY CAMP.**

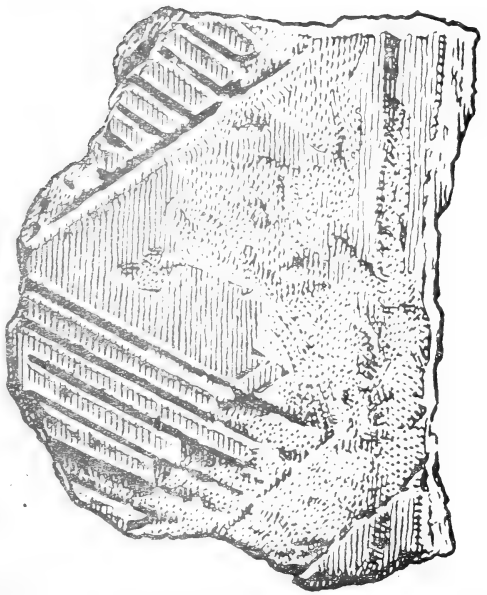
There is no record of any excavation since Colt Hoare dug on the site early last century and unearthed fragments of coarse pottery. But here again army digging has brought to light much material and apparently cut into pits several feet in depth. Of the sherds only three are ornamented, one with small stamped circles, the others with deep circular punch-marks, one showing a double row on each side of a lightly impressed wavy line of Iron Age B. type; besides these there are one or two pieces of hæmatite ware, some well-polished black-coated pottery, an incipient bead-rim, and everted rims of comparatively late type, though it is worth noting that Iron Age C pottery seems to be absent. Occupation certainly does not seem to have continued into Roman times, as there is not a trace of Romano-British ware within the ramparts, though it is found lying on the surface close outside on lower ground.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler, *Maiden Castle Report*, 210.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xlv., 199.



1



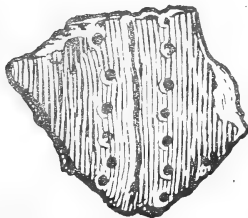
2



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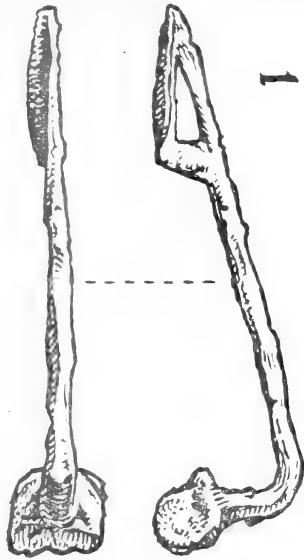
FIGURE III. †

I am indebted to Mr. D. G. King for the drawings of objects from the various sites.

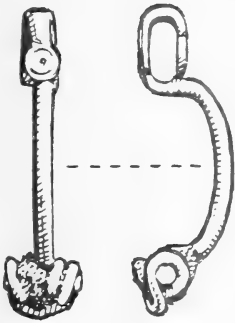
- III. 1.—Furrowed hæmatite-coated bowl. Martinsell. (This drawing has had to be inverted, thereby reversing the position of the shadows.)
  - III. 2.—Black ware, incised chevrons with white inlay, Martinsell.
  - III. 3.—Black-coated grey ware, Barbury Camp.
  - III. 4.—Incipient bead-rim, Barbury Camp.
  - III. 5.—Coarse sandy ware with finger-tip impressions, Stanton St. Bernard Down.
  - IV. 1.—Iron brooch of La Tène III type, Fyfield Down.
  - IV. 2.—Bronze brooch of La Tène I type, Fyfield Down.
  - IV. 3.—Countersunk lug, Fyfield Down.
-

# BROOCHES AND LUG

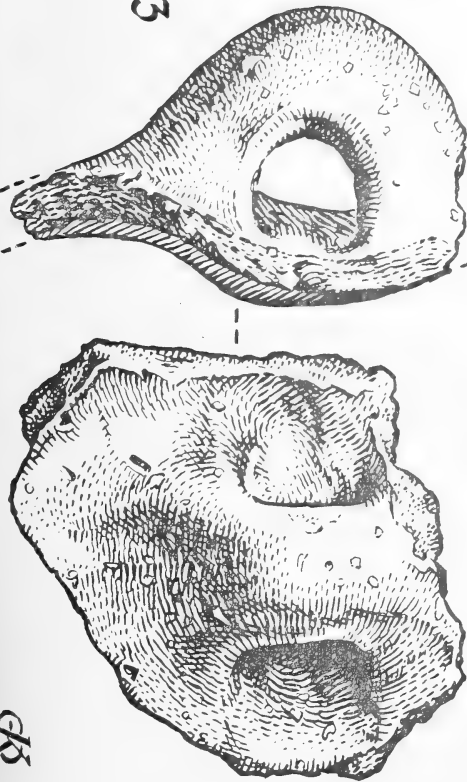
## FYFIELD DOWN



2



3



GR

## MANOR OF EAST WINTERSLOW (PART III).

By MAJOR H. B. TREVOR COX.

## SOME OWNERS OF ROCHE OLD COURT.

Sir John Roche was one of the most interesting owners of this manor. The property has borne his name for nearly five hundred years. (1467—1946; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467—77, p. 533.)

Sir W. L. Clowes in his "History of the Royal Navy" (Vol. I, p. 301) says that Roche was appointed sole Admiral of the Fleet on 31st May, 1389. (*Fr. Rolls*, 12 Ric. II, m. 4.) "Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century" (Ed. B. H. Putman, 1938), gives the following note on Roche:—

"John de Roches, Kt., of Wilts. Fought in Gascony 1379. Keeper of Marlborough Castle and Savernake Forest 1382. Admiral of the South and West by 1382. Sheriff 1390—1, Wilts. M.P. 1381—99. J.P. (regularly). J. to suppress rebels 1381—82 in Southants and Wilts (accused of too great leniency) "

Rymer's *Foedera* (ed. T. D. Hardy, 3 vols. 1865—1889) also refers to some of Roche's missions:—

June, 15th, 1351. Commission to Roger de Beauchamp, Thos. de Seymore, John Bluet, Sergeant-at-arms, John de la Roche, and Thos. de la Ryvere, Sheriff of Wilts, to provide 150 archers in Wilts. Twenty-nine similar commissions.

27th May, 1377. Safe conduct to Guy de Roche, Archdeacon and papal collector, and Guy la Bardonia, Sergeants-at-arms to the Pope, coming to pay ransom of Roger de Beaufort and John de Roche, prisoners of the Captal de Buch.

30th October, 1377. Power for John de Roches and Gerald de Meuta to treat with Peter, King of Aragon.

20th June, 1378. Power for John Nevill, the King's lieutenant in Aquitaine, Sir John de Roches and Gerald de Meuta to treat with Peter, K. of Aragon. Also with Gaston, Count of Foix, 22nd May, 1382.

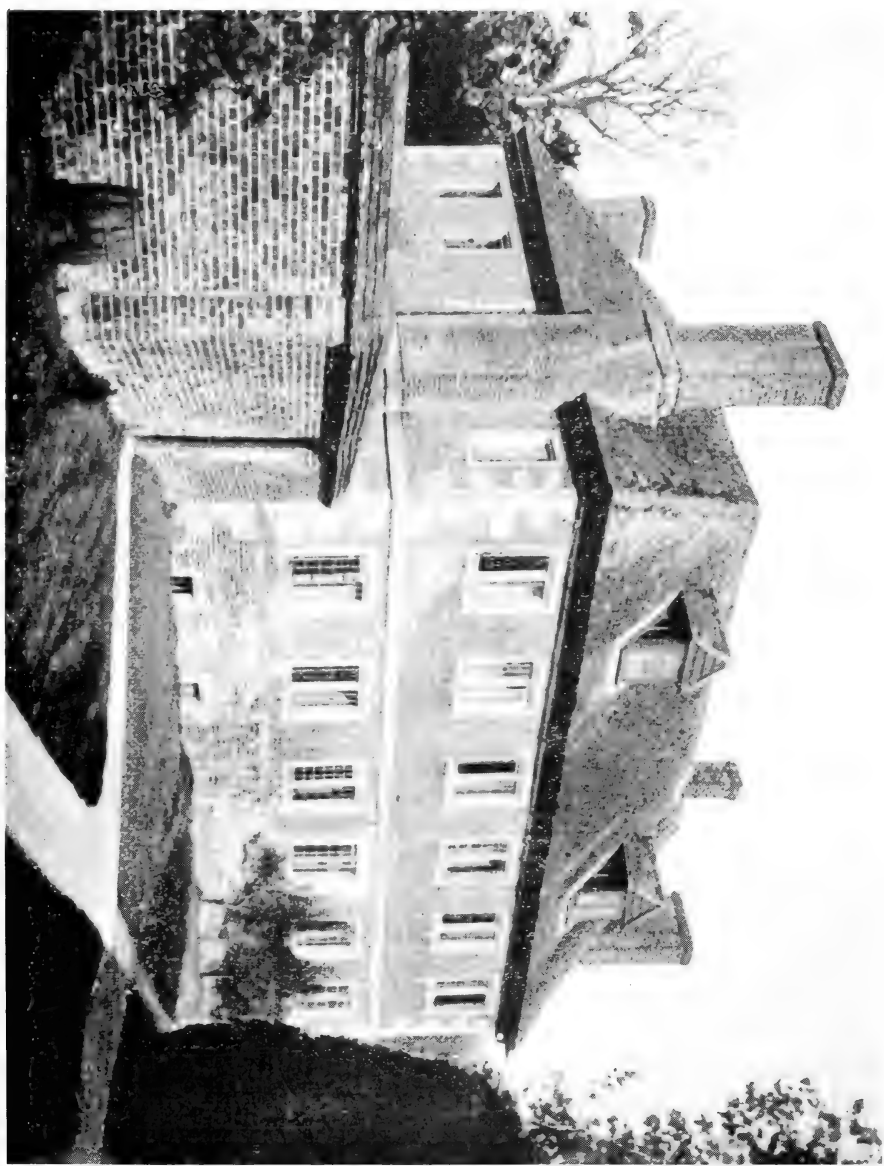
Sir John de Roches is appointed Admiral of the King's fleet from the entrance of the port of Southampton westward. (Roches Manor is about 18 miles from Southampton.)

18th January, 1382. Guy de Brien, John de Roches, Admiral of the Western Fleet, and John Philpon are appointed to provide for the passage of Joan, Duchess of Brittany, the King's sister, from Southampton.

12th December, 1382. The King orders Walter FitzWauter and John Roches, Admirals, to arrest ships for the King's passage to Calais.

October, 1377. Richard II to Pedro IV, King of Aragon.

Letter of credence for his ambassador, John de Roches, Knight, who is entrusted with the news of the King's coronation.



POUNT OVEB COURT FACI WINTERSTON





June, 1378. Letter of credence for his ambassadors, John Roches, Knight, and John, Lord of Neville, the King's lieutenant in Aquitaine. They are authorised to resume the negotiations about certain articles concerning the treaty of alliance already discussed in the previous year by the said John Roches and Master Gerald de Meuta, on the King's behalf.

Sir William Beauchamp (1410—57), Lord St. Amand, 1449, M.P. Wilts, 1447, held this manor at his death in 1457. His mother was Elizabeth Roches (d. 1447), daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Roche. Beauchamp was knighted in 1430. The King granted him the reversion of the custody of Clarendon, after the death of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in June, 1440. On Gloucester's death he became Keeper of Clarendon. This is of interest as he held the manor in fee tail in chief by the grand serjeanty of providing the King when at Clarendon Palace, four miles from Winterslow, with a barrel of claret and a cup. His son Richard was joined with him in the grant of Clarendon a year before his death in 1456.

Lady St. Amand married Sir Roger Tocotes (1430—92), a year after her former husband's death. He was on Clarence's Council and Knight of the Body and Controller of the Household 1485—92. M.P. for Wilts in 1467. Elizabeth (1409—91) was the daughter and heiress of Gerald Braybroke. Tocotes was allied with the Duke of Clarence and was charged with him with rebellion in 1470. He was with the Duke when he rejoined Edward IV and was a banneret at Tewkesbury. Tocotes was pardoned on 20th October, 1472, and was appointed to Clarence's Council in 1475. Clarence accused him in 1477 of abetting Ankaret Twynheo in poisoning Isabel, Duchess of Clarence, but he was acquitted. Tocotes was a leader in Buckingham's rising in Berkshire in 1483 and was attainted. Henry VII made him Constable of Devizes and Steward of Marlborough.

In 1475, Sir John Cheyne, K.G. (1445—99, Lord Cheyne 1487), was in possession of the Manor of East Winterslow. He was Master of the Horse 1479—83, and Knight of the Body 1485—99, a Privy Councillor in 1479 and M.P., Wilts, 1478. This manor was forfeited by Sir Robert Baynton's attainder on 12th June, 1475. Cheyne went on the King's expedition to France. Lord Howard and Cheyne were held as hostages by Louis XI; Cheyne was promised a pension by the French King. Richard III removed him from the bench in Wilts about 1484, when he was attainted after taking a prominent part in the rising in Wilts and Dorset. Henry Tudor knighted him at the landing at Milford Haven, and he fought at Bosworth. He was made K.G., Constable of Southampton, Steward of Cranborne, and a member of the King's Council in April, 1493. One of the executors of his will was the celebrated lawyer and statesman, Sir Reynold Bray. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1499, 310.)

Sir Reynold Bray, K.G. (1440—1503), held the manor on behalf of the King during the minority of Anne, daughter and heiress of Edward Trussell, whose father, Sir William Trussell, M.P. (1435—80), was a

friend of Cheyne's and had served with him in France on the King's expedition. Edward Trussell had died before 1500, and it would seem that the manor had passed to him before it was restored to the Baynton family in 1504. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 19 Hen. VII.)

It is not known how these lands came into possession of the Mompesson family. But John Mompesson (1432—1500), M.P., had a share in the Manor of Newton Tony, a few miles from Winterslow, in 1500. In 1592 Richard Mompesson and Henry Baynton, whose family held East Winterslow from 1504—79, were joint members for Devizes borough. It may be that Henry sold the manor to his colleague, whose family owned the place from 1629—1750.

It is expected that a further article will be written about the arms of the different families who held East Winterslow for the period 1189—1946, including references to the tombs, brasses and memorials erected in Bromham Church, Salisbury Cathedral and elsewhere in Wiltshire.

#### MANORIAL SERVICE.

All land was owned by the King in the Middle Ages. The services to be performed by those who held the lands on behalf of the Crown were always clearly defined. The manorial service at East Winterslow has been described in a previous article (see page 18 of this volume).

In 1327 the manor was held of the King in chief by the service of one quarter of a Knight's fee. By 1632 it had been raised to a Knight's service. The Lordship of the Manor of East Winterslow goes with the ownership of Roche Old Court and its farm lands as in Elizabeth Mompesson's time. (*I.P.M.* 16 Chas. I, Pt. 1, No. 78. This inquisition mentions the house by name.)

#### THE MANOR HOUSE.

The ground-plan of the Manor House to-day is the same as it was in the Middle Ages. Mr. Hudson Turner's book, "Domestic Architecture in the Middle Ages", shows that this was the usual layout of a capital messuage. There was a timbered hall forty feet by eighteen. At the lower end of this hall were the kitchens, housed in another timbered room forty-four feet long and seventeen wide. (This room exists to-day in its original Gothic form of 1380.) The bakehouse and brewery were at the east end of the kitchens. Beyond the upper end of the hall was a solar, thirteen feet by nine, with a cellar underneath.

The buttery, pantry and larder were on the north side of the hall and divided from it by a narrow passage. The porch was in the centre of the hall on the south side. The solar was either a low room with a minstrels' gallery above it, projecting into the hall and reached by a staircase, or a high room with an open timbered roof.

All these features are very similar to those of early English manor houses in the fourteenth century.

## WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1945.

*Membership.* Since the date of the last report the membership of the Society has increased from 363 to 401, of whom nineteen are life-members. In addition to these there are twenty-five Societies with whom we exchange publications.

*Magazine.* The two half-yearly numbers have been issued as usual in spite of the difficulties of production which still continue.

Additions to the Museum collection and to the Library have been received and recorded in the *Magazine*. Among these are valuable collections of notes, MSS. and deeds from the executors of the late Canon Manley and of Mr. C. R. Everett, and several transcriptions of Parish Registers from Mr. W. A. Webb.

*Finance.* The accounts for 1945, printed on another page, show a surplus on the General Account of £107 18s. 6d. This is almost entirely due to the amount of Income Tax recovered on covenanted subscriptions, which amounted to £104. The Museum Maintenance Fund shows a deficit of £5 15s. 6d. compared with over £50 last year, when exceptionally heavy repairs had to be done. The receipts from admission fees to the Museum were well maintained, the number of visitors being approximately 2,000.

*The Budbury Site, Bradford-on-Avon.* The Bradford-on-Avon Urban District Council having planned to erect a number of temporary houses on what appears to be a prehistoric site at Budbury, Mr. Keiller, on behalf of the Society, visited the site to see if anything could be done to protect it. He reported certain modifications of the original plan which, in his opinion, would prevent material injury to the archæological interest of the site, which could be restored when the temporary houses are removed. In view of this opinion it was decided that no further action by the Society was necessary.

*Extension of the Museum.* In the early part of the year the Society was given the opportunity to purchase the adjoining house, No. 41, Long Street, from the owner, Dr. G. H. H. Waylen, who generously offered it for £500 less than the valuation price. After full consideration of the offer and an inspection of the property it was decided to issue an appeal for a sum of £2,500, which, with the amount of the Extension Fund already in hand, was estimated to be sufficient to cover the cost of the property and the necessary alterations. The appeal was very generously supported, and the whole amount was raised by the end of the year. The purchase contract has been signed and possession of the premises is expected to be given shortly. The warmest thanks of the Society are due to Mr. B. H. Cunnington, who

undertook the work connected with the appeal and brought it to so successful a conclusion.

*Records Branch.* The Committee of the Branch met in November last for the first time since 1939. Mr. G. M. Young was elected as chairman in the place of Mr. G. J. Kidston, who had resigned. It was decided to resume publication in 1946, and to appeal to members to renew their subscriptions, and to the public generally to join the branch. It is hoped to distribute in the autumn of 1946 a volume consisting of Wiltshire deeds, mostly relating to Amesbury. Progress has been made with editing the text of the roll of Wiltshire Justices in eyre for 1248—49, and of a note-book of the Clerk of the Peace for the county for the years 1575—92. These should form suitable volumes for 1947 and 1948.

*Annual Meeting of the Society.* It was again found impossible to arrange an Annual Meeting in 1945, and the President and other officers therefore continued in office until 1946, when it is intended to hold an Annual meeting—the first since 1940.

#### MUSEUM EXTENSION FUND.

##### *List of Contributions.*

Dr. G. H. H. Waylen's generosity has already been recorded. Among others who have helped in various ways Mr. G. W. Jackson and Mr. A. Hodge, solicitors for the respective parties, should be particularly mentioned. They each agreed to remit 50% of their fees and thus contributed materially to the purpose of the fund.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Andrews, Miss P. ...	1	1	0	Borough, R. J. M. ...	1	1	0
Anonymous ...	100	0	0	Bower, J. ...	1	0	0
Anonymous ...	45	0	0	Bradford, Miss M. ...	3	3	0
Anstie, E. L. ...	1	0	0	Brassey, Lt.-Col. E....	5	0	0
Arkell, J. W. T. ...	5	0	0	Brentnall, H. C. ...	10	10	0
Arkell, Lt.-Col. J. O. A.	10	0	0	Brentnall, Mrs. ...	10	10	0
Armin, F. G. H. ...	2	2	0	Brentnall, Miss ...	5	5	0
Arnold-Foster, Mrs....	5	5	0	Brocklebank, Mrs. ...	2	2	0
Atkinson, R. J. C. ...	5	0	0	Brooke, Mrs. de Leighton	5	0	0
Awdry, Miss H. E. ...	5	0	0	Brown, Mrs. Anstice	5	0	0
Awdry, Col. R. W. ...	100	0	0	Bucknill, Miss L. M.	1	1	0
Bailey, Lady Janet...	2	0	0	Burn, Col. A. H. ...	1	1	0
Barnes, Mrs. E. C. ...	100	0	0	Buxton, Major G. J.			
Bateson, Mrs. H. S....	5	0	0	and Mrs. ...	100	0	0
Bayliffe, C. M. ...	1	1	0	Calkin, J. B. ...	10	0	0
Bell, Lt.-Col. W. C.				Canning, Col. A. ...	1	1	0
Heward ...	100	0	0	Carter, Miss C. ...	1	1	0
Benet-Stanford, Col.				Cary, Lt.-Com. N., R.N.	105	0	0
J. M. F. ...	1	0	0	Cash, Wallis ...	10	0	0
Bibbing, E. H. ...	2	2	0	Chitham, Sir Charles	1	0	0
Birley, N. P. ...	1	1	0	Chivers, Mrs. A. L....	1	1	0
Blackford, H. ...	10	0	0	Cochrane, Mrs. E. ...	2	2	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Codrington, Com. C. A.	25	0	0	Hedges, Brig. K.M.F.	5	0	0
Collett, Rev. S. ...	5	0	0	Hemp, W. J. ...	1	1	0
Cooper, R. H. ...	10	6		Henderson, Major R. K.	5	0	0
Cornwall, A. E. C. ...	1	0	0	Heneage, Miss A. ...	5	0	0
Coward, Mrs. E. ...	10	0	0	Heneage, C. W. ...	2	2	0
Craig, Capt. the Rt. Hon. C. C. ...	2	2	0	Herbert, Lord ...	25	0	0
Crichton-Stuart, The Lady ...	100	0	0	Heytesbury, Lord ...	2	0	0
Crosfield, Mrs. J. D.	5	0	0	Hill, Major H. L. G....	2	10	0
Cunnington, B. H. ...	50	0	0	Hinton, F. H. ...	1	0	0
Cunnington, Mrs. B. H.	50	0	0	Hoather, H. M. ...	1	0	0
Cunnington, Col. R. H.	10	0	0	Hollis, Sqd./Ld. C., M.P.	1	1	0
Cunnington, Miss T. H.	5	5	0	Holloway, W. G. ...	2	2	0
Cunnington, Dr. C. } Willett ... }				Hornby, C. H. St. John	10	0	0
Cunnington, Dr. } Phyllis ... }	10	0	0	Hosking, J. E. ...	20	0	0
Cunnington, Miss S.E.) Hon. Curator of the Museum (for post- ages, &c.) ...	5	0	0	Hunt-Grubbe, Com. B.	5	0	0
Curtis, Miss E. J. ...	2	2	0	Hurd, Mrs. S. F. ...	1	1	0
Dixon, B. T. ...	1	1	0	Hyde-Parker, Adm. E.	2	2	0
Dobson, Miss D. P....	3	0	0	Ingpen, A. L. ....	1	0	0
Eccles, D., M.P. ...	2	2	0	Jackson, Mrs. G. W.	5	0	0
Edwards, T. J. ...	2	2	0	Jennings, R. A. U. ...	2	2	0
Elderton, Sir W. F....	3	3	0	Keevil, Surgeon-Com. J. J., R.N. ...	1	0	0
Elwell, E. C. ...	1	1	0	Keiller, Alexander ...	100	0	0
Falkner, Brig. E. F.	1	0	0	Kempson, E. J. H. ...	1	0	0
Fellowes, C. E. ...	2	2	0	Ketchley, Rev. Canon H. E. ...	5	0	0
Fitzgerald, Col. Wilson	5	0	0	Ditto (cost of print- ing appeal) ...	6	13	10
Flower, C. T. ...	1	1	0	Kidston, G. J. ...	20	0	0
Foster, Mrs. M. C. ...	1	0	0	Lee-Ewart, W. H. ...	10	10	0
French, Brig. C. N....	5	0		Liddiard, E. ...	10	10	0
Friend, A. ...	5	0		Lucas, Mrs. A. V. ...	5	0	0
Fry, Sir Geoffrey ...	10	0	0	Lucas, Capt. T. L. ...	5	5	0
Fuller, E. H. F. ...	10	0	0	Luce, Sir Richard ...	1	1	0
Fuller, Major R. F....	100	0	0	Macdonald, A. H. ...	5	0	0
Gamble, Lady ...	1	0	0	Mackay, Major E. A.	5	0	0
Gardner, Rev. E. C.	1	1	0	Maggs, F. ...	10	10	0
Gardner, Mrs. M. E.	5	0	0	Maggs, J. H., ...	50	0	0
Ghey, S. H. R. ...	5	5	0	Malet, Col. ...	1	0	0
Gimson, H. M. ...	5	5	0	Manning, W. F. ...	5	0	0
Gladwin, R. ...	1	1	0	Marlborough College Nat. Hist. Society	20	0	0
Goddard, Rev. Canon E. H. and Mrs....	100	0	0	Mather, Miss L. ...	5	0	0
Gough, W. ...	5	5	0	Maurice, Mrs. Thelwall	1	1	0
Haden, W. Nelson ...	100	0	0	Mayo, R. G. ...	1	1	0
Hankey, Basil ...	20	0	0	Merritt, F. W. C. ...	1	1	0
Harrison-Smith, Miss M. G. ...	1	1	0	Methuen, the Hon. Anthony ...	1	1	0
				Meyrick, O. ...	2	0	0
				Moor, Miss M. K. ...	1	1	0
				Morrison, Major J. G., M.P.	5	0	0
				Morse, W. E. ...	10	10	0



## THE WARDENS OF SAVERNAKE FOREST.

By THE EARL OF CARDIGAN.

BY WAY OF FOREWORD, I should like to explain that this narrative was not, in the first instance, written for publication. It was intended as the first part of a work, ambitious in scope but designed for private circulation only, which would tell the whole story—so far as I know it—of the hereditary Wardenship of Savernake Forest. We have here an office of great antiquity, which appears to run back at least to the Norman Conquest, and which is still claimed by my father<sup>1</sup> at the present day. His right to it was admitted by the Forestry Commissioners, now lessees of Savernake, in 1938.

It seemed to me that here was a story worth putting on paper; for although the section here printed comes to an end in 1427, there has been and is an unbroken succession of Wardens, the office being passed on from father to son—or in rare instances, where the male line has failed, to a daughter and to her lineal heirs. In no case has the Wardenship, or the manor of Burbage associated with it, passed by appointment or sale into alien hands: what Richard Estormit held in the year 1083 is to-day held by his descendants.

The Wardenship has latterly, from being an important public function, devolved into something of an hereditary sinecure. The only duty which remains associated with it is that obliging the warden to turn out, when the King chances to visit his former royal demesne, and to salute His Majesty with a blast of the Esturmy horn. This ancient hunting horn, perhaps the only relic now surviving of the early Wardens of the Forest, is still kept at Savernake, and is indeed still used for this purpose when the occasion arises. It was last so used to greet King George VI in the year 1940.

The origin of this custom is, I think, self-evident. When earlier kings came to the Forest they came primarily to hunt; and they would expect to be met by their Warden with horses and hounds and with the great horn which was his token of office. The last of the Esturmays doubtless bequeathed this heirloom to his Seymour grandson. From the Seymours to the Bruces, and from the Bruces to the Brudenells, both the horn and its tradition have alike been handed down.

It is, perhaps, presumptuous of me, who am no antiquarian, to attempt the telling of a story which runs back so far into the past. I have, however, lately re-discovered numerous ancient manuscripts which have been ignored possibly for two centuries past: I have also taken full advantage of such local history as has been written by those more learned than myself. In this connection I must acknowledge my very considerable debt to Mr. H. C. Brentnall, not only for the abun-

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<sup>1</sup> The present Marquess of Ailesbury.



dant information contained in his own published works,<sup>1</sup> but also for his aid as a translator of mediæval scripts. It is due to him also (although I shall leave it to others to judge whether he deserves thanks for this) that the first section of my projected book—that dealing with the original Esturmy Wardens—is here made public.

My function so far has been simply to collate what has come to light concerning the Esturmys, and thus to establish the record of their Wardenship between 1083 and 1427. I hope eventually to do likewise in respect of the Seymours, the Bruces and the Brudenells, thus completing a story which, at the present time, spans a period of between 800 and 900 years.

### THE CONQUEST—AND RICHARD ESTORMIT.

Of Savernake Forest prior to the Norman Conquest little is known. It seems certain that it was one of many remnants of a primæval forest belt, partially cleared during the Roman and Saxon periods. The first mention of Savernake by name is made by King Athelstan in the year 934, where in a Charter he refers to certain crofts lying "alongside the woodland which is called Safernoc". The Esturmy connection with the Forest almost certainly does not go back so far: I believe that it began in 1066 or very shortly after.<sup>2</sup> The Roll of Battle Abbey is admittedly not good evidence; yet it may be of some significance that the name "Esturney" is one of those which it records.

This name—when we begin to find it in the Norman era—is variously spelled: my own preference is for "Esturmy"—but it seems that the family's Wiltshire neighbours mostly preferred the simpler version "Sturmy". Estormit is a good and early variation, and it suggests a Norman origin. Mr. Brentnall has found in a glossary of old French terms the word "estormi", for which "alarmé" or "éveillé" are the synonyms given.<sup>3</sup>

It is, of course, known that many surnames have developed out of nick-names; and it may well have been so in this case. If Richard,

<sup>1</sup> "Savernake Forest in the Middle Ages" (*W.A.M.*, xlvi), "The Metes and Bounds of Savernake Forest" (*W.A.M.*, xlix), and "Venison Trespasses" (Marlborough College Nat. Hist. Soc. Report No. 80). The first named is especially informative as to the Esturmy family.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. Maurice Adams points to a pre-Conquest "Stremius" who lived at "Stoche"; but it is more than doubtful whether the former can be identified with Sturmy, and the latter refers to Bradenstoke, not Stokke (near Bedwyn). Ward's *Hist. of Gt. Bedwyn* misled him.

<sup>3</sup> The illustration there quoted is from Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval* (c. 1175): "La Ville fut mout estormie" (The whole town was on the alert), but the word occurs at least twice in the episode of the Battle of Hastings in Wace's *Roman de Rou*. The forms are *estormir* and *estormi*. In the Norman dialect *u* tended to replace *o*, hence *Esturmy*.

the first known Esturmy, took part in the Conquest, he may have gained a name for being "estormi" or "on the alert". If he was so called, perhaps "Richard the Wary" would be a good English equivalent: it would be an apt name also for one of the Conqueror's successful followers.

Our first positive knowledge of Richard comes from the Exeter Book, a survey which ante-dates Domesday Book by three years. From this we learn that one Ricardus Estormid (or, in the next entry, Estormit<sup>1</sup>) held land near Savernake in the year 1083. Domesday Book itself (1086) is rather more explicit: here we read of Ricardus Sturmid holding Burbage, with land in other villages adjacent to the Forest. An interesting point is that he is listed among the "Servants of the King", and therefore must have held some public office.

Domesday Book tells us also that, in the reign of King Edward the Confessor (circa 1050), virtually all the land now occupied by Richard had belonged to a Saxon whose name was Aluric. It may be that Aluric was Warden of the Forest under the Saxon kings<sup>2</sup>: we see that the Esturmy family gained possession of his lands, and it is possible that in so doing they may have taken over his duties also. What is certain is that, from this time onwards, every Esturmy of whom we have adequate knowledge seems to have held sway at Savernake in the capacity of Warden or Chief Forester.

Concerning Richard Estormit (or Sturmid, or Estormid), seemingly the founder of his family's fortunes, there is much that one would like to know. What manner of man was he, and what sort of place was Burbage, where apparently he made his home? Assuming him to have been warden of the royal game preserve at Savernake, what sort of forest was it which extended over the high ground between his manor and the township of Marlborough. How did he live? Whom did he marry? How many children grew up to carry on his name?

It has to be admitted that we can answer practically none of these questions in a satisfactory way. Apart from the inference that he was "wary" or "alert", we know nothing of Richard as an individual. Of Burbage where he had property, we can only say that it was a place of very slight importance compared with nearby Bedwyn, the

<sup>1</sup> The final *t* or *d* commonly marked the Old French past participle.

<sup>2</sup> In one Domesday entry (Neweton, fol. 67d) Aluric *venator* was the holder T.E.R. of a hide that passed to Ricardus Sturmid. This seems very significant. Though the special description is lacking elsewhere, the lands formerly held by an Aluric and conferred by King William on Richard Sturmid were these: Buberge (Burbage), 2½ hides; Cuvlestone (Covesfield), 2 hides; Haredone (Harding next Great Bedwyn), 1½ hides; Neweton (part of North Newnton) 1 hide. This last was probably Rainscombe, adjacent to Sturmid's manor of Huish. The identifications are from Jones's *Domesday for Wiltshire*.

former being, as now, an undistinguished village, while the latter was already an historic borough.

From Domesday Book, we know something of Richard's possessions both in Burbage and in nearby villages; but for most people the tale of "virgates" and "carucates" is not especially informative. It seems clear, however, that his estate was considerable, that he occupied some of the land himself, and that he let off the remainder to tenants such as William of Burbage and Robert of Harden.<sup>1</sup> He also had the advantage of possessing several slaves,<sup>2</sup> one at Burbage and four at Shalbourne, who no doubt performed the functions of farm labourers.

The Esturmys will not, I hope, be blamed for employing slave labour at this period. The individuals concerned were undoubtedly the former slaves of Aluric, the unfortunate Saxon who had been dispossessed by the Conquest. The Normans did no more than take over the slaves which they found in Saxon England, and these were very soon promoted to the position of villeins. There were, I imagine, no Esturmy slaves except during the period of transition.

As to Savernake Forest, old records fortunately enable us to form some picture of it—and it is a picture very different from that of the woodland in which the Forestry Commission occupies itself to-day. If we fly over the forest now (as I have often done from my landing ground near Postern Hill), we see a well-defined area, rather like an island of verdure set in a wide expanse of open farm land. If Richard Estormit could have obtained a similar view, he would have seen the countryside of his time much less tidily arranged. Certainly there was then no central block of woodland, but instead a whole series of straggling woods and coppices, linked by wide areas of gorse or heath or downland.

Well-ordered farms would have been few and far between: indeed the greater part of the land, where it served an agricultural purpose of any sort, provided nothing better than rough grazing. Here and there perhaps the turned earth of a small holding might have been seen, where in an unfenced clearing some laborious peasant strove for an uncertain livelihood.

So far as the eye could reach in all directions, Richard would have observed these same primitive conditions. The Forest of Berkshire lay nearby; so did Chute Forest; so did Ramsbury Chase with Aldbourne Chase beyond; all these Forests and Chases, although not densely wooded, included huge areas of rough, uncultivated land. With its small Norman-Saxon population, there was much of Southern England that had never known the plough.

Geographically then, the outlines of Savernake were by no means clear-cut. In as much as it was a royal forest however—a Forest with a capital "F"—its legal boundaries were defined most strictly, as were the laws under which its inhabitants lived. It behoves us, since the Esturmy family was so intimately concerned both with the main-

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Harding. <sup>2</sup> To call them "serfs" makes their case no better.

tenance of boundaries and the enforcement of laws, to study this distinction between the geographical and legal aspects of a Forest: it was of primary importance in Norman and Plantagenet times.

Broadly speaking, a Forest was simply an area of land—not necessarily wooded—scheduled by the Crown for use as a game preserve. Within its boundaries, the Common Law of England did not apply: there was an entirely separate code, known as the Forest Law, governing the lives of its inhabitants. There were local officials, such as the Esturmys of Savernake, to watch over the Forests as servants of the Crown; and there were superior officials also, the two Guardians of the Forests, one of whom supervised all forest lands to the north of the river Trent while the other performed the same function to the south. There were, moreover, legal courts, known latterly as Eyres, which from time to time set out on circuit to try offences under the Forest Law, to give rulings as regards boundaries and privileges, and in general to maintain the royal authority over the Forests and over those who dwelt therein.

The question of boundaries was dealt with locally by means of "perambulations" made by the chief foresters—supervised as required by Commissioners or Justices—who periodically "beat the bounds", first of the individual bailiwicks into which a mediæval Forest was divided, and then of the Forest as a whole. The Esturmys, as soon as they had established their hereditary rights, must have been responsible at Savernake for the latter part of this procedure, as also no doubt for the perambulation of their own "home" bailiwick. This was named *La Verme*—in other words the Farm Baili—and lay mainly in the area north-east of Burbage.

I have purposely described the location of the Farm Baili in vague terms; for it is important to realise that neither the individual bailiwicks nor the Forest as a whole had static boundaries. Forests could be—and often were—increased in size by any king in whom a passion for the chase was combined with a sufficiency of autocratic power. They could equally well be reduced whenever public opinion, always hostile to excessive royal afforestations, was strong enough to force the Crown to make concessions.

Thus there were periods of afforestation and periods of disafforestation—by which, of course, we must not understand any process either of planting or felling trees: it was simply a matter of scheduling additional land for game preserves or of releasing land which had formerly been scheduled. Timber was affected only in so far as the Forest Law, where it operated, rigorously forbade any clearance or wastage.

Allowing for fluctuations one way or the other, it may be said that Forests in England were steadily on the increase from the Norman Conquest until about the year 1200. They retained their swollen size (which at Savernake amounted to more than 100 square miles) until about 1300 A.D. From this date onwards they were rapidly reduced, many dwindling away altogether, others remaining as restricted royal

demesnes, and only Savernake—so far as I am aware—eventually passing into and remaining in the possession of a subject.

It may seem surprising to us that the development of Forests should have met with such widespread resistance, and that their reduction should have been so keenly sought by the majority of those Englishmen who possessed influence in national affairs. (It probably surprised the Esturmys also; but they had a vested interest in Forest expansion, and so can hardly have shared the popular view-point.) The fact is that the Forest Law was found to be oppressive, designed as it was for the protection of game at the expense of the farmer and small-holder.

The economic facts, such as the valuations of old-time Forest holdings, are decidedly revealing. In our own day, I have known farmers profess to have suffered great loss through the depredations of outlying deer (not very convincingly perhaps, since the farmer is now free to kill such intruders and to retain the venison). We hear, however, of a 14th century farmer, who lived at Knowle and had a holding in the Birch Coppice area, "whereof the profit is two shillings and not more, *because it is in the Forest*".<sup>1</sup>

This unfortunate man—his name was William Russell—had as much as 120 acres of arable land, plus 6 of pasture; but he had not even the right to erect a fence to keep out the King's beasts, which no doubt fattened themselves with complete impunity upon whatever crops he may have attempted to grow. It may be that he was hard put to it, thus handicapped, to show a profit even of two shillings!

We must not however—except to note that there was some foundation for public antipathy—stray too far from the Forest as Richard Estormit knew it. This was before the great expansion had begun; and we are fortunate in having a fair idea of what the boundaries were in his time. No record has survived of a perambulation made at such an early date; but by a happy chance there is a much later perambulation on record in which a careful attempt was made to reconstruct the boundaries of "the ancient Forest". The reconstruction may not have been entirely accurate; but it has given us an approximation which we should not otherwise possess.

It would seem then that the Forest of Richard Estormit's day extended as far west as Martinsell (for simplicity, I will give the modern names rather than the ancient ones). It ran as far north as Manton and Marlborough, but without crossing the Kennet; as far east as Timbridge and Stokke, and as far south as Burbage Wharf and Durley. The boundary was fairly regular on the north and west, somewhat tortuous on the east side and quite irrational (and most difficult to follow) on the south.

The "ancient Forest" was therefore by no means enormous—amounting in early Norman days to perhaps 15 or 16 square miles. It is doubtful whether, at this stage, it was subdivided into bailiwicks;

<sup>1</sup> *Inquisitions Post Mortem, Wilts (1311).*

but if so, the western half of the area which I have described would have been known as the West Bailey. The remainder formed the nucleus of La Verme—the Farm Bailly which was the especial heritage of the Esturmys. Richard would have taken a keen, proprietorial interest in the latter area, while of course exercising a general supervision over the whole.

An important public duty no doubt fulfilled by Richard was attendance at the Forest Courts or “Eyres”.<sup>1</sup> He and successive generations of the Esturmys—if they carried out their Wardenship with proper zeal—must have appeared frequently for the prosecution, or at least “briefed” their verderers and subordinate foresters, in cases concerning the slaughter of the King’s deer or the wastage (i.e., clearance) of the King’s woodland. These were the two primary crimes.

It is often assumed that the punishments imposed by early Justices must have been of a harsh and brutal nature. This may have been so in remote times; but later it became the almost invariable custom to impose fines or other monetary penalties. This civilised expedient had one marked advantage: it was of direct benefit to the royal exchequer.

The family had also a more personal motive for regular attendance at the Forest Courts. Certain privileges had been granted to the Esturmys, and enjoyed by them from the Conquest onwards—“down from the time wherein the memory of man standeth not”; and these privileges had to be recited before the Justices, and confirmed by them, at each successive Eyre. There was, so far as we know, only one occasion in Esturmy history when this ritual was not observed—and then the omission was regarded as a most serious matter, to be rectified only by a special petition to the King!

We may be sure, therefore, that Richard was meticulous in appearing before the Justices at the appointed times, and in claiming from them the continuance of his rights. As Warden, he was entitled to the allegiance of all the foresters of fee (i.e., subordinate foresters) and to the official “equipment” of saddle and bridle, sword and horn—the traditional regalia of his office.

He also claimed “house-bote and haye-bote”, i.e., timber to repair his house and fencing. He claimed free pasturage for his domestic animals, free use of the natural fruits of the Forest (e.g., the nut crop) and the right to all wind-falls and dead wood for domestic purposes.

He claimed certain sporting rights also, enabling him to hunt the foxes, hares, wild cats and badgers. The eyries of the hawks were his—from which we may judge that he hunted the wild fowl as well as the lesser ground game.

Not least important were his rights to certain fees and perquisites. The fines levied on minor defaulters came to him—fines concerning

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<sup>1</sup> Regular circuits were made by “Justices in Eyre” as from 1176. Earlier Courts no doubt sat when so ordered by the Crown.

trespasses and the setting of cony traps. There were also fees for the "expeditation" of dogs (this being a barbarous but effective method of restraining dogs from poaching by maiming their front paws). There were fees payable for digging sand, and fees for cartage. Finally there was the valuable right to impound all cattle found straying within the Forest area.

Such, in brief, was the claim which, from one generation to another, the Esturmys made. Richard must have recited it in detail before the Justices of his day, and gone home well content when he had heard them signify their assent, secure in his privileged position as a respected servant of the King. Doubtless he rode to and from the Eyre, arrayed with the sword and the horn and the other items of equipage. Perhaps also he was followed by an armed retainer; for it was one of his conditions of tenure (I should have mentioned it earlier) to supply an armed man for duty—in effect, to maintain one Territorial soldier—"whenever the King shall require his services within the seas".

To-day Richard Estormit's "equipage" of saddle and bridle are dust: his sword is lost to us, and has perhaps rusted away. Of the man himself we have no portrait; nor has any writer left us a description of him. It is, therefore, of peculiar interest to be able still to see and handle the horn—"their great hunting horn, tipped with silver"<sup>1</sup>—which undoubtedly was that of the Esturmy family, and which very possibly was Richard's own. (The silver bands encircling it are clearly mediæval—but the instrument itself may be more ancient than its ornamentation.)

I shall not further describe here the Esturmy horn—partly because good descriptions of it already exist,<sup>2</sup> and partly because, being at present in my keeping, it can still be seen and examined by anyone interested. Its size and weight are such that Richard would have carried it slung from his shoulders, although not by the belt at present attached to it, which is considerably more recent than the horn itself. When he blew it, the Forest glades must fairly have echoed to its high-pitched, penetrating tones. The sound of it will still carry a remarkable distance. When my father blew it for King George VI, he was standing inside the entrance hall at Tottenham House, and it was found afterwards that he had set all the dogs barking in Durley, a good half-mile away!

Of Richard's house we know nothing. It is likely to have been in Burbage—although Durley would have been handier for keeping watch over the Forest. Tradition locates the Esturmys at Wolfhall from the earliest times; but I find no evidence of this until a good deal later. We do not know the name of Richard's wife; but we are fairly safe in assuming that he had a number of children, of whom the eldest boy would be called either Henry or Geoffrey. These were the two

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<sup>1</sup> Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1722, p. 126.      <sup>2</sup> E.g. Dr. Milles to the Society of Antiquaries, March 25th, 1773 (*Archæologia*, vol. 3). Basier's accompanying engraving is here reproduced,

favourite names among the Esturmys : in following their early history we find Geoffreys and Henrys alternating for some generations ; but later the Henrys predominate, and there are references to "Henry the son of Henry"—often to the great confusion of the biographer.

We do not know the date of Richard's death, which may, however, have been about 1100. As to his place of burial, we can make a reasonable guess. This was probably at Easton, where there was an ancient church (not on the site of the present structure) which fell into ruin in the 16th century : it was the seat of a Priory from 1246 onwards, but existed before that as a place of worship. We know that a number of the Esturmys were buried there, thanks to a 14th century document<sup>1</sup> (requiring candles to be burned before their tombs) and also by reference to an inscription in the present Church at Great Bedwyn. The latter occurs on the tomb of Sir John Seymour (who died 1536), and part of it runs as follows :—

"This knight . . . was fyrste buryed at Eston Priorie Church, amongst divers of his Ancestors, both Seymours and Sturmyes ; howbeit that Church being ruined, and thereby all their Monuments either whollie spoyled or verie much defased, . . . for the better Contynuans of his memory [his grandson] did cause his Bodie to be removed, and here to be intombed . . ."

This tomb, incidentally, bears a number of shields, on some of which the Esturmy arms appear. These are, in heraldic language, "Argent, three demi-lions couped Gules" : in ordinary language one would have to call them three sawn-off lions, for these curious beasts are only depicted from the waist upwards ! As the Esturmys died out so long ago, it is a rarity now to come across their arms, even in this locality where they must once have been so well known.

Were any Esturmy coffins removed with that of Sir John from ruined Easton to Bedwyn ? We do not know ; and certainly the present resting place of Richard Estormit is not likely, after so many centuries, ever to be identified. We can but garner from old records the few meagre facts known about him ; and, perhaps, "for the better Contynuans of his Memory", let imagination and inference supply some seasoning of personal details.

#### HENRY ESTURMIT : *temp.* HENRY I.

We have to wait until the year 1129 for the next reference<sup>2</sup>—and that a brief one—to the Esturmy family. Then and in the next year we hear of Henricus Esturmit paying £4 10s. for "the rent of Marlborough Forest". (It was so called at this period only, perhaps on account of some Norman prejudice against the Saxon name.) I have

<sup>1</sup> Preserved at Savernake. Richard's tomb is not specifically mentioned—and indeed records were probably not kept until after the foundation of the Priory.

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Roll.



assumed, not unreasonably I hope, that this Henry was the son and successor of Richard; for it is noted that some further money paid by him was for "his father's land".

The lapse of 43 years between the two references, the one to Richard and the other to Henry, may seem rather disturbing—since 30 years is the period normally allowed for a generation. It is quite likely however that Henry was an old man in 1129, and that it is the paucity of records that prevents us hearing of him earlier. If so, and if Richard Estormit should have been in middle life when mentioned in 1086, it would be fair to consider the two men as father and son.

What is of greater significance is to find, at this very early date, the Esturmys becoming established at Savernake, with Henry the successor to his father's land and no doubt also to his father's office. Thus they "took root", as it were, in the Forest—commencing the line of hereditary Wardens which can be traced without break from this period onwards.

It is unfortunate that we do not know more as to what land Henry Esturmit held, or as to what he received for his rent of the Forest. Already, this being the reign of King Henry I, it is probable that the afforested area was beginning to expand—and in this the Esturmys were favoured by fortune. As the Forest expanded, so naturally did their authority, their local influence and—in the long run—their material wealth.

One would like also to know more of the Esturmys as huntsmen—for huntsmen they were, either personally or by proxy. One must suppose that both Richard and Henry were called upon to provide sport for kings and courtiers during royal visits to Savernake; and (so far as I know) we have only the engravings on the silver bands of the Esturmy horn to indicate how they set about it. Here however we have a good deal of evidence: we see a huntsman mounted on a spirited steed; we see him also dismounted, with his horn in one hand and a sword, or possibly a stave, held in the other. We see a variety of hounds, some rather like foxhounds in appearance, but one at least closely resembling a greyhound. We see deer—some which are evidently fallow buck with their palmated antlers, and others with heads suggestive of the red stag. A fox is shown also, and a hare.

The indication is that the Esturmys were able to provide a great variety of sport, from plebeian coursing to the hunting of the lordly stag. Royal hunting parties naturally would have preferred the latter; but in all probability the fallow buck was their most usual quarry. It seems that there were some few red deer at Savernake from very early times, but they appear to have been imported, and their numbers sustained by importations, from the more northerly Forests. The fallow were the natural deer of the country, always present in abundance so long as the Warden of Savernake could guard them from poaching or disturbance. We know, for instance, that when King Henry VII came to hunt, he had to content himself with a fallow buck: apparently it had not been possible to harbour a stag for him.

It is interesting to note that, even in very recent times, this same tendency has been observable. In 1938, the forest was rather overstocked with some 500 deer; but even so we had to refrain from killing any red deer. They were then only just maintaining their numbers (perhaps 100), whereas the fallow were constantly on the increase, and required to be thinned out every year.

It is doubtful however whether the engravings on the old horn can be taken as precise representations of mediæval sport; for the craftsman who made them seems to have allowed himself some degree of artistic licence. He has for example, among other beasts of the chase, portrayed a unicorn—and the notion of Henry Esturmit harbouring such a quarry for his royal patrons is one that strains our imagination a bit too far!

Of Henry's private life we are again sadly ignorant; but there is a fairly clear reference to him as "Esturmy the Forester" in a fine old illuminated Pedigree of the Seymour family, completed in 1604. This Pedigree or Family Tree, at present in my care at Savernake, is a magnificent piece of work; so large that it cannot be fully unrolled in an ordinary room, and covering all Seymour connections as far back as the Norman Conquest. (Incidentally it gives an exact portrayal of the Esturmy horn—then in Seymour hands—as it appeared about 340 years ago.)

The compiler unfortunately does not distinguish between Henry Esturmit and that other Henry, surnamed Esturmi, who flourished some 30 years later. If we are to assume however the normal average of three generations to every century, it follows that the Henry of 1129 was succeeded by another of the same baptismal name. The natural conclusion is that Henry Esturmit had children, and that one of these, named after him, was his successor.

#### HENRY ESTURMI : *temp.* HENRY II.

The date at which Henry Esturmi took over the family responsibilities must remain uncertain: it is likely to have been between 1130 and 1140. What is certain is that he was firmly established by 1156, in which years we learn that "Henricus Esturmi pays a rent of £4 10s. for the Forest of Savernac". In 1158 we find him paying a like amount for "the Farm of the Forest of Savernac", and again in the years 1160<sup>1</sup> and 1162<sup>2</sup>. We must of course beware of picturing this "farm", which later developed into the Farm Bailiwick, as being agricultural in the ordinary sense. It was in reality the central portion of the Forest, over which the Esturmys had the grazing rights, together with certain other privileges.

We need not doubt that the early Esturmys were indeed considerable farmers, in addition to being guardians and administrators of the Forest; but their cultivated land must have stopped short at Durley,

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Rolls.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Rolls.

then as now a hamlet forming an outlying part of Burbage. It was the manor of Burbage which formed the true agricultural centre of the family property.

Henry Esturmi, although he lived into the reign of King Henry II, must have served many years as Warden under King Stephen's uneasy rule. There was a temporary check at this time in the expansion of the Forest: Stephen indeed made a show of releasing lands which had been afforested in the previous reign, and it is certainly unlikely that his own authority was ever sufficient to enable him to make additions.

Civil war in this reign must have made the Warden's position one of peculiar difficulty. One of the many foreign adventurers whom the war attracted (for civil strife was already a magnet to the "soldier of fortune") seized the Castle at Devizes and threatened Marlborough.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately he was outwitted by the Constable of Marlborough Castle, and his followers driven off; but there must inevitably have been great confusion and discord throughout the neighbourhood—as also, where troops were encamped, a certain carefree disregard for the current Game Laws!

We do not know how Henry conducted himself during this trying period; but it is to be hoped that he fulfilled his hereditary obligation to supply an armed man to defend the royal cause. The more settled conditions after 1154 must have come as a relief to him, so that we may picture the last years of his life being passed in peaceable enjoyment of his Forest "Farm". We hear nothing of him after 1162, and must suppose that he died during the ensuing decade.

#### GEOFFREY ESTURMY : *temp.* RICHARD I.

Of all the Esturmys, Geoffrey the son and successor of Henry Esturmi is the least well documented. The Seymour Pedigree records him as having been, like his father, "Forestarius Forestae de Sauernac"; and there is one other mention of him, in a document which however refers primarily to his son. Thus, beyond the fact that he carried on the family tradition during the latter part of the 12th century (probably from about 1170), we are sadly ill-informed about him.

This is unfortunate, since it appears to have been during the reign of King Henry II that the greatest expansion of Savernake took place. I should perhaps have mentioned the significant wording of the Patent Roll (1162) which gives us our last reference to Geoffrey's father: he is there noted as holding "the *old* Farm of the Forest". Why, just before Geoffrey inherited it, was it described as "old", when it had not been so called previously? My suggestion is that it had been expanded since 1160; but that rent was still payable in respect of the old, i.e., the original, portion of it.

I take it that the process of expansion went on all through Geoffrey's Wardenship, the boundaries being steadily advanced so as to take in one new area after another. Geoffrey Esturmy must have been closely

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<sup>1</sup> Waylen's *History of Marlborough*, p. 26.

concerned in all this; for although it was King Henry (and no doubt King Richard after him) who called for a general policy of afforestation, it was surely the Warden of Savernake who found ways and means whereby "his" Forest should go forward by giant strides to a size and importance which it had not known before.

Thus it was that, when at the end of Geoffrey's lifetime, i.e., in 1199, certain "loyal men and true" made their perambulation of Savernake,<sup>1</sup> they found the Forest stretching out its tentacles in a great circle to Collingbourne and Pewsey, East Kennet and Marlborough, to Hungerford, Inkpen and Vernham Dean. Within this area were five substantial bailiwicks, the West Baily, La Verme, Southgrove, the Broyle (i.e. the Brail woods) and Hippenscombe (covering all the eastern part). Each bailiwick now had its own forester, responsible to the Warden, except for the Farm Baily which the Esturmys administered themselves.

It would be tedious to follow the perambulation (in reality a series of perambulations) in detail; but we can scarcely omit that which encompassed the enlarged area over which the Warden personally presided. "These are the metes of the Verme"—so the record runs—"from Morley (Leigh Hill) on the east of Brayden" (i.e. along the E. side of Braydon Bottom) "to the Marlborough road: to Puttehall, and from Puttehall by the road leading to the house of the lepers at Hungerford; and so up to the water which comes from Bedewynde (Bedwyn); and so by that water to Crofton—saving (i.e. excluding) the borough of Bedewynde because it is exempt; and from Crofton to Kinwardstone" (on the Burbage—Grafton road) "and thence to Suthmere".

This "Suthmere" is interesting as a place name: we know it to this day as "Seymour" Pond, but it was clearly the South Mere long before any Seymours came into the neighbourhood. The perambulation continues "thence to the middle of Burstrete (Burbage High Street) on the east side", and so "by the road to Morley (or Leigh Hill) again".

Such was La Verme as Geoffrey Esturmy and his successors knew it during the hey-day of the English Forests, a roughly triangular area with its extremities on the Bath Road near Forest Hill, at Hungerford and at the cross-roads to the south of Burbage—in all, a goodly stretch of territory, around which the other subsidiary bailiwicks were grouped. It is doubtful, I think, whether Geoffrey himself lived long enough to attend the 1199 perambulation: more probably he died towards the end of Richard Coeur de Lion's reign, leaving a son named Henry whose destiny was to enhance still further the ascending fortunes of the Esturmy family.

#### HENRY ESTURMY: *temp.* KING JOHN.

The Henry Esturmy who succeeded Geoffrey is described in the Seymour Pedigree as having lived "in the time of King Richard and King John". It was under the latter monarch however that he especially flourished, gaining from the King a charter which for the first

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office: E, 146, Bundle 2, No. 22.

time (so far as one can judge) elevated the Esturmys to the coveted position of perpetual Crown tenants both of Burbage manor and of "the old Farm of the Forest".

I am tempted to say that Henry thus became the first Esturmy land-owner; but the word "owner" is hardly appropriate, since under the feudal system there was but one man who literally *owned* land—and that was the King. Lesser mortals were land holders, having tenancies which commonly ran on from father to son, as in fact the Esturmy tenancy had done since Richard Estormit first settled at Burbage. So far however it had been by custom only that one generation had followed another, the family aptitude for hunting and for forest management being perhaps the chief factor in maintaining the succession. Only with Henry Esturmy in the year 1200 did it become a matter of lawful right.

The position of the Esturmys at Savernake was thus immensely strengthened—so much so that, if Richard Estormit was the founder, Henry Esturmy may be deemed the consolidator of the family fortunes. This young man was lucky, in that he seems to have commenced his Wardenship at about the time of King John's accession to the throne—and King John, although he earned the ill-will of many of his subjects, was an indulgent sovereign where the Esturmys were concerned.

Within his own entourage, the King was served by one Thomas Esturmy, described as his "valet"—perhaps the equivalent of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. What relationship existed between Thomas and Henry Esturmy I have not been able to discover: they were perhaps cousins, for there were several branches of the family in different parts of England. Thomas at any rate stood high in the King's favour, for he was made a knight, this honour being accompanied by numerous gifts bestowed upon him by his royal master.

We learn that King John gave him "a scarlet robe with a cloak of fine linen; another robe of green or brown; a saddle and a pair of reins; a cloak against rain; a couch or bed, and a pair of linen sheets".<sup>1</sup> A bed, be it noted, was a thing of luxury in those days: a bed with linen sheets was therefore in every sense a princely gift!

The King must also have had some acquaintance with the Esturmys who provided sport for him in Savernake Forest. He was no stranger to the district, for as a young prince he had been lord of Marlborough Castle.<sup>2</sup> We hear of him also lodging in Bedwyn at the commencement of his reign,<sup>3</sup> and it is likely that Henry Esturmy, as Warden, may then have attended the Royal visitor.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted, without reference, by W. Maurice Adams (*Sylvan Savernake*). This writer assumes—unwarrantably as I think—that Sir Thomas was one of the Esturmy Wardens of the Forest. There is no evidence for this—and much against it. Adams rarely gave his authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Waylen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Great Bedwyn*: Rev. John Ward.

What is very evident is that Henry shared with his relative, Thomas Esturmy, the approbation of King John. The mark of it is the royal charter, still preserved at Savernake, by which the King granted to his Warden a perpetual tenure. Clear and legible after nearly 750 years, it runs as follows :

“ John by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Ministers, Constables and all his bailiffs and lieges—Greeting ! ”

“ Know ye that we have granted, and by this our Charter do confirm, to Henry Esturmy such seisin of all the land and bailiwick of the Forest of Savernake as Geoffrey Esturmy his father had therein on the day that he died, with all its appurtenances to have and to hold to him and to his heirs of us and of our heirs by the service which the aforesaid Geoffrey, father of the said Henry, and his ancestors were wont and bound to perform to our ancestors therefor ”.

“ Wherefore it is our will, and we firmly enjoin, that the aforesaid Henry and his heirs after him shall have and hold all the aforesaid land and bailiwick with all its appurtenances, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, wholly and honourably ; in wood and in plain, in roads and in paths, in meadows and pastures and in all places and things with all liberties and free customs pertaining to the aforesaid land and bailiwick as before stated ”.

The document is witnessed by two Bishops, two Earls and a number of other persons. It is given by the hands of two Archdeacons “ at Porchester, the 23th day of April in the first year of our reign ”.

Some people have supposed—and notably Mr. Maurice Adams—that this charter confirms some earlier grant made to the Esturmys by an earlier monarch. Personally, I draw no such conclusion from the words “ we do confirm ”. As I read it, King John himself was making an original grant : having made it, he confirmed it by causing his two Archdeacons (one wonders why he should have required two !) to set it down in writing. To be sure, the Esturmys *may* have had an earlier grant ; but I can find no such document, nor does King John imply that any such existed.

It is a pity that we no longer know exactly what land in fact was held by Geoffrey Esturmy “ on the day that he died ”. The officials of King John’s day no doubt had contemporary records to refer to ; for it was customary to assess a man’s property at his death, and to collect from his heir some form of “ death duty ” based on the annual value. The necessary investigation was known as an Inquisition Post Mortem ; but unfortunately no findings of Inquisitions have survived from so early a date. Henry Esturmy’s grandson is the first member of the family concerning whose property we have such an assessment.

We can only speculate therefore as to the extent of “ the aforesaid land and bailiwick ”. In addition to the manor of Burbage, my belief is that the Esturmys had at this date a wide belt of Forest land, extending from Durley across to the Bath Road : “ Sturmeysesdowne ”,

an old place name in the region of Timbridge Farm, seems to indicate this clearly. No doubt there was further property elsewhere ; but this was the core of it, destined now to pass on with the Wardenship to generations beyond Henry's imagining.

Having received his charter in the year 1200, Henry Esturmy must have felt his future assured. Soon after this date he appears to have married, for it would seem that a son was born to him in the year 1205.<sup>1</sup> Henry's wife is not known to us by name ; but we know something of her indirectly. There was a certain Sir Adam of Easton in those days, whose son Stephen became a cleric of some eminence. As Archdeacon of Wilts, the latter founded Easton Priory—an institution which the Esturmys thenceforward were zealous to support.

Sir Adam must have had a daughter also, and this lady must have been wedded to Henry Esturmy. Their son was given the name of Geoffrey—and it is through him that we are able to glean this information ; for in an old indenture<sup>2</sup> there is a reference to Geoffrey Esturmy being the Archdeacon's nephew.

The foundation of Easton Priory, by the way, seems to have had something of a civilising effect upon the Savernake neighbourhood. It is noticeable that, after Archdeacon Stephen had established it in the year 1246, various documents of local interest were drawn up, of which many still survive. The brethren of Easton, unlike their simpler neighbours, would, of course, have been well skilled in reading and writing : moreover they would have had the means of preserving such documents as their neighbours lodged with them. We know as a fact that the Esturmy family did keep certain deeds and other parchments at the Priory ;<sup>3</sup> and no doubt it is on this account that, whereas our knowledge of the earlier Esturmys is extremely scanty, I shall presently be able to give a fairly full account of those who lived contemporaneously with the Easton brethren.

Almost the last period of obscurity is therefore that which covers the Wardenship of Henry Esturmy. We do not know how long Henry lived ; but there are strong indications that he died young—perhaps not long after the birth of his son. Between 1208 and 1226 there are several references to successive Constables of Marlborough Castle being given charge also of Savernake Forest. There seems to be no reason for this, other than the premature death of the hereditary Warden : there is no suggestion of the latter having so far forfeited the King's regard as to be dismissed from office ; nor, on the succession of Henry's son, is there any hint of a pardon or amnesty being granted. The interregnum occurs, and is brought to an end, without any explanation being deemed necessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide infra* the latter's coming of age—apparently in 1226.

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence exists — dated 1316 — concerning a deed box entrusted to a certain " Brother John ".

The most natural and obvious interpretation of the facts is that Henry Esturmy died suddenly, while still a young man. His son Geoffrey being a mere child, it was, of course, needful to find some competent local official to act for him in the administration of the Forest until such time as he should come of age. The Constable of Marlborough was chosen, it seems, as a suitable person (being on the spot); and thus we find Hugh de Neville, in the year 1208; being referred to in the dual capacity of Constable and Warden.<sup>1</sup>

Henry's untimely death, after commencing his career under such favourable auspices, was tragic. It might have been more tragic, in those uncertain times, but for King John's grant to "the aforesaid Henry and his heirs after him". This royal charter served the boy Geoffrey well.

#### SIR GEOFFREY ESTURMY : 1226—1254.

Geoffrey Esturmy's childhood was spent during a confused period of history, marked by continual conflict between King John and his English subjects. The boy must have lived in Burbage with his widowed mother, for the family no doubt had a house there: its location is not known, but there is to this day a "Manor Farm" lying on that side of the village nearest to Savernake Forest—and a reasonable guess would place the Esturmy dwelling in the same vicinity.<sup>2</sup>

Ten-year-old boys are seldom interested in national affairs; yet young Geoffrey may have heard mention of the granting of Magna Carta in the year 1215. It is not to be supposed that he was much moved by the main clauses which have since made so profound an impression on the world at large. King John may have been a tyrant; but he was not viewed in that light by the Esturmys!

Magna Carta however contained two minor clauses on the subject of Forests, destined to have a far-reaching effect. Had they been promptly carried out, there would have been a huge disafforestation at Savernake and elsewhere, not only of land which had been taken into the Forests by King John himself, but also of all the areas afforested either by Richard I or by Henry II. It was fortunate for the Esturmys, and for similar families of Forest Wardens elsewhere, that the King had little inclination to carry out the reforms to which he had set his Great Seal.

Indeed the brief remainder of this unhappy reign was made notorious by King John's attempts to evade the promises wrung from him by the Barons. He succeeded—although it did not greatly help him—in getting the Pope to pronounce Magna Carta, including the King's pledges

<sup>1</sup> Close Rolls : de Neville being ordered to hang from the nearest oak anyone harming religious men or clerks !

<sup>2</sup> An I.P.M. of 1625 names 3 manors in Burbage after the families of Savage, Darell and Esturmy. *Burbach Sturmy* is so named in 1493 (*Cal. of Inq.*, 8 and 9 Henry VII.) The other two seem to correspond to East Court and West Court respectively.



as to Forests, null and void. The Dauphin of France thereupon took the field as an ally of the Barons; and soon this foreign prince was holding sway at Winchester, claiming the over-lordship both of Marlborough Castle and of Savernake Forest. Such was the position when King John died in 1216.

The affairs of England were restored—none too soon—to an orderly basis under the Regency which ruled the country on behalf of the boy King Henry III. In 1222 Alexander de Bassingeburn, being the new Constable of Marlborough, was given charge of the Forest;<sup>1</sup> but by now Geoffrey Esturmy was growing up, and could look forward to the day when he would take over his inheritance himself. The youthful heir to Savernake must have awaited impatiently his 21st birthday; for until then he could do nothing, and the Constable would continue to exercise control, appointing his own nominees as foresters and no doubt performing many other functions properly belonging to the hereditary Warden. To an ambitious youngster, the last few years of his minority must have seemed dismally slow in passing.

It was in 1226 that Geoffrey at last attained his legal manhood—a fact of which the official world at Westminster was no doubt promptly apprised. A royal edict was thereupon issued,<sup>2</sup> of which the wording is as follows:

“Henry, son of King John formerly King of England, has rendered (the Latin is *reddidit*, contrasting with the *concessisse* of the original grant) to Geoffrey Esturmy, son and heir of Henry Esturmy, the forest bailiwick of the Forest of Savernak as his right and inheritance. And it is enjoined upon all the verderers and foresters of fee of the Forest of Savernac that they be diligent and ready to do his bidding as the bailiff of our Lord the King. By witness of the King at Windsor, the 22nd day of December in the 11th year of his reign”.

King Henry evidently intended that there should be no mistake about it; for he sent a message also<sup>3</sup> to the Wiltshire authorities for their information. “And the Sheriff of Wilts is ordered to cause him (Geoffrey) to have without delay full seisin of all the said lands”.

A further message<sup>4</sup> went to Hugh de Neville, now Justice of the Forests, ordering him to make what we should term a schedule of plight in connection with Geoffrey's assumption of the Wardenship. He was to “take with him the verderers and foresters of fee and other trusty men of the Forest of Savernac, and go to the said Forest and use his diligence to see in what manner the said Forest has been kept when Geoffrey Esturmy receives it, alike it vert and in venison; and to acquaint the King of the state in which he finds that Forest”.

Finally, the Constable of Marlborough had his notification.<sup>5</sup> “King

<sup>1</sup> Patent Rolls.

<sup>2</sup> The Esturmys had a copy made (Savernake Archives).

<sup>3</sup> Same source.

<sup>4</sup> Same.

<sup>5</sup> Same.

Henry has rendered to the said Geoffrey Esturmy the forest bailiwick of Savernac to keep by his own bailiffs, the bailiwick being the said Geoffrey's hereditary demesne; and the Constable . . . is ordered to remove the officers whom he placed by the precept of the King in that Forest for the keeping of it, and allow the said Geoffrey to keep it by his own bailiffs".

With this, all concerned had been made aware both of the new Warden's accession and of the relevant action required of them. (Crown officials, we see, were commendably business-like in the 13th century!) Geoffrey, by 1227, could feel himself firmly "in the saddle"—and it was well for him, in view of the troubles impending, that it should be so.

In regard to the Forests of England, a critical period had by now set in: Geoffrey may or may not have recognised it, but the great tide of afforestation was on the turn at last. Indeed the ebb had already begun with the accession of King Henry; and so it was that the boundaries of Savernake, threatened in vain by the Barons at Runnymede in 1215, came for the first time under hostile scrutiny during the Regency with which the new reign opened.

The Regents knew well the popular hostility towards the swollen Forests; and it was they who in 1217 reiterated what King John had promised. Their "Charter of the Forests" was issued in that year, although not put into effect where Wiltshire Forests were concerned: in 1224 there was some sort of reprieve, but in 1225 the same charter was re-issued—this time with the evident intention of translating promise into action.

Geoffrey Esturmy, seeing this threat impending as he grew to manhood, must have suffered keen anxiety as to the future of his heritage. The storm did not break, as it happened, until he was safely established in the Wardenship; but then, in the year 1228, he had to face the ordeal of an investigation by a Royal Commission. His boundaries were examined, records searched, and a report at length drawn up.

"The whole bailiwick of Savernake", declared the Commission in its commendably moderate findings,<sup>1</sup> "which belonged to the ancestors of Geoffrey Sturmi and other foresters of fee of the same Forest, is ancient forest save only those woods and lands which lie north of the King's street (now the Bath Road) leading from the House of the Lepers at Hungerford towards Marlborough as far as the well of William of Putelal (mistake for Putehal, now Puthall) which is on that street, and diverging to the gate of the said William and so across the hill to the water of Kenite at Stutescombe (i.e. Stitchcombe)".

We cannot dispute the justice of this verdict: no doubt the area to the north of the Bath Road, extending as far as Ramsbury, had been lately added to the Forest in some quite unauthorised manner. This was not forest land when the perambulation of 1199 was made, and

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<sup>1</sup> Close Roll.

must therefore have been "requisitioned" in the time of King John. It is even possible that the incorporation of it, carried out by Geoffrey's father, was the means whereby the latter had earned King John's good will and approval. Now, however, it was necessary for Geoffrey to withdraw from it; and so the Forest, after its long period of increase, had to suffer this first territorial set-back.

There was nothing, of course, that Geoffrey Esturmy could do to avert the loss. The Commission, in this matter, stood on firm ground; but it proved fallible in other directions. In surveying the western boundaries of the Forest, for example, the members were led by certain plausible witnesses into committing a serious blunder—thereby giving the Warden a chance, which he had lacked before, to re-assert his own authority. It seems that a certain Henry de Luni, supported by Thomas of Kenete, persuaded the Commissioners that he had some right to Boreham Wood, an outlying covert beyond the West Woods. The latter believed his story and disafforested the wood, whereupon the graceless de Luni proceeded to cut down a part of it, to his own considerable profit.

Geoffrey, who well knew the falsity of de Luni's claim, no doubt rejoiced to find here the opportunity for action. He seems to have waited only until the Commission was out of the way, and then—we are told<sup>1</sup>—"in the same year came Geoffrey Esturmi and repealed that wood to the demesne wood of our lord the King as it was before". One would like to have seen him, "repealing" it, and sending de Luni and his minions about their business!

It is satisfactory at least to know that the wood stayed "repealed". The Warden's action was upheld, and the true facts recorded by an Inquisition held at Hungerford a good many years after the event. Geoffrey was clearly a man of strong character, although not lacking in discretion: (note his boldness in this case, compared with his prudent acquiescence over the northern boundary). It is significant that he gained a knighthood<sup>2</sup> in the course of his career—the first of the Wiltshire Esturmys, so far as we know, to be honoured in this way.

The Boreham affair was well handled; and no doubt his colleagues, the chief foresters of the various bailiwicks, supported their Warden in it with enthusiasm. It may be of interest to take the spot-light off the Esturmys for a moment, and see just who these colleagues were. They all appeared at Hungerford to back his evidence with theirs, and so we are able to list them as follows:

<i>Bailiwick.</i>	<i>Forester in charge, 1244.</i>
West Baily	John de Wyke and William de Buneclive
Southgrove	John de Forstbury
Broyle	Richard de Harden
Hippenscombe	Vacant; formerly William de Wexcumbe

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. Forest Proceedings, E. 146, 2/23.

<sup>2</sup> Seymour Pedigree, and earlier sources.

La Verme is of course omitted, for this bailiwick was the Esturmy's own. It seems curious to find two foresters sharing control of the West Bailly; but they were near neighbours if one may judge by their names, and each held land entitling him to a half-share. The present East Wick Farm gives us the clue to John de Wyke's residence; and I have an old map which shows Buneclive as being on the high ground at Martinsell (or Martinshold as it was then called). Some trace of the same name is perhaps discernible to-day in "Bunny's Copse".

The Southgrove forester's name has a familiar sound—and it is not difficult to link Forstbury with Fosbury. Richard de Harden is commemorated in the name of Harding Farm near Bedwyn; and it is no surprise to learn that his "Broyle" bailiwick was centred upon the Brail woods. As to the Hippenscombe bailly, this large area appropriately included Wexcombe, whence the late forester had taken his name. (His successor there was less distinctively known as William Venator—or in plain English, William Hunter.)

It ought not to be forgotten, when speaking of Forest affairs, that men such as these formed a team under Esturmy leadership, and that the administration of the Forest was carried on by their joint endeavours. It seems on the whole to have been a harmonious team: only once in 800 years do we find the Warden and his foresters at enmity.

With the Charter of the Forests promulgated at the very commencement of Sir Geoffrey's Wardenship, it might be supposed that he and his Foresters had to suffer a whole series of visitations from Commissioners. We know that—whatever the Commission of 1228 may have said—the greater part of the region under Esturmy control was *not* "ancient forest" at all: there had been continual additions ever since the time of Richard Estormit, and the area to the north of the Bath Road was merely the most recent of them. It would have been logical to disafforest a great deal of ground in addition to this.

We do not know whether the Commissioners became discouraged after the "repeal" of Boreham Wood: more probably, as the young King grew up, he developed the royal fondness for sport: perhaps also he valued the absolute control which the Forest Law gave him over large tracts of his kingdom. His Finance Minister, remembering the profitable fines imposed by the Eyre Justices, may also have shown reluctance to see the Charter of the Forests rigorously applied. It is at any rate a fact that Sir Geoffrey was not troubled by further visitations, and that the boundaries of Savernake suffered, for the time at least, no further curtailment.

It may have been shortly after the Boreham affair that Sir Geoffrey Esturmy, now a young man in his early twenties, turned his thoughts to matrimony. His bride was a lady named Matilda Bemynges<sup>1</sup>—presumably of a local family, since in those days there were few facilities

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<sup>1</sup> So called in an Indenture (Savernake Archives). The Seymour Pedigree mentions this lady, but mis-names her.

for doing one's courting at a distance. She gave him what he must greatly have desired—a son and heir.

Of the Warden's day-to-day business at Savernake we get occasional glimpses during this period. Some red deer were sent to him from the Peak Forest in 1238, evidently in the hope that he would be able to build up his local herd and so provide more varied sport. There was of course no anxiety about the fallow : in 1227 the King had sent his buck-hounds,<sup>1</sup> with Richard Pincun his huntsman in charge of them, to kill off 30 bucks, the venison of which Geoffrey had to have salted and kept for the royal table. That such a number could be killed in this one season is evidence that the Forest was well stocked with them.

Of this abundance, much no doubt was due to the Warden's care in preventing any poaching or disturbance. He seems to have been especially strict in enforcing observance of the "fence month" : this was the period in midsummer when the fawns appeared, and when it was most important that the does should be left in peace. During the fence month of 1236, we know that he seized and locked up two men whom he found—unlawfully as he thought—in the Forest.<sup>2</sup> Actually they had been sent by the Prior of St. Margaret in Marlborough to get thorns for the Priory hedges, as they were entitled to do, and so he had subsequently to release them. The incident shows, none the less, that he was very much alive to what went on under his jurisdiction.

As he grew older, Sir Geoffrey began to give more thought to religious matters, perhaps inspired thereto by his worthy uncle Stephen. Compared with certain later members of the Esturmy family, one would hardly have thought that he had much cause for anxiety as to his destination in the next world ; but he was of a God-fearing nature, as will be seen from a grant which he made to the newly-founded Priory at Easton. The document in question<sup>3</sup> is undated, but the names of the witnesses suggest 1250 as a possible date for it. The good Archdeacon had then only recently established his Trinitarian Hospital<sup>4</sup> ; and perhaps it was not yet very well endowed.

"For all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing comes", the grant commences, "G. Esturmy (prays) health eternal in the Lord. Know that I, from contemplation of the Truth and for the Salvation of my Soul and the Souls of my Ancestors, have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to God and the Blessed Mary and the hospital of Eston and the brothers serving God in that place, fifty acres of my Wood in Savernac . . . in frank and firm and perpetual almain".

The document goes on to enjoin that the brethren of Easton are to have free access to the wood at all times, "without molestation by the

<sup>1</sup> Liberate Rolls.

<sup>2</sup> Close Rolls.

<sup>3</sup> Still extant at Savernake.

<sup>4</sup> He appears to have died immediately afterwards (1246).

foresters". They are to have full common of pasture for their beasts of every kind in "Savernac. And I and my heirs", declares Sir Geoffrey, "will guarantee the said wood with all its liberties and appurtenances to the said hospital and brethren against all people. And to this end let my gift and grant be ratified and firmly abide . . .".

It is pleasant to find that in the next century there was still a wood near Leigh Hill known as "the Prior of Eston's wood", and that indeed a part of the Forest is to this day identifiable as "Priory Wood". Less edifying perhaps is the reflection that, when the Dissolution of the Monasteries eventually took place, one of Sir Geoffrey's remote heirs was among those profiting hugely thereby. (This impious product of the 16th century was however a Seymour!)

Of Sir Geoffrey's own piety, the wording of his charter leaves no doubt. Possibly he already felt that he would not live to a great age—and in fact he was still in middle life when, in the year 1254, he died. He and Matilda had named their son after the child's grandfather; and thus it was another Henry Esturmy who duly succeeded both to the Wardenship and to the family property associated with it.<sup>1</sup>

#### SIR HENRY ESTURMY : 1254—1295.

The new Warden of Savernake was destined to enjoy a long tenure of office. Gaining his inheritance in 1254, Henry Esturmy had charge of the Forest for more than 40 years—very nearly seeing the 13th century out. When he succeeded his father, it would appear that, although young, he was already a married man; his wife's name was Alina—but beyond this we know of her only that she presented him with a son, to whom the traditional name of Henry was again given. (In all probability there were other small Esturmys; but of their names we are not informed.)

Concerning the family lands at Savernake, we have at this period much fuller knowledge. An Inquisition tells us what property the senior Henry (Henry de Stormy it elects to call him) was able to leave at his death to Henry junior; and it happens that we also know what passed from father to son by gift at an earlier date.

Looking first of all at the original family estate, we find as expected the manor of "Borbach", together with the subsidiary properties (or "members") of "Durleygh" and "Couelesfeld". Henry Esturmy had likewise "the bailiwick of the Forest"—and we are free to speculate as to how much that implied. It was worth only 40 shillings per annum to him, as against the annual £10 value of the manor of Burbage—so that perhaps the reference is to the perquisites, grazing rights, etc., enjoyed by the Esturmys in the Forest area. Some woodland must have been included also (Sir Geoffrey proved that by being able to present the Church with 50 acres).

All this was held by Henry "of the King in chief . . . by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium.*

serjeanty of finding in the army of the King in Wales one esquire armed, and keeping the bailiwick of the King's Forest of Savernak". The King, in the latter part of Henry's life, was King Edward I; and as this monarch devoted his energies very largely to campaigning against the Welsh, it may be imagined that the maintenance of an esquire in his army was quite a serious undertaking, and perhaps—if the esquire's family had to be looked after in his absence—a considerable drain on Esturmy resources.

There is evidence that Henry found it so; for we know of an arrangement which he made with a certain lady named Matilda Husee, by which she rented land from him "by the service of finding the third part of one man armed and of one horse harnessed in the King's army in time of war". This ingenious form of lease was evidently not at the time considered to be odd; for an Inquisition Post Mortem records it, and it may be that Henry leased other holdings also to tenants who covenanted to maintain for him some fraction of his esquire in Wales.

What may be puzzling to any one with local knowledge is the mention of "Couelesfeld" as being a "member" of Burbage. No such place exists in the neighbourhood, in contrast to "Durleygh" which is of course quickly identifiable. In point of fact, Cowesfield (or Cowesfield Esturmy, now a tithing of Whiteparish) is miles away in South Wiltshire, somewhere the other side of Salisbury. Its association with Burbage dates back to Saxon days, for we know that the same Aluric who held Burbage in the time of Edward the Confessor was the proprietor of Cowesfield also.

When Richard Estormit took over this unhappy Saxon's property near Savernake, he likewise acquired Cowesfield. It is interesting to note that, according to Domesday Book, he held Burbage and other local manors in his capacity as a "Servant of the King", whereas the entry for Cowesfield is simply headed "Terra Ricardi Sturmid". None the less, Burbage and Cowesfield remained linked under Richard's tenure—and it seems that the two places were always regarded, in spite of their distance apart, as being in some sense united.

This traditional association of Cowesfield with Burbage is of interest in several respects. For example, it indicates that the Esturmys must have travelled about a good deal, if only on estate business within the confines of Wiltshire, and cannot have been wholly occupied with the affairs of Savernake. They must have been well known in Salisbury at least; and one is led to enquire whether they may already have had interests in other parts of England, and perhaps have been wont, when their Forest duties were not pressing, to visit mediæval London and there make contact with the wider world. In early times, we unfortunately hear of only one such visit—and that was very definitely on Forest business. (We know of a widely-travelled 15th-century Esturmy; but he was of course the product of more spacious days.)

It is a little surprising that certain manors which Richard Estormit once held are at this date no longer mentioned as being in the family's

possession. On the other hand, there is reason to credit Henry Esturmy with acquiring Wolfhall, destined to become the chief residence of his successors. This manor, although adjoining Burbage, had not belonged to Aluric, but had passed from another Saxon owner to the Norman Radulfus de Halville. In the time of Sir Geoffrey Esturmy, one hears of a certain Berengarius de Wlfal,<sup>1</sup> presumably the tenant of that period. The place-name is variously spelled, commencing as "Ulfela" in *Domesday Book* and only in recent times being modified to "Wolfhall". Henry Esturmy seems to have added this manor to his property between 1254 and 1277.

Incidentally it appears that Henry gained a knighthood at about this time; for an ancient document in my possession notes an "Agreement made between the Lady Margaret Husee and Sir Henry Esturmy, Knight, touching a marriage to be had between Henry, son and heir of the said Henry, Knight, and Margaret, daughter and one of the heirs of Sir Hubert Husee". The Seymour Pedigree gives a transcript, in shortened form, of the actual Agreement—in reality a declaration which runs as follows:

"Know all men present and future that I, Henry Esturmy, son of Geoffrey Esturmy, have given, granted and by this present charter confirmed for myself and for my heirs, to Henry my son as a free gift on his marriage with Margaret daughter of Hubert Husee, the whole of the manor of Wolfhall". The date is 1277, which fixes for us three separate events—the marriage of the younger Henry, the acquisition of Wolfhall as a marriage portion (and no doubt a home) for the young couple, and finally the knightly status achieved by the elder Esturmy.<sup>2</sup>

We are fortunate, in connection with this marriage, in knowing also a good deal about the bride. She was one of the three daughters of Sir Hubert Hussey (or Husee)<sup>3</sup>—a man of distinguished family who had evidently died a short time previously. It was her sister Matilda who became Sir Henry's tenant and, as we have seen, maintained one-third of the Esturmy soldier—not forgetting one-third of his horse!

Margaret, named after her mother, must have been a very youthful bride. By my reckoning she was only 16 at the time of her marriage "in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Henry". Having no brothers, she may have been quite a considerable heiress; certainly she had land in Figheldean, Tidcombe and elsewhere, so that, in the manor given by her father-in-law, she and the younger Henry should have been able to live in comfortable style.

These domestic affairs must not however cause us to lose sight of Sir Henry Esturmy in his public capacity as Warden of the Forest.

<sup>1</sup> In a Deed (Savernake Archives). The *W*, a real double *u* or *oo*, represents the local pronunciation—Oolfall.

<sup>2</sup> An earlier transcript (Savernake Archives) adds that the young Henry and Margaret had to make yearly acknowledgement for Wolfhall in the form of "one rose at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist".

<sup>3</sup> I.P.M., Wilts.



He was no doubt in attendance, and made the traditional recital of his privileges, at the Forest Eyre held in 1257. Fortunately the records of this Eyre have come down to us,<sup>1</sup> so that we can ascertain what further business was transacted. Inevitably a good many cases, of poaching, or trespass in search of venison, occupied the Court's attention: there seems to have been little respect around Savernakes either at this period or any other, for the sanctity of the royal game!

An unusual case, which Sir Henry must have followed closely, was that concerning Geoffrey the son of Walter, of Oare. His guilt was never in doubt; for he had been caught by the Savernake verderers, red-handed, in possession of a fawn. He was convicted, and fined the (then) substantial sum of ten shillings.

Unhappily, however, the verderers had not been well trained—or had become careless—in the presentation of their evidence. The Court found that they had “made Inquisition without due care, so that their plea-roll contained no record of the day and the year (of the offence); and now they say otherwise by word of mouth than their roll presented”. For this bad management the verderers was fined rather more heavily than Geoffrey, the son of Walter, had been—besides incurring, as they surely did, the wrath of the Warden whose orders they had so imperfectly fulfilled!

Apart from the poaching cases, there was always a variety of prosecutions at a Forest Eyre for crimes against the “vert”, as for example the clearance or wastage of timber. Sir Henry was no doubt present at the sessions of 1270,<sup>2</sup> when a certain Henry Huse (evidently a person of some standing and perhaps—as the name suggests—a relative of Margaret Esturmy) had to answer a charge concerning his wood “called Shutecroft which is within Savernake Forest”.

It was alleged that this wood “to which the beasts of the King are wont to have great repair and access, and where they ought and are wont to have peace, has been wasted anew by gifts and sales. . . . And the said Henry . . . ought not . . . to have taken anything in the said wood save reasonable estovers for his manor” (i.e. essential timber for repairs, etc.) . . . “yet that wood for the beasts he utterly devastated”.

The verdict was that “the said Henry shall be in mercy, and the said wood taken into the King's hand”. In other words, Henry Huse was found guilty, and his wood was confiscated. He was technically a “free tenant” of the Forest; but he had to learn not to make too free with a covert frequented by the King's beasts.

All these cases naturally demanded the Warden's close attention; for it was he who had the duty of seeing that the Forest Law was observed, and in particular that game was preserved and allowed to multiply for the King's pleasure.

The earlier Kings of England, be it noted, kept a very sharp eye on

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., E. 32, 198.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., E. 32, 200.

the state of affairs prevailing in their royal Forests. Did not one wrathful monarch (I have his letter before me) threaten "our trusty and welbeloved Wardeyn", when he suspected some negligence in the latter's administration, with "the peyne of forfeiture of your office"? This was not an isolated letter either: I have found several in the same vein.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry was concerned also in one or more perambulations of the Forest—and here we find that some sort of lull had occurred in the process of disafforestation. Savernake lost a little territory in 1259,<sup>2</sup> but not to the public: it was simply a matter of yielding a certain area to Chute Forest at the point where Chute and Savernake had a common boundary.

The dispute over this area had gone on for a long time; and it seems to have been settled reasonably. Chute Forest got the land; but Avicé de Columbars, the immediate beneficiary, agreed to compensate Sir Henry by the handsome sum of 25 marks. This amount, equivalent to £16 13s. 4d., was as good as a year's income to the Esturmys of the 13th century.

If Sir Henry was satisfied however, one of his subordinates certainly was not. The amended perambulation of the Hippenscombe bailiwick ends, in 1259, on a poignant note. "By these metes", it announces, "the said William (Venator) now holds his bailiwick; but he used to hold it by other metes, which John Byset altered while he was Justice of the Forest, diminishing his bailiwick . . .". One feels that poor William, grieving for his diminished realm, is the one who should have had the compensation!

There was some attempt in 1260 to raise once again the question of disafforestation—in which, it must be admitted, extraordinarily little progress had been made since the issuing of the Charter of the Forests more than 40 years before. Nothing much came of it however, and thus the Warden's old age was untroubled by anything worse than (perhaps) rumours of impending change. King Edward by now had turned his attention from the wild Welsh to the unruly Scots; so that even the Esturmy soldier may have shared this quiet spell.

A further grant to Easton Priory, undated but belonging to this period,<sup>3</sup> indicates that Sir Henry, like his father, did not depart this life without proper contemplation of the next.

"Henry Esturmy son of Geoffrey", it states, "has granted (certain land) to God and the brethren of the order of Holy Trinity, for the salvation of his soul, his mother's, his father's, his ancestors' and his heirs' (souls)". It goes on to specify, amongst other things, "10s. of annual rent which they have of my father's gift for the soul of Matiida my mother, viz. of the tenement which Roger the shepherd holds in

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., 2, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Savernake Archives.

Durley". The old Warden enjoined that it should all continue "in pure and perpetual almain . . . without interference from me or my heirs or my bailiffs". Then, in the year 1295, he died.

#### HENRY ESTURMY OF WOLFHALL : 1295—1305.

The young Henry Esturmy who had made his home at Wolfhall must by now have been approaching middle age. The officials who made the Inquisition after his father's death noted that he was apparently "aged 30 years and more". I think it must have been a good deal more; for Margaret Esturmy, whom he had married at so tender an age, was herself 34. She had given her husband several children, of whom the eldest surviving son was a lad of 13, named inevitably Henry. There was also a younger boy called John.<sup>1</sup>

We must hope that, in the domestic circle at Wolfhall, all went happily and well; for it is clear that, after he had entered upon his public duties as Warden in 1295, Henry was destined in Forest affairs to suffer continual anxiety and worry. For the best part of 100 years, as we have seen, a succession of sovereigns had been promising to disafforest land which had been taken into the Forests by the early Norman kings. Now it was Edward I's turn; and in 1297 this monarch, no doubt with reluctance, re-affirmed once more the Charter of the Forests, ordering it to be put forthwith into effect.

However unwilling King Edward may have been to take this step, and whatever the apprehension that it may have aroused in Henry Esturmy, there was evidently no lack of enthusiasm on the part of those detailed to carry out the disafforestation. A perambulation of Savernake took place in 1301, accompanied by a most rigid scrutiny of the boundaries, with particular reference to boundaries which had been extended since "the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather of the King that now is". All such extensions—and at Savernake they were very great—were now declared invalid; and the King was constrained to order that "the perambulations made before our trusty and faithful John de Berewyk and his companions thereunto assigned by our precept in our Forests in Wilts are hereafter to be observed and kept by the metes and bounds contained in the said perambulations".

Since the curtailment of Savernake Forest was drastic (for up to the year 1300 it still sprawled over something like 100 square miles) it is perhaps worth while to follow the relevant perambulation in detail. It was "made in the Forest of Savernake in the presence of John de Berewyk and his aforesaid companions and in the presence of Henry de Sturmy, William de Harden, William de Boneclyve and Roger de Harden, Foresters of Fee, and in the presence of John de Kenete, Thomas de Polton, William de Caperigge and Nicholas Dysmars, Verderers". This party commenced its labours in the West Bailiwick, in the region of Martinsell, and moved off northwards.

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<sup>1</sup> Seymour Pedigree.

“ Beginning at Boneclyve ”, says the official record,<sup>1</sup> “ at the West corner, and going down by the ditch between Boneclyve (near Martinsell) and the wood of the Abbot of Hyde to Drayston (on Clench Common) and thence to la Crochedeweve (the fork of the road) and so by the road to Stimore. And so to Stotisgore and then up by the road to the Redcherde of Wodenesdich (the Wansdyke) and so down by the same unto the way which leads from Oare to Marlborough. And then up between the wood of Hauckerigg and the wood of Nicholas de Barbefeld towards Manton and so unto Manton Cross and thence down unto the river of Kenet and ever by the same river to the Cole Bridge (at Marlborough) ”.

We must picture, at this stage, the little cavalcade (for the perambulation was surely carried out on horse-back) trotting along the south bank of the Kennet. Marlborough at that time lay exclusively on the north bank, and was approached by the Cole Bridge—so called no doubt from the waggon-loads of charcoal which the town imported by this route. Henry Esturmy, one may suppose, rode beside John de Berewyk—the one looking glum and pre-occupied as the new bounds were set; the other intent, as a good official should be, on the faithful performance of his mission.

So they jogged along “ ever by the river to the bridge of Elecote (Elcot) and thence up between the Lord King’s land and the land of Roger de Stokescombe (Stitchcombe) to the road which leads to Enesbir (for Evesbury, near the present Savernake Hospital), and thence by the King’s Way (Bath Road) unto Lechenhardescrofte. And thence by the King’s Way adjoining the said Roger’s land unto Crokeresthorpesende Cross and thence down by the bottom of the valley (of Red Vein presumably) to Alreneden Well, and thence towards the east always by the bottom of the valley to the Croft of the Prior of St. Margaret unto la Putte (the well from which Puthall has taken its name) ”.

“ And thence up by the aforesaid Croft unto the Croft which is called Hobbesare and thence over by the hedge to Puttehale wood and thence down by the hedge to Richard de Timerigge’s house. And thence out from the King’s Way between James de Timerigge’s land and the land of Henry Esturmy ”.

This turning away from the Bath Road might be difficult to follow; but fortunately I have a copy of an ancient map which makes it clear enough. (The copy appears to date from the 17th or possibly the 16th century, but most of the place names are identical with those of John de Berewyk’s perambulation of 1301: hence I deduce that the original map was of about the same date as the perambulation.) James de Timerigge’s land was (appropriately) Timbridge Farm, while Henry Esturmy’s land was Knowle Farm. Thus we may picture John de Berewyk and his party turning off the main road somewhere in the

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Transcript “ *Ex Rotulo Perambulationum Forestar. de Anno Regni Regis Edw. I<sup>m</sup> 29<sup>o</sup> m. 6* ”.

region of Voronzoff Lodge and riding across the open ground in the direction of the Warren.

They would be heading south now "ever along the hedge beside William Russell's land (now part of Birch Coppice) unto la Holtebal and so to the corner of William de Holte's wood (by Holt Pound). And thence by Mereway unto Bellingate (Belmore) and thence by the hedge and the green track to the pasture of Stolk (Stokke) and so ever by the great ditch (across Tottenham Park) unto Bentelwell".

Bentelwell is a mystery—although I write these words within a short distance of it. Almost more mysterious, on the face of it, is the sudden change of direction which John de Berewyk and his party made at this point. Those who know their local geography will have seen that hitherto the perambulation had followed a roughly circular course, encompassing an area of more or less regular shape. Now a turn was made straight towards the centre of the Forest, marking out a deep wedge of land for disafforestation and almost cutting the already much diminished Forest into two separated halves. That was done to free the holdings of William de Lilbourne and the Prior of Easton; but I think that Henry Esturmy must have protested strongly against a boundary line so grossly inconvenient from the point of view of Forest management.

John de Berewyk was not deterred however from driving in his wedge. Wheeling his horse in the direction of Marlborough, he rode "by the valley (past Durley) unto the Cole Road and so ever by the Cole Road between the wood of the Lord King and the Prior of Eston's wood and thence between the Lord King's wood and the wood of William de Lillebon unto Wallesmere (? Thornhill Pond) and thence straight down to Braidenshok (now Braydon Hook). And so (turning sharply back) ever by the Braden road unto the wood of the Lord King which is called Morlee (in the region of Hat Gate)".

Having driven this wedge into the Forest, the party now went on to mark out an equally inconvenient salient of Forest land in the region of Brimslade. It sounds as if this part of the Forest was in any case better adapted to the pannage of swine than the harbouring of deer; for they set out by "la Sweynepath", swung round by "la Swyneweie" and came back eventually to Morley. "And so, ever by the Wodediche, unto the east corner of the croft which is called Boneclyve and so by the same croft (on the shoulder of Martinsell) unto the aforesaid west corner of Boneclyve".

Here the circuit was completed, and it remained only to investigate certain outlying woodlands which, although detached from the central area of Savernake, might still be reckoned as Forest. John de Berewyk therefore made separate perambulations of several isolated fragments, retaining as Forest a portion of the Brails, an area at Southgrove and a small part of Hippenscombe. He rejected Boreham (alas for Sir Geoffrey Esturmy who had "repealed" it when it was threatened previously!) because it, like so much else, "had been appropriated to the Forest after the coronation of King Henry, great-grandfather of

the Lord King that now is". Such was the formula used to justify it all; "but what and how much in any king's reign severally by no means can be manifest".

Henry Esturmy, after the last sorry patch of Forest had been perambulated, must have returned to Wolfhall in a state of black despair. It was disastrous: as a great Forest, Savernake was finished. One large section only was left of it; and even that was now cut into a preposterous shape, with La Verme and the West Baily (such as was left of them) almost severed from one another. Of the other three bailiwicks, nothing remained except miserable patches, scattered at varying distances apart.

"Ichabod! Ichabod!" the Warden may have cried. "The glory is departed; but what madness is this that has taken King Edward? What moves him to ruin his own Forests by his own royal warrant?"

Far off in Westminster, as it turned out, King Edward I had begun to put these very questions to himself. To be sure, he had been much preoccupied with his campaigns against the Scots: it had seemed good to make some concessions to his English subjects—to disafforest a few acres here or there. But now all his Forests (not Savernake only, but all the rest of them as well) were being reduced to mere pitiful remnants of what they had been. He had never foreseen or intended that!

If Henry Esturmy was in despair over the wholesale disafforestation, King Edward was indignantly determined somehow to put a stop to it. Unfortunately, since he had pledged his word to carry out the Charter of the Forests, it was not very easy to draw back at this stage. Even King John, with his elastic conscience, had turned to Rome for support in disavowing Magna Carta—and Edward I felt the need of a similar pretext.

Eventually he sent a message to the Pope, asking him for a dispensation. It would be interesting to know what arguments he used: presumably he claimed to have been misled as to the effect of going back to conditions prior to his great-grandfather's coronation, and professed to have given his consent without realising how drastic the results would be. The Pope, at any rate, was sympathetic. A prolonged correspondence must have ensued; for it was not until 1305 that the King, fortified by Papal dispensation, felt himself able to annul what had been done and to cancel the whole scheme of disafforestation.

So, as it turned out, all John de Berewyk's labour was in vain: Savernake was saved, and the other royal Forests also. It is a little difficult to visualise how Henry Esturmy can have managed his affairs during the interim period, while correspondence was going to and fro between Westminster and Rome. It must have been a trying and anxious period for him, especially since his health, by 1305, was failing. We can only hope that the good news reached him, and that he was able to rejoice in it, knowing that the threatened dismemberment of Savernake would not after all take place. He died at Wolfhall, aged about 50, in the same year.

## HENRY ESTURMY (THE ELDER) : 1305—1338.

It must have seemed to his contemporaries that Fortune smiled on young Henry Esturmy, succeeding his father as Warden in the year 1305. His predecessor's life may have been shortened by anxiety and worry; but now the Forest was restored to its former greatness, and a man could ride again eight or nine miles from north to south, fifteen or sixteen miles from east to west, always within its ample bounds. It was a fine territory to come now under the control of the old Warden's heir.

Henry was only 23, having been born in the year 1282. His mother was still living, presumably in Wolfhall Manor; but a considerable private estate came to the young man from his father. The Inquisition Post Mortem tells of "the manor of Borbach, and Coulesfeld which is a member of Borbach", and of "the bailiwick of the Forest of Savernake (held) of the King in chief by the service of one horseman in his army in the war, with a habergeon, an iron helmet and a horse equipped".

We find some account also of the value of the land. "The court there (i.e. at Burbage) with the garden and close adjacent is worth per annum 3s. There are there in the demesne 320 acres of arable land, which are worth per annum £4; also 11 acres of meadow of bulmede which are worth per annum 4s. 7d. There is one pasture which is called Tymerruggedoune (or Timbridge Down) which is worth per annum 6s. 8d."

The Inquisition—more comprehensive than most—goes on to give details of the "free tenants" of the manor of Burbage, among whom it is interesting to find a certain John Semere, who "holds one messuage and 10 acres of land, and pays per annum 3s. 6d.". This tenant was a Seymour (for the name may be spelled in this or any one of a dozen different ways) and was apparently the first of his family to take root in the neighbourhood. Naturally, the Seymours had local interests at Savernake before their intermarriage with the Esturmys: otherwise, in an era of poor communications, the two families probably would not have become acquainted.

In addition to tenants, there were also "customars"—small holders who paid their rent partly in cash and partly in kind. There were ten of these in Burbage, paying a few shillings annually, "and each of them shall give to the lord (of the manor) in the feast of St. Martin 3 hens and one cock; price per head 1d.". There were "cottars" or cottage tenants also; but these apparently paid cash alone.

The land at "Coulesfeld" was let out to tenants (strictly speaking, to sub-tenants) in a similar way. Finally, "the custody of the said Forest of Savernak is worth per annum, clear, 20s.", making a grand total for the estate, as specified, of £16 4s. 2d. It was, I suppose, a respectable income for the year 1305.

There were, none the less, clouds on the Esturmy horizon. One source of embarrassment to the Warden must have been the existence

at Savernake of certain disreputable relatives, including a youngster bearing the same name as his own. We cannot hope to ascertain the relationship between these troublesome Esturmys and the immediate family of the Warden: I shall presently give a genealogical table of those Esturmys whom I can positively "place"—and there are a good many whom, for lack of information, I shall not be able to include. For instance, there was a Walter de Stormy in 1296, a Phillip Sturmy and Sarah his wife in 1324, and a Peter Sturmi in 1331<sup>1</sup>—apart from a Stephen and a Henry Sturmy who disgraced themselves round about 1317 and a Thomas Sturmy who was in trouble in 1332. The Esturmy clan was evidently numerous, and the existence of some "black sheep" perhaps inevitable; but these latter, none the less, must have done damage to the Warden's prestige, and perhaps contributed to raising doubts as to his own integrity.

There was first of all an unfortunate affair in 1315, when a juvenile Henry Sturmy broke into the Bishop of Salisbury's park at Ramsbury and, with certain lawless companions, slew 12 of the Bishop's deer. It was no doubt a graver offence than that we should now consider it; for he was actually excommunicated, and, to purge his offence, was ordered to undergo two whippings in the market place of Marlborough and to do penance at Salisbury.<sup>2</sup> If this was intended to deter him from further crime, however, it singularly failed; for shortly thereafter he and Stephen Sturmy (the pair to whom I have referred above) committed a felony and were gaoled for it.<sup>3</sup>

Neither of these budding criminals seems to have learned wisdom from his prison sentence. Stephen took to poaching, and was eventually outlawed—being described as a "common malefactor and destroyer of the Lord King's game". Henry's career of crime was even more deplorable. This young hooligan, released from prison in 1318, committed an abominable assault upon his own brother, for which he was gaoled once more<sup>4</sup>—this time with so heavy a fine levied upon him that he had no hope of regaining his liberty. He died in prison at the age of 21—presumably not at all regretted by the head of the family whose name he had dishonoured.

The tradition of lawlessness was carried on by Thomas. It appears that he, trading upon his connection with the Warden's family, intimidated such persons as shepherds and carters, levying illegal tolls upon them.<sup>5</sup> He also "took from poor women five bundles of dry wood which he sent to the house of Isabella Blakemanners, and the said Isabella had them". One is tempted to speculate as to the motive here: firewood, although no doubt acceptable, is an unorthodox offering to make to a lady!

<sup>1</sup> I.P.M., Wilts.

<sup>2</sup> Cassan, *Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury*, p. 89 (quoted *W.A.M.* ii, 388 by Canon Jackson).

<sup>3</sup> Patent Rolls.

<sup>4</sup> Calendar of Inquisitions, Vol. 6, No. 614.

<sup>5</sup> P.R.O., E. 32, 217.



The Warden's own children, I hasten to add, could not possibly have been involved in any of this. He had evidently married round about 1310, his wife's name being recorded simply as Matilda. His eldest son, inevitably christened Henry, was a mere child<sup>1</sup> at the time when the villainous Henry Sturmy was commencing his career of crime, while as for his younger boys, there was no Thomas or Stephen among them.

The Warden's brother, John Esturmy, was however by no means irreproachable. His weakness also was poaching—and one can imagine how disconcerting it must have been for brother Henry, pledged to preserve and guard the King's game, to know (as I suppose he must have known) that John was in the habit of dining off illicit venison! When not helping himself to the game, this embarrassing relative was equally ready to make away with some of the royal timber; the "prostration" of oak trees was one of the crimes alleged against him when at last his misdeeds were brought to light.

Obviously, not even the Warden's brother could continue in such courses with impunity. A day came when John had to answer for his lawlessness—and the case then presented against him was a black one.<sup>2</sup>

"They . . . say that John Sturmy . . . (and others) came into the said Forest on the Monday before the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate (in 1330) at the hour of twilight at a certain place called Hawkridge (the upper part of Granham Hill) in a coppice (doubtless the 'wood of Haukerigg') and there under cover of night set four and twenty nets for the taking of fallow deer, and with the said nets took one beast and carried it whither they would, but the said John had the numbles of the same, which he sent to his house at Tycumb (Tidcombe).

"And thereafter the said four and twenty nets and one great net were found at the houses of Maud Topper, Christina Topper and Edith le Whyte, which nets were deposited at the houses of the said women by the said John Sturmi. And they say that the said Maud, Christina and Edith are not culpable of any transgression with the said nets, and indeed the said Maud, Christina and Edith straightway after the said nets were deposited at their houses shewed them to Henry Sturmy, custodian of the said Forest, and to William of Rameshull, constable of Marlborough Castle; and they say that the said men with others unknown are common malefactors by night with the said nets in the said Forest to the venison of our lord the King".

John Sturmy was leniently treated, being fined half a mark<sup>3</sup>; but it was a deplorable case from the point of view of the Esturmy family. With the Warden's own brother characterised as "a common malefactor by night", one can easily imagine that people in the Savernake area

<sup>1</sup> An infant, according to a later I.P.M., but other evidence suggests 1311 as his birth date.

<sup>2</sup> Exch. K.R. For. Proc., II, 26.

<sup>3</sup> 6s. 8d.

began to ask themselves what the Esturmys were coming to—and even to speculate as to what party Henry might have played in this, if only Maud Topper and the others had not notified the Constable of Marlborough!

Troubles of another sort, from 1316 onwards, likewise began to press upon the Warden. King Edward I was now dead; and with Edward II seated much less securely on the throne, the old, oft-frustrated demand for disafforestation was once more heard at Westminster. The new King, unable to ignore this outcry, was constrained to institute a further inquiry.

Hence we find a document<sup>1</sup> sent out by a certain Philip de Say on behalf of the Guardian of the King's Forests to the south of the river Trent. "To Henry Esturmy, guardian of the Forest of Savernake, greeting!" it commences; "we have received in these terms the mandate of the Lord King". It goes on to give very specific instructions as to the making of perambulations, so as to ascertain what woodlands, if any, have been afforested in recent times. The foresters of Savernake and other Forests must also assemble all muniments, rolls, memoranda and evidences bearing upon this question of afforestation, and with these documents present themselves at Westminster on certain specified dates.

The date given for the Wiltshire foresters was one month after Easter (not allowing them any too much time, since the King's mandate was only issued on the 8th of March). King Edward seems to have feared that some would be negligent in carrying out his orders; for he insists that the foresters are to make diligent inquiries and to appear, under penalty of forfeiting their bailiwicks, at the appointed time.

To Henry Esturmy, the prospect of a trip to London would probably, under happier auspices, have been agreeable. As it was, however, he must have felt acutely anxious as to the outcome of it. John de Berewyk's perambulation—a memorandum of which he no doubt had to take with him—had already shown how ruthlessly Savernake might be reduced if a return to the ancient boundaries were to be enforced. Was this what King Edward II had in mind? It must have appeared distinctly possible.

We must picture Henry therefore setting out with mixed feelings on his journey to the metropolis. We have of course no indication as to how he travelled, where he stayed, or how he occupied himself in London when not engaged in giving evidence at Westminster. Such details, alas, were never placed on record during the period when Henry Esturmy lived. Few people were able to write, and those who were so skilled did not write down casual happenings; they confined themselves to legal and business matters of immediate importance.

No one, incidentally, seems to have possessed anything in the nature of a note-book, or to have had any means of recording every-day events.

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

One sometimes hears of a person being asked to make a note of some particular event, such as the birth of a child; but in one case which I have come across this was set down in the margin of a legal deed which happened to be in preparation at the time: in another case it was written on the wall of a house—where no doubt it very speedily got smudged and rubbed out.

Of Henry's journey to London, therefore, our positive knowledge is merely that it did not produce the result which he must have feared. King Edward evidently had no enthusiasm for disafforestation. He had promised to enquire into the matter, and he did enquire; but no action appears to have followed. His reign was in any case a troublesome one, with two revolts culminating in his own murder by the insurgents; so that perhaps neither the King nor the disaffected barons had much time to give to the complex problem of Forest boundaries.

It was a different matter after the murder of the King in 1327. Edward III who succeeded him was still a minor, and the country was therefore governed by a Council of Regency. The Regents were anxious to make themselves popular; and to go ahead with the business of disafforestation seemed a good way of doing so. Thus in 1330—just 115 years after Magna Carta—we find John Maltravers, the King's Justice of the Forests to the south of the river Trent, holding his Eyre at New Sarum. His mission was to complete the work begun by John de Berewyk and to enforce, once and for all, the oft-debated Charter of the Forests.

He made the unfortunate Warden carry out the actual perambulation of Savernake,<sup>1</sup> which necessarily had to conform fairly closely to that of 1301. We learn that "These are the metes and bounds of the aforesaid Forest, consisting of the demesne lands and woods of the Lord the King as determined by the foresters, viz: Henry Sturmy, Warden of the said Forest, Robert de Bilkemor, Roger de Harden, Peter de Forstebury, Hubert Pipard, foresters of fee of the same Forest; and by Peter de Grymstede, John Wake, Robert Homedieu (and) Walter le Blake, verderers of the same Forest". Twelve Regarders are likewise named as having taken part in the perambulation; also twelve Jurors in Eyre, the list of whose names is headed by that of William de Rammeshull, the Constable of Marlborough Castle. They all assembled in a body, "as was enjoined upon (them) by John M(altravers) the King's Justice of the Forests this side Trent, and his associates in his Eyre of the Forests in the County of Wiltes".

This cavalcade of thirty-three officials assembled at Boneclyve (by Martinsell), this being evidently the recognised starting point for Savernake perambulations. As the route which they followed was so similar to that of 1301, it may perhaps be of interest here to comment on the type of country over which they rode, rather than to reiterate the bounds in detail. My old map (undoubtedly derived from a 14th

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<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Stowe M.S., 925.

century source) shows both the boundary perambulated and the nature of the land which it enclosed ; so that from it one can get a very fair picture of Savernake Forest as Henry Esturmy, Robert de Bilkemor and all the others saw it on this fateful day.

Riding northward from Martinsell, they had before them quite a chain of woods and coverts, of which Hawkridge Wood was the largest and best covert for the deer. (At least I judge that it must have been the best, since John Esturmy had chosen it for his poaching expedition !) Manton Copse is almost certainly the modern remnant of it.

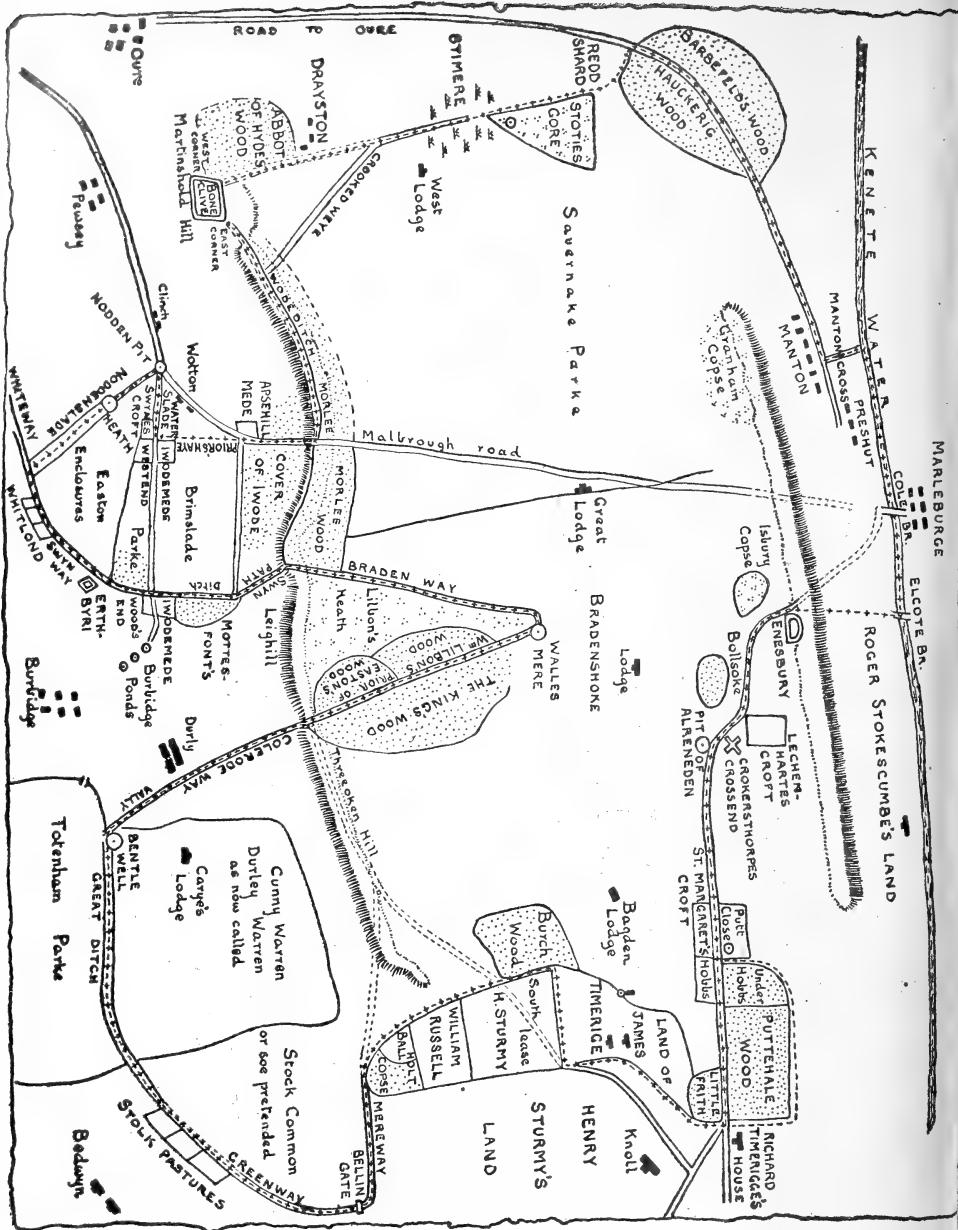
Had Henry and his companions studied the prospect to the east of them however, they would have seen a very large expanse of open country. This became known at a later date as the Great Parke—and my belief is that it always was open, with no more than scattered trees growing here and there. It is amusing to note that, under the Bruces four centuries later, an attempt was made to prove that there had once been dense woodland between Cadley and Clench Common ; but this argument was put forward to discountenance the Church in connection with a tithe dispute, and it was evidently based on the popular misconception that to prove an area to have been Forest one must prove that it grew trees. Savernake Great Park, as it happens, is one of the areas which might well be quoted in refutation of this fallacy.

Swinging round towards Marlborough, the party would have found the Kennet valley looking very much as it does at present. Following the Bath Road in an eastward direction, they would have encountered two substantial coppices close to the present Savernake Hospital. Beyond that, the ground lay open once again.

Puthall Wood and Little Frith were there ; and beyond the latter woodland we know that the cavalcade turned to the south. Birch Coppice (formerly Burch Wood) was a good deal smaller than it is now, and was separated from Holt Coppice a small wood near the present Holt Pound. From this point, there was open country all the way to Stokke : the woodland known as Bedwyn Common had not yet come into being.

It was open also between Stokke and Durley. From any eminence near Tottenham, one could see far into the Forest, viewing no continuous woodland at all ; only separate coppices with heath or downland lying in between. The first extensive woods would have been encountered by Henry Esturmy and his party when they turned at Leigh Hill to mark out again that tiresome wedge of disafforested land in the direction of Brayden Hook. From Leigh Hill onwards, they would have ridden for about a mile in the shade of the trees, and returning from Brayden Hook would have covered a similar distance, skirting this wooded area by way of Lilbon (Lilbourne's) Heath.

They must now have ridden southward to perambulate the Brimslade salient ; and here they would have found small areas of woodland as at the present time. Finishing the salient in the region of Hat Gate however, they would have entered Morley Wood, little of which can now

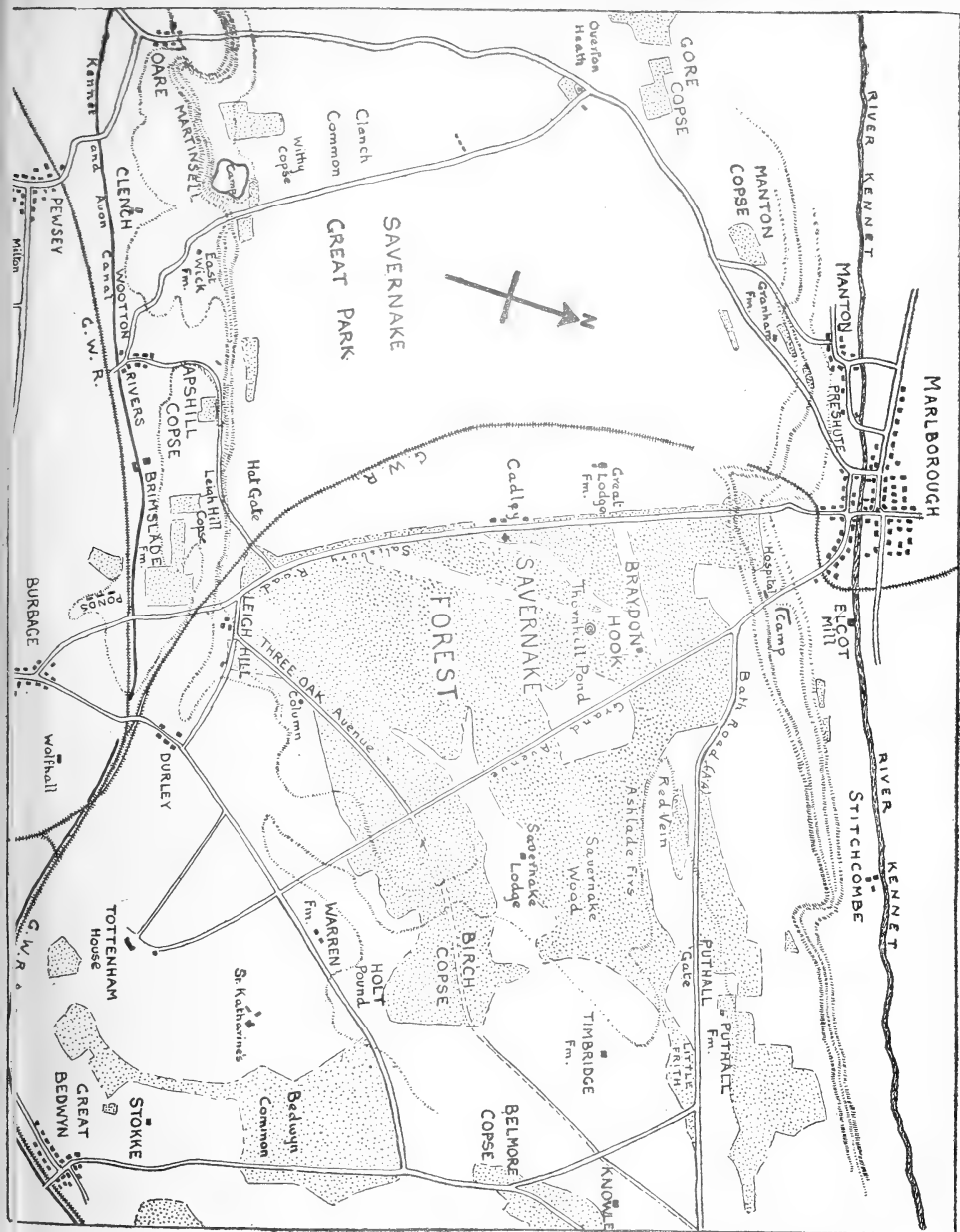


SAVERNAKE FOREST AS IT WAS IN MEDIAEVAL TIMES.

This map was copied, with certain modernisations, from an ancient map found among the Savernake archives. The original is a 16th or 17th century drawing, itself a copy of some mediaeval sketch-map.

The names in capitals along the Forest boundary (marked +—+—+) are identical with those in the perambulation of 1301. Furthermore, the map shows detail beyond what was recorded there; for example, the size and shape of William Russell's holding: the perambulation speaks only of "the hedge beside William Russel's land". The dimensions could scarcely have been added unless the original cartographer had lived in the 14th century.

It would thus seem fair to describe the map here shown as having at least a 14th century basis.



SAVERNAKE FOREST AT THE PRESENT DAY.

The scale of this map and the somewhat distorted proportions of it are designed to make it easily comparable with that printed opposite.

It will be seen that a good many of the old place names still survive. They are usually marked in capitals on this map, whether on the old boundary or elsewhere. The most striking change is the increase of woodland in the centre of the Forest, combined with the decrease of those woods lying around the old boundary. Many small coppices have of course been absorbed into the central woodland.

be traced. At that time it was of considerable extent, and stretched out all along the "Wode Ditch" to the shoulder of Martinsell; so that for the last mile of their circuit, the riders would have had a shady path to follow.

It will be seen from this summary that, in general, the Forest was fairly barren of woodland in the centre, with the majority of woods and coppices disposed around its perimeter (the new perimeter, I mean, which this perambulation was to establish). It is a picturesque notion to suppose that ancient Savernake was a territory where oaks and beeches spread their shade for mile upon mile over valley and hillside; but the known facts are against it. I suspect that there were hardly any beeches; for how many such trees are there in the Forest now which do not bear evidence of having been artificially planted? The oak certainly flourished, and perhaps the ash; but I should judge that there are twice as many of these in the district now as there were in 1330.

Lest it should be thought that I make these deductions from a single—and possibly faulty—old map, I would mention that a second map, drawn during the Seymour period, shows a similar state of affairs. It depicts rather a greater proportion of woodland (Ashlade Coppice, now Savernake Wood, being a notable addition); but there is the same indication of small, individual woods, separate and distinct, rather than of the widespread, continuous forest of trees which popular imagination has envisaged.

Did Henry Esturmy cast a professional eye over the woods and coppices as he rode around them in perambulation?—I think not; for it was a sad day for him, and his thoughts would have dwelt rather upon the Forest boundaries, once again cruelly constricted. Ever since his trip to London in the spring of 1316, he must have foreseen that the sweeping disafforestation of his father's day might be re-imposed, and that he might himself be ordered to give effect to it. He must always have hoped, none the less, that some circumstance would arise by which the impending doom of Greater Savernake might yet be averted.

It must now however have been clear to him that the old, widespread boundaries had been swept away for ever. More than 100 years had passed since disafforestation had first been specifically promised by King John. Twice a reluctant King and a complaisant Pope had combined to maintain or to restore the *status quo*; but it could not happen a third time. The pressure of public opinion was slow and uncertain in the England of those days; yet it existed and could not for ever be thwarted: Savernake from this day onwards would be kept by the new metes and bounds.

We cannot know what effect this grievous blow (for it hurt both his pride and his pocket) may have had upon the character of Henry Esturmy. What is certain is that, from 1330 onwards, ill fortune dogged him with a grim persistence. It is clear that he fell foul of his neighbours, entering into a positive feud with one of the local families,

and so alienating the loyalty of others as to be denounced for certain misdemeanours which would probably in happier times have been condoned. One cannot help picturing an embittered man creating enemies around him, and so preparing the way for his own downfall.

ESTURMY *versus* DE BILKEMORE.

It may well be that the feud actually had its commencement on the day of the perambulation in 1330. It will be noticed that the list of foresters of fee who were then in attendance is headed by the name of Robert de Bilkemore (this seems the most satisfactory spelling): he was apparently there as forester of the West Baily. It seems likely that he was appearing for the first time in that capacity, for the previous West Baily forester had been his father-in-law; and the latter, old William de Hardene, had only just died.

The rights and wrongs of inter-family feuds are always rather difficult to disentangle; but the essential point about this one was that Henry Esturmy did not admit the right of de Bilkemore to succeed de Hardene. He regarded him, in short, as an interloper occupying an important office (more than ever important now, since the West Baily constituted more than half of what was left of Savernake) without any proper authority.

In Henry Esturmy's view,<sup>1</sup> there was only one person under the Crown who could give that authority—namely himself, the Warden. Whether he would have given it to de Bilkemore, if asked, is uncertain: the Forest now being so much reduced in size, he might have elected to administer both the West Baily and La Verme himself. That this newcomer should simply, as of right, take over the bailiwick on old de Hardene's death was, in any event, an affront.

We do not know on what terms the Warden had been with de Bilkemore prior to this intrusion. In a Seymour list of deeds however, I happened to come across a reference to "a wryte made by the Kinge to Henry Sturmy Keper of the fforest of Savernake and the Regardaunte of the same forest that they shulde walke and ryde a partt called Bruyle in the sayde fforest claymed by one Robt of Bylke-more yf by any means the same were proved to be forest". The date given was 1327.

There may be no significance in this; but on the other hand, if the claim was disallowed by Henry and the "Regardaunte", it is possible that de Bilkemore may have harboured some grievance about it. This in turn may have influenced his conduct three years later.

As for the de Bilkemore point of view regarding the West Baily, it comes to light when one studies the Inquisitions Post Mortem of the period. Arising out of William de Hardene's death in 1330, it is recorded that he had "one messuage and one virgate of land in

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* his Petition *re* Forest appointments (p. 319).



Estwyke from Isabella Queen of England" (Savernake was very commonly transferred by the reigning King to his Queen as part of her dower) ". . . by serjeanty . . . and by the service of keeping half of a certain part of the Forest of Sauernake which is called 'la Westbaillye'".

He also held another message and another virgate from Queen Isabella "by keeping the other moiety of la Westbaillye" and—this is the clue to the whole matter—"Anastasia, daughter of the aforesaid William de Hardene . . . is the next heir".

Looking up Anastasia's history, we find that she was born in 1306. She was married as a young girl to William Lillebon, whose name was associated with a wood and a heath in the Forest near Leigh Hill, and still is remembered in the name of the village of Milton (once Middleton) Lilbourne. She bore him a son, John Lillebon; but her husband died shortly thereafter, and it was as a young widow that she married Sir Robert (it seems he was a knight) de Bilkemore. She was Anastasia de Bilkemore when she inherited the property and alleged rights of her father, de Hardene.

In another and later Inquisition, we read that "they (the jurors) said also that Anastasia, wife of Robert de Bilkemore, daughter and heir of William de Hardene, and her ancestors have held from time immemorial the West Bailiwick of the said Forest jointly with William de Boneclif". They noted that Anastasia and her ancestors had held one virgate of land, and William de Boneclif (of Boneclyve by Martin-sell) another, "which two virgates her said father acquired, and now the said Robert de Bilkemore holds them of the King by the serjeanty of keeping the said bailiwick".

There is, I feel compelled to point out, at least one false statement here. The de Hardenes had certainly *not* been in the West Bailly "from time immemorial". The Broyle bailiwick was their natural habitat; and in fact it was the de Wyke family which, in earlier times, had shared the forestership of the West Bailly with the de Boneclyves. Whatever arguments Anastasia may have had on her side, ancient custom should not have been one of them!

Henry Esturmy, in any case, had no intention of recognising any de Hardene-Bilkemore hereditary rights—and so a deadlock developed between the Warden and the de facto forester of his chief bailiwick. The word "deadlock", implying merely static hostility, is perhaps scarcely adequate: in fact, Henry from this time onwards was continually assailing what de Bilkemore claimed to be his rights, just as the latter was continually seeking to exercise a local authority which Henry deemed unwarrantable. The resultant confusion must have upset the administration of the Forest to a deplorable extent.

With this trouble coming on top of the ruthless disafforestation, by which about five-sixths of the previous Forest area was emancipated, Henry's financial position seems at this period to have become embarrassed. His grandfather, as we have seen, had acquired Wolfhall

and his father had lived there; but after 1330 we hear of this manor being in the hands of the de Stokkes. While we do not positively know the reason, it seems likely that Henry found it advisable to live on a more modest scale elsewhere.

We get some sort of picture—albeit a sketchy one—of what Wolfhall was like at this period from an Inquisition held three years later as to Roger de Stokke's estate. We find that the latter held "a certain assart (clearing) in the Forest of Savernage. . . . He also held . . . the manor of Wolfhale". Of the manor house we can learn nothing except that its annual value seems to have been £1 3s. 4d., which in those days would indicate a fairly big place.

A feature of the manor was evidently the dovecote, worth 6s. 8d. yearly. This would have been a small edifice, probably circular in form, holding some hundreds of birds which could be caught and killed as required for the table. There was a garden of the same value, and the farm land was extensive. "There are 800 acres of arable land, worth £20; 30 acres of meadow worth 60s.; 100 acres of wood, the underwood of which is worth 13s. 4d." (This last item is surprising, for there is no substantial wood near Wolfhall now.) The total annual value of the manor was not far short of £30.

It seems likely that Henry retired to whatever house his manor of Burbage provided, and that here he brought up his young family. We do not know whether Matilda was still living; but she had given him three sons of whom Henry, the eldest boy, was now growing up. The other two, Geoffrey and Richard,<sup>1</sup> would have been in their 'teens.

It was at about this period indeed that the young Henry found himself a bride: she was Margaret, the younger daughter of Sir John de Lortie of Ashley on the Wilts-Gloucester border.<sup>2</sup> The elder Henry evidently thought well of his daughter-in-law; for as soon as the young people were legally of age, he included both of them in a sort of family Trust—a corporation perhaps not widely different from the Savernake Forest Estate Company of the present day.

It was an unusual thing to do in the 14th century; and he did it no doubt on account of the threatening state of his personal affairs. There were enemies about him who only waited their opportunity to achieve his downfall, and who would perhaps seek the confiscation of his property. It was better therefore so to dispose of his estate that an Inquisition inquiring as to his property should find (as was in fact found in 1338) that "Henry Sturmy the Elder held no lands of the King in chief or of any other . . . ; but he held jointly with his son Henry and his son's wife Margaret . . . the manor of Burbache, the hamlet of Durle, the pasture of Tymerugge and the bailiwick of the stewardship of Savernake Forest . . .".

<sup>1</sup> Seymour Pedigree.

<sup>2</sup> Hoare, *Mod. Wilts*, p. 117, corrected by Jackson, *Aubrey's Collections*, under *Ashley*. Hoare's Esturmy pedigree confuses the Henrys hopelessly, as we shall shortly find that even their contemporaries did.

(Strange, that my father and I should have thought, just 600 years later, that we were doing something original when we put the same lands under the same form of administration !)

Meanwhile of course the feud continued, doubtless with growing bitterness. Sir Robert de Bilkemore had scored an advantage at this period ; for he had induced a Justice in Eyre to "swear him in" as Forester, thus gaining legal support for his claim to the West Bailiwick. Then came the Eyre held at Salisbury in 1332, at which both parties—and indeed all the Savernake officials—found themselves equally in conflict with the Forest Law. We may surmise that word had reached Westminster of the indiscipline at Savernake, and that there was a definite intention to "shake up" the local administration.

The long list of indictments<sup>1</sup> presented at this Eyre however bore most heavily upon the Warden ; for although he was not alone in being charged with abusing his position of privilege (a matter which we will consider in detail later), he stood accused also of a number of personal crimes. Some of these were trivial : for instance, both Henry and the Constable of Marlborough faced a charge of carelessness in that, when they were hunting with greyhounds to obtain venison for the King, they "took a buck and left it in a certain place without a guard.

"Which said buck", states the indictment, "was eloined by certain unknown men ; and because the said William (the Constable, de Rammeshulle) and Henry left the said buck . . . without guard, therefore it is considered that the said William and Henry shall be answerable to the Lord King".

There were several cases of this sort ; but one was more serious. It was alleged that, in 1324, "Sibilla de St. Martin caused one buck to be taken in the said Forest, . . . the said Henry Sturmy having knowledge of the said offence and consenting to it. And that . . . (on a previous occasion) the same caused one doe to be taken by John de Blakeford, deceased, in a certain place called Bollesweye<sup>2</sup> within the said Forest, and the said Henry did his own will with the said game. Therefore the Sheriff is ordered to arrest them".

Henry, it seems, was not arrested : he was not even in Court during the preliminary session. In this he made a most lamentable blunder, for which he excused himself later by saying that the session—or the opening part of it—was brought to a premature end by the Court rising long before the normal time. This may have been so ; but he took an unwarrantable risk in failing to be present at the very start.

As it was, not only was he late in answering to charges of a very serious nature (such as this alleged collusion with Sibilla, for which he subsequently paid a fine) ; but, what was much worse, he was not in time to make his claim to the traditional Esturmy privileges. I have previously noted the old custom by which the Warden of Savernake, at each successive Eyre, had to recite his claim, and gain the

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., E 32, 217.

<sup>2</sup> Near the *Bolls oke* of the map, p. 308 ?

Justices' assent to the continuance of his special rights. This had now been omitted—and it was disastrous for Henry, in as much as there were numerous other charges laid against him, most of which were concerned with these rights and his alleged misuse of them.

It behoves us now to study this part of the indictment. The allegations against Henry were, as I have mentioned, used also against the Foresters of the various bailiwicks; but naturally it was a more serious matter where the Warden—the King's chief representative within the Forest—was concerned. In Henry's case also, by confusing him with Henry his father and even with Henry his grandfather, the Court was able to allege that his excesses had extended over 51 years—a rather gross absurdity when the accused's appearance must have been that of a man about 50 years old!

None the less, it was seriously claimed that, for more than half a century past, Henry had unlawfully take fallen wood and even growing trees for his own use in his manor of "Burbache". He was also said to have unlawfully burned wood for charcoal, "to the greatest damage of the Lord King and the detriment of his said Forest and the putting to flight of the beasts of chase".

A further charge was that Henry had a cowshed "from which issue 16 oxen, 4 cows and 4 young steers". He had also a pigsty "from which issue 30 pigs to graze in the said Forest". He had furthermore "200 sheep grazing . . . as well in the demesne woods of the Lord King as elsewhere in the Forest, to the destruction of the pasture of the beasts of the chase of the Lord King".

It was not only on account of his own beasts that Henry was indicted. It seems that he allowed the inhabitants of "Durle" to graze their cattle also in the Forest, charging them fees for such agistment. Moreover "the same Henry at some time of the year permits the animals of the men of Burbache to enter the said Forest and to graze on the herbage of the Lord King's beasts of chase, . . . taking a certain fixed sum from the men whose the animals are".

It was alleged also that Henry had defied a royal proclamation, issued regarding the agistment of pigs. "And that, . . . when the pigs of the parson of Kenete (East Kennet) were agisted in the same Forest to the profit of the Lady Queen, the same Henry Sturmy drave the said pigs from the said Forest and had them impounded until the said parson had made a fine of 20s. for the same—extorting the said money thus from the said parson without warrat, under the pretext of his bailiwick".

Finally, it was claimed that Henry had wrongfully taken and sold the heath and bracken from the Forest. He had taken the fees which arose from the hambling or "expeditation" of dogs, and had not accounted for the money—"whereas the money from the hambling of dogs should appertain to the Lord King and to none other".

These were formidable accusations; but none the less Henry seems to have felt that, in the main, he had the answer to them. The charge

of illicit charcoal burning was the only one of this category to which he felt it prudent to plead guilty : he paid a fine in respect of this, but was able to secure the transfer of the other charges to a higher court. This was to his advantage, not only because at Westminster he would find no local prejudice to combat, but also because he was planning to dispose of the whole matter by means of a direct petition to the King.

The petition is an interesting one, chiefly because it does not deal specifically with the accusations brought against him. Rather, it is an attempt by Henry Esturmy to demolish the entire indictment by showing that, as Warden, he enjoyed rights and privileges such as to authorise the various acts of so-called lawlessness set out in the individual charges. The King is petitioned to confirm these privileges, at present in jeopardy owing to Henry's failure to establish them at the recent Eyre.

"Whereas Henry Sturmy, Henry his son, and Margaret the wife of the same Henry son of Henry", the petition runs,<sup>1</sup> "hold of the Lord the King *in capite* the manors of Borebach and Couelesfeld . . . by the service of guarding the bailiwick of the entire Forest of Savernak, and the farm called 'La Verme' in the said Forest; and also by the service of finding one man armed with hauberk whensoever the King shall require his services within the seas, . . . they claim all the following rights and appurtenances.

"That is to say—All the foresters of the fee of the whole of the said Forest shall be beholding and responding to them as the capital foresters of the Forest. They hold of right the equipage, saddle, bridle, sword and horn of the foresters of the fee whensoever they move abroad.

"They claim their necessary allowance (of wood) for house-bote and haye-bote throughout the whole of the aforesaid bailiwick. Also all the fines levied on defaulters in the Court of the aforesaid Forest; and all pleas concerning hares, nets, coney-traps, badgers, foxes, wild cats and partridges; and all penalties for the trespass of animals, and for dead wood throughout the whole year, except during the fence-month (in mid-summer).

"And all their domestic animals, excepting two-toothed sheep and goats, are free of herbage throughout the year, and their swine free of pannage throughout the whole year except the fence-month. Also they have liberty to impound stray cattle found throughout the entire Forest, and to receive the fines for the expeditation of dogs.

"And they have the eyries of the hawks, the honey and nuts and hips throughout the Forest after the Regard (i.e., Forest inspection). And they have free chase throughout the bailiwick of the said Forest for hares, foxes, wild cats, badgers and all such vermin.

"And they claim the dead wood in the farm of 'La Verme' during the three weeks previous to Christmas, the three weeks before Easter

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<sup>1</sup> Waylen's *History of Marlborough* : original source not quoted.

and the three weeks before Michaelmas; that is to say, such as has fallen without the aid of a cutting weapon. And they claim in the said farm whatever is thrown down by the wind, over and above the underwood which belongs to the King.

“And they have the after-pannage (for pigs) from Martinmas to Candlemas; and all the top and lop of the timber, whether thrown for the use of the Lord the King or given away by him. Also the toll for digging sand, and that levied for carriage throughout the whole said farm; and the pasture of a certain corner of the heath beyond the covert.

“Now it is admitted that the aforesaid Henry Sturmy, Henry his son, and Margaret the wife of the same Henry son of Henry and all the ancestors of the said Henry . . . down from the time wherein the memory of man standeth not, have been accustomed wholly to enjoy all the above-mentioned profits as of right pertaining to the said guardianships, up till the Friday last before the feast of the Blessed Virgin Lucia, in the sixth year of Edward the present King (1332); on which day the Iter (Eyre) of the Forest . . . was shut by John de Tychehourn . . . (and others) wholly debarring the petitioners from the aforesaid perquisites, to their manifest disinherittance.

“Wherefore”, it ends, “the said Henry Sturmy, Henry his son, and Margaret the wife of the same Henry son of Henry, upon these premises, pray that redress may be administered to them”.

On the whole, it must be granted that this was a good petition, tending to discredit nearly all the charges laid against the elder Henry. It seems moreover to have been successful, in as much as we hear nothing further as to these specific charges being pressed. Indeed, had this Esturmy manifesto (for it is almost that) been followed by a resumption of quiet and orderly administration at Savernake, it seems highly probable that the whole trouble might have blown over.

Unfortunately for all concerned, the very opposite seems to have occurred. We have seen that de Bilkemore had obtained from a magistrate some authority for his control of the West Baily; but if he thought that the stiff-necked Henry would accept this, he was soon to be disillusioned. The feud indeed seems to have been carried on after the Eyre of 1332 even more bitterly than before. The whole Savernake neighbourhood must have been divided by it into two camps—a state of affairs not conducive to good order!

De Bilkemore's legal position, although strong, was soon assailed. In 1334 a further Eyre was held at Marlborough; and this, presided over by a certain John de Ludham, was a far more satisfactory affair for the Esturmys than the Salisbury Eyre had been. In the first place, clear instructions<sup>1</sup> had been sent to the Warden in advance. “We charge you in the King's name that you cause to come before us

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

. . . all the foresters, verderers, regardsers, agisters and all other officers of the said Forest with their rolls . . . And you shall have warned all who have been indicted for trespass against the venison and the vert . . . that justice may be done on them according to the Assize of the Forest. And in this you shall not fail. And you shall have . . . all the names of the aforesaid written down . . .”.

We are fortunate in having still extant what Henry Esturmy did in fact write down<sup>1</sup>—and most informative it is. Since he did not recognise de Bilkemore as a Forester, he naturally did not set down his name in that capacity. He mentioned Roger de Harden of the Brails, Peter de Forstebury of Southgrove and Hubert Pypard of Hippenscombe—so that each of these much-reduced bailiwicks was represented; but against the West Bailly he set no name.

Sir Robert de Bilkemore was mentioned however in another place: he was among those indicted for a number of crimes! For instance, he and his servants are said to have entered the Forest, where they “in the covert of Ywode (near Brimslade) cut a cart-full of hazel and whitethorn worth 4d., and took it away to Robert’s house at Wyke.

“Likewise they say that Robert de Bilkemore . . . (and others) felled an oak worth 18d. in the Wodedych . . . on Sunday, St. Andrew’s Eve . . . and took it to Robert’s house at Wyke. Likewise that the said Robert . . . (and others) felled an oak on Christmas Eve . . . worth 2s. and removed it to Wyke”.

These were not grave crimes (indeed it was only the non-recognition of de Bilkemore as a forester that made them crimes at all); but no doubt such charges served to discredit the accused, while at the same time raising the morale of the Esturmy partisans. Henry’s position in the eyes of the world must have been much strengthened by the time this Eyre closed.

Sir Robert de Bilkemore however was a man who matched Henry Esturmy in determination. Not for a moment would he abandon his pretensions; and so, in the same year that he received this set-back, we find him, with Anastasia his wife, preparing in his turn a petition to the King.<sup>2</sup>

“To our Lord the King”, it runs, “(this petition) sheweth that Robert de Bilkemore and Anastasia his wife hold certain lands . . . together with the West Bailiwick of the Forest of Savernak”. It goes on to deal with the “swearing in” of de Bilkemore as a forester.

“Such oath was by Master Robert de Aspale, at that time Justice in Eyre of the Forest, recorded in open Court at Salisbury; by which record the said Robert de Bilkemore was recognised by the Court as forester, and accepted by the entire session in Eyre. And in the said Court he laid his claims accessorial to the said bailiwick, and produced mainprize to the Court as bond for such claims until adjusted by the King’s Council.

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Waylen; source not stated.

“ Upon all which, commandment was made in open Court to Henry Sturmy, Seneschall of the said Forest, to allow peaceable possession to the said Robert de Bilkemore and Anastasia, in virtue of the said main-prize, until their claims should be adjudged. But the said Henry . . . has denied to the said Robert and Anastasia the exercise of their rights, and wilfully disturbed them in spite and contempt of the Court of our Lord the King, to the encroachment on the lordship and sovereignty of the said Forest, to the disinheritation of our Lord the King and to the great loss of our Lady the Queen. By which also the bailiwick aforesaid is destroyed both in vert and in venison.

Other misdeeds of “ the said Henry ” are alleged. “ Respecting all which outrages and burdens the said Robert hath sued to our Lord the King and his Council, and challenged by brief the said Henry to cease therefrom. . . . But the said Henry refuses to obey, wilfully setting at naught the lordship and sovereignty of the Forest and stopping the course of the law, to the disinheritation of the petitioners, who now pay annually their fee-farm without benefit.

“ On account of which burdens ”, the petitions ends, “ and of others too numerous to recite, committed from day to day by the said Henry, . . . may it please our Lord the King to apply some speedy remedy, and compel Henry Sturmy to answer these and other charges which will be laid against him, notoriously tending to the disinheritation of the King, the great loss of the Queen and the destruction of the Forest ”.

The date of this petition is given as 1334; and it seems that the King at once ordered that an investigation should be held. It would be interesting to know what this revealed; for it must be admitted that Henry's conduct is here shown in a very bad light. He himself seems to have got wind of the contents of the foregoing document, and to have felt the necessity for issuing some sort of a counterblast. This took the form likewise of a petition, which he was careful to draft in French—this being the language of the royal household. Happily he retained a copy of it, from which I am able to quote.<sup>1</sup>

“ To our Lord the King ”, it runs, “ if it please him and his Council, Henry Sturmy sheweth that he and his ancestors from time out of mind have had the keeping of the Forest of Savernak. And it belongs to the said keeping that the said Henry ought to take possession of the bailiwicks of fee in the said Forest at their *vendaunces* (? transfer in consideration of a fee), reserving the issues unto our Lord the King . . . .

“ . . . . And the said Henry, by virtue of his aforesaid keepership, had taken possession of the bailiwick of the West Baily in the said Forest on the death of William de Harden to whom the said bailiwick belonged; for that cause moreover accounting and answering to our Lord the King for the issues of the same. And Sir Robert de Bilkemore and Anastasia his wife, daughter and heir of the

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.



said William, bring their (writ) of novel disseisin (i.e. dispossession) against the said Henry . . . by cause whereof . . . the said bailiwick passed out of the hand of our Lord the King, contrary to the law and custom of the land . . .

“ . . . The said Henry prayeth that it please our Lord the King and his Council to be avised lest prejudice be done to his sovereignty by the said assize (i.e. judgement), having regard that all the profit issuing from the said bailiwick . . . belongs to our Lord the King, . . . the said Henry claiming nothing of these issues”.

This petition is perhaps less easy to follow than de Bilkemore's; but the gist of it seems clear. Henry claims that, as the King's servant, he has merely been standing up for the King's rights, not only against the de Bilkemore clan but also against the wrong-headedness of the local Justices. He is at pains to point out (does one detect here a certain lack of candour?) that he himself has no personal interests at stake.

One wonders how King Edward III and his Council reacted to this long-range bombardment with petitions? It is likely that the feeling at Westminster was of annoyance; for it must soon have been evident that this local squabbling could only do harm to the administration of one of the royal Forests. A final petition, reaching the capital round 1337, must have confirmed this view of the matter, showing as it did that the feud at Savernake was still being conducted with considerable misguided vigour.

I shall not quote this petition;<sup>1</sup> but it contained a further accusation against Henry Esturmy—that of oppressing the small tenantry of the West Bailiwick. Although this may alienate our sympathy from him; it seems that Henry was provided with a strong temptation to oppress them. It will be recalled that, at the Eyre of 1332, he himself had all but lost his age-old rights and privileges through the premature rising of the Court before he had been able to recite them. He may have thought—and the reader also may suspect—that de Bilkemore had somehow engineered this for his own ends. The plan (if it was planned) succeeded admirably against the Warden “to his manifest disinheritance”; but it had the disadvantage of “catching out” in the same way a number of other late comers.

Henry Esturmy may have noticed, among those who shared his chagrin at finding the court-house closed on that unhappy occasion, a number of de Bilkemore's own supporters. These were small-holders from various villages within the West Baili, and they were there to claim traditional rights of common for their beasts. Since their claims were not presented, the Warden was of course enabled thereafter to turn their beasts off the Forest commons; and it seems that he did so—no doubt deriving a good deal of satisfaction from being able thus to turn against de Bilkemore's tenants a shaft which their master had supposedly aimed at him.

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. Ancient Petitions—File 63.

Gratifying though this may have been to Henry, it was perhaps bad policy in the long run. The petition of these small-holders to be spared "this harshness" must, when it reached Westminster, have made an unfortunate impression; suggesting that the Warden was a tyrannical person, creating needless trouble for the minor tenantry of Savernake. As the Warden's reputation stood none too high already, he could ill afford to invite further criticism.

Although not yet an old man, Henry "the Elder" was by now in failing health. His life had been a troublous one, marked by continuous worry and strife ever since the disafforestation of 1330. He died, presumably at Burbage, in the year 1338, handing on to the younger Henry and to Margaret Esturmy an uneasy heritage.

#### SIR HENRY ESTURMY : 1338—1381.

The younger Henry Esturmy was in his middle twenties when he succeeded to the Wardenship,<sup>1</sup> and when he and Margaret his wife (as the surviving shareholders) succeeded to the family property. He and Margaret had been married now for a number of years; but it appears that they were childless. So it was also with the new Warden's youngest brother, Richard: the latter evidently made a career of some sort for himself, for he became a knight;<sup>2</sup> but if he had any children, they did not survive him.<sup>3</sup>

Of Geoffrey Esturmy, Henry the Elder's second son, we have but little knowledge—possibly because he died young, certainly predeceasing his brother Henry. He married, however, and had a son named William, being thus apparently the only one of the three brothers to present the family with an heir. We may imagine that Henry and Margaret took an especial interest in their little nephew, soon to be the only male descendant of his line.

Taking over the Wardenship in 1338, Henry must at once have been faced with a very difficult decision. Was he to carry on the feud which his father had been waging against the de Bilkemores, or should he try to bring back peace to Savernake? It seems probable that he shared his father's views as to the rights and wrongs of the dispute; but he was, on the other hand, a sensible young man (his subsequent career gives proof of this); and it must have been clear to him that both the Esturmys and the de Bilkemores were heading for trouble by keeping the whole neighbourhood in a state of continual unrest.

We do not know whether he tried to stop the feud; but it is certain that he did not succeed in doing so. Hostilities continued: we hear of

<sup>1</sup> I.P.M., Wilts.

<sup>2</sup> Seymour Pedigree.

<sup>3</sup> It should be remembered that, at this period, references to young children hardly ever occur: one hears only of those who grew up and in some way made their mark in the world. As to this generation, Hoare's genealogy, *Modern Wilts*, p. 117, is hopelessly in error.

Esturmy clansmen invading de Bilkemore property, committing assaults and doing damage there. In all probability, there were counter-attacks by de Bilkemore's adherents—in other words, a sort of private war.

It is not surprising that the authorities at Westminster at last became disgusted with the whole affair : what is remarkable is that they had kept their patience for so long. By 1342, they had for ten years heard nothing from Savernake but complaints and counter-complaints, charges and counter-charges. In so far as they had been able to investigate the matter, it appeared that both parties were in some degree blameworthy ; and so in the end the action taken was of a sort agreeable to neither.

In a word, the whole Forest including the West Bailly was, in 1342, " taken into the King's hand ".<sup>1</sup> No explanation apparently was given ; nor indeed was any needed. The official view plainly was that, if the Esturmys and de Bilkemores could not rule Savernake peaceably between them, then it was high time for the King to send some other representative to do it for them. In fact, he sent Simon Simeon his " yeoman " to take over Henry Esturmy's office. As for the forestership claimed by the de Bilkemores, " the said Anastasia did not hold at her death the forestry of the West Bailiwick of Savernake, because long before her death, to wit on Monday before the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the 16th year of the reign of King Edward III, that bailiwick was taken into the King's hand . . . and it still remains in the King's hand . . . (and) Simon Symeon, keeper of Savernake Forest, has occupied the West Bailiwick aforesaid ".<sup>2</sup>

Thus began a long and in some ways a tragic interlude in the administration of the Forest. The greatest share of misfortune was surely that which fell upon young Henry Esturmy ; for he had to endure the loss of an hereditary office already held by his ancestors for two centuries and more. Furthermore, the trouble had not been of his making : the feud had been essentially his father's feud, not his. It was a cruel fate which had enabled Henry the Elder to enjoy the privileges of his office (or most of them) to the last, and so soon snatched them from his son.

It is to be supposed that young Henry did what he could to bring this hardship to the notice of those in power at Westminster. Lord Lovel, Margaret Esturmy's cousin, should have had some influence there ; but perhaps nothing, at this stage, could have restored the " troublesome " Esturmys to official favour.

So time went by, and " in the King's hand " Savernake remained. Anastasia, as we have seen, grew old and died : Sir Robert de Bilkemore was ageing : Henry himself was growing into middle age, and little William his nephew had become a sturdy youth, approaching manhood.

<sup>1</sup> Patent Rolls.

<sup>2</sup> I.P.M., Wilts, A.D. 1353.

Meanwhile, if Henry did nothing else during the years of disgrace, he at least took measures to improve the family fortunes. By 1356, he felt himself able to resume occupation of Wolfhall. He had previously (1350) acquired manors at Eston and Middelton (Easton and Milton), thus expanding his estate in that direction; and he now entered into negotiations with Edward de Stokke, drawing up an agreement with him, somewhat oddly, in the Anglo-French language rather than in the conventional Latin used by our ancestors for legal purposes.

The agreement<sup>1</sup> itself was of an unusual nature; for it provided that Henry Esturmy should receive Wolfhall from de Stokke, and that the latter should guarantee him permanent possession. The vendor must pledge himself to pay £10 per annum to the purchaser, which sum would never be claimed so long as the Esturmys were *not* disturbed or dispossessed by the de Stokkes! One wonders whether Henry was his own lawyer in this matter? If so he was an ingenious one—this piece of legal draughtsmanship having at least stood the test of time, despite its unorthodox provisions, with complete success.

It is likely that, with the family fortune re-established and Wolfhall regained, Henry had achieved an ambition that he had long cherished. He had been born at Wolfhall; and the place no doubt held for him memories of happier times. The manor house there was a fine timbered structure; not very extensive, but none the less thought worthy, 150 years later, of sheltering a king. The Esturmys themselves may have rebuilt or enlarged it; for it was an old house—indeed rather a tumble-down old house—when the Seymours lived there. Thus it was perhaps in its prime when Henry Esturmy occupied it.

Having installed himself there, he no doubt turned his mind once again to the question of regaining those hereditary rights from which he had now been debarred for so many weary years. It is possible that Henry's more prosperous circumstances were at this stage an advantage to him, enabling him to meet influential people and to enlist their aid. However this may be, we find that in 1359 the long period of disgrace (it had lasted 17 years in all) was brought at last to an end. The King and his Councillors relented; letters patent were prepared; and one fine day in May, Henry held in his hand the document<sup>2</sup> which, faithfully preserved, I have before me.

“Edward, by God's grace”, it is headed, “King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland. . . . Whereas of late the offices of Seneschall and Chief Forester of our Forest of Savernak in the County of Wilts, which Henry Esturmy lately held in fee, were for certain causes taken into our hand; yet because we are convinced of our certain knowledge that the aforesaid Henry was unjustly removed from

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives.

the offices aforesaid, and those offices wilfully by the malice of certain persons who were jealous of him taken into our hand, we, in consideration thereof and for the good service which the said Henry has rendered and shall in future render us, desiring to deal graciously with the said Henry in this matter, have restored to the same Henry the aforesaid offices.

“To have and to hold”, it continues, “to himself and to his heirs of us and of our heirs by the services due and wont in respect thereof for ever, in the same manner as the said Henry, he and his ancestors from a time whereof the memory runneth not, had and held them and were wont to have and hold them before the seizure aforesaid; that seizure, which we regard as unwarrantable and unjust, notwithstanding”. The document is witnessed by the King himself at Westminster “in the thirty third year of our reign in England, but the twentieth of our reign in France”.

While Henry Esturmy was—perhaps rather breathlessly—reading out these words, another document in the same vein<sup>1</sup> was on its way to all the minor officials of the Forest. “Thomas de Braose,” it runs, “Guardian of the Forests of the Lord King on this side Trent, to all the foresters, verderers, regards, agisters and other lieges of the Lord King’s Forest of Savernak—greeting!”. It goes on to recapitulate King Edward’s grant of restoration to the hereditary Warden, repeating the King’s words as to his unjust removal and as to the malice which had caused it.

De Braose himself being unable in person to carry out the formal reinstatement, the document calls upon his lieutenants, specifying four of them by name, to see that the Warden is well and truly restored to his former offices. As for the foresters and others, they must be “zealous and forthcoming” to facilitate the change, “knowing all and singular that we have reinstated the said Henry in the bailiwick aforesaid”.

It was a triumph for Henry Esturmy—particularly in view of the generous wording by which his character was vindicated. He must have smiled grimly over the reference to “certain persons” and their “wilful malice”. It would have been very clear to him at whom this verbal shaft was aimed; but to us it is less obvious—for we find, rather surprisingly, that at about the same date Sir Robert de Bilkemore was restored to the Forestership of the West Bailly! If he was not guilty of the malice, who was?

There is a puzzle here, to which we may never find the clue. Is it possible that Henry, using his regained power of appointment, chose to heap coals of fire upon the head of his father’s old adversary? This would have called for extraordinary magnanimity; and perhaps a more likely explanation is that some other edict came out of Westminster, allowing the West Bailly forestership to de Bilkemore for the remainder

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

of his lifetime. The latter being aged and childless, this would have been a reasonable concession.

In fact, de Bilkemore enjoyed his restoration only for two years, dying in 1361. An Inquisition concerning the West Baily mentions in that year the two virgates of land which had caused so much trouble; "and now the said Robert de Bilkemore holds them of the King by the serjeanty of keeping the said bailiwick".

It is perhaps not surprising that, with de Bilkemore dead and this disputed territory vacant, Henry should have decided to risk no more difficulties with it. He appointed himself to the forestership; and so, in 1370,<sup>1</sup> "Henry Esturmy now holds the West Bailiwick in the King's Forest of Savernake. . . . (It) is held of the King in chief by a rent of 52s. and by the service of keeping the said bailiwick, to wit, by finding three foresters on foot under him there to keep the same according to the Assize of the Forest".

It is interesting to note that this forestership carried with it rights and privileges very similar to those which the Esturmys had always claimed by virtue of holding La Verme. Thus Henry gained extended rights of pasturage, besides the privilege of employing one man "yearly for ever" to carry sand from the Forest sand-pits. He could obtain certain timber for repairs, collect certain fees within the bailiwick, and enjoy "the retro-pannage of the agistment of pigs".

So out of evil came good; for the Esturmys now personally held the two main bailiwicks forming the bulk of Savernake Forest, with only the remnants of outlying bailiwicks administered for them by subordinate foresters. With the total area so much reduced, this was no doubt the most practical arrangement.

With his affairs now in this prosperous state, Henry Esturmy was able to take up certain public duties. His personal character seems to have won respect; for no sooner was he reinstated as Warden than he was made a Justice. It was perhaps at the same time that he gained a knighthood, and only two years later that he was appointed Sheriff of Wilts. This was quick advancement for a man who for so long had lived under the shadow of disgrace.

In the legal sphere, it was strangely appropriate that one of Sir Henry Esturmy's first duties was to take part in the trial at Marlborough of a certain Hildebrand Barr.<sup>2</sup> The latter had been a forester of Savernake under the administration of Simon Simeon—and he was accused of an appalling list of crimes, including deer stealing and the illicit sale of timber. The case is now of interest to us (and was no doubt of satisfaction to Sir Henry then) as showing that, even when "in the King's hand", the Forest administration could not be freed from occasional scandal!

It was good that this should be demonstrated so soon after the

<sup>1</sup> I.P.M., Wilts.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., E. 32, 318. The presiding Justice was William of Wykeham.

commencement of a new Esturmy Wardenship; for as it happened Sir Henry himself was not able, during his own term of office, to keep entirely on the right side of the Forest Law. We may be sure that he endeavoured to do so, since he had recent and distressing memories of the result of his father's irregular conduct: the Forest code, however, was a complex one, and we know that in fact he offended against it. No record remains of what the indiscretions were; but King Richard II had not long been on the throne when, in 1378, his pardon was required in respect of unspecified "transgressions" dating back into the previous reign.

The document pardoning Sir Henry was preserved by his descendants.<sup>1</sup> "Richard by the grace of God" it runs, "King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland . . . Know that of our special grace, and at the supplication of our most dear Uncles<sup>2</sup> . . . we have pardoned Henry Sturmy, Warden of our Forest of Savernak, and John Wilee (or Wiley) his lieutenant in the same, all kinds of transgressions as well of vert as of venison committed by the said Henry and John in the said Forest, as well in the time of the Lord E(dward) late King of England, our Grandfather, as in our time".

The Pardon goes on to exonerate Henry and John, not only from the consequences of their own misdeeds but also from any blame for the wrong-doing of their subordinates. "Being unwilling that the said Henry and John . . . should be impeached or molested in anything or suffer injury at our hands . . . In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be prepared".

It was a generous pardon; and we may well believe that the Warden received it with feelings of relief. Whatever he and John Wiley had done—and very likely they had not erred greatly—there must have been a risk of officials in Westminster casting their minds back to those other Savernake scandals of forty years before. "The Esturmys again!": it would have gone ill with Sir Henry if the latest trouble had been looked on in that light.

The danger averted, his old age was serene. We have seen that Sir Henry Esturmy had built up the family fortunes; but he was no mere hoarder of possessions, for as early as 1350 he had joined with others in giving some land from his newly acquired manors to the Priory of Easton. Then, in 1371, he sought the royal permission to give further land, this time of considerable extent.

Permission was granted by Edward III, who gave his licence<sup>3</sup> "to our well-beloved Henry Sturmy" for the transfer to the Prior and brethren of certain lands, buildings and rents, situated in such diverse places as East Wick, Clench, Milton, Pewsey, Upavon, Puthall and Wootton Rivers "which are not held of us in chief". (Such a

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> The King being a minor, his uncles acted as advisers to him in affairs of State.

<sup>3</sup> Savernake Archives.



An ancient Horn in the Possession of Lord Bruce

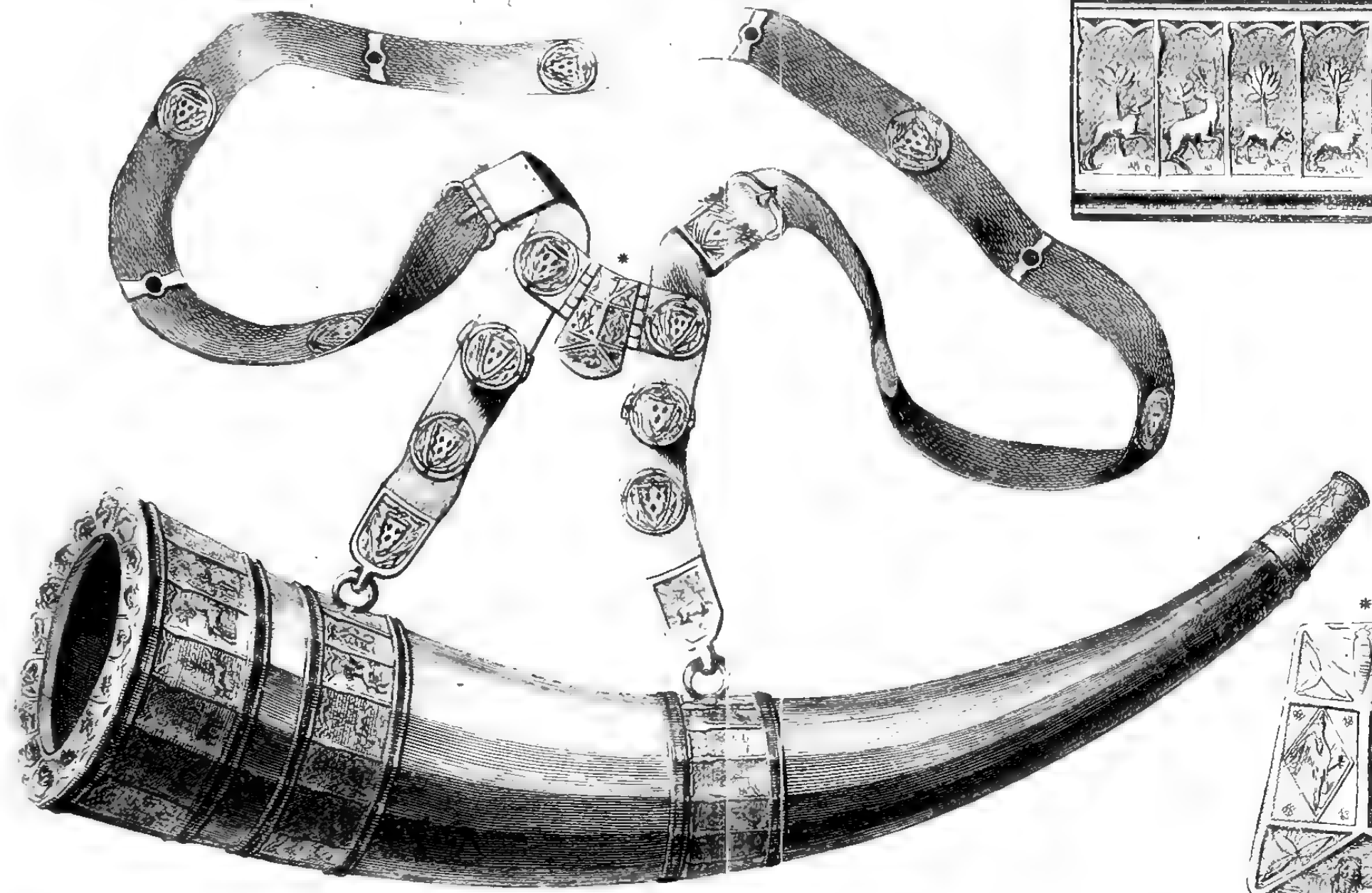


Fig. 3.

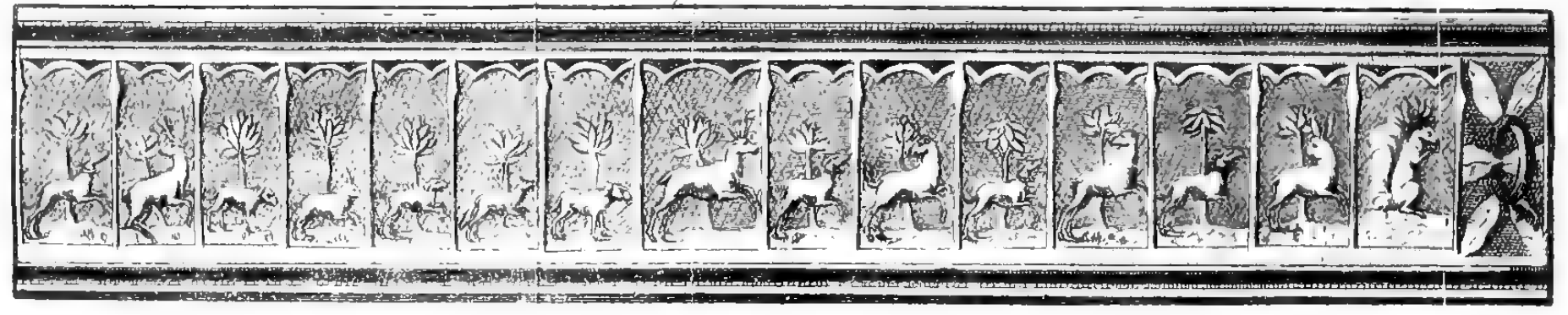


Fig. 4.

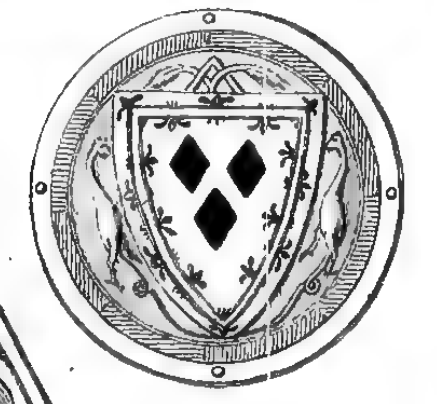
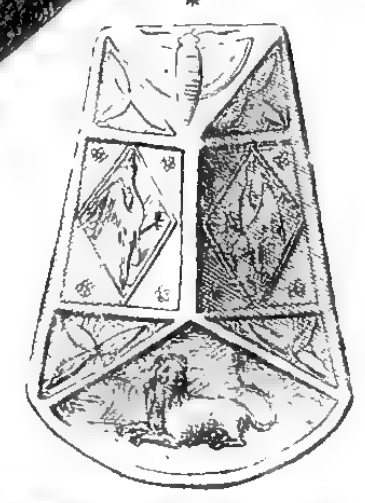
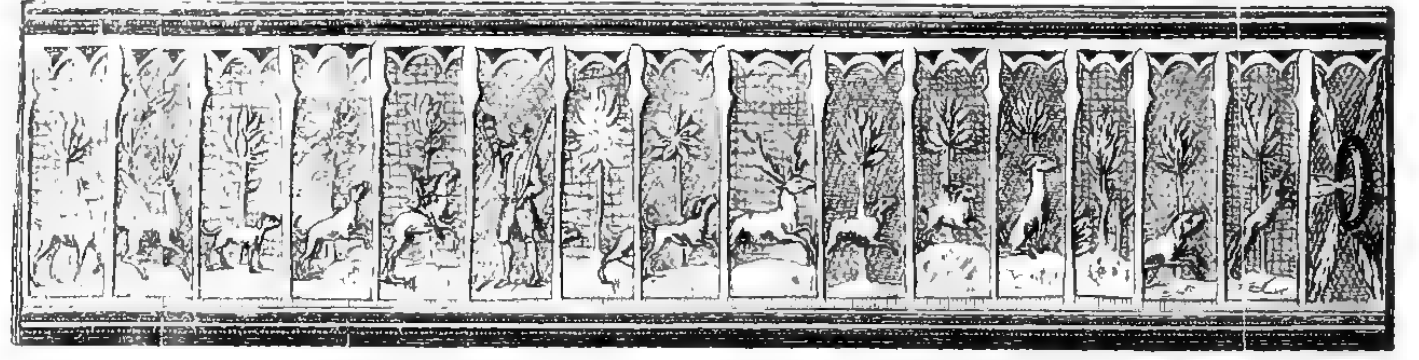


Fig. 5.

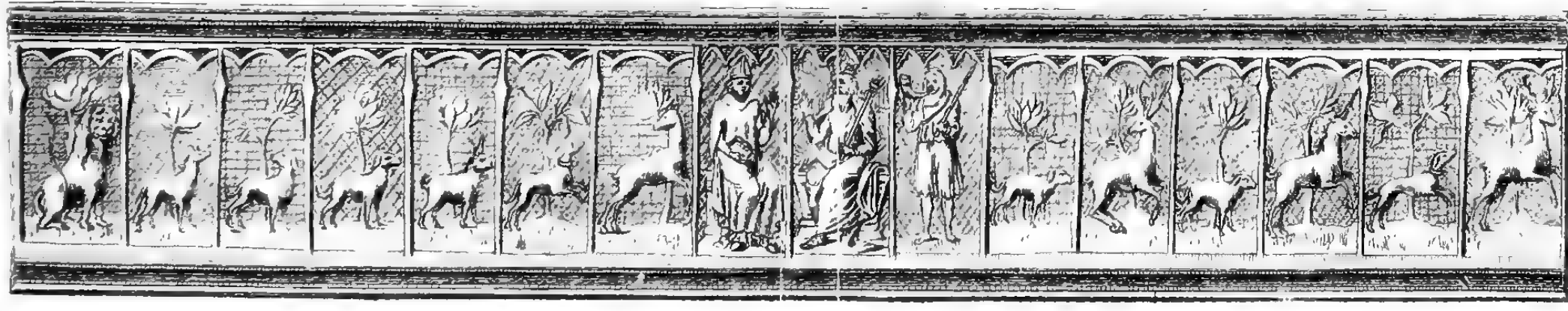


Fig. 2.

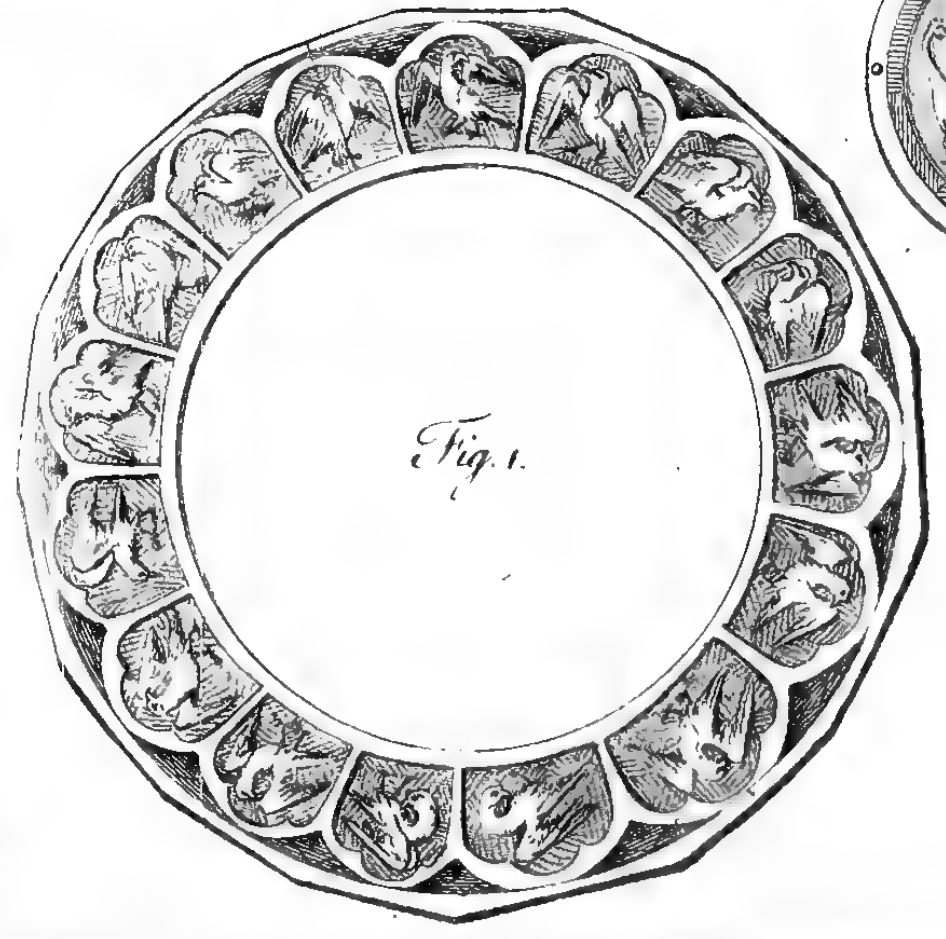


Fig. 1.





permit was needed in those days, on account of the Statute of Mortmain.)

The Prior might receive the gift "to have and to hold . . . for the sake of our well-being and that of our most dear first-born, Edward Prince of Aquitaine and Wales, and for that of Henry himself so long as we (all) shall live, and for our souls when we shall have passed out of this light. And for the soul of Philippa, lately Queen of England, our most dear consort, and for the souls of our ancestors and of all the faithful dead for ever".

This royal concern for the departed was a sentiment which the Esturmys fully shared. Sir Henry eventually gave to the Priory "all my lands and tenements at Puthall"; but made it a condition that, out of the resulting revenues, a penny and a white loaf worth  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. should be given to each of 20 poor persons "on the day when (the feet) of the poor are washed. By us", says the Indenture<sup>1</sup>, "if we are present with the said brethren. And if it so happen that we have no heirs and are not present there, then it is my wish that the Prior or one of the brethren distribute the 20 pence and the 20 white loaves and wash their feet as aforesaid.

"Moreover" it continues, "it is my wish that the Prior provide yearly four wax candles, each containing 2 lbs. of wax, to burn about the different tombs of my ancestors (specified by name). And those four candles shall be lit and burn on each night of the birthdays of the said men and women severally. . . . (And) the Prior and brethren shall annually and for ever solemnly celebrate chorally in like manner for all the souls of my ancestors, successors and benefactors, . . . and they shall provide each year one candle of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. weight for my oblation . . . ."

"And if they do not pay the 20 pence and the 20 loaves . . . nor observe the birthdays (et cetera) . . . but fail in part or in the whole, which God forbid, . . . then it is my wish that the Bishop punish them.

"And the Prior and brethren accept all the conditions here laid down and bind themselves to me, Henry Sturmy, and to my successors faithfully to perform the same".

I have greatly abbreviated this long document; but even thus it serves to show that combination of reverence for his forebears with devotion to the Church which was a feature of Sir Henry's character. As it happens, his careful regard for individual ancestors has served even in this 20th century, to keep their names (as he intended) in remembrance. There are several who would now be unknown to us, but for the fact that he set down their names, requiring the candles to be burned for each one.

Finally, in the last year of his life, Sir Henry Esturmy made yet another charitable gift<sup>2</sup>. The Prior of Easton and the Rector of South

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> By a Deed, preserved at Savernake.

Tidworth (the latter incidentally being his secretary and agent) were to receive "all my goods and chattels, mobile and fixed, living and dead, with all their issues in all my manors and holdings in the County of Hants". The use to be made of these was not specified; but perhaps Maurice Hammond of "Suthtodeworth" had been verbally instructed as to the disposal of such personal property.

The death of his brother Geoffrey was a bereavement which must have befallen Sir Henry during his latter years. No date can be assigned to this; but the effect was to make William Esturmy, Geoffrey's son, heir to the Wardenship and to the family estates. William by now was a man of about forty and, as we have seen, the sole descendant of Sir Henry's generation.

It was in 1381 that the old Warden, aged about 70, died. He was buried "on the Tuesday next after the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist"; and we are fortunate in having some record of his funeral. Maurice Hammond entered the details concerning it in his accounts—and although these accounts were "cast asyde by whyles", they were found again at Wolfhall by some member of the Earl of Hertford's household in the year 1589.<sup>1</sup> Hence their survival.

We know therefore that there was a considerable outlay—"in money distributed to the poor on the day of the burial by the hands of William Esturmy, together with the hearse escorted by torches and the cerements belonging to the said hearse. And in black-and-white cloth bought and distributed to the poor, and in oblations at the Masses, and in making up the said cloth; and in black cloth bought for William Esturmy".

These items cost the large sum—for those days—of £17 odd; but this was not all. It appears that a great crowd attended the funeral service, many no doubt coming from a distance; and William Esturmy felt obliged to entertain them in a handsome manner. Hence there were payments "to divers men for preparing the halls, and in cleaning the kitchens and other rooms". There were also "the stipends of the cook(s) and other men serving the said cooks"; all suggestive of a large-scale banquet.

As for the food, there were "divers victuals bought, to wit:—the flesh of oxen, pigs, sheep, calves, swans, capons, chicken, geese, wild ducks, sucking pigs, pigeons and rabbits". There were "divers fish, salt and fresh, to wit:—herrings and pilchards"; also "eggs, milk, honey, mustard, vinegar, salt, onions and pears". There were also "divers spices bought, to wit:—pepper, ginger, saffron, Alexandrian almonds, sugar, canel, cloves, mace, dates, figs, rys, flour de rys and raisins of Corinth". Bread was specially baked, and there was beer and wine to drink.

Those who came to mourn Sir Henry therefore did not go empty away. The old Warden's nephew saw to it that there was hospital for all, and for the needy a gift of money also. In this he did well.

<sup>1</sup> The parchment, now at Savernake, has a note on it to this effect.

for his uncle had been generous in his lifetime, and would have approved of some munificence at his departure.

SIR WILLIAM ESTURMY : 1382—1427.

From the family historian's point of view, it is remarkable how well documented is Sir William Esturmy (for he soon gained a knighthood) after his succession, in 1382, to the hereditary Wardenship of Savernake Forest. It is remarkable also how little is known of Mr. William Esturmy who prior to that date, was but the nephew and the heir presumptive of the old Warden, Sir Henry.

The obscurity shrouding Sir William's early years is a misfortune; for when he succeeded his uncle he must have been already in middle life. We know that Geoffrey Esturmy, his father, was dead. His mother, on the contrary, was still alive; but although we know that Maurice Hammond "paid for one ox, bought for the lord's mother for her larder, 12s. 8d.", we find no clue as to the old lady's name.

We are a trifle better informed as to Sir William's wife. He appears to have remained for many years unmarried, only becoming engaged in the last year of his uncle's lifetime. The lady for whom he abandoned his bachelor state was Joanna, *née* Stokey, the widow of a certain John de Beaumont<sup>1</sup>: she was seemingly his junior by some years,<sup>2</sup> and bore him two daughters—Agnes and Matilda. Maurice Hammond's accounts are disappointing in regard to her, telling us little of her domestic activities; indeed she is mentioned only once, when "on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael", Sir William's steward paid out "for the Lady's expenses at Wolfhall, 2s. 6½d."

Financially, Sir William Esturmy was undoubtedly well off. His uncle, as we have seen, had added to the family possessions; and it seems that several generations of Esturmys had married heiresses. (We cannot otherwise account for Sir William's possession, for example, of the half of a manor remote from the rest of his estate.) He was also a substantial farmer; for we know that his bailiff at Wolfhall sold pigs "on the Friday next after the feast of St. Katharine" to the value of 53s. 4d. The wool clipped from his sheep at Wolfhall brought in £5 4s. 4d., while from Elvetham he sold on one occasion 17 pigs and 31 sheep, for which a butcher at "Redyng" paid him £5 10s. 3d.

A memorandum exists<sup>4</sup> showing the chief properties which Sir William inherited; and the salient points of this are perhaps worth quoting, since they give an idea of the status of the Esturmy family at this period. In respect of the lands mentioned, "the said William . . . did homage and fealty to our Lord the King (Richard II) on the 7th day of August in the 5th year of his reign".

Marriage Settlement, Savernake Archives, and Hoare's *Modern Wilts*.

<sup>2</sup> The marriage occurred in the summer of 1382, and this lady was still living in the winter of 1428.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Hammond's accounts for 1381.      <sup>4</sup> Savernake Archives.

"And . . . the said W. Esturmy . . . acknowledged that he held . . . from the King in chief . . . the manors of Burbach & Couvelesfeld with the bailiwick of Savernake Forest . . . by service of forester of the King's Forest of Savernake . . . together with a certain bailiwick of Savernake Forest called Westbaille". (In other words, he had the whole central portion of Forest, as it then existed.)

Other property inherited by "the said William" and held of the King in chief included "half the manor of Stapelford in the said county (of Wilts); . . . the manor of flyghelden . . . in the said county; . . . the manor of Lystormy (Lyss Esturmy) . . . in the county of Southampton together with the Hundred there; . . . and the manor of Pollyng . . . in the said County of Southampton". Wolfhall apparently was not held directly from the Crown, and so was not listed in the memorandum.

I fancy that there were various other lands and manors indirectly held. Maurice Hammond mentions "the farm of Crofton", and accounts also for rents received from such places as Elvetham, Bellamine, Rigeland, Colyngesdon and Tydecombe. Thus, while Sir William's "relief" or assessment for death duty was in the region of £20, there is reason to think that his total annual income ran to a good many hundreds.

Certainly he was accustomed to travel to an fro, and to send couriers to do his business in different parts of the country. We hear of him visiting London, Staines and Basingstoke, the round trip occupying a week and costing 35s. 11d. A Wolfhall carter was sent as far as Hampton (20d.) and a servant named Wylm (for 12d.) on an errand to Woodstock. Maurice Hammond was on one occasion sent to London—and that remarkably honest man charged only 11d. for his expenses. Later "the said Maurice" was sent to London for a week (8s.), and apparently entertained someone in Westminster to breakfast (6½d.)

Although from such entries in an account roll one can of course form but a sketchy notion of what was going on, we have here none the less an indication that Sir William Esturmy was a man of varied interests, whose horizon was by no means bounded by the wooded slopes of Savernake Forest. It is therefore not altogether surprising to find that, later in life, he obtained the entrée into Court circles, being attached for a time to the entourage of Blanche, Duchess of Bavaria, a daughter of King Henry IV of England.

His attendance upon this royal lady gave him the opportunity of travelling to the Continent and seeing something of the German principalities. In 1401 for instance we find that he held a passport, or rather a document designed to serve that purpose,<sup>1</sup> entitling him to pass through Albert, Duke of Bavaria's, domains. This stated that "the lady Blanche" was travelling with a retinue of 80 ladies and gentlemen, including Sir William Esturmy, Knight, and one John

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

Kyngton, clerk. All public functionaries in Bavaria were ordered to facilitate their passage.

It appears that Sir William, aided by John Kyngton, was acting as guide or liaison officer to this royal cavalcade. The document mentions only his name and Kyngton's, as if these two were the individuals with whom the local authorities would have to deal; and the fact of the parchment being retained among the private papers of the Esturmy family is indication that he was indeed the organiser of the travelling arrangements.

The responsibility for guiding so large a concourse of English and other courtiers must have been a serious matter; but it seems, none the less, that Sir William undertook it on more than one occasion. A second and similar "passport" exists<sup>1</sup>, which, while it does not mention by name anyone other than the Lady Blanche herself, was likewise found among the family archives. It must have been issued to Sir William and retained by him—no doubt as a further memento of his Continental travels.

Affairs at Savernake seem to have proceeded smoothly at this period; for Sir William's chief preoccupation when at home was to foster the work of the Church—or so one gathers from the documentary evidence. Around 1390 he acquired the manor and advowson of Froxfield; and shortly thereafter we find him presenting these to Easton Priory.<sup>2</sup> It is true that there was some *quid pro quo*, in as much as the Prior and brethren made certain concessions to the Esturmy family in respect of land at Burbage and at Crofton; but there is no need to doubt that the funds of the Priory benefited largely by the exchange. This indeed is proved by the fact that it was necessary for the Prior in 1391 to obtain the consent of the King to his acceptance of the Manor.

Sir William, like many of his ancestors, must have been a sincerely pious man; for he seems to have felt it desirable that, in each of the manors remaining to him, there should be a private chapel where local services could be conducted. To obtain authority for this, he had to make application to the Pope; and we know that he did so, for the Pope's letter of authorisation has survived.<sup>3</sup> It is an interesting document, for, although the language is orthodox Latin, the papal secretary seems to have wished to keep the contents secret from any casual eye. Certain words are therefore run together in a curious and baffling manner—someth ingli kethis.

"Boniface, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God", it begins (when deciphered), "to his favoured son the noble William Stormy, Knight, of the Diocese of Salisbury, Greeting and the Apostolic benediction!"

<sup>1</sup> Now at the P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives: also Phillips' Sarum Institutions. Froxfield had previously belonged to John de Cobeham, whose name the wood called Cobham Frith perpetuates.

<sup>3</sup> Savernake Archives.

The Pope goes on to say that he is affected by the sincerity of Sir William's devotion, and that permission is granted for the chapels to be consecrated, "so that by suitable priests chosen by you, mass and other high offices may be celebrated: and to you and your heirs and to your and their wives and to their domestic households they may administer the sacraments of the Church". The document, issued in Rome in the year 1397, ends with the warning that, upon anyone presuming unreasonably on the papal authority, "we call down the indignation of the omnipotent God".

It would be interesting to know what chapels were in fact instituted by Sir William on receipt of this authorisation. There must have been one at Wolfhall, although now no trace of it remains. There are however several disused chapels still to be found in the Savernake district, of which the one at Knowle, close to "the pasture of Tymerigge", can perhaps most safely be attributed to the Esturmys.

The end of the 14th century, to which period the building of chapels must belong, was marked by considerable changes in Sir William Esturmy's family circle. We have seen that he had two daughters; and although he and Joanna must have longed for a son, none was born to them. Now the daughters were growing up and reaching marriageable age. Agnes, the elder girl, was married eventually to a certain William Ryngeborne, by whom she had a son, christened likewise William.

Matilda, the younger daughter, was married about the year 1400 to a young man named Roger Seymour of Hache-Beauchamp.<sup>1</sup> The Seymours were already known as people of substance, several members of the family having held property in the Savernake neighbourhood,<sup>2</sup> while Roger Seymour himself possessed a considerable fortune, his Beauchamp grandmother having been an heiress. He and Matilda had a son, born in 1401, to whom they gave the name of John.

With the coming of the 15th century, things began to go rather less well with Sir William Esturmy. He had some contacts, as we have seen, with the royal family; and for his services to the Lady Blanche one might have supposed that he could count on considerate treatment from the reigning House of Lancaster. Unfortunately however, his career as Warden of Savernake Forest was marred by some trouble (the exact nature of which remains obscure) through which he incurred the displeasure of the Princess's brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

We have seen that it had become customary for Savernake Forest and its revenues, although belonging to the King, to be transferred by the

<sup>1</sup> Seymour Pedigree.

<sup>2</sup> Notably Thomas de Seymor who had land at Polton, a water mill at "Bedewynde", and was tenant also of land at "La Knolle". (I.P.M. Wilts, 1358.) May we also trace to this stock the John Semere mentioned on p. 302? The Seymour pedigree is not informative, except where the main line of the family is concerned.

reigning monarch as dower to his Queen. The Forest and other royal property could of course likewise be allotted—although this was less usual—to a prince or princess of the royal family. It happened that, in Sir William Esturmy's time, it had been allotted to this Duke of Gloucester, a younger son of King Henry IV.

The first indication which we have of Sir William, as Warden, having lost the confidence of this Prince is a document<sup>1</sup> sealed by the latter in 1417. I quote here the significant portions of it.

"This indenture witnesseth that the illustrious lord prince, the Duke of Gloucester, wishes Sir William Esturmy to occupy (or assume charge of) three bailiwicks in Savernake Forest . . . after the manner used by other bailiffs of that Forest in their own bailiwicks, without claiming or usurping the stewardship or chief forestership of the Forest . . . but behaving as other foresters are required to do . . .

"Walter Beauchamp, the Duke's steward, shall hold all Forest courts, and all foresters of fee shall do his bidding".

The document continues in similar vein; but the grievous nature of it is already plain. Sir William is to be degraded from the position of Warden, occupied by him and by his ancestors for the past 300 years; and this Walter Beauchamp is to take his place. All foresters of fee are to do the latter's bidding—and among the foresters of fee will be the head of the Esturmy family, controlling three out of the five bailiwicks indeed, "but behaving as other foresters are required to do".

Sir William Esturmy, after 36 years spent in the royal service both at Savernake and elsewhere, must have felt bitterly hurt to receive so abrupt and cruel a communication. Although an old man at this time, he determined to take whatever steps were possible to regain his hereditary rights. Accordingly he drew up a petition<sup>2</sup> addressed to the King, now King Henry V, in the following terms.

"To the most sovereign Lord the King: Prayeth most humbly your humble liege the Knight Bachelor William Esturmy that, whereas he and his ancstors have been seised of the offices of Steward and Head Forester of Savernake Forest from a time whereof the memory runneth not, with divers fees, profits and commodities to the same belonging, the which offices are held of you immediately as of your crown, and of the which offices he and his ancestors have been seised . . . as by divers evidence placed on record in the time of your noble progenitors more fully appeareth; now at this late hour he is ousted by the most puissant prince the Duke of Gloucester by colour of letters patent issued by the noble King your father, whom God assoil, to the said Duke concerning the Castle of Marleburgh and the Forest of Savernake.

"May it please your Highness to consider the advanced age of the said suppliant and the long possession that he and his ancestors have had of the said offices, and how he is ousted without process of law,

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives.



and to order that this matter be discussed before your Council by advice of your Justices, and that the said suppliant may have his inheritance, as right and reason require, for the sake of God and as an act of charity ”.

It appears that the King was moved by this appeal to order an investigation. It must have been conducted in a dilatory manner ; for there was no tangible result until October 1420, by which date Sir William had already suffered more than three years' dispossession. It is evident, however, that the King's advisors were at last convinced that an injustice had been done, and that suitable representations were then made to the high-handed Duke.

It was the latter at any rate who brought this unhappy affair to a close by restoring Sir William to his rightful place as hereditary Warden of the Forest. The Duke's letters patent,<sup>1</sup> used to effect the restoration, are curiously worded—the phraseology being almost exactly that used by King Edward III in regard to Sir Henry Esturmy more than 60 years before.<sup>2</sup> One wonders whether there was, at this period, a standard form of words by which royal personages might retract injustices which they had committed towards their “humble lieges”.

In the case of Sir William's restoration, the letters patent were couched in the following terms. “Humphrey, son and brother of Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Pembroke & Great Chamberlain of England, also Lord of the Castle and demesne of Marleburgh & of the Forest of Savernak . . . . greeting !.

“Whereas of late the offices of Steward and Chief Forester of our Forest of Savernak, which our beloved and trusty knight and homager William Esturmy lately held in fee, were for certain causes taken into our hand ; since however we have learned and are assured by the inspection of divers patents and other deeds in the records of our progenitors, formerly Kings of England, that the said William was unjustly removed and his offices wilfully through the malice of his rivals taken into our hand ; we in consideration of this, being desirous of acting graciously with the said William in this matter, have rendered, delivered and restored to him those offices . . . . , to have and to hold to him and his heirs of us and ours by the customary services, to occupy and keep . . . . as before the seizure he and his ancestors held, had, received, occupied and kept them from a time out of mind, and were wont to hold, have, receive, occupy and keep them, notwithstanding the seizure which we hastily made.

“In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be issued . . . .”

From beginning to end of this affair, it will be noted, there is no mention of what Sir William Esturmy is supposed to have done wrong, or of what his malicious rivals had alleged against him. We have to

<sup>1</sup> Found at Savernake, stitched to Sir William's Petition.      <sup>2</sup> P.323.

content ourselves with the knowledge that, although his old age had been clouded by the injustice (wilful or otherwise) of the Duke of Gloucester, Sir William lived to see his claim to the Wardenship completely vindicated, the Duke's steward forced to abate his pretensions, and the Esturmy family recognised as having valid right to primacy among the Foresters of Savernake.

So ended the old Warden's public tribulation; but there remained one domestic problem which must have troubled him sorely. Already in 1417 he had referred to his own "advanced age": he had no son, and it was increasingly needful that he should make some provision for the future. Presumably he would have liked his estate and his hereditary office (once this had been rendered secure) to go to someone who would carry on the Esturmy name. Sir William was not without relatives in the male line: for instance, there was a John Sturmy living in 1427 and a William Sturmy (perhaps John's descendant) in 1476.<sup>1</sup> He must therefore have considered, but rejected, the idea of making the senior surviving member of the Sturmy family his heir.

He may of course have had good reason for deciding against his male cousins (for such they apparently were). It is likely that they were descended from those Sturmys who had behaved so recklessly in the previous century; and if so, he may have deemed them unfitted to fill a responsible public position.

By a curious coincidence, both his sons-in-law had died young.<sup>2</sup> Each had left a son; and these young men, his grandsons, were now growing to maturity. The senior of them—being, as we have seen, the descendant of his elder daughter—was the young William Ryngeborne, whose claim to the Esturmy heritage was thus a strong one.

We know, however, that Sir William looked with greater favour on Matilda's son, John Seymour. If it had merely been a question of disposing of his landed property, it is probable that he would simply have left half of it to each; but in fact he had property at Savernake, possession of which carried with it the right to an ancient and distinguished public office. The wardenship clearly could not be divided between his Ryngebourne and Seymour grandsons; and he had, therefore, to make a decision in favour of one or the other.

The choice of John Seymour, the junior grandson, is not in reality surprising. The Ryngebournes appear to have been thoroughly respectable people; but they were not influential. (They could hardly, for example, have pressed their case so successfully against the Duke of Gloucester, had they been in Sir William's situation in 1417.) The Seymours, on the other hand, although at this period they had by no means reached the position of power and wealth which they were

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<sup>1</sup> Both mentioned in contemporary documents, Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Seymour in 1421.

destined later to attain, were none the less people of some consequence and substance.

Thus we find Sir William Esturmy, in a document dated 1427,<sup>1</sup> disposing of the central portion of his property in the following manner. He grants to trustees (among whom is a bishop), "his manor of Burbache, the hamlet of Durle, the pasture of Tymerigge (Timbridge) and the bailiwick of the Stewardship of Savernake Forest". He includes also the half of the manor of Stapleford "to have and to hold to the said John Seymour and the heirs male of his body legitimately begotten. And if John Seymour dies without such heir, which Heaven forbid, then the property shall pass in remainder to William Ryngeborne, son of Agnes, lately the wife of William Ryngeborne senior,<sup>2</sup> daughter and other heiress of William Esturmy".

The settlement goes on to provide that, should both Seymour and Ryngeborne heirs fail, then the property is to pass "to Robert Erlegh, kinsman of William Esturmy, and his heirs male". (This relative must have been well liked by Sir William; for the latter in his own lifetime made certain grants of land to him,<sup>3</sup> calling him "nephew" in one of the documents drawn up in Erlegh's favour.)

There must, I think, have been a separate settlement, now lost, in favour of William Ryngeborne. There was a good deal of property available for him, apart from that specified above; and no doubt it was left to him on similar terms. It seems that some property was also left—ill-advisedly as it turned out later—so that both the Seymours and the Ryngebournes had an interest in it.

Such was Sir William Esturmy's allocation of his worldly possessions, made by him in the last year of his life. He was now, in 1427, more than 80 years of age, and must have begun to feel that he had almost run his course. We may, perhaps, picture him, white-haired and frail, lying in his chamber at Wolfhall—a great room, ill lit, with its beams and rafters fashioned of good Forest oak. Sounds of the busy life of Wolfhall Manor would come to him faintly as he lay there; the lowing of his herds—the soft murmur of doves in the recesses of their dovecote—the distant voices of his farm and household servants.

Familiar sounds these: he had known them ever since, as a boy, he had first stayed at Wolfhall with his uncle Henry. His memories of those days were still clear and sharp: it seemed strange to think that the reign of King Edward was, to most men, so remote; (to be sure, though, there had been four Kings of England since!) It had been good King Edward, he recalled, whose messenger had brought the joyful news to Uncle Henry as to the long-awaited remission of the Esturmy family's disgrace, that sad legacy of old grandfather Henry's truculence.

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<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> She re-married on his death.

<sup>3</sup> Savernake Archives.

There had been great rejoicings that day—and the boy William had shared with his uncle the congratulations of their friends and neighbours. Afterwards Uncle Henry had talked to him with unwonted freedom, telling him of the long heritage of the Esturmys, and of their history linked so closely with that of the Forest which lay but a short distance from the manor fields.

Even now, sixty or seventy years after, he could recall almost word for word his uncle's stories of the by-gone days—of old Richard the Wary, who in the train of Duke William had shared in the conquest of England; of how the Norman duke had become King, and of how the careful Richard had been given charge by him of Savernake, to guard the woods and coppices and to preserve the deer for his royal master's pleasure. There were tales too of an earlier Henry Esturmy—trusted and favoured by the unhappy King John. His uncle had brought out the iron-bound casket in which he kept the family records: he had taken an old parchment from it, and had read out to his nephew the sonorous Latin words: "John, by the grace of God . . . Know that we have granted . . . all the land and bailiwick . . . to him and to his heirs, of us and of our heirs . . . in wood and in plain . . . in meadows and pastures . . ." The boy William had listened—and had been enthralled.

A day had come—it was in King Richard's reign—when he himself, being Uncle Henry's heir, had become Warden of Savernake Forest. His thenceforward was the land and bailiwick; his also the numerous duties which the Wardenship entailed. He recalled how his first care had been to see his uncle laid to rest with all due ceremony in the Priory church. That again was a vivid memory: perhaps it was brought back to his mind now by the wind being in the west. When it was in that quarter, anyone listening quietly at Wolfhall could hear the chiming of the Priory bell.

To an Esturmy, Easton Priory was a place where memories gathered. There were many days in the year when the brethren there lit candles, placing them prayerfully around the tomb of some departed member of the family. No Esturmy was ever forgotten; each, on his or her birthday, was in faith and piety commemorated thus. The brethren knew each one by name: there was Sir Geoffrey, their benefactor and their Founder's nephew, and with him Matilda Esturmy his wife. Nearby lay Sir Henry Esturmy and his wife Alina; next came Henry Esturmy of Wolfhall and Margaret his wife. There Henry Esturmy the Elder lay beside his wife Matilda: to these Uncle Henry had been added, and later Aunt Margaret had been laid beside him.

Sir William knew well that he too would be remembered by the brethren, unfailing with candles and prayers. There was a place for him alongside his forebears—and for Joanna too (she was an old lady now, his wife and companion for more than 40 years). They had shared much together both of happiness and sorrow: their one abiding sorrow was the unkind fate which had allowed her to bear him two

daughters, but had denied to them fulfilment of their mutual need—a son.

It was good that at least he had grandsons : they had grown up in these last few years into strapping young men—not of his name indeed, but still of the Esturmy blood. John Seymour, he felt, would not fail when the time came for him to assume the Wardenship. His forebears perhaps had not the same long traditions as the Esturmys ; but they had none the less an honourable record since the time of that William St. Maur who had defended the marches of England against the barbarous insurgent Welsh.

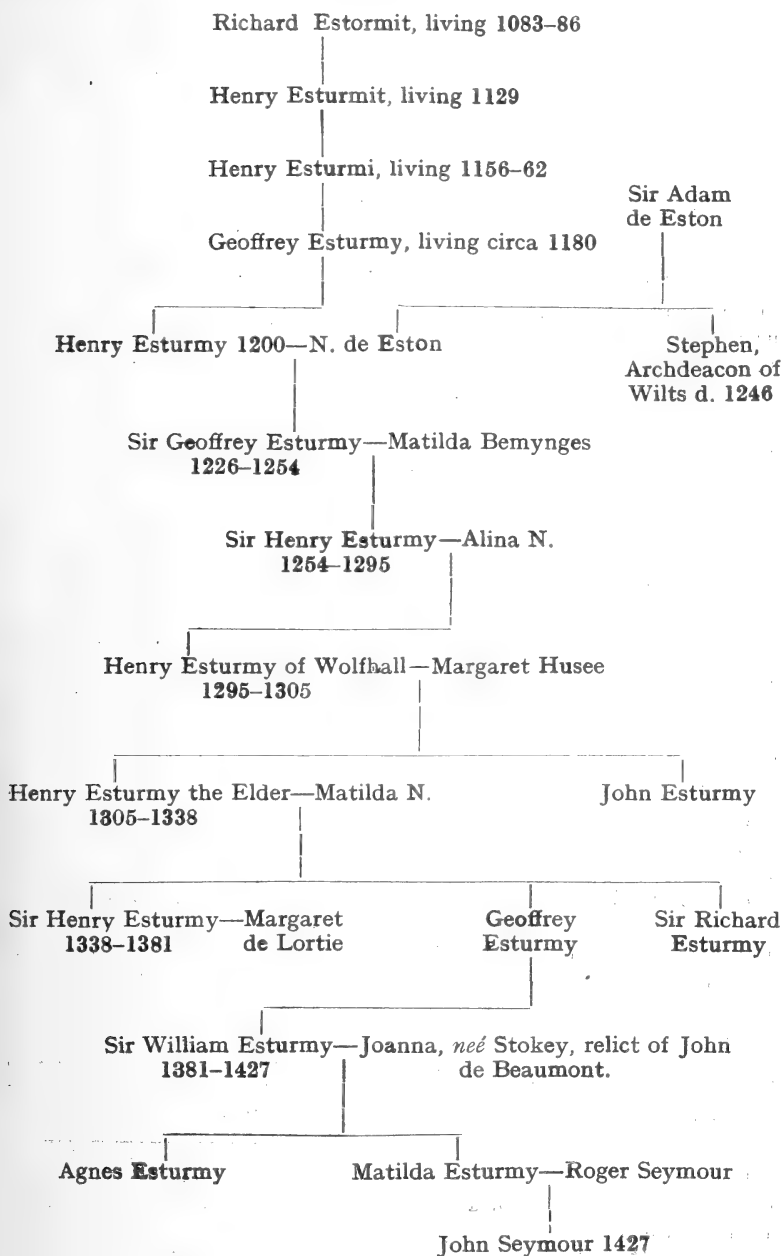
He felt that the Seymours had also some go-ahead quality in them ; and that was no bad thing. Young John had youth, ambition, wealth : with fortune favouring, he might go far. Perhaps he, or perhaps some other Seymour yet unborn, would make his mark one day not only in bucolic Wiltshire, but in the wider world glimpsed by Sir William during his service to the Lady Blanche. Perhaps old Wolfhall manor would thus come to know one day the bustle and stir of great events ?

One could not tell ; for the times were changing. Changing rather for the worse, he thought : with a boy King on the throne, there was misguided government in England. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, had been made Protector of the Kingdom during the minority of Henry VI—and he was an unjust man, as everyone at Savernake well knew. Abroad, the French were rallying : the late King had won a great victory at Agincourt, but now the Duke of Bedford seemed to be letting the fruits of victory slip away. One feared that for England the days of ascendancy and influence were past and gone.

And yet, thought Sir William, he had heard his uncle voicing this same pessimism during Wat Tyler's rebellion nearly half a century before. Always new troubles and problems loomed up ; and always—if one had faith—the new generation brought forth its wise men and its strong men to surmount them. It would be so again in the great affairs of England : it would be so in Wiltshire when the Esturmys were gone, and when other men had rule over the bailiwick of Savernake Forest. The brethren of Easton did well to preach faith.

So mused the old man, the last of his line : and as he mused the shadows gathered in the corners of the room.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ESTURMY FAMILY—  
1088—1427.



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

Part VII.<sup>1</sup>

By T. F. G. W. DUNSTON, B.A., and CAPTAIN A. E. A. DUNSTON.

The few oddments we bring forward in this short paper include a few common species and some which, without being very rare, are not often met with. We have not had much time to do the intensive collecting which brought in such a multiplicity of records before the war, and doubtless there are many more interesting discoveries to be made once we can recover that care-free attitude of mind which sent us so often into the woods during the late summer and autumn. There should also be good things to find in the spring, but somehow few mycologists seem to get going so early.

We are again indebted to Mr. A. A. Pearson, F.L.S., and Miss E. M. Wakefield, M.A., F.L.S., for naming the fungi we submitted to them, and to Mr. Pearson for writing the notes on them. To both we offer our sincere thanks.

*Geaster Briantii* (Berk). This is a very attractive earth-star with a slender stem and conical striate peristome. The garden, Burltons Donhead St. Mary.

*Bovista nigrescens* (Pers.). A common little puff-ball, very like the equally common *Bovista plumbea*, but the peridium turns blackish instead of a dull lead-colour. The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

*Lepiota serena* Fr. *sensu* Kühner. All parts white with a ventricose fusiform stem, elliptical spores 7-8 + 4-4½µ guttulate and large clavate cystidia. This may not be the *L. serena* as interpreted by Rea. It is uncommon but was collected in Devonshire last year. Off the Wincombe-Shaftesbury Road, Donhead St. Mary.

*L. parvannulata* Fr. Another white *Lepiota*, but very small with spores 4 × 2½µ. The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

*L. brunneo-incarnata* Chodat and Martin, forma *microspora*. A fairly common *Lepiota* with concentric, vinaceous scales on the pileus and the stem. Normally the spores are about 8-10 × 5-6µ but a form with smaller spores 4-6 and 2½-3µ is not uncommon and at present is not separated from the normal form. Donhead St. Mary.

*Psalliota sylvatica* (Schaeef.), Fr. One of the commonest of edible mushrooms with a rusty scaly pileus and flesh that turns a rusty red, but not the brilliant scarlet seen in the flesh of its near relative *P. haemorrhoidaria*. Berry Wood, Donhead St. Mary.

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<sup>1</sup> For parts I and II see *W.A.M.*, xlviii, pp. 321-347 and 471-487; for part III see xlix, pp. 147-156; for parts IV and V see vol. I, pp. 1-12 and 333-335; and for part VI see li, pp. 37-38.

*P. xanthoderma* Genév. var. *obscurata* (Maire). This is a very striking and elegant mushroom and is fairly common on the margins of woods, amongst leaves and road sweepings. It has also been described under the appropriate epithet *meleagris* (Schaeffer), because of its black-and-white scaly pileus, like a guinea fowl. Like the type it is not recommended as an edible. The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

*P. sylvicola* (Vitt.) Fr., forma *gracilis*. Differs from the type in its small slender stature, but requires further study, as indeed does the whole group of mushrooms. Donhead St. Mary.

*Clitocybe metachroa* (Fr.) Berk. One of the series of hygrophanous clitocybes with dark grey gills, which are so difficult to distinguish one from another. It differs from *C. ditopa* in having little or no smell and larger spores. Wincombe Road, Donhead St. Mary.

*Hygrophorus metapodius* Fr. Often confused with *H. ovinus* which is less robust and darker in colour. Donhead St. Andrew.

*Psilocybe uda* (Pers.), Fr. Has greenish yellow gills and a large spore. It has been confused with *P. polytrichi* which grows in the same habitat and is much more common. Alec's Shade, Donhead St. Mary.

*Mycena epipterygioides* Pearson. Differs from the common *M. epipterygia* in its dark green sulcate pileus. The basidia are always two-spored, and it grows rather late in the autumn on the ground in damp mossy places in pine woods. Donhead St. Mary.

*Omphalia integrella* (Pers.), Fr. This white *Omphalia* has distinct vein-like gills and rhomboidal spores. There is another white *Omphalia* (*O. Mairei*, Gilbert) with similar spores with which it can be confused, but the latter has true gills instead of mere fold-like veins. *O. candida* also has the lozenge-shaped spore but is a bigger thing, growing on comfrey. Donhead Hall Estate, Donhead St. Mary.

*Russula aeruginea* (Lindb.), Fr. (*R. graminicolor* (Secr.) Quél.). A fairly common species with a greenish cap and cream gills. It is usually found under birch trees. In a field off the wood at the back of Donhead Hall, Donhead St. Mary.

*Psathyrella crenata* (Lasch), Fr. Easily recognised by its strikingly sulcate pileus. Alec's Shade, Donhead St. Mary; Donhead Hall Woods, Donhead St. Mary.

*Marasmius impudicus* Fr. The reddish brown plicate cap and velvety villose stem together with the rather disgusting smell make this an easy species to name. Donhead St. Mary.

*Acia stenodon* (Pers.), Bourd. and Galz. A resupinate with spines, white at first, turning yellow or tawny when rubbed. It was thought rare but in recent years has turned up on several occasions. Donhead St. Mary.

*Grandinia Brinkmanii* (Bres.), Bourd. and Galz. A resupinate with granules or warts, pure white at first, becoming yellow with age. It can easily be confused with *G. farinacea* but the spores of the latter are



minutely echinulate while those of *G. Brinkmanii* are smooth. Fairly common. On poplar, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

*G. mucida* Fr. Another resupinate with granules, but the colour is yellow and the spores  $6-7 \times 3\mu$ . Woods near Wardour Castle, Tisbury.

*Tomentellina bombycina* (Karst.), Bourd. and Galz. A rusty coloured resupinate, looking very like the common *Tomentella ferruginea* but with long narrow cystidia. It grows on rotten wood or mossy ground. Donhead St. Mary.

*T. subfusca* (Karst.), V. Hoeln and Lit. (*Hypochnus subfuscus*, Karst.). The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

*Corticium arachnoideum* Berk. A common white resupinate with a delicate arachnoid margin. Donhead St. Andrew.

*Peniophora glebulosa* (Fr.), Bres. A white or cream resupinate often cracked into small irregular areas and chiefly remarkable for the very thick-walled bright cystidia. Fairly common. Donhead St. Mary.

*Pistillaria quisquiliaris* Fr. The small club-shaped fungus common on the stems of dead bracken. The garden, Burltons, Donhead St. Mary.

*Sebacina incrustans* (Pers.), Tul. A white waxy resupinate which often creeps over grass and twigs. The basidia are vertically divided into two or four cells from which grow the long sterigmata. The spores are oblong, elliptic or crescent-shaped. Alec's Shade, Donhead St. Mary.

*Abbreviations of Authors :*

Berk.—M. J. Berkeley.	Lasch—W. G. Lasch.
Bourd. and Galz.—H. Bourdot and A. Galzin.	Lindb.—S. O. Lindberg.
Bres.—J. Bresadola.	Maire—R. Maire.
Chodat and Martin.—R. Chodat and K. Martin.	Pearson—A. A. Pearson.
Fr.—E. M. Fries.	Pers.—C. H. Persoon.
Genév.—G. Genévier.	Quél.—L. Quélet.
Jungh.—F. W. Junghuhn.	Rea.—Carleton Rea.
Karst.—P. A. Karsten.	Schaeff.—J. C. Schaeffer.
	Tul.—L. R. & C. Tulasne.
	Vitt.—C. Vittadini.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

[Additions and corrections to previous articles may well prove of little value, since the original reader can have no warning that they are coming. With every sympathy for an author's desire to round off or set right in the light of later information what he has written, the Editor can rarely print the supplement, and then only within the limits of the same volume and, consequently, of the same index.]

## A WILTSHIRE WOMAN'S MONUMENT IN GODSHILL CHURCH ?

(pages 174, 175.)

A HERBERT—WORSLEY MARRIAGE. In the article reference was made to the difficulty of identifying "the Hon. James Herbert, second son of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chancellor to Charles II", whose daughter, according to Sir Richard Worsley's "History of the Isle of Wight", married Sir Robert Worsley "somewhere about 1666". Burke shed no light on the question, which was therefore left open.

But since the article appeared, Lord Herbert has kindly made research and established the identity. He writes:—"Sir Richard Worsley was incorrect in his reference to the Herbert, as James Herbert was the 6th, not 2nd, son of Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke, who was Lord Chamberlain to Charles I (not Chancellor to Charles II) and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. This is where Worsley became confused. James Herbert married Jane Spiller and had two daughters—Jane, who married Sir Walter Clarges, Bt., and Mary, who married Sir Robert Worsley, Bt. This is taken from Collins, Ed. 1812, p. 136".

J. J. SLADE.

## THE VICAR'S LIBRARY, MARLBOROUGH (pages 194—215).

The main problem left unsolved in my article was to find a link between William White, the founder of the Library, and Cornelius Yeate, the first Marlborough vicar to enjoy its use.

William White spent the last thirty years of his life in the depths of the country as Rector of Pusey and latterly as Rural Dean. We now know that Yeate, after being ordained priest at the end of 1673, became White's near neighbour; for in the following September he was appointed curate of Charney Bassett and, for a time, of Denchworth also (Seth Ward, *Notitiæ*, pp. 41, 34, MS. in Salisbury Dioc. Reg.). Now Charney is only two miles across the fields from Pusey, and we can readily understand how a friendship would grow up between such kindred spirits. White had no son, and so it was natural that, when he made his will in 1677 a month after Yeate's appointment to Marlborough, he should leave him his library. Thus the link with Marlborough is established.

Consequently the suggestion made previously that Pierce was the real intermediary between White and Yeate loses much of its force. Unfortunately we know little of Pierce's movements during the period between his resignation from the Presidency of Magdalen in 1672 and his appointment to the Deanery of Salisbury in 1675. He had a curate at the time in his Northamptonshire parish of Brington, but this was normal even when the Rector was at home (Wood, *Fasti*, ii, 297; T. Pierce, *The New Discoverer Discover'd*, 1659, p. 238). Otherwise we only know that on his leaving Oxford he was hoping to "find better health upon Gloucestershire, Cotswold, and after that upon Salisbury Plain" (*Letters by Dr. Henry More*, 1694, p. 41). Indeed, except for the fact that Yeate was an undergraduate when Pierce was head of a college, we have no reason to think that the two men even knew each other at that time.

P. 195, l. 16. A William White was also Vicar of Wargrave in Berkshire from 1637 until 1669, but these dates are so incompatible with what we know of White's life that it is possible that this office was held by another man of the same name (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*; Seth Ward, *Notitiæ*, p. 30).

P. 196, n. 2. The fact that Charles Hoole in his fascinating and exhaustive *A new discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole* (London, 1660) recommends the *Supplementa ad Grammaticam* of Phalerius for use with Fourth and Fifth Forms in Grammar-Schools shows that it had won a recognised place amongst the educational works of the day.

P. 199, l. 13. Thomas Pierce was born in 1621, being baptised in St. John's Church, Devizes, on Aug. 4th, 1621. His father, John Pierce, woollen-draper, was Mayor in 1603 and 1633. Thomas died on Mar. 28th, 1691, at North Tidworth, where his son, Robert, was Rector.

P. 201, l. 10. The living of St. Mary's, Islington, was in the gift of George Stonehouse, M.D., at that time Bursar of Magdalen College, Oxford. His father, Duke Stonehouse, had been M.P. for the borough

of Great Bedwyn from 1661 till his death in 1668; and his elder brother, Francis, from 1678 to 1681 and from 1694 to 1705. They had both lived in the borough, but Francis also owned Hungerford Park and in 1719 bought Standen Hussey on the Berkshire—Wiltshire border.

P. 205, l. 26. The lost volume contained a 1537 edition of Lily's *Rudimenta grammatices*, a 1536 edition of *De octo orationis partium constructione* (Antwerp), an imperfect edition of his *De generibus nominum* revised by Rightwise, as well as two other contemporary grammatical works.

It appears from Wordsworth's 1903 Catalogue that some two dozen other books are now lost. Two rarities among these were still in the library in 1912 (H. Macdonald, *The Library*, 3rd Ser., iii, pp. 279, 281). The first was Hugh Robinson's anonymous *Antiquae Historiae Synopsis: cui accedit Geographiae et Rhetorices compendium, in usum Scholae Wintoniae* (Oxford, 1660). A letter of 1903 from Madan, Bodley's Librarian, describes his excitement when he first inspected this hitherto unrecorded edition of a book that retains some interest for Wykehamists. The second rarity, taken by Wordsworth from a binding, was *A newe Prognostication for M.D.LXX.* by John Securis of Salisbury (W. Powell, London; see E. F. Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacs*, lxxii). Curiously enough Mr. G. Smith has an imperfect copy of another edition of this 1570 almanac by Securis, in which the printer's name begins with a J (? J. Waley).

A few further corrections are added:

- P. 196, l. 3. For Gulielmus read Guilielmus.
- P. 196, n. 1. Add and in 1641 Guil: Albius and Guiliel: Leukius.
- P. 201, n. 6. For 1626 read 1826.
- P. 202, l. 1. For until 1819 read from 1804 until 1819.
- P. 205, n. 1. For 1528 read 1524.
- P. 212, l. 13. For Albert read Alfred.
- P. 213, l. 29. For Kerwer read Keruer.
- P. 213, l. 37. Stockwood: Disput. gram. This is STC 23279<sub>+</sub> of *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 4, Oct. 1933.

E. G. H. KEMPSON.

## WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[This list is in no way exhaustive. The Editor asks all who are in a position to do so to assist in making the record under this heading as complete as possible.]

**"Young Bess" by Margaret Irwin** (Chatto and Windus, 1944). This is not in the main a Wiltshire story, but it has a Wiltshire background, for it is largely concerned with the fate of the best known Seymours of Wolfhall. There are references also to FASTERNE (or VASTERNE, near Wootton Bassett) and hints of the troubles there which were mentioned in Mr. Tate's recent article on Wiltshire Enclosures (p. 144 of this volume).

The story of the future Queen Elizabeth is taken as far as the death of her half-brother, Edward VI, and includes the execution of her two Seymour uncles—Thomas, Lord Sudeley, and the Protector Somerset. Decollations indeed are the commonplaces of this sixteenth century story, and one might wonder how gaiety, of which there is plenty in this novel, could survive in the constant shadow of the block, if one had not seen it outwardly unimpaired under the still more promiscuous incidence of the bomb and the rocket.

The narrative is well calculated to hold the reader's interest. How nearly it conforms to historical fact is another matter, with which he is not to concern himself. But since the author expresses her gratitude for help received from a member of the family with reference to Seymour documents, another source of information might well have been mentioned. A comparison of at least two chapters of this novel with Canon Jackson's article on "Wulfhall and the Seymours" (*W.A.M.*, xv., 140) will reveal their debt to his discoveries at Longleat. The Protector shows himself in these pages, in defiance of chronology, a diligent student of Canon Jackson's footnotes, and the author takes considerable liberties with his appendices. Letters actually written by Mr. John Berwick, the Duke's agent, to Sir John Thynne, his man of business, are quoted as addressed to the Duke himself by a bumpkin brother. This may explain the author's reticence, for documentation is a dangerous adjunct to historical fiction. H. C. B.

**André Maurois. Mémoires I.** New York, 1942, now available on this side of the Atlantic, contains a paragraph which Wiltshire readers may like to see translated. It refers to visits paid to Colonel Jenner at Avebury about 1920 or 1921.

"The most typically English of the places I stayed at was Avebury Manor. It was a beautiful Elizabethan dwelling with gables arranged in diminishing order. Prehistoric burial places, dolmen-fields and remarkable yews surrounded it; and inside there were four-poster beds, high, open fire-places with log-fires burning in them, tables covered with blue-tinted Waterford glass, and ancient, well-stocked

libraries. Through my visits to this Wiltshire house I became acquainted with English county society, a society steeped in tradition, conservative yet liberal in its views. There I saw how the country gentlemen lived and thought, the class which, together with the London merchants, had long formed the backbone of England and still played so important a part in the Army, the Navy and the Foreign Office. They had their faults—faults of obstinacy, pride and narrow-mindedness; but they had their virtues too—the priceless virtues of courage and tenacity”.

J. M. LUPTON.

**Report of Marlborough College Natural History Society, 1945. No. 94.** A year ago our sanguine eye detected a slight increase in the pages of this *Report* and foresaw a speedy return to something of its former size and scope. But it was evidently the wrong eye. The present issue conforms with the scrunnel piping of these times of peace, for it is thinner than ever.

We learn from the Editor's preface something of the handicaps under which the stress of war laid his society's premises. A machine-gun post in the workroom; bandages and splints in the showcases; bombs, petrol, leaky, in the cellars; sandbags and concrete restricting movement and light: these are impediments which make the Society's mere survival through the past five years sufficiently remarkable.

The Editor modestly foreshadows his own retirement, which has now, since the *Report* was issued, become a regrettable fact. Mr. Peirson has been President of the College Natural History Society for the past 26 years. Every naturalist must have his particular interest, but only the cover of *W.A.M.* reveals Mr. Peirson's. The records of the College Society show with what impartiality he has fostered the study of flower and insect, bird and beast, and found a corner for the toadstools and the snails as well. We congratulate him on the completion of a long and exacting, if not ungrateful, task.

The *Report* records the appearance of snow buntings in 1945 and a greater rarity, a snowy owl. Unusual visitants to the district were a gadwall and a ruff. Buzzards are spreading in from the west, or would, if gunmen with the nineteenth century mentality would leave them alone.

Of flowers it is noted that among the orchises it was "an *ustulata* year". Among butterflies, the Camberwell Beauty reappeared after 61 years without a record, and it was a good year for "hairstreaks". Roe deer were seen in two localities near Savernake and left their appearance unexplained.

The meteorological records show that at Marlborough pressure, temperature and sunshine were above the normal, the last by more than 100 hours, while the rainfall was nearly 3 inches in default. The *Report* concludes with an enthusiastic note on thunderstorms, of which Marlborough enjoyed a greater number than in any of the past 18 years.

H. C. B.

**Richard Jefferies** is the subject of several publications promoted by the Worthing Art Development Scheme. Two of them appeared in 1939. In one he is called on two successive covers "The Prose Poet of the Countryside", but in the final title "The Sussex Nature-lover and Philosopher". The text that follows is a prize essay by a pupil of the Worthing County High School for Boys. It is followed by a photograph of the house at Goring, Sussex, in which Jefferies spent something less than the last year of his life, and another of the memorial tablet placed on its "frontal wall". The second pamphlet is dedicated "to the Immortal Memory of Richard Jefferies", by its author, Samuel J. Looker, who loved him "more than any other [author] in the whole of our literature" and proved it by writing "Jefferies' England".

The third publication is called "Richard Jefferies—a tribute by various writers". It appeared this month from the press of Aldridge Bros., Worthing, and is priced at £1 5s. It is described as abundantly illustrated and including two unpublished fragments of Jefferies' work.

If the county in which John Richard Jefferies spent three-quarters of his life is to celebrate her son's centenary two years hence, we may expect something from Wiltshire about him before long. She will hardly allow Sussex to steal her birthright; but is there much left to say?

H. C. B.

**Boots and Flutes.** The death of Thomas Miles at Potterne in February of this year occasioned an interesting note in the *Wiltshire Times*. He was a "bespoke" boot maker and practised a craft which his family has carried on for 200 years. The business was founded by Thomas Clifford at Easterton. Thomas Draper, his apprentice, married his master's daughter, in the approved 'prentice fashion, and succeeded to the business, which passed to his son Samuel Draper. The latter moved to Potterne, where George Miles was apprenticed to him in 1844, eventually marrying his sister and taking over the business. Thomas Miles joined his father at Potterne in 1904 and succeeded him in 1910. The family still possesses a one-keyed flute owned and played by Samuel Draper in Potterne Church. Evidently Potterne did not share the prejudice against wood-wind instruments in church orchestras that Mr. Penny expressed in *Under the Greenwood Tree*. And Mr. Penny was a shoemaker too.

## NOTES.

**Unrecorded Mounds at Wanborough.** The wayfarer passing from Upper Wanborough Green towards Hinton Parva will, after walking about 500 yards, see on his left a big field, at the bottom of which, outlined against the dark foliage of Lower Wanborough, a large spreading mound appears, much ploughed down but still over ten feet high and 150 feet in diameter from W. to E.—perhaps not quite so much from N. to S., as ploughing has taken place in this direction and the spread is more gradual. It is a most conspicuous object, which may be the remains of a Norman motte, but only excavation can decide: no relics can be found on the surface. From this mound a large bank and ditch proceed to the E. with the ditch down hill to the N.—apparently a defence against an enemy advancing from that direction; it is much too big for a field boundary. In the grounds of Callas House it was cut through to make a summer house: the section showed clean greensand with a few bits of early medieval green glazed pottery. It proceeds slightly to the N. of E. as far as the Roman Road and turning N. dies away. Across the road the line may be seen to-day as a hollow way, which soon joins a deep ditch and bank, at present a field boundary.

Below the big mound and about 200 yards distant, slightly W. of N., is another curious barrow-like mound, but much smaller, with a curious tail to the N.W. There is no apparent connection between the two.

About 250 yards distant from the big mound to the E. and in the angle formed by the junction of the Roman Road from Gloucester and the Wanborough-Hinton Road is a long mound with deep ditches at the side which do not go round the ends. It is 150 feet long and about seven feet high with the bigger end facing the S.E., a fine model of a long barrow but objected to as such because it hangs down hill. Here again only excavation can decide.

About two hundred yards E. of Foxhill House, Wanborough, on the down just E. of a line of fir trees, is a large barrow-like mound about 8 feet high and 60 in diameter, bowl-shaped. A small excavation has been made on the S. side. Earth from a pit near has apparently been added to the N. face giving it an unshapely appearance. This is probably the "Wen Barrow" of the Saxon Charter (Birch, 477).

The site of another barrow which has been moved from cultivated land can be seen about 350 yards E. of Wanborough Plain Farm. This is well on the Wanborough side of the parish boundary.

## A. D. PASSMORE.

Mr. Passmore's discoveries are very interesting. His Wenbarrow or *Wenbeorg* fits into its correct place in the Little Hinton survey on the common boundary of that parish and Wanborough, but it can hardly have given the latter its name. The Wanborough surveyors (B. 479)



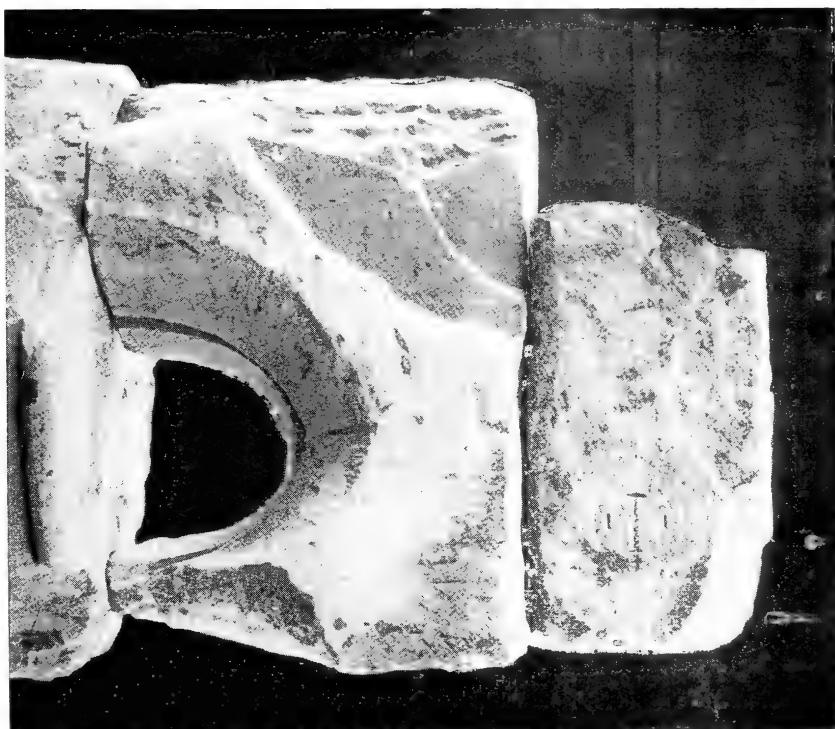
wholly ignore it—an unpardonable slight if it were the eponymous landmark—and it lies too remote from their main settlement under the hill to justify its choice for that purpose. Mr. Passmore's supposed motte would seem more likely, but its evident connexion with the running earthwork in which he found medieval sherds (too deep, as a later letter insists, for surface accretions) appears to rule it out. Yet the conversion of a barrow into a castle motte is a labour-saving device of which at least one other local instance—the Marlborough mound—has been adduced.

Of Mr. Passmore's other mounds in the vicinity of the village, one seems too insignificant for the still unallocated distinction, and the other too long to be wen-like. And this raises, momentarily, another question. Ekwall, in his Place-name Dictionary selects *Waenbeorgon*, from the Saxon version of the grant (B. 478), as the most trustworthy form of the name. He tentatively derives it from a *g*-less form of *waegn* but can find no sense in a "wain" barrow. The most obvious and exciting sense is a barrow containing a chariot-burial. But Mr. G. M. Young would calm the excitement. He points to the fact that the charter belongs to Winchester, where it was a frequent practice to write *æ* for *e* (as *æcclesiæ*, *hlincæ* in B. 477). Nor is there any clear reason for preferring the form in B. 478 to the *Wenbeorgen* of B. 477 (the place-name in the grant, not Mr. Passmore's *wenbeorg* of the bounds). Mr. Young also draws uncomfortable attention to the fact that all the forms of the settlement's name in the three texts, whether ending in *-en*, *-on* or *-an*, seem to be plural, which argues a positive eruption of wen-shaped barrows in the neighbourhood. He holds, however, that the reference is to the four conspicuous barrows aligned on Sugar Hill. He admits that they lie in Aldbourne, beyond the limits of Wanborough and wholly out of sight of that village, but considers that the name applies to a district marked by such wen-barrows. This seems a difficult interpretation. The Wanborough problem would still seem to lack a convincing solution.

H. C. B.

**More Carved Stones from Teffont Magna.** Those interested in pre-Norman work may remember that eight years ago (*W.A.M.*, xlvi, 183) Mr. Newall reported and illustrated two stones showing pre-Norman tracery from Hanging Langford and Teffont Magna, places lying within four miles of one another. He now reports other finds from the latter village:

"Mr. Ronald Lever, in repairing the west end of the Church, found built into a buttress another piece of similar work 22½ inches long by 10 inches wide. Though one cannot be certain, this may possibly be another panel or compartment of the same stone [which was dated by Mr. T. D. Kendrick to the late 9th century]. The earlier find was too much worn on one side to determine its original width, and the interlaced tracery was of a different pattern, but both have been



CARVED STONES FROM TEFONT MAGNA.



damaged in a similar way by a curving groove which runs across the face. The new find has also a round hole bored in it about 7 inches above the groove, and the two upper thirds of the right edge have been cut back half an inch".

Though a change of pattern in succeeding panels of the same cross-shaft is not without parallel, it has been objected against that explanation of these stones that the back of the new discovery is perfectly smooth, an unusual feature in early crosses, and that there is no evidence of taper. If the two stones were of different thicknesses, the possibility of such a relationship would be finally ruled out. The new stone measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches from back to front; the earlier fragment is described as not quite so thick but very rough on the back. It would therefore seem possible that it also once measured  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches through and presented a similar smooth surface, since destroyed. It is unfortunate that both the critical dimensions of this block are undeterminable. No alternative use, however, has been suggested, though Brigadier Willan considers the stone too soft to have been meant for exposure to the weather.

The other stones illustrated were found at the same time, and Sir Alfred Clapham confirms the view that the upper block bears one of the five consecration crosses usual on an altar-slab, and that the lower one is the head of a lancet window of the early or middle 13th century. A shaft or respond capital of the same date was also found.

In the opinion of an experienced mason, Mr. Bradley of Dinton, the two stones with interlaced tracery, the lancet window-head and the capital (not here illustrated) came from the Chilmark quarries. He also observes that the V cuts so clearly visible across the earlier fragment are a stone-mason's normal precaution against undue flaking when he intends to split a stone with a punch or chisel. From this we may infer that both stones were intended for some secondary use, perhaps when the Church was rebuilt. The mason may have desisted for the reason mentioned by Brigadier Willan. Mr Lever remarks on a similar score on the right headstone of the double lancet S.W. window of the Church, and suggests that it was originally meant for the head of the central shaft. However that may be, the use of a stone so defaced argues some haste or parsimony in the building.

The cost of the blocks illustrating this Note was kindly defrayed by  
Mr. Newall. H. C. B.

**John Aubrey's lost MS.** Aubrey wrote two volumes of Wiltshire Collections. One we have, edited by Canon J. E. Jackson. It was last heard of at a bookseller's in or about 1835. It is a folio book, which its author referred to as "Liber B", and may have a title stamped on it: "Hypomnemata Antiquaria B". Is this lurking forgotten in some Wiltshire library? Any information gratefully received.

A. D. PASSMORE.

A similar inquiry appeared earlier in the year in the *Sunday Times*, but no information appears to have been forthcoming.

**John Meade Falkner.** In the West Regional Programme of the B.B.C., in the New Year, 1946, a serial version was broadcast of John Meade Falkner's remarkable story "Moonflete". On Dec. 30th last a talk on this Wiltshire writer was broadcast by Geoffrey Grigson.

John Meade Falkner was born in 1858 at Manningford Bruce, in the Vale of Pewsey, and died at Durham in 1932. He was educated at Dorchester Grammar School, Marlborough College, and Hertford College, Oxford. He was archæologist, scholar, novelist; and chairman, during the Great War, of Armstrong-Whitworth. Besides three novels, all of exceptional quality, *The Lost Stradivarius*, 1895; *Moonflete*, 1898; *The Nebuly Coat*, 1903; he wrote *Bath, in History and Social Tradition*, 1918; *A History of Oxfordshire*, 1899; and two of Murray's Guides—the Oxfordshire and Berkshire volumes. He wrote poems and edited *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham*, of which he was honorary librarian. He was also honorary reader in palæography in the University of Durham.

His novels are all marked by his curious scholarship and knowledge of archæology and heraldry. One of his friends at the time of his death wrote of him as "a mediævally-minded humanist"; and his interests, which he pursued in most of the libraries of Europe, included Byzantine archæology, church music, architecture, demonology, neoplatonism and mysticism. His novels were a by-product of a full, complete life, in which he exercised a profound fascination on many people of distinction, awakening, as one of them has said, all their spiritual and intellectual interests.

That his books are not better known is due to his own shrinking from the lime-light of authorship; but there is no doubt at all that he is one of the most distinguished Wiltshire authors of the last sixty years.

GEOFFREY GRIGSON.

**The Bishop's Palace, Salisbury.** The *Diocesan Gazette* for January, 1946, contains a statement from the retiring Bishop upon the scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the housing of his successors. Mompesson House, "the most distinguished of all the houses in the Close", 250 years old and in perfect order and repair, with every modern convenience, adequate bedrooms and excellent reception rooms, is to become the episcopal residence by exchange with the Dean and Chapter for the present Palace. The "Old Palace", as it now becomes, is to be occupied by the Choristers' School, which has, since the beginning of this century, been developing as a preparatory school and changed its name 15 years ago to "The Cathedral School". It still educates some 16 choristers and so continues to fulfil the purpose for which it was founded, no one knows exactly when, in the Cathedral precincts at Old Sarum. Thus the school which had already existed for a hundred years before the earliest foundations of the Palace were laid is now, after wanderings at times obscure, to find a home in that historic building. With its new dignity, the Dean and

Chapter, its governors, are charging it also with a weighty responsibility. It is noticeable that the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* for January 11th, 1946, refers to the impending change with a certain reserve.

H. C. B.

**West Country Wills.** The destruction of the probate records at Exeter by bombing during the war must be one of the greatest disasters that West Country genealogy has ever suffered. In an endeavour to mitigate the consequences of this misfortune, the Somerset Record Society have in mind the publication of a volume containing copies or abstracts of Somerset wills not printed elsewhere.

They will be very grateful if anyone having copies or abstracts would lend them, or send copies of them, to either Mrs. Rawlins, 19, Kensington Hall Gardens, West Kensington, W. 14 (a member of the committee of the Somerset Record Society), or Mr. J. Fitzroy Jones, The Castle, Taunton, Somerset (as honorary secretary of the Somerset Archæological Society), who will return any original notes as soon as copied.

R. H. MALDEN,

Dean of Wells, Chairman.

Prebendary T. F. PALMER,

Hon. Secretary, Somerset Record Society.

## WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

JULIAN, DOWAGER COUNTESS OF RADNOR, died at Homington House, Combe Bissett, on January 5th, 1946, at the age of 78. A daughter of Charles Balfour of Newton Don, Berwickshire, she married in 1891 Lord Folkstone, afterwards the sixth Earl of Radnor, in whose company she visited most parts of the British Empire and other places that promised benefit to Lord Radnor's health. Despite these travels and the cares of a family which eventually included 10 children, Lady Radnor found time for much social work in the county. In 1904 she launched the Wilts Nursing Association, in 1916 the Wiltshire Federation of Women's Institutes took shape under her leadership, and of both she remained president till the end of her life. After the death of her husband, in 1930, Lady Radnor extended the range of her public service by entering the Wiltshire County Council as member for the Britford Division. She was made an Alderman in 1934, and will be remembered for her devoted service as chairman of the Teaching Staff Sub-Committee of the County Education Committee. In that capacity she also presided at the interviews with candidates for county scholarships, a task of some delicacy at which she excelled.

Lady Radnor was a governor of each of the Salisbury Secondary Schools, the Godolphin, Bishop Wordsworth's and the South Wilts Grammar School, and also of the Diocesan Training College. She was a Justice of the Peace from 1930 and a member of the Juvenile Court Panel, Chairman of the County Pensions Committee in two wars, and of the Services' Families Association; member of the Guardians' Area Committee and President of the South Wilts Needlework Guild.

Obits. in *The Times*, January 7th; *Wiltshire Gazette*, January 10th; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, January 11th; *Wiltshire Times*, January 12th, 1946.

EDWARD IMPEY died in London on January 6th, 1946, aged 86. The elder son of Col. E. C. Impey, C.I.E., and a lineal descendant of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of Bengal and friend of Warren Hastings, he was educated at Eton, where he was contemporary in college with M. R. James, the future Provost, and at King's College, Cambridge, where he took first class honours in the Classical Tripos. After a short period as assistant master at Wellington he returned to Eton in 1884 and was for 24 years a housemaster. He retired in 1913 and came to live in Wiltshire, first at Steeple Ashton Manor and later at Sheldon Manor, near Chippenham. He became a Magistrate for Wiltshire and was co-opted to the County Education Committee in 1915. Appointed Chairman of the Teaching Staff Sub-Committee in 1919, he retained that office till failing health compelled his retirement in 1932 (and he survived by one day his later successor in that chair,

Lady Radnor). His practical experience of school-mastering rendered his services particularly valuable to the county.

He married Miss Kathleen Austen Leigh and leaves two surviving sons; a third was killed in the war of 1914—18.

Obits., *Times*, January 7th; *Wiltshire Times*, January 12th, 1946.

MAJOR THE HON. REGINALD COURTENAY BOYLE, M.B.E., M.C., of Wilcot, who died in Savernake Hospital on the 16th February, 1946, was the son of the late Col. G. E. Boyle and Lady Theresa Pepys, daughter of the Earl of Cottenham, and brother of Admiral of the Fleet, the Earl of Cork and Orrery. Born in 1877, Major Boyle was educated at Harrow and Magdalen College, Oxford, whose boat he stroked in 1897. He served in the West Somersetshire Yeomanry through the 1914—18 war, seeing service in the Near East and in France, where he won the M.C. and was twice mentioned in despatches. He was a J.P. for Somerset 1920—23.

During the London "blitz" he served there as air-raid warden during the week and returned to command and train the Wilcot Home Guard at the week-end. In 1942 he took the command of "C" Company, the 10th Home Guard Battalion of the Wiltshire Regiment, and later became second in command of the battalion, receiving the M.B.E. for his services, though he was well over the age limit. He was a well-known and much respected figure in the Vale of Pewsey.

THE REV. CHARLES EDWARD BOLTON HEWITT died at Wilsford in the Vale of Pewsey on March 13th, 1946, at the age of 85. A scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and 22nd Wrangler in 1883, he joined the staff of Marlborough College in 1886. He took Orders in 1900 and in 1920 became Vicar of Wilsford with Manningford Bohune, later exchanging the latter for Charlton St. Peter. He had two daughters, one of whom survives him.

Obits., *The Marlborough Times*, and *The Marlburian*, April, 1946.

THOMAS HAYWARD died at Corsham in the early spring of this year at the age of 93. He joined the Wiltshire Militia over 70 years ago and saw service under the Lord Methuen of that day. He formed one of a marine landing party in the Zulu War and of the guard of honour that escorted to England the body of the Prince Imperial of France, whose death in the Zulu War created a delicate international situation.

SIR CHARLES AUGUSTUS TEGART, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.V.O., LL.D., died at The Croft House, Warminster, on April 6th, 1946, at the age of 63. Son of the Rev. J. P. Tegart of Dumboyne, Co. Meath, he was educated at Portora Royal School, Enniskillen, and Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became an honorary LL.D. He joined



the Indian Police in 1901 and his appointment as assistant superintendent in Bengal almost coincided with the beginnings of the revolutionary movement in that province. In his career may be found all and more of the adventurous life which Kipling depicted for us in the character of "Strickland of the Police". His knowledge and understanding of the Indian terrorists was equalled by his skill in bringing them to book. Thanks to his thorough knowledge of the vernacular and his prodigious memory, he acquired an acquaintance with the names, faces and histories of hundreds of actual or potential anarchists and of everyone of importance in the affairs of Bengal, retaining all this knowledge in his head. For years there was no man in India whom the subversive elements would sooner have put out of the way, and his extraordinary courage served to preserve him in many hairbreadth escapes; yet no man in Calcutta society seemed more free of cares or enjoyed a greater popularity. After one murderous assault upon him in 1930 men of all races and creeds met to pass resolutions congratulating him on his escape and condemning the terrorist movement. In 1937 his services were requisitioned by the Palestine Administration. There he applied his unrivalled knowledge of terrorist methods with considerable success, but he narrowly escaped death on the Nablus Road when his car was ambushed and two other occupants shot dead.

He was made M.V.O. in 1912, C.I.E. in 1917 and C.S.I. in 1931. In 1926 he was knighted and became K.C.I.E. in 1937. In 1922 he married Kathleen Frances, daughter of the Rev. J. Ll. Herbert, of Dissersh, Llandrindod Wells.

Obit., *The Times*, April 8th, 1946.

CHARLES HARRY ST. JOHN HORNBY died at Dorchester on April 26th, 1946. Though not a Wiltshireman, he did the county notable service as the owner and preserver of the celebrated Porch House at Potterne, where from time to time he stayed. Born in 1867, he was educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford, and rowed in the victorious Oxford crew of 1890. He was called to the Bar in 1892, but entered the firm of W. H. Smith & Son, of which he eventually became the senior partner. He was much interested in mediæval and Renaissance manuscripts and was a trustee of the British Museum and of the Wallace Collection.

Obit., *Wiltshire Gazette*, May 2nd, 1946.

WILLIAM NELSON HADEN died in London on April 28th, 1946, as the result of an accident some weeks previously. Born in Trowbridge, a town with which his family has been associated for 130 years, he was educated at Oakley House School, Caversham, where he proved himself a fine athlete. For most of his life he was a member of the celebrated engineering firm founded by his grandfather in his native

town and travelled to many parts of the world in connection with its business. On the machinery of heating and ventilation he became a recognised authority. He was nearly 70 when first elected to the Wiltshire County Council, but as chairman of the Building Sub-Committee of the Education Committee he showed himself untiring in the improvement of our schools, and his grasp of detail remained unimpaired to the end. His services and personal contributions are commemorated in the name of the schools erected at Trowbridge on the Frome Road, and he was Chairman of the Trowbridge Secondary School Governors. For many years he was also Chairman of the Trowbridge Bench and Vice-President of the Philharmonic Society, for he was an enthusiast in the cause of music. The bandstand in the People's Park was his gift.

A Liberal in politics, he remained a firm believer in Free Trade despite the recent unpopularity of that doctrine. An earnest supporter of the Congregational Church, he was a generous benefactor of the Trowbridge Tabernacle. He was an interested member of our Society and not long before his death evinced that interest in the liberal contribution to its needs recorded on another page. He died at the age of 87 and is survived by a son and one daughter.

Obit., *Wiltshire Gazette*, May 2nd; *Wiltshire Times*, May 4th, 1946.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH, formerly Master of the Horse in the household of King George V., died at Longleat on June 9th, 1946, at the age of 83.

The Most Honourable Sir Thomas Henry Thynne, Bt., K.G., P.C., C.B., fifth Marquess of Bath, Viscount Weymouth and Baron Thynne, all in the Peerage of England, and the eighth holder of the baronetcy, Thynne of Caus Castle, created in 1641, was born in 1862, the eldest son of the fourth Marquess, whom he succeeded in 1896. He was educated at Eton, and Balliol College, Oxford, obtaining honours in Modern History in 1884. In 1886 he became M.P. for the Frome Division of Somerset. From 1886 to 1887 he was private secretary to the First Lord of the Treasury, and in 1887 assistant private secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He lost his seat in 1892, but regained it in 1895. Next year he went to the House of Lords on the death of his father.

Except during his tenure in 1905 of the Under-Secretaryship of State for India, he did not play a prominent part in national politics. His activities became confined more and more to the West Country. Locally he was one of the best known public men, Lord Lieutenant of Somerset, Chairman of the Wilts County Council, President of the Wiltshire Territorial Army Association and from 1906 to 1929 Chairman of the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions. As a tribute to his long public service he was made an honorary freeman of Bath in June, 1929.

Lord Bath joined the Wiltshire County Council fifty years ago, only a few years after the Council came into existence with his father, the

fourth Marquess, as its first Chairman. He was elected to represent Warminster and continued his membership until this year. He became an Alderman ten years ago. In 1906 Lord Bath was elected to the chair which his father had occupied until his death in 1896. He continued as Chairman for forty years, presiding over the Council's deliberations with conspicuous ability and tact.

In his younger days Lord Bath was an active member of the Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry (Prince of Wales's Own), in which he received his commission, rising to the command of the regiment. He retired in 1911 and in 1932 became honorary colonel. He was also late honorary colonel of the 4th Battalion, The Somerset Light Infantry (Prince Albert's), T.A. He was created a K.G. in 1917; in 1919 he was made C.B.; and in 1922 he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. He was also a Knight of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

In the city of Bath and the towns of Warminster and Frome he was the recognised leader in every sort of activity, and in the villages of Horningsham, Corsley and the Deverills, adjoining the Longleat Estate, he was "the squire", with a kindly greeting for every old inhabitant and a paternal interest in their families.

In 1890 Lord Bath (then Viscount Weymouth) married Violet Caroline, daughter of Sir Charles Mordaunt, tenth baronet. Lady Bath died in 1928. There were five children of the marriage. The elder son, John Alexander, Viscount Weymouth, second lieutenant, The Royal Scots Greys, was killed in action in 1916 at the age of 20. The surviving son, who took the title of Viscount Weymouth on his brother's death, now succeeds. He married in 1927 the Hon Daphne Vivian, eldest daughter of the fourth Lord Vivian. They have three sons and a daughter.

Obits., *The Times*, June 10th; the *Wiltshire Times*, June 15th, 1946.

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## ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

**Museum.**

- Presented by THE FORESTRY COMMISSIONERS: Fragments of Romano-British pottery from Leigh Hill, Savernake Forest.
- „ THE REV. E. C. GARDNER: Two Old Pistols; one a flint-lock carried by John Wentworth of Beckhampton (died 1877) for protection on his way to market, one with percussion-cap action. Also a decorated Powder-horn, dated 1713.
- „ The EXORS. of the late MRS. COWARD: a "Partridge-call", a whistle used to call birds together when scattered by gun-fire, formerly used at Roundway.
- Iron Musket-ball from King's Play Down, site of Battle of Roundway, 1648, found in 1874.
- Flint-Lock Duck-Gun.
- „ „ MRS. COPELAND-GRIFFITHS: the late Major Gwatkin's Collection of Stuffed Birds.

**Library.**

- Presented by DAUNTSEY'S SCHOOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY: Report on excavations on Romano-British site at Lavington Manor, 1945.
- „ „ C. H. HARRIS: "History of 7th Batt. (Salisbury) Home Guard 1940—44".
- „ „ SIR FELIX POLE: "The Great Bedwyn Monthly Budget", March, 1854—February, 1855 (all issued), only complete copy in existence, formerly the property of E. R. Pole, schoolmaster at Little and Great Bedwyn.
- „ „ Miss E. FOX: Preston's "Flowering Plants of Wilts", Pafford's "Accounts of the Garrisons of Chalfield and Malmesbury" (Records Branch).
- „ „ G. J. KIDSTON: Transcripts of Court Rolls (1390—1419) and Feet of Fines (1323), Manor of Box.
- „ „ A. TINGLE (Ottawa): Hobbes' "Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society, etc." (1651).
- „ „ W. A. WEBB: Transcripts of Potterne Parish Register (Bap. 1653—1812, Marr. 1654—1812, Banns 1754—1812, Bur. 1663—1812); of Broughton Gifford Parish Register (Bap. and Bur. 1665—1812, Marr. 1665—1809, Banns 1754—1809), and of the Lacock Parish Register (2 parts): Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1559—1712, with extracts from Banns, 1754—1812.

*Additions to Library.*

- „ „ MR. WILLIS of Basingstoke (*per* the Salisbury Museum) :  
 Proposal for construction of N. Wilts Canal to connect  
 the Wilts and Berks and Thames and Severn Canals,  
 with plan (1813). Case of Commisioners of the Thames  
 Navigation in opposition thereto (1813).
- „ „ MR. A. D. PASSMORE : Act of Parliament respecting  
 lands belonging to the Duke of Kent in Wiltshire and  
 elsewhere. Reign of Geo. III.  
 Photographs of Wanborough Church and the Roman  
 Temple, White Walls.
- „ „ EXORS. of the late MRS. COWARD : Parish Registers of  
 Bishops' Cannings (Parry).  
 " Woodhenge " (Mrs. M. E. Cunnington).  
 " All Cannings Cross " (Mrs. M. E. Cunnington).
- „ „ BRIGADIER J. M. PROWER : 10 Vols. *Wiltshire Archaeo-  
 logical Magazine*.  
 " History of Devizes " (Waylen).  
 " Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire " (Kite).  
 " History of Gloucestershire " (Rudder).
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GENERAL FUND, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1945.

1944		1945		EXPENDITURE		1945	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
6	5	6	5	Cost of Magazines			
269	18	283	5	No. 182—Wood-			
8	11	9	9	ward, Printing,			
		1	15	etc. ...134 2 0			
1	15	1	15	Ditto, Blocks ... 6 15 6			
34	14	24	18	No. 183—Wood-			
2	2	104	10	ward, Printing,			
7	4	1	10	etc. ...122 19 6			
		10	9	Ditto, Blocks ... 1 19 6			
				265 16 6			
				6 0			
				3 Old Magazines			
				Subscriptions :—			
2	2	2	2	Museums Association ... 2 2 0			
				Prehistoric Society ... 15 0			
1	1	1	1	National Trust ... 1 1 0			
1	0	1	0	British Records Association			
1	1	1	1	C.P.R.E. ... 1 1 0			
1	10	1	10	Council for British Archae-			
				ology ... 1 10 4			
				Southwestern Group of			
				Museums & Art Galleries 10 0			
1	1			Palaeontographical Society			
18	6			Postages, Printing, etc ... 6 19 4			
10	6			Legal Costs (Examining			
				Deeds) ... 13 2 8			
25	11			Financial Secretary—Salary ... 31 7 0			
13	0			Surplus to Balances Account 107 18 0			
<u>£341 0 5</u>		<u>£425 9 6</u>		<u>£341 0 5</u>		<u>£425 9 9</u>	



BALANCES ACCOUNT AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1945.

1945 Jan. 1.	To Balances forward from 1944 (Note : Cash and Petty Cash for both General and Museum Maintenance Funds pooled as agreed by the Committee) :—	£	s.	d.	1945 Dec. 31.	By Balances as at 31st Dec., 1945—	£	s.	d.
	2½% Conversion Stock (at cost) ...	47	10	0		2½% Conversion Stock (at cost) ...	47	10	0
	Consols at Cost (Museum Maintenance Fund) ...	200	0	0		Consols at Cost (Museum Maintenance Fund) ...	200	0	0
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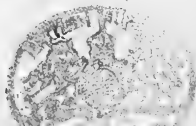
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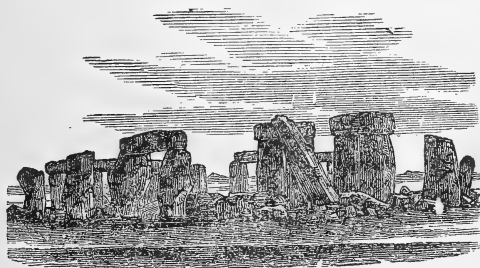
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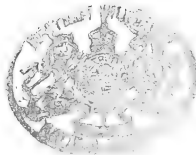
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THE  
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

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THE TRINITARIAN FRIARS AND EASTON ROYAL.

By LT.-COL. H. F. CHETTLE, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Easton Royal,<sup>1</sup> five miles south of Marlborough, was the home for nearly three hundred years of a small convent of Trinitarian (or Red) Friars. There is now no vestige of their house or their church; both were ruinous when the friars left them. But these brethren were, in their day, respected members of a village population and representatives of the first (and least typical) of the Mendicant Orders—the "Ordo Sanctae Trinitatis de Redemptione Captivorum".

The failure of the Third Crusade left many thousands of Christian captives in Moslem hands, and the fate of these men and women lay heavy on sensitive consciences. Two hermits living near Château-Thierry, afterwards canonised at St. Felix de Valois and St. Jean de Matha, became dissatisfied with their mode of life. They were warned in a thrice repeated dream to go to Rome and obtain a Rule. They had audience of the new Pope, Innocent III, who, as they learned, was more than ready to receive them, for he had seen a vision corresponding with their aspirations: "an angel of God, holding with crossed hands two captives, a Christian and a Moor, as though he exchanged them". Therefore the name, the habit, the main objective and the Constitutions of a new Order were approved before the end of December, 1198 (*Gallia Christiana*, VIII, 1732, Instrumenta, 553—7).

The Order was to consist of a Minister General, Ministers in charge of houses, and in each house three clerks and three lay brothers. Private property was forbidden; the revenues of each house must be used as to two-thirds for "the works of pity" and necessary subsistence, and as to one-third for the ransom of those imprisoned by pagans for the faith of Christ. All must labour; silence must not be broken without good cause; clothing and dietary were austere regulated; the brethren might ride upon asses, but not on horses. The Chapter was

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval parish and priory and the modern civil parish are alike plain Easton, but the suffix is convenient and reasonably long-established, and it appears in the name of the ecclesiastical parish.



to meet every Sunday, and the General Chapter in the octave of Pentecost. Novices must be full twenty years of age. The Minister should be chosen on his merits; he must be a priest; he could be deposed by higher authority in the Order.

The duties of caring for the sick and for the wayfaring poor were elaborated; and at least every night common prayer must be offered in the hospital, in the presence of the poor, for the good estate and the peace of the Holy Roman Church and of all Christendom, and for benefactors, and for those for whom the Church in general had been used to pray.

Clement IV's revised Constitutions, issued in 1267, recognised a new appointment of Provincial Minister, and authorised the Provincial to vary the division of revenues; they allowed the individual houses to increase their numbers, clerical or lay, at discretion; they relaxed the primitive austerity in matters of diet and equitation; and they specified the fourth Sunday after Easter for the General Chapter. In 1308 Clement V brought the Order into direct dependence, "absque ullo medio", upon the Holy See; but four years later an English bishop, Walter Reynolds of Worcester, excommunicated the Minister of an English house on the ground that he had claimed exemption from diocesan authority under a forged bull of Clement.

The new Order spread out, in its first twenty-five years, into France, Provence, Aragon, Castile, England, Scotland, Navarre, Portugal and Flanders; but it remained predominantly French. The mother-house was at Cerfroy, the place near Château-Thierry where its founders had received their vocation; the convent of St. Maturin at Paris soon became a second administrative headquarters and a home of learning, and gave the Order its other name of Maturins. The first seven Ministers General were chosen internationally; from about 1260, Frenchmen were elected.

Nine Trinitarian houses were founded in England in the thirteenth century, and two in the fourteenth. Hounslow (Middlesex) came into being in or before 1200; Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1214, as a Scottish house; Mottenden (Kent), traditionally, in 1224; Thelsford (Warwickshire), by transfer from canons regular, in 1240; and Easton in 1245.

Between the years 1210 and 1236 (*Rolls Series*, 97, 301—6), the abbot of Mont-Ste Catherine, near Reims, and the prior of Bradenstoke were at odds concerning the patronage of Easton church. The rival claims, based upon gifts by two members of the great Marshal family, are explained by the documents numbered 1—7 and 13 in the *Ailesbury MSS. from Easton Priory*. The French abbey had presented a young clerk named Stephen to Easton church about the year 1210. The prior of Bradenstoke had dispossessed him; in June 1218, by order of Honorius III, he was reinstated; and in 1236 the prior and convent of Bradenstoke had granted to him all their rights in the church saving the tithes of wheat, hay and cheese from their demesne. Then, or about then, both parties had accepted the arbitration of Robert de

Bingham, bishop of Salisbury, and his award and the subsequent proceedings are set out in his "ordinance" of the 9th May, 1246 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 10). Stephen had become Stephen of Tisbury, archdeacon of Wiltshire, and had very recently died; but before his death he had founded at Easton a hospital (or hostel) in which three priests should officiate and the needy traveller should be received.<sup>1</sup> He, his heirs and assigns, were to present to the bishop from time to time one of the three chaplains as master and rector of the hospital. Bradenstoke was to receive its tithes of wheat, hay and cheese, and the patronage and remaining income of the church should pass to the hospital. Nicholas, Minister General of the Trinitarians, had recommended for master (or Minister) a friar of his Order named Nicholas of Norfolk; Stephen had presented him, and the bishop had admitted him. Obedience to the bishop was stipulated in the arbitral sentence, and both Ralph of Wolveley (then Provincial of the Order in England and Scotland) and Nicholas of Norfolk had promised it. Such, and so carefully safeguarded, was the "ordinance" under which the house at Easton was established, and the King inspected and approved the document at Marlborough on the 1st July, 1251 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 11).

Stephen of Tisbury had two sisters, of whom one married Henry Sturmeay and the other Sir William Druceys<sup>2</sup> (or Druce), and both marriages were to the advantage of his foundation. Sir William's son Geoffrey, at some date before 1257, quitclaimed to the brethren the late archdeacon's property at Easton, and both Geoffrey Druceys and his brother Stephen confirmed the archdeacon's gift of houses and land (*Ailesbury MSS.*, 15—20). The Sturmeays (or Esturmays) inherited for nearly two centuries the patronage of Easton. They were hereditary wardens of Savernake forest: an unruly clan, usually (like the former princes of Reuss) named Henry and consequently difficult to sort out; Mr. Brentnall (*W.A.M.*, xlvi, 380—4) has studied the family under both these aspects, and Lord Cardigan, in the preceding number of the *Magazine*, has given us their full and authoritative history. In 1250 Geoffrey Sturmeay gave to the hospital fifty acres of woodland in "Halegodesfolegd" (now Priory Wood) in Savernake Forest<sup>3</sup>; and in or after 1254 his son Henry confirmed his gifts of Priory Wood, of a messuage and 1½ virgates in Easton, and of a rent of 10s. (*MSS. in Ailesbury Archives.*)

The sixth of the English Trinitarian houses was founded in or before 1252 at the chapel of St. Robert of Knaresborough, under the patronage of Richard, Earl of Cornwall; the eighth at Totnes, in 1271; and the ninth at Oxford (to meet a need long felt by the English friars) in

<sup>1</sup> See the Editor's note at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Easton Drewes, Easton Prioris, Easton Bradenstoke and Easton Warrens appear at different times as local names of manors.

<sup>3</sup> The Prior of Easton's wood was "put out of" Savernake forest in 1330 (H. C. Brentnall in *W.A.M.*, xlix, 433).

1291. Meanwhile the seventh house was founded as a cell of Easton.

About 1261, the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalene outside the town of Hertford was occupied by the friars of Easton (*Victoria County History, Herts*, iv, 452—3). In April, 1287, William, Minister of Easton and of the house of St. Mary Magdalene by Hertford, took all the correct precautions before going beyond seas (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281—92*, 267), and the grant of a wood in Amwell, Herts, to the house of Easton was authorised in 1301 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292—1301*, 599).

The parent house in Wiltshire, steadily and not too slowly, increased its endowments. In July, 1283, it obtained licence under the recent Statute of Mortmain to acquire real estate to the value of £10 a year, and a note on the back of the licence records that property worth £3 a year was acquired on the 7th June, 1289, another £2 worth on the 3rd March, 1336, and £2 worth again on the 12th June, 1349 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 12). Robert Druceys, Stephen's son, added in 1322 a rent of 2 marks due from John at Hull, with suits and services rendered by the same John for two messuages and two virgates of land in Easton which he held for life, and had licence in June, 1324, to grant the reversion of the two messuages and two virgates to the hospital (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321—24*, 421; *Ailesbury MS.*, 25). A document of March, 1325 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 24) sums up and completes Robert Druceys's benefactions; he had built (or rebuilt) a chapel of St. John the Baptist on the north side of Easton church, to be served by a chaplain from the hospital; he had provided in addition a rent of 12s. and 200 sheep<sup>1</sup> as endowment; John of Titchfield, the Minister, and his brethren had agreed, and the rector and parishioners, the bishop and the King (under the general licence of 1283) had approved his gifts and his chantry.

Other properties were added to those derived from the Sturmeys and the Druces. In June, 1308, John of Backham sold (or mortgaged) to John of Titchfield and his brethren, for £40 silver, a messuage and two virgates in Easton (*Ailesbury MSS.*, 26—28). In May, 1331, Vincent of Tarrant, parson of Everley, had licence to grant an acre of land in Tidcombe Huse, worth 3d. a year, and the advowson of the church, worth £4 a year—which the Minister and friars were allowed to impropriate (*Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes*, XVII, 307; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1330—34*, 112). Robert de Hungerford had leave in March, 1336, under the general licence of 1283 to grant a messuage and a carucate and rents of 3s. 6d. a year in Grafton, the whole valued at £1 0s. 4d. a year (*L. & I.*, XVII, 336; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1334—38*, 225; *Ailesbury MS.*, 30). It is not surprising that as early as July, 1314, John of Titchfield and his brethren appointed two proctors (Robert of Elvetham, a friar of Easton, and Simon of Hertford, clerk), with very wide powers

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brentnall has found in the court rolls of the manor of Easton Drewes, 1348—1349, that the shepherd of the Minister of Easton placed himself in mercy for allowing twenty sheep to stray on forbidden land.

to conduct their external relations (*Ailesbury MS.*, 29). To complete this phase of Easton's history : in 1329, on the presentation of Henry de Sturmey, William Beccles was instituted to the hospital (Sir Thomas Phillipps : *Institutiones Clericorum in comitatu Wiltoniae*, 25); and at some time before 1344 Edmund of Pollesden<sup>1</sup> had succeeded.

Thus far, the nine English houses, governed from France and pledged to support a remote missionary enterprise, had no doubt done their duty by the Order. There is no proof that at any time English brethren went in person to the infidel States, as the friars on the Continent undoubtedly did; but, in default of evidence, it may be assumed that they remitted to Cerfroy their quota for the redemption of captives, and that they sent representatives to the General Chapters. But the Hundred Years' War broke out in 1337, and it is probable that during hostilities all relations with Cerfroy were severed, and the English poor and English wayfarers benefited.

The Order established its last two convents in England in 1360 : at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, probably colonised by refugee friars from Berwick, and at Ingham in Norfolk.

The effect on Easton of the Black Death, which reduced the numbers at Knaresborough and swept away the whole community at Oxford, is not known; but the hospital went on consolidating and extending its possessions. In February, 1344, Walter of Kingsettle<sup>2</sup> quitclaimed to Edmund of Pollesden and the brethren the two messuages and two virgates in Easton given by Robert Druceys in 1322 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 32). Henry de Sturmey and three others had licence in June, 1349, to grant to Easton a messuage and a carucate of land in Middleton and Easton (worth 33s. 4d.), and William de Erchesfonte and three others 13 acres in East Grafton (worth 2s. 2d.) (*L. & I.*, XXII, 443; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1348—50, 303). Again, Henry de Sturmey had licence in October, 1371, to grant them two messuages, a toft, a mill, three carucates and twenty acres of land, six acres of meadow, eight acres of pasture, thirty acres of wood and £4 6s. rent, in all worth £10 a year, on condition that they should pray especially for the King, Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine, and the donor, and for their souls and the soul of Queen Philippa after their death (*L. & I.*, XXII, 576; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1370—74, 145). In these proceedings the brethren are described as canons. In February, 1374, Robert Wyvill, bishop of Salisbury, confirmed and republished the "ordinance" of his predecessor Robert de Bingham, and in the following August, at the request of Henry Esturmeay, patron of the hospital, he issued a new copy to replace the worn-out original (*Ailesbury MSS.*, 40, 41). Another bishop, Ralph Ergham, confirmed the hospital's title to Easton Church in August, 1386 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 42); and *Ailesbury MS.*, 43, is a notarial copy of the report of a

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brentnall observes that Polesdon's is a farm in Shalbourne, on the Sturmey estates.

<sup>2</sup> Near Wincanton.

friendly action tried in St. Mary's Church, Marlborough, in March, 1391, by which John of Hacklestone,<sup>1</sup> now "prior" of the hospital, apparently asserted its liberties and immunities against the rural dean of Marlborough. But it is time to return to other aspects of life at Easton for this question of ecclesiastical subordination had been of practical importance twenty-seven years earlier.

The episode of 1364, which brought the patron and the bishop into indirect but open conflict with the Minister General, is narrated under different aspects in the Bodleian Library's *Rawlinson MS.*, B444, and the *Ailesbury MS.*, 34. In January or February of that year (or possibly at the end of 1363) Henry Sturmeý appointed Robert England, a secular priest, as Minister of Easton, and applied to the bishop for his institution; he maintained that Edmund of Pollesden had quitted the house, after wasting and embezzling its revenues, and he assumed a vacancy. The bishop made lengthy and careful enquiries: his commissaries sent for Edmund (who did not appear) and examined four resident brethren (one named Geoffrey Sturmeý) and a fifth, who was stated to be Edmund's proctor. It was found that masses and hospitality had been suspended for fifteen years; that Edmund had flagrantly wasted the priory's revenues, had built in it a stable for his horses,<sup>2</sup> and had gone to live at Hertford four years ago, taking the common seal with him. It was therefore agreed between the bishop and Henry Sturmeý, after prolonged discussion, that Edmund had forfeited his office; the brethren had merited expulsion, but should be restored to their home under proper disciplinary safeguards. Robert England thereupon resigned whatever rights he had into the bishop's hands, and on Sturmeý's presentation Robert Pilkington, one of the brethren, was instituted as Minister. It remained to draw up the disciplinary safeguards.

Meanwhile, Edmund had appealed to the Holy See and complained in writing to the Minister General, Pierre de Bourri. Pierre, by letters patent dated at the convent of Verberie (Oise), after postulating that to him alone (after the Holy See) belonged the institution and destitution of Ministers, and describing Edmund as Provincial of England (which may help to explain the charge of non-residence), restored him to his office; and Edmund had the barren satisfaction of sending a copy of this letter from the cell of St. Mary Magdalene at Hertford, on the 10th August, to William of Marlborough and the other brethren at Easton (*Ailesbury MS.*, 35). References in Edmund's covering letter to his resignation, to the ordination of his proctor, and to a bargain for ten marks a year, render the interim proceedings obscure and suspicious; and all was in vain, for the bishop, the patron and the brethren apparently ignored the letter from Verberie.

The new disciplinary statutes and ordinances, the fruits of discussion with "viris venerabilibus prelatibus religiosis" and others, were issued by

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<sup>1</sup> In Fittleton parish.      <sup>2</sup> An early (but undated) stable long converted to a cottage abuts on the village street nearby. (Editor.)

the bishop on the 31st October, 1368, and witnessed by four abbots and three priors of the diocese. They included a direction to follow the Use of Sarum. They were separately agreed by the patron, the convent, and the dean and chapter; and, to close the transaction, the ordinance of Robert de Bingham was set out in full.

On the 26th June, 1363, a long and involved rescript (*Ailesbury MS.*, 33) had been signed at Avignon by the vicar-general of the diocese at the request of the Trinitarian Minister in that city. It set out in detail the wide privileges granted to the Order from 1227 onwards. The presence of a copy among the Easton papers is no doubt connected with Edmund's troubles; a more surprising fact is that those papers do not contain Urban V's bull of April, 1363, to which the vicar-general refers, confirming the privileges of Easton.

One of the brethren, Robert of Donnington, went home to Berkshire in 1366 and was excommunicated as an apostate (*Ailesbury MS.*, 36). Two years later the friars of Easton and of their cell at Hertford complained to the King that many false *questores*, with forged letters of procuration, had collected and embezzled great sums of money, and a commission was issued for the arrest of such persons (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1367—70, 198).

In 1369 (*Ailesbury MSS.*, 37—39) the parish church of Easton was pulled down by the brethren and the material was used to enlarge the conventual church, which was barely sixty yards away. The parishioners, reduced in numbers (perhaps by the plague of 1361) and unable to maintain their own church, had asked for this, but they undertook to keep in order the conventual nave, chancel and cemetery if they might have the use of them. After a local enquiry the archdeacon, the patron, the bishop and the dean and chapter notified their agreement.

A Trinitarian Minister named Robert (and this may have been Robert Pilkington) obtained in October, 1371, leave to cross the sea with two yeomen, giving two sureties. There was evidently trouble in the English Province. In August, 1372, the Minister of Mottenden was appointed from Cerfroy as Provincial with a hint to reform abuses (*Historical MSS. Commission, 4th Report*, 198); and when he claimed jurisdiction over Easton Henry Sturmev caused him to be attached in the Common Pleas. He was released on bail, and unfortunately neither the points at issue nor the Court's decision are known. This obscure dispute lasted into the opening years of the Great Schism, and in 1382 the same Provincial cited the Minister of Easton to appear at a Chapter to be held in London on the 3rd May. Again, we do not know the issue or the result; but Urban VI granted the English houses leave to choose their own Provincial, and the Minister of Knaresborough was elected Provincial in or before 1387. And in November, 1403, the English Province obtained relaxation of the Constitutions in two articles: the "immemorial" custom of sending a fixed quota for the ransom of captives, instead of the original third part of income, was approved; and the reception of novices under twenty years of age was

permitted. The quota had presumably been taken, when conditions allowed, to the General Chapter; it is difficult to say what was done with it while relations with Cerfroy were broken off—as they probably were until the election of Pope Martin V in 1417.

In November, 1389, while Robert of Newington was "prior", Sir William Sturmeý ratified (*Ailesbury Archives*) an indenture executed by his uncle Henry, by which the latter gave to the hospital all his lands and tenements at Puthall<sup>1</sup> on minutely detailed conditions as to distributing pence and halfpenny white loaves and washing the feet of the poor on behalf of the patron, and as to providing candles and celebrating obits; and the "Prior" agreed that the bishop should visit with proportionate punishment any breach of these trusts which he might discover.

Income, however, was again outpaced by expenditure, and in January, 1392, the bishop consented to the appropriation of Tidcombe church (*Ailesbury MS.*, 44). The reasons given were more than usually serious: owing to poor harvests, murrain, the increasing numbers of both rich and poor whom they entertained and the excessive demands of the King and others "ex moderni temporis malicia", the brethren could not maintain the establishment of a prior and six priests needed to fulfil their obligations, nor find the money required for hospitality, works of piety, dues, and the restoration of their collapsed or weakened buildings. Tidcombe church was worth not more than 8 marks a year; the terms included the provision of a resident chaplain and compensation to the Diocesan authorities; and the first presentation by the hospital took effect eleven years later. Under licence dated in 1391 (*Ailesbury Archives*), Sir William Sturmeý ceded to the hospital the manor<sup>2</sup> and advowson of Froxfield in exchange for Crofton Braybeuf manor and lands and tenements in Burbage (a French document in the *Ailesbury Archives*); but Sir William presented to Froxfield church as late as 1396.

At some time during the reign of Henry IV the dean and chapter of Salisbury lent £40 to the hospital. The terms of the loan were varied by an agreement of the 24th July, 1412 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 45) under which John of Hacklestone and his brethren compounded for a yearly payment of 13s. 4d., in perpetuity, to two chaplains celebrating certain obits on St. Luke's day in the Church of St. Thomas at Salisbury.

In October, 1424, the "prior and convent" obtained a general amnesty (*Ailesbury MS.*, 46), granted—so it was stated—at the request of the last Parliament, for offences committed before the 8th December last, but excepting crimes against the coinage and murders committed after the 19th November. The reasons for this act of grace are not known, and there does not seem to be any reflection of it in the Rolls of Parliament. A second amnesty found in the *Ailesbury MSS.* (47),

<sup>1</sup> Now a farm outside the east boundary of the forest, on the London road.

<sup>2</sup> Crofton next Great Bedwyn.

dated the 10th November, 1446, was "sent downe" (as a nearly contemporary endorsement notes) "by the Prior or my[nister] of Hy[rtford?]" . Those excepted from the pardon included the notorious Eleanor Cobham, the Duke of Gloucester's imprisoned wife, and a number of other persons and officials.

Sir William Sturmeley died in 1427, and Wulfall and other property passed, with his younger daughter, to the Seymours (see *Calendar of Inquisitions, Henry VII, I, 770; W.A.M., li, 336*); in March, 1427, Stephen Yateley, "prior" of Easton, came to Elvetham to speak with Sir William and learned that he was dead (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1446—52, 556*).

John Newington, a friar of Easton, spent the last ten years of his life (1427—1437) serving the chapel of the Holy Ghost at Warland (F. C. Hingeston-Randolph: *Register of Edmund Lacy, 95, 222*). This was the house at Totnes, mentioned above; it stood on the west side of the street still named Warland, close to the west bank of the river, and it was usually occupied by a single friar from Hounslow.

Easton received a legacy of 40s. in 1441 from one John Frankes (*Register of Henry Chichele II, 592*); and in 1444 John Benger had licence to grant to it the advowson of Stapleford (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441—46, 228*). In 1448 Stephen Yateley resigned, and John Charlton took his place; the patrons at that time were recorded as Sir John Seymour and (his cousin) William Ringeborne (Phillipps's *Oratoria, 28*). In the same year Hertford is mentioned, for the first and last time, as an independent house ("the hospital of the poor of the Trinity and St. Thomas the Martyr"), with a chamberlain and a warden (*V.C.H., Herts, IV, 453*). It became, at some time not ascertained, a cell of Mottenden.

In April, 1459, William Bradker of Debenham Market in Suffolk, proctor of the hospital, gave his bond to the "Prior", John Charlton, and the convent for £200 sterling, to be repaid in ten years by half-yearly instalments (*Ailesbury MS., 48*). It is not clear why the proctor, whose normal function was to collect alms for a religious house, had borrowed so large a sum—unless this was a case of farming.

The general government of the Order passed, from 1473 to 1507, into the hands of a great and energetic ruler, Robert Gaguin. He visited Germany, Italy and England. He rode his continental Provinces with a tight rein. He did not like the English, but he recovered the house at Oxford from its occupation by a hermit and made it a hall of residence under a Trinitarian head—in which capacity it survived the Dissolution by a few years. He resumed the ransoming of captives on a large scale.<sup>1</sup> The collection of alms up and down England continued;<sup>2</sup> but the activities of the Province during the remainder of its existence seem

<sup>1</sup> The Order's big hauls were in the Barbary States. Their Rule devoted them to Christians "incarcerati a Paganis"; Gaguin saw the reception in Paris of 500 captives redeemed at Granada.

<sup>2</sup> The Registers of a number of English bishops bear witness to the special activity of the proctors of Thelsford.



remote from the life of the Order as a whole, and the events recorded at Easton are still of a domestic character.

An institution to the vicarage of Stapleford in 1473 was made on the presentation of four "confratres" of the "prior", which seems to indicate a vacancy; and next year William Marshall was instituted to the "priory" on the presentation of John Seymour (Phillipps's *Institutiones*, 163). In 1487 William Marshall seems himself to have been instituted to the vicarage of Stapleford, but he resigned it in 1491 (Phillipps's *Institutiones*, 170, 174).

In the year 1493, William Marshall being apparently still Minister, the conventual church, with vestments, chalices and other ornaments, and the houses and buildings at Easton and all the possessions of the fraternity were consumed by fire. A public appeal for funds was necessary: the archbishop of Canterbury gave the brethren a letter certifying the facts and offering to contributors, during the next twelve months, forty days' indulgence; the King gave protection "without term" to the proctors of the "prior" (William) and convent; and the vicar-general of the diocese issued notarial copies of both letters for the use of the proctors (*Ailesbury MS.*, 50). We must assume that the necessary funds were raised and some rebuilding carried out.

The last recorded act but one in the story of the hospital is not the least obscure. William Marshall had, presumably, died; the see of Sarum was again vacant; and Henry VII wrote to the patrons, Sir John Seymour and "oon Raynsbourn", recommending his own chaplain, the Minister of Hounslow. Raynsbourn (Ringeborne), whose turn it was, presented a secular priest named John Topping. Henry thereupon wrote (in English) to the vicar-general, protesting against this irregular nomination to a religious house and pressing his chaplain's claim (*Ailesbury MS.*, 49). (It was a strange request, if plurality was not intended, for Hounslow was wealthier than Easton by £25 a year.) This second letter was apparently written between 1497 and 1501. What evidence there is suggests that it failed to move the vicar-general; on the 22nd February, 1523, John Topping, prior of Holy Trinity, Easton, let a close called Pollernmede, at Stibbe<sup>1</sup> in the parish of Burbage, for 61 years at 4s. a year (*Ailesbury MS.*, 51); and in 1527, on Topping's death, Sir John Seymour, "founder", presented Henry Bryan to the vacant office (Phillipps's *Institutiones*, 199). It was Henry Bryan's destiny to see the closing of his hospital.

Of the English Trinitarian houses, Oxford had ceased in 1488 to be a friary; and Totnes had been confiscated by the bishop of Exeter in 1509; the others were surrendered or abandoned in the four years 1536—1539. The Act of 1536, if it had applied, would have swept all of them away, for none had a nett income of as much as £70 a year; but they were still—in spite of a great deal of popular misconception<sup>2</sup>—friaries and

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<sup>1</sup> Stibb or Steep Green. <sup>2</sup> Even the commission to Brown and Hilsey in April, 1534, to visit the Friars did not specify the Trinitarians.

not monasteries. They succumbed to the pressure of Cromwell's visitors, the contagious effects of mass dissolution, or, in some instances, a good offer by a local squire.

Easton had, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, a gross general income of £55 14s. 4d., nett £42 12s. It was described by the county commissioners (*Dublin Review*, 1894, i, 274) as a "hedde house of crosse channons of Seint Augustynes rule", worth £45 14s. a year with £4 11s. 8d. for the demesne; containing two priests (by report, of honest conversation, desiring to continue religious), six hinds, and two women servants. The church and mansion were in ruin, in default of covering, and the outhouses in great decay. Movable assets were worth £144 6s. 8d., and 50 acres of wood in Savernake forest and six acres of coppice £17 13s. 4d., against £22 2s. 2d. of debts. The Seymours stepped in: Sir Edward, then Viscount Beauchamp, obtained on the 7th June, 1536, a grant in tail male of the property of the late priory of Holy Trinity, Eston, dissolved (as it was expressed) by Parliament, as enjoyed by Henry Bryan, late prior (*Letters & Papers Henry VIII*, X, 1256 (6)). This included the manors of Easton, Froxfield, Stapleford and Tidcombe. The "prior" received a pension of ten marks.

The Protector spent nine days at Easton in October, 1543 (J. E. Jackson: *Wulfhall*, 41); and his descendants used the church for burials until 1590, when it had become even more ruinous (C. E. Ponting in *W.A.M.*, xxviii, 144).

The brethren at Easton, as at other Trinitarian houses in England, seem to have been almost invariably native Englishmen, and most commonly natives of the county. Their number at times exceeded the figure suggested by Stephen of Tisbury. They proceeded to the priesthood in the regular course of ordination (*Register of Simon of Sudbury*, II, 60). They were subject to the authority, in different respects, of the hereditary patron and of the diocesan bishop (the grant of exemption in 1308 was not often pleaded by the English houses); when Edmund of Pollesden forced the issue, the bishop and the patron together vindicated the integrity of Robert de Bingham's "ordinance". We have what seems to be one late instance of a brother serving an inappropriate church, as many Trinitarians did in the fifteenth century. We have no evidence (except what Edmund of Pollesden's accusers furnished) of the extent to which the Easton friars yielded to the temptation of personal property; nor of their intellectual life; nor of the existence of lay brothers; nor of the routine of their guest-house. They seem, in fact, to have lived peaceably in their valley, protesting not unsuccessfully against interference from outside the county on the few occasions when it was threatened; and it is strange that one, if not both, of the two journeys abroad credited to English Trinitarians should have been made by Ministers of Easton.

The list of known Ministers (or Priors) seems to be :

1245	Nicholas of Norfolk instituted.
1287	William occurs.
1308-1328	John of Titchfield occurs.
1329	William Beccles instituted.
1344-1364	Edmund of Pollesden occurs.
1364	Robert England; Robert Pilkington.
1389	Robert Newington occurs.
1391-1412	John of Hacklestone occurs.
1426	Stephen Yateley occurs; resigned 1448.
1448	John Charlton instituted; occurs 1459.
1474	William Marshall instituted; occurs 1487, 1491, 1493.
c. 1498	John Topping instituted; died 1527,
1527-1536	Henry Bryan.

The first draft of this article had been written when Mr. Brentnall's attention was drawn to a collection of documents at Tottenham House connected with Easton. Lord Cardigan, in whose charge they were, most kindly consented to their use, and Mr. Brentnall brought them to my notice. We agreed that it was imperative to study them and then re-write the article. It was impossible for me to find time to read the originals, and Mr. Brentnall agreed to, and did, read them and send me his transcripts and summaries. For this most valuable and generous help I cannot be too grateful. The documents add very considerably to what was known of Easton; the story was both briefer and neater without them, but at any rate the known facts, with some inexplicable elements, are now collected.

These documents are quoted above as coming from two sources. The *Ailesbury MSS.* (from *Easton Priory*) are a series of more than 50 documents which by the generosity of the Ailesbury family are now lodged in the care of the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Devizes. Others of more direct family interest are retained among the Savernake muniments and are here quoted as *Ailesbury Archives*.

The Editor has the author's permission to add this further note on the site of Easton Priory.

The six-inch ordnance map (Wilts, XLII, N.W.) shows it as lying in a field to the east of the present village. Inspection reveals there a series of enclosures indicated by low banks presumably covering the foundations of walls, but no record has come to light of any explorations. Among the mounds an old track, now represented by a footpath, leads northwards from a branch of the down road from Everleigh over the eastern shoulder of Easton Hill, and its earlier continuation may be traced by field-boundaries and other footpaths and roads in the direction of Brimslade and the western edge of Savernake Forest.

It is known that a Roman road branched from the Cirencester-Winchester highway near Folly Farm in the Forest and ran to Old Sarum. At either end its course is known: the middle section across the Vale of Pewsey has so far defied all efforts to re-establish it. Easton lies on the direct line, and it is a fair assumption that travellers from Salisbury northwards in the middle ages continued to follow, as best they might, the same line. This would explain the siting of a house intended for the succour of wayfarers at a place now so remote from traffic. The plaint of 1391 (*Ailesbury MS.*, 44) speaks of the dissipation of the brethren's resources in consequence of the increasing concourse of applicants for assistance not only poor but rich as well (suggesting, if not a misuse of their hospitality, at least inadequate recompense). This points to a considerable traffic past their house.

Baron van Haeften, the present owner of the Old Vicarage at Easton, tells me of a tradition in the village that his house is on the site of an old hospital. The Old Vicarage is itself a house of considerable age, and some of its features may antedate the building of the present church in 1591. It includes a closed central block measuring 8 ft. 6 in. by 7 ft. which has not yet been examined. If this house, which lies on the main street of the village, really represents the guest-house of the Priory, it would argue that the modern line of that street dates back at least to the early years of the 15th century. It is certainly well sunk in the greensand, like other old routes in the Pewsey Vale. But the identification separates the reputed site of the Priory by nearly 400 yards from its guest-house. It is possible that the desertion of the Roman line (if that may be assumed) in favour of the present street occurred after the foundation of the Priory, and that the brethren, finding themselves by-passed not only by the objects of their charity but also by potential contributors of alms, rebuilt on the new line of traffic.

The modern village street is in line with another branch of the down road from Everleigh running over the *western* shoulder of Easton Hill. By either branch the chances of getting bogged in the stream which ran at the foot of Easton Hill would seem to have been about equal (there is mention of a *fludegate* in a 17th century survey of the manor). This perhaps explains why the old Salisbury-Marlborough road was diverted *via* Falstone Pond towards Burbage, leaving Easton Royal to enjoy in solitude the consolation of its suffix.

## MASON'S MARKS ON EDINGTON CHURCH.

By B. HOWARD CUNNINGTON, F.S.A., Scot.

By the kindness of Miss D. W. Seth-Smith of the old Monastery Garden, Edington, an addition of a very interesting book has been made to the Library. It is a small notebook entitled "Mason's Marks on the interior walls of the Church at Edington, with notes made by Miss Marguerite Geaussant, 1944". These mason's marks have been copied into the notebook by Mr. V. L. Arnold, the Borough Librarian at Reigate. The accompanying plate shows these marks and was kindly redrawn one third of the original size by our Hon. Librarian, Mr. C. W. Pugh.<sup>1</sup>

In the Report of the Oxfordshire Archæological Society for 1938 is an interesting article on the Masons Marks in Oxfordshire and the Cotswolds by R. H. C. Davis. With the Author's permission I quote the following:—"Mason's 'bander' marks are the personal trade marks of individual masons and can be seen on the surface of the walls of many of the larger churches and castles in Europe. They occur especially in Romanesque and Gothic work, but there are examples also on Roman work and of much more modern date—even in the 19th century. It seems they were usually used when many masons were being employed on a building, as a check upon faulty workmanship".

It is suggested by some authorities that when masons were sent to the quarries to excavate and prepare stones for building churches and other ecclesiastical buildings each man was given a certain mark that he had to cut on the stones he hewed and prepared, in order that the master mason should know who the hewer was and reward him according to the efficiency of his work. It seems that the custom of marking hewn stones in this way continued down to the early part of the 19th Century, but I am informed, rightly or wrongly, that the custom has been given up for over 50 years.

With regard to the figures (p. 380), some of the marks appear to be initials, others may be the outcome of the master mason's ingenuity.

No. 7 evidently is the swastika or fylfot. This sign is known almost the whole world over, but not necessarily as a masonic emblem—rather as one of religious origin—and it is very ancient. The late Sir Wm. Boyd Hawkins in "Early Man in Britain" figures pottery marked with this emblem and says that pottery of the late Bronze Age in France is sometimes ornamented with this sign. The late Canon Greenwell in his writings on pottery found in British barrows states that in one case the marking "almost assumes the form of the fylfot". When the Germans adopted the sign they made the arms project the reverse way, i.e., from left to right.

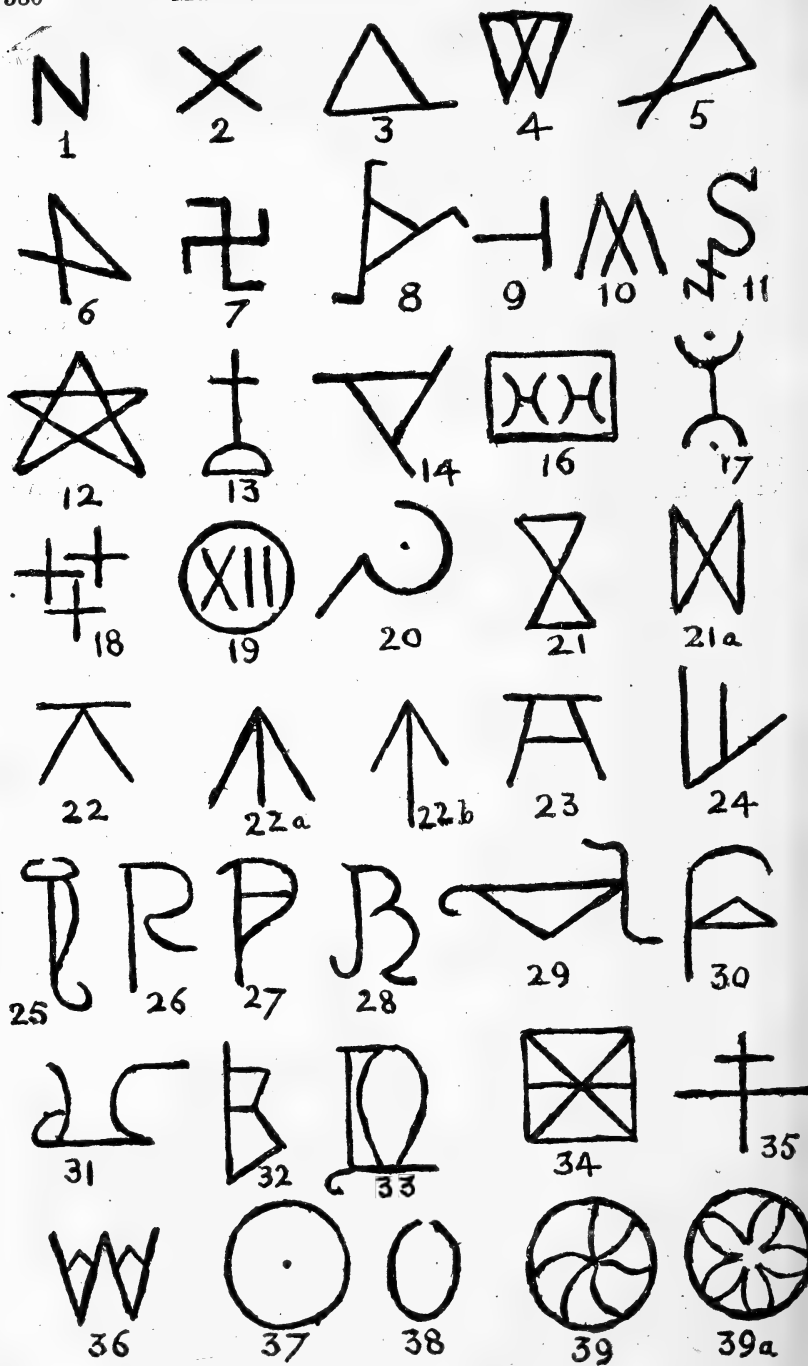
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<sup>1</sup> And Mr. Cunnington has kindly provided us with the block. (H.C.B.)

No. 20 somewhat resembles the mark on the fallen stone at Stonehenge that led to much discussion over 80 years ago, for which I refer the reader to the article on the subject by the late Dr. Thurnam in *W.A.M.*, xxvii, pages 268—277. Numbers 39 and 39a are apparently emblems of the sun and somewhat similar marks have been found on prehistoric burial urns.

Major A. Gorham of Limpley Stoke has written an exceedingly interesting booklet on "The Kennett and Avon Canal and its marks". In it he figures over 160 mason's marks found on the bridges and aqueducts of this canal between Bath and Devizes. The canal was begun in 1794 and opened for traffic in 1810.

On the Tithe Barn at Bradford-on-Avon are many mason's marks; some of them are illustrated in a leaflet on the Barn by Mr. R. T. Christopher of Bradford-on-Avon. Doubtless many of the old churches in Wiltshire have mason's marks, and it would be interesting to have a record list of all such churches.



MASON'S MARKS on the interior walls of the Church of EDINGTON, Wilts.

## BRONZE AGE BEAKERS FROM LARKHILL AND BULFORD

By MAJOR H. de S. SHORTT.

About the year 1939, when contractors were cutting a drain for the camp at Larkhill, a crouched skeleton was found in an oval grave about 24ins. deep with two B beakers. No other objects were found. Mr. R. S. Newall rescued the beakers and, after restoration, presented them to the Salisbury Museum. Unfortunately much of the base of the larger beaker was taken by a workman and enquiries have so far failed to trace it. The exact site of the burial is not known, but its approximate position may be given as lat. 51' 11" N. long. 1' 49" 25' W. or as a map reference on the 1" Salisbury map (sheet 167, New Popular Edition), 123436. The difference in style and finish of the two beakers is remarkable.

Mr. Dudley Waterman has kindly supplied the accompanying notes and drawings.

Both beakers are of type B1.

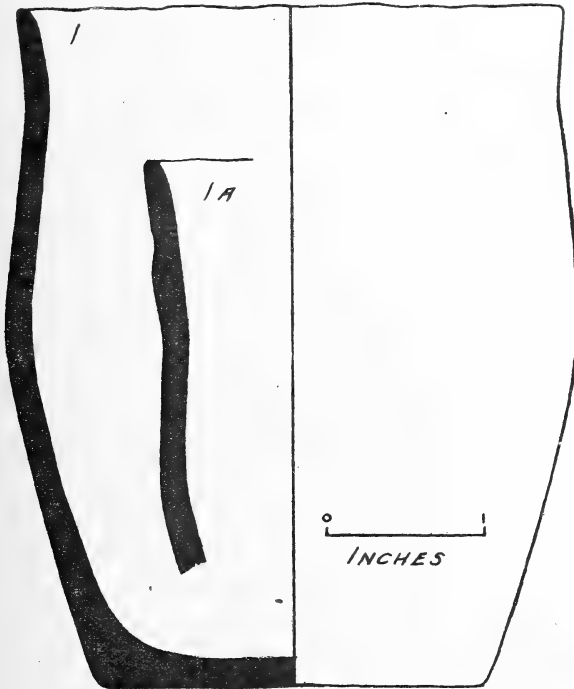


Fig. 1.



1. Poorly made vessel with feeble and varying profile. (Alternate sections shewn in drawing). The body is sooty black in colour, fired to a buff-brown on the outside, and brown on the interior. Grit is plentifully used, some larger pieces shewing on the surfaces. The inside is very roughly finished.

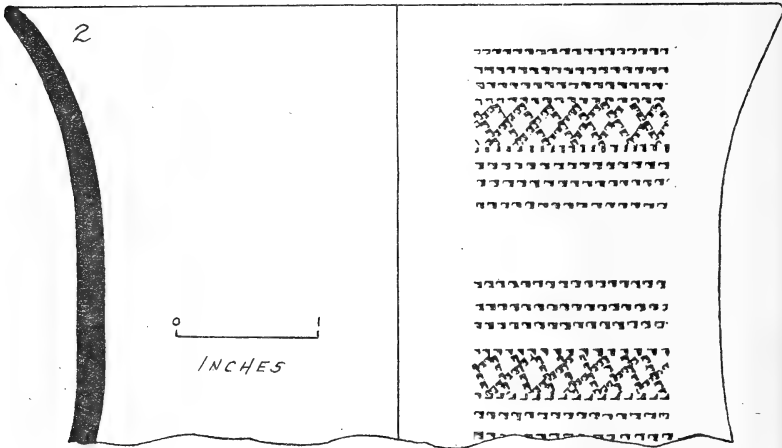


Fig. 2.

2. Very well made and formed example. Sooty black body with excellent burnished surface, red-brown, tending to buff, in colour. The zonal decoration is combed out in notched technique.

3. Another B1 Beaker was rescued by Mr. R. S. Newall in the summer of 1939. This was found during excavations for a boiler-house, in the R.A.S.C. Lines at Bulford Camp. Like the two beakers from Larkhill, this was also restored by Mr. Newall and given to the Salisbury Museum. The drawing is by Mr. Dudley Waterman. No details are known of any skeleton or associated objects. It is crudely made with uneven and sharply everted rim. The decoration, which appears to be a cord ornament, is also uneven. It is circumferential—not spiral. The surface, interior and exterior, as well as the body, is uniformly light buff in colour, and there is very little grit. A slight polish has been applied to the outside.

The boiler-house has recently been identified in the R.A.S.C. Lines. Its bearings are lat.  $51^{\circ} 11' 45''$  N., long.  $1^{\circ} 44' 28''$  W., and its reference on the 1" map of Salisbury, 182441.

Mr. Frank Stevens has kindly defrayed the cost of the blocks which illustrate these notes.

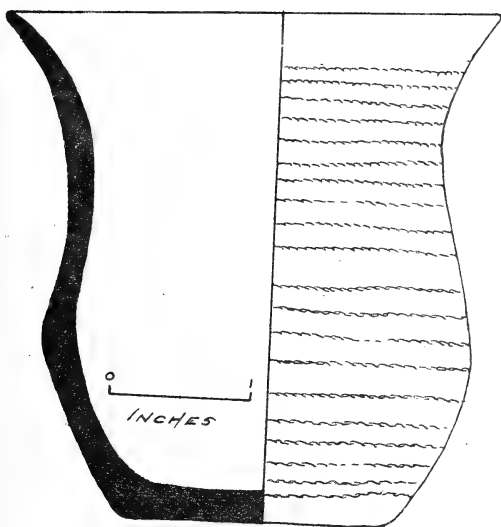


Fig. 3.

AN EARLY BRONZE AGE VESSEL FROM ASHLEY HILL  
Near SALISBURY.

By PROFESSOR STUART PIGGOTT, D.LIT., F.S.A.

The vessel which is the subject of this note was found accidentally in February, 1941, while an anti-tank ditch was being dug across Ashley Hill on the Clarendon Estate north-east of Salisbury, the geographical co-ordinates for the find being lat.  $51^{\circ} 4' 45''$ , long.  $1^{\circ} 45' 50''$ . The recovery of the sherds and the record of their precise location were due to Messrs. Wort and Way's foreman, Mr. H. W. Masters, who brought the find to the Salisbury Museum, and it is by the courtesy of the Director, Mr. Frank Stevens, that I am able to publish it. Every credit must go to Mr. Masters for his action in preserving for science this important archaeological discovery. There appear to have been no associated finds.

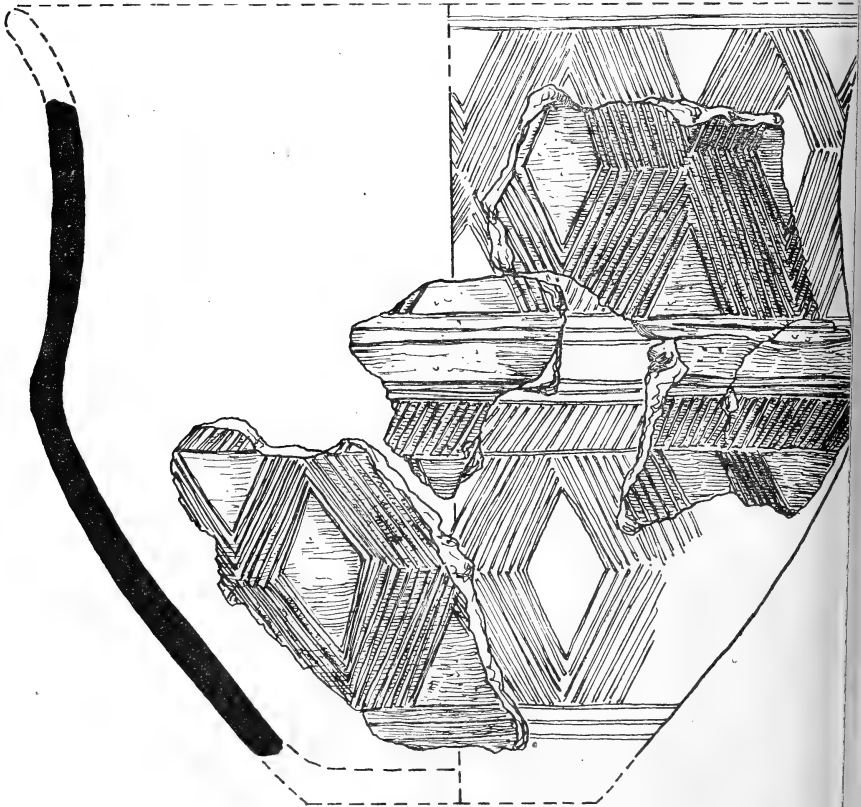


Fig. 4.

The ware of the Ashley Hill vessel is gritty and while fairly hard has a tendency to crumble. The surface is red on the outside, and ranges from brown to black on the inside, with indications of soot or carbonized organic matter in the lower part of the pot. The ornament is incised firmly with a pointed tool, the strokes sometimes leaving a slight lateral 'upcast' of clay on the edges. As will be seen in the restored drawing (Fig. 4) the form is that of a large carinated bowl and though no fragments of base or rim survive its original height appears to have been about the same as its maximum diameter, about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The scheme of the ornament is a series of rhomboids with multiple outline set in two zones, the lower having a diagonally hatched band above it. In the lower zone too, some alteration or error in laying out the scheme of rhomboids has occurred at one point to the right of the restored drawing.

The vessel is unusual in form and ornamentation, but its affinities lie with a group of handled bowls to which I called attention in 1938,<sup>1</sup> of which one (Nunwell) came from the Isle of Wight, three (Martinstown, Frome Whitfield and Langton Matravers) from Dorset and one, without a handle but analogous, from a burial against a stone of Avebury Avenue.<sup>2</sup> A second pot has since been found at Langton Matravers by Mr. J. B. Calkin, without ornament but otherwise similar to the first find from that place.<sup>3</sup> The dating evidence for these bowls, where it exists, is consistent in placing them in the Early Bronze Age and in some way related to the beakers. The carinated form of the Ashley Hill pot is typical of the majority of this series, while the incised ornament is closely paralleled in the Nunwell bowl. The find is therefore an important addition to a small group of Early Bronze Age bowls peculiar to Wessex, and its location near Salisbury serves to render the Avebury find less isolated from its southerly congeners.

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<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, IV (1938), 98. <sup>2</sup> *Antiquity*, X (1936), 423.

<sup>3</sup> Unpublished, referred to here by Mr. Calkin's permission.

## FAMILIES OF EAST KNOYLE.

By LT.-COL. J. M. F. BENETT-STANFORD.

This is a collection of the histories of the different families of eminence in Knoyle between the years 1600 and 1800. In the reign of Charles I most of them were owners of small manors scattered about the parish. These manors were bought by people who had the money to put down in Henry VIII's time, when he stole the monasterial property and sold it in small pieces to anyone who had the money to pay for them.

## GOLDESBOROUGH OF UPPER LEIGH.

Arms : Azure, a cross flory Argent.

The Goldesboroughs, like the Mervyns and Stills, have entirely died out in the parish. I believe about 1875 the last local representative kept the Phoenix Inn at Gillingham, and one of the family remained at Mere until a few years ago. They were great Royalists in the Civil War and previously, in Elizabethan times, were constantly cited as recusants, showing that they held to the old faith of the county as is shown by the following notes.

The family originated from Goldsborough near Knaresborough in Yorkshire : they begin to appear in Wiltshire in the 15th century, the first being Thomas, vicar of Lacock. Whence they immediately sprang has not yet been discovered, nor has the connection in the line of father and son been established with the ancient Yorkshire stock. But from their early and occasional use of the family arms, as at Bere Regis, Dorset ; Chipping Ongar, Essex ; Knoyle Episcopi, Wilts ; and Lincoln's Inn, London ; it is clear that widely distributed offshoots believed themselves to have sprung from the same common stock. Strictly speaking, the Goldesborough family in Wilts was not entitled to bear arms nor was it a county family, though allied with such.

In the Heralds' Visitations for Wilts no pedigree and no arms are given of any of that name among the lists of gentry. On the other hand, none was disclaimed by the Heralds for having usurped the arms to which he had no right as being of plebeian origin. Further, as we shall see, quite a number of the family, as substantial yeomen or smaller gentry, married into armigerous families in Wilts and other counties. Apart from all investigation, the tradition has been handed down in the Wiltshire branch that the family was ancient, military, and sprung from the North. This tradition, counting for what it is worth, evidently points to the descent of the Wiltshire members, though at a much earlier date than was supposed, from the original Yorkshire family.

It is probable that the family had some piece of land in Wiltshire allotted to them for military service in France in the Black Prince's time. The earliest trace of them yet discovered is the appointment of the above mentioned Thomas to Lacock in 1431 by the patroness, the

Abbess of Lacock Abbey. He remained vicar till his resignation in 1445. In the Court Rolls of the Bishop of Winchester relating to the Manor of Knoyle, alias Bishop's Knoyle, Knoyle Magna or East Knoyle, for 20 Oct., 14 Ed. IV. (1474) Henry Goldesborough, yeoman and miller, was presented for having taken toll<sup>1</sup> for grinding corn and brewing contrary to the assize.<sup>2</sup> He was fined 3*d.* with a number of others.

Stephen Goldesborough, of Wilts, is given as a Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1482, thus partaking as a scholar of the benefaction of the Founder, William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester (1458), who was still lord of the manor of Knoyle in 1474.

Among other entries in the Court Rolls of the manor is one dated May 6th, 1508, when John Goldesborough and others were charged with unjustly pasturing 50 sheep beyond the proper number on the common land and ordered to amend the matter by the next Court day on pain of paying 11*s.* 4*d.* each. On September 25th, 1519, John Goldesborough was sued for a debt of 6*s.* 8*d.* by Richard Maynard. The said John desired an agreement with the said Richard. He was fined 3*d.* He was also presented at the Court as a butcher who had sold meat "outside", i.e., beyond the proper market or limits of the manor, and again fined 3*d.* Similar presentments of John Goldesborough for little breaches of the custom of the manor continued till the year 1529.

In the Lay Subsidies for county Wilts, 1523, John Goldesborough is stated to have goods to the value of £40. He is charged with a subsidy of 40*s.*, one of the highest among the 28 assessments in East Knoyle.

The Knoyle branch of the Goldesborough family were well established yeoman stock, for the most part upholders of Church and State, Crown and Constitution: jurors of the Manorial Courts and not seldom defenders and defaulters therein: freeholders and copyholders of the manor: occasionally clergy, schoolmasters and medical men, and allied with some of the best families amongst the squirearchy and gentry in Wilts and adjoining counties. They also had distinguished offshoots in Maryland, U.S.A.

The earliest recorded marriage in the Wiltshire branch is that of Robert Goldesborough and Cicely, daughter of John and Lucy Haytor of East Knoyle on October 10th, 1540. In the Knoyle rolls there are constant presentments of Robert Gooldisborowe or Golsborow and others as "butchers who have sold meat outside" between 1541 and 1562. This Robert, who may be regarded as the founder of the Wiltshire family's fortunes, seems to have made his money in sheep from

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<sup>1</sup> Payment for grinding corn was made either in money or by the retention of a portion of the corn by the miller. This was called a toll.

<sup>2</sup> An ordinance regulating the price of ale according to the price of grain.

his farms in Knoyle and in Mere, a place that was a great staple for wool. The evidence goes to show that he farmed the moiety of Mere Park Farm, which lies at some distance from Mere on the road to Knoyle.

His will was proved in London, November 6th, 1581. He desired his body to be buried in the north aisle of the parish church of Knoyle and left 12 pence to Salisbury Cathedral, 40s. to Knoyle Church and 40s. to the poor of Knoyle ; 40s. between the poor of Hindon and of Mere. To all godchildren 1s. each and 10s. to everie of his children's children of both kinds. To each of his two daughters, Mary and Dorothy, £200, and to his wife Cicilie the lease of the windmill of Knoyle, with remainder to John Goldborowe, and also the household stuff, implements and utensils "in my said house at Lighe in which I now dwell".

Robert's sister Margaret became the wife of Thomas Turberville of Woolbridge, Dorset, the third son of George Turberville of Bere Regis, as shown in the Herald's Visitation and Hutchins's monumental *History*. This was the family of Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*.

Though it is not certain that the Robert Goldesborough about to be mentioned was Robert, fourth son of Robert and Cicely Goldesborough of East Knoyle, the identification is highly probable. The place and date of his birth are not known, but he is mentioned in the wills of his father, mother and brothers Augustine and John. He appears to have been twice married, one of his wives being Anne, daughter of Lionel and Frances Tichborne of Sherfield English, Hants, a well-known Roman Catholic county family. It is curious that in 1540 an important inhabitant of Knoyle married a Tichborne, whose family was much connected with Alfred Seymour of Knoyle in the famous Tichborne claimant trial.

In November, 1589, informations were laid against Robert Goldesborough, Recusant. Though in these days of general religious toleration such information would seem to be of a trifling character, they were accounted serious charges in an age when openly to profess the Roman Catholic religion was almost tantamount to treason.

The informations were as follows ;—

1. He hath (under his own handwriting) defaced an English Bible in three places. In the first place he misconstrueth his Ma'ty's authorities. In the second, the bodies of the whole Scriptures. In the third, the translation of the Scriptures.
2. He hath maryed two wives, no man knowing when, where or how.
3. He christeneth his children in corners.
4. In his publique and private speeches he maynteyneth the popish religion and seeketh to confute the religion established.
5. He setteth at naught the counselles award and decree, stirring up such sedition between the mother and children and brother that bludshed must need ensew if it be not speedely prevented.

In extenuation of these "offences" it may be noted that no charge of defacing the text of the Bible is made, but apparently only of the title page or the Preface. A Roman Catholic would naturally deny all ecclesiastical authority to Queen Elizabeth. In regard to his wives and his children, the fault lies in his not having been married on either occasion in the parish church, but secretly by a Roman Catholic priest, and having his children baptised in the same manner.

After the year 1625 Robert Goldesborough, Recusant, disappears, and nothing more is heard of him. He may have been the ancestor of the distinguished American branch of the family that emigrated to Cambridge, Maryland, the State founded by Lord Baltimore (who married Anne Arundell and lived at Hook Manor, Semley) as a Roman Catholic colony with liberal laws, where the followers of the faith of their fathers might practice their religion in freedom and peace.

We now come to Robert, elder son of John and Joan Goldesborough of Knoyle Episcopi, to whom his father left land within the manor and the moiety of the farm in Mere for the remainder of his lease. Robert Goldesborough was baptized in Knoyle Church on 12th September, 1579. He was married at Tisbury, 12th September, 1602, to Mary, daughter of Thomas Benett of Pythouse, Wilts.

There is an entry in the Falstone Day-Book—a record of persons mainly in South Wilts who were compelled to contribute towards the fund for the Civil Wars by a Wilts Parliamentary Committee—as follows:—

"16th May, 1645. Thomas Benett of Pythouse had compounded with this Committee and given bond to pay on 22nd May £20 in plate and £40 in money. Seven pounds of this was paid presently in three hours, which Capt. Ward received to horse his dragoons. Mr. Benett hath formerly paid £44 to Colonel Ludlow".

At the time the Civil War was raging between King and Parliament, Augustine Goldesborough engaged himself to the side of the King with others of his kindred and friends. That he actually fought or not the following entry in the Falstone Day-Book hardly makes plain:—

"1645, 24 Sept. Austin Goulsbury of Knoyle, gent., detained a prisoner for delinquency (i.e., adherence to the King's party), gives £10 for his present enlargement to be paid presently and gives security, Mr. Augustine Goldesborough acting as security".

The battle of Naseby had been won by Cromwell on June 14th, 1645. In the same year Fairfax routed the King's forces at Langport in Somerset and compelled Prince Rupert to surrender Bristol on Sept. 10th. This defeat of the Royalists brought the war practically to an end. It now remained for the conquered to pay the price of their loyalty and delinquency.

In the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643—1660, are the following entries:—

1647--8, Jan. 13th. List of Delinquents under the value of £200 discharged, some on paying small fines and taking the Covenant,



others only on taking the Covenant and negative oath : John Bath, Idmiston ; Augustine Goldsburg, Knoyle ; etc.

1652, Sept. 30th. Wiltshire Delinquents. Registrar's certificates for many names, including Augustine Goldsburg of Knoyle, that there is no information against them for delinquency or recusancy, but that their names are in a list of delinquents returned by the County Commissioners of Wilts, March, 1652, and in a list of sequestered persons returned by the late County Committee 13th Jan., 1648.

In the monthly Assessment for the Relief of Ireland raised in the Division of Warminster, 1648, are entries as follows :—Mere Hundred, Mere Tithing ; Austin Goldesborough, 4s. 4d., Robert Goldesborough, 5d.

It is not surprising that in view of lawsuits, fines, subsidies and imprisonment there should be sales and removals. Accordingly there is to be noted :—

Fine dated 12th Feb., 1650—1, between John Benett, gen. Querent, and Augustine Goldesborough, gen., and Mary, his wife, Deforciant, by which a portion of their property passed by purchase into the hands of their kinsman, viz., 1 messuage, 1 orchard, 2 acres land, 15 acres meadow, 6 acres pasture and common pasture for all cattle in Milton and Knoyle. For these John Benett paid £41 sterling.

The second son of Robert and Mary, and brother of Augustine, appears to have been Robert Goldesborough, baptised at East Knoyle, June, 1609. He married Joan, daughter of Thomas Barnes, gent., in 1629 or thereabouts. From his father he had a settlement of a lease of land including the Castle Hill at Mere.

Like others of his kindred and friends Robert Goldesborough played his part in the Civil Wars, espousing the side of the King. He was commissioned as captain of a troop of horse and no doubt bore his share in the actual fighting. He survived the ordeal, however, and after the Restoration of 1660 received payment for his services to the Royal cause, as is shown in the Lists of all the Loyal and Indigent Military Officers as certified in the Star Chamber before the year 1663 : Warrants for Payments of Officers. Wilts : Robert Goldesborough, Cap., Horse. 21 June, 1664 : George Goldesborough, Cap., Horse. Royal Warrant to pay out of money for Guards, Garrisons and Land Forces pensions as follows :—Robert Goldesborough £36 10s. 0d. for 1686, 1687 and 1688. After that the pension ceased.

I find in a will of John Goldsborough, proved London, 1585, that he was the owner of Clouds, evidently before it came to the Still family.

It is evident that the Goldesborough family, though not recognised by the Heralds in 1625, later paid their fees and were allowed to use the coat of the Yorkshire branch. It is also evident that they were accepted as gentle folk when they married with the Benetts, Turberville and Tichborne.

The following rhyme is cut with a diamond on the glass of a window in Higher Leigh Farm, but the Goldesboroughs had left the place before the date attached to it.

Thos. Goldsbury, Vicar  
of Lacock, 1431—45

Henry Goldysborough, prob.  
yeoman and miller c. 1474

Stephen Goldsborough of Wilts, Demy  
Magd. Coll., Oxon, 1482. Rector N.  
Perrott, Som., 1500; Babcary, Som., 1508  
d. 1521

John Goldesborough of Knoyle—Susan  
yeoman. Living 1508—29

Robert Goldesborough of—Cicely, dau. of John  
Knoyle, yeoman, d. 1581 Haytor of Knoyle living 1578

Margaret—Thos. Turberville of  
Woolbridge, Dorset

Melior—John Mervin  
b. 1541 of Pertwood

other  
issue

Augustine, b. 1543—Anne Davis  
M.A., C.C.C. Oxon.  
1564; Physician  
at Salisbury. d. 1606

William, b. 1544—Agnes  
yeoman of  
Shrewton

Agnes  
Beasley  
1567

John, yeoman—Joan Hales of  
and miller of  
Knoyle,  
d. 1585

Highchurch  
Som., 1571

Robert—1 Mary  
yeoman 2 Anne, dau. of  
Lionel Tich-  
borne of Salis-  
bury

Thomas—Margaret  
b. 1561 Monke  
yeoman  
of Ongar,  
Essex

Robert, b. 1579 —Mary, d. of John  
prob. of Exeter Coll. Benett of Pythouse  
Oxon. 1597, yeoman  
of Knoyle and Mere

Dorothy, b. 1584

John, b. 1581—1. Elizabeth  
d. 1663, yeoman 2. Joan Willoughby of  
West Knoyle, née Bingham  
of Bingham's Melcombe,  
Dorset

Augustine, b. 1603—1. Mary Slater or Schlatter  
yeoman of Knoyle at Potterne, 1626  
and Mere 2. Mary Willis or Willis

2 other sons and  
4 daughters

Robert

John, b. 1632—Ann, dau. of Nich. Goddard  
yeoman, d. of Sedghill and Mere, 1655  
at Mere 1712

2 other sons and  
four daughters

Augustine, b. 1666  
prob. of St. Mary Hall,  
Oxon., 1684—5

2 children  
died in  
infancy

William, b. 1674  
physician  
d. 1720

John, b. 1656. B.A. of New Inn  
Hall, Oxon., 1680. Vicar of  
Chitterne St. Mary 1685. Rector  
of Pertwood 1710, of Berwick St Leonard 1723—31

Anne — . . . Bealing  
b. 1658

Nicholas—Judith  
b. 1659 at Clarke  
Mere,  
Schoolmaster

Elizabeth,  
b. 1662 at  
Knoyle

Katherine,  
b. 1663  
d. 1670

Robert—Katherine  
b. 1665 Hickman  
yeoman

## APOLLO AND DAPHNEY.

When Phebus was anxious and longed to be rude  
 Miss Daphne cry'd Pish and ran swift to the wood.  
 And rather than do such a naughty affair  
 She became a fine laurel to deck the God's Hair.  
 The nymph was no doubt of a cold constitution  
 For sure to turn Tree was an odd resolution,  
 Yet in this she behaved like a true modern spouse  
 For she fled from his arms to distinguish his brows . . . .  
 Jms. Sympson, Hindon.  
 July 28th, 1798.

## STILL OF CLOWDES.

The family of Still of Clowdes rose to eminence in the Church of England before it was established in this county. John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1593—1608, was the son of William Still of Grantham, Lincs., where he was born about 1543. He was twice married and by his second wife became the ancestor of a number of Wiltshire families. His descendants married into the families of Howe of Berwick St. Leonard (in 1631), Willoughby of West Knoyle (in 1767), Wake, Rector of Knoyle Episcopi (in 1783) and other families of equal importance in other counties. A great-grandson, Nathaniel Still, established his family at East Knoyle in the latter part of the 17th century, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his *History of the Hundred of Mere*, c. 1820, mentioned the family of Still, residing at Clowdes, as the possessors of a considerable portion of the parish. (The present house of Clouds was originally built by Percy Scawen Wyndham in 1880.)

## MERVYN OF PERTWOOD AND UPTON MANOR.

Arms:—Argent, a demi-lion rampant Sable charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lys Or.

The Mervyn family were big people between 1560 and 1600. They owned or rented Pertwood, Fonthill Gifford and much in Hindon. I find that the Upton property was originally granted by Henry VIII to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1555 the College let it to a George Horsey of Diggeswell, Herts. It was leased to William and Edward Baisley for their lives at a rent of £6 8s. in 1559. A certain John Hayter was granted a reversion on the death of Edward Baisley, but apparently never acquired it, since Edward was succeeded by his son Robert Baisley in 1604. The Mervyns became the tenants in 1623. Their holding is described as lying in Lygh with lands in Lygh, Middleton and Upton.

In the *Calendars of Inquisitions (Feudal Aids and Post Mortem)* I find one taken 9th November, 8 Henry VII (1492) showing that Thomas Mylbourne, Knt., died seized of the Manor of Upton in Knoyle, worth 60s. and held of the King as of the manor of East Knoyle, parcel of the temporalities of the See of Winchester, now in the King's hands

PEDIGREE OF STILL OF EAST KNOYLE.

Thos. Still of Grantham, Lines.

1. Ann, dau. of Thos. Alabaster—John Still of Durlley, Som. Bishop—2. Jane, d. of Sir John Horner of Wells and Cleford, Som.

Thos. Still of Shaston St. James, Dorset—Bridget, dau. of Garven Champernown of Dartington, Devon

John Still of Shaston St. James—Margaret, d. of George How adm. Lincoln's Inn, 1663, d. 1668 | of Berwick St. Leonard

7 sisters

Nathaniel Still of E. Knoyle—Elizabeth  
Wadh. Coll., Oxon, 1665, d. 1701 | Lackett  
Barrister of Middle Temple

John Still of  
Shaston St. James

other issue

Robert Still of E. Knoyle—Elizabeth, dau. of William  
b. 1684, d. 1728 | Willoughby of W. Knoyle

other issue

James Still of E. Knoyle—Suzana, dau. of John  
b. 1720, d. 1803 | Stent of London

other issue

James Ch. Still of E. Knoyle—Charlotte, dau. of Charles  
b. 1753, d. 1828 | Wake, Rector of Knoyle

John Still of Perwick House—Ann Tippetts of  
b. at Clowdes 1761, Wadh. | Darley, Glos.  
Coll. Rec. of Fonthill Gifford

Peter Still, b. at  
Clowdes 1759, Lin  
coln's Inn, d. 1832  
Mary dau. of  
W. Strong of  
Lincoln's Inn

John Still, b. 1801, Vicar  
of Inglesham, d. 1833

1. Laura Frances, dau. of Ralph | Robert Still of Lincoln's  
Price of Sydenham, Surrey | Inn, b. 1808, d. 1875  
2. Caroline, dau. of George  
Ash Clerk, Vicar of Lodsworth

2 daughters

4 elder sons.

Ernest Robert Still of Lincoln's Inn—Amy dau. of Chas. Churchill  
b. 1852, B.N.C. Oxon. Living 1902 | of Weybridge Park, Surrey

2 daughters

Francis Churchill Still, b. 1880 Margaret, dau. of Francis Burdett Money Coutts  
Had issue Peter Still, b. 1908. Living in S. Africa, 1940

3 daughters

during voidance of the See, by fealty at 12s. rent yearly for all services.

In the 1565 Visitation of Wilts Mervyn's pedigree is given with their arms. Three early generations are given indicating that they first lived at Pertwood, c. 1490, the last being John Marvin of Pertwood, gentleman, son and heir of John Marvin of Pertwood, who married Melior, daughter of Robert Gouldisborough of Knoyle and had issue John, baptised at Knoyle, 1561. In the 1623 Visitation we find John as of Pertwood, with a note saying that the coat of his family was entered with descent in the 1565 Visitation.

The Mervyns or Marvins married into good families in the neighbourhood, such as Edwards of Westbury; Sambourne of Maiden Newton, Dorset; Willoughby of West Knoyle; Ryves of Damory Court, Blandford; Haytor of Little Langford; Toppe of Stockton; Benett of Pythouse; etc. They all seem to have had many children.

I find that George Mervyn of Upton Manor was the fourth son of John Marvyn of Pertwood and Melior his wife, and that John died in 1601. George married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Ryves of Ranston, Dorset, and the eldest son, John, was born in 1595 and married in 1622 Ann, daughter of John Toppe of Stockton. This George Mervyn seems to have carried on the family name and honour as his three elder brothers died without issue. I think we may safely assume that it was Augustine, sixth son of John and Melior Mervyn and George's younger brother, who built Upton Manor. I believe it was the younger son of the first Mervyn of Pertwood, and George's uncle, who founded the Fonthill family and who turned his home into the headquarters of the Cavaliers when they were besieging the rebel Ludlow of Hill Deverill in Wardour Castle. He had taken it from the famous Blanche Arundell, who with a few servants, mostly women, defended it for a long period against the rebel army while her husband, Lord Arundell of Wardour, was fighting for the King elsewhere.

Among the Wiltshire squires who preferred to be fined in lieu of accepting a knighthood, 26th January, 1630—the "Compositors for Knighthood"—I find the following:—George Mervyn of Knoyle Episcopi, £10; Augustine Mervyn of the same, £10. Many squires refused that honour at the Coronation of King Charles I—so different to the present day! If the King was on a progress he could put up for the night with any one holding a title. Imagine how it would upset an economical housewife to suddenly have the King and his huge retinue of 100 men and horses and 50 waggons arriving at her front door without notice! I have the receipt granted to Thomas Benett of Pythouse for a fine of £40 for refusing knighthood.

In Ludlow's *Memoirs* I find that about the year 1649 he contracted with the trustees commissioned by the Parliament for the manors of East Knoyle and Upton, wherein he employed the portion which he received from his first wife and a greater sum arising from the sale of his patrimonial estate.

It may not be out of place if I say a little concerning Pertwood and the Marvin family, although it is a separate parish. One William Marvin married Margaret, only daughter and heiress of William Fletcher and Joan, his wife, who seem to have owned Pertwood as early as 1460. This William started the Mervyn of Pertwood family, who spread to Knoyle and Fonthill. In "Notes on the family of Mervyn of Pertwood" by Sir William Drake, F.S.A., I find the statement: "John Mervyn of Pertwood, eldest son of George Mervyn and Elizabeth Ryves . . . sold Upton Manor to his brother Richard . . . The sole remnant of the landed property of the Mervyns of Wiltshire now held by any descendant of the family is an annual rent charge issuing out of this and now (1873) belonging to Major John Mervyn Cutcliffe Drake, R.E." I see in the Visitation of Wilts, 1623, that this Richard was born December 18th, 1600, which date is also given in the Parish Registers. Besides being the owners of Upton Manor in Knoyle Episcopi and the manor of Pertwood, the Mervyns also held land in Fonthill or Fountel Bishops and Gifford, Stoppe, Hindon and Chicklade. Fonthill Gifford was nobly held during the Civil Wars by the Cavaliers against the Roundheads. When the family of Mervyn left Fonthill, the house and lands passed through the families of Lord Castlehaven, Lord Cottington, the regicide Bradshaw, back to the Cottingtons and then to the rich West Indian slave, sugar and rum merchant Beckford and from his descendants c. 1840 to the Morrissions. Long may they own it!

Here is a true story of Pertwood. About the year 1860, when my grandfather, Arthur Fane, was vicar of Warminster, Pertwood Church was served by him with about one service a month. There is no vestry at Pertwood, and Arthur Fane used to put on his surplice, etc., in the Farm House and walk a few yards to the church. One Sunday Mrs. Warren, grandmother of the farmer now at Knoyle Down Farm, met him and dropping a curtsey said "Oh, Mr. Fane, de 'ee grant I a favour!" The Vicar, who was a bit pompous, replied "Mrs. Warren, I have known you for so many years that I might almost say your favour is granted before I know what it is". "Please, sir", said she, "do 'ee preach thy sermon this morning from altar steps 'stead of from pulpit", "I will", replied Fane, "but tell me first why you want me to do so". "Well, sir", said the old lady, "our turkey be sitting up in pulpit". So there is some use in a church that has few services!

The Manor of Upton was bought by Henry Seymour about 1817 from Corpus Christi College when he started making the Knoyle House property. In 1880 the house and lands were sold by Alfred Seymour to Percy Scawen Wyndham and resold by the latter's grandson, Capt. Guy Richard Wyndham to the land speculators. They in their turn disposed of Upton Manor to a very charming Sir Joseph Cheyne, Baronet, who beautifully restored the house, which had been degraded into three cottages. I fancy Alfred Seymour so converted the old manor house, as about his day there was a mania for having only one

big house in each parish and for the squire to own the whole village, thus having no one to gainsay him or go against his wishes. This is all very well when you have a good squire for despot!

In 1939 Sir Joseph Cheyne sold the house and land around it to Major Crawshay Bailey, who in his turn has made gardens and greatly beautified the house.

#### FAMILY OF HUNTON.

This family was an important one in East Knoyle from c. 1550 to Cromwell's days, but I cannot trace what became of them or where they lived. They are given in the Visitation of 1623—a long entry. I find in my Pythouse papers that my Roundhead (I regret to say) ancestor, Thomas Benett of Norton Bavant, captain in the Parliamentary service, who bought the tithes of the Vicarage from the Cathedral authorities of Salisbury, seems to have had considerable trouble with a certain Phillip Hunton over them. Was this man of the same family?—probably. Their arms were, or I should say—are, Sable, a chevron Ermine between three talbots passant Argent, but I find in the 1565 Visitation the name of William Hunton under East Knoyle in the list headed: "Each of the following except those marked respited is said to have made his appearance before me, William Harvey, Clarenceux King of Arms, and to have disclaimed the name of gentleman except those marked, who are said to be disgraced". William Hunton, Andrew Blackman, Thomas Briller, head the list of disclaimers, but in the Visitation of 1623 a long pedigree of the name Hunton is given. The then living Hunton thought better of the indiscretion of his ancestors, paid up and behaved like a gentleman.

The Parish Registers show Hunton births 1539—1635, marriages 1564—1635 and burials 1541—1633. Like many Cavaliers who were heavily oppressed by the archrebel Oliver Cromwell, they may have died out after the Civil War.

I find a somewhat interesting entry concerning one Margaret Hunton, a nun of Amesbury. This was a very difficult nunnery to get into, as it was under the Royal Prerogative, and she must have been a person of some importance.

"A true certificate of the Parish of East Knoyle or Knoyle Magna. We do present upon our oaths that one Margery Hunton of the Abbey of Amesbury now died and deceased within the [said Parish], the 17th of March the year above [1546]. Dame Margery Hunton buried March 17th.

Robert Goldesborough }  
Wm. Smith } Churchwardens".

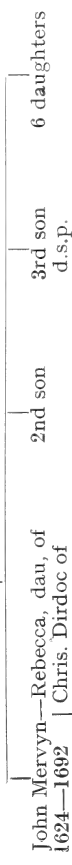
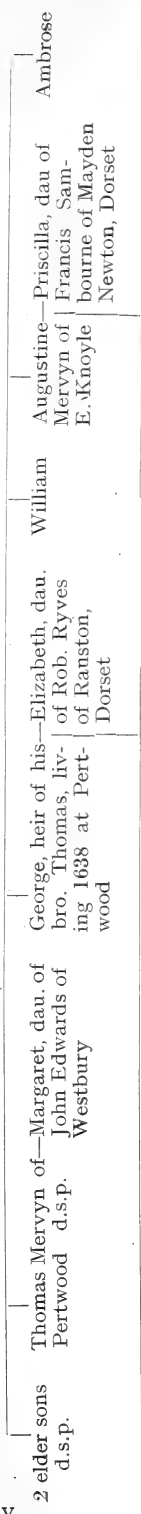
I also find that Bridget Hunton was presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1565 at Salisbury, and the last I have found of the family is an entry showing James Hunton in the list of men paying to the monthly assessment for the relief of Ireland in 1648.

PEDIGREE OF MERVYN OF PERTWOOD.

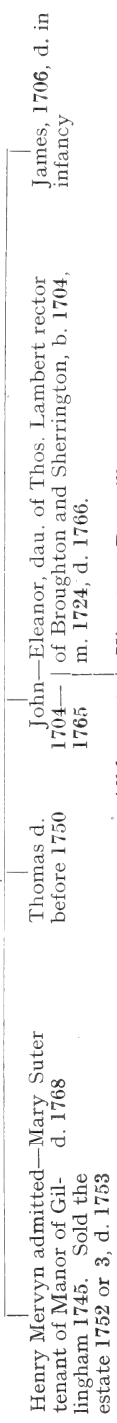
William Mervyn, nephew of Walter Mervyn of—Margaret dau. of William Fletcher of Pertwood Fontel Gifford. Sheriff Dorset & Som. 5 H. VII by Joan, dau. and heir of John Brether

John Mervyn of Pertwood—Avis, dau. of John Cockerell of Stoughton, Wilts Elizabeth

John Mervyn of Pertwood—Melior, dau. of Robert Goldisborrough son daughter  
of Knoyle, 1561



William Mervyn of Pertwood living 1685 Thomas—Mary d. 1745 d. 1728



All born at Kingstone Deverill





The following somewhat curious inquest deserves recording. It shows a member of the Hunton family among women whose husbands were fined because their wives wore velvet and other fine apparel.

Exchequer Q.R. Commissions, Wilts.

Inquysicyon Indented taken at the Cytte of New Sarum . . . before Thomas Carter, Mayor of the City of New Sarum, and John Hooper by virtue of the Queen Majestys Comysyon to them and others directed and herunto annexed the sixteenth day of December in the fiveth year [1562] of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth [etc.]. By the othes of [the jurors] whyche doo saye uppon their oathes that [sundry Salisbury women and] Bridget Hunton, wife of William Hunton the younger, of East Knoyle, gentleman; Edith Blackman, wife of Andrew Blackman of East Knoyle, gentleman; Agnys Hayter, wife of John Hayter of East Knoyle, husbandman [have transgressed the statute].

The "Bill for Great Horses" 33 Hen. VIII was designed to increase the revenue and also to prevent the King's subjects from apeing their betters, i.e., the King and his court.

The relevant paragraph ran as follows; "If the wife of any person or persons wear any velvet in the lining or other part of her gown other than the cuffs or purfels of her gown or else wear any velvet in her kirtell or wear any pettycoat of silk that then the husband of every such wife shall find one stone horse of the stature above in this act recited (in height xiiij handfulls) or shall incur the above said penalty and forfeiture of ten pounds".

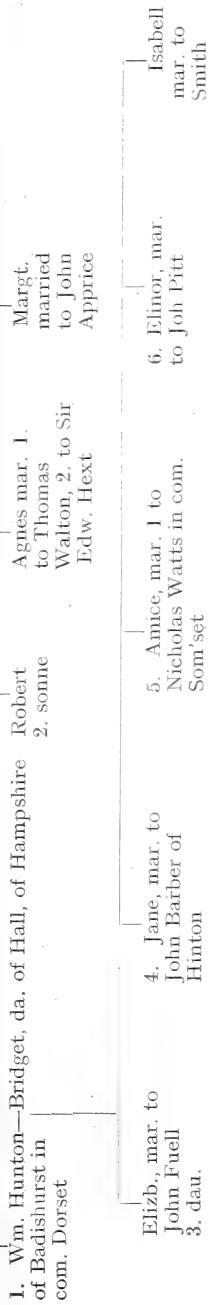
This statute was confirmed by an "Act for the having of Horse, Armour and Weapon", 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, passed like the first "for the better furniture and defence of this Realm". Here it was enacted that every person who, "by reason that his wife should wear such kind of apparell or other thing" specially mentioned in the statute of 33 Hen. VIII, was required to find one great stone trotting horse and "shall keep and maintain a gelding able and meet for a light horseman with sufficient harness and weapon for the same" under the penalty of £10, half of which was forfeit to the King and Queen and half to the person suing for the same in any court of record by bill, plaint, action of debt or information. The wearing of velvet was of course taken as a sign of the husbands being sufficiently prosperous to afford the costs of the gelding and weapons.

#### FAMILY OF BRETHERS.

Arms : per pale Gules and Sable on a fesse between 3 griffins' heads erased Or as many lozenges Ermine. Crest : A demi-greyhound Sable holding in the paws a dart Gules feathered Argent.

This family were important people in Knoyle previous to the Civil Wars. Many entries of them exist in the earliest Parish Registers. They married important families in the neighbourhood, such as Benetts of Pythouse; Scammels, etc. In the Visitation of 1565 the

1. Melior, da. of Tho.—William Hunton—Joane, d. and coh. of Robt. Reeves of Blandford in com. Dorset



The. Hunton of—Vertue, da. of Knooll in com. Wilts, 2. sonne

John Churchill of Dorchester, in Dorsetsh.

James, sonne and hey., act. 20

Robt. 2 sonne act. 18

Millicent a da.

Anne 2 da.

Thom. 2 sonne

Elizb., mar. to Hen. Cusse of Fifield in Com. Wilts

Will'm sonne—Elizb. da. of and hey. living Aldermaning 1623, of Bushton London

In the old visitation of Wilts, but ye coate since altered for Will'm Hunton of East Knoyle, by Ro. Cooke Clarence, 1578, 21 Eliz. Sable a chevron Ermine between three talbots passant Argent.

RICHARD HUNTON.

Mary mar. 1, to Nicho. Joyce, 2, to Matt. Havyland

Emilyne mar. to John Lane of Gussage in com. Dorset

Susan mar. to John Nicholas of Winterbourne Earles in com. Wilts.

Elizab. 1 filia act. 6, 1623

2 Jane, act. 4

3 Mary, act. 2

4 Dorothy act. 6 mens.

name of Thos. Brothers of Knoyle is given among those who disclaimed the name of gentleman, although Thomas is given as No. 2 in that of 1623. In 1565 a pedigree and arms are entered, but in 1623 an entry *non probavit sed deferitur* is marked against the arms.

Where did they live? All trace is lost, but I fancy they bought from Henry VIII the Manor of Pertwood, as in the early Visitation we find that Jane, daughter and heiress of John Brothers of Pertwood, married William Fletcher, and their daughter Margaret brought that property to the Marvyn family by her marriage with William Marvyn,

#### TOOPE FAMILY.

I can find but little of this family, who were people of importance in the parish about 1640, as one of them was a major in the Royalist army. The Marriage Registers show :

Nov. 9th, 1539. Robert Toope to Joan Meshel.

Feb. 26th, 1616. George Monpesson to Elinor Toope.

June 5th, 1625. Francis Toope to Dorothy Marvin.

Nov. 4th, 1632. Anthony Wareham and Elizabeth Toope.

June 18th, 1656. John Bushel and Frances Toope.

I find in the list of prisoners in the Penruddocke Rising in the West, Exeter, 1655, among many names of South Wiltshire gentlemen and their servants, that of Francis Toope of East Knoyle in Wilts, gent. An entry in the Falstone Day-Book records that "Francis Toope of Combe, gent., gives £5 upon the propositions, presently paid. He hath lent Captain D'Oyley £5, which the Captain is to account for. May 16th, 1645". And under date 1st of December, 1646, the following : "Major Francis Toope, who was in arms against the Parliament, had two livings in the parish of East Knoyle, being a Royalist. The Committee had let them to Nicholas Rowe of Sarum for £15, reserving the fifth for the Major's wife and children".

The Day-Book also contains : "February 16th, 1645. Richard Toope of Knoyle, gent., a Captain in the King's Army, brought in here and committed to the Marshal, but by reason that his estate lies in Dorsetshire he pays £5 for his present enlargement, and Henry Randol of Broadchalk gives bond for his appearance within a month before Col. J. Bingham at Poole, there to make further satisfaction.

20th August, 1645. John Troope of Coombe, gent., being brought before us, pays for his present enlargement £10".

#### DR. CHRISTOPHER WREN.

In the Bodleian Library there is a note by old Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, as follows :—"Under the South Wall of the Rectory House at Knoyle I planted among otheres a Muskel Plum and a Primordian which for many years had ripe fruit and blossoms all at once to the wonder of all men".

The father of the first English architect of his day was rector of Knoyle Episcopi as well as Dean of Windsor. He married Mary,

daughter and heiress of Robert Cox of Fonthill. So on both sides the future Sir Christopher Wren was well born. He was an only son with seven sisters. We know nothing of his mother except her name, but his father cut some figure in Charles I's reign. A loyalist of loyalists, he succeeded his more distinguished brother, Bishop Matthew Wren, in 1635, as Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Order of the Garter. When St. George's Chapel was plundered by the Cromwellian troops, the spoils included the three Registers of the Garter Knights, but by making a heavy payment the Dean got them back again and cherished them until his death in 1658. They then passed into the safe keeping of his son, who soon after the Restoration handed them over to Dr. Bruno Ryves (of the Dorset family), then the Registrar of the Garter.

As the following incidents, occurring during the childhood of Sir Christopher, will not be found in the *Parentalia* published by his grandson, Dr. Stephen Wren, 1750, it is hoped that they may prove of interest in 1946.

When the Civil Wars broke out between Charles I and his Parliament, Knoyle was the centre of a group of Royalists such as the Stourtons of Stourton, Benetts of Pythouse, Cottingtons of Fonthill, Digbys of Sherborne, Greens of Mere, Willoughbys of West Knoyle, Hydes of Hatch and Groves of Fern. Dr. Wren's advanced age made him adverse to any movement of a revolutionary kind. His adherence to the King's party was therefore from the first pronounced in a decided manner. This in fact was all that could be alleged against him to prove what was called "delinquency", for he had served his King with credit for nearly thirty years. Still delinquency, though only in the form of adherence to the King, was a crime to be punished in Cromwellian days. Yet even on this point the evidence given was very contradictory. There was also another charge relating to "pictures" which he had placed in the chancel of Knoyle Church; but it was not shown that they were "superstitious". Without further comment we proceed to the facts alleged.

Soon after the commencement of hostilities Dr. Wren retired to Windsor. Sir Edward Hungerford, the Parliamentary general, sweeping through the south of Wilts compelled two parishioners, Christopher Williams and Henry Marsham, to surrender £25 due to the Doctor as rent of part of the Parsonage of East Knoyle. A few months after, Ludlow the Cromwellian was shut up in Wardour Castle, and the Royalist Colonel Barnes, who lay before it, had the command of the country adjacent. Down comes the Dean of Windsor armed with a warrant from Sir Ralph Hopton empowering Colonel Barnes to send a troop of horses to his aid, by which means he speedily collects all rents due to him and compels Williams and Marsham to pay their £25 over again.

This was in the autumn of 1644, and from this time he seems to have considered Knoyle a safer place than Windsor. The spring of the next year, 1645, was signalled by Cromwell's capture of Sir James Long's

troops near Devizes, and about Lady-Day Cromwell and Waller were lying near Shaftesbury laying their plans for the relief of Taunton. Keeping these two facts in mind, we seem to trace in the following fragment of evidence in Dr. Wren's case the movements of the scattered remnants of Long's troops, who, being chased (as is known) through Steeple Ashton and seeking safety by flying southward and distributing themselves among their associates in South Wilts, must have heard with great consternation that the enemy was so close upon their traces.

"On the morrow after Lady-Day, last two years", deposed George Still of Knoyle, in 1647, "at about 10 of the clock at night there came into the house a great company of the King's forces and Dr. Wren came in with them and saluted this examinant by the name of Landlord. This examinant's wife provided him and one of the King's commanders a bed, and they lodged together, and in the morning as he lay in bed the Doctor spoke these words to the commander that lay with him: Sir, all is well, there is no danger, for I left word with my wife if any were, she should send word over the grounds"—that is, "across the fields".

The next thing we hear of Dr. Wren is his advocacy of the "Club-rising" in the autumn of the year 1645. There was a union of the gentry and agriculturists of South Wilts and North Dorset to protect their property from both conflicting parties. These "clubmen's" motto ran: "If you come to steal our cattle, we will surely give you battle". Andrew Marsham swore that Dr. Wren not only encouraged his parishioners to assist, but when Mr. Thomas Benett of Pythouse came to Knoyle to invite their co-operation, Dr. Wren seconded Mr. Benett's remarks and even went forth himself with Mr. Benett carrying a caliver upon his shoulder.

Against this and other testimony to the same import Randall Dominick (there are still fields in Knoyle and Chicklade called Dominick's) declared that Dr. Wren had expressed so decided an opposition to the "club-business" that the parish of Knoyle did not list themselves.

We next come to the story of the pictures in the church. These were loosely reported at first as "superstitious", but the only evidence worth reciting in this place will be that of the workman who executed them under the Doctor's supervision, and the whole affair shows that the love of pictorial embellishment as an accessory to architecture which his distinguished son afterwards gratified in the dome of St. Paul's was a taste derived from the father. Little Christopher was perhaps too young to have watched the progress of the frescoes at Knoyle, being then eight years of age; but he was fifteen or sixteen before he left Wiltshire.

"Robert Brockway of Frome St. Quintin in Dorset, plasterer, being sworn (in 1647) saith that about July last eight years, or thereabouts Dr. Wren of Knoyle sent for this examinant and agreed with him to make and set up at the chauncell at Knoyle in fret-work (pargeting) the

picture of the four Evangelists and such other things as afterwards the said Doctor should invent. And accordingly he did invent and make a model or draught thereof on paper, namely the picture of the Ascension, which was done in this manner: the picture of the twelve apostles and Christ ascending in the clouds and nothing seen but his feet and the lower part of his garment below the Clouds; which stood at the Lower part of the Chauncell next towards the Church, and gave the examinant also a draught of the Trinity as the said Doctor called it which was set upon the Communion Table in three rounds linked in each other and God in the midst with the glory about it, and without that the Clouds on the Roofs, and further on each side of the East window there was set up the picture of Jacob's Dream and his sacrifice, the one of one side and the other of the other side, with the Clouds breaking above Jacob being asleep and a ladder let down to the earth and Angels ascending of the one side of the window and descending of the other side with Crowns of Laurell in their hands and underneath written 'Let prayers ascend that grace may descend'. And further sayeth that the said Doctor Wren himself made the bargain with him for the work and gave him 11s. 6d. in earnest and payed the remainder according to his agreement and that the said Doctor came every day himself to view the work and to give his direction in it". Testified before the Committee sitting at Longford Castle 8th May, 1647.

That Dr. Wren had not designed to raise any scandal by his fret-work is proved by the fact that, while resident at Windsor, he wrote to Randall Dominick (probably his churchwarden) giving him full authority to remove the whole series of paintings, if any offence seemed to have been taken. But a view of his case creditable to him in every respect is shown in the following letter without date, but apparently written about February, 1647 (and therefore presumably some months before the implacable recipients turned their attention to the evidence, part of which has been reproduced above.)

Letter from the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestrations to the Wilts Committee touching Dr. Wren.

" Gentlemen,

There are come to our sight several orders of Parliament and other public certificates, some of them attested by our Committee, whereby it appears that Dr. Christopher Wren had been much employed by the Parliament and had suffered many violences and plunderings in the performance of those employments: and likewise that he had contributed very large sums to the Service of the State and been a painful labourer in the work of the Ministry almost these thirty years:—all which fully induces us to believe that he is a parson far from meriting the doom of sequestration. Wherefore we desire you to take his cause into your serious consideration and narrowly weigh the number and quality of the witnesses and informers, looking upon him with such favourable inclination as the due consideration of these

premises do warrant. What tenderness you please to afford him shall be esteemed as an obligation upon

Your very assured friends,  
 John Danvers<sup>1</sup>, James Herbert<sup>2</sup>,  
 William Stephens, John Evelyn<sup>3</sup>  
 William Lister.

Even this strongly worded letter from the Cromwellian Committee didn't save Dr. Wren from sequestration, and the Falstone Day-Book has the following entry under 29th August, 1647 :—

“Christopher Wren of Knoyle, D.D., being brought before us, additions to his present enlargement subscription £40”.

Such are the main facts connected with Dr. Wren's share in the Civil War. The account might have been extended by reciting in full all evidence tendered, which is to be found in the British Museum Additional MSS., No. 22084. It was produced before the Wiltshire Committee sitting at Falstone Manor House near Broadchalk. This Committee had to find money for Cromwell, so they fined anybody with Royalist feelings, including my ancestor, Thomas Benett of Pythouse, who was heavily mulcted.

Meanwhile the Doctor's son, the future Sir Christopher, was engaged upon his Treatise of Spherical Trigonometry, having left Wiltshire for Wadham College, Oxford, in the year 1646.

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<sup>1</sup> The regicide. <sup>2</sup> 6th son of Philip, Earl of Pembroke. <sup>3</sup> The diarist.

## TABULAR SARSEN AND MUD CRACKS.

By LT.-COL. R. H. CUNNINGTON (late R.E.).

Sarsen is a tertiary rock formed by the particles of a sandy silt cemented together. A very full account of the rocks and their distribution has been given by Mr. Brentnall.<sup>1</sup> As the title indicates, the present paper is concerned with a quite different point of view.

Like other concretionary rock, sarsen is found in two forms, a nodular one, like the Friar's Heel at Stonehenge, which is much the commoner; and a tabular, having flat surfaces. It is only the latter which has any definite shape, and with which this paper deals. It is the kind that has been so often selected for megalithic monuments, such as Stonehenge and Avebury, and in the "wild" state is now very scarce. This must be partly because it is so much the more easily broken up for building and paving stones. \*

The characteristic shape of tabular sarsen is polygonal, having generally five or six sides, and bearing a certain resemblance to the polygons made by cracks in drying mud. The object of this paper is to show why this is not likely to be a mere coincidence, and why the sarsen polygons can be so much larger than those in mud.

The conditions under which sarsen was made are not exactly known; but mud cracks can be observed in the making. They result of course from the loss of water causing it to contract. The contraction is resisted by the cohesion of the mud below, which has only partly dried, and by the cohesion laterally.

Obviously the total amount of contraction increases with the size of the area, so that a small area can shrink without breaking, whereas a large one divides into a number of pieces separated by cracks.

Sir D'Arcy Thompson ("On Growth and Form" pp. 515, 516 of the 1943 edition) gives a geometrical explanation for the characteristic shape of these pieces. "The conjugation three by three of almost any assembly of partitions, of cracks in drying mud, of varnish in an old picture . . . is a general tendency . . . It would be a complex pattern indeed and highly improbable were all the cracks (for instance) to meet one another six by six; and three by three is nature's way, simply because it is the simplest and least. When the partitions meet three by three, the angles by which they do so may vary indefinitely; but their *average* will be 120 degrees, and if all be *on the average* angles

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<sup>1</sup> See next article.



Figure 1.

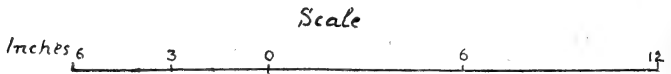
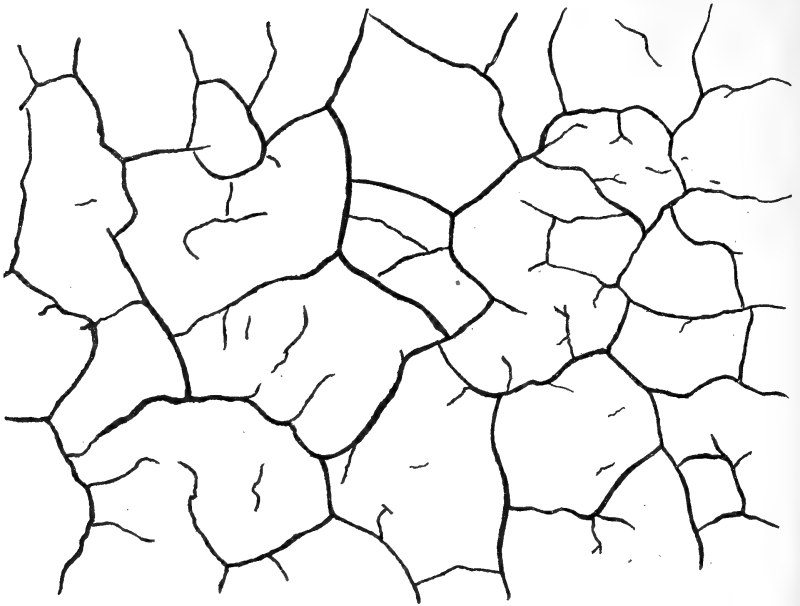


Figure 2.

- Fig. 1. Summer cracks after one week's exposure.  
Fig. 2. Autumn cracks after the same.

of 120, the polygonal areas must on the average be hexagonal.<sup>1</sup> This then is the simple *geometrical* explanation apart from any physical one, of the widespread appearance of the pattern of hexagons”.

Elsewhere in the same book he puts it in another way which may be paraphrased as follows:—Supposing that an area is to be divided by contraction into a definite number of smaller areas (as on a contracting mud surface) the contraction, by the Principle of Least Action, takes place with the least cracking needed to give relief. Consequently the boundary forming the cracks tends to be a minimum; and for a minimum boundary, the division must be into regular hexagons.

Neither of these explanations seems to be entirely satisfactory, and in order to see exactly what happens when mud contracts, an experiment was made with a sheet of mud about two feet by three, (See figures opposite and Appendix I).

It was noticed that the cracks started (presumably where cohesion was least or the drying fastest) quite independently of each other and apparently at random. Once started, a crack would extend in both directions. This must be partly because the opening exposes more mud to the air and helps it to dry, and partly perhaps for the same reason that any tear, once started, is apt to run on. It was eventually stopped by meeting another crack, where the continuity is broken. The reasons given for extending at all account also for the tendency to run straight, but any lack of uniformity would divert it and give more or less sharp bends to its course.

As a crack widens it gives relief in its neighbourhood to the strains at right angles, but not to those parallel to its course. The mud however contracts in all directions, so a fresh crack will be needed at an angle to give complete relief. If it originates at some point on the original crack (by the crack branching), this point is most likely to be at a sharp bend, on the outside of which the movement of the mud away from each arm of the bend tends to tear the surface apart. On the inside the tendency would be to draw the mud together, and no crack is likely to originate there.

The new crack and the two parts of the old make three cracks radiating from a point. By the Principle of the Resolution of Forces, they give complete relief to strains in every direction, so no more cracking will take place there.

With three lines meeting at a point, the average angle between them is 120 degrees; and if the corners of the polygons were all made in this way, by cracks branching, the average number of sides would be six. But with drying mud the corners of the polygons are not all made in this way. Most of them come where one straight crack has run into

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<sup>1</sup> This is true only if three angles or corners are made. In the special case where one line runs into another and stops, there are still three lines meeting, but one of the three angles is 180 degrees, and only two corners are made. Their average angle is 90, not 120 degrees.

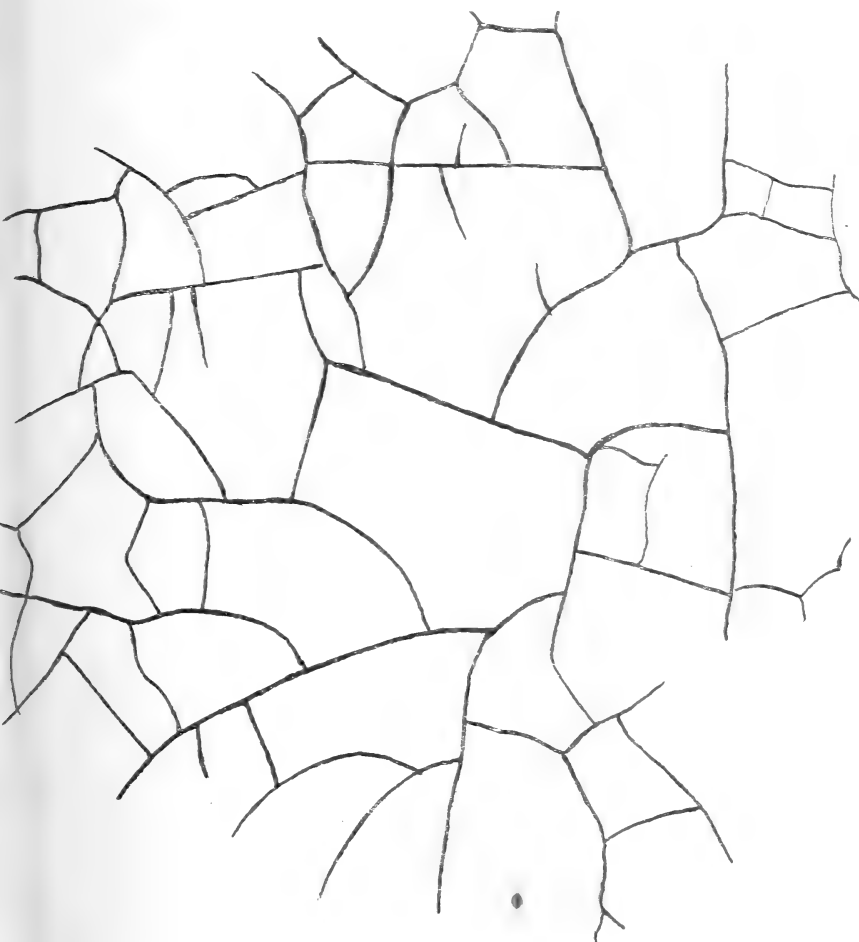
another. This makes two corners, and the sum of their angles being 180 degrees, their average is 90 instead of 120 degrees. If all the corners were made by cracks meeting, the average number of sides would be four instead of six. But there is yet a third way in which corners can be made in the drying mud, and that is by the cracks bending without branching. The tendency to bend is a consequence of the strains being in every direction, so that a single straight crack is unable to give relief. A bend serves the same purpose as a branch by providing two cracks at an angle. The exterior and interior angles together make 360 degrees, so the average for the two corners made by a bend is 180. This type of corner therefore greatly increases the average angle, and so also the number of sides.

To sum up:—there are three types of corner: that made by a branching crack, which tends to make polygons with an average of six sides; that made by a meeting crack, tending to make quadrilaterals; and that made by a bend, which would give polygons averaging more than six sides. The combination of these three gives the characteristic shape of mud cracks; but they may not all be operative. When the shrinkage takes place very rapidly there is probably no time for corners to be made by cracks bending or chance cracks meeting. This is perhaps why basalt, as in the Giant's Causeway, makes much more perfect hexagons than mud. The basalt sheet has shrunk when cooling under conditions which allowed for free continuous contraction in a vertical direction, but shrinkage horizontally could take place only after the mass had been strained to breaking point. Once started it must have proceeded explosively, shattering the basalt into fragments. The suddenness, under pressure, of the breaking up is not the only reason for greater regularity; another is doubtless the greater uniformity of the substance. Mud made from a heterogeneous material such as loam breaks into more irregular as well as smaller pieces than pure clay. The polygons illustrated in Fig. 3 were made in the uniform mud-residue from screened and washed gravel. They are not only very much larger than those in Figs. 1 and 2, but the cracks outlining them run almost straight or regularly curved over several feet, instead of zig-zagging about as in ordinary mud.

A point of some importance, irrespective of the number of sides or regularity of outline, is the permanency or otherwise of the cracks. All the cracks shown in Fig. 2 closed up during the winter, leaving a smooth surface, but reappeared next spring. The pattern was identically the same, except that some of the abortive cracks which had never linked up failed to re-open. Their absence was presumably because they were not needed after other cracks had formed, and because shrinking from the perimeter of the surrounding polygons would tend to seal them. There will therefore be a tendency, if the surface is undisturbed, for the wide cracks to grow wider, year after year, and for the minor, or "secondary" cracks to disappear; and by this means the polygons will grow larger.

Analogous to mud cracks, but of a much greater size, are the "soil polygons" of the arctic regions. Describing those in the soil of Northern Alaska, Mr. Leffingwell writes in the *Journal of Geology*, XXIII, for 1915, under the title "Ground-ice Wedges", p. 639: "When

Figure 3.



Scale



Mud cracks near Wallingford.

the snow melts in summer fresh open cracks can be seen cutting across all the tundra formations, even mud and growing moss beds, and dividing the surface into polygonal blocks; these cracks resemble mud cracks but are of a large size. The blocks have an estimated average diameter of about 15 metres and have a tendency towards the hexagonal form although rectangles and pentagons are often developed" (See Fig. 4, p. 411).

The cracks that delimit these polygons have been proved to be the upper part of large cracks or veins, which the writer calls "ice wedges", permanently filled with ice, and going down 30 feet or more into the "muck beds" below the tundra.

A further and more complete account of them is given by Mr. Taber in the Bulletin of the Geological Society of America for October, 1943; and the rather startling conclusion is reached that the cracks were made, like those in mud, by contraction through loss of water. He explains that water in a wet soil will freeze by segregation into horizontal layers of ice, and while it does so more water is drawn up by capillary attraction from the as yet unfrozen soil below. (This is possible through that property of water, so necessary to plants, that keeps it liquid in very small pore spaces at temperatures well below freezing point.) As a consequence the subsoil below the frozen layer becomes abnormally dry and cracks by contraction. The polygonal structure therefore is due to the same cause as the similar shape in drying mud.

The polygons are much larger than those in mud for several reasons. One may be that the weight of the soil above assists cohesion in resisting fracture, so that fewer cracks are formed. It was also found by experiment that a low colloidal content in the soil and a slow rate of cooling both increase the size of the polygons. The Alaskan silts are almost free of colloidal matter and the freezing of the soil dates from the Ice Age.

The segregation of water, on which the process depends, can take place only in sufficiently fine-grained soils. Sand is too coarse, and it was noticed that the ice veins stopped abruptly in Alaska, and in the laboratory experiments, on reaching a layer of pure sand. Sand of course does not crack when drying. The Alaskan silt averages about .03 mm. in diameter, but segregation is possible in a soil three times as coarse. Presumably such a soil would also crack on drying; the two phenomena seem related, and the layer of segregated water might be equivalent to a horizontal crack.

Cracks due to freezing have, it is true, been observed in coarse sand or even gravel in Baffin's Land (Paterson in *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. XCVI, Part I, for 1940); and dirt-filled cracks in a Cambridgeshire gravel pit, described in the same paper, are attributed to similar cracks made in the Ice Age. The polygonal pattern however is absent.

Figure 4.

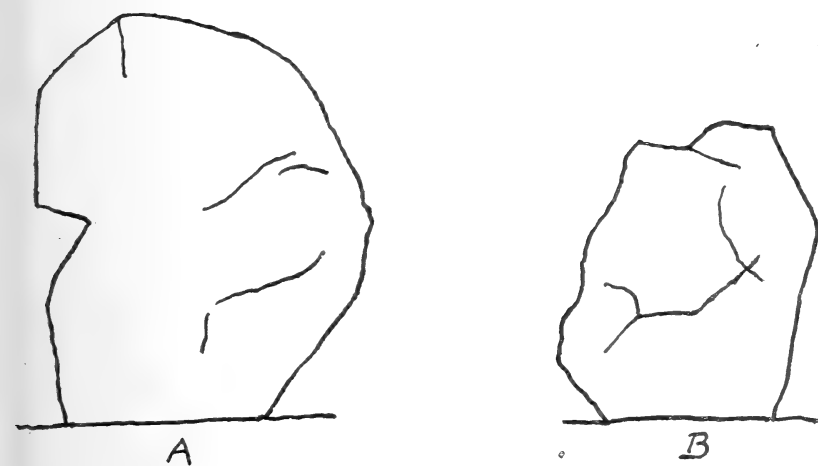
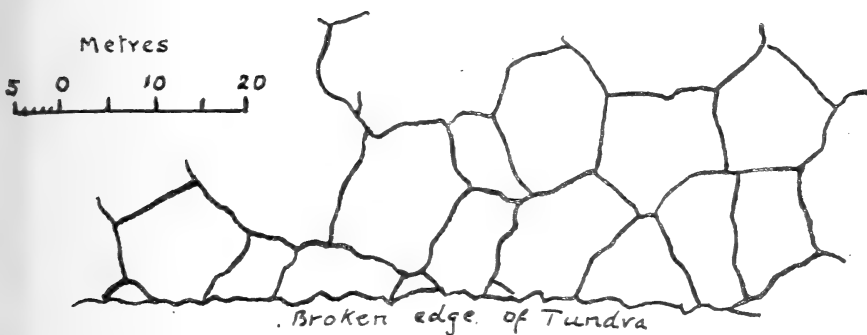


Figure 5.

4. Soil polygons in Alaska.
5. Stones of Avebury Circles showing secondary cracks.

Soil polygons, resembling mud cracks in their shape, may also be made by expansion instead of contraction. Elton in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. LXXXIII for 1927, describes those in Spitsbergen as follows:—The boulder clay “presents in many places the appearance of having been thrown up into hummocks, which occur at regular intervals of two or three yards. The channels which delimit the hummocks are polygonal in plan, sometimes showing a clear hexagonal arrangement, and form a continuous network between them”. The cause suggested is the expansion of the soil on freezing:—“If the soil is wet a tremendous pressure is exerted when freezing takes place, and the only direction in which the pressure can be relieved is upwards. Just as a general contraction of soil due to drying gives rise to a network of polygonal cracks, with the centres of the polygons at certain regular distances apart (depending on the nature of the soil, etc.) so in the same way with expansion we should expect the soil to form hummocks at regular intervals”.

Another example, in three dimensions, is the hexagonal shape of a bee's cell, where the pressure is exerted by the bees themselves.

It is important to notice that all these polygonal forms are made in a material under a simultaneous radial stress. It is true that the cracks appear successively in drying mud, but the strains they relieve were present everywhere throughout the mass, though not quite uniformly, as some parts will be wetter than others. The more uniform the material, the more regular will be the pattern, and the more nearly will it be that of equal hexagons. The cooling of basalt is a good instance of how perfect they may be.

The experiments with drying mud showed a definite tendency in this direction. The material was alike in the several experiments at different times, but the contractive force, due to the power of the sun, varied. In hot weather the lack of complete uniformity in the material mattered least: the cracks were formed quickly, and there were far more that branched, tending to form hexagons, than later in the year when the mud took longer to dry. (See Figs. 1 and 2, p. 406, and Appendix I).

Before considering what bearing all this may have on the formation of tabular sarsen, it would be as well to see what happens in a material subject to *successive* transverse strains instead of a *simultaneous* radial strain.

A sheet of rock, for instance, under unequal settlement would break up by cracks running all across and more or less straight, first in one direction, and then perhaps in another. If there was much disturbance the pieces might get broken again and again until they resembled in *size* the polygons formed by shrinking; but the *shape* would be radically different.

It is easy to prove that the average would be four, instead of six-sided. A break is not likely to pass through an angle, and such rare instances can be ignored. Assuming then that a crack always cuts two

sides of the slab to be broken, and that it runs straight, it is obvious that for every break a total of twice 180 degrees, or four right angles (where the crack cuts the sides) has been added to all the angles of the slab before it broke. Four new sides have also been added (the line of fracture in both portions and the division into two of each of the sides it cuts). Therefore one right angle has been added for each new side. If therefore the slab, before breaking in two, had either more or less than an average of one right angle per side, the average for the two new slabs made by the break will be nearer one right angle per side than before; and the more often the slab breaks, the nearer will the average number of right angles per side approximate to one. But this is the number for a quadrilateral, so the average number of sides will approach nearer and nearer to four as breaking proceeds.

One or two examples may make this clearer. Excluding the improbable case of a crack meeting an existing angle, a five-sided slab must break into one of three and one of six, or into one of five and one of four. A four-sided slab breaks into two of four, or one of three and one of five. A triangle breaks into another triangle and a quadrilateral. In every instance the average number of sides after the break is either four (if it was four before), or is nearer four than it was. Paper torn up for a paper-chase illustrates this, and if only rectangular sheets, like whole newspapers are used, the average number of sides remains exactly four however much it is torn. The "joints" of stratified rock are produced in the same way, by earth movements.

Turning now to the tabular sarsens. We may say with confidence that if there had ever been a solid sheet of rock, broken up by unequal settlement, or any other *gradual* process, the slabs of sarsen now found would have nearly an average of four sides. A very cursory examination shows that this is not the case.

A detailed summary of my observations is given in Appendix II. They make no pretence to be complete, but are sufficient to show that simultaneous and not successive strains have been responsible. The average number of sides is well under six (5.2 for the "wild" ones and perhaps a little under 5 for Avebury); but, judging from the way in which cracks form in mud, this is not unexpected. An average of six would mean that the whole mass when drying shrank equally and simultaneously. Actually some cracks are bound to start before others, so some corners would be made by cracks meeting. There are likely to be more of these than of cracks bending to form a re-entrant angle (instances of this are rare among tabular sarsens), so there will have been a greater tendency towards less than towards more than six sides, and the average will be less than six.

It also seemed, as far as I could tell, that the tabular variety is always at the bottom of valleys and more or less collected together. One would expect this if the tabular variety was formed from the silt of drying ponds or lakes, because these would be likely, as drainage developed, to become the bottom of valleys. But of course the



common nodular variety is also usually, though not always, in the valley bottom.

The chief difficulty in supposing that the slabs were formed, like those in mud, by drying, is the much greater size. Usually mud forms very small polygons, like those in my garden; but they have been observed up to 5 or 10 feet across in Mesopotamia (Huxley and Odell in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. LXIII, p. 215), and some of those illustrated in Fig. 3 were not much smaller. The mud from which these last were made came from gravel in a pit on the slopes of the Chilterns above Wallingford; and the gravel (as were the sarsens themselves) derives from the Reading Beds (Dr. Arkell in *Oxoniensia*, VIII, p. 2). This mud is a waste product carried by water into ponds several feet deep, and when dry sets so hard that the surface can be polished.

As the figure shows, the cracks run straight or in long sweeping curves, breaking the surface into polygons with an average of just over 5 sides. When I first saw them and made the sketch, the cracks were about an inch wide and three inches deep, but after a month of further drying the principal ones had widened to two or three inches and were at least nine inches deep. By that time some of the largest polygons had been broken by fresh cracks, and the average size was about two feet across. They did not break further, but at the edge of the pond, where the mud had dried most, the surface had cracked into very small pieces, which could be brushed off leaving the principal cracks exposed beneath. At a still later stage (on other ponds apparently now quite dry) this fine surface material gets blown or washed into the cracks, and the cracks themselves develop into shallow watercourses. Prodding with a stick however showed that they were still open or very soft mud for several feet in depth. Between them the top few inches had dried into something like ordinary soil on which vegetation was growing; but below that the subsoil was still wet.

One can imagine something like this took place when the sarsen was formed. The water in which the silt was deposited must have contained silica, presumably in a very weak solution. On evaporation, the exposed surface would crack, and the principal cracks, outlining large polygons, would penetrate to a considerable depth, while the surface between them would form a loose dry cover to the still damp subsoil. This dried material would never harden into rock, just as the surface of newly made concrete, if allowed to dry in the sun, will not set. It would serve however to protect the silt underneath and give time for the dissolved silica to harden it. Eventually the loose top would get washed away, leaving the sarsen with a nearly flat surface, just at the depth where it had remained moist long enough to set.

This would explain how it is that the roots of terrestrial trees (not seaweed, as was once thought) have left traces in the sarsen, but never the tree trunks. It would explain also the absence of small secondary cracks, such as one finds on drying mud.

Tabular sarsen usually has one face fairly flat and the other much more lumpy. It seems reasonable to suppose that the flat face was the upper; and on this face, much more often than on the other, fissures may be found, that look like mud cracks, but without forming any polygonal pattern. Fig. 5 (p. 411) is a sketch of the flat side of two of the Avebury stones. A is that north of the cove in the northern circle, and B is the second to the west from the Swindon road entrance in the outer circle.

It is suggested that these fissures, or some of them, may be the lower part of secondary cracks that have penetrated only a short distance into the hardening silt. Root-holes, or what appear to be root-holes, may however be found with equal frequency on either face.

As regards the size of the polygons, Mr. Taber found that slow cooling and the absence of colloidal matter both tend to make large polygons. With drying mud, the size seems to depend on the material being deep, fine, and uniform. Dr. Schofield of the Rothamsted Experimental Station has kindly analysed a specimen of the mud from the Wallingford gravel pit. He describes it as highly colloidal, with the following approximate percentages:—Coarse sand and fine sand, each about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , Silt<sup>1</sup> 21, Clay 66, Air dry moisture 6. Sarsen has been described as follows by Professor Judd (*Geological Magazine* for 1901):—"Microscopically the sarsens are seen to be made up of two kinds of materials, clastic fragments of crystalline minerals and a cement". The relative proportions of the two vary very widely. At one extreme are sarsens almost wholly made up of sand grains. At the other are those "exhibiting a fracture like those of some cherts. Under the microscope the greater part of their mass is seen to be made up of excessively minute and imperfectly developed quartz microlites".

As far as I am aware, it is only the fine-grained variety that makes tabular sarsen. A deposit of ordinary sand would of course have dried without cracks.

Large though the Wallingford polygons may be compared with those in ordinary mud, there are perhaps traces of still larger ones in tidal estuaries or salt marshes. The channels intersecting these look like mud cracks on a very large scale, but are wider in proportion. They are also less angular; but this would result from the scour of running water. The surface probably began to crack when above the level of ordinary tides, and the largest cracks developed into channels while the minor cracks closed up or were otherwise obliterated. The disappearance of the minor cracks would be helped by the growth of vegetation; and the development of the larger ones is possibly because, after flooding in the wet season, they would tend to re-open on the same lines, and, growing wider and deeper, would eventually become permanent water courses.

To return to the tabular sarsen. It would seem from the above

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<sup>1</sup> The diameter of "silt" grain varies from .01 to .1 mm. "Sand" of course is larger and "clay" smaller.

examples that the size is no real objection to supposing that the slabs were made by cracks in a drying silt; and no other process seems adequate to give them the characteristic shape. Expansion, as in the Spitsbergen soil polygons, is ruled out, were it only because they are not humped up.

There have of course been many changes since the rock was first made. The underlying chalk has been partly dissolved and the sarsen has sunk, and has also travelled laterally down the slopes of deepening valleys. One might suppose that it would get broken in the process, and a solid sheet of rock certainly would; but the rarity of four-sided and virtual absence of three-sided slabs show that there cannot have been many broken.

We may conclude therefore, first that the slabs of tabular sarsen were dried and not broken into shape, and have always been of about the same size as now; and secondly that where hexagonal and pentagonal slabs are found in ancient monuments, they may have been selected, but their shape is evidence that nature, and not man, has designed them.

#### APPENDIX I.

Although perhaps not strictly relevant, a few further remarks on the cracking of mud may be of interest.

A mud bath (*see* Fig. 1) was made on a water-proof sheet,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by 2 ft. with one end (the upper margin of the figure)  $2\frac{1}{3}$  inches, and the other  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep. The local subsoil, Oxford Clay, was used, and as it came from a dry tip some two or three gallons of water were needed to moisten it and bring it to a level surface. A grid of cotton for measurements was stretched over it, and the mud was left to dry.

The next week was fine with a drying wind, although the sun did not appear until the afternoons, and the shade temperature was seldom over 70 F.

After the first day the mud was well cracked, but generally in short lengths running in any direction, and fairly evenly distributed; three or four of the cracks had started branching.

After the second day, most, but not all, of the first day's cracks had lengthened in both directions, and many entirely new cracks had formed.

On the third day few new cracks originated, and the day's work was little more than to continue or widen those already started.

The fourth day (although the mud was still damp below and continued so for more than a week) showed practically no change, except that some of the cracks continued to widen.

Some of the cracks went on getting wider for several days, and those that did so established the pattern and gave the appearance of primary cracking, although they had not all formed even on the second day. The early cracks which had not broadened would then be indistinguish-

able from later undeveloped cracks, and with these would constitute the "secondary cracking".

After a day or two it became difficult to distinguish between a crack that had branched from another and one that had run into it; but when freshly made, the branching crack was noticeably wider at the junction. Fig. 1, represents the appearance of the cracks before most of this difference had become obliterated by the cracks widening after meeting. Besides attaining an almost uniform width, the cracks also lose some of their irregularities and so appear straighter than they were.

The figure shows how often cracks have originated on the outside of bends, while none have formed on the inside or re-entrant angle.

Two further mud baths were made that year, with the weather getting progressively cooler. The chief differences between these and the previous one are that the lines were straighter and the polygons larger (See Fig. 2, showing that made at the end of September). There were very few instances of branching, and almost all the cracks started independently. As a consequence there were more four sided figures. The slower drying also seems to have given time for the principal cracks to have relieved the strains with fewer secondary ones. The cracks shown in Fig. 2 took a week in the making and remained unaltered for the next fortnight, when rain came to obliterate them. They seemed to be quite lost during the winter, but reappeared on March 1st next year, practically unaltered. After a week without rain fresh cracks or extensions of the old ones completed and closed most of the open polygons.

Two characteristics of mud cracks, noticeable in all the experiments are likely to be overlooked:—the absence of very acute angles, and the presence of abortive cracks which come to nothing.

As regards the angles, it will be evident that none of the three types of corner discussed in the text is likely to be very sharp. A crack which branches would do little to relieve the strains parallel with its course unless the arms of the branch deviate at a considerable angle. A bend would have to double right back on itself to make an acute angle. A "meeting crack", if it approached an existing crack at a sharp angle, would tend to turn more directly towards it as it gets close; for, by doing so, it can quickest relieve strains parallel to the existing crack, hitherto neglected. The absence of very acute angles is also a noticeable characteristic of tabular sarsen.

As regards the abortive cracks, their presence suggests that the mud pattern is developed, rather than predetermined. This is probably because there are sure to be some parts dryer than others, which will crack first, and because the material is not completely uniform. An abortive crack comes to nothing either because it is too nearly parallel to an existing crack to be needed, or because a closed polygon forms round it, and the mud, shrinking away from its boundary, stops and tends to seal up any crack within. None of these abortive cracks is

likely to go deep, and some were quickly closed up permanently after a very little rain.

A still more transient peculiarity may be also worth noting. A crack, when it begins to open, may be discontinuous in a manner reminiscent, though on a tiny scale, of a geological syncline or anticline. It will run straight for two or three inches, fade away, and start again in the same direction, but removed half an inch or so to the left or right; and these two parts slightly overlap. I was not able to catch them at it; but probably these interrupted cracks started at the same time. Each would stop as it began to overlap its neighbour because it would be no longer needed. Usually, as the cracks widen and deepen these separated sections merge together into one continuous crack resembling any other.

#### APPENDIX II.

I visited four of the chief sites for sarsen in Wilts and Berks, and counted the number of sides in each specimen of tabular sarsen I was able to find. It was not always easy to decide whether a slight change of direction or a blunt point should or should not be considered a side, and observers may not all agree. My estimate was as follows:—

Lockeridge. The tabular sarsens are about half way up the sarsen stream, and are the best for size and flatness I have seen. Some are 10 ft. long, and one measured 9 by 9. My reckoning for the number of sides is:— 6, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 5, 6 and 5, giving for ten an average of 5.4.

Piggledean. I found only two, each with 5 sides.

Clatford. I found seven, but there may be more. I reckoned 4, 5, 6, 5, 6, 5 and 5 sides, giving an average of 5.1.

Ashdown Park. The tabular sarsens are more numerous than elsewhere, but smaller. The longest was 8 ft., and they were all within a few hundred yards of each other, opposite the house. The difficulty of estimating the number of sides was increased by so many being partly buried and others artificially broken. I reckon 6, 6, 5, 5, 4, 7, 6, 6, 7, 6, 7, 5, 4, 4, 6, 6, 4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 5, 4 and 7, giving for 24 an average of 5.3.

Summarising for all the "wild" sarsens, the 43 examined averaged 5.2 sides, and there were no triangles.

I tried to estimate for those at Avebury, but could only guess at what lay hidden underground. For 41 stones in the circles and avenue the average was 4.9.

SARSENS<sup>1</sup>

By H. C. BRETNALL, F.S.A.

So far as the general public is concerned, the Marlborough Downs are little known: a fact which we shall only begin to deplore when we have to appeal to the general public to preserve them. The thoughts of Englishmen turn naturally to Sussex when Down-country is in question—to Ditchling and Chanctonbury, not Tan Hill and Barbury, of which few Englishmen have ever heard. It is not merely that the Sussex Downs lie nearer London; literary influences have been at work. Poets have trumpeted each several Sussex height, but our downs have had few skalds, and even Jefferies, when he wrote of his beloved Liddington, could never bring himself to write its name.

The South Downs, regarded first as a protection from the sea breezes and then as a mere obstruction on the road to them, have come into their own. It needed the motor car to reveal them to the Londoner as something more than the reputed source of a succulent variety of mutton, though, here and there, a pedestrian was aware of them before and sometimes sang them. Mr. Belloc, for instance, whose Muse owes nothing to petrol, has asserted that

The great hills of the South Country  
They stand along the sea,

and we would not, even with the spot levels of our own South Country hills to help us, dispute the assertion; nor ask the National Farmers' Union to decide whether the "dim blue goodness" of Kipling's Weald exceeds the goodness of our Wiltshire Vales. Statistics are no answer to predilections; so when another poet asks

Where do the larks sing  
As on the Sussex downs?

we in this county have two quite adequate answers in Salisbury Plain and the Marlborough Downs, but we hold our peace. It is not the first time that these birds have aroused uncritical enthusiasm.

But one feature at least the Marlborough Downs can boast in which neither Sussex nor Salisbury Plain can claim equality—they are still the *locus classicus* for sarsen stones. Boast, perhaps, is the wrong word to use of such a wasting pre-eminence, for, though it cannot entirely pass from us—thanks to a purchase for the National Trust in 1903—it is steadily diminished by the ravages of the stone-breaker. Our pride

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<sup>1</sup> Reprinted, with alterations, additions and subtractions, from *The Marlborough College N.H.S Report* for 1930, by permission of the present Editor. The off-prints from that issue have long been exhausted, but not the demand, which encourages me to offer a revised version to other readers in the shelter of Colonel Cunnington's article on another aspect of the same subject.

in the grey wethers is wistful rather than arrogant, foreboding the day when they will no longer lie scattered over the downs, and the remnants of their ranging flocks must be sought in an occasional bottom, penned behind a notice board of the National Trust.

"Grey wethers" was the name favoured by the last generation of geologists, who borrowed it from local usage, and, like most names of a similar origin, it has its peculiar fitness. There are still places here and there where the huddled stones, seen perhaps under a hanging mist, will inevitably suggest a flock of resting sheep. Our earliest evidence for the name is to be found in the *Diary* of Richard Symonds, who wrote of our Fyfield in 1644 as

"a place so full of grey pibble stone of great bignes as is not usually seene; they breake them and build their houses of them and walls, laying mosse betweene, the inhabitants calling them Saracens' stones, and in this parish, a mile and a halfe in length,<sup>1</sup> they lie so thick as you may go upon them all the way. They call that place the Grey-weathers, because afar off they look like a flock of Sheepe."

The spelling "grey-weathers" seems to have persisted in places where it might be least expected. It occurs in Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, and even the *New English Dictionary* uses it in the definition of "Druid stones". It obviously embodies a misconception not wholly unpardonable in the minds of those who see more dreariness than folded grandeur in the downs, and allow the resulting depression to colour all their associations. "Grey wether", however, is now accepted as the equivalent of "sarsen", though on other horizons the term may be applied to other stones of similar appearance. Lovers of Dartmoor will be familiar with the circles under Sittoford Tor called the Grey Wethers, but the stone in this case is, of course, the local granite.

The attitude suggested in the middle of the last paragraph, it must be confessed, is no uncommon one. As a contrast it is a pleasure to quote a passage from *The Geology of the Country round Marlborough*, by H. J. Osborne White. We cannot often hear the horns of Elfland blowing however, faintly, through the *Memoirs* of the Geological Survey, but Mr. Osborne White, whose more strictly professional opinions we may find ourselves invoking hereafter, betrays himself for once as a Romantic.

"Solitary for the most part, [the Sarsens] not infrequently occur in small groups of natural or artificial origin, and in a few restricted areas they are congregated in greater numbers: nowhere, however, are they so plentiful as in the Chalk country near Marlborough. Here, after centuries of exploitation, these stones yet lie thick on some of the downland ridges, and thicker still in the adjacent winding bottoms, where their disposition suggests the idea of rivers of stones. There is something in their grey, recumbent forms, half hidden in long grass and scrub, that awakens a lively interest in the beholder, and even when their nature is known they

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<sup>1</sup> Not the parish, but the deposit. He seems to mean the upper part of Clatford Bottom, which lies in Fyfield, and Totterdown.

continue to stir the imagination, their bulk, their legendary associations, and a touch of melancholy in their wild surroundings investing them with a kind of glamour".

"A kind of glamour"—all will surely agree whose hearts respond to the sight of the grey wethers on an open down.

Symonds' testimony to the profusion of the sarsens in Fyfield will surprise us less than the statement of a much more recent writer, Dr. Joseph Stevens, whose paper on "Sarsen Stones" was printed in *The Marlborough College N.H.S. Report for Christmas, 1873*. Referring to this district he says:

"So thickly are they spread over miles of country that the traveller might almost leap from stone to stone without touching the earth".

It may be doubted whether even seventy years ago that statement was intended to be taken literally, and it is certainly not true of any district to-day. If any one chooses to make the experiment suggested, he may try it in the area which Symonds had in mind. The sarsens lie thicker in the bottom above the Devil's Den than anywhere else in England now, and if a start be made towards the upper end the experiment may begin hopefully, but it will not prove possible to "go upon" the stones for many consecutive yards. Probably, if the truth were known, it never was.

Nevertheless, making all allowance for possible exaggeration, it is an undoubted fact that the sarsens we see to-day over the downs in general are very much fewer than they were some centuries ago, and a mere fragment of the covering that remained when the forces of nature had disintegrated the original deposit; for successive generations have found a variety of uses for them. The builders of the Avebury circles and avenues selected, it has been reckoned, some 650 of the largest.

How far afield they had to go for them we cannot say. There is a vast stone in Clatford Bottom, about a mile above the Devil's Den, lying perched at the mouth of a side valley on the west and not sunk like the rest for half its bulk in the ground.<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. D. Passmore is responsible for the ingenious theory that it is a stone for some reason abandoned on the way to Avebury. It is certainly difficult to account for its being lifted (as it must have been) and left on the best gradient for transport over Avebury Down on any other supposition, for stone-breakers are well content to remove their victims piecemeal from their beds. Many more were used for the smaller local circles and kistvaens, but since none of these early builders either mutilated the stones or removed them from their native landscape we do not reckon them despoilers. Stonehenge may account for some fourscore, but some of these may have been taken second-hand from Avebury, because of their superior "medicine", as the "blue stones" are believed to have been taken from Pembrokeshire circles. Thereafter we may believe that

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<sup>1</sup> It had a fellow, similarly raised, but that was broken up during the first World War.



the sarsens had rest for many centuries. Some few sarsens we find appropriated to individual Saxons : such were Ethelferth's Stone on the bounds of Overton, and that vexed Ecbrihtes Stone of Alfred's campaign, which now lies, perhaps, next Kingston Deverill Church. Unhewn sarsen blocks may be found in the footings of numerous local churches and small ones in their walls, but the Middle Ages were ended before men began to split the stones and use them as regular building material.

There is some small conflict of evidence as to the first breaking of the sarsens. Symonds, as we have seen, refers to the process as already in common use when he wrote in 1644, but Stukeley ascribes the discovery of the method which he calls "burning" to a villager of Avebury named Walter Stretch just fifty years later.

"He exercis'd this at first on one of the stones standing in the street before the inn, belonging to the outer circle of the southern temple. That one stone, containing 20 loads, built the dining-room end of the inn. Since then *Tom Robinson*, another *Herostratus* of the place, made cruel havock among them. He own'd to us, that two of them cost eight pounds in the execution. Farmer *Green* ruin'd many of the southern temple to build his houses and walls at *Bekampton*. Since then many others have occasionally practis'd the sacrilegious method, and most of the houses, walls and outhouses in the town are raised from these materials".

Aubrey, however, seems to have known of this manner of dealing with the stones before 1671. Not only did it yield valuable building material, but it superseded the earlier one of digging pits and burying them, because it was reckoned that the cost of sinking them below ploughing level was more than 30 years' purchase of the spot they stood on. Stukeley tells us :

"The method is, to dig a pit by the side of the stone, till it falls down, then to burn many loads of straw under it. They draw lines of water along it when heated, and then with smart strokes of a great sledge hammer, its prodigious bulk is divided into many lesser parts. But this *Atto de fe* commonly costs thirty shillings in fire and labour, sometimes twice as much. They own too 'tis excessive hard work ; for these stones are often 18 foot long, 13 broad, and 6 thick ; that their weight crushes the stones in pieces, which they lay under them to make them lie hollow for burning ; and for this purpose they raise them with timbers of 20 foot long, and more, by the help of twenty men ; but often the timbers were rent in pieces".

In their excavation of the "Sanctuary" on Overton Hill Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington first exposed the evidence that this method had been employed there, doubtless by the afore-mentioned Farmer Green, to whom Stukeley attributes the removal of the majority of the stones from that site two hundred years ago. Evidence of a like nature appeared in the trench dug for the oil-pipe line during the War on the line of the Avenue west of the "Sanctuary", and Mr. Keiller has found many other instances at Avebury.

Anyone who examines not merely Avebury and Beckhampton, but any of the villages between there and Marlborough, may see how popular a material for building sarsen stone has proved. Nevertheless it has come to be looked on with disfavour on the ground that the stone is porous and makes the houses damp. The cause in reality is the very opposite, though the effect may be indistinguishable; the sarsen is so impervious that, as Stukeley expresses it, it becomes "moist and dewey in winter, which proves damp and unwholesome, and rots the furniture". Of this defect, Symonds in the preceding century gives no hint. It is possible, of course, that in his rapid passage with the Royalist forces he heard nothing of it, though it existed; but it would be interesting to know whether the custom of "laying moss between" the stones had been abandoned in the interim, for Stukeley does not mention it. For walling, however, and the lower courses of barns and even houses, sarsen remained in common use, and many a cubic foot has gone into gateposts for yards and fields. Marlborough College Chapel is built externally of sarsen, though it is lined with freestone, and some remarkably fine sarsen walling of the Cyclopean type is to be seen at Fyfield and at other places up the valley. Some years ago an enquiry from the Clerk of the Works at Windsor revealed the fact that sarsen from Beckhampton had sometimes been used for repairs to walls in the castle though the fact that it is there called Heathstone suggests that the original source of supply was the sarsen of Bagshot Heath.<sup>1</sup>

Sarsen building, so long as it is confined to the neighbourhood, as, for the most part, it must be, would be a small evil if it had not taken in the past such disastrous toll of our megalithic monuments. The destruction of the sarsens has been a long and steady process. The evidence of Symonds in the seventeenth century and of Stukeley in the early eighteenth is supplemented by that of Sir Joseph Banks, the naturalist and companion of Captain Cook, who recorded in 1767 that the sarsens between Silbury and Marlborough were being largely broken up. John Britton tells us that in his time (meaning probably the early years of the nineteenth century) the burning of the Avebury stones was still going on, and Doctor Stevens wrote in 1873 that most of the stones which not half a century before surrounded many of the Wiltshire barrows had since been used for road repairing or for building purposes. Many additions to the melancholy calendar of destruction might be quoted, such as the removal of the remains of a circle, perhaps of sarsens, from Tisbury to ornament the grounds of Wardour Castle "with a pretty grotto and rockery"; but that was over a hundred years ago, and vandalism of this kind has been scotched, if not completely killed by the Ancient Monuments Act. What is left to us of our megaliths may now

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<sup>1</sup> On that source, or Denver Hill in Bucks, a recent letter from Windsor shows that the Castle still depends, but it also shows that suitable stone is hard to come by. The diggers are said to trace the blocks to the surprising depth of 30 feet, presumably in quarries.

be considered reasonably safe : with the sarsens in their natural deposits the case is very different.

Those who have watched the district through this century have seen the wolf at work in many a fold of the grey wethers, daily devouring apace, and nothing said. Piggledean, which earlier generations knew as the Valley of Rocks, has scarcely a sarsen left in it above the area secured for the National Trust (a fact which the latest one-inch Ordnance map, 6th edition, still denies). The long pen of grey wethers south of the East Kennett Long Barrow, almost the last remnant of the great deposit which gave the name of Stonyfield to the bottom in which it lay, was emptied twenty years ago (though again the Ordnance map is unaware of it) and the same two-handed engine has been gradually clearing the south-west slope of Totterdown about Overton Delling. There was a question in 1930 of a purchase of the latter area to preserve its sarsens, and a meeting of our Society was held on the spot with a view to rousing interest in the county. From the crest of Avebury Down we surveyed the scene dotted with the gleaming surfaces of blocks freshly split and incongruous arrays of virgin setts grouped pavement-wise on the turf among the stunted thorns. We had come too late. Though actually the broken stones were still few compared with the numbers that remained, their whiteness caught the eye on every side, entirely dominating the quiet greys of the still undamaged sarsens. We seemed to have invited our visitors to inspect a stoneyard. The preservation scheme, so far at least as concerned Totterdown, was stillborn.

But of all the areas that have been denuded in recent years the delapidation of Stony Cope is most to be regretted. It lies in the West Woods beside that northern continuation of Hursley which is locally known as Ox-Bottom. Probably this is the area intended by Aubrey when, writing of the grey wethers in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, he said : " Many of them are mighty great ones, and particularly those in Overton Wood ". The sarsens there had lighter coloured rinds than we are used to see on the open downs, and formed in spring a perfect background for the bluebells that grow in such vertiginous profusion below the oaks and birches. The stones are gone, for the most part, to make the roads of Swindon.

The modern sarsen-cutter does not, of course, employ the arduous and costly method of burning. Armed with tools of the finest temper, he chips sockets for his wedges in the selected stone, and the heavy sledgehammer wielded by his mate at length divides the mass.<sup>1</sup> If the stone splits true, the rest is a matter of knack, till at last the almost dazzling cubes are lying in even rows on the down beside a snowy heap of dust and fragments. Only the blocks of purest sand appear to be worth the labour, and only the practised eye of the workman can judge the inner texture from the outer rind. But even he is not infal-

<sup>1</sup> This was the fate, it may be remembered, that the Stonehenge " Slaughter Stone " so narrowly missed.

lible, and blocks are not seldom abandoned when the first splitting has shown them to be unprofitable. The downs, even in the path of the quarryman, show many stones that have been spared, though too often at the cost of their integrity. But hitherto the demand has been mainly for kerbs and setts, for which a more or less rectangular cleavage is essential. If a more extensive use be found for sarsen, the grey wethers will browse the upper downs in ever scantier flocks. It is fortunate that some at least of the best remaining areas are in strong hands and in no immediate danger of spoliation.

Let us turn from the devastation of the sarsens to the problem of the derivation of their name. Its origin has exercised many enquirers from the days of Aubrey onwards. That observer, who was perhaps a little catholic in his use of the term, for he speaks of the stones as far north as Huntington (? Huntingdon), calls them "sarsden" or "sarsdon stones", deriving the word from the village of that name (properly Sarson) east of Ampert in Hampshire.<sup>1</sup> More recent research has failed to find any trace of these stones in that neighbourhood at all, though the Geological Survey *Memoir* on the Andover district records large blocks imbedded at some depth in a gravel pit at Weyhill Bottom some miles to the north. The same form, "sarsden", occurs in a Government report of 1817, where it refers to the sarsens of Berkshire, but the author there informs us explicitly that the local name is "grey wether", and we are left wondering where he obtained the name "sarsden". It could not be from Aubrey, whose *Natural History of Wiltshire* remained in manuscript till 1847. In Wiltshire, on the other hand, it is asserted that the form is sometimes "sassen" or "saasen"; and an entry is quoted from the Devizes Corporation accounts of the early nineteenth century, where the word is spelt "saeson".

Actually, however, the earliest occurrence of the word in literature appears to be its use by Symonds, quoted above, in the form "Saracens' stones", and against the entry in the Devizes accounts we may set much earlier references in the Chamberlains' accounts of Marlborough, which Mr. Cunnington has brought to light. The first evidence we get that Marlborough was as active as the neighbouring villages in the spoliation of the downs is to be found in an item of the 1575 account, when fourpence was paid for the "carriage of great stones" to be used in the repair of the new Grammar School wall. It is nearly a hundred years later, however, before the stone is named. In 1673 we find "2 loads of of "sarazen stones"; in 1678 they have become "sersons", and in 1702 "sarzons". Taken in conjunction with Symonds' "Saracens" in 1644 we seem in these entries to trace a gradual corruption of what was never a native word, but one which came to us from the East at the time of the Crusades. An obvious parallel is the word "sarsenet", which we get through Old French from the same source.

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<sup>1</sup> He spells it *Sersden*. Sarsdon is an Oxfordshire village, a still less likely locality for the stones. But Sarson (Hants) never had a *d*.

Such a derivation of the word "sarsen" is of course not new, but even the almost universal support of the dictionaries (when they condescend to admit what is, after all, a dialect form) has failed to render it generally acceptable. Those who object to it forget the repercussions of the first and longest of world wars, which affected in countless ways the lives and the imaginations of half-a-dozen successive generations of Western Europe and coloured all the time that followed them. Thirteenth and fourteenth century usage shows that the word "Saracen" rapidly lost its specific significance, so that historical writers could apply it to the early Saxon raiders or even to the Roman Emperor Trajan. It came in fact to be used as the equivalent of "heathen". In Cornwall we find the Saracens or Sarsens<sup>1</sup> were the early peoples who were known only from the vestiges they had left behind them in the prehistoric tin workings, and in North Wiltshire the same name was doubtless applied to the heathen builders of Avebury or any other megalithic monument on which the Devil had not secured a prior lien. It is true that we cannot quote any such definite ascription—even in Avebury the Devil has his Branding Irons and his Quoits, and we know that he was originally responsible for Stonehenge, as he was for Silbury Hill—but the Rollright Stones are sometimes referred to in South Warwickshire as the Sarsen Stones, though their honeycombed exteriors (they are oolitic) could suggest no geological affinity to our local sandstones. It is, of course, a well-known fact that Avebury had no literature till the seventeenth century, and its folklore, which for our present purpose would be more valuable, seems to have been almost wholly neglected, a defect which should certainly be remedied before it is too late.

We may venture then to affirm that "sarsen" stones were in the first instance the megalithic monuments of this county and, by extension, the native blocks of the same material that covered wide areas of these northern downs. When we call them "sarsens", therefore, we are strictly guilty of a confusion such as would result if we abbreviated another name they sometimes bear, "Druid Stones", into "Druids"; and probably we should be pendentally correct if we said that the Devil's Den, for instance, was made of sarsen stones, but that Lockeridge Dene, which contains no recognised megalithic monuments, was filled with grey wethers. From the use of "Druid stones" in either application we beg, however to be excused. Even if Mr. Kendrick's suggestion, based on the classical affinities of the mortice and tenon joint, is accepted, and Stonehenge, in its latest shape, is to be restored to the Druids, neither he nor any other archæologist of repute would associate them with the ruder monuments of the Marlborough Downs, save as Macaulay's New Zealander is one day to be associated with Westminster Bridge.

Next to the quantity of the sarsens lying in certain bottoms of the

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<sup>1</sup> Strangers from overseas were still sometimes known as Saracens in Cornwall as late as the nineteenth century.

downs—and it is always in the bottoms that they lie in the greatest profusion—the fact that most impresses the observer is their arrangement. Sir Christopher Wren's comment upon this, quoted and queried by Aubrey,<sup>1</sup> was peculiar: "They doe pitch all one way, like arrows shot". Respect for its author forbids us to dismiss this judgment as idle, and it would be interesting to know in what locality it was formed, but as a description of the generality of sarsens *in situ* it is wholly inappropriate. Sometimes, as in the plantation west of Overton Delling, the stones lie heaped on each other like boulders in a mountain torrent; more frequently they are to be found in close proximity winding in regular streams down the valley floor. Wherever the side of the bottom is steep, it is bare of sarsens, while the gentler slopes carry a load thinning out, as the distance from the *thalweg* increases, to the normal sporadic distribution of the upper downs. The two adjoining valleys of Clatford Bottom and Piggledean on the north of the Bath Road show this arrangement clearly, though not so perfectly as they did before the latter were stripped of its sarsens above the cottages. But we find the conditions in the two valleys reversed; for while in Clatford Bottom the sarsens spread up the eastern slope and are absent from the western, in Piggledean it is the western side that carries the sarsens, and the eastern that is bare, as the cross-sections of the two valleys would lead us to expect.

Darwin found that on a grass-covered slope with an average inclination of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, 2.4 cubic inches of earth crossed a line one yard in length in the course of a year.<sup>2</sup> The action of frost, rain and worms is, in fact, responsible for a continual movement of earth and stones downhill even when the slope is slight. The late Lord Avebury when seeking to explain the disposition of our sarsen-streams, attributed it in a still greater degree to the action of the sun upon the large blocks of stone, which tend, he explained, to expand under the influence of heat in the direction of least resistance—that is, downhill—and again, when cooled at night, incline by their own weight in the same direction.<sup>3</sup> This vermigrade motion, of which we might not have suspected anything so sedate as a sarsen, is of course extremely slow. If it were as rapid as that of the soil in Darwin's experiment, it would take some five thousand years to cover a mile, but the average slope of the downs is nothing like as much as  $9\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, which works out at about one in six. In that part of Upper Clatford Bottom where the sarsens now lie thickest the eastern slope is about one in fifteen; the western on the other hand, is considerably more than one in six, and we can draw upon the Bank of Time in the interest of our hypothesis for very much more than five thousand years without any danger of the draft being dishonoured.

<sup>1</sup> *Nat. Hist. of Wilts.* (Ed. J. Britton). 'Pitched' means 'inclined'.

<sup>2</sup> *Vegetable Mould and Earthworms*, chapter VI.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot, however, now trace this statement to its source.

Let us then suppose an original Totterdown tilted, as the dip of the strata indicates, pretty much as it is tilted now and strewn with the broken sarsen crust of some post-cretaceous formation. Down that gentle and as yet undisturbed slope we may imagine the sarsens creeping their limpet creep towards the still unsculptured Kennet valley, until the development of the river increased the southward trend and imparted a more directly southward tendency to the travellers. Across their path new erosion creases due to local weaknesses of structure began to propagate themselves at various points in the valley, notably those that were ultimately to become the bottoms now defining the spur of Overton Down and its south-eastern continuation, Fyfield Hill. Upon the blocks that had started their journey below the creases, or had safely passed those points on their southern transit, the new phenomena would have, of course, no effect; their secular progress would continue without haste or rest till they found their goal, where they still lie buried, in the flood plain of the Kennet. But it would not be so with the sarsens that found themselves within the ever-extending influence of the incipient depressions. Those upon the hither brink would find themselves presenting an extra slow motion picture of the yet unfarrowed swine of Gadara, while those immediately beyond the farther bank would begin to falter in their purpose as the soil drained back from under them into the miniature abyss. As each valley deepened, cutting back into the flanks of the intervening ridge, it would gather the sarsens upon the retreating scarps into its embrace with a rapidity proportionate to the steeper slope, there to meet the increasing company from the other side and saunter with them along the dene towards the Kennet valley. Either bottom, it must be remembered, is excavated now in the Middle Chalk, and denudation must have taken out of them the whole mass of the Upper chalk, on top of which the sarsens originally lay. We must therefore add a vertical displacement of at least 350 feet to the horizontal translation of the stones described above.

So far a general acquaintance with the nature and appearance of the sarsens has been taken for granted. Nevertheless, before we proceed to discuss their origin, it may be desirable to explain what is meant by the word, since sarsens themselves vary considerably in texture and appearance and other stones, of a not very dissimilar nature to the outward view, are apt to be confused with them.

The accepted, or at any rate the most acceptable, definition of a sarsen is "a silicated saccharoidal sandstone": Ferruginous staining is common, particularly on the natural surface of the block, where it is apt to form a rind, often of an appreciable depth, but the sugar-like grains of the unweathered interior, as revealed by the chisel, are typically as white as the Upper Chalk, on the grassy surface of which the sarsens so frequently lie. It should be added that there is usually no visible trace of sedimentation, and that the weathered surfaces are frequently water-polished, a fact which has its bearing, if not upon their origin, at least upon their subsequent history. In the fact that the cementing

medium to which they owe their commonly (but not invariably) extreme hardness is the same as that which forms the flints, they are differentiated from the calcareous blocks of sandstone found, for instance, near Sidmouth in the west and Harwich in the east. In the fact that they consist, normally, of pure sand alone, they are readily distinguished, even when they exhibit externally a similar mamillated appearance<sup>1</sup>, from the "pudding stones" usually, but by no means exclusively, associated with Hertfordshire—unlovely ochreous conglomerates of flint pebbles in a highly siliceous matrix. Such a block lies, or lay, by the gate of of the Rectory at Newton Tony in the lower Bourne valley. The true sarsen is a handsome stone within (which must be our consolation for seeing them so frequently disintegrated) and picturesque, if not absolutely beautiful, without; and though there are degenerate members of the species, they will usually be found to have suffered some indignity from the hand of man.<sup>2</sup>

As to the origin of the sarsen we may first quote the views of Stukeley as illustrating the state of geological knowledge in the middle of the eighteenth century.

"This whole country, hereabouts [he says] is a solid body of chalk, cover'd with a most delicate turf. As this chalky matter harden'd at creation, it spew'd out the most solid body of the stones, of greater specific gravity than itself; and assisted by the centrifuge power, owing to the rotation of the globe upon its axis, threw them upon its surface where they now lie. This is my opinion concerning this appearance, which I have often attentively consider'd".

And again in another passage, which contains an interesting, but wholly unconscious, reference to a later discovery of Mr. Crawford's, the Celtic field system on Monkton Down:

"A little to the right hand of the road coming from Marlborough to Abury...if we look downwards to the side of the hill towards Abury, we discern many long and straight ridges of natural stone, the same as the gray-weathered, as it were emerging out of the chalky surface. They are often cross'd by others in straight lines, almost at right angles. For hereabouts it seems that the chalk, contracting itself and growing closer together as it harden'd, thrust the lapidescent matter into these fissures. 'Tis a very pretty appearance."

—But one, alas! no longer visible. As for the nature of the stone, after a fairly accurate description, he explains:

"It consists, as all other stones, of a mixture of divers substances united by lapidescent juices, in a sufficient tract of time".

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<sup>1</sup> In *The Newbury Field Club Transs.* 1876 the Rev. Charles Soames reported a stone at Mildenhall, the only one he knew in the neighbourhood which had "the original mamillated surface". I have not seen it.

<sup>2</sup> Though the primary interest of the builders of the Avebury circles was not æsthetics, a reason for the rejection of the perched sarsen in Clatford Bottom (supposing its use ever to have been contemplated) might well have been its ungainly appearance when fully exposed.



In this he is surely not so far out, For "divers substances" read, in this case, "sand particles"; for "lapidescent juices", "secondary silica": as for his estimate of the length of the process, modern science could scarcely improve upon it.

Stukeley was probably acquainted with the theories of Descartes, but the father of modern geology was still at school when that was written. What have his scientific descendants to tell us about the origin of the sarsens?

It is a question on which recent geological opinion has differed, but the differences, to a layman, are trifling, since the dispute is mainly confined to the Eocene. These early Tertiary formations, it may be remembered, immediately overlie the Chalk, though separated from it in time by an interval which no one has been presumptuous enough to estimate. In this country the succession of the Eocene strata is as follows, if we place the most recent on top. We should also remember that the whole series is never represented at any given spot, a fact which helps us to understand the wide divergence between the stages to which the material of the sarsens has been assigned.

6. Barton Clays and Sands, typically (and horribly) represented on the coast of Hampshire east of Highcliff.
5. Bracklesham Clays and Sands, named from the shore deposits in Bracklesham Bay, west of Selsey Bill.
4. Bagshot Clays and Sands, which give us Bagshot Heath and the coloured beds of Alum Bay.
3. London Clay, the most characteristic formation of the London and Hampshire Basins.
2. Woolwich and Reading Clays and Sands.
1. Thanet Sands, as exposed at Pegwell Bay and elsewhere.

To every one of these beds, excepting only the pure clays of the London series, the sarsens on various horizons have been attributed, and as they are sometimes to be found embedded in one or other of them, the attribution is not to be questioned. But the precise derivation of the sand the sarsens contain would seem to of less interest than the period at which they became solidified, and on this question little information is as yet forthcoming. It is obvious that to name the formation to which any rock is to be attributed is to give only its proximate origin, and that the ultimate source of any inorganic sedimentation must be sought in the beginning of things. Nevertheless it should be mentioned that the latest authority, Mr. Osborne White, ascribes our local examples to the highest bed, the Barton Sands, though he does not exclude the possibility of even a post-Eocene derivation. The problem might be much simpler if the sarsens contained any contemporaneous fossils, but these are wholly absent. It is true that they frequently show cavities suggestive of fossils, but in the somewhat infrequent cases where the cavities are occupied the evidence suggests that the fossils are intrusive. Stukeley noted several cases and took them for the bones of animals, "concluding them to be antediluvian". In recent times they have been

recognised as roots of plants, and they were first supposed, by William Cunnington, to belong to some kind of seaweed. In 1865 Codrington speaks of fragments of coniferous wood being found in the sarsens, and in 1904 Mr. Osborne White pointed out that the appearance of the roots suggested plants growing on a land-surface above the soft sands out of which the sarsens were later formed, since only the lower parts of the roots are ever visible. They were for long referred, though very tentatively, to the Palm group, but the latest evidence has led to a reversal of judgment in favour of Codrington's identification.

In 1929 the President of the Marlborough College Natural History Society was able to send a new specimen to South Kensington which has yielded more definite results. These roots were assigned by Mr. W. N. Edwards with some certainty to the Coniferae, and more precisely to a plant which appears to be akin to the Canton Water Pine, a small deciduous Cypress which grows in southern China. A close ally of this tree is the Florida Swamp Cypress sometimes seen in English gardens. It seems possible that the fluvatile habit of the modern congeners of this fossil plant may give us a hint as to the conditions that brought about the induration of the sarsens, though it tells us nothing of the sands that formed them.

"Beyond their prevailing arenaceous character", (to quote Mr. Osborne White again) "there is nothing to suggest their accumulation under desert conditions; no preponderance of rounded sand-grains, but the reverse; few, if any, polished and faceted pebbles; not even a well-marked current bedding. The frequent occurrence of angular and sub-angular flints rather points to a sub-aerial or fluvial origin, but is not incompatible with a marine one. The feeble development of bedding counts most against the fluvial hypothesis".

Evidence of bedding, though rare, is not unknown. A small block in my possession, which came by the kindness of the owner from the garden of the Old Vicarage at Easton Royal, shows the "varves" of many successive seasons. It is also pierced through all its  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by a root-hole more than an inch in diameter (which doubtless explains its preservation as a curiosity). It should be observed that the ring-like excrescences palpable to the inserted finger seem to correspond to the bedding planes. This would dispose of the theory, first put forward in the case of the so-called Kinward Stone beside Chute Causeway, that the ringed interior walls of these holes correspond to the roots that once occupied them, as though the roots had consisted of a series of confluent tubers like the advertisement of Michelin tyres (○○○).

The secondary silica, which penetrated, probably, only the upper layers of the sand beds, or what was by that time left of them, and formed the hard crust that now survives in the form of sarsens, may have been deposited from overlying water, or possibly driven down by rain from a layer of siliceous loam spread over the still loose sands. The comparative rarity of the fossil roots may perhaps indicate that only parts of the sands were covered with a fertile loam. Since that

date a fresh upheaval has drained away the water or caused the loam to disappear under the influence of normal sub-aerial agencies, to which must also be attributed the disappearance in most areas of the unsolidified portions of the sand bed beneath the sarsen crust, as likewise the breaking of that crust itself into the separate blocks now known to us.

That sarsens are not peculiar to Wiltshire is, of course, well-known, but the wide area over which they are found may still be a little surprising. In larger or smaller numbers and greater or lesser bulk they are to be traced from western Somerset to eastern Kent and from Suffolk to the south coast; and they are found again in the neighbourhood of Dieppe. Their distribution in Wiltshire itself is by no means conterminous with the Chalk, for sarsens are almost absent, in the geological sense, from the whole of Salisbury Plain save parts of its northern fringe.<sup>1</sup> A few apparent exceptions certainly occur. There are, for instance, three medium-sized specimens in the Bulford neighbourhood, one actually in the bed of the Avon, though the engaging theory that it was shipwrecked there on its way to Stonehenge is disproved by its size and situation. It seems evident that it was undermined at some time by stream erosion, and it is not a little curious that it is in line with, and almost exactly equidistant from, its neighbours in Durrington Field and on Bulford Down. The stone in Durrington Field is mentioned, under the name of the Cuckoo Stone,<sup>2</sup> by Mrs. Cunnington as a possible sighting stone in connection with Woodhenge. The stone in the river has a hole in it such as might have held a cross, and a ring which may have held the painter of a ferry boat.<sup>3</sup> The stone on Bulford Down was evidently once erect, and the circumstances in the case of each of these makes it unsafe to claim for them a local origin. Another sarsen which appears to have borne the name of the Dwarf Stone, if Barclay's reference in his Stonehenge volume is to be so interpreted, lies just west of the rampart of Durrington walls, but this is associated with an undoubted burial. A few other solitary sarsens are known: one at Shipton Bellinger; and two at Berwick St. James. These latter have been shown (*W.A.M.* xlvi, 395) to have strong claims to be the two parts of the companion to the so-called Altar Stone at Stonehenge in the days when it stood upright.

There is another at Woodlands, Mere, about which further information is lacking, as also of the Redbridge stone, reported by Mr. Crawford from near Westbury and identified by him as the Ecbrihtes Stone of King Alfred's Ethandun campaign. The Kingston Deverill group of sarsens, now arranged as a collapsed dolmen near the church, but originally situated on King's Court Hill above the village, as Mrs. Cunnington has recorded, may or may not have better

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<sup>1</sup> As N. of Everleigh, for instance and S. of Old Hat Barrow.

<sup>2</sup> Or Cuckold Stone?

<sup>3</sup> Stukeley tells us that stones from Stonehenge were used to make "bridges; mill dams and the like in the river". Where are they now?

claims to have marked Alfred's rallying point, but at least their association on a hilltop suggests some pre-Saxon purpose which would account for their transport from a distant source. Traces of a sarsen discovered in the excavation of Woodhenge again make it unnecessary to suppose that the stone had been originally taken from the immediate neighbourhood. It would be imprudent to suppose that these and the great monoliths of Stonehenge complete the the list of south Wiltshire sarsens, but, if others exist, they are not numerous, and the absence of sarsen gateposts and walling from the whole area precludes the explanation that original deposits capable of furnishing some hundred known examples, including such wholly exceptional masses as are found in the Stonehenge trilithons, have otherwise been wholly removed by human agency. It is true that Prestwich, describing the Reading Beds near Codford, declared the fine white sand they contained to be "just the stuff that when solidified would form the Druid sandstone", and that Mr. Clement Reid, relying apparently on this remark, asserts that the grey wethers of Stonehenge are of "local origin, and derived probably from the Reading Beds", but nowhere in his Memoir on the Salisbury Geological Sheet does he make any reference to the natural occurrence of sarsen in the district. It seems therefore just to conclude that any specimens that occur at Stonehenge or elsewhere in the area are importations.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, sarsens are by no means confined to the Chalk. They are reported from positions below its escarpments at Westbury (whence, perhaps, the Redbridge Stone was taken), at Hilmarton, and not infrequently (sometimes as standing stones) in the Swindon district; nor are they unknown in the Pewsey Vale. But their occurrence upon older horizons is not confined to Wiltshire: in the Taunton district, for instance, they bear witness to a former westward extension of the Eocenes, if not necessarily of the Chalk. At Staple Fitzpaine in that neighbourhood they are too numerous to be explained as importations. The story attached to the Devil's Stone there has points of resemblance to that of the Friar's Heel at Stonehenge. The Devil, wishing to stop the building of Staple Fitzpaine church, gathered a few sarsens to be used as missiles. Unfortunately for his purpose, he fell asleep, and awoke to find the tower already finished. In his hurry to get up the stone fell out of his satchel and remains there to this day.

To these Somerset examples should perhaps be added the stone called Hautville's Quoit at Stanton Drew. Prof. Lloyd Morgan describes it as a fine-grained cherty sandstone, possibly sarsen, but as to its source,

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one "literary" example deserves mention. Caleb Bawcombe in Hudson's *A Shepherd's Life* knew of a sarsen by a mist-pond in his native parish of "Winterbourne Bishop." This is now identified with Martin (Hants. *ex* Wilts). But the Hampshire border of S. Wilts is scarcely to be included in Salisbury Plain: it belongs to Cranborne Chase, a region with which sarsens are not usually associated, though Prof. Stuart Piggott, who knows the region well, tells me of two in a garden at Whitsbury. Caleb's story, he thinks, wont fit Martin,

geological or local, he hesitates to pronounce. Analysis of a loose fragment shows it to consist of almost pure silica with traces of iron reacting just like specimens of our local sarsen. <sup>1</sup>

Iron is commonly present in the less compact sarsens, and the appearance of the fallen Quoit is not incompatible with such a character. Was it indigenous or imported? The local tradition explains that it was hurled by Hautville from the top of Maes Knoll, a mile or more to the north; to which we may reply, with due gravity, that similar stones are not to be found there. The relation of the Quoit to the Stanton Drew Circles has not yet been proved, and they may well belong to different periods, though the reign of Henry III, in which the doughty Sir John Hautville flourished, need not be one. The fact that he is called a giant, however, seems to show that he has been endued with the attributes of some earlier and more mythical hero.

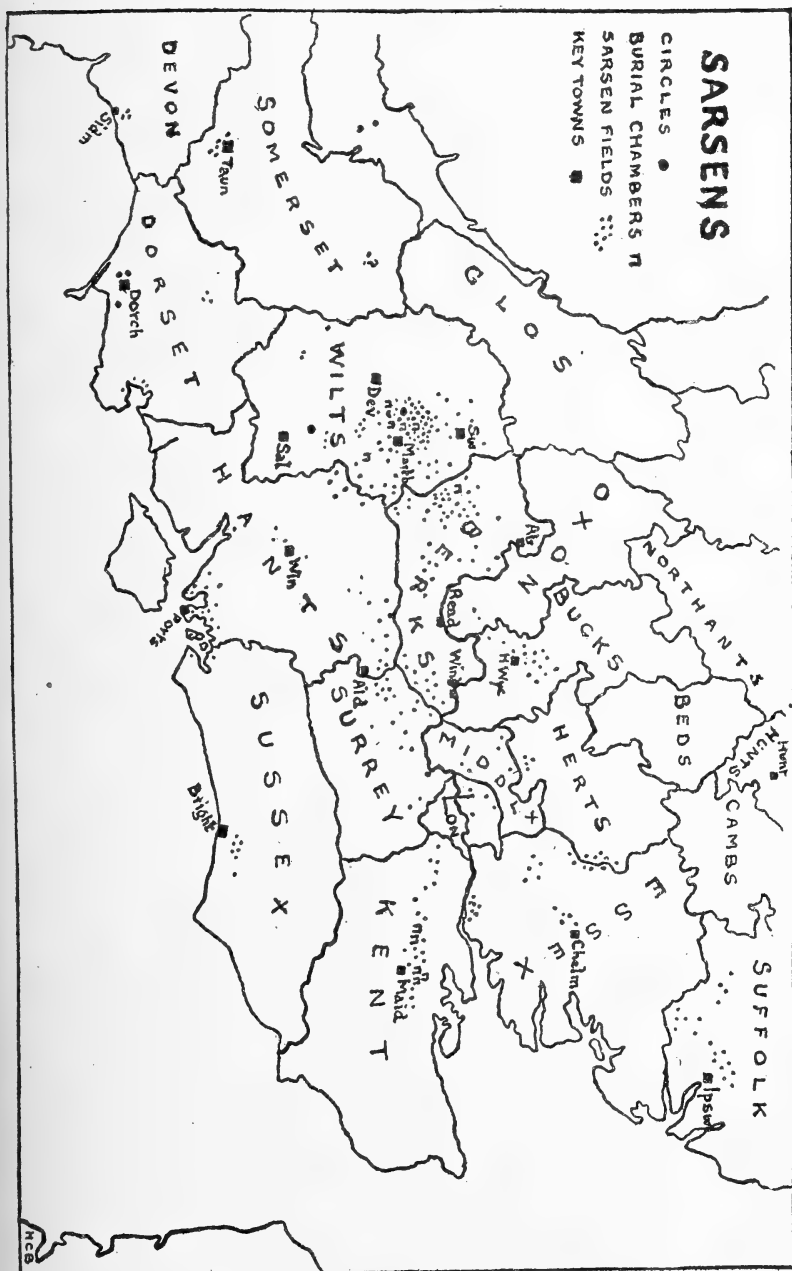
It is impossible to give the details of all the sarsen areas, and the map opposite compiled from a large number of separate geological memoirs and other sources, particularly the papers of Prof. Rupert Jones, must serve as a general guide. The one chalk district of southern England in which they do not occur naturally (and into which they were, as we should expect, never imported) is the Isle of Wight. Outside Wiltshire they are nowhere really plentiful except in a few areas north-west of Lambourne on our borders, and of these the most important lies between Ashdown House and Weathercock Hill, both inside and outside the Park. It was at one time suggested that these sarsens showed evidence of artificial arrangement, and the belief has given rise to repeated references in popular archæological literature to "the Berkshire alignments", a mysterious series of stone rows which for 50 years has eluded inquirers who sought acquaintance with them. Such sarsen alignments as actually exist are mainly believed to be the result of field clearances in Celtic times, but it must be remarked that, if the Totterdown examples are typical, the clearance was often half-hearted.

For the rest, it may be of interest to indicate the more remarkable uses to which these blocks have been put. The legends in connection with them are often interesting and sometimes, as in the case of Wayland's Smithy, significant, but they cannot be extensively quoted here.

Mr. Crawford has traced the Hangman's Stone legend through a dozen counties, including the two English-speaking districts of South Wales. In outline it is the story of a sheep-stealer (though in a forest area the sheep may be replaced by a deer) who rests his booty on a stone against which he leans, and is strangled by the animal's struggling off backwards and tightening the rope round his neck by which he is carrying it. Such stones, Mr. Crawford found, are usually situated at the point where a number of old tracks and parish boundaries meet. He holds that they were originally boundary stones, which, from their situation, became associated with open-air courts held in such places, or with the

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. L. G. Peirson for this test.



The Distribution of Sarsens in 16 Counties. French examples lie too far south for inclusion.

gallows that served for the summary execution of their sentences. Retribution must therefore be supposed to have overtaken the thief in a less romantic manner than that which folklore has preferred.

Three sarsen Hangman Stones are to be found in Berkshire: one on Lambourne Downs, one in Hangmanstone Lane, Leckhamstead; and one between East and West Ilsley. In this neighbourhood we have the same story told of the Hanging Stone, one mile south-west of Alton Barnes Church in a field called Hanging Stone Hurst. It is a large stone, 5 feet high, and is marked on the six-inch Ordnance map.

In a small enclosure of thorns and sarsens below Temple Farm there is a large recumbent block in which a basin has at some time been hollowed, with a perforation for draining purposes through the side of the stone. It is locally known as the "Templars' Bath", though sometimes ascribed to the Romans.<sup>1</sup> There was a preceptory of the Templars there in the Middle ages, and it is possible that they used it as their laundry or lavatory. If they are responsible for the chiselling still visible in the basin, they must have possessed tools of a good temper, but probably an existing cavity was merely enlarged.

Another stone, beside Chute Causeway, called the Kinward Stone or "the Devil's Waistcoat", which has been referred to on page 431, is chiefly noteworthy for the misapprehensions to which it has given rise. It has been supposed to mark the meeting place of the hundred of Kinwardstone, and its remarkable ridges apparently enclosed in a raised border have suggested resemblances to the carved stones of some of the Breton dolmens. But it is now established that the supposed carving is merely the effect of weathering, and that the stone never stood upright in its present position but was dragged there from one of the neighbouring farms, where it was formerly one of a group of large sarsens. Whether that group ever represented a dolmen cannot now be known, nor whether it was ever chosen for a meeting-place of the hundred. There is another Kinwardstone (but lacking the stone) south of Burbage with some claim to that honour, but a change of venue is not impossible, and the name of the stone we are considering, if not a mere antiquarian invention, requires explanation.

A sarsen of unusual interest is one which lies on the border of Alton Prior's parish east of Adam's Grave. Its position and the hole in it identify it as a boundary mark mentioned in the year 825. The Saxon charter reads: "Then to a stone in Winding Combe... there is a hole on the upper side". This was supposed to refer to a hollow in the ground above it till Mr G. M. Young's walking stick sank into the stone and revealed the true interpretation.

The famous Blowing Stone of Kingston Lisle is a block of brown sarsen perforated by many of those cavities which are left by vanished roots, and by one in particular from which expert lips may extract a gloomy booming note. Doubtless the stone once stood on the down

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<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Passmore's note and illustration at p. 116 of this volume.

above, *ubi ad Album Equum scanditur*, as the Abingdon Cartulary has it. There is certainly a tradition to that effect, but, unless lungs are not what they were, its use as a summons to the countryside is not to be credited, and even Judge Hughes was sceptical about the story in the opening chapter of *Tom Brown's School Days*. We may be certain that it was not used

By King Alfred the Great, when he spwiled their consate

And caddled thay wosbirds, the Danes,

but it may conceivably have served the earlier dwellers in one of the local hill camps to call their cattle home.

Near Aldworth, farther east, where some of the sarsens still bear the impress of the giants' hands that threw them, two of these blocks were used by the Romans for milestones, though one has been removed "to a more convenient spot about a quarter of a mile away". A similar use has been ascribed to a small weathered sarsen on Silchester Common known as the "Imp" stone. It was conjectured that it bore in former days the traces of a Latin inscription, of which only the letters IMP remained to attest its erection in the reign of some Roman emperor. But the story is discredited, and another source must be found for the name, or its variant, "Nymph Stone". Even modern tools find it difficult to cut letters of the ordinary depth in sarsen, as the inscription on the Wedgewood Stone, a modern menhir in the playing-fields of Marlborough College, bears witness. This handsome stone, which weighs four tons,<sup>1</sup> was brought from the West Woods, where it was rescued from the devastators of Stony Copse.

Sarsens are to be found even in London, but their occurrence is, so far as we know, accidental. No significance appears to attach to the one reported from Moscow Road, Bayswater, nor even to the specimen in the precincts of the Law Courts. But at Kingston-on-Thames is preserved what many would regard, if tradition is to be relied upon, as the most interesting single sarsen in existence, the Saxon Coronation Stone. This is a light brown stone nearly 3 feet high and 2 feet square, considerably larger therefore than the Scottish Stone of Destiny under the chair in Westminster Abbey, where it has served our kings in a similar capacity for the last six hundred years. An inscription on the Kingston sarsen records the names of seven Saxon monarchs believed to have been crowned upon it between 901 and 978. Though it cannot claim to have travelled so far as its more honoured successor, the *Lia Fail* of Scone, it is distinctly the worse for wear and at some period has been cracked across.

If little has been said here of prehistoric standing stones, it is because the majority of them have long since resumed a recumbent attitude,

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<sup>1</sup> Of the sarsens set up in the Avebury Circles 4000 years ago, one still standing weighs by estimation 62 tons, and another of 90 tons was broken up some hundred years ago, *teste* W. Cunnington. These are the largest sarsens known.



in which they are difficult to recognise. The circles of Avebury and Stonehenge and their associated megaliths—the Longstone Cove and the West Kennett Avenue in the former case, the Friar's Heel and the fallen Slaughter Stone in the latter—are of course well known. There are a few small circles in Dorset beteen Weymouth and Dorchester, such as the Circles of Tennant Hill and Winterbourne Abbas, but their sarsens scarcely deserve to be called standing stones. Of the circle at Waylen's Penning, to the east of the best preserved section of the Kennett Avenue, only a single stone now remains, and the remnants of the Winterbourne Bassett circle are scarcely recognisable as such.

Remnants of others, too numerous and too fragmentary for mention, survive in the Marlborough district. The so-called circle south of the Swallowhead Springs has little right to the name. The greater part of it was removed in the early eighteenth century and what remains, an irregular and much broken circuit of quite small sarsens, would rather suggest the peristalith of a vanished long barrow disturbed in the removal of the mound which it enclosed.

A standing stone in the West Woods near Bayardo Farm, two south of Down Barn in Overton and another at Stanton Fitzwarren appear to be our only other menhirs, but whether they were always solitary or represent lost circles or burial chambers, can no longer be determined. Of indubitable burial chambers of sarsen we have more numerous examples. In Wiltshire they are almost confined, as we have seen reason to expect, to the Marlborough Downs, where eight are certainly known to have existed, though three of them are now destroyed. Most of the survivors are still engaged in long barrows, like Adam's Grave<sup>1</sup> or the famous West Kennet example. One, proved by excavation, is hidden in the oval barrow of Barrow Copse in the West Woods<sup>2</sup>; but others, like the Devil's Den and the Manton Down kistvaen, show only faint traces of their mounds. Another more degraded example is to be suspected in a group of sarsens just north of Wansdyke, half a mile east of Wernham Farm in Savernake Great Park. South of the Pewsey Vale the only unmistakable sarsen chamber is that of the ruined Tidcombe Great Barrow.

East of our borders the celebrated chambers of Wayland's Smithy, west of the Berkshire White Horse, have no parallel till the neighbourhood of the Medway is reached. The megaliths of that region are recorded in the Ordnance Survey *Professional Paper No. 8*, but without petrological description, and I have to thank the Curator of the Maidstone Museum for the assurance that they consist of true sarsens. West of the river, Addington and Coldrum show in stone the outlines of their original long barrows with remnants of burial chambers: beyond the Medway lies the famous chamber of Kit's Coty, a more regular and perfect Devil's Den. Within a mile of Kit's Coty lie the Coffin Stone, the Countless Stones (or Lower Kit's Coty), the Warren Farm Chamber,

<sup>1</sup> But here blocks of oolite were also used.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xlii, 366.

the Kentish Standard Stone and the Upper White Horse Stone, which together form the most easterly group of megaliths in the British Isles.

With them our catalogue must end. It is hoped that it is tolerably complete. Some stones enjoying at least a local celebrity, like the Wishing Stone at Selborne, are omitted because they do not come within our definition, which excluded the conglomerates; others, doubtless, have eluded a somewhat extensive search in the library and in the field; and others still, by far the largest class, have ceased at various dates to cumber the soil of our unimaginative agriculturists. Among these latter stones we must include the vanished burial chamber in Temple Bottom, known to A. C. Smith and excavated by him in 1861. The field in which it stood still bears the significant name of "Harestone" and Mr. Passmore has heard from local labourers that one large stone still remains below plough level. There was also the stone which in Stukeley's day stood "leaning at Preshute Farm near the church, as big as those at Stonehenge", and those "Druidical Stones in the Marlborough Fields S. of the Western Road" of which S. H. Grimm made sepia drawings in 1788 (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15547). They probably caused horses to shy and thus ensured their own destruction.

It remains only to add there is little evidence that our forerunners on these southern uplands attached any particular mystery or merit to the grey wethers, except, probably, the comparatively late builders or rebuilders of Stonehenge. That the stones acquired a special sanctity from their use at Avebury and elsewhere is not improbable, but their employment in the first instance must be ascribed to the single and obvious fact that, in the districts where they were used, they were the only large stones available. That they were stone, the one durable, massive material known to a world otherwise dependent on flint flakes and wood and clay and bone, was all the men who toiled to raise them knew or cared to know.

## EARLY BRITISH SETTLEMENT AT FARLEIGH WICK AND CONKWELL, WILTS.

By GUY UNDERWOOD.

This site lies between the villages of Conkwell and Farleigh Wick. It is about three miles by road from Bradford-on-Avon, and six from Bath. The well known sites of Bathampton and Claverton Down are on the hills on the opposite side of the River Avon, about a mile away.

The site covers over 200 acres, and comprises about 12 miles of linear earthworks, and a number of mounds, pits and hut sites. It is strange that it should have, almost entirely, escaped the attention of archæologists, but the situation is remote and in thick and enclosed woodlands. The undergrowth is remarkably dense and makes much of the remains invisible and sometimes impenetrable. For this reason it took nearly three months early this year to make the survey reproduced in the plan. Fig. 1.

The only published reference to the existence of the site, known to me, is in a paper by Sir Charles Hobhouse, written about 1881, on *The Parish of Monkton Farleigh*. (*W.A.M.*, xx.). He wrote "Here, in the hamlet of Farley Wick, is a plantation called Inwoods. It is situated on a high cliff, on the road to the hamlet of Conkwell, overhanging the valley of the Avon and commanding a view of Bath. Here are still to be seen large blocks of hewn-stone, the remains evidently of buildings, and here were dug up some Roman coins of the time of Antoninus A.D. 142-52. I may, perhaps, mention that it was *circa* 1826 that the coins were discovered, and that my informant's father, who found them, described them as brass, in an earthen jar, which was broken in the finding, and about a 'peck's weight'. There is a tradition, also, supported by a certain non-natural formation of the ground, which would indicate the site of a British settlement".

If by "hewn-stone" Sir Charles meant shaped for building purposes, none is now visible, and only rubble remains. The site is known to have been much robbed for local building, but notwithstanding this the field walls remain distinct and easily traceable generally.

The main part of the site is in a wood now called "Inwood", a name which does not suggest high antiquity. In the Tithe Map of 1846 it is called "The Great Wood". In a map dated 1742 by Thomas Thorpe, "*Five Miles round Bath*" (Bath Reference Library) it is called "Farly in Wood". In a survey of the Manor of Forde (now Bathford) taken in 1605 (*Bathford and its neighbourhood*, H. D. Skrine 1871) the ravine at the north corner of the site, now crossed by the "Dry Arch", is referred to as "Inwards Gate". The name therefore appears to be of some age. The village of Farleigh Wick is not old and lies on the boundary of the settlement.





*Dating Material.*

Mr. Harcourt Skrine owned the property from about 1900 to 1922. He did considerable digging for various (non-archæological) purposes. The semi-circular double lynchetts shown in field F. 5, are turns in training gallops made by him. He did some digging in F. 1. and also in Witsalls Field, which he tried to bring into cultivation by adding soil to it. I am informed by his daughter, Mrs. Fleming-Hamilton, and by a man who worked on the estate for many years, that, in the course of these works, Mr. Skrine found so many arrowheads, stone axes, scrapers and flakes that he thought there must have been a factory there. Professor Boyd-Dawkins pronounced them to be Neolithic.

About 1922 the best of the arrowheads and axes were taken to Bath and the remainder thrown away. Those in Bath disappeared in the Blitz, and only two arrowheads, I understand, survive. One, "a good Neolithic arrowhead", was presented by Mr. Vivian-Neal (the next owner of the property), to the Museum of the Somerset Archæological Society; the other is in the possession of Capt. Whitehead, the present owner. This I have seen. It is of the Middle Bronze Age type, barbed, tanged, narrow and finely worked.

In *The Antiquary*, N.S. viii, Oct. 1912, pp. 380-389, Mr. W. G. Collins of Bradford-on-Avon reports the following finds in field F. 11:— 9 arrowheads (3 leafshaped), two knives, six borers, 120 scrapers, part of a polished celt and many flakes. He dates the finds as late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age.

My finds are a number of scrapers and flakes, a broken stone mace, a maul or rubber, several fragments of whetstone, some large pebbles, probably slingstones, and a quantity of Roman and earlier pottery. Flints can be found all over the site. The finds give no precise guide as to date, but suggest occupation over a long period. This is somewhat confirmed by the topographical features.

*The Walls.*

The "walls", or linear mounds, have a total length of about eight miles and are arranged in a more orderly and methodical manner than is usual in Celtic Fields. Some in the northern half are approximately parallel or in alignment with others at a distance of half a mile. This part of the site could hardly have been constructed by the unaided efforts of those responsible for the many other known, prehistoric field systems, which are sprawling and haphazard in layout, and the regularity suggests the guidance of some higher culture.

I have found no record of any similar site, and the only one remotely similar is the Romano-British village of Colne in Huntingdonshire. Part of that site is somewhat similar in design to the arrangement of walls 6, 7 and 8 and the adjoining diagonal and smaller walls. The partitions at Colne however, are ditches and not walls. See *Antiquity*, I, 236; and *Victoria History of Huntingdonshire*.

Most of the walls are distinct and continuous. Their width ranges from about 6 ft. to 35 ft., and up to about 4 ft in height. The smaller

walls appear to be fallen "dry" walls. In some cases, where these have been almost entirely removed, vertical ground-stones, or "grounders", remain protruding usually to a height of 1 to 2 feet.

Mr. A. T. Wicks of Wells has kindly informed me that the Rev. John Skinner of Camerton says in his diary (B.M. Add. MSS. 33697, ff. 229—36): "After ascending the steep to Knoll Hill, (half a mile S. of Conkwell village), I traversed a succession of Belgic British Enclosures, extending almost the whole way to Hays (Haugh) Farm". This is half a mile S. of the main site. He speaks of "walls with upright stones spaced out, the intervals filled in with smaller stones". Evidently these are similar to those already described, but they have disappeared.

An existing boundary wall on this site, east of Ditch 1, appears to be built in this manner; similar stones can be seen also on Bannerdown, near Bath, where such walls have been destroyed; the modern east wall of the Bath Isolation Hospital at Claverton appears to be built upon the foundations of a similar wall. Others exist at Zennor in Cornwall, and Mr. A. H. Curle describes such walls at a Bronze Age site at Sumburgh, Shetland. (See P.S.A.S., 67, 100). I have never noticed this kind of wall except in neighbourhoods where other indications of prehistoric occupation exist, and possibly such walls may themselves be "dating material". The late Lt.-Col. F. C. Hirst made a study of prehistoric masonry in Cornwall but never apparently published his observations, and all his papers were accidentally destroyed. A book on prehistoric masonry is long overdue.

Some walls are double, and possibly minor trackways. Wall W. 10 is on a slope and is very like the double lynchett ways described by Dr. Clay (*Antiquity*, i, 54). It has, however, vestiges of walls on each side.

Most of the large embankments are low and suggest that they have been deliberately dug away, almost to ground level, and the materials removed. The present Bath—Bradford road was made early in the 19th century. The mounds would have been a convenient source for hardcore for the road, and to fill the North-East Ditch. But this may merely indicate an earlier destruction of the defences.

The small "V" and "D"-shaped enclosures are interesting. Similar enclosures can be seen in air photographs of the Celtic fields at Grassington, Yorks. Dr. E. Curwen records pottery from Grassington dating from the late La Tène to the Roman period (*Antiquity* ii, 172).

#### *Trackways.*

There are about two miles of trackways. These are sunken ways and generally stone-paved and with low walls. Track 2 is about 6 ft. wide and a part has been excavated. See later and Fig. 3. Tracks 1, 3 and 4 are 12—15 ft. wide. Track 3 extends right through the site from the great N.E. Ditch to Haugh Farm, is over a mile in length and almost intact; tracks 1, 2 and 4 branch from it.

The large ditch D. 5—D. 10 forms the N.E. boundary of the site. It is 25—60 ft. in width and 6—12 ft. in depth. It appears to have com-

bined the functions of defensive ditch and road. This ditch was the main road from Bradford to Bath until the new road made about 1820 by-passed part of it. There are indications that at one time it extended for a considerable distance towards Bradford-on-Avon. It has largely been filled in, and in two places built over. Parts of it are still in use as sunk roadways.

#### *Defences.*

The defences on the west are provided by the steep escarpment of the Avon Valley, supplemented at the top by parapets and walls. Farther to the north there are ramparts and ditches, overlapping by the N.W. entrance. On the N.E. are the ditch and sunken roadway previously described. The defences to the east and south are not obvious, and the main defences appear to have been against attack from the north and west. It should be noted that the important ford of Bathford, where the Fosseyway and the Wansdyke meet, lies two miles to the north.

There are heavy embankments round Sheephouse Farm, and the orchard of the farm is in a circular depression about 100 yards wide with steep sides, possibly natural. It has some large stones in it, including one originally about 17 ft. square and about 2 ft. thick, now broken.

In field F. 1. there are earthworks apparently of an entrance and the remains of a wide track. The tongue on the S.W. corner of the earthworks, and the cutting through the earthwork to the east of that, were made, I understand, by Mr. Harcourt Skrine as a turn for training horses.

Some preliminary investigations have been made as follows:—

#### *No Man's Land.*

This site was illustrated in *W.A.M.*, December, 1945, p. 231, when attention was called to the possibility that certain stones might be the remains of a Stone Circle. It is at the S.W. corner of the main site, and it was this site that called my attention to the main site, and may be associated with it.

Surface quarrying has disturbed the site. Most of the stones north of the road, are of local surface ragstone. Most of those on the south, and Nos. 1 and 10 to the north, are of finer material and come from lower levels. Some bear stalagmitic deposits indicating the action of water for long periods. These stones, several of which weigh over a ton, must therefore have been brought to the site, which occupies the highest point for some distance round. They are printed black on the plan (Fig. 2).

*Field F. 1.* Under the trees where the surface was disturbed by cattle a number of flint flakes, deeply patinated, were found and one piece of pinky brown pottery of unknown date, containing mica or some similar substance.

*H. 2. Supposed Hut Foundations and Trackway*, in Folletts Wood. The wood has been much robbed of stone, and the remains are hard to follow. A trench cut from the inside of the supposed hut-circle in a



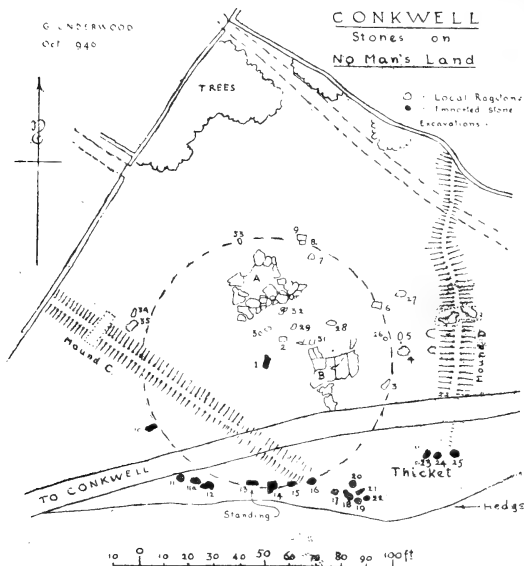


Fig. 2. No Man's Land.

southerly direction across the supposed track showed the apparent foundations of a wall 10 ft. wide, then about 8 ft. of rough paving without ruts. Beyond that was a structure of stones having some resemblance to a dry wall. No finds. Results indeterminate.

M. 6. *Circular Mound.* 26 ft.  $\times$  1 ft. 6 ins.

A trench from outside the mound to the centre, reaching a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. below undisturbed soil level, disclosed a thin horizontal discoloured line in the centre section at a little below ground level, indicating that the soil had been dug away, the surface discoloured, possibly by fire, and clean soil replaced above it. The mound was constructed in the normal way of flat overlapping stones.

The edge of a large flat stone protruded slightly at about the centre. It was almost vertical, sloping upwards to the S.W. and was packed under the surface on both sides with heavy stones, and appeared to have some significance. A similar mound, with a similar stone is at M. 7.

Finds. A few flint flakes and borers, one piece of limonite (bog iron-ore) and a little burned limestone. No bones or pottery.

*Track 2.* Fig. 1. A section of this trackway was excavated to a length of 15 ft., close to M. 6. It was about 6 ft. wide and paved with large flat stone slabs, 8 to 10 ins. thick, patched in the centre and deeply rutted to a gauge of about 4 ft. 8 ins. It had dry stone walls, about

2 ft. high, in remarkably good condition. In some places the ruts had pierced through the stone slabs. A section is shown in Fig. 3 and illustrations in Fig. 6. No finds.

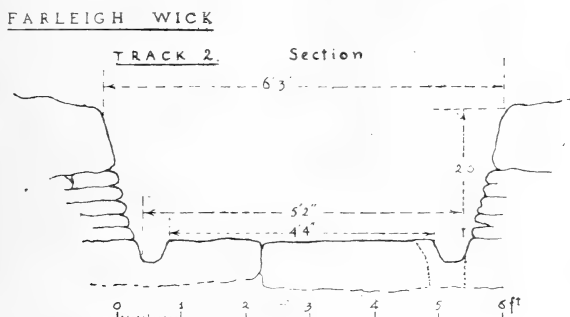


Fig. 3. Section of paved trackway No. 2.

#### H.I. Hut Site: Fig. 4.

This structure appears to be a Courtyard House somewhat similar to those at Chysauster and Porthmeor, near St. Ives, Cornwall. It measures approximately 75 × 70 ft., and the highest part of its existing walls is 3 ft. 6 ins. above the present level of the centre of the courtyard. It is joined by two linear mounds at its N.W. side.

It has two partition walls separating two, and possibly three, rooms from the courtyard. On the right hand side of the courtyard there is a round room. On the left there is a long oval room with indications of a partition dividing it into two smaller rooms. The house has two entrances, one at the west corner and one in the north-west wall. In the west entrance passage, which is about 25 ft. long, there are recesses in the walls on each side, possibly cattle stalls. The courtyard floor is raised about 9 ins. above that of this entrance.

On the S.W. side outside the house there is a mound of rubble about 25 ft. wide, projecting about 8 ft. and now about 18 ins. high.

The plan of this house differs from the West Cornwall type. The basic plans of the latter were invariable. The round room was always opposite to the main entrance, and the long room always on the right hand side of the main entrance, and any differences were in minor details. (F. C. Hirst, *B.A.A. Journal* II, 71.). In this house the round room is on the right and the long room on the left. Otherwise it is similar, but the house does not form part of a village like those at Chysauster and some other Cornish sites.

The Chysauster houses are usually dated as from 1st century B.C. to 200 A.D., and those at Porthmeor to about 400 A.D. The prehistoric origin of this type of house can hardly be doubted, and at Jarlshof in the Shetlands a similar type is found belonging to the late Bronze age (Grahame Clarke, *Prehistoric England*, p. 33).

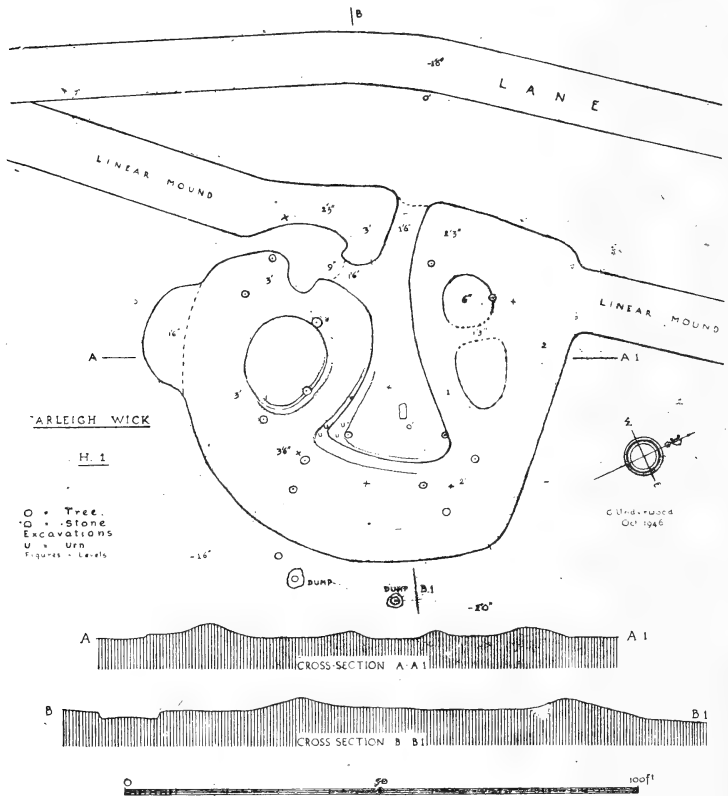


Fig. 4. Site of Courtyard House.

A trench was dug from the N.E. corner of the courtyard towards the S.W. corner. This disclosed the face of a dry wall, part of which was lined with vertical flat stones from the foundation upwards to a height of 4 ft. Here the partition wall was encountered, and the excavation was continued northward along this.

In the corner formed by the two walls, fragments of four urns were discovered and many animal and other bones, some charred, a flint flake of knife shape, and a quantity of burned limestone.

*Urn No. 1.* was of black composition, reddish outside, medium thickness, contained much shell, rim rolled, base square, no decoration, not wheel-made. The presence of shell could be accounted for if the pottery was made from the fuller's earth clay, which is plentiful in this district.

*Urn No. 2.* was of medium thickness, contained coarse grains of whitish material, reddish both sides, plain straight rim, no decoration, not wheel-made.

*Urn No. 3.* Among the roots of the tree in this corner another was found. This was very thick and of coarse black material, containing much shell, rim rolled, base square, no decoration, reddish outside and not wheel-made. This urn was enclosed by low partitions of vertical stones. Bone splinters and a number of pieces of red ochre about the size of small beans were found with it.

*Urn No. 4.* Found N.W. of No. 3 and similar in type.

All these urns appeared to have been disturbed. No fragment was over 6 ins. in length. Some have been sent for identification. There were flat stones under some of the urn sites. At about 10 ft. from the corner, and at right angles to the partition wall, what appeared to have been a low wall was encountered. Beyond this was a paved path along the side of the partition wall, with a step at the top, by the supposed entrance to the round room.

In the round room by the partition wall, a considerable amount of pottery, bones, etc., were found, but no implements. A flat stone about 2ft. by 2ft. 3ins. was found in the centre, but there was no socket in it.

M.I. Mound "*JUG'S GRAVE*". Fig. 5.

This mound has been known as Jug's Grave to the three previous owners of the property, all of whom have been interested in, but have not investigated, it.

It measures approximately 83 × 63 ft. and stands 4 ft. above ground level. It is higher and wider at its western end, and the highest part is at the point A. or a little to the east of that.

On the south and west there are some slight indications that a ditch may have existed, and there are also a number of nearly buried stones round the mound, but not so regular as to suggest a peristalith. Some are in groups, and some may have rolled off the mound.

Three of the linear mounds connect with Mound M. I. One of these, Mound II, appears to continue almost to the top, after taking a semi-circular course for no obvious reason.

At some unknown date the mound has been quarried, leaving a circular excavation on its north side, 20 ft. in diameter, with vertical sides, reaching to the point A. No signs of nearby dumps suggest the archaeologist or treasure-seeker. The floor of this excavation was about 1 ft. above the level of the surrounding ground.

M.I. *Burial No. 1.*

As a trench from F. to A. was being commenced to ascertain what, if anything, had been left by the quarrymen, a human parietal bone was noticed protruding from the vertical face at B. at ground level, and 12 ft. from A. A jawbone and a number of other fragments of skull were also found there, and on excavating the stone face, other parts of a skeleton

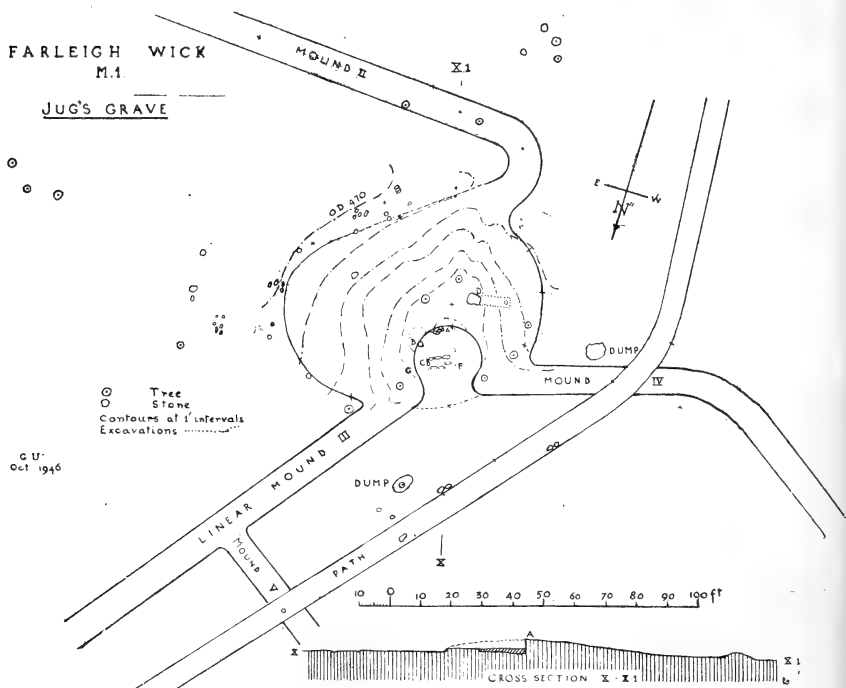


Fig. 5. Jug's Grave, with associated linear mounds. The primary cist is not shown but is S. E. of 'A.'

were found, all between B. and A. and within 37 ins. of the top of the parietal bone. All the larger bones were in fragments and many were missing. Those found were sent to Dr. Baxter of Bristol University Anatomical Dept. who reported that they were of a young person aged 16 to 20, probably male and of considerable antiquity.

Insufficient parts of the skull were found to establish the type. Later, further fragments were found in the grass roots on the surface above the burial, presumably thrown there when disturbed by the quarrymen. It is hoped that these may fit with the others sufficiently for measurement. This burial had been disturbed and consequently afforded little useful evidence.

#### M.I. *Burial No. 2.*

Under a flat stone of peculiar shape, with a pointed projection on one side directed to the west at about 12 ins. lower level than that of Burial No. 1, some teeth and bones of a child were found, also in fragments.

M.I. *Burial No. 3.*

On excavating 5 ft. further into the mound in a N.E. direction another human mandible and many scattered bones and fragments were found at slightly above the level of Burial No. 1. The only unbroken large bones were a humerus and an ulna.

Many stones containing galls of yellow ochre were found with these burials and some burned limestone and red ochre. No implements, pottery or ornaments were found here. These burials were covered by several layers of flat stones sloping upwards towards the centre of the mound, as in undisturbed barrows. If, therefore, these are secondary burials, the stones must have been replaced with considerable care. It is, of course, possible that the burials were made when the barrow was constructed. They were on the northern side of the mound, which is unusual with secondary burials.

The trench 1 ft. deep from F. to A. produced a few flint flakes and scrapers only, all close to A. It was extended over the area F. A. G. disclosing a construction of stones at C. having some appearance of a cist, as shown in Fig. 5. Part of a stone mace was found 3 ft. north of A. The hole for the haft was cup-shaped on each side.

Large flat stones were found at ground level between A. and B., sloping upwards towards the centre of the mound. Above these was rubble, suggesting that the mound has been dug into from the top and the hole refilled.

M.I. *Burial No. 4.*

At point D., near the top of the mound there was a large stone. Under this was a rectangular opening about 32 × 18 ins. with dry walls and filled with small rubble and soil. These were removed and at a depth of about 18 ins. large stones were encountered, making investigation from the top impossible. A trench was made from 12 ft. to the west so as to open the supposed cist from one end and below the obstructions. A number of human bones, teeth and bone fragments were found including, again, two arm-bones in an articulated position. No flints, implements or pottery were found.

This trench showed stones sloping towards the centre as at B. The stones at the west end of the trench were more vertical, and included a pointed stone standing above the others. They appeared to form a retaining wall.

*Burial No. 5. Primary.*

Loose rubble was removed at the supposed centre of the mound, and a cavity was disclosed. This led to the south-east corner of a megalithic rectangular cist, measuring 4 ft. 3 ins. × 2 ft. 10 ins., with its long axis 20° west of north. A pile of human bones, including part of a skull, was at the north end.

The walls were vertical stone slabs, their top edges being 2 ft. 6 ins. below the highest part of the mound. The inside faces and top edges appear to have been dressed.

The east stone was about 5 ft. long, 11 ins. thick and broken in the

middle. On the upper part of its inner face there was a series of 5 circular holes about 3 ins. to 5 ins. wide and 3 ins. to 6 ins. deep, irregularly placed but all within 11 ins. of the top. There was also a cup-shaped hole near the south end  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins.  $\times$   $\frac{3}{4}$  in. deep. These were apparently natural potholes. At about 12 ins. from its south end the top edge of this stone sloped downwards sharply, as though mitred.

The west stone appears to be the same size as the east stone but leans inward. It has two horizontal grooves about 10 ins. long  $\times$  2 ins., apparently water worn, and, at the south end there are three holes  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in diameter, 5 ins. apart, arranged in pyramid form. The south corner is mitred in a similar manner to the east stone. The south stone is 6 ins. thick and there is a space of about 7 ins. between it and the east stone, the gap being filled by a smaller stone. The north stone has sunk 6 ins. at its east end, and is split lengthways. Stones have been inserted in the crack to raise the top part to meet the capstone.

The capstone has a tree growing above it but appears to have been about 6 ft.  $\times$  4 ft. and is about 12 ins. thick. It has two circular holes  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins. diameter in its under surface and is cracked across in two directions dividing it into 4 pieces, of which that at the S.E. corner is missing. This has left a triangular opening 18 ins.  $\times$  2 ft.  $\times$  3 ft. The remaining parts of the capstone are held in place largely by the weight of stones above them, and any interference might bring them down. As it was important to preserve the cist, the remainder of the capstone was not disturbed, and the only access therefore was through the triangular opening, which made excavation difficult.

The floor was within 12 ins. of the roof, remarkably flat, and it appeared to have been flooded. Water was dripping from the fibrous roots of the tree above when the cist was first opened, in rainy weather. The main roots did not penetrate the chamber.

The material of the floor was about a foot thick, in two fairly well defined equal layers resting on a rough paving of small stones. The top layer was fine gravel with a little clay, and the lower stratum was of sandy loam containing stones and appeared to be natural top soil.

All visible bones being at the N. end of the chamber, it was decided to excavate the south half first. This was done to a depth of about 3 ins. and disclosed three legbones parallel with and close to the west stone; a pile of ribs, two broken ulnas, a hip bone and some small bones in the middle; a humerus parallel with the east stone and another by the south stone, and a skull and jawbone in fragments in the S.E. corner.

It was clear that either the burials had been disturbed or no articulated interment had taken place. It was decided therefore to continue to excavate the south half of the cist before dealing with the top surface of the north part. Various other bones were found, almost all of which were in the gravelly layer, although a few fragments were found in the lower stratum.

The north half was then excavated in the same way. In the N.W. corner was an unbroken skull. In the middle and about 2 ft. from the

south end, and in the lower part of the gravel layer, a coccyx lying N.—S., and facing east, with a left hip-bone in close proximity, was found. Three sacral vertebrae were north of, and in line with, the coccyx. This was the only evidence found of any articulated inhumation having taken place.

The remains showed that there had been at least two burials in the cist, but a number of bones are missing, including about 30 vertebrae. The skull from the S.E. corner has a cephalic index 76.8, showing that it is nearer to the long-heads than to the round-heads. The N. W. skull was brachycephalic with index of 82. Outside the cist, and about 18 ins. south of it, a thigh and hip-bone of a man were found, with a few other bones, level with the top of the cist. All bones have been sent to Dr. Baxter, of Bristol University, who has kindly offered to report on them.

*Finds.* No implements were found in the cist other than a few small flint flakes, two of them knife shape, and flints apparently damaged by use. A fragment of black wheel-made pottery  $\frac{1}{4}$ th in. thick, was found in the top layer of the north end, and another fragment, slightly lower, black with red slip on the outside,  $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, not wheel-made and undecorated. It was of rough material, and the inner face was missing.

*M.I. Dating Material.*

The dating of this mound presents difficulties. Little pottery and no metalwork have been found in it, and no weapons or implements have been found in such a position as to give them dating value. The only sources of dating evidence are therefore in the construction, shape, size, etc. of the mound, and in the character of the burials.

*Construction.* The mound has a core of overlapping stone slabs, sloping upwards, all directed towards a common centre and covered by rubble. This is the normal construction of barrows in the Cotswolds.

*Shape.* The oval shape of the mound has led to the suggestion that it may be a long barrow. But the shape may be partly due to its being on a slope of 1 in 40 ft. Round barrows, when erected on slopes, must necessarily occupy oval sites, it being impossible to build a symmetrical circular mound (that is to say, one in which the angles to the horizontal are equal) without making one side longer than the other. Mr. L. V. Grinsell, however (*Ancient Burial Mounds of England*, p. 84), holds that this may be due to weathering. The oval shape does not therefore provide reliable evidence that this is a long barrow as has been suggested. The slope of the ground is, however, from N.W. to S.E., and the major axis of the barrow is from S.W. to N.E., suggesting that the oval form is not entirely due to the slope or to weathering. The fact that the long axis of the cist is approximately at right angles to the major axis of the barrow should also be observed.

Long barrows are usually two or three times as long as they are broad, while this barrow is only 25 per cent longer than its width. Several early excavators have however referred to "short long barrows", one example, at Thickthorn Down, Cranborne Chase, measuring about



93 ft. × 65 ft., is illustrated by Kendrick and Hawkes in *Archæology in England and Wales 1914—1931*, p. 66.

*Size.* If this is a long barrow, it is remarkably small. Instances of miniature long barrows do, however, exist: the one last mentioned, two at Woodyates near Salisbury, one in the Normanton Group, one at Surrendal Farm, Hullavington, Wilts, and others in Yorkshire. Mr. Grinsell suggests that these are a late type.

*Orientation.* With the exception of Belas Knapp, the larger ends of all long barrows in the Cotswolds are oriented in some degree (O. G. S. Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*, p. 22) and this applies to the great majority in Wiltshire (M. E. Cunnington, *Archæology of Wiltshire*, p. 73). The larger end of this barrow is towards the west, and a line along its major axis is at an angle of 20 degrees S. of W. The location of the holes in the east stone facing inwards may possibly have some significance.

*Character of the Burials.* The disordered, broken and deficient state of the bones in burials Nos. 1—4 is similar to the condition frequently found in long barrows, and suggests previous interment in an ossuary, a characteristic of Neolithic burials. The ossuary theory is that the body was deposited in some place until the flesh had disappeared. Certain of the bones were then selected, broken into small pieces in compliance with some ritual, and then interred in a barrow prepared for them.

The somewhat dolichocephalic type of the skull from the S. E. of the primary cist suggests the possibility of a Neolithic date of that burial. The fact that the N. W. skull is brachycephalic indicates that that interment is unlikely to be earlier than the Bronze age. The position of the coccyx and associated bones to a limited extent indicates the possibility of a contracted inhumation.

#### *M.I. Generally.*

From the evidence so far available it would be rash to place any definite date upon this mound, but such as exists, and the lack of evidence to the contrary, seems to suggest an early date.

#### *The Site Generally.*

The preliminary investigations are proceeding and, so far, no examination has been made of the wider trackways, or of the pits. It is hoped to publish further details and reports on finds later. I should like to record my appreciation of the careful work of those who have carried out the excavations, and the thanks of all of us to Captain Whitehead for allowing them to be made. We should also like to express our gratitude to Dr. A. E. Peake of Bath, Dr. F. S. Wallis of Bristol, and Mr. A. T. Wicks of Wells, whose advice and assistance have been invaluable.

West  
side



East  
side



Looking  
north



Fig. 6. Trackway No. 2 (compare Fig. 3).



## ALDBOURNE VILLAGE CROSS

By MAJOR A. L. INGPEN, M.V.O., O.B.E.

There can be little doubt that this is one of the many standing crosses erected during the middle ages in the market places and on the village greens by the religious Orders as stands for preaching, making public proclamations and collecting tolls paid for produce sold in the Market. But the difficulty of finding any historical record of so many of these crosses arises from the fact that they were built out of the rapidly growing wealth of the Orders and were barely recorded at the time of erection.<sup>1</sup>

Aldbourne Village Cross is unusual in that the Cross itself at the top of the column is sloped at an angle of about 45 degrees, rising from north to south. Research and inquiries have so far failed to find a similar instance, and the writer has neither the knowledge nor the opportunity to say from examination whether the design is original or the result of some restoration. No mention of the Cross is to be found in the report of the extensive restoration of the Church in 1867. The last reported restoration of the Cross is in the Court Rolls, 1764, kindly lent by Captain W. Brown, Lord of the Manor. The orientation of the Cross, as well as its height from the ground, appears to make nonsense of Mr. Dorian Webb's suggestion<sup>2</sup> that the head was placed as it is to serve as a sundial, a purpose for which it would in any case be most unsuitable.

The Cross, which is 15 feet high, stands centrally towards the upper end of the oblong open space known as "The Green" and almost certainly to be identified with the "Market Place" referred to in the Court Rolls. This space is bounded on the north by the Church, which stands on higher ground, on the south by two houses which together were once "The George Inn", where at one time the Manor Court used to meet, on the east by, *inter alia*, the Blue Boar and Wall Cottage and garden ground identified as "at a place in The Green" and as the property presented at the Court Leet in 1762 as follows:— "We likewise present a Dung Heap of Stephen Newth and a Dung Heap of John Sly's lying in the Market Place together with a parcele of Timber and a saw-pit dug by Cabel Pizzie: order all to be removed within one month". On the west lie the so-called Chantry House and a house almost opposite the Cross now called No. 13, The Green, which deserves further research if only because of its extraordinary heavy oak ceiling to the ground floor, which may indicate that it was used as a Market House.

The earliest mention of this Market we have been able to find is in 1311 as follows:— "there is a certain Market on Thursday (? Tuesday) which is worth p.a. 26/8".<sup>3</sup> We also know from the survey of Sir John Poyntz; 33 Elizabeth (1590—91) that a "a weekly Tuesday

<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Stone Crosses of England", Alfred Rimmer.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, xxviii 156, (1895).

<sup>3</sup> I.P.M. Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (1311), see Abstracts of Wilts I.P.M. (Index Lib.), p. 382.

Market" was held "in the Town of Alborn till within ten years last past and sithence the same is and hath been discontinued."<sup>1</sup>

During the 18th Century there are frequent references in the Court Rolls to the Cross as "The Market Cross".

One of Buckler's watercolours, now in the Society's Museum, dated 1806, shows the Cross in its present position, backed by the Church and with the Stocks, of which all knowledge has now disappeared, standing near the east side of the Cross.

That the house nearest to the Cross was formerly the Chantry House may be no more than a pleasant fancy. If it was, it was conveyed in 3 Chas. I, for the ultimate benefit of Baydon Church under the description of "Some-time parcel of the possessions of a dissolved Chantry granted by Queen Elizabeth by Letters patent of 14th May in the 44th year of her reign".

The Court Rolls of the Manor are in existence from 1732, and, as stated above, contain many references to the Cross as a meeting place for the Jury, whether to beat the bounds or to inspect the chimneys" (1732)—Aldbourne with its record of fires had good reason to keep a careful watch on chimneys—or to present the Lord of the Manor for failure to repair (1764). In the article already quoted, Mr. Dorian Webb refers to an "iron lamp" having been recently fixed to the stem of the Cross, and it is good therefore to be able to record from the minutes that, as part of the commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of 1897, the Parish Council gave its consent to the erection by the Lord of the Manor of a "post to carry the lamp (that is now fixed to the Cross)", and in the next year sanctioned payments for the repairs.

The presentment of 1764 is of sufficient interest to be set out in full. It was made at the 1764 meeting of the Court Leet and is as follows:—  
"We likewise present the Market Cross to be out of repair that part of the ruins thereof was Clandestinely carried away by Willam Bacon and is now in his possession and the said William Bacon is often so unkind as to lay them on the common highway to the prejudice of many people And that unless the said Market Cross be put in good repair within one month from the date hereof We Judge that the Lord of the Manor is lyable to a fine of Six Shillings and eight Pence to be paid to our Sovereign Lord George the King".

As this presentment was not repeated and the Cross was in its present position in 1806, when Buckler made his drawing, I think we may assume that the Lord carried out the necessary work to the satisfaction of the Court. Perhaps this is the restoration "in the last century" referred to by Mr. Dorian Webb in his above-quoted article of 1895.

From the above evidence we may assume that the Market was held on the Green and that the Market Cross was standing in its present position while the Market was still in existence and until it was discontinued in 1581, that is, 365 years ago.

During the 1939—45 War the Green was used by various units of the

<sup>1</sup> Survey of Manor of Aldburn, 1590. See *W. A. Mag.*, xxiii, 254.

army for parking heavy motor lorries, trailers, etc., thereby churning it into a mud heap. We are happy to be able to put on record that the turf has now been relaid and the Green restored to its pristine peace and charm. Also, and this is the more important, by reason of the care taken by the army drivers, the Cross, though in their way, suffered no damage either during the War or since.

In the preparation of these brief notes I have been assisted by Mr. L. G. Dibdin, whose collaboration I should like to acknowledge.

### ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

[The note that appeared under this heading in the June number has in some quarters been misinterpreted. It was not to be read as a criticism of the items that followed it, but rather as a certificate that in the Editor's estimation they justified the suspension of a rule. That rule precludes the publication of corrections in succeeding issues. Since its pronouncement it has more frequently been suspended than enforced ]

#### COVER OF THE JUNE MAGAZINE, 1946.

The serial number of part 3 of the present volume was printed on the front cover as CLXXXIX, a figure which will only be appropriate on the issue of December, 1948. The correct figure is printed in Arabic numerals on the spine—184. The spine, and not the front cover, is usually visible on our shelves and in the bound volume only the correct figure, as shown on the first page will remain. The error must nevertheless be acknowledged, though this will probably be for most readers the first news of its occurrence.

#### JOHN AUBREY'S LOST MS. (page 351).

By the dropping of a line of the text, it was made to appear that Canon Jackson's volume of the *Wiltshire Collections* was lost before he edited it. The inquiry concerned a second volume of the original, a folio MS. book possibly stamped on the cover "Hypomnemata Antiquaria B" and referred to by Aubrey himself as "Liber B." This correction serves to draw attention once again to a valuable work which has been missing since 1835 and is still untraced.

#### THE WARDENS OF SAVERNAKE FOREST (pages 271—339).

When Lord Cardigan was writing this article, the Editor told him of a document in the Record Office which mentioned a Geoffrey Esturmy who was at "the war in Wales". The MS. was hard to read, and only a brief note had been made of it many years ago in the course of other researches. But the document, a Plea Roll, had in the meantime been deposited with its fellows in some place of war-time security. It only returned to Chancery Lane after Lord Cardigan's article was published. There Colonel Mallet kindly followed the clue which has led to the facts recorded on the next page.

## SIR GEOFFREY ESTURMY.

(Postscript to pages 292—3.)

Further information concerning Sir Geoffrey Esturmy throws a new and dramatic light upon his later career. It may now be inferred that he married Matilda Bemynges about the year 1232, and that they had at least two sons—the elder, Henry, born in 1233, and a younger named John, who seems to have married into the de Harden family.<sup>1</sup> Another date which can now be given more precisely is that of Sir Geoffrey's grant to Easton Priory. This must have been in 1245, when the Priory was first established: there was a very good, indeed a pressing, reason for his not wishing to delay this act of piety.

It was, as we have seen, one of the traditional duties of the Esturmy family to supply one armed man, properly mounted and equipped, for service in any part of the King's English domains. It would have been quite in accordance with mediæval practice for Sir Geoffrey to send out some retainer when the demand came in 1245. He chose, however, to perform himself this duty with King Henry III's army.

Our scanty knowledge of Sir Geoffrey's personality gives no hint of his motives. Did his conscience forbid his sending another man, while he himself remained at home? Was he naturally bold and adventurous, attracted by a soldier's life? We do not know: all that is certain is that at a Forest Eyre held at Wilton in 1245 "the jurors say that Geoffrey Esturmy took no part in this, because he is in Wales at the King's war".<sup>2</sup>

With this bare statement the curtain falls on Sir Geoffrey. We may perhaps guess that, patrolling the marches, he and his comrades fell victims to an ambush. King Henry, by the autumn of the same year, had received news that he was taken—whether alive or dead no man could tell. The King therefore, finding that young Henry Esturmy was still a minor, ordered that once again the custody of Savernake Forest and of the Esturmy property should be assumed by the Constable of Marlborough, now Robert de Mucegros.<sup>3</sup> Sir Geoffrey's brother Richard (whose existence is thus for the first time revealed to us) was appointed to watch over the interests of Sir Geoffrey's family: and it is clear that the King was well disposed towards them. He thoughtfully remitted to them certain taxes "to the end that they should clothe themselves".

Of Sir Geoffrey nothing more was ever heard. His son Henry's minority came to an end in the year 1254.<sup>4</sup>

CARDIGAN.

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<sup>1</sup> In a deed among the Savernake Archives, undated but ascribed to the late 13th century, he grants land to Roger de Harden, "fratri meo". An alternative possibility is, of course, that a sister of John's had married Roger.

<sup>2</sup> Plea Rolls, E.146. <sup>3</sup> Patent Rolls, <sup>4</sup> Abbrev. Rot. Orig.

## WILTSHIRE MOLLUSC COLLECTORS.

By C. D. HEGINBOTHOM.

The object of this paper is to bring within the scope of one article brief biographical sketches of some of those who have contributed most to the study of the Wiltshire Mollusca, together with notes as to some of the rarer species recorded by them, and how far, in the absence of the specimens actually taken, their records can be considered authentic. Enquiry proves that at the present time there are no collections of Wiltshire Mollusca with complete data in the Museums at Salisbury, Devizes, Swindon, or Marlborough College. Swindon and Marlborough College both possess collections but with little or no exact data as to locality and date of capture in the latter case, and it is clear some of the species could not have been taken in Wilts. Devizes Museum now contains a few county specimens which formed part of a collection made by Mr. William and Miss Anne Cunnington in the middle of the last century. If there are Wiltshire collections with full data in private hands, it is to be hoped they will find their way into one of our County Museums.

The chief difficulty that faces any collector of Mollusca is that of nomenclature. The confusion is caused not only by a number of different names being given to one species by various authors, but also by the same name being applied to a number of different species. A leading authority on the nomenclature of this subject stated in a paper read before the Conchological Society in March, 1941: "Certain it is that a simple classification will attract students, whereas an elaborate one will repel them. There were far more students of Mollusca when a very simple classification was in force than there are to-day." But for this difficulty, so greatly added to by modern authors and systematists, I am sure this fascinating subject would be taken up by numbers of people, as the preservation of the specimens taken, and the apparatus required for their collection is a far simpler matter than in the case of butterflies, moths, beetles or plants, molluscs being far less liable to be destroyed by the ravages of damp or mite. The English and one or more of the best known scientific names are given when referring to individual species, in order to make quite sure there shall be no mistake as to the species referred to.

Wiltshire is divided into two Vice-Counties by the Kennet and Avon Canal, the North section being VC 7 and the South VC 8 in the Watsonian Register of the Conchological Society. Prior to 1884 no shells had been received from the county by that Society. There are, however, many book and pamphlet references to specific Wilts Mollusca dating far earlier than 1884. It will be apparent to anyone reading this article that there is still much work to be done both in the confirmation of recorded species and in the finding of new ones.



The father of Wiltshire shell collectors is undoubtedly—

GEORGE MONTAGU. Born at Lackham House, on the banks of the Avon near Lacock in 1751. Died 1815. Joined the Militia at 16 and later became a Colonel. Married and settled for a while at Easton Grey. Later moved to Knowle near Kingsbridge in Devon. Was an enthusiastic naturalist and wrote on many natural history subjects. The work by which he is best known is "Testacea Britannica" published in 1803, in which localities are given for 35 species of Wiltshire molluscs. The work deals with the British Marine and Non-Marine Mollusca. Among the latter he named seven new species and four varieties. The rarest of his Wiltshire discoveries in the light of modern research are Sinistral Vertigo, *Turbo vertigo* (= *Vertigo angustior*, Jeffreys 1830), which, he stated, was found in the Avon river-drift at Lackham—this makes the actual locality from which the shells were washed down uncertain—and the Two-lipped Door Snail, *Turbo Biplicatus* (= *Clausilia Biplicata* Draparnaud), which he found sparingly at Easton Grey. I have searched for it there without avail. He recorded the Wiltshire Twist Shell or Mountain Bulin, which he named *Helix Lackhamensis* (= *Ena montana* Drap.) from a wood close to Lackham House, known to-day as Tacklemore Wood. Curiously enough, another rare species, common in that wood to-day but rare elsewhere in Wilts, is Dusky or Brown Helix (*Helix fusca* Montagu) (= *Hygromia subrufescens* Miller 1822). Montagu only records this shell from Devon.

WILLIAM GEORGE MATON, F.R.C.P. Born at Salisbury 31st January, 1774. Died 30th March, 1835. Naturalist from early youth. Author of several books on natural history. Lived sometime both in London and Weymouth. Was appointed Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte in 1816. Presented with the Freedom of the City of Salisbury in 1827. His chief subject was botany and he was elected a Fellow of the Linnæan Society on 18th March, 1794. He wrote a descriptive catalogue of the British Testacea (published in 1807) in conjunction with the Rev. Thomas Rackett. Concerning this work William Turton, M.D., in his Conchological Dictionary (1819) makes this scathing comment, "It is probable that the whole art of Typography cannot produce so gross a mass of errors". In one of his books entitled, "The Natural History of a part of the County of Wilts comprehended within the distance of ten miles round the City of Salisbury," he mentions 18 species of Mollusca under the title *Vermes*. Two species only among them are worthy of special notice, the River Pea Shell *Tellina amnica* (= *Pisidium amnicum* Müll. 1774) which he states was first described as an English species by him, and was taken in the river Avon at Salisbury. It is common there to-day, as also in the Kennet and Avon Canal and streams around Devizes. The other species, the Two-lipped Door Snail, he found at the roots of trees in moss at Alderbury near Salisbury.

MISS ANNE CUNNINGTON. Born 31st December, 1815. Died 21st February, 1881. She collected shells in the Devizes area for many years. Her collection, mounted on tablets with some data, was presented to

Devizes Museum by her brother, William Cunnington, also a collector. In a notebook accompanying the collection, from which I took extracts in 1893, the first records are dated 1835. This was shortly after her father built Southgate House, Devizes, and came to reside there from Upavon. The notes as to localities were written in manuscript on a printed list in booklet form entitled, "Shells found in the environs of London arranged according to Dr. Turton's Manual of the Land and Freshwater Shells of the British Isles: written by Daniel Cooper, assisted by James Carter, Thomas Bell and Charles Finch". Charles Finch was apparently a friend of the Cunningtons, and his name appears in the book opposite several of the rarer species. Others who apparently assisted with specimens were T. Small and Miss C. Waylen. The collection was in a very dilapidated state when I saw it in 1893, and many of the shells had fallen off the tablets. It has since been removed with the exception of a few Bivalves, to make room for things of more importance. From a comparison of the handwriting on the few tablets that remain with that of William Cunnington it would appear that the writing is his. E. W. Swanton, who examined and recorded the collection in 1905 (see reprint from *Conchological Journal* in *W.A.M.*, xxxvi, June, 1909), appears to have assumed that the collection was entirely a Wiltshire one, but the evidence hardly bears this out. Several of the rarer species have never since been recorded either locally or in all Wilts. I have therefore ignored any reference to individual species.

REV. JOHN EDWARD VIZE, M.A. Took a curacy at Trowbridge in 1861. Resided there until 1864, when he went to St. Saviour's, Bath. During his brief residence in Wilts he recorded a great number of rare shells from all over the county, and read a paper on the Mollusca of Wilts before the Wilts Archæological Society at their Annual Meeting in Devizes, on 18th August, 1863. This paper was published in *W.A.M.*, ix, 87, but unfortunately the list of shells with the localities was not published until a later date. Mr. E. W. Swanton on his hurried visit to Devizes Museum in 1905 (see *W.A.M.*, xxxvi, June 1909) saw the list but not the paper, and accepted the records as made by the Rev. J. E. Vize himself, whereas the paper makes it clear that the Sarum records were made by James Hussey and Dr. Blackmore "whose authority is to be taken for all the Sarum localities" and those in the Devizes area by "Mr." Cunnington. Consequently, the Devizes records are not endorsed by Vize, but are these same records (see notes under Miss Anne Cunnington). Vize records Dusky Helix (*Helix fusca*, Montagu) as found by him at Trowbridge, probably the earliest record for Wilts of this shell. Of the Shining Ramshorn, *Segmentina nitida* (Müll.), Vize states, "one shell found after many searches near the Canal Bridge, on the Trowbridge—Bradford road"—rather slender evidence. I am unable to trace any Wiltshire record for this species that will pass close scrutiny. A letter from the Rev. J. E. Vize to William Cunnington dated Trowbridge, 12th March, 1863, asking for records from the Devizes area for his paper, has passed through my hands.

FREDERICK TOWNSEND was a botanist who lived at Great Bedwyn *circa* 1850. He was also interested in land and freshwater shells and made a small collection from around the Great Bedwyn area which his widow handed over to the Jonathan Hutchinson Educational Museum at Haslemere, Surrey. The collection consisted of 32 species and a few varieties (see E. W. Swanton's paper, *W.A.M.* xxxvi). Great Bedwyn is too close to the county boundary for any of Townsend's records to have much authority, as in most instances exact localities were not given, and further confirmation is necessary before they can be accepted as genuinely Wiltshire. One of the most important was the Smooth Pond Snail or Mud Limnæa, *Limnæa glabra* (Müll. 1774). This very rare shell was doubtless taken from the marshy field on the left side of the road below Stype Grange, Bagshot, leading towards Little Bedwyn, where C. P. Hurst found it (see Marlborough College N.H.S. Report, 1915). If so, the site in Townsend's day was in Berkshire, but the alteration of the county boundary in 1895 now includes it in Wilts, so Hurst's record (if any) should stand. Of recent years the site has been drained and ploughed up. The specimens in the Townsend Collection at Haslemere are rather small.

HUMPHREY PURNELL BLACKMORE, M.D. Born 1835. Died 1929. A son of William Blackmore, Mayor of Salisbury 1841. The Blackmore Museum at Salisbury was founded by his elder brother, William Blackmore. H. P. Blackmore was one of the founders of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum. E. W. Swanton in his article on Wilts Mollusca mentioned above states that since April 1908, he had received a letter from Dr. Blackmore reporting the Carnivorous Slug, *Testacella haliotidea* (Draparnaud 1801) at Salisbury: also the Small Amber Snail, *Succinea oblonga* (Drap.) at Alderbury in 1890 and occasionally since, and adding, "it is not abundant there". Specimens of this shell from brick earth at Fisherton were recorded by Dr. Blackmore in 1867. There would appear to be considerable differences of opinion concerning the *Succineidæ*, and I cannot say whether this record should be accepted until confirmed by modern authorities, more particularly as Dr. Blackmore was not an authority on Mollusca.

THEODORE DRU ALOM COCKERELL. Born 1868. Wrote a catalogue of the Land and Freshwater Mollusca of the British Isles and was a prominent member of the Conchological Society. Made a collection of 42 species of Mollusca around the Swindon area (see *Journal of Conchology* vi, 82-84). The list contains no species rare in the county.

CHARLES OLDHAM. Born in Lincoln 1868. Died 1942. Was at one time Vice-President of the Malacological Society and Treasurer of the Conchological Society. Visited Wiltshire collecting Mollusca on more than one occasion. C. P. Hurst recorded a number of shells found by him at Devizes and Seend (see *W.A.M.*, Vol. xl, December, 1918). He discovered *Pisidium parvulum* (Clessin) at Seend.

ERNEST WILLIAM SWANTON. Born 28th June, 1870, at the Manor House, Dibden, Hants. Curator of Sir Jonathan Hutchinson's Educational Museum at Haslemere, Surrey, since 1897. Author of a number of books and papers on Mollusca, Fungi, and other natural history subjects. Visited Wiltshire in 1905, when he added 19 species to the Conchological Society's records for the northern half of the county, and 32 for the southern half (for details of species see *W.A.M.*, June 1909, 57-85). Introduced me to the study of the Mollusca by a lecture given at Bruton, Somerset, in 1891, which has resulted in 55 years of unalloyed pleasure for me, and I trust, by means of this paper and the collections I have made, which will eventually be lodged in the County Museums, some assistance to others. I visited Mr. Swanton at Haslemere in August last and found him surrounded by children and older people eager for information and inspired by what they heard and saw. A great personality.

C. E. N. BROMEHEAD. Was a pupil at Marlborough College. In the College Natural History Report for 1903 a list of shells from the Marlborough district is included. It covers about 42 species and varieties. In this Report it was stated that the College Natural History Society had never yet formed an official list of molluscs found in the neighbourhood.

REV. ROBERT EDWARD THOMAS, M.A. Curate at St. Martin's, Salisbury 1906-1910. Read a paper on "Mollusca of Wilts" at the meeting of the Wilts Arch. Society held at Salisbury on the 16th July, 1908. In it he states clearly the collection illustrating the paper was not a local one, and "he could not profess to any personal knowledge of the Mollusca of of the County", a flat contradiction of the report in *W.A.M.*, xxxv, 538. His rarest find was a single specimen of the Point Shell, *Acme lineata*, (Drap.) in a small wood on the downs between Wroughton and Wootton Bassett in July, 1903, and lost some time after during a spring clean. The Rev. J. E. Vize received a record of this shell from "Upavon among roots of grass" but would not accept responsibility for its accuracy. The shell has not been recorded since.

REV. JOHN HERBERT ADAMS, M.A. Pupil at Marlborough College, 1910-1915. Prominent member of College Natural History Society 1913-1915. Now Rector of Landulph, Saltash, Cornwall. Published list of Mollusca found in the Marlborough District by himself and others (see College N.H.S. Report, 1915).

CECIL PRESCOTT HURST. Lived at Ivy House, Great Bedwyn, 1910-1931. Published various lists recording Wilts Mollusca collected by him (see *W.A.M.*, xxxix, 465, xl, 241, xli, 137, also Marlborough College N.H.S. Reports). These lists contain some of the most valuable of our county records. All doubtful species were authenticated by either E. W. Swanton, J. W. Taylor (author of the monograph of the L. and F-W. Mollusca of the British Isles) or W. D. Roebuck, the Conchological Society's Recorder. He found three living specimens of Striated Vertigo,

*Vertigo substriata* (Jeffreys) near Savernake Lodge, and around Great Bedwyn within the county border, the three toothed Snail, *Azeca tridens* (Pultney), and the White-lipped Helix, *Cepæa hortensis* (Müll.) var. *subcarinata*. His rarest find was the white variety of Rolph's Door Snail, *Clausilia rolpheii* var. *albina*, near the Froxfield side of Stype Wood, never before taken in Great Britain.

C. G. WOOLMER and G. S. CARTER. Pupils at Marlborough College. Published a local list of Mollusca in College N.H.S. Report for 1911. None of rarity,

RICHARD ALFRED TODD. Lived at Aldbourne for some few years prior to his death there in 1932. His collection of Mollusca taken around Aldbourne contained 39 species and some few varieties. The most noteworthy were five specimens of the Pointed Snail, *Cochlicella barbara* (Linné) (= *Helicella acuta* Müll.), now in my possession, taken in a lane opposite Ford Farm, Aldbourne, in 1929. This shell has not hitherto been genuinely recorded in England except as a coastal species. It seems probable that they were brought from Burnham or Weston-super-Mare in Somerset, where the species is very abundant, by the farm children after an excursion, and flung out when they were tired of them. Prolonged search by him never produced more than the five specimens, and I have twice scoured the spot myself without success. C. E. N. Bromehead, of Marlborough College, (see above) found on Oare Hill in 1903, two specimens of a shell he named, *Bulimus ventrosus*. There is no shell known to me of this name, but *Bulimus ventricosus* is an old name mentioned in Turton's Manual, 1831, which might apply to *Cochlicella barbara*.

Among recent collectors who have made interesting new records for the county are:—

ROBERT STERLING NEWALL of Fisherton Delamere House, near Wylde, who discovered Moulin's Vertigo, *Vertigo Moulinsiana* (Duprey) on the banks of a nearby stream feeding on the Reed Poa (*Poa fluitans*).

CECIL JOHN CHARLES SIGGERS, Surgeon. Came to reside in Devizes 1939. First to discover Oval Cyclas, *Sphoerium ovale* (Jeffreys) (= *Sphoerium pallidum*, Gray) in the Kennet and Avon Canal at Horton, VC 8, and later in the Canal at Seend, VC 7. It seems firmly established.

ARTHUR GOODWIN STUBBS. Author of "Illustrated Index of British Freshwater Shells" and other pamphlets. Lived at Heytesbury 1942-1945. An outstanding artist in the depiction of Mollusca, who has painted a number of Wiltshire shells. He made a small collection of shells from the Heytesbury area. Discovered an ordinary type shell of the Garden Snail *Helix aspersa* (Müll.) the mollusc itself being pure white, a very rare occurrence. Also a sinistral White-lipped Helix *Cepæa hortensis* (Müll.) var. *lutea*.

CHARLES DAVID HEGINBOTHOM. Born at Bruton, Somerset, April, 1874. As the seventh child of a long family my advent probably caused my parents less astonishment than it caused me! In any event it was a

matter of little moment, and I only refer to it because my attention has been called to the fact that this paper would not be complete without some reference to it. I have been a malacologist in Wiltshire since 1893, and have added a number of new records for the county to the Conchological Society's list during that period.

In conclusion the following statement should be of some assistance to those who may in future decide to take up this study. The total species of Mollusca (excluding varieties) recorded for Wilts during the past 150 years I make to be 120. Of these the following cannot be reasonably accepted without further evidence, viz:— *Segmentina nitida* (Müll.), *Acme lineata* (Drap.), *Amphipeplia glutinosa* (Müll.), *Succinea oblonga* (Drap.), *Succinea elegans* (Risso.)—the shell so often recorded in the past under this title is really *Succinea pfeifferi* (Rossmasler)—*Cochlicella barbara* (Linné), *Vertigo angustior* (Jeffreys).

The Northern half of the county, VC 7, still requires the following *Testacella haliotidea* (Drap.), *Clausilia Biplicata* (Montagu),<sup>1</sup> *Vertigo Moulinsiana* (Duprey) to complete established records for the county as a whole, and the Southern half, VC 8, *Helix pomatia* (Linné), *Vertigo substriata* (Jeffreys), *Planorbis glaber* (Jeffreys). Shells of *Helix pomatia* were excavated by General Pitt-Rivers at Rushmore, VC 8, in 1882. Dr. J. E. Gray's reference in 1857 to the shell being rare at Salisbury possibly refers to the colony established at Boyton near Codford, VC 8, by Aylmer Bourke Lambert a botanist, who lived there for many years and died in 1842 aged 81. Living specimens have been taken there quite recently.

If this paper achieves its purpose, it has opened the way for any amateur to know what species should be looked for, and to make new discoveries. In due course I hope to publish a complete County List, and any assistance in this direction will be gratefully received at

Walden Lodge,

Devizes.

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<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of this species in the Wiltshire list rests, so far as I can find out, on four authentic specimens in a collection of shells in the Castle Museum, Norwich, made by John Brooks Bridgman, a well known malacologist born at King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1837 (died 1899). These are undoubtedly the specimens referred to in Jeffreys British Conchology 1862 (2nd ed: Vol. I page 283, pub. 1904) as found at Clarendon near Salisbury. It has been reported from four different localities in Wilts, viz: Easton Grey, Devizes, Durnford and Alderbury, all of which have been searched, so far without success.

The following species should be looked for, as they have been found in adjoining counties, viz:— *Limax tenellus* (Müll.), *Zonitoides excavatus* (Alder), *Oxychylus Draparnaldi* (Beck), (= *Hyalinia lucida*, Charpentier), *Truncatellina cylindrica* (Fér), *Vertigo pusilla* (Müller), *Pupa anglica* (Wood), *Physa rivalis* (Turton), *Viviparus fasciatus* (Müll.), (= *Paludina contecta* Millet), *Valvata macrostoma* (Morch), *Helicodonta obvoluta* (Müll.), *Succinea elegans* (Risso).

## ANNUAL MEETING AND EXCURSIONS.

For the first time since 1939 it has been possible this year to hold the Annual General Meeting of the Society, and to resume to a limited extent the excursions which were formerly an attractive feature of its summer activities.

*Salisbury.* On July 26th the Friends of the Cathedral invited the Society to join their Annual Meeting at Salisbury, and were good enough to arrange a special programme on our behalf. About fifty accepted the invitation.

After the General Meeting in the Chapter House, at which an address was given by Mr. W. Oakeshott, now headmaster of Winchester College, the Dean of Salisbury kindly conducted our party round the Cathedral. There was then an interval for lunch, and we are grateful to Mr. Frank Stevens for providing accommodation at the Museum for those who had brought their own, and also for offering himself as guide to the Museum.

In the afternoon, the party heard an excellent address by Canon R. Quirk on the treasures of the Cathedral Library, some of which were on exhibition in the North Transept. He afterwards conducted parties to the Library itself.

Tea at Sutton's Restaurant brought an interesting and successful day to a close.

*Annual General Meeting.* The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at Devizes on Friday, 26th July. The Mayor of Devizes, Alderman H. A. Smith, received the members in the Town Hall, and expressed his pleasure that the Society should have come to Devizes for their meeting after an interval of six years. Referring to the fact that the Society was first founded at Devizes nearly a century ago, he wished it a long life of increasing vigour and usefulness. The President, Col. R. W. Awdry, expressed the thanks of the Society for the welcome extended to them.

At the business meeting, Colonel Awdry reviewed the activities of the Society during the past year, with special reference to the acquisition of the new premises, and mentioned with warm appreciation the work done in this connection by Capt. and Mrs. Cunnington, who were largely responsible for the success of the appeal for funds. He then proposed the election of Mr. G. M. Young as President for the coming year, and the proposition was seconded by Mr. H. C. Brentnall and carried unanimously. Mr. Young, in accepting the Presidency, proposed a warm vote of thanks to the retiring President who had held office throughout the war. This was seconded by Mr. A. Keiller and carried with acclamation.

The officers and Committee were then re-elected, with the addition of Mr. R. A. U. Jennings, Mr. A. E. Beswick and Mrs. R. Barnes to the Committee.

In a discussion on the finances of the Society, it was generally recognized that the extension of the Museum must involve largely increased costs of maintenance, and a resolution of the Committee to increase the annual subscription to £1 was considered. A few of the members present felt that this might press rather heavily on some, and after much consideration it was finally resolved that the subscription for new members joining after the date of the meeting should be £1, with an entrance fee of 10s., but that existing members might, if they wished, continue at the present rate of 15s. 6d. The hope was strongly expressed, however; that all who felt able to do so would raise their subscriptions to the new rate. The fee for life membership was fixed at £20.

At the close of business the members present were entertained to tea by the Mayor and Mayoress, who were cordially thanked for their hospitality.

In the evening a paper by Dr. E. F. Jacob, F. S. A. on "The Salisbury Chapter in the later Middle Ages", was read, in the author's unavoidable absence, by Mr. G. M. Young. The essay proved to be a most interesting and vivid account of the life and doings of an ecclesiastical body of the period, and was highly appreciated by all who heard it. A discussion followed.

*Excursion to Avebury, etc.* The next day a modest excursion programme was arranged. In the morning about forty members visited Devizes Castle, by permission of the owner, Mrs. Reed. No better guide than Col. R. H. Cunnington could have been found, for in his boyhood he spent much time at the modern Castle, which was built by his grandfather about a century ago. From the terrace overlooking the valley to the west, Colonel Cunnington gave an admirably lucid and succinct account of the history of the site, and afterwards led the party on a tour of the grounds. Next came St. John's Church, where Mr. C. W. Pugh briefly described the principal features of the building and the alterations and restorations since its erection by Bishop Roger in the 12th century.

In the afternoon an excursion to Avebury was made. This attracted over a hundred members and their friends. Mr. A. Keiller F.S.A., who had kindly made arrangements for the visit, met the party on arrival and led the way to the S.W. sector of the vallum, where he gave an admirable account of the monument and fully described the conclusions arrived at as a result of the pre-war excavations. Fortunately the weather was delightful. The party afterwards divided, some accompanying Mr. Keiller on a walk round the vallum, while others visited the Museum. Here they were in the capable hands of Mr. W. E. V. Young, who had a busy time explaining the exhibits and answering questions.

During the afternoon many of the visitors explored the beautiful grounds and gardens of the Manor, which Mr. Keiller had kindly thrown open for the occasion.



## WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[The Editor invites all who are in a position to do so to assist in making the record under this heading as complete as possible. Books sent for review pass eventually to the Museum Library, a remarkable collection of Wiltshire material to which such additions are particularly welcome.]

**The History of the Wiltshire Home Guard. Edited by Major E. A. Mackay.** (Lansdown and Sons, Trowbridge: price 6s. 6d.) There were thirteen battalions of infantry, a mechanical transport company and an anti-aircraft battery in this county, and the history of each from its beginnings as a detachment of Local Defence Volunteers, relying on their pistols and shot-guns for the repulse of the expected invaders, to its final shape as a body of trained and equipped soldiers comes mainly from its commanding officer. To those who shared them, the experiences of the early days leave memories as indelible as any later ones. The summer nights on the upper downs lit by the stars or the questing search-lights, the autumn road-barriers so zealously guarded, gave a comforting sense of alertness that no private conviction of its futility could wholly destroy. Later developments made serious work of this citizen service, and some splendid visions faded into the light of common Sundays laboriously spent.

In June, 1940, the Wiltshire force numbered 15,879 men (and boys); in September, 1943, it had reached its peak of 23,409. Those were days of high endeavour and hearty comradeship, and the tale of them with all its lights and some of its shades is here recorded. It includes the gallantry of Lieutenant W. Foster of Alderbury Company, which won for him a posthumous George Cross.

**"Royal Wilts", the Story of the Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry from 1921 to 1946, by Lt.-Col. P. W. Pitt, T.D.** (Published by private subscription: price 12s. 6d. cloth.) This is described as mainly an account of the regiment in the Middle East, written with full access to official despatches, with many photographs, maps and diagrams.

**The Parish Church of St. James, Trowbridge, by F. C. Pitt, 1946.** (Wiltshire Times Press: price 1s.) This short guide now appears in an enlarged second edition. A list of 50 rectors is included, but George Crabbe dominates the other 49, even the two who became Archbishops. His reputation was established before he came to Trowbridge, and no one could fairly claim him for a Wiltshire poet, nor indeed does Mr. Pitt.

The description of the Church is detailed and precise: the illustrations not all of equal merit. A better idea of the Church is to be got from

the sketch on the cover than from the photograph that forms the frontispiece, but there are some interesting reproductions of earlier views. The visitor to Trowbridge, in search of something worth looking at, will be glad to turn to the Parish Church and grateful to find so informed a guide to its antecedents and its existing features.

**A Short History of Cricklade.** By **T. R. Thomson** (Taylor and Sons, Minety, 1946: price 2s. 6d.). Dr. Thomson is a newcomer (as coming goes) to Cricklade, but he has thrown himself wholeheartedly into the aura of that ancient town and promises at some future date a full history of the place and its parishes. For the moment he presents us with only one-fifteenth of the material he has collected in the space of twelve months, but in that fraction he contrives to cover the local history from 2000 B.C. to 1900 A.D. (both dates approximate). That the review should be a little breathless is the necessary consequence of attempting so long a span in a pamphlet of 14 pages. It is evident, however, that Dr. Thomson bases his record where possible on documents and elsewhere on sources that are above reproach. He has compiled his account for the benefit of St. Sampson's Church-tower, and all the proceeds of its sale will be generously devoted to the fund for the repair of that "glory of North Wiltshire". We wish the publication such success as may make a serious contribution to the sum required, £550. Very similar repairs were executed in 1760 for £20! To Dr. Thomson's quotation from the Iliad we might add one even better known: *Tempora mutantur, pretia et mutantur in illis*—or have we got it wrong?

**Wiltshire Life** carries for its sub-title *The County Magazine* and has made, up to the time of writing, four monthly appearances (price 1s.). *The Wiltshire Magazine* extends a hearty welcome to this new venture, whose career will be followed with interest and sympathy. The range of topics is as wide as the county, and the illustrations are particularly pleasing. The November number contains an article on Avebury. It is a regrettable, though trifling, coincidence that a megalithic monstrosity should in the same number flank the editorial notice inside the cover. Nor does the small sketch of Stonehenge (seen from the west-north-south?) which regularly appears on the first page, make many concessions to reality, however decorative its effect. But these pedantic criticisms will not occur to many readers. With a growing circulation and a more generous supply of paper (when that arrives) we hope that the present slender numbers may develop into stouter issues without loss of the exemplary standard they have already set.

**Joseph Priestley at Calne.** Though not a Wiltshire book, *The Conquest of Pain*, by George Bankoff (Macdonald, 6s.) reminds us that this county contributed something to the campaign. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of many gases, whose life extended from 1732 to 1804, was a Yorkshireman by birth and a Non-conformist Minister by profession, but

he became librarian and literary companion to Lord Shelburn, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne. His patron brought him to Bowood and placed at his disposal a large room for his scientific experiments, requiring, it is said, that the servants, and even his guests, should wear over-slippers in the house lest Priestley's labours should in any way be disturbed. Together they travelled on the continent, where Priestley told Lavoisier of his "dephlogisticated air", better known to us as oxygen. In 1870 he left Lord Shelburn with an annuity of £150 and took charge of a chapel in Birmingham. His subsequent misfortunes, which reflect little credit on Birmingham, do not concern us here. He died in America unaware of the full significance of the discoveries which owed so much to the liberality of his patron and his laboratory at Calne. A stone in the river there rather unexpectedly records his connexion with the place and his claim to fame.

**In the tracks of Richard Jefferies.** An article in the Swindon *Evening Advertiser* for October 2nd, 1946, describes a pilgrimage by Mr. J. B. Jones to Richard Jefferies' various homes outside Wiltshire. It was an act of piety that few are likely to repeat, for the sprawl of modern building has often covered the trail. Most of the article is concerned with a place that Mr. Jones does not name, though we may guess he turned west and not east to reach it.

There he found indeed no memories of Jefferies' brief stay but the same atmosphere of slander, squabble and censoriousness which Jefferies had remarked sixty years before.

And somewhere in his *Rural Rides*, sixty years earlier still, Cobbett paused at a roadside gate to contemplate a village nestling in the valley below and comment on the restful scene. "Ah, Sir", said a countryman leaning on the gate, "if you only knew the scandal that is talked there and the misery it brings!" Backbiting, alas! has been a popular pastime for much more than sixty years in many a "haunt of ancient peace", and Cobbett's village is doubtless still playing it.

**Wilton Carpets.** "Worsted" cloth, "panama" hats and many other things bear names that have quite lost their local significance. If we supposed that "Wilton" carpets had no better claim to their name than "Axminsters" to theirs, an article in the *Sunday Times* for October 27th would reprove our ignorance. It described the survival of a craft in Wilton and the surrounding villages that is three hundred years old. One of its more recent achievements has Carrollean suggestions. Into a carpet made for the Bank of England were worked—By thrice three maids in thrice three months Eleven million knots. ("The task exceeds", the Walrus said, "The Lady of Shalott's!") That a village industry still flourishes in its place of origin is a cheering item in the post-war news.

**Parlour games and others.** Just a year earlier the *Sunday Express* told of another business that owed its origin to Wiltshire, if it was pursued elsewhere. In 1788 Thomas Jaques, the 15-year old son of a

Grittleton farmer of Huguenot descent, took the waggon for London to seek his fortune. He found work with an ivory-turner of Leather Lane and in due time set up for himself. The Jaques family prospered in their chosen line. In 1839 they designed and standardized the "Staunton" chessmen. They introduced croquet and by its display at the Great Exhibition of 1851 established its vogue in this country. They also invented Happy Families, Snakes and Ladders, Ludo and Tiddley Winks, but the success of these was as nothing to the popularizing of Gossima, which the firm took up and renamed Ping-Pong, now further dignified as Table Tennis. Such a record goes far to relieve the name of Jaques of its Shakespearean epithet. Surely no melancholy can be sucked out of these games.

At the moment of going to press there arrived, by the courtesy of a correspondent, the second number of the **Swindon Review** (Libraries, etc., Committee of the Town Council: price 2s.), the first issue of which appeared a year ago. A year is not too long to wait, when by that interval the standard can be so successfully maintained.

The coloured frontispiece is a picture of E. J. Buttar's showing cloud effects over a Cricklade landscape, and there is a kindly foreword from Sir Stafford Cripps. John Betjeman contributes a London poem and H. J. P. Bomford, discussing a painting of Picasso's (reproduced), shows an ability of to see further than most of us into a brick wall, though even his perspicuity fails to penetrate it completely. An article by Donald Grose on local wild flowers comes from an authority less chary than most in revealing the habitat of rare plants. Kenneth Knapp writes of the Goddard family—a name revered in our Society—and traces its connexion with this county to the 14th century.

The quality of the local contributions in prose and verse and of the photographs and drawings is assessed by competent authorities, but there are a number of contributions which stood *hors concours*. The whole issue may be commended as further evidence of the progress of Swindon's fine experiment.

## NOTES.

**Mason's Marks at Edington and Winchester.** This interesting appendix to Mr. Cunningham's article on p. 378 provides just the kind of information that is required.

In 1352 William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester, began the rebuilding of Edington Church. It was dedicated in 1361. About 1360 he started to transform the west end of Winchester Cathedral. Since then much of the stone work there has been refaced, but many mason's marks survive, especially on the walls of the two spiral staircases flanking the west door. The Edington mason's marks numbered 1, 2, 5, 10, 21, and 22a, are among them, number 2 is on two of the piers; Mr. Adams, the verger at Winchester Cathedral, has identified others. Some of these mason's marks may have passed from father to son. Numbers 21 and 22a appear on the walls of Bishop de Lucy's retro-choir, 1204. So it is possible that Edington and Winchester show the work of the same families of masons.

D. U. SETH-SMITH

**Grovely Wood**, a remnant of the royal forest of Gravelings, passed to the Pembroke family with the properties of Wilton Abbey in the days of Henry VIII. The document here quoted marks a stage in the gradual surrender of customary rights.

"Be it remembered that we the Inhabitants of Great Wishford whose names are hereunto subscribed do consent and agree to the Selling of our Costome of cutting and drawing greene wood apd boughs in the month of May out of the severall Woods of the Earle of Pembroke commonly called Grovely And we doe promise and agree as much as in us lies to ratifie and confirme such Aggreement or Conveighance as the Lords of the Manor of Wishford shall by Advice of Counsell agree unto for the Publique Benefit of our said parish Church. Witnesse our hands the 4 day of January 1681/2".

Here follow the signatures of 53 parishioners, including the Rector of Wishford and the two churchwardens. It is noteworthy that only six were illiterate, signing by mark.

C. W. PUGH.

**Scratch Dials on Wiltshire Churches.** There is a small, but well defined scratch dial on the S. E. angle of the chancel of Holy Rood Church, Swindon, about three feet from the ground.

W. H. HALLAM.

**The destruction of "The Sanctuary" on Overton Hill.** The following scrap of information on the destruction of "The Sanctuary" stone circles and other Avebury stones has not, I think, previously been published. In the Haslemere Museum (Surrey) are drawings of Avebury by Henry Browne, dated 1826, with the following notes written on them (in addition to quotations from Stukeley).

"Several stones of the K. Avenue have been broken up since that [i.e. Stukeley's] time, four of them within the last two years, by persons acting as Commissioners of the Roads for that district and one in the temple itself, which has been applied to building walls".

"The last person who saw the Head of the Serpent, as represented by Dr. Stukeley, was Isaac Hart, of Overton. He was 92 years of age when he pointed out its position to me, three years ago. He is now dead, and buried in Overton Church Yard".

STUART PIGGOTT.

**A Malt-house Mystery.** The site of the old Malt House at Aldbourne has been provoking much speculation. Major A. L. Ingpen has kindly presented a detailed report on the problem involved, accompanied by a plan, but a summary of the situation seems preferable to publishing all the facts in an undetermined inquiry.

For many years there has been a strong tradition in Aldbourne of an underground hiding-place, possibly under the Malt House, for the manufacture or concealment of excisable liquors. This tradition has been handed down for at least three generations in the family of Mr. A. C. Smith, which long owned the Malt House.

Early in March of the present year drainage work in the yard adjoining the Malt House on the north, once part of the same property, revealed a culvert or vaulted passage under the sarsen pitching. The aid of this Society was invoked, and first the writer and the Rev. R. H. Lane visited the site. We inclined to the view that the underground chamber then partially exposed had served for the storage of rain-water. The work seemed too large for a culvert and showed no use as a cess-pit. Had we propounded the last alternative, it could hardly have elicited less enthusiasm.

None of us, indeed, was satisfied, so we asked Mr. A. D. Passmore to inspect the chamber. He was of opinion that it had been a steeping-tank for the maltster's grain, though the romantically minded might suspect, if they would, a secondary, nefarious purpose. Cargoes, of course, were often run far inland, as the stories of Jamaica Inn and our own moonrakers testify. But local men with experience of malting in the old days elsewhere pointed out the difficulty of working in so confined a space and the existence of a perfectly good steeping-tank on the other side of the wall.

By the end of April another, eastward section of the passage had been opened up, turning at right angles under the Malt House and continuing in that direction for at least 16 feet. Beyond that it was blocked by a fall, but the last 10 feet, separated from the rest by a low cross-wall, had a wooden floor, in contrast to the brick elsewhere, and contained a small hand pump. A cast-iron gutter fixed high on the side of the passage ran from this section round the bend, and there was a lead pipe leading towards the Malt House well. A small shaft a few inches wide led up to, and was lost in, the levelled floor of the Malt House.

But what happens to the passage west of the point of first discovery is still unknown. It is heading for the house which lies between the

yard and the street and seems to pass under it towards the stream beyond. Until this section is explored, and exploration presents obvious difficulties, no conclusions can be reached, if then. An underground distillery, which some have seen in the floored area, seems, as Major Ingpen points out, an unnecessary precaution, since in the 18th century and earlier the excise was trifling and even a licence unnecessary. We come back to smuggling as the source of the local tradition, but that cannot explain the peculiar features of the Malthouse mystery.

H.C.B.

**Cunning Dick's Hole.** This is a curious remote spot on the downs where the old main London and Exeter road runs through the parish of Fovant. There were within my memory some old iron hooks driven into an oak tree here. The story is that a highwayman called Cunning Dick used to lie in wait for the West of England coaches as they passed and hang the reins of his horses on these hooks. For the sake of our descendants I think I should place the tradition on record, since nobody in Fovant that I can find takes any interest in this bit of local history.

JOHN BENETT.

**Lewisham Castle.** This circular earthwork south of Stock Lane in Aldbourne Chase is one of the series of similar entrenchments in which that region curiously abounds. Little is known about it except that Mr. Owen Meyrick has found there numerous fragments of medieval pottery. But he has also drawn my attention to a passage in a novel by "Richard Dumbledore" (the Rev. Maurice Meyrick, at one time Vicar of Baydon) published in 1877. He is referring to "Willowbourne", a thin (but etymologically misleading) disguise of Aldbourne, and writes: "Tradition also tells how, down the long straggling row of hovels which once stretched into the hills, at curfew time might be heard the clang of the iron gates of Lewisham Castle, which stood some two miles from the present village. But of the Castle not one stone is left . . ."

All efforts to trace the tradition in Aldbourne to-day have failed. The most that is heard out that way is the whistle of a train below the hill or the sound of the "Swindon hooter". But if we link the clanging gates of Mr. Maurice Meyrick's legend with Mr. Owen Meyrick's 13th century pottery, we get the picture of a castle wholly different from the usual downland acceptance of the term as in Barbury, Liddington or Uffington castles. Perhaps some document of the Duchy of Lancaster, to which Aldbourne Chase belonged, might throw light upon it.

And why "Lewisham" Castle? The name is strange in Wiltshire, but a theory may be ventured for those to deride who can produce a better. It is known that Hugh de Neville surrendered Marlborough Castle to Louis the Dauphin in 1216 and that the French despoiled Savernake Forest, but not for long. The Dauphin's cause soon ceased to prosper. In April of 1217 a safe conduct was issued to "Hugo Grossus, Knight, his sergeants, arblasters and others, who were in

Marlborough Castle, for their return to their own place". This reads like an evacuation of Louis' garrison of mercenaries, but the records of this period are very scanty. May it not be that Louis' commandant had established some kind of an outpost in Aldbourne Chase, known thereafter to the neighbouring population as Lewis's ham? It would conform to the standard of humour so frequently displayed in country names. But whatever interpretation we may place upon the name, the existence of the tradition as late as the 1870's is worth recording.

H. C. B.

**A Bond for the keeping of Lent.** Major Shortt of the Salisbury Museum has presented the following curious document to our Library. The first paragraph is in Latin (except the occupational descriptions), the second, as will appear from the spelling, in English.

" Know all men by these presents that I John Brathall (?) of the City of new Sarum in the County of Wilts Alehowskeeper am Engaged and firmly bound to our Lord James King of England in one Hundred pounds of good and legal money of England And that I Edward Gangell (?) of the said City in the said County Cooke am Engaged and firmly bound to the said Lord King in Thirty pounds of good and legal money of England And that I Jenkin Watkins of the City and County aforesaid Inholder [tenant] am Engaged and firmly bound to the said Lord King in Thirty pounds of good and legal money of England to be paid to the same Lord King his heirs or successors And for each payment of the several sums aforesaid to be well and truly made by each of us in the form and manner aforesaid each of us firmly binds himself our heirs executors and administrators separately by these presents sealed with our seals Given the twenty second day of february in the twelfth year of the reign of our said Lord James by the grace of god King of England france and ireland Defender of the faith etc. and of Scotland the forty eighth 1614

The condicion of this obligacion is suche That if Thabovebounden John Brathall doe not dresse anye fleshe in his howse duringe this lente tyme for anye respecte, nor suffer any to be there eaten That then this presente obligacion to be voide and of none effecte or els it to stande abide and remaine in his full power force and vertue.

	sign of Jo Brathall	
Signed sealed and delivered to the	+	seal
use of the Kings Ma <sup>tie</sup> in the presence of	sign Edwd Gangell	
Michael Markyell	h	seal
	sign Margarete Crosse	
A. Mackarell	I W	seal

The lodger in the alehouse appears to have changed, and Margaret Crosse signs instead of Jenkin Watkins to the confusion of the document! Feb. 22 1615 (the Gregorian year) was Ash Wednesday.



**Great Bedwyn Church Clock.** From issues of the Parish Leaflet of Rustington, Sussex, and information supplied by Mr. E. R. Pole, there emerges this story.

Clocks with minute-hands were first made in 1670. In 1769 Great Bedwyn wanted a clock for its church, but it was not to be rushed into new-fangled ideas barely a hundred years old. George Hewett, the Marlborough clock-maker, who had just started business, was commissioned to build one of the old kind. So for something like a century and a half the hour-hand in the church tower did its work alone, round four successive dials, and Bedwyn maintained its indifference to the lesser intervals of time. Even the advent of the railway failed to disturb its oriental calm. But at last the clock wore out, and forty years ago the invention of 1670 was adopted. A new clock with two hands was bought by subscription and the old one consigned to the carpenter's scrap-heap. There it was seen by a visitor from Rustington, who acquired it for £2, repaired it and set it up by desire of the vicar and the churchwardens on the floor of Rustington church tower. A hole was pierced to show its face, and there it continues to discharge its single-handed function to the satisfaction of the parish.

**The Lacock Magna Carta** is now in the Library of Congress, Washington, where it is to remain for two years. It was deposited there on December 15th, the American Bill of Rights Day, by the British Ambassador. Miss Talbot was present at the ceremony. A letter in *The Times* of December 18th refers to this copy as the only legible one of the 1225 issue. Its relation to the document of 1215 was explained on page 226 of this volume (December, 1945).

**Lacock Manor Court.** Mr. F. H. Hinton has found the following unusual presentments of the jury in the Court Rolls of 1641:

*April.* Quod collistrigium est in defectu et quod indigeant plastro, Anglice a Cookinge stoole, ad diluendas partes posteriores suarum rixosarum uxorum; quod nisi premptorie procuretur sunt coronaturi [*pro erunt coronandi*] damae cornibus. Ambo habenda facienda (?) apud expensas Dominae manorii predicti.

*October.* [Iterum requirunt] cubile pro leonibus et talibus feminis quae rixantur; et quod Domina manorii debet collistrigium reparare et cubile leonibus etc. per dictos juratos ministrari.

"Collistrigium" is the pillory. The meaning of "cubile pro leonibus" in this context is not obvious, but the reference is plainly to the missing cucking-stool. A song in the fourth act of *As you like it* might serve as commentary to the April entry.

## WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

BRENDA, MARCHIONESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA, died at Sheldon Manor, Chippenham, on July 17th, 1946. She was the daughter of the late Mr. Robert Woodhouse, formerly of Orford House, near Bishop's Stortford, and married in 1908 Lord Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, fourth son of the first Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. Ten years later her husband succeeded an elder brother as third marquess. She was left a widow in 1930 and in 1932 became the second wife of Mr. H. C. S. A. Somerset, heir presumptive to the Duke of Beaufort. She was again widowed in 1945. In her first marriage she had two children, of whom the son, the fourth marquess, distinguished himself as a politician and a soldier. He was killed in action in March, 1945. The daughter is Lady Veronica Maddick.

Obit. *The Times*, July 18th, 1946.

EDITH MARCIA MATTHEWS, died after a short illness on October 13th, 1946, at the age of 63. The daughter of the Rev. J. H. Dudley Matthews, at one time headmaster of Leeds Grammar School, she was educated at the Godolphin School, Salisbury, and Newnham College, Cambridge, and after teaching for some time elsewhere was appointed headmistress of St. Mary's School, Calne.

"St. Mary's Middle Class School", was founded on Calne Green in 1873 and painfully maintained by successive Vicars as a school for the education of daygirls and boarders in the principles and faith of the Church of England. Miss Matthews found it in 1915 removed to a villa in the Bath Road with 15 boarders and a complement of local daygirls. Better accommodation came, first in the form of armyhuts and then by the acquisition of neighbouring premises, till gradually the present school emerged, shorn of its class-conscious particularisation, with accommodation for 120 boarders and a reputation which not many girls' schools in England can equal and fewer still surpass. It was the achievement of Miss Matthews' undaunted courage and energy. Through two wars and the anxious period between, she pursued the tradition of the Christian life and endued her pupils with the spirit of service which has carried them to all parts of the world and ever widening fields of activity. She resigned her post after 30 years' service and retired to the pleasant village of Wilcot near Pewsey, still unwearied in well-doing. She died little more than a year later.

We record also the death of two sisters whose closest association with this county ended in the seventies of the last century. The *Times* of August 2nd contained an appreciation of EMILY TENNYSON MURRAY SMITH, a daughter of Dr. Bradley, Master of Marlborough from 1858 to 1870. Though her life was largely given to social service, she found time to write, particularly about Westminster Abbey, of

which her father was Dean for over 20 years. But her affections embraced all the scenes of her father's working life, and Rugby, Marlborough, University College—but chiefly Marlborough, where she spent her childhood—shared her devotion with the Abbey and Westminster School.

Her more famous sister MARGARET LOUISA WOODS, died not very long before her. As a poet, Mrs. Woods was acclaimed by the best judges of her day, and it was a long one. Poems of hers, like *Gaudeamus Igitur*, the song of "the world's unwearied lover", have found their way into the anthologies, but one poem, which only appeared in the collected edition of her verse, strikes a Wiltshire note. The scene, she tells us, is the High street of Marlborough in the forties of the nineteenth century, and the street is full of the clamour and colour of a great Mob Fair (the spelling is hers). She describes in episodes the pleasure of the fair, and they remain, for all the changes in their apparatus, essentially the same to-day. But Dr. Bradley's daughter knew that the best of the Mop Fairs in their October setting is for those who leave the noises and the lights behind and climb the quiet down beyond the Kennet to look down on the glow that rises from the hidden street, outlining St. Peter's tower.

The Hunter's Moon over the stream has risen,  
 A gleam among the poplars, then a vision  
 Large and serene behind their lattice frail.  
 The town deep down grows fiery in the vale.  
 Stealthily night draws on, but light in heaven  
 Lingers, a pure translucent spirit of day.  
 Here on the height, seeming of shadows woven,  
 Shadowless shapes, wayfarers go their way :  
 And deep, deep in the valley peers the tower  
 Sinking below the vaporious seas of even.

In the forties of the twentieth century that picture may still be ours  
 —and few there will be to share it !

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## ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

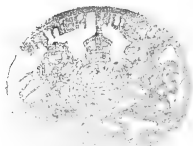
**Museum.**

- Presented by MR. B. H. CUNNINGTON: Wooden screw nutcracker.  
 „ „ MR. J. EYLES: Pair of barking irons (formerly used for stripping bark from oak trees for tanning).

**Library.**

- Presented by THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY; Deeds relating to Easton Priory and the Manors of Easton Royal.  
 „ „ MR. G. UNDERWOOD: Plan of Conkwell (Bradford-on-Avon) with probable prehistoric sites marked.  
 „ „ REV. E. C. GARDNER: Handbill of arrangements for Conservative Festival at Devizes, 1837.  
 Miscellanies in Verse and Prose, by John Lucas, Cobler, a Pensioner in Trinity Hospital, Salisbury, 1776.  
 „ „ MAJOR E. A. MACKAY: History of the Wiltshire Home Guard, 1940—1944.  
 „ „ MR. J. H. P. PAFFORD: Official Guide to Trowbridge (*circa* 1923).  
 Lines by a Countryman (Henry Webb, Hawkeridge, Westbury), 1882.  
 „ „ MISS D. SETH-SMITH: Notes and Drawings of Mason's Marks on the walls of Edington Church. MS.  
 „ „ MRS. A. C. CREWE: Two Poems by Stephen Duck.  
 „ „ MR. W. H. HALLAM: Monumental Inscriptions in Christ Church, Swindon, and (in collaboration with Mr. W. Hanks) Monumental Inscriptions in Holy Rood Church, Swindon.  
 Two numbers G.W.R. Magazine.  
 The Swindon Mirror, Nos. 4, 5, 6.  
 Photograph of tenor bell of Westbury Church, 1921.  
 „ „ MR. F. BENDER (Compiler): A Calendar of References to Sir Thomas Benger, Master of the Revels and Masques to Queen Elizabeth. (Benger's family was of Wiltshire origin).  
 „ „ MR. G. B. HONY: List of Birds in the Marlborough District (E. Meyrick, F.R.S.).  
 Report of Marlborough College Natural History Society 1912.  
 MS. notes and letters on Wiltshire Natural History.  
 „ „ MR. B. H. CUNNINGTON: The Kennett and Avon Canal and its [mason's] Marks, by Major Gorham.

- Presented by MR. O. MEYRICK : *Kaleidoscopiana Wiltoniensia*.  
(Account of Parliamentary Election for Wilts). 1818.
- „ „ BRITISH RECORDS ASSOCIATION : Five deeds relating to  
the Manor of Braydon.
- „ „ MR. W. A. WEBB : Transcript of Parish Registers of  
Compton Bassett, Baptisms 1563—1812, Marriages  
1558/9—1812, Extracts from Banns of Marriage 1754—  
1812, Burials 1558—1812.  
Photograph of piscina in window-sill in N. Wraxall  
church.
- „ „ MR. A. D. PASSMORE : Digest of evidence taken before a  
Committee of the House of Commons on Agricultural  
Customs in respect to Tenant Right. 1849.




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27 JAN 1947

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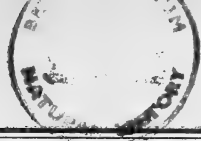
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 H. C. BRETNALL, F.S.A.,  
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[The authors of the papers printed in this Magazine are alone responsible for all statements made therein.]



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Members who have not paid their subscriptions to the Society for the current year are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, MR. R. D. OWEN, Bank Chambers, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of *Magazines* should be addressed.

The numbers of this *Magazine* will be delivered gratis, as issued, to members who are not in arrear of their annual subscriptions; but in accordance with Byelaw No. 8 "The Financial Secretary shall give notice to members in arrear, and the Society's publications will not be forwarded to members whose subscriptions shall remain unpaid after such notice."

Articles and other communications intended for the *Magazine*, and correspondence relating to them, should be addressed to the Editor, Granham West, Marlborough.

*All other correspondence*, except as specified elsewhere on this cover, to be addressed to the Hon. Assistant Secretary, Mr. Owen Meyrick, Thornhanger, Marlborough.

## RECORDS BRANCH

The Branch was founded in 1937 to promote the publication of original literary sources for the history of the county and of the means of reference thereto. The activities of the Branch are now being resumed. The subscription is £1 os. od. yearly and should be sent to Mr. Michael Jolliffe, Hon. Assistant Secretary, County Library Headquarters, Trowbridge.

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ABSTRACTS OF FEET OF FINES RELATING TO WILTSHIRE FOR THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I AND EDWARD II. Edited by R. B. Pugh 1939, pp. xix + 190.

ACCOUNTS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GARRISONS OF GREAT CHALFIELD AND MALMESBURY, 1645—1646. Edited by J. H. P. Pafford. 1940, pp. 112.

Unbound copies of the first of these can be obtained by members of the Branch. The second is out of print.

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WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

“MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS.”—Ovid.

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THE MEDIEVAL CHAPTER OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

By DR. E. F. JACOB, F.B.A., F.S.A.

The kindness of your society in asking me to address it makes me feel all the more disappointed that I cannot do so in person, and regretful that I have to inflict upon the courteous reader of this paper<sup>1</sup> the task of disentangling my poor sentences. My only claim to speak about the medieval chapter of your own cathedral church is that in the course of my studies I have come to know, perhaps more intimately than with other medieval societies, the personalities that made it one of the most interesting, certainly one of the most distinguished bodies in the later Middle Ages. My introduction to the records of the chapter came through Canon Christopher Wordsworth, with whom I spent many hours over the Cathedral Act Books and other muniments. I well remember my excitement when he first showed me in the Pountney Act Book the original manuscript of Richard Ullerston's sermon on St. Osmund, corrected in the preacher's own hand. The editor of your Cathedral Statutes, the author of *Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies* was himself a true index to Salisbury tradition and scholarship. Through him, in his library at Nicholas' Hospital, I first became acquainted with the work of Rich Jones, Malden, Bishop Frere and others who have written on Salisbury institutions and liturgical practice.

To a student of the Conciliar Movement, when the greatest of all bishops of your medieval see was almost the dominant force at the General Council of Constance, such scholarship made the strongest appeal. It brought St. Osmund's Cathedral, so entrancing for its characteristic English beauty and ritual, into a new universal context. One could see that its leading figures, men like Hallum, Bubwith, Polton or Chichele, stood prominently forth in the great oecumenical gatherings of Christendom; one could realize how much they struck the imagination of contemporaries, with what assurance they moved in a complicated and critical society where the least trace of provincialism would have condemned them to oblivion. Of course this is not what we commonly mean by local history, and, as far as I am aware, Wiltshire historians have not concerned themselves with it. They may prefer, and with very good reason, to build up the story of their own

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. M. Young. The author has kindly revised it for publication.

stones and institutions; while their hagiographers possess, in the miracles of St. Osmund, as rich a source of local custom and belief as at Canterbury, Walsingham or Beverley. What local sportsmen could resist the story of the hockey match, Quidhampton v. Bemerton, when the teams fell to blows and John Combe of Quidhampton suffered a broken head and right shoulder; and, as he lay sick and motionless, after three months, "there appeared to him a man clothed in a white garment and shining so brightly as to illumine the whole house, who told him to make a model of his head and shoulders in wax, and to mark them with wounds similar to his own, and to go to Osmund the bishop and make an offering of the wax model and pray to him and he should be made whole".<sup>1</sup> Needless to say, Osmund the bishop did his part. But my theme is the Chapter of Salisbury, and in its records your local historians will find material for the topography, for the institutions and for the personalities of the medieval Cathedral Church. Its Registers or Act Books, which of recent years first Mrs. Robertson, later Dr. Kathleen Edwards, used for their respective studies of the Choir School and of the canons' houses in the Close, are a precious possession. When supplemented by the Cathedral Statutes and other sources, they enable us to reconstruct a notable medieval community.

Not only in appearance, but constitutionally, a medieval cathedral was a great ship with many decks or departments. Modern practice makes one think only of dean and canons, organist (very important), choir and vergers: but the pre-Reformation cathedral, and Salisbury in particular, maintained a formidable hierarchy of clerks of various descriptions: each residentiary canon, and sometimes the non-resident too, had a vicar choral to represent him in choir, and in time the vicars became a corporate body or college capable of holding common property: such minor colleges were found in most medieval secular cathedrals. Below them came the cantarists who sang, for their chantry foundations, the anniversaries or masses commemorating individuals who had left gifts and bequests to the Cathedral. At Salisbury the cantarists were subject to the dean and chapter for discipline, and the Dunham Act book shows that charges against them on the score of incontinence, drunkenness, brawling in the city and the like were heard in the Chapter House before the dean or president and a special chapter of residentiary canons. Below the cantarists came clerks "of the second form", who sat in the second row of choir stalls beneath the vicars choral and the cantarists but above the choristers, and whose duties were mainly connected with the cantarists. Below these were other *ministri inferiores*, down to those who performed the more menial tasks. All these groups were ruled by the chapter with its dignitaries, dean, chancellor, arch-deacon, treasurer, as the main departmental heads of the Cathedral, if we may so call them; and above them, in a very special, delicately

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<sup>1</sup> H. E. Malden, *The Canonization of St. Osmund* (Salisbury, 1901), p. 72.

adjusted and frequently contested relationship which varied from cathedral to cathedral, stood the pastor of the mother church of the diocese, the bishop himself. I propose very briefly to review certain aspects of this chapter governance, before passing to biographical detail.

First, the position of the bishop. Dr. Kathleen Edwards has pointed out that Salisbury is the only English secular cathedral at which medieval bishops are known to have established a legal claim to share in the election of the dean.<sup>1</sup> This is the more remarkable because the Salisbury customs and statutes gave far less prominence to the bishop's office and dignity than those of Lincoln and St. Paul's. The position of the bishop in his chapter at Salisbury differed fundamentally from that of his fellow bishops in theirs, because from the foundation of the original cathedral at Old Sarum he had a prebend permanently annexed to his office. He was therefore able to attend chapter meetings in his capacity as prebendary when he might have been excluded as bishop. In 1219 Bishop Richard Poore stated in his letters patent that "since Blessed Osmund and his chapter by unanimous and deliberate council constituted that the bishop of Salisbury should be admitted to the secrets of the chapter like a canon and should have a prebend with his bishopric, and since this prebend (that of Major Pars Altaris) consisted in uncertain profits, namely the pentecostal oblations at the high altar, the chapter have now provided that for the future the prebend of Horton should be annexed to the bishopric . . . lest at any time the bishop should lack a prebend and so be excluded from the secrets of the chapter."<sup>2</sup> In 1254 Alexander IV allowed Horton to be exchanged for Potterne, which the bishop of Salisbury still possesses.<sup>3</sup> After his enthronement the bishop was solemnly admitted as canon and prebendary to his stall in choir and place in chapter. He wore the canonical habit and swore the usual canonical oath to observe the ancient and approved customs of the Church, to keep the secrets of the chapter and to pay his vicar choral's stipend regularly. In this case however, the canon's wonted promise to obey the dean was omitted.

But Salisbury custom prescribed that the bishop, as prebendary, should not attempt to assume the presidency of the chapter. Possibly this was the reason why he was able, throughout the Middle Ages and afterwards, to maintain his position in a chapter so apprehensive of

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<sup>1</sup> In Ch. II of "The Clergy of the English secular cathedrals in the fourteenth century with special reference to the Clergy of Salisbury" (Doctoral thesis, Univ. of Manchester, 1940). Dr. Edward's thesis is to be published by the Manchester University Press. I should like to express my obligation to this work, which is several times cited below.

<sup>2</sup> *Charters and Documents illustrating the history . . . of Salisbury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, ed. W. H. R. Jones and W. D. Mackay, p. 95.      <sup>3</sup> *Register of St. Osmund*, ff. 196—7.      2 K 2

any invasion of its independent rights. In 1319 Bishop Mortival consented in chapter to the code of statutes which he himself had prepared, not as bishop and president, but as prebendary of Potterne. Later, at the Whitsuntide chapters held at Salisbury for resident and non-resident canons between 1562 and 1740, the dean always took the chair, even when the bishop was present. There were other occasions at Salisbury when the bishop sat in chapter *in loco suo principali*, as at visitations, and probably when the chapter, as his council, gave its consent to appropriations of churches, to manumissions of serfs, or to grants of land from the episcopal estates. Moreover he might at one and the same meeting be called upon to act in his two different capacities. A 1392 composition between Bishop Waltham and his chapter declared that "on any day the bishop can enter chapter as a canon, and if anything be referred to his correction, he can enjoin as bishop that it be corrected".<sup>1</sup>

It would not be the Middle Ages if the canons were not suspicious of their bishop. Relations in the fourteenth century were full of friction. One potent cause had nothing to do with constitutional rights, but was over the question of commons.

Certain chapters might pay daily commons to their bishop, as to any other member of the cathedral body, when he attended the cathedral services. Salisbury chapter declared in 1355 that Bishop Wyville was trying to take too substantial a share of its common goods by practice of residing and attending the services. Dr. Edwards has pointed out to me that the communar account rolls extant at Salisbury for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that normally the canons had little cause to worry on this account. In most years the bishop received no commons at all; when he did, the sums paid to him came to little more than sixpence or one shilling a quarter, representing a stay of only one or two days at the cathedral. English bishops in the Middle Ages seem rarely to have been present in their cathedrals, even at the ceremonies and feasts in which they had the right and the duty to take a leading part. Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury from 1297—1315, seems only to have been in Salisbury for one Christmas and five Easters during the eighteen years of his episcopate. Not only the need for travelling in order to supervise a large diocese, but motives of precaution also dictated that bishops should prefer to stay at their manor houses in country districts rather than risk a conflict with the dean and chapter in their cathedral cities. For instance, it was highly desirable at the outset of an episcopate to avoid clashes such as occurred at Salisbury itself in 1388 over the bishop's oath. In the fourteenth century a number of chapters succeeded in forcing their bishops to swear an oath on the gospels at the west door of the cathedral, before their admission for enthronement, to observe and defend the customs and

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Dr. K. Edwards, *op. cit.*, from *Statuta et Consuetudines ecclesiae Cathedralis Sarisberiensis*, pp. 290—1.

liberties of the Church. At Salisbury both sides were so determined that the canons eventually threatened to refuse attendance at Bishop Waltham's enthronement, even though the king himself should come to it, unless the bishop would agree to swear the oath in the form they maintained was customary. The bishop finally had to give way. But at the ceremony, when the cathedral chancellor had read the words aloud to him, Bishop Waltham, repeating them, added on his own account, "saving the rights and customs of our Church of Salisbury and of our pontifical dignity".<sup>1</sup> Waltham was a determined man, for he went so far as to suppress the canon's oath to the dean, as well as to appropriate the profits of the deanery when vacant. In both of these attempts he was defeated: on the latter head, the composition of 1392 laid down that "as regards the fruits, commodities and profits of the deanery when vacant, and the jurisdiction of the same, and all other things accruing in the time of vacancy, let them belong to the chapter fully, peacefully and quietly, and let the chapter have and exercise them all fully in time to come".

The claim of a bishop to visit his cathedral chapter—a claim made and resisted in a neighbouring diocese in our own time—was the occasion of a notable victory by the chapter of Salisbury. In 1262 Bishop Giles of Bridport, who had become bishop of Salisbury after being dean of Wells, revoked his mandate for a visitation of the chapter, stating that, from his examination of the constitutions of Blessed Osmund and the Salisbury customs, he had decided that none of his predecessors had exercised or demanded such a visitation. On behalf of himself and his successors he therefore exempted all members of the cathedral church and of the canons' prebends for the future from episcopal visitation.<sup>2</sup> As late as 1392 the Salisbury chapter maintained their exemption, but after a thirteen years struggle with their bishops they were at last compelled, under pressure from the king and from Pope Boniface IX, to allow certain rights of visitation to their bishop, John Waltham, and other rights, more restricted, to his successors. For the future, bishops of Salisbury might visit their cathedral once in seven years and could bring one notary and one clerk with them. But under no circumstances could the bishop visit the churches and estates of the prebends and the common fund.

Secondly, the canons themselves. In England the foundation and endowment of the canons' prebends (their separate "provender", income or estates) generally took place in the late eleventh, twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. St. Osmund is said to have made provision for thirty-two prebendaries, at Salisbury in the late eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> By the thirteenth century Lincoln, Salisbury and Wells were the largest English secular chapters. Lincoln and Wells each had fifty-four prebendaries; Salisbury had fifty-two. In the later Middle Ages, the

<sup>1</sup> Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, Dunham Act Book, fo. 57.    <sup>2</sup> *Salisbury Statutes*, pp. 96—7.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24—5.



canons of the English secular cathedral were very much of a mixture socially, being men from different ranks and varying occupations. Unlike some continental chapters, such as Lyons, which laid down that all its canons must have at least four strains of nobility in their blood, or Cologne and other Rhineland chapters, which consisted almost entirely of ecclesiastics belonging to local noble families, men of all social strata, excepting freedmen and serfs, could be admitted to the English chapters. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they contained numbers of clerks who had risen in the royal service or in the universities, appointed through the influence of king or pope. After the 1390 reissue of the Statute of Provisors the contingent of papal provisors dwindled and an increasing number of civil servants drew their income from this source. A prominent Chancery official might have as many as six or seven prebends in different cathedrals besides, perhaps, a stall in one or more of the royal free chapels. Another influential category was that of the *generosi*, young men of noble or gentle birth who acquired dispensations at an early age.<sup>1</sup> *Nobilitas generis* gave a well-born clerk, even if he had only received minor orders, a claim upon a collegiate foundation, although, perhaps, the tendency was for these fortunate people to be appointed to the colleges proper rather than to the cathedral chapters.

All holders of prebends were supposed to be in holy orders and therefore at least twenty-two years of age—the age at which by canon law a clerk could be admitted as subdeacon. Yet, as we noted, boys in minor orders were sometimes admitted by dispensation of the pope: the statutes of Salisbury and Wells made provision for them to sit on the lower form in the choir among the boy choristers. Originally there had been all orders of clerks in the early episcopal *familiæ*. Throughout the Middle Ages the canons' statutory choir duties required that they should be fairly equally divided among the three orders of priest, deacon and subdeacon, the priest prebends being usually the most valuable. But by the later Middle Ages the distinction had generally disappeared. A priest canon could always minister at the altar, when necessary, in the offices of deacon or subdeacon. The difference is largely due to the important fact that by the later Middle Ages a large part of the cathedral choir duties had come to be performed by the vicars choral, supervised and directed by the slowly diminishing group of residentiary canons. Both in choir and chapter the vicars now bore the burden of the services in place of the full body of canons. Residence for the canons was optional, and if a canon wished to become a residentiary, he now made a formal entry into residence and swore a special oath on the gospels, distinct from the oath which he took on his first admission as a canon and prebendary of the church. Such an entry into residence dated 25

<sup>1</sup> For examples of such, cf., Jacob, "Petitions for Benefices from English Universities during the Great Schism", *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. xxvii (1945), pp. 57—8.

October, 1334, is recorded in the first extant Act Book of Salisbury Chapter, Reg. Hemingsby, fo. 3. <sup>1</sup>

There thus grew up, in the early fourteenth century, a fairly clear division of the canons into the two more or less distinct groups of residentiaries and non-residents, each with carefully defined duties and privileges. It was the practical solution—not perhaps an ideal one—of the problem of frequent and unregulated non-residence which reached alarming proportions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. “The chief object of most cathedral statutes at this time was no longer to force or even to encourage all canons to reside (the canons’ houses were far too few for that), but simply to ensure that a sufficient proportion of the whole body of canons would reside constantly at the cathedral to maintain its services and work”.<sup>2</sup> Gradually the residentiaries came to form a close corporation which gained almost complete control over cathedral government and business.

Salisbury, followed by Lichfield, had its own way of dealing with the problem of residence. Instead of requiring a long annual residence from those canons who chose to reside, the chapter during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries resolved to regard a short period of residence as obligatory by their statutes on all canons, exempting only clerks in the service of king, archbishop and bishop, and certain university students. The minimum period of annual residence decided upon by the chapter (and Lichfield followed this practice) was three months or a quarter of the year; the aim was that a quarter of the canons should always be in residence together. Any canon who did not keep his quarterly residence at the statutory time and who could show no reasonable excuse was bound as a punishment to pay a fifth of his prebendal income to the common fund for the use of the residentiaries. Canon Wordsworth thought it probable that originally the Salisbury table of residence, like that of Lichfield, assigned the four quarters of the year respectively to the four dignitaries of the cathedral, and arranged that the canons called upon to reside in any one quarter of the year should be those whose choir stalls were in the same *quarterium* of the choir as that of the *persona* responsible for three months’ residence.<sup>3</sup> By 1319, however, the time when Bishop Mortival published his code of Salisbury statutes, the rota of residence was different: the residentiaries were now to be drawn not from one quarter of the choir only, but roughly half from the *decani* and half from the *cantoris* side; and each quarter was to include members of all three groups of priest deacon and subdeacon prebendaries.<sup>4</sup>

A substantial burden for the new residentiary was the entrance feast, condemned by Bishop Mortival of Salisbury on the (to-day) very appropriate ground that “it swallowed up in one short hour provisions

<sup>1</sup> Canon Christopher Wordsworth first pointed out to me the passage.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. K. Edwards, *op. cit.*, ch. i, ‘The Canons and their Residence’.

<sup>3</sup> *Salisbury Statutes*, p. 157 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156 f.

which had been calculated to last for many days". At St. Paul's the feast for those beginning the "greater" residence was ruinously expensive;<sup>1</sup> but Salisbury chapter was more sensible than the wealthy London corporation. It invited the non-resident canons to make trial of residence at their cathedral, and, in order to encourage them, reduced substantially the burden of the feast, for the new residentiary was forbidden to spend upon it more than the annual value of his prebend.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, as Dr. Edwards has pointed out, some pledge of the new-comer's purpose to reside was necessary, and he was accordingly required to pay forty shillings as a kind of pledge that within a definite time he would either provide an entrance feast at his house or pay a fine of £40 to the cathedral fabric. "The Chapter Act Books show that during the greater part of the fourteenth century most new residentiaries preferred to pay the fine rather than provide the entrance feast".<sup>3</sup> The chapter of residentiaries was not extortionate over the exaction of the fine. Several times it reduced the amount from £40 to £20, or agreed that payment should be postponed for as long as two years, if the new residentiary demurred to paying at once. Salisbury seems to have been one of the first English chapters where an entrance fee came to be substituted for feasting. Throughout the greater part of the fourteenth century the amount of the fee was comparatively moderate.

Towards the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century a change took place in the Salisbury practice. From 1386 heavier payments were enforced. In 1404 Master Henry Harborough paid a hundred marks for his entrance;<sup>4</sup> in 1406 and 1413 the chapter declared that no entrance fee should be less than forty pounds and that it had the right to demand a higher sum.<sup>5</sup> Finally in 1428 the chapter forbade all entrance feasts and imposed a fine of 107 marks, 6 shillings and 8 pence upon every simple canon entering residence, and upon every dignitary 157 marks, 6 shillings and 8 pence.<sup>6</sup> The chapter had to meet heavy expenses, particularly after 1412, in pressing forward the business of St. Osmund's canonization at the Court of Rome (finally achieved in 1452). The increased fee was, in effect, a canonization tax.<sup>7</sup>

Besides fulfilling their duties at the Cathedral services and dispensing hospitality, the residentiary canons of the later Middle Ages formed the body which conducted the business affairs of the cathedral and chapter. They were appointed as chapter commissaries to visit or administer the common estates; to hold inquisitions about repairs needed in the separate prebends, on chapter farms or in the canonical houses of residence.

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Eccl. Cathedralis Sancti Pauli*, ed. Sparrow Simpson, pp. 125—8. <sup>2</sup> *Salisbury Statutes*, pp. 144—7.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, ch. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Draper Act Book, fo. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Salisbury Statutes*, pp. 308 f.

<sup>7</sup> On Salisbury's efforts towards this end, cf. Jacob, "Some English Documents of the Conciliar Movement", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xv, 384.

They collected taxes from the prebends; they might be sent to conduct chapter litigation in the Court of Rome or in the secular courts, or to undertake negotiations with the bishop or monastic houses. There was plenty of business for a man with an administrative mind. The chapter of a medieval cathedral invariably contained eminent canonists and civilians, sometimes among the residentiaries, more often among its non-resident members, who might be in the thick of royal or provincial administration. Such experts were in a position to pull strings for the chapter; and it must be admitted that in the fifteenth century lawyers were more abundant in the chapter than theologians. One favourite device for securing the favour and assistance of the great was the admission of royal or noble persons to the confraternity of the Cathedral. The Prince of Wales (Henry of Monmouth) and his brother Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, were admitted—Humphrey in person—into the fraternity on 15th September 1409, and Queen Joan, with the ladies and gentlemen of her court, a year later. They would be valuable in the movement to canonize the founder of the Cathedral Church.

Much of the canons' weekly activity in chapter can be gathered from the Act Books. Some of it is concerned with entry upon residence and the assignment of the houses in the Close; some with the prebend and prebendal estates. The chapter as such seems to have been a fairly business-like body, but its individual members were not always so careful. In the fifteenth century it is curious to note how many suits for the recovery of dilapidations came into the archbishop's Court of Audience.<sup>1</sup> Chichele was constantly beset with claims made by an incoming Salisbury prebendary against the executors of a deceased canon, on account of "notable defects" in the prebendal houses and farm. Even Robert Hallum was alleged by his successor in the bishopric, John Chaundler, to have left uncorrected "notable and enormous deficiencies" in his castles and manors and in the properties belonging both to his prebends and to the episcopal manse.<sup>2</sup> Probably a bishop like Hallum, who had lived for his last three years continuously abroad, had been unable to keep his agents in England up to the mark. The fact that these cases came "by complaint" into the archbishop's Audience points to the inability of the consistory court to provide a remedy. The steps taken by the Audience were to sequestrate and to conduct a strict inquiry in order to arrive at a fair assessment of the dilapidations. It seems doubtful whether the chapter could do anything about the episcopal castles and manors, but the state of the prebends was most decidedly their concern, and they cannot be wholly absolved from responsibility. But when in 1423 the archbishop visited the chapter and examined the canons, enquiring, we are told, into local *defectus*, the *comperta* or list of established offences was so inconsiderable that a few words of injunction orally (*verbotenus*) to the dean were all that was required.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, iv, 29, 35—6, 43, 56—7, 83—4, 86.   <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 61—2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 514.

And now for the men themselves. The first half of the fifteenth century can show a series of notable bishops.

At the opening of the fifteenth century Richard Medford was bishop and his brother Walter chancellor (1402). The bishop had been Richard II's secretary for the critical years 1385—7. He began as a clerk in the king's chapel and his intimacy with royal business (the chapel clerks did a lot of administrative work) enabled him to organise and develop the office of the signet. Constantly with Richard, he gathered from his master a rich sheaf of dignities and prebends. It was his practice of making signet letters lawful warrant for acts under the Great Seal. That was brought to an end when the storm of opposition to the king and his ministers broke in the parliament of 1386. Medford attended Richard on his wanderings throughout England in 1387. The next year, when the Merciless Parliament took its fateful steps against the king's friends, Medford and his fellow clerks were arrested shortly after Christmas and sent to the Tower. He was later moved to Bristol castle. On 14th June, 1389, he was released on bail, pledging himself to live peaceably in his own dwelling, not to gainsay the acts of parliament, and not to present himself to the king's presence or send him any business of state. But before this undertaking was given, the pope had already nominated Medford bishop of Chichester, and he was given the temporalities in 1390. He stayed at Chichester until 1395, when he was translated to Salisbury, which he held till his death in 1407.<sup>1</sup>

By 1395 he had probably had his fill of politics, and his future was to be a quiet one. He may have been an easy-going man, for he failed to grapple with the scandal at the Berkshire nunnery of Bromhale, which so moved Henry IV that he got Archbishop Arundel to appoint a special commission (on which Robert Hallum figured) to enquire into the conduct of the prioress Julian Dunne "owing to the negligence and defect of our venerable brother" (Medford). Amongst her other offences Julian had been imprisoned for poaching at Windsor, and had so terrorised the foresters that when she was released they petitioned for her incarceration. Aided and abetted by her son, John Bromhale, she reduced the small Benedictine community to a ruinous condition ("bien près désolat et en voie de perdition"). But this episode came at the end of Medford's episcopate, and he can best be judged by his appointments to the chapter. Apart from that of his brother Walter—a distinguished man who became dean of Wells as well as papal nuncio and collector-general in England—the happiest accession was that of Dr. Henry Chichele as archdeacon of Dorset and vicar general. As archdeacon of Salisbury (1402) and as chancellor (1404), Chichele, the future archbishop, gained at Salisbury an experience of diocesan administration which, when joined with his diplomatic gifts, learning and piety, made him on the death of

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<sup>1</sup> For Medford's official career, cf. T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, iii, 400, 405, 452—3, 457; v. 219—20.

Arundel, the strongest candidate for St. Augustine's see. Throughout his life he remained devoted and loyal to Salisbury; so greatly did he value its Use that he persuaded other cathedrals to adopt it;<sup>1</sup> and some of its canons were among his closest friends. More members of Salisbury than of any other chapter had their wills proved by Chichele when archbishop. The Act-books show him in residence in the Close from 18th November, 1404, but he appears most frequently in the months between September 1405 and April 1406. In the latter year the chancellor set out upon his diplomatic missions for Henry IV, which lasted till 1408, when, as bishop of St. David's, he was selected by Robert Hallum to accompany him to the council of Pisa.

When Chichele came to the diocese he had to litigate for two years against the papal provisor in the archdeaconry of Dorset. In virtue of a reservation, Nicholas Bubwith had been appointed by the pope before Chichele got there, and was not easily displaced, though he was silenced in the end, and Chichele, already acting as archdeacon, received anew that dignity from the Holy See. Bubwith, one of the greatest pluralists of the later Middle Ages, had been, like Medford, king's secretary;<sup>2</sup> he was to succeed the latter for a brief period as bishop of Salisbury and then to be translated to Wells. The struggle evidently did not impair his friendship with his rival for the archdeaconry, for Chichele was later to send him with Hallum to Constance. Though Thomas Langley of Durham might have been in the running, Bubwith must have been Chichele's only serious competitor for the primacy. The tough Yorkshireman was keeper of the Privy Seal in 1405, a member of the king's Council in 1406 and treasurer of England in 1407. It may be noted that in his will (1424) he made Henry Beaufort the supervisor of his executors;<sup>3</sup> may there perhaps be found here a reason why he was passed over for Canterbury? Henry V was on excellent terms with Beaufort in 1414, the year of Chichele's appointment; but, as far as possible, he always kept uncle Henry well to heel and did not encourage the formation of a Beaufort group or interest—a development that took place in Henry VI's reign. The presence at Canterbury of an ecclesiastic too friendly to the powerful bishop of Winchester would have been most undesirable.

Medford and Bubwith reached their positions from the vantage ground of the royal service. But the Salisbury chapter had a tradition of learning and respect for education dating well back to the thirteenth century, when Bishop Simon of Ghent granted more dispensations to the clerks of his diocese to study at a university than any other contemporary bishop, and the cathedral school had nearly developed into a *Studium Generale*. The three canons with whom I shall now deal were all distinguished academics. William Loryng, fellow of Merton,

<sup>1</sup> Draper Act-book, fo. 20 v.

<sup>2</sup> See the biography of him in J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary*, pp. 160—2, and in *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, ii, 300.

brother of Sir Nigel Loryng, steward of the Black Prince's household, was an Oxford LL.D., but a theologian as well as a lawyer. He gave Merton one of its still extant manuscripts containing the *De errore Pelagii* of William of Auvergne, Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* and other works that included his own treatise on prebends.<sup>1</sup> He left his Roman Law books to the University Library at Cambridge. Loryng must have been an important figure in the administration of the cathedral, for in John Chaundler's will we hear of an ordinance or composition he helped to make governing the conduct of the common funds both of the canons and of the vicars choral. A man of taste, he went to great expense in repairing and adding new buildings to his house called "Hemingsby" in the Close. Loryng died between December 1415 and March 1416 as a residentiary, holding the prebend of Torleton. How long he was a canon I find it hard to say, but he was a comparatively old man at his death.

The second of the academics was to become the greatest of the medieval bishops of Salisbury, possibly one of the greatest churchmen of the fifteenth century. Robert Hallum,<sup>2</sup> who was born shortly before 1370, came from the neighbourhood of Warrington in Lancashire: he was trained in the Canterbury administration, for he was registrar to Archbishop Courtenay between 1389—94 and later was Archbishop Arundel's chancellor and auditor of causes, besides holding the archdeaconry of Canterbury. He was chancellor of Oxford University from 1403 to 1406, and in the latter year was nominated by Gregory XII as archbishop of York, but owing to Henry IV's objection (we do not know the grounds) was transferred to Salisbury. The choice was appropriate, for in 1395 Hallum had been prebendary of Bitton. In 1408 great events were at hand. The cardinals had finally revolted from their two masters and had decided to hold a general council to terminate the schism. There could have been no better selection than Hallum as leader of the English delegation to the Council of Pisa. The records of the Council point to the authority he exercised there and shew him discussing the reform of the religious orders. At Oxford his friend Richard Ullerston had dedicated to him his *Petitions of the Church militant in the matter of reform* and the treatise was very much to Hallum's liking. He was a moderate Conciliar, respectful of apostolic authority, critical of its abuse, inclining (like Gerson) to base it upon the consent and approval of the whole body of the church.

At the Council of Constance (his next big task) Hallum, as leader of the English delegation and closely in touch with Henry V, had to take momentous decisions which influenced the whole course of Church history. The English plan of voting by nations rather than by heads or by ecclesiastical provisors threatened to seal the fate of Pope John

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> I have given a brief biography of him in *Reg. Chichele*, ii, 656, and referred to his qualities in *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, pp. 76—84.

XXIII, who, if it was accepted, could no longer be maintained by the numerous Italian prelates that thronged the Council. The French were persuaded to adopt it, and John fled and was deposed. After the deposition Hallum and the patriarch of Antioch are indicated by William Fillastre, in his diary, as the main upholders of the supremacy of the Council over the cardinals and the Roman Curia. The bitter complaints of the French Cardinals. Fillastre and d'Ailly against this disliked—but very just—control, and against the severe and parsimonious way in which the nations treated the Court of Rome, single out Hallum as a leading agent of Conciliar dominance.<sup>1</sup> How much our bishop of Salisbury had to do with the Council's famous decrees perpetuating its own life ("Frequens") or asserting its superiority over any and every authority, even papal, in matters of faith and reform ("Sacrosancta") we do not know; but the firm resolve of the English nation to support the Germans in advocating a policy of ecclesiastical reform in head and members can have had only one source. Hallum had to withstand the opposition of the French cardinals and the fierce rivalry of the Aragonese, both wanting to displace the English nation in the Council and force it to amalgamate with the Germans; he had to moderate the unwise partisan zeal of the emperor Sigismund, Henry V's ally in the Treaty of Canterbury, and make him a little more conciliatory to the Latins; and he had to keep discipline in a somewhat miscellaneous delegation of between 500 and 600 persons, the greater proportion of them laymen in attendance upon the king's diplomatic representatives or upon their ecclesiastical masters, men quick to arm and enter into foray with the lay retinues of the other nations. All through the difficult phases Hallum kept his head, and found time to think of more peaceful things: Along with his colleague Bubwith he persuaded Giovanni di Serravalle, bishop of Fermo, to translate the Divine Comedy into Latin verse. That he was a stylist can be seen from his sermons, as well as from some of the letters in his Register, still preserved at Salisbury. Elsewhere I have dwelt on his firm yet enlightened rule in his diocese.<sup>2</sup> He was nominated cardinal by John XXIII, but never received the hat nor styled himself so. He had no inclination to receive such honour from Pope John, whom he helped to discard.

Hallum is still more than a name in Constance. At the Cathedral they shew you his splendid full-length brass before the high altar, where he was buried: for he died there in the autumn of 1417, two months before the election of the Colonna Pope Martin V. What hopes were set upon Hallum and reform can be seen from the text of the sermon to which I alluded at the beginning of this paper. Richard Ullerston, who preached it, Hallum's friend at Oxford, was his most fortunate acquisition. Like Loryng he was a genuine academic: a fellow of Queen's 1391—1403, who resided about 33 years in Oxford, and was

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ed., H. Finke, ii, 114—5, 133—4.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, p. 82 f.



chancellor during 1407. Ullerston became prebendary of Axford on 25th March, 1416, and was admitted as a residentiary on the 17th December, 1416. He died in 1423.<sup>1</sup> In Oxford he had been a member of a little Queen's College circle which seems to have been in touch with the Court, for from it Henry V had not only literary works dedicated to him, but chaplains and administrators for his service. The treatise Ullerston dedicated to Henry was the *De Officio Militari*,<sup>2</sup> dealing with the moral duties of a knight. But his better known works were the "Petitions of the church militant" to which I have alluded, written for Hallum's guidance at Pisa, and the *Defensorium Dotacionis Ecclesie* or Defence of the Endowment of the Church, written at Oxford in 1401. This latter is a work of apologetic; standing as it does after the treatises of FitzRalph of Armagh and Uthred of Boldon right in the thick of the Lollard controversy, it possesses considerable importance. Significantly it was dedicated to Archbishop Arundel, the pillar of the defence against the attack on church endowments. But if Ullerston was a defender of them, he was also a critic of clerical deficiencies, and in the Petitions, seven years later, it is interesting to find him conducting a strong attack on the contemporary abuses in the church—dispensations, exemption from diocesan authority, the abnormal number of appropriations of livings to the religious houses. In this attitude he had the support not only of Hallum, but of Archbishop Chichele himself, who was suspected by the more conservative Benedictines of hostility towards the position of the exempt religious. Ullerston's sermon shows his pride in, and hope for, the cause sustained by his own bishop and fellow progressives in the Council of Constance: and his confidence in the *Institutio Sancti Osmundi*, which is the ordering of services and scheme of government reputedly drawn up by St. Osmund for his church. The sermon was the prelude to a chapter decision to give up for the next seven years a tenth of the annual income of their prebends to the expenses of the canonization, and also to appropriate to the same object the admission fees of canons entering upon residence during the same period.

The literary tradition of Richard Ullerston was continued in the chapter by the precentor Nicholas Upton, who, with Simon Houchyns was sent in 1452 to Rome as proctor for the bishop, dean and chapter in the matter of St. Osmund's canonization. Like the then chancellor, Andrew Holles, Upton was a Wykehamist who became fellow of New College in 1415, retaining the fellowship till 1424. He served in the French war under Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, and after the earl's death attached himself—as they all did—to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. In Montagu's will he is described as "Master Nicholas Upton" and, in the places where he is mentioned, named first of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Malden, *Canonization of St. Osmund*, p. 236 v.; *D. N. B.* art. "Ullerston"; and (for the fullest material) A. H. Wood, "Richard Ullerston, Canon of Salisbury", (Dissertation, Univ. of Manchester Library, 2 vols., 1936).

<sup>2</sup> In Wood, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.

executors, which suggests that he was a favourite clerk of the earl's chapel in the field. I do not think that he was a layman, as is sometimes implied, but in minor orders; but he must have taken holy orders by 1431 when he was collated to a prebend in Wells Cathedral, and in the autumn of that year he was given Major Pars Altaris at Salisbury. He became cantor or precentor in 1416, by which time he was also prebendary of Wildland in St. Paul's. He was also warden of the college of Vaux (*de valle scholarium*) in Salisbury. He lived, Mr. Malden tells us, in a house which he is supposed to have built in the north-west angle of the Close. He died in the summer of 1457.<sup>1</sup>

Upton has a place in the literature of heraldry by reason of his treatise *De studio militari* or *De militari officio*, edited first by Bysse and, in more recent times, by Dr. F. P. Barnard. Dedicated to Duke Humphrey, the work is a little compendium of military science and heraldry: it describes the duties of a herald in war and peace, discusses nobility and titles, discourses on the government and regulation of armies. The third and fourth books are purely heraldic, dealing with the colours used in heraldry and with heraldic terms. It has been argued by Mr. Evan Jones in his study of the *Tractatus de armis* of Johannes de Bado Aureo that Upton's treatise is simply a revision of the work of Johannes, whom he identifies with Siôn Trefor, bishop of St. Asaph, and that it is in fact by Trefor himself, not Upton at all. There is an unquestionable similarity between these treatises and the *Tractatus de armis*, but similarity in the Middle Ages is no proof of identity of authorship. Medieval borrowing is quite unashamed and unshameable: if an author whom you were reading said a thing you wanted to say better than you yourself could, you merely lifted the passage and put it into your own work, often without acknowledgement. If arguments and arrangement are identical in the two treatises, it may merely mean that Upton had diligently studied Trefor (if it was he). The dedication to Duke Humphrey in the *De studio militari*, wherein Upton declares that the present treatise represents his maturer correction of an earlier work, and alludes to an assertion of Duke Humphrey that he (Nicholas) *had seen many things in the French wars*, is some argument for the traditional view, while we should note that Upton's work may be far from original and owe much to an earlier writer.

The point of special interest about Upton's treatise is its blending of learning and personal military experience. Upton was both a civilian and a canonist and cites with equal ease from both laws. He uses John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and St. Bernard on the Templars very frequently; there are many citations from the great civilian Bartolus of Sassoferrato, with whose *De nobilitate* he is very familiar. In Book II, chapter xii, he quotes in full, very significantly, a safe-conduct issued by Thomas Montagu to the people of St. Loup, a small township near the Orléanais, to come and go through the English army between 15th April

<sup>1</sup> *Canonization*, p. xx.

and 15th May. Montagu was operating in the area during the late spring of 1418, so that Upton was probably drawing upon his own personal knowledge and records. So too when he speaks of the duties of the heralds in war. This young New College clerk in attendance upon the great English captain had both his academic authorities and his war service to rely upon when he wrote the *De studio militari* in more peaceful times.

Upton has been described as a man of strong personality. As Mr. Malden said, "he tried hard to check the licence which had been allowed to grow up in connection with the custom of the Boy Bishop; he detected and exposed a fraud which had been imposed on the Dean and Chapter by an erasure in a deed; and whenever there was any important ceremony to take place in, or in connection with, the cathedral, he took the lead in making all the necessary arrangements".<sup>1</sup> He was a man of some personal courage: once he protected Lord de Moleyns (afterwards third earl of Hungerford) from a mob that was threatening his life, and took him safely within the gates of the Close. His English style when he wrote from Rome to the dean and chapter (who had not sent him the funds he and Houchyns needed) is racy and vigorous: "we have bete thair (Rome) gapyng after your letters without comfort of you and Tarentyn (the Archbishop of Tarentum, who promised to act in Salisbury interests), as I shal more playnly telle you at commyng. By God I trow and [if] money had been in the bank, our mater had be sped or this with lytelle mony consydering the gretnesse thereof . . . . I pray God put the holy ghost among yow, and so herte [hearten] you in youre blest mater that negligence or yvell let hit not, there schal be no defaute in us".

Dean from 1402 to 1417, when he succeeded Hallum as Bishop, John Chaundler takes us back to the succession of king's clerks; yet he was connected with the chapter for the greater part of his life. His first prebend was Netherbury in 1388; he was treasurer in 1394, holding Calne; and ten years later dean, though he kept the treasurership of St. Paul's (which was also in his hands) till 1409. He was Queen Joan's first treasurer, having been sent by Henry IV to fetch her from Brittany, and treasurer too to Princess Blanche. His will, one of the most elaborate of any proved by Archbishop Chichele,<sup>2</sup> makes complete provision for the cathedral staff: for the canons, the vicars, cantarists, choristers and altarists; for the two sacrists and their boys, for the subdean and succentor, the master of the grammar schools, the master carpenter and master mason; for the clerk of the works, the workmen under him, the janitor and the beadle. Sums of money are left to the fabric of his various prebendal churches and to the poor of their parishes; but his most noteworthy bequests are of his pontifical vestments to the Cathedral sacristy and of the moneys he left to the common funds both of the canons and of the vicars choral, to be distributed, in case of need, by the communars. There were other rewards for the vicars: by his

<sup>1</sup> *Canonization*, pp. xxi—ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, ii, 346—53.

direction the society was to be divided into three, one group to say the office of the dead, the second lauds, the third the requiem each night until the thirtieth day. One would like to have seen the "great breviary" which he bequeathed to the Cathedral, "to remain in the treasury of the said church and not elsewhere, nor to be taken or carried outside unless a king, prince, duke or bishop come, and then for the honour of the church it is to be put before them and borne before them"; or the two images, one in amber of the Trinity, the other, silver gilt, of the Blessed Virgin, "which I had from Master John Tidelyng".

Few bishops made such elaborate provision for every clerical interest in their cathedral cities, for Chaundler did not forget the hospitals or the religious; but he had been dean, and on his death an effort was made to continue the policy of appointing the dean to be bishop on the vacancy of the see, and so avoiding the friction of the Waltham days. In 1427 Simon Sidenham was brought from the deanery to succeed Chaundler at the palace. Sidenham, an ecclesiastical lawyer, son of a justice of the Common Bench, had made his career in the diocese; apart from one diplomatic mission, when he accompanied Sir Walter Hungerford to visit the emperor Sigismund, he had stuck honourably to his Salisbury prebends and had served as archdeacon of Berkshire, later of Wiltshire. But *nobilitas generis* defeated him, and he had to make way for Robert Neville. It was a pity, for he knew the diocese in and out, and had often served as Chichele's commissary. He was eventually sent to Chichester.

Salisbury was evidently, as now, a pleasant place to live in. During the fourteenth century, except for the plague years round about 1349—50, there were rarely much less than a quarter of the 52 canons making full residence at the cathedral, and sometimes considerably more. The communal accounts show that their numbers were maintained well into the fifteenth century, at any rate till 1461. This was achieved largely through the majority of the residentiaries proper making a much longer residence than their statutory three months. The cathedral had in consequence more continuous service from the canons, and the programme undertaken during the treasurer'ship of George Louthorpe and Henry Harborough—a period of great internal activity—necessitated such a measure of solicitude. The chapter in the first half of the fifteenth century undertook large schemes: the reform of the cathedral statutes, the settlement of outstanding causes of dispute with the bishop, the repair of the cathedral fabric, finally the canonization of their founder. They played their part in the political thought of the time; they made their contribution to the Conciliar Movement. They were the liturgical mainspring of a great part of *Ecclesia Anglicana*. I hope that these things will be remembered by anybody inclined to minimize the value and underrate the activities of the cathedral canons of the fifteenth century.

## DEVIZES CASTLE: A SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION.

By LT.-COL. R. H. CUNNINGTON.

Until I was asked at the annual meeting to talk about it, I had always supposed that the Norman castle of Devizes stood on a mound that was at least partly artificial. I was in good company, for Leland evidently thought so, 400 years ago. "The Keep or donjon of it", he writes, "set upon a high hill cast up by hand". (Waylen's History of Devizes). Most writers about the castle have followed him in his error—for an error I feel sure it was.

In Leland's time the building was largely in ruins, no doubt partly overgrown with vegetation: and the great moat surrounding the keep and the curtain wall and isolating a spur of ground, would make the part cut off look like a hill. Now it looks even more like one, because no walls are visible, and the slopes of debris are covered with grass or trees.

It must however have been a spur of level ground and not a hill for several reasons:—

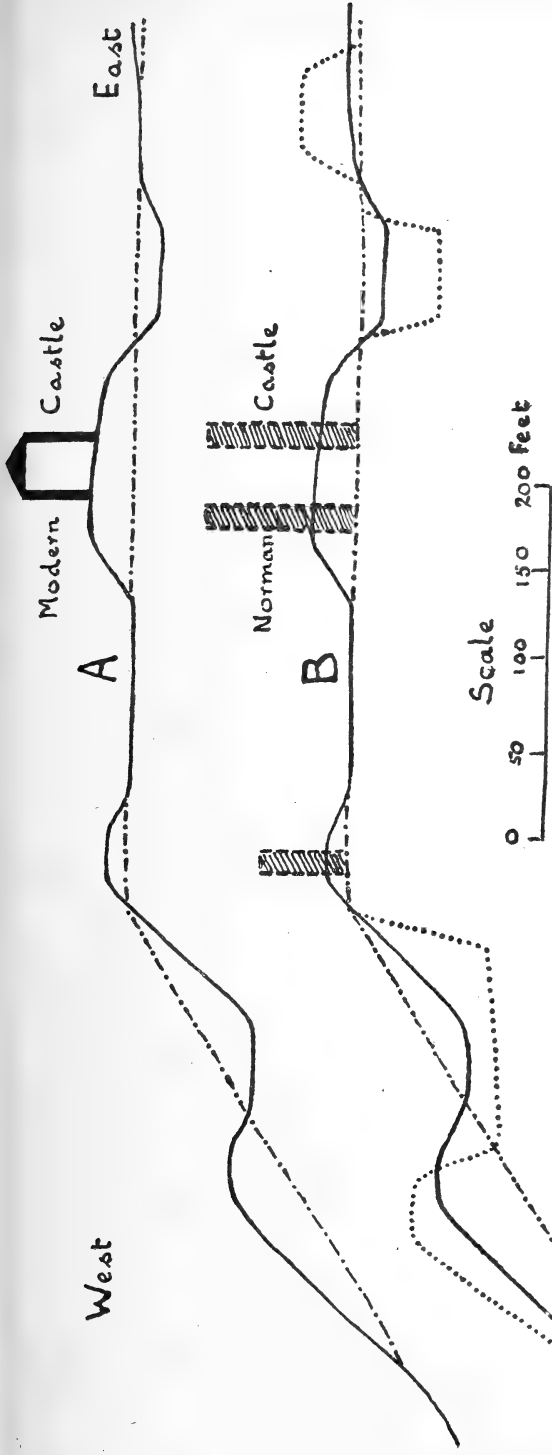
A natural hill in this position would be a geological eccentricity.

As an artificial Norman "motte", it is too low and too wide.

Roger, when he built his stone castle early in the twelfth century, could never have founded it on recently "made" ground; and there is no evidence of a motte-and-bailey castle preceding his. Even if there had been one, the ground would hardly have settled sufficiently to build on it the great keep which was clearly part of Roger's castle.

The levels clinch the matter. The bottom of the modern building and of the rampart walk within the moat are some 20 feet above the natural level of the ground; but the "banqueting hall" and other ruins within (sometimes called dungeons) stand even now, after debris must have collected, very little above ground level. (The figure does not show these as they are probably later than Norman. They would come under the letters A and B). It is obvious that these buildings must have been built on natural ground, for no one would have deliberately excavated a hole to set them in. There can have been no mound, artificial or otherwise, when they were built.

Supposing then that Roger's castle was built on a spur jutting out into the valley at the same level as the town and surrounding country we have to account for its present appearance. Partly it is due to the isolating ditch, but less so than in Leland's time, when the ditch must have been much deeper. As the building was ruinous in 1540 and "slighted" soon after 1646, there is plenty of time for the debris of walls to be covered with earth and grass or trees. Visible masonry would have been a tempting quarry to the townspeople in that district, barren of building stone; and what little might have been left was probably re-used, like many of the carved stones, in the modern buildings. It is no wonder it looks like a mound of earth,



Diagrammatic Sections from West to East. Natural ground-level, chain-dotted.  
 Modern ground-level, solid line. Norman earthworks, dotted; and  
 walls, hatched.

Devizes Castle, simplified sections.

The ditch was at least 45 feet deep, and the material from it (if not used for a motte) must have been thrown up on the *outer* side to make a circular bank. This is no doubt what Leland saw when he wrote that the castle was "defended partly by nature and partly with dykes, the earth whereof is cast up aslope and that of a great height for the defence of the wall". Very little of this bank remains: on the town side it was evidently levelled off or thrown back into the ditch, but on the west the remains of it form a carriage drive (at two places pierced by short tunnels) between the moat and the valley bottom. The figure illustrates why I suppose this drive to be "made" and not "natural" ground. It rests on the reasonable assumption that the curtain wall was built at the end of the spur, with the ground falling steeply beyond, scarped to serve as a most formidable ditch.

Within the moat was the curtain wall. It is now represented by a "rampart" walk, some 15 or 20 feet above ground level. On the south this stands with steep slopes on both sides, still something like a wall; but on the northern segment, where the rampart walk is lower, the inner slopes are gentle. This can be interpreted by supposing that more of the northern portion has fallen than elsewhere, and fallen inwards.

Supposing the curtain wall was 50 feet high and averaged 10 feet in thickness, but with towers at intervals to raise the average thickness to, say, 15 feet. Then the area of a cross section of wall would about balance that of the rampart walk above ground level. The wall area would be  $50 \times 15 = 750$  square feet. The rampart walk is about 15 feet wide, 20 feet above ground level, and has slopes on each side averaging 45 degrees. The area of a cross section is therefore about 700 square feet.

The rampart walk would have been made on top of the remains of the curtain wall. The fallen débris on each side, representing the destroyed part, would have protected what was left from further loss. As the walk is 20 feet or so above ground level, 20 feet or so of the curtain wall must still stand concealed within it. The wall however is likely to have lost much of its ashlar facing: it might have been taken before the top had fallen to protect it, or it might have been worth quarrying for at any time.

The keep was much the largest building and would have left the widest and highest mound. This is where the widest, southern, end of the present building stands. We know from Leland that the keep was at this end, for the forebuildings, guarding the approach, occupied the northern part. As regards its size, we must again make some assumptions, for there is no record. Colchester keep, the largest in England, was 152 by 111 feet. The White Tower of London was 118 by 107 and at least 90 feet high. Rochester was 70 by 70 and 113 high. It may be supposed that Devizes keep, in a castle noted for its strength, was at least equal to Rochester, say 70 by 80 and 90 feet high.

The average thickness of the walls of a keep is about 15 feet at the bottom and 10 at the top; and there would have been a cross wall up to the full height, say 12 feet thick, and projecting buttresses or turrets at the four corners, whose thickness would about balance the openings for doorways and windows. The volume of masonry therefore would have been about 330,000 cubic feet.

The area of the wide part of the existing mound or platform (on which the southern part of the present building stands) is about 90 by 75, and the height above ground level averages 24 feet. The volume is therefore about 270,000 cubic feet. This is much less than the volume of the keep because some of the masonry was carried away (Leland mentions the chapel for instance), and a large part must have fallen into the ditch. One can be sure of this because the present mound or platform is 8 feet lower on the east, or ditch, side than on the other.

The defences of the approach or "gateways", as Leland calls them, and their towers stood on the northern side and probably extended as far as Castle Lane. Perhaps a trace of these defences may still be seen. One of the windmill towers erected early in the 18th century was incorporated at the northern end of the modern castle. Its lower courses are of stone, and the upper part of brick. It may well have made use of one of the "gateway" towers as a foundation.

The "gateway" defences, like the chapel of the keep, were used as quarries for Sir Edward Baynton's house at Bromham early in the 16th century, and no doubt by the inhabitants of Devizes after the castle was slighted in 1646. Much of the stonework must be missing, and as a consequence the platform on this side is lower than elsewhere, but widespread, showing what a lot of these forebuildings must have been destroyed.

The top part of a building in falling protects the lower part from further damage or theft. We may be sure therefore that the foundations and lower courses of Bishop Roger's splendid castle still exist, and may one day, by excavation, be restored to view.

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## THE WARDENS OF SAVERNAKE FOREST.

## PART II: THE SEYMOUR WARDENS.

By THE EARL OF CARDIGAN.

## SIR JOHN SEYMOUR: 1427—1465.

When, at the age of 24, John Seymour came into his inheritance at Savernake, he must have been reckoned a fortunate young man. Already for some years, owing to the premature death of his father, he had been head of the Seymour family—folk of some eminence in the West of England. The St. Maurs, for so the name was originally spelled,<sup>1</sup> were clearly of Norman origin; but they do not appear to have made their mark in history until the time of that Sir William St. Maur who, in the 13th century, was one of the defenders of the Kingdom against the incursions of the Welsh.

Descended from the militant Sir William was Sir Roger Seymour of Woundy, Monmouthshire. The latter married, in the 14th century, Cecilia de Beauchamp, one of the sisters of John, Baron Beauchamp of Hache. Her brother being childless, this lady became a great heiress. She survived until 1394, thereby outliving both her husband, Sir Roger, and her son, Sir William Seymour. So it was that the great possessions which she had inherited fell to her grandson, that same Roger Seymour who married Matilda Esturmy.<sup>2</sup>

Roger himself did not live to a great age. Thus by 1427, John Seymour, with whom we are now concerned, found himself possessed both of his father's Seymour-Beauchamp fortune and, through his mother, of a great part of the Esturmy lands. The hereditary office of Warden of Savernake Forest, which also descended to him, gave him at the same time a position of influence and a vocation to follow. From henceforth he was the King's representative within the Forest, pledged to guard the King's venison and to preserve his woodlands.

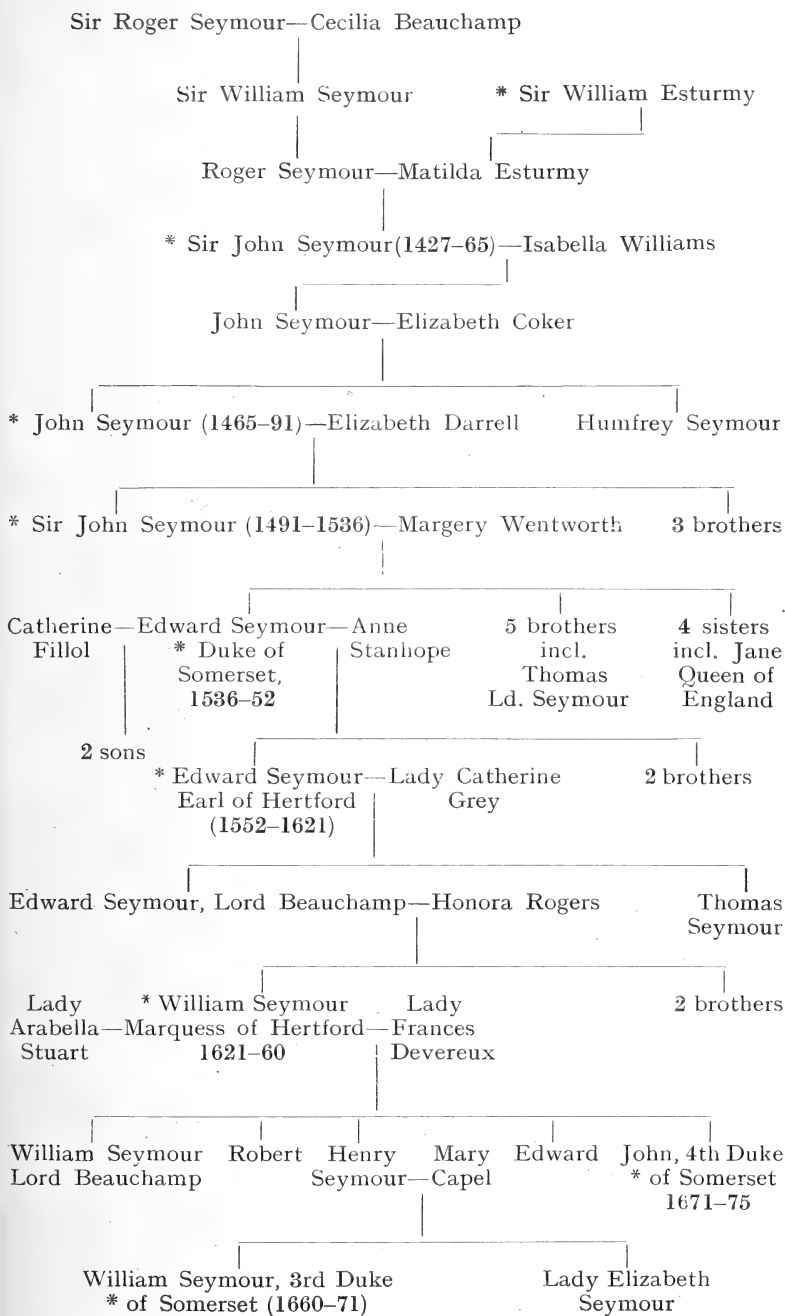
King Henry VI being but a child, it was in fact to a Council of Regency that the new Warden was responsible. John Seymour's lot, in dealing with officialdom, can not have been enviable: the country was entering a period of lawlessness, when great nobles manœuvred themselves into power, only to be overthrown by less scrupulous rivals. This process culminated in the Wars of the Roses, which for 30 years filled the land

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<sup>1</sup> The Seymour Pedigree lists 10 variations of the name; but the Seymour family themselves found that this did not cover all the possibilities. The Lady Elizabeth, for instance, when she signed "Eliz. Seymaure", made use of an 11th permutation—this as late as the 17th century!

<sup>2</sup> As we proceed with the history of the Seymours, we shall find that this inheritance of property, etc., by a grandchild was of surprisingly frequent occurrence. Alternate generations, in other words, tended to die young.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SEYMOUR FAMILY—  
1400—1675.



\* Warden of Savernake Forest.

with confusion and bloodshed. We do not hear of the Seymours taking any part in this: John perhaps had the wisdom to concentrate his attention on the Forest and on his various landed properties.

There were domestic matters also to occupy him. Shortly before the death of Sir William Esturmy, his grandfather, he had married Isabella, the daughter of a certain Mark Williams of Bristol. A son was born to the young couple and was given the name of John. (In this matter, the Seymours followed the Esturmy practice—sons being constantly named after their fathers. Thus, just as the biographer is confused by a succession of Henry Esturmys, so he is baffled by a string of John Seymours. There were four members of the family so named during the 15th century.)

It is not easy to judge where the Seymour family, at this stage, made its home. John's trustees had handed over to him the lands so bequeathed by old Sir William Esturmy, "his manor of Burbache, the hamlet of Durle, the pasture of Tymerygge, the bailiwick of the stewardship of Savernak Forest in the County of Wilts with its appurtenances, and the half of the manor of Stapleford in the County aforesaid". It will be seen that there is no mention of the Esturmy homestead of Wolfhall. Some evidence<sup>1</sup> exists that Robert Erlegh had a life interest in Wolfhall manor, and perhaps it did not come to the Seymours until after his death.

Then again, William Ryngborne (John's cousin) and his heirs had some claim upon Wolfhall, having apparently not received their fair share of the Esturmy lands elsewhere. It is perhaps unprofitable at this date to attempt to analyse their grievance: what is certain is that eventually John Seymour and Robert Ryngborne had the good sense to come together (but not until the former was already grey-haired) and agree to a permanent settlement. The basis of this was that the Seymours should have Wolfhall, and that the Ryngbornes should receive an annuity in satisfaction of their claim.

The document recording this was written in English—a novelty for those days. "This is the Accorde", it runs, "and Agreement Endented made be twyxt John Saymour knyghte of that one partie and Robert Rangeborn esquier of that other partie . . . the whiche accorde is this that ye seid Sir John Seymour shall have the Maner (of Wolfhale) afore seid, and Crofton with ye appurtenaunce to him and to his heires: . . . to the seid Robert and his heys an anyte of xi mark<sup>2</sup> bi the yere . . . And this partition be made in as goodeli haste as may be bi the avisse (advice) of Counsell of boothe parties and also the seid counsell have auctorite to adde and admenushe (?admonish) and make the seid particion as Sewre and as lawfull as they can, as sewre for the seid Sir John Seymour as for the seid Roberd in witnes where of the parties affore seid to this Endentur have put to ther Seales".

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> £7 6s. 8d.

It will be noticed that John Seymour is referred to as "Sir John". His knighthood was almost certainly gained when he was made Sheriff of Wilts in the year 1432. He was still a young man, barely 30, when he received this honour.

Information is unfortunately scanty concerning Sir John's activities during the middle part of his life; but he seems to have been influential in Wiltshire, and to have represented his county in Parliament as a Knight of the Shire.<sup>1</sup> Young John Seymour, his son, grew up, and about 1450 married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Coker and incidentally an heiress. Sir John's first grandson (yet another John!) was born in 1451, and shortly afterwards another boy, Humfrey, was born. These youngsters were sturdy, which must have comforted the Warden: their father apparently was not robust.

In 1464 indeed, Sir John Seymour suffered a sad loss through his son's death. John his grandson thus, at the age of 13, became his heir. At this period it seems clear that the family was established at Wolfhall;<sup>2</sup> and in the manor house there we must suppose that Sir John, now a man of about 60, made a home for his widowed daughter-in-law and for his two grandsons.

The latter part of Sir John Seymour's life must have been a busy and anxious period. Civil war was raging between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, resulting in the dethronement of Henry VI and the accession of King Edward IV. There is some indication that Sir John was *persona grata* with the new sovereign; for we hear of him<sup>3</sup> in 1465 holding Marlborough Castle, and thus combining the office of Constable with that of Warden of the Forest. In such times, the Constable's office, in particular, must have been an onerous one.

The year 1465, as it happened, was a busy one also in Forest affairs. During the summer, this communication reached Savernake:— "Henry Bourghchier Earl of Essex, Justice in Eyre of all the forests, parks, chases and warrens of our Sovereign Lord the King on this side Trent, to the Warden of the Forest of Savernake in the County of Wilts of his Deputy in the same, Greeting! On the part of our said Sovereign Lord the King we command you, firmly enjoining that you cause to come before us or our Deputy at Marleburgh . . . all the Foresters, Verderers, Regarders, Agisters, Woodwards and all and singular other Ministers of the said Forest with their rolls, writs, tallages (taxes) and all other ameracements happening since the last Inquisition in Eyre . . . and that you also cause to come . . . before us or our Deputy all the freeholders who have any lands or tenements within the said Forest, and of every village in the said Forest four men prepared to hear and do such things as shall be then and there enjoined them".

<sup>1</sup> H. St. Maur, *Annals of the Seymours*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> From documents so dated being drawn up there.

<sup>3</sup> Waylen's *History of Marlborough*, p. 62.

“ And moreover that you cause to come at the same time all persons indicted or accused of any trespass in Venison or Vert . . . and further that you have there all and singular the Sureties . . . and that you cause to come . . . all and singular person and persons who claim to have any liberties or franchises within the said Forest . . . and that you be then and there in your own proper person, bringing with you the names of all the said men and Ministers aforesaid imbreviated together . . . and . . . you certify us or our Deputy upon pain and peril that may ensue ”.

To carry out all these instructions must have involved a great deal of administrative work, and gallopers must have gone all round the countryside warning (and in some cases compelling) the various persons to attend. The nominal roll which the Warden himself prepared has happily survived.<sup>1</sup> He heads it, “The Answer of Sir John Seymour Knight, Warden and Chief Forester in Fee and also Chief Steward of the Forest of Savernake”. Next to his own name he adds :—

“ John Seymour Esquire, Deputy of the said Forest.

Richard Seymour Esquire, Ranger of the said forest ”.

Both these names are puzzling. The only John Seymour Esquire living at this date was apparently the Warden's grandson, aged 14—while as to Richard Seymour, no trace remains in Savernake records of his identity. It is not impossible however that 14-year-old John *was* his grandfather's Deputy : the duties may have been nominal, and the opportunities great for gaining experience of forest management. As regards Richard, I have noted previously that compilers of family records (even on the ambitious scale of the illuminated Seymour Pedigree) commonly did not know the identity of younger sons, except in the case of those who in some way gained fame, or of daughters, except those who were heiresses. The Warden may thus have had numerous unrecorded cousins, and perhaps nearer relatives as well.

The Warden's list goes on to name the Foresters in Fee :—

“ Robert Rangeborn<sup>2</sup> of Hyppyngyscombe

Roger Seymour<sup>3</sup> of Broyle

John Sotewell of Southe Grove

Sir John Seymour, Knight, of the West Bailey ”.

The bailiwick of La Verme is, as usual, not mentioned : it was no doubt common knowledge that this was the Warden's personal domain. That the West Bailey should be kept in hand was however a comparatively recent practice : it dated only from the time of the Esturmy-Bilkemore feud. Hence Sir John specifies himself as the West Bailey Forester.

<sup>1</sup> Savernak Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Besides being a relative, Robert must have had much land there—his father's share of Sir Willam Esturmy's property.

<sup>3</sup> Another unknown ; but perhaps closely related. One recalls that a former Roger was the Warden's father.

The Under-foresters are named:—

- “Willian Manger of La Verme
- John Eston of the West Bailey
- John Baryngton of Panterwyke
- Thomas King of Iwode
- William Loveleke of Hyppyngiscombe
- William Puttehull of Southegrove”.

And the Verderers:—

- “Constantine Darell
- William Erneley”.

Then follow the names of 24 Regarders, and of 20 Woodwards. The latter are not specified by their proper names, but are called, for example, “Woodward of the Grove of the Abbot of Hyde”. One notices a “Woodward of Toppenham”—the first mention of this name, more familiar now as Tottenham. Nineteen villages are listed, but not the names of the 76 men who represented them. (Sir John had to draw the line somewhere !)

Prominently named among “those who claim to have liberties and franchises within the said Forest” is once again “Sir John Seymour, Knight”. We may be sure that the Warden did indeed, as his predecessors had done for centuries past, recite his elaborate claim to hereditary privileges. It is probable that the whole of the first day of the Eyre was taken up with business of this sort. Several more days must have been occupied by prosecutions which had been pending ever since the last visit of a Justice to Savernake Forest.<sup>1</sup>

All the work involved must have told on Sir John—for he was no longer young. At any rate, in the following months he thought it prudent to set his affairs in order, placing his property in the hands of trustees for the benefit of his young grandson. He seems to have consolidated his estate during the period of his Wardenship, for his charter<sup>2</sup> specifies in addition to Burbage etc., “Wodehous Close and the bailiwick called Vermbayly, the Stewardship of the Forest of Savernak, two virgates of land in Estwyke and Wotton Ryver with the bailiwick of Westbayly . . . and also my manor of Wolfhale, Crofton, Wotton Ryver and Hewyshe (Huish) . . . likewise the advowsons of the churches of Wotton and Hewyshe . . . and also a tenement . . . called Wykestond in West Grafton”. All this of course had been Esturmy property—and now once again it was concentrated in the Warden’s hands.

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<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that, according to the list of villages, the Earl of Essex appears to have claimed jurisdiction over the whole 100 square miles which Savernake used to occupy before the great disafforestation of the 14th century. Was it the King’s policy at this time to ignore the disafforestation? Or were the villages those specified by the Warden in accordance with his own, somewhat archaic, notions?

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives.

The summer of 1465 was nearly over when Sir John sealed this document at Wolfhall. As winter closed down upon the land he was already failing, and five days before Christmas he died. Isabella survived him, and might perhaps have remarried had she been so inclined. She preferred however to live out the rest of her long life alone. After two years of mourning, she came before Bishop Carpenter in the collegiate church of Westbury, put on with his blessing the vesture of one pledged to widowhood, and took the vow of perpetual chastity.<sup>1</sup>

#### JOHN SEYMOUR: 1465—1491.

It might be supposed that 14-year-old John Seymour, succeeding to the Wardenship after his grandfather's death, would have had the affairs of Savernake taken out of his hands and assigned to some crown nominee. This had twice occurred during the Esturmy period when the hereditary Warden was not legally of age, and it had been the custom to appoint the Constable of Marlborough Castle as temporary administrator of the Forest. Now, Sir John Seymour's death had left both offices simultaneously vacant. It would have been in accordance with precedent if the King had selected some competent official to replace Sir John, permanently as Constable and temporarily as Warden.

Curiously enough, I can find no account of this being done. Civil war may have interfered with the normal procedure, or it may be that some senior member of the Seymour family came forward to act as young John's guardian and mentor. The records are silent, except for noting the marriage of the young Warden, which seems to have occurred about 1472.

John's wife came from Littlecote: she was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Darrell. The young couple soon had a large family, including four sons of whom the eldest was of course named John. We know this boy's approximate birth-date, for in 1492 "he was aged 18 years or more".<sup>2</sup>

It would seem, possibly owing to the Warden's youth, and perhaps also owing to the fact that he had a lawless brother-in-law, that a good deal of poaching was allowed to take place in the Forest at this period. By 1477, this state of affairs had become known to King Edward IV, whose indignation expressed itself in the following letter.<sup>3</sup>

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of ffrance and Lord of Ireland: To oure trusty and welbeloved Esquier, John Saymour, Warden of the fforest of Savernake belonging to oure deerest wyf the Quene, and in his absence to all the kepers of the same and to eni of them, greting! ffor asmoche as we to oure right great displeasur have understanden that the Game in the said fforest by many riottous and evill disposed persones of late huntyng therinne is greatly diminissed,

<sup>1</sup> H. St. Maur.

<sup>2</sup> Calendar of Inquisitions.

<sup>3</sup> Savernake archives.

we straitly charge and command you that from hensforth ye suffer noo maner of persone, of what estate condicion or degre soever he be, withinne the said fforest or eny grounde therto belonging to have shot sute nor cours unto the tyme that we or our said wyf shal cumme thider”.

“And if eny persone whatsoever he be woll hunte therinne or with bowe or other thing sture (? stir) the said game agenst your willes, that ye thanne in alle possible hast certifye us of his name and demeanyng, and we shall procede unto his grevous and sharp punicement as accordeth with our lawes. And therefore that ye faile not t’obey this our Comandment in eni behalve as ye woll eschewe oure grettest displeasur and answeere unto us at your uttermost perille. Geven under oure signet at our Castell of Leicester the xii day of Juylli, the xvi yere of our regne’.

One would like to think that the Warden, his brother-in-law and other local gentry took good heed of the royal warning, (I say “gentry”, for the mediaeval poacher—at least at Savernake—was usually a person of some quality, who ought to have known better.) Unfortunately however, there were some hardened sinners in the neighbourhood at this time; so that, if the foregoing letter caused any improvement, it was but temporary,

An event of the following year (1478) was the return to Savernake of Henry Bourghier, Earl of Essex. He came, as in the time of old Sir John as “Justice Itinerant . . . of all the Forests, parks, chases and warrens”—and it was now John Seymour’s duty to summon the Foresters, the Verderers, the villagers, the accused persons and others to attend his Court. We know<sup>1</sup> that John presented at great length his own claim to “all and singular the authorities, powers, liberties, privileges, profits advantages, commodities etc.” which were his by hereditary right, “even as is fully evident by the copy of the record and process thereof, sealed with the seal used for exemplifications of this sort”.

Unfortunately this record seems in the course of centuries to have got lost—so I quote from a similar document which John presented to a similar Court on an occasion some years later. “And now John Seymour, esquire, by John Baker his attorney, comes . . . and claims . . .”. (John Baker is very longwinded; and so the contents of a lengthy parchment roll must here be drastically condensed).

He claims “the chief wardenship and stewardship of the aforesaid Forest . . . and to have the wardenship of a certain bailiwick within the said Forest, vulgarly called Vermebaily. And moreover he claims . . . the power and authority of making a certain lieutenant and ranger (and) foresters in the Bailiwick of Verme. . . . And also . . . all ameracements arising from . . . hares, foxes, badgers . . . all fines for animals straying . . . and lost in the said Forest, and . . . nestlings of sparrow hawks, honey, nuts and reasonable estover for housebote and haibote throughout all the aforesaid bailiwick of Verme”.

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<sup>1</sup> He specifically says so—Savernake Archives.



“(He claims to be) quit of payment for herbage for all his animals and his pigs running within the said Forest . . . except during the forbidden month only. He also claims to have all ameracements for hambling dogs, and free chase of hares, foxes, wild cats, badgers and all manner of the same sort of vermin . . . and to have a certain farm at fixed rent<sup>1</sup> in the wood called La Verme . . . And these are the metes and bounds of La Verme . . .”.

“The claim goes on (blandly ignoring all that had happened in the 300 years intervening!) to quote the perambulation of 1199. The Court in fact—incredible though it may seem—was asked to recognise a Farm Baily stretching out to the House of the Lepers on the outskirts of Hungerford!

Then follows—more rationally—the old claim to fallen timber, “and as well to have bracken in the same fixed-rent farm. . . . He claims also to have a certain sand pit”. There are some further details as to the Warden’s right to charge fees for the agistment of beasts in certain parts of the Farm Baily—the rate for each beast being twopence a year.

“The same John Seymour claims . . . to have two virgates of land . . . of which one lies next Hywode<sup>2</sup> and the other at Boneclyf and to have, by reason of the two virgates . . . , the wardenship and governorship of a certain bailiwick within the said Forest commonly called le Westbaily alias le Braydon;<sup>3</sup> and to have and hold the said two virgates . . . of the Lord King . . . by the service of finding three foresters on foot . . . and also rendering to the Lord King . . . fifty and two shillings of lawful money of England . . . (the said bailiwick being held) by these metes and bounds underwritten”.

Once again, ignoring Magna Carta and all the long process of disafforestation arising from it, the metes and bounds given are those of the 1199 perambulation, showing the West Baily to stretch out as far as Pewsey! There follows a whole string of claims to privileges within this Bailiwick, the effect being to give the Warden much the same rights here as those appertaining to La Verme. Among purely local rights, we may note “that the Abbot of Hyde shall have one strong oak a year . . . and shall render annually fourteen shillings . . . the village of Eston five shillings for one tree trunk annually, and the Lady Isabella Seymour<sup>4</sup> of Wotton two shillings”.

“And (he claims) as well to have from all sheepfolds of the Barton (around Marlborough) of the Lady Queen<sup>5</sup> . . . from each and every

<sup>1</sup> A reference to “the old Farm of the Forest”.

<sup>2</sup> More usually Iwode, near Burbage Wharf.

<sup>3</sup> An inappropriate alias. Braydon Hook was on the boundary between La Verme and the West Baily.

<sup>4</sup> This must have been the Warden’s grandmother, now retired to a dower house at Wootton Rivers. She evidently lived to a great age.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably Elizabeth Woodville, King Edward IV’s Queen. It was common for the Consort to be given the over-lordship of Savernake Forest, Marlborough Castle, the Barton etc.

fold one sheep or twelve pence at his choice, and to have payments for right of way within his bailiwick aforesaid”.

John Seymour's claim then goes on to prove, at laborious length, his descent from the Esturmy Wardens, and to elucidate the Seymour-Ryngeborne partition of Esturmy property. “All and singular which things the same John Seymour is ready to prove, even as the Court here may consider (needful), and he seeks that . . . the authorities, powers, liberties, privileges, profits, advantages (etc.) by him claimed above may be allowed to him”.

It is evident from all this that John had every intention of making the most of his hereditary rights. The traditional claim of the Wardens of Savernake can never have been more comprehensively presented.

One is sorry to observe however that at this time, when John Seymour was stressing his hereditary rights, dissatisfaction at Court still continued in regard to his management of the royal Forest. The Wars of the Roses had no doubt caused a general increase of lawlessness: none the less, it was unfortunate that the Warden should have continued unable to keep in check those of his neighbours who were addicted to hunting and harrying the King's deer.

There was trouble of some sort at the end of King Edward's reign; for John Seymour was pardoned by Richard III soon after that monarch's accession.<sup>1</sup> Following the Battle of Bosworth, it was King Henry VII who sent a stern message<sup>2</sup> to “the Warden of our fforest of Savernak . . . fforsomouche as we bee fully determined to have our game within our said fforest to bee reserved cherished and kept for our disport and plaisir . . . which as we bee enformed is greatly diminished and lessed (lessened) through excessive and outrageous hunting”. The King demanded that no one be allowed to hunt without his express permission; “and if any persone wol of hedinesse (headiness) attempte the contrary herof, we wol that ye certifie us of his name, and we shal provide for his sharpe punissement; . . . and that herin bee founde noo defaulte orremisse dealing in you, as ye wol answere therfor unto us at your peryllys”.

We must suppose that John Seymour did his best to carry out these royal instructions; but he seems to have achieved no substantial success. In June 1486, King Henry was constrained to send a further message,<sup>3</sup> couched in still stronger terms. He commenced with the words, “To our trusty and welbeloved the Wardeyn and lieutenant of our fforest of Savernak”; but directed it to the latter functionary, “Alexander

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<sup>1</sup> The Pardon (Savernake Archives) does not indicate whether John's offence had to do with his Forest Wardenship. It seems rather that he was one of many who received a general pardon from the new King.

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives; September, 1485.

<sup>3</sup> Savernake Archives.

Seymour, lieutenant of the fforest". (Alexander was no doubt the Warden's relative; but I have not been able to identify him).<sup>1</sup>

"fforasmoche as it is comen to our knowlege", the King's message ran, "that our Game within our seid fforest by mean of excessive hunting there in tymes passed is greatly dimminished and lykly to growe unto fynall distrucion withoute the better oversight be had amoung you hereafter.

"We therefore, desiryng our seid game to be cherisshed and sauffy kept for our disport ageinst suche seaseone as hit shall fortune us to resorte unto thoos parties, wol and streytly commaunde you . . .". There followed once again the injunction to allow no man to hunt in the Forest, and to inform the King of any who dared to come there in defiance of his orders.

"Not fayling", the message concluded, "t'execute in all points this our commaudent, as ye and eny of you wol avoide our high displeasur and the peyne of forfeiture of your office". This was plain speaking—and a clear warning to the Warden that he must justify his hereditary place.

John Seymour, at long last, responded—although to do so meant laying grave charges against a neighbouring squire. He and Alexander drew up a lengthy document<sup>2</sup> addressed as follows:—"To the King, theyr liege lorde H(enry)."

"(This Peticion) shewith to your highnes your most humble subgettes and trew liege men, John Seymour Esquyer, Warden of your fforest of Savernack . . . and Alisaunder Seymour his brother . . . lieutenant therof, where your seid besechers for theyr trew diligens attendans and excersize of the seid office have be(en) leagued agenst and evyll wyll boren to them by John Wroughton the elder . . . Cristofer Wroughton, John Wroughton the yonger and Richard Wroughton, sonys of the seid John Wroughton the elder, for the offenses done by the seid (men) . . . in the Quenes game in the seid fforest . . . also for the evidynces made therfore to . . . your Grace by your seid besechers accordyng to theyr duyte".

The petition goes on to show that the Wroughtons had finally broken out into open defiance of authority. They had assembled in Marlborough with a gang of 40 of their followers, and "came in riottous and forsible wise agenst your lawes and peas . . . arrayd with . . . bowys, arowes, swerdes and bokelers (bucklers), opynly assemblyng themself . . . in destourbans of your peas, soveregn lorde, there conspiryng among them the dethes of your seid besechers".

Apparently the Wroughtons were genuinely out for blood; for they burst into St. Margaret's Priory, on the Forest side of Marlborough, and

<sup>1</sup> He is elsewhere (in the next document quoted) described as being John's brother. This, however, is baffling, since all family records confine themselves to showing one brother—Humfrey. Was Alexander perhaps a half-brother?

<sup>2</sup> Savernake Archives.

ransacked the place in the belief that John and Alexander had taken refuge there, "serchyng for your seid besechers them to have murdred and slayn, seyng this wordys opynly, that if your seid besechers myght have be(en) founde that they sholde have be(en) hewed as small as fleshe for the potte".

Moreover this was no mere drunken outburst; for—says the Petition—on another occasion the same gang turned out, lay in wait for a servant of Alexander Seymour "and uppon hym made assaute and hym bete and woundyd and left hym for dedde". Thereafter they continued to make threats against this unfortunate man "and other freintes and welwyllers of your seid besechers, whiche knowyth the certente of the offenses doon by the seid riottours in the seid fforest in asmoche as they have openyd and disclosyd the same. . . . And over this, the same riottous persones dayly thretenyth your seid besechers to murdre and slee them".

"In tendyr consideracion wherof", the Petition concludes by praying the King to order that the Wroughtons appear before him and his Council, there to answer for their hooliganism. "And your seid besechers shall pray to Godd for your moste prosperous estate and moste to endure".

This long recital—for it is much longer in the original—presents the Warden of Savernake in a more favourable light. It appears that he had already, as the king had demanded, reported the poaching proclivities of the Wroughton family.

As these men were accustomed to go about with a retinue of 40 ruffianly retainers, it is clear that he could not physically have resisted their incursions: indeed he must already have surmounted serious obstacles (considering their threats of violence and readiness to commit assault) in obtaining the necessary evidence against them.

We know that the evidence was obtained; for the record exists of proceedings being taken at a Forest Eyre<sup>1</sup> against the Wroughtons, the Darrells and various others. It is to be hoped that the prosecution of these local squires was sufficient to convince the King that his Warden had all along been endeavouring to do his duty, despite the obvious handicap of lawless relatives and neighbours.

The Eyre was held at Amesbury in 1490 or '91; but much of the evidence given goes back to 1486, and concerns the offences which no doubt inspired King Henry's admonitory letters. A few items may be quoted, to show the sort of thing that had been going on.

"To my lord ffitzwater and maister Bray, Justicr' of the Kyngs fforests:— These beyn the presentments of the Kepers of the fforest of Savernake".

"William Tailor, underkeper of the Verme Bayle, presentith—That John Wroughton Esquier, Thomas Wroughton (and others) . . . the Thursday next after the feast of the Trinite the first yere of our sove-

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<sup>1</sup> Forest Proceedings, Duchy of Lancaster, quoted by H. C. Brentnall: *Venison Trespasses*.

raigne lord . . . hunted Cobham Frith, Holt Lese and the lityll Frithe<sup>1</sup> and there killed a Sowre<sup>2</sup> with bowes and arows ”.

“ Also the seid keper presentith that Sir Edward Darell<sup>3</sup> Knyght, Richard Wroughton (and others) . . . the Monday before the ffense monythe<sup>4</sup> the yere aboveseid, entred into Heveryng Hethe<sup>5</sup> and then and there MM stakys which were sett for the defense and save garde of the kyngs game pullyd up and brake, and after that hunted at theyr pleasure without lycense or warant ”.

And again—

“ William Taylor, underforster of the Verme presentith that John Baynton and Henry Stourmy<sup>6</sup> gents, servants to the seid Sir Edwarde, the fryday next after the conception of our lady the seconnde yere of our seid soveraign . . . at the Shouyll<sup>7</sup> a doo and a ffawne with greyhoundes slewe, and flessch and skynne caried awaye ”.

All the other under-foresters gave simillar evidence as to what had occurred within their sections of the Forest. In effect, the Wroughtons and Darrells had been hunting and killing deer quite shamelessly whenever and wherever they pleased.

Early in King Henry's reign there seems to have been a temporary cessation of poaching—this perhaps arising from the fact that John Seymour was known to have informed the King as to the misdeeds of the Wroughtons and of other “riottous persones”. There was another reason, revealed to us by Leland, for peaceful behaviour just at this time, for “about Ladyday 1489, King Henry VII roode into Wiltshire an Hunting, and slew his gres (buck) in three places in that shire. He first hunted in the Forest of Savernake; the second in the good park of Fastern, the third in Blackmore Forest, and so returned to Windsor”.

If, as I take it, the King was by then aware of the difficulties under which the Seymours laboured, we may hope that he received his Warden graciously when the latter turned out to greet him—as he must have done—bearing the great horn which he had inherited from his Esturmy

<sup>1</sup> Two of these woods are still so called. The place called Holt Pound is our clue to the location of Holt Lese.

<sup>2</sup> A Soar or fourth-year buck.

<sup>3</sup> This was Elizabeth Seymour's brother, now Squire of Littlecote.

<sup>4</sup> The “fence month”, at midsummer, when the does were fawning. No man might wander in the Forest at that time.

<sup>5</sup> The area now called Durley common.

<sup>6</sup> Spiritually at least, one feels that this was a descendant of John Sturmy, the “malefactor” of 1330. He may have been so in actual fact. We have seen that, although Sir William Esturmy left no male heirs, there were still, at the time of his death, Sturmys living in the neighbourhood.

<sup>7</sup> A part of the Forest is still called Showel Bottom.

predecessors. A good day's sport may also have convinced him that the Forest deer, although grievously harried, had not as yet come "unto fynall distrucion".

The poaching however seems to have re-commenced as soon as the King's attention was directed elsewhere. In 1490, for instance, we learn that "Thomas Kyng, underforster of Iwode,<sup>1</sup> presentith that Sir Edward Darell Knight (and others) . . . out of Mouttisfonte Copys a doo (and) a fawne kyllid in the cheif (i.e. at the height) of the fenst monyth and their houndes thorough ranne the forest to the great distrucion of the Kyng's place".

As before, all the keepers tell of similar doings. William Taylor of La Verme tells how Sir Edward, John Wroughton and others "kyllid out of Toppynham<sup>2</sup> ii does and in Haveryng Heth a prekett".<sup>3</sup> John Eston of the West Bailly describes how Sir Edward, Sir Christopher Wroughton and others, "a Bukke a doo and a preket with greyhoundes and bowes and arowes slewe without lycence and warante, and their houndes thorough ranne the forest". There is a reference in one case to "theire yernyng (i.e. baying) Houndes", from which it is clear that the Forest Law was not merely broken; it was blatantly defied.

For all these offences the squire of Littlecote and his associates had to answer at the Amesbury Eyre. We unfortunately do not know what sentences were pronounced upon them: they had earned severe punishment, but it was one of the features of the Forest Courts that the Justices normally preferred to impose moderate fines rather than to consign malefactors to gaol. The fines helped to swell the royal revenues—which was no doubt a consideration.

There are indications,<sup>4</sup> certainly in Darrell's case, that no lasting disgrace was incurred by these miscreants. We can but hope that convictions and fines were sufficient deterrents, so that thereafter they mended their ways: otherwise the unfortunate Warden of Savernake would have had good cause to feel discouraged!

Among his other troubles during these difficult years, John Seymour had suffered bereavement through the death of Elizabeth his wife. In due course he married again, his second wife being a daughter of Robert Hardon.<sup>5</sup> By her he had another son, whom he named Roger. He himself was at this time still a comparatively young man, although seemingly not a strong one. His health failed him while he was still in his 40th year, so that in 1491 he died.

<sup>1</sup> The area, including Mottisfont Copse, lying south-west of Leigh Hill.

<sup>2</sup> Tottenham.

<sup>3</sup> A pricket or second-year buck.

<sup>4</sup> *Venison Trespasses*.

<sup>5</sup> The Seymour Pedigree ignores this second marriage; but several books of reference record it. The lady was very probably descended from the de Hardens, who had been Foresters of Fee for many generations during the Esturmy Wardenship.

## "THE WORTHIE" SIR JOHN SEYMOUR: 1491—1536.

With the accession of young John Seymour, the fourth of his line, in the year 1491, the local historian begins to notice a change from mediæval conditions of life towards something more akin to our own way of living. For example, he finds in documents of the period the English language being commonly used. He finds that the local gentry, in addition to sealing them, also signed these documents with pen and ink. The earliest known signature of a Warden of Savernake occurs at this time. Whether the Esturmys and the earliest Seymours were able to write must be a matter for speculation: what is certain is that they never did so, being content merely to affix their seals to what some local scribe had written. John Seymour however could sit down and write a letter—although his standard of legibility was unfortunately not high!<sup>1</sup>

Legal documents were of course still written in Latin; but now these were drawn up by professional lawyers. This was in some ways a change—for the worse, for the lawyers were appallingly verbose: what used to be expressed by the local cleric in 100 words, using only a few square inches of parchment, now required 2,000 or 3,000 words and several square feet. Whether anything was gained by this prolixity is very doubtful.

One notices also that, from this time onwards, life was much less strictly localised. With rare exceptions, earlier Wardens of Savernake had spent their lives within the Forest, or on their estates nearby. John Seymour of the Tudor period was a man of the great world—and so were the majority of his successors. Travelling conditions were still primitive, and the coach had not yet been invented: none the less country gentlemen were inspired to widen their horizons, and in particular to visit the capital, thereby gaining contact with national affairs.

John Seymour, succeeding his father at the early age of 20, soon sought military service as an outlet for his adventurous spirit. Swiftly promoted, he was one of the commanders who led the troops of King Henry VII against the Cornish rebels who, in 1497, were induced by Lord Audley and others to mobilise and march on London. The Cornishmen got to Blackheath before being met by the royal forces: in the encounter they were routed—and it seems that the dashing leadership of a young officer from Wiltshire played a great part in their discomfiture.

The Seymour Pedigree states: "This John Seymour, on account of his gallant and conspicuous conduct at the Battle of Blackheath, was knighted by Henry VII King of England on June 17th, 1497". Thus early did he make his mark, bringing himself favourably to the sovereign's notice.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide Ancient Correspondence, P.R.O.: letter to "my unkyll Darel"

For a time, the young knight, having now found himself a wife, returned to his manor of Wolfhall. Perhaps typically, he did not choose a local bride: he married Margery, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, whose birthplace was in Suffolk. To them a son was born; and in this Sir John was so far a traditionalist that he called the boy John, thus repeating the name for the fifth generation. Little John was not destined to grow up: had he done so, he would in due course have become head of the Seymour family—and then a chapter of 16th-century history would have been differently written.<sup>1</sup>

It was in the year 1500 that a second son was born; and to this child his parents gave the name of Edward. Four more sons and four daughters eventually swelled the family circle. Not all of them flourished; but little Edward was sturdy, as were his brothers Henry and Thomas: three of the girls likewise surmounted the ailments of childhood, among them a fair-haired child who was known as Jane.

Outside their family life, we know little of what activities Sir John and Margery his wife pursued during the closing years of King Henry VII's reign. A document of an unusual sort, however, in the Savernake archives creates the impression that they were politically active, and perhaps were involved in some sort of intrigue. I refer to a pardon issued by the new King, Henry VIII, when he came to the throne, in which both Sir John and his wife are absolved of all possible crimes committed by them "before the twenty third day of April in the first year of our reign".<sup>2</sup>

This document, witnessed by the King himself, is like so many others of the period, absurdly long-winded. It does not specify any particular transgression: it lists all the crimes in the calendar, and pardons "the said John and Margery" for committing any or all of them. We therefore get no inkling of what they had actually done.

I suspect a political offence, occurring perhaps during Sir John's term of office as Sheriff of Wiltshire (1508); for otherwise how could Margery Seymour have been involved in it? If it had been a matter of maladministration of the Forest, only the Warden himself could have been held to blame. The full explanation may never be known; but two things are apparent. The Seymours were latterly in disgrace with King Henry VII; but they were sufficiently respected by King Henry VIII to be restored by him immediately to the royal favour.

Under the new King, Sir John soon had further opportunities for proving his courage and skill as a soldier. He served in the war against France, and distinguished himself particularly at the siege of Tournai.

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<sup>1</sup> A younger brother of this boy was again named John, but again did not survive. The Seymour Pedigree shows that finally Sir John had a natural son whom he named John yet once more. This John, justifying his persistence, thrived.

<sup>2</sup> This was the first day of the new reign. The Seymours were among a very large number of people, all pardoned as from this date.



The King was himself present at this siege, and he conferred on Sir John (whose existing knighthood had been gained through valour) an additional distinction in making him Knight Banneret.

Sir John's merits however did not show themselves only on the field of battle. He must have had skill in dealing with affairs at Court, and talent also as a diplomatist. King Henry was attended by Sir John Seymour, among other notabilities, at the conference known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. It was an occasion of great magnificence—and Sir John entered into the spirit of it by taking with him a chaplain, 11 servants and 8 pack horses. He must have made a favourable impression; for two years later he was again in attendance when the King went to Canterbury to welcome the Emperor Charles V, then paying a state visit to England.

We hear of Sir John once more in a similar role when King Henry went to France for a further conference in 1532. He acted on this occasion as Groom of the Bedchamber—a post indicating that the King had a personal liking for him.

It is perhaps on account of all these activities at Court that we hear comparatively little of Sir John's doings at Savernake. Doubtless he had a "lieutenant" to look after Forest affairs—and as one hears nothing of poaching at this time, it is perhaps a reasonable presumption that his prestige in Court circles was such as to strengthen the hand of his lieutenant in dealing with troublesome neighbours.

The Savernake archives contain but few manuscripts relating to him. One of these is a complaint, made apparently to a local Justice by one of Sir John Seymour's tenants, occupying a water mill at Crofton, in respect of harsh treatment accorded to him by the lord of Wolfhall. "Thes ben the injures and wrongs", he commences, "done unto your poor servant and daily bed(e)man<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hall by Syr John Saymor Knyght, wherof the sayd Thomas Hall besechith your master shippe to see reformation for the love of God and in the way of charytee".

It appears that there had been some change of occupancy at the mill, whereupon "the sayd Syr John Saymor of hys gret myght . . . beryng extreme malice unto your sayd pour servant, wolde not suffer the sayd Thomas pesably to enjoye the seyde lese oonles he wolde gyff hym in mony V marks". There is a good deal more to the same effect, ending with Thomas Hall's conviction that he would "never have remedy with owte the comfort of your good mastershippe to hym nowe be shewyd".

We should beware, I think, of drawing the too obvious deduction from this, and so picturing Sir John as an avaricious landlord. We do not hear the Seymour version of the affair; and a safer deduction would be that he was a landlord with a sense of humour. For some reason, he took the trouble to acquire this document and to preserve it—a thing which a man might do in whimsical mood, but not if his conscience was at all uneasy.

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<sup>1</sup> Bedeman; implying that he prayed daily for the Justice.

In one respect we know more of Sir John Seymour than of any of his predecessors: he was the first member of the family to have his portrait painted.<sup>1</sup> We see him at the age of 62, i e. presumably in 1534, as an elderly man of very dignified appearance, gazing out from the canvas with a steady and assured expression. He is wearing voluminous robes, and with his long, grey beard might be taken for a learned cleric or philosopher. He has changed, one supposes, and mellowed since his early days when he was a dashing leader of troops.

By this date, Sir John's family had of course grown up. His eldest son being dead, young Edward Seymour had become his heir. This was a promising young man: Sir John had already introduced him into Court circles, where he had quickly made his mark, gaining a knighthood for himself, a post in King Henry's entourage and—more important—the personal friendship of the King.

One of Sir John's daughters was also in favour at Court. This was Jane, who had been a Lady in Waiting to Queen Catherine of Aragon, and was now performing the same office to Queen Anne Boleyn. She was thus known to the King, although he had never as yet paid any marked attention to her.

Having so many contacts with the royal household, it is by no means surprising that Sir John Seymour should, in 1535, have invited King Henry to visit him at Wolfhall. The visit took place on September 10th in that year—and it is a misfortune that we know extremely little about it. King Henry paid a second visit in the year 1539, and was there again in 1543. Concerning these latter visits we are fairly well informed—and so it is possible to make some intelligent inferences as to what the King saw on his first arrival at Wolfhall, and how he fared during his stay there,

Assuming King Henry to have come from London, his first sight of the old manor house at Wolfhall would have been from "Topenhan Hyll", from which vantage point all the buildings, fields and gardens would have been seen spread out on the sloping, but less elevated ground across the valley. "The parke called Topenhays" would have been behind him; but Wolfhall had its Horse Park, its Red Deer Park and, beyond the manor buildings, undulating Soden Park also.

Between these park lands lay the arable fields, besides a number of small pastures. There was an orchard, and there were several gardens. One was a walled garden, half an acre in extent: another, twice as big, was called "the Great Palyd gardyne". There were two smaller areas, one known as "My Young Lady's gardyne" and the other as "Myn Olde Lady's gardyne".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in *Annals of the Seymours* and noted as being in the possession of the author of that work, Mr. H. St. Maur.

<sup>2</sup> "My Young Lady" may have been young Sir Edward Seymour's wife. These details of Wolfhall are taken from the Longleat archives, as quoted by Canon Jackson.

The manor house stood in the centre of it all. The buildings were laid out in rectangular pattern: there was a Little Court, and so, by inference, a Great Court. There was the chapel that Sir William Esturmy had built,<sup>1</sup> the timbered dwelling house itself and many outbuildings. The place was extensive, although not lavish in accommodation.

Wolfhall indeed had not been built for entertainment on a royal scale. There was a long Gallery there, most likely on the first floor, and a Broad Chamber, doubtless broad enough for the reception of neighbouring squires and their ladies. We do not know whether, on this occasion, King Henry came with a large entourage; but if so, various expedients would have been necessary to make space for them. For example, Sir John could have boarded out some of his own household, and some of the minor royal retainers also. He could call upon certain accommodation in Burbage—and there were forest lodges also at his disposal.

Since, through "Grene the Bailly" (salary £1 6s. 8d. per annum), Sir John farmed much of his own land, there were also some great barns near the manor house. The best of these could be cleaned and swept out and, with tapestries hung on the walls and a layer of fresh-cut rushes carpeting the floor, could be made to serve the purpose of a huge dining hall. Certain bays could at the same time be partitioned off, so as to provide additional chambers.

Some preparations of this sort had no doubt long since been made; so that all was in readiness when the King rode down from "Topenhan Hyll", crossed the valley and dismounted in the great courtyard. Here the ladies of the household must have been waiting to greet him—among them his host's daughter Jane, who no doubt was assisting her mother in the capacity of hostess. The King, seeing her now in this favourable setting, seems to have discovered charms in Jane Seymour of which he had not previously been conscious. This may have contributed to making the royal visit a success—and it is certain that from this time onwards King Henry's affection began to be directed towards his Queen's young Lady in Waiting.

We have no means of knowing whether Sir John Seymour was aware of this, although his son, Sir Edward, certainly knew of it.<sup>2</sup> Six months or more went by after the Wolfhall visit; and then the Savernake neighbourhood must have been electrified by the news emanating from London—namely that Queen Anne Boleyn had been convicted of infidelity and executed, that the King had forthwith sought the hand of Sir John Seymour's daughter Jane, and that this young lady had,

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<sup>1</sup> The Seymours kept a priest or chaplain for it; he was known as "Sir James", and received a salary of £2 annually.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of the Seymours*, pp. 24—26.

with what appeared unseemly haste (May, 1536), allowed the capricious monarch to make her his new Queen!

Tradition asserts that Queen Jane was actually married at Wolfhall, and that the marriage feast was held there in the great barn, decorated for the purpose. It is an attractive story; but there seems to be no historical foundation for it. If Jane Seymour did, at this period, revisit her old home, it may have been just before or just after the marriage—for the event itself took place apparently in Whitehall.

Old Sir John Seymour, now that his daughter shared the throne, had become naturally a person of great importance. His age however was not such as to incline him any longer towards participation in great affairs. With his son it was otherwise: soon after his sister's marriage, Sir Edward Seymour was created Viscount Beauchamp, and to support this new honour was granted certain lands, including those formerly in the possession of Easton Priory. (It was at this time that the smaller monasteries were suppressed.)

It would be interesting to know what Sir John thought of all this. Did he take pride in his children's swift advancement? Or did he regard with apprehension this sudden elevation of the younger generation to wealth and honours and high places? Perhaps, as old men will, he shook his head dubiously—muttering something into that long, prophetic grey beard.

Sir John Seymour died in December, 1536, after his daughter had been Queen some seven months. He was buried in the Priory church at Easton "amongst divers of his Ancestors, both Seymours and Sturmyes". Although the Priory itself had been abolished and its brethren scattered, the church remained, albeit in a poor state of repair. (The brethren, despite Esturmy grants, had not been prosperous: the church was ancient, and it had moreover been gravely damaged by fire in the preceding century).

Henry Bryan, the last of the priors, had remained at Easton. He was now the curate (i.e. the vicar) there and received from the Seymours a stipend of £6 per annum.<sup>1</sup> Sir John, as the King's father-in-law, must have been buried at Easton with considerable ceremony, and a suitable memorial must have marked his resting-place there. It was not long however, before the church fell into ruin, "and thereby all their Monuments either whollie spoyled or verie much defaced"; this, as we know, being the reason for Sir John's subsequent re-burial at Bedwyn.

I shall not quote in full the long inscription which was carved on the new monument erected for him.<sup>2</sup> It dealt largely with the achievements of his numerous children, telling us little of the man himself. Yet in some ways Sir John was more admirable than they. He was courageous and able, knew how to walk with Kings, but was not covetous of

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<sup>1</sup> A substantial addition to his pension of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.).

<sup>2</sup> It still exists: Great Bedwyn Church.

honours. As a young man, he played his part in camps and Courts; but at the last he was content to die a country gentleman.

His grandson's opening words are best. "Here lyeth intombed *the worthie* Sir John Seymour".

#### EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET: 1536—1552.

At the time of his father's death, Edward Lord Beauchamp (to give him the title by which he was then known) had already advanced far in his public career. He was a Peer of the Realm, about to be made a Privy Councillor. He was the King's friend and brother-in-law. He was young (being in his thirties still) and wealthy, having received grants of land from the Crown in addition to those estates which were his by inheritance.

Various portraits of him are in existence, including one at Savernake which is dated 1532. This depicts a young man, richly dressed, and with beard and moustaches carefully trimmed, whose features, without being handsome, are refined and sensitive. All pictures of Edward Seymour indeed seem to have this in common, that they show us a man of markedly intellectual type.

Fortune had, up to this time, favoured him less well in his domestic life. He had married in 1527 Catherine Fillol, and by her had had two sons, the elder of whom he named John and the younger Edward. In 1535 however he had divorced Catherine, evidently convinced that she had been unfaithful to him. What was worse, he seems to have entertained doubts as to the paternity of the two sons which she had given him: we are forced to this conclusion (although without the means of judging whether his suspicions had any foundation) by the extraordinary manner in which he treated John and Edward. He was clearly determined that they should not inherit any major portion of his property, and that neither should they inherit (except, in some cases, as a last resort) any of the titles which were conferred upon him. His Beauchamp Viscounty, for instance, was granted "to him and the heirs male of his body *hereafter* to be begotten", thus excluding the heirs male who were already living.

There is no doubt that this was extremely hard on John and Edward; for whatever the rights and wrongs of the matter, they certainly were innocent of any offence. Their father however re-married in 1537, taking to wife a lady named Anne Stanhope: by her he soon had a second family of children, notably a son whom he again named Edward. It was upon this second family that all his parental affections were from henceforth lavished.

At this period, owing to the Seymour alliance with the royal family, Beauchamp was no doubt much involved in national and Court affairs, gaining experience of which he afterwards made use. It was in the autumn of 1537 that his sister, the Queen, gave birth to a prince—the future Edward VI of England. The christening took place when the

child was but a few days old, and when Queen Jane had by no means recovered from the effects of her confinement.

King Henry was of course delighted to have at last a male heir to the throne. Throughout the ceremony he was most attentive to the Queen, while to her brother he allowed the honour of carrying in his arms the little Princess Elizabeth, Queen Anne Boleyn's child. Immediately afterwards, he granted further advancement to Lord Beauchamp, raising him to the dignity of Earl of Hertford.<sup>1</sup>

The few days following the birth and christening of Prince Edward must have been a time of rejoicing both for the King and for the new-made Earl. Then came a grievous misfortune: Queen Jane, who had not been very well since the birth of her son, became dangerously ill. The malady grew worse, and after only 12 days of motherhood she collapsed and died. With cruel suddenness, both King and courtier were plunged from merry-making into mourning.

There seems to be no doubt that the king's grief was sincere and deep. As for Hertford, he had lost not only a sister but also an invaluable friend and ally, whose position as King Henry's consort would have opened a way for him to the highest places. Now, as it seemed, the Seymour influence must wane. This was the general opinion, as is shown by a contemporary document, listing "The names of all the nobility in England, their ages and their activeness".<sup>2</sup> Here we find "The Earl of Hertford, young and wise, of small power, and brother unto the last Queen deceased".

None the less, friendship continued between the King and this young nobleman "of small power". Proof of it was given in 1539, when King Henry revisited Savernake, and once again came as a guest to Wolfhall.

Lord Hertford was now, of course, Warden of Savernake Forest—although it may be doubted whether he had found much time to deal personally with the work involved. He almost certainly employed one of the local gentry as his ranger,<sup>3</sup> and left the latter to handle most of the business which, in former times, had fallen to the Warden's lot.

This change in the system of management seems to have coincided with a gradual but well-marked change in the nature of the Forest itself. Throughout the Seymour period, we find evidence of a number of enclosures being made, either for the purpose of confining the deer or,

<sup>1</sup> Why a West-country Seymour should have taken his title from Hertford is not clear. The patent of Earldom allowed this title to descend to the heirs male of Anne Stanhope *or of any future wife*: it excluded, as usual, the unfortunate children of Catherine Fillol.

<sup>2</sup> Gairdner's *State Papers* (732). Most of the comments are uncomplimentary, Lord Hertford being one of the very few peers to be given credit for wisdom.

<sup>3</sup> From this period onwards, one no longer hears of the Warden's "lieutenant".

in the interests of forestry, to exclude them from certain of the coppices. One recalls the Red-deer Park at Wolfhall, "the parke called Topenhays" and the enclosure of nearby Havering Heath. When Sir Edward Darell and his friends "MM stakys . . . pullyd up and brake", they were breaching a deer park for the sake of their illicit sport.

These things were new since the days of the Esturmy Wardens. With regard to the extent of woodland in the Forest, there was however little change. We still hear of individual coppices, small and well separated from each other; and the same tale is told by a map which belongs approximately to this period. It illustrates the northern end of Savernake Forest, and shows, in the triangle between Marlborough, Puthall Gate and Cadley, four such coppices separated by a great deal of open space. This accounts for the continued importance of the Forest grazing: no farmer nowadays would give anything for it; but the herbage was good then, and there was plenty of it, both for the deer and for domestic animals as well.

There was no doubt a greate stir at Savernake when it became known that the King would pay a visit to his brother-in-law. Hertford on this occasion spared no pains to entertain the royal party on a princely scale. He made full use of the great barn at Wolfhall, apparently occupying a part of it himself, so as to put at his Majesty's disposal the best suite of rooms within the manor house itself. Thus we find an entry in the account book<sup>1</sup> for that year:—

"Payed to Cornish the paynter for dyvers colours by him bought, for makyng certeyn fretts & antiques on canvas for my lord's Barn and House at Wulf Haull agenst the King's coming thether 9th Aug. and for his cost in being sent to London for the same colours—31s. 8d."

Cornish evidently did his work well, for he later received a gratuity. "To Philip Cornish 10s. . . . (and varying amounts to others) in reward to them for their paynes taken".

Other domestic arrangements included the re-housing of Lord Hertford's mother, Dame Margery Seymour, his children and their several nurses—all these members of the household being accommodated in a nearby Lodge. The obvious purpose was to set free additional rooms at Wolfhall, so as to entertain there all the members of King Henry's entourage. In the accounts we find:—

"Paid . . . to certain painters, joyners, carpenters, masons and others for their wages in preparing and trimming of the Barne at Wulf hall wherein my Lord lay and kept his house during the King's abode there, and also for the ridding, cleansing and garnishing of the Manor of Wulf hall wherein the King lay, and also at Penham Lodge where my Lord's mother and (his) children lay—£68 10s. 10d."

There seems no doubt that "Penham" was the abbreviation for (To)penham, and that in fact we have here the first mention of Tottenham Lodge—a place of which one hears much at a later date. Already, one assumes, there was a fairly presentable house there;

<sup>1</sup> Longleat Archives, as quoted by Canon Jackson.

otherwise, despite its convenient proximity to Wolfhall, it would not have been chosen for the use of an old lady and of several small children.

Hertford had now to consider the question of provisions. He no doubt knew in advance that the King, who was travelling with a great retinue, would bring with him some wagon-loads of stores. Local supplies, especially of game, would none the less be required on a great scale. The Savernake keepers could provide much—and so also could the neighbouring squires, if asked. Hence we find:—

“In reward to Master Hungerford’s man for bringing my lord partridges, a capon, pigeons and brawn—3s. 4d.”.

“To diverse men that brought my lord presents from diverse of his friends, as venison, wild fowl &c, against the Kings coming to his house at Wolfhaull, where my lord defraid him for Saturday supper, Sunday and Monday all day, and Tuesday dinner the 12th August, with money given to diverse persons for carriage of letters to my lord’s said frends for the same—£13 9s. 2d.”.

As for attendants to look after so great a company, this was by comparison a trifling problem. Lord Hertford normally employed at Wolfhall some 44 men, whose labours were directed by his steward—an important person drawing £3 10s. 0d. per annum. Surprisingly, only 7 women are mentioned, inclusive of nurses—this perhaps being due to limited accommodation. The steward doubtless recruited some additional help; for we hear of gratuities “to coke and a turnebroche (turnspit) that did labor in the kychin during the King’s being at Wolfhaull—7s. 8d.”.

The great day of King Henry’s arrival was, as we have seen, a Saturday. On that day it was illegal to eat meat,<sup>1</sup> for which reason a fish supper was the first meal provided. The King appears to have brought with him a retinue of some 200 persons; and although the lesser fry were no doubt housed in Burbage, all seem to have fed at Wolfhall. The King and his courtiers had a great table to themselves; the host and hostess ate separately, presiding over their own household table. It seems an unfriendly arrangement, but such was apparently the etiquette of those days.

There must have been some close collaboration between the Wolfhall steward and the King’s victualler in the preparation of so great a number of “messes”. The former’s account book shows that some items were “of the King’s provision”; others were “of my lord’s store”. The steward made wholesale purchases where necessary; thus—“Bought of the King’s officers, fyne flour . . . (4 bush.) 7s.: Bought of the King’s officers, bere and aill, two tuns, 3 hogsheads, 75s.: Ashen cupps (bought) 150, 5s.”, and so on.

Thus contrived, the fish supper did not lack variety. “Of the King’s provision” there were “sea-fish, 5 potts: 8 pikes, 5 salmon, 8 grilz, 7 tenches, 9 lopsters”, besides bream and plaice. “Of my lord’s store’

<sup>1</sup> Canon Jackson; *Wolfhall and the Seymours*, p. 7.



there were "congers, pike, eles, trouts, bremes, carps, tenches, roches, perches, moletts". From other sources came "one barrel of sturgeon"; likewise "xi pasteys of salmon". Considering that Savernake is 50 miles inland, the provision of "lopsters", etc. in August, must have called for good organisation!

There was good liquor to drink—"Swete Wine" and Gascon wine—additional to the "bere and aill". There was also a spiced wine known as hippocras. The meal was enlivened by music; for the King's minstrels had accompanied him. They played on the sagbutts, the violls, the flutes, the trumpetts and the tabaret. Whether Lord Hertford's own minstrels joined in, we do not know: he had a troupe of them—so there was no shortage of musical talent.

On Sunday there was a great feast, and again on Monday. Lord Hertford and his Lady had invited certain of their neighbours—and those so favoured turned up, bringing numbers of retainers with them. My Lady Hungerford (the Dowager) brought six; Sir Anthony and Lady Hungerford had eight accompanying them: Master Wroughton had five servants: my Lady Darrell four: Sir John Bridges, with eight, was among the most lavish.

With such guests and their retinues, there was a great concourse at Wolfhall. The catering department however was equal to any test: six beeves (or oxen), each worth 30s., were slaughtered, as were 24 "muttons" worth 3s. each. On Sunday alone, "of the King's provision"; additional meats included 12 "veales", 5 cygnets, 21 great capons, 7 good capons, 11 Kentish capons and 42 coarse capons. There were 70 pullets, 91 "chekyn", 38 quails, 9 mewes, 6 egretts, 2 shields of Brawn, 7 swans, 2 cranes, 2 storks, 3 pheasants, 40 partridges, 4 pea-chicks, 21 snyts (snipe), 2 dozen larks, 6 brewes and 28 gulls.

With these and other good things, those at the King's table, where on Sunday 470 messes (or portions) were served, were able to keep body and soul together. For Hertford's own table, two more oxen and two sheep were slaughtered, whereby during the day 146 messes were served to those who sat down with him.

It is unfortunate that, knowing so precisely what the royal visitor was given to eat and drink, we know little of how he was otherwise entertained. It is supposed that he was taken to Tottenham Lodge to see Dame Margery Seymour and her grandchildren. (Living at this time would have been Edward Lord Beauchamp, Anne Stanhope's eldest son, and perhaps one or two others of a family which eventually numbered nine.) It is significant that an avenue near Tottenham is still known as Henry VIII's Walk, and that near the end of it there was once a building known as King Harry's Summer-house.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Walk doubtless existed before the avenue which borders it. As for the building, there was a stone structure set up in the 18th century. It has disappeared now; but it may have been built to replace a summer house of earlier date.

It seems likely that, on the Monday at least, the King would have been offered some form of outdoor sport. There were deer in the forest, and at Wulfhall a kennel of hounds. Also Lord Hertford kept hawks and spaniels: on his manors were partridges which he had reared and protected. His account books speak of "4 couple of spaniels being a-brode hawking"—and I suppose that they were used to flush the birds. We hear also of "Thomas Potenger, my lord's falconer" and of "a cast of leonards", which were lanner-hawks.

As to the preservation of game birds, there was a fox-taker earning fees "for taking of foxes in Tottenham Park and in the Forest". This man presumably killed what he took. Not so the partridge-taker, "which brought partridges to store my Lord's . . . ground". Some birds were even imported from overseas: one Edward King earned 1s. 4d. "for feeding of partridges that came from Jersey and were sent to Wulfhall".

There was thus ample opportunity for King Henry to enjoy a day's sport, before his departure from Wulfhall on Tuesday. There were even some wild boar in the Forest at about this time; but these were surely imported, and did not establish themselves—for at no other period do we hear any mention of "wilde bores" or of the taking of "wyldeswyne".

Lord Hertford's lavish entertainment of his royal brother-in-law did not go unrequited. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1541, and in the following year Great Chamberlain. He also carried out a number of important missions, both military and diplomatic, being one of the outstanding English leaders in several campaigns against Scotland and France. He was no longer "of small power" during the latter years of King Henry VIII's reign.

#### PROTECTOR OF THE REALM.

When the King died in 1547, Lord Hertford was one of those named in his Will. He was among the 16 Executors who, with 12 Councillors, were appointed to carry out King Henry's wishes as to the government of England during the minority of the young prince, now King Edward VI. Jane Seymour's son as yet was only 10 years old.

Rather naturally, it was soon found that a Regency of 16 persons, advised by 12 others, was too cumbersome an institution to provide satisfactory government. The Council of Regency therefore decided to appoint one of its members to act as chief executive, creating for him the office of Governor of the King, likewise that of Protector of the Realm.

We need feel no surprise that the choice fell upon the Earl of Hertford. He was the new King's uncle, and thus the most suitable person to act as his mentor. Moreover he was a statesman and diplomat of proved ability—a natural leader, a man who had enjoyed the late King's special confidence, and one with a wide grasp of public affairs. Within the first few weeks of the new reign's commencement, he was invested with these almost regal powers.

At about the same time, fresh titles of nobility were granted to him—the Barony of Seymour and the Dukedom of Somerset. These titles were granted, as usual, with remainder to the new Duke's male issue by his second marriage, and in such a way that his first wife's descendants could inherit them only after all other heirs to the Dukedom and Barony had failed.<sup>1</sup> To the end, Edward Seymour, now rich in possessions and honours, continued to cherish his grievance against the children of Catherine Fillol.

It is clearly impossible, within the scope of this essay, to deal with the public administration of the Protector Duke. For three years he ruled England, not without some disorders, but at least with a good record in certain spheres. For instance, he was largely free from bigotry in religious matter—a rare thing in the 16th century. He was sympathetic also towards the poorer classes—a predilection for which he was taken to task by one of his colleagues in the following terms:—"What seeth your Grace, marry! the King's subjects all out of discipline . . . What is the matter? Marry, sir, that which I said to your Grace in the gallery. Liberty! Liberty! and your Grace's too much gentleness, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor—the opinion of such as saith to your Grace, 'Oh, sir, there was never man that had the hearts of the poor as you have' ".<sup>2</sup>

One distressing episode however can not be overlooked. While the Duke was in office, and with his assent, his own brother was executed for treason. This was Thomas, the fourth son of old Sir John Seymour, whose career under Henry VIII had been brilliant. He was now Lord Seymour of Sudeley, High Admiral of England, and a person of great influence in national affairs. His abilities were comparable with those of the Protector—and he had quite outshone Henry, who had been Sir John Seymour's third son.<sup>3</sup>

There is little doubt that the High Admiral was a person of great ambitions and few scruples. He married Queen Catherine Parr, having first tried to marry the Princess Elizabeth, and was guilty of gross intrigues against both his brother and the established government. He seems to have deserved his fate; but naturally there were many who blamed the Protector for inhumanity in assenting to it.

Beset as he was with so many momentous duties, the Protector can latterly have had but little time for the affairs of his numerous estates and of his Wiltshire Forest. I say "his" Forest; for by a royal grant<sup>4</sup> in the summer of 1547, he became the absolute owner of Savernake, and so was not merely, as his predecessors had been, the Warden who held it on the King's behalf.

<sup>1</sup> This contingency at last occurred—after 200 years! The present Duke of Somerset is Catherine Fillol's descendant.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Paget, quoted by H. St. Maur.

<sup>3</sup> This Henry however was knighted, and had a respectable, if not distinguished, career.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* *Inspeximus*—Savernake Archives.



SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR,  
afterwards 1st Duke of Somerset.

This portrait was painted before his rise to power,  
and during the lifetime of his father, "the worthie" Sir John.



That he took a keen interest in the Forest is proved by the fact that he made certain plantations. We do not hear of anything of the sort being done before—previous Wardens having apparently concentrated on the preservation of such woodland as happened already to exist. The Protector's account books show however that he planted on a considerable scale: one plantation was at "the Great Dych", a place not easily identifiable, but perhaps coinciding with that great ditch which was one of the Forest boundaries in the region of Tottenham.<sup>1</sup>

Another matter of concern to the new-made Duke was the provision at Savernake of a house appropriate to the status of the Seymour family, Wolfhall had done well enough in its day; but it was quite inadequate, as we have seen, to the requirements of large-scale entertaining. Tottenham Lodge was still smaller. There was a house at Easton, formerly part of the Priory; but this again was a small place and of no pretensions.

The Duke soon decided that he would have to build anew. He looked round for a site—and he found one which was admirable for the purpose which he had in mind. This was at the south-western corner of the Brail Woods near Bedwyn—those woods from which the Broyle bailiwick of Savernake had received its name. The house was to be built on the high ground, with commanding views over the hamlets of Wilton and Marten to the downs beyond.

The Duke planned a great park to extend for three miles around the North and West sides of his new house, including the whole of the Brail Woods, Wilton Common and the sloping land which runs down to the Bedwyn brook (now robbed of significance by the Canal). The ground here is naturally park-like, and would form an ideal setting for a country mansion.

In 1548 the work was actually put in hand, the broad acres of the park being first enclosed and then, in the next year, a water supply scheme being devised and the foundations of the house laid. We know a good deal about all this from letters<sup>2</sup> written at the time to Sir John Thynne, personal secretary to the Protector. The plans of the house have not come down to us; but we may be sure that its proportions were to have been palatial: the greatest of the Seymours would not have been content with anything on an inferior scale.<sup>3</sup>

There were of course difficulties, one of them being the lack of good stone in the neighbourhood. Considering that, at Dodsdowen within the enclosed park, there was and is an ample supply of clay suitable for brick making,<sup>4</sup> it is surprising that the Duke did not decide upon a brick-built house. He did indeed order "xx hundred thousand brykes"; but the building was to be stone-faced—and so experiments were made

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Perambulation, 1301.

<sup>2</sup> Found by Canon Jackson at Longleat.

<sup>3</sup> It is said (but I can quote no authority for it) that Longleat was afterwards built from these same plans.

<sup>4</sup> Bricks were still being made there within living memory.

with the local Wilton stone, which "spalters out in thick peces, and will not abyde".

Labour was a problem; for a huge force of builders was needed. Sixty men worked continuously on the water conduit alone, for this was 15 feet deep and 1600 feet long.<sup>1</sup> There were never enough men for the other work: out of 400 required there were usually 150 lacking. French masons were imported and sent down to Wiltshire; but Mr. John Barwick, the agent, did not think highly of them.

"Further ye sent us downe such a lewde company of Frenchmen masons as I never sawe the lyke. I assure you they be the worst condicyoned people that I ever saw and the dronkenst; for they wyll drynke more in one day than three days wages wyll come to, and then lye lyke beasts on the flore not able to stonde. I have geven them dyvers warnyngs me self and yet never the better".

None the less, "it may please your mastership to understand that my Lord's Grace's works here do proced to effect with such expedition as it pleaseth God to permitt them". By 1549 the great house had began to rise, and all expected that my Lord's Grace would shortly come to take stock of its progress. He would perhaps stand in meditation before the growing pile of masonry, planning his retirement from the cares of state; picturing himself well and handsomely housed here in the tranquillity of his old age; sometimes living secluded, sometimes giving a great entertainment for his young nephew the King—no longer cramped and straitened as in the old house at Wolfhall.

We do not in fact know whether the Protector paid any such visit, or dreamed any such dreams. By the end of 1549 he was already in disgrace, blamed by his enemies for all the misfortunes of the country since the new king's accession, and lodged as a prisoner in the Tower of London.

The fall of the Protector Duke of Somerset is another matter which belongs to the history books rather than to this essay.<sup>2</sup> Parliament first passed a Bill asking the King to deal leniently with him, but providing that part of his landed property should be forfeited to the Crown. In particular, Savernake Forest was to become Crown property once more, although the Duke was to retain all his rights there as the hereditary Warden.

In 1550 there was a reversal of fortune. The Duke was pardoned, and much property, including Savernake, was restored to him. In 1551

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<sup>1</sup> The course of it may be traced by anyone who cares to penetrate the undergrowth in the south end of Bedwyn Brail. About half the length of the conduit still leads from the spring that was to feed it.

<sup>2</sup> It was not without some searchings of heart that the present writer decided to pass over thus summarily the story of the Duke of Somerset's Protectorate. But complete books have been written concerning it; and it was felt that a mere *précis* would be both unworthy and tiresome.

however he was again arrested,<sup>1</sup> this time being charged with treason and felony and condemned to death. He was executed on January 22nd, 1552.

It being impossible, except at great length, to review all the evidence for and against the unfortunate Protector, his own final words at his execution may be briefly quoted.

“Masters and good fellows. I am come hither to die; but a true and faithful man as any was unto the King’s Majesty and to his realm. But I am condemned by a law whereunto I am subject, as we all; and therefore to show obedience I am content to die . . . for the which I do thank God . . .”

“For, as I am a man, I have deserved at God’s hand many deaths; and it has pleased His goodness . . . thus now to visit me and call me with this present death as you do see, where I have had time to remember and acknowledge Him, and to know also myself, for the which I do thank Him most heartily . . .”

“. . . and I pray you now let us pray together for the King’s Majesty, to whose grace I have been always a faithful, true and most loving subject, desirous always of his most prosperous success in all his affairs; and ever glad of the furtherance and helping forward of the Commonwealth of this Realm”.

Thus, with resignation and courage, spoke the Protector in the last moments of his life. The boy-King, his nephew, made a brief entry in his journal for that day<sup>2</sup> “The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between 8 and 9 o’clock in the morning”.

He added no comment.

#### EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD: 1552—1621.

All through his boyhood, Edward Seymour, eldest son of the Protector by his wife Anne Stanhope, was a young man upon whom fortune smiled. He was born into a world wherein his father, already a man of great possessions, was the King’s relative and confidant. His own first cousin was the Heir Apparent. Two Dukes were his godfathers; and his own father soon was raised to similar rank. Thenceforth he had the entrée to his royal cousin’s Court—could mix with courtiers and be on easy terms with princes.

He had been knighted at the coronation of King Edward VI; but the world knew him as the Earl of Hertford. This title of course was his father’s; but the custom obtained then, as now, whereby a peer grants to his heir the right to use one of the family titles—normally that which is second in importance. Young Edward had thus been known as

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Thynne was also arrested. Fortunately he was able to preserve a number of his patron’s private papers. It is for this reason that the Longleat archives are so informative concerning the Seymours of the 16th century.

<sup>2</sup> Journal in *Lit. Remains, Edward VI.*



Viscount Beauchamp in childhood, but had the Earldom of Hertford from the time of his father's advancement to dukedom.

Having begun life with these bright prospects, he was perhaps the principal sufferer, both in terms of bereavement and in a worldly sense, through the disgrace and execution of the Protector. Opinions differ as to his age at this time; but he was hardly more than 14. It was his lot now to see his mother imprisoned in the Tower, his father's estates confiscated, and all his titles likewise forfeited. No more could the boy call himself the Earl of Hertford: he was Sir Edward Seymour, a penniless young knight, virtually an orphan and without favour at Court,<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to imagine what would have happened to the young Sir Edward, but for the good nature of his father's former secretary, Sir John Thynne. The latter, when himself released, took charge of his old patron's unfortunate heir, giving him counsel, and for some years supplying him with ready money. "Let no; this, my furtherance, stick or quail for want of a little money"—wrote the young man on one occasion.<sup>2</sup> Sir John did not let it stick: he was a very loyal friend.

Happily the Seymours had other friends also, and with their aid a Bill was passed through Parliament, restoring to the Protector's children some fair means of subsistence. Considerable estates indeed were handed back to young Sir Edward: these included the original Esturmy properties, and more besides. The Forest of Savernake was returned once more to its hereditary Warden, the actual ownership of it being vested in him as it lately had been in his father. It is remarkable that property in so unusual a form should have been released by the Crown after twice being forfeited.

A further helpful factor was that King Edward VI died in 1553, being succeeded by his sister Mary. The Protector had always shown kindness and tolerance towards this Princess (who had been in disfavour); and she now responded by ordering the release of the Protector's widow.<sup>3</sup>

Queen Mary did not have a long reign; but she was succeeded by the Princess Elizabeth. The latter had also kindly memories of the Protector, and was very ready to assist his son. She had not been long on the throne before she re-created for him the Earldom of Hertford and made him also a Baron (Lord Beauchamp). The new Earl thus enjoyed the same rank that his father had held in the good days of Henry VIII.

<sup>1</sup> We must beware here of confusing this Sir Edward with his half-brother, also Sir Edward Seymour. The latter was Catherine Fillol's son—and for once was the more fortunate of the two!

<sup>2</sup> In a letter—Longleat Archives.

<sup>3</sup> The Protector's heir always believed that she had meant to do much for him also. Later in life, when laying claim to some property, he noted: "This that I seek is but a feather of myne own goose: whereas if I were ambitiously disposed . . . I should have claimed . . . the whole once meant to me by Q. Mary".

Lord Hertford—as we may once again call him—was now a young man, some 20 years of age. He was decidedly handsome and well set up, carrying himself with a certain natural dignity. Like his father, he wore a short beard and moustache; but his colouring was different: he had grey eyes, and his hair was of a chestnut tint.<sup>1</sup>

Being restored to favour, he lost no time in seeking to regain his rightful place in Elizabethan society. He wrote, for example, to Sir John Thynne proposing a tour in Wiltshire and Somerset so as to make the acquaintance of the local gentry. After a round of visits, he would go to Wolfhall, there to hunt and kill some bucks. It was a good idea, but expensive; for the family finances were not as yet on a satisfactory footing. He had to ask Sir John to oblige him with 100 marks,<sup>2</sup>

At Court, young Hertford might have enjoyed great popularity; but in 1560 he did a very reckless thing. He had for some time been in love with Lady Catherine Grey, sister to the unhappy Lady Jane Grey and equally near in succession to the throne. Queen Elizabeth being notoriously mistrustful of any such possible claimants, the lovers did not dare to ask for permission to marry. Instead, they were privately married, endeavouring to keep the matter a secret until some more propitious moment.

Inevitably, the secret was not kept for long. The Queen, when she discovered it, was furious—and at once ordered Lady Catherine to be imprisoned in the Tower. Hertford hurried to Court, no doubt to make intercession, but was himself likewise seized and imprisoned.

It was in the Tower of London therefore that a child was born—Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp—in the year 1561. The Queen appointed a Commission to enquire into “the pretended marriage”; and this body, no doubt well knowing what verdict was expected of it, duly found the marriage to have been invalid, and the new-born child a bastard. (None the less, this Edward Seymour was always known to his contemporaries as Lord Beauchamp—thus showing what the popular view was as to his legitimacy.)

Hertford's incarceration does not seem to have been especially strict; for within 18 months a second child—a boy whom the parents named Thomas<sup>3</sup>—was born to the Lady Catherine. This event caused the Queen still greater indignation: she ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to be dismissed; and although the unhappy couple were later placed under house arrest, she ordained that they should be kept henceforth in different parts of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a portrait at Savernake, dated 1565.

<sup>2</sup> Longleat Archives.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be doubt as to how many children Lord Hertford and Lady Catherine had. My conviction is that there were two only; because—(a) the Seymour Pedigree says so, being compiled by Lord Hertford's own order; (b) Hertford, in his own hand, on the fly-leaf of his bible (found at Longleat) names Thomas as being the second; (c) there was stricter imprisonment of the parents as from 1563.

Hertford had to appear before the Star Chamber to answer for his part in what had occurred. He was fined £5,000 for having broken prison, £5,000 for "debauching a lady of the blood royal", and as much again for having had intercourse with her a second time. Happily only fractions of these fines were ever extracted from him; otherwise he would have been totally ruined.

Queen Elizabeth seems to have been convinced that Hertford's marriage had been part of some political plot. There is no evidence for this; and indeed there is much to show that it was genuinely a love match. Lord Hertford was steadfastly loyal to the Queen—while as to the relationship between himself and Lady Catherine, her letters, of which I quote an example,<sup>1</sup> are sufficient testimony.

"No small joye, my Deare Lorde, is it to me the comfortable understanding of your mayntayned helth. . . . Though of late I have not byn well, yet now, I thank God, pretely well, and longe to be merry with you as you do to be with me. . . . I say no more . . . as I was heavy when you the third time came to the door and it was locked."<sup>2</sup>

"Do you thynke I forget old fore-past matters? No surely I can not, but bear in memory far many more than you think for. I have good leisure so to do when I call to mind what a husband I have of you and my great hard fate to miss the viewing of so good a one . . .

"Thus most humbly thanking you, my sweet Lord, for your husbandly sending both to see how I do, and also for your money, I most lovingly bid you farewell: not forgetting my espeycall thanks to you for your book which is no small jewel to me. I can very well read it, for as soon as I had it, I read it over even with my heart as well as with my eyes; by which token I once again bid you *Vale et semper salus*, my good Ned.

"Your most lovyng and faithtul wyfe during lyfe,

KATHERYNE HARTFORD".

The tragic result of the Queen's jealousy was that, after a few hours of stolen happiness in the grim Tower of London, husband and wife saw each other no more. Lady Catherine died in 1568—and in her last moments still took thought for her "good Ned". She said to Sir Owen Hopton, in whose house she was kept:—<sup>3</sup>

"I beseech you, promise me one thing, that you yourself with your own mouth will make this request unto the Queen's Majesty, . . . that she should be good unto my children, and . . . good unto my Lord; and, for I know this my death will be heavy news unto him, that Her Grace will be so good as to send liberty to glad his sorrowful heart withall".

But Queen Elizabeth—unhappily in this case—enjoyed a remarkable immunity from sentiment. For six months she did nothing for the

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, Canon Jackson's *Wolfhall and the Seymours*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The letter bears no date. Does this refer to some incident in the Tower?

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Harleian MSS.*

young widower: then she allowed him but a slight increase of freedom. After three years, she gave him liberty. After 27 years however, when he ventured to seek recognition of his sons' legitimacy, she at once had him seized and put into the Tower again. (This second imprisonment, mercifully, was but of a few months' duration).

By 1571, when the Queen's anger against him first abated, Hertford had spent some ten years in various degrees of confinement. Through Sir John Thynne, he had maintained a certain contact with affairs at Savernake; but naturally, in the owner's absence, things did not go well there. The Wroughton family, for instance, which had plagued John Seymour during his Wardenship in the previous century, still was a cause of trouble in the neighbourhood. Then it was John Wroughton who "came in riotous and forisable wise": now Lord Hertford, as Warden, learned of "great abuses committed by your (i.e., Sir John Thynne's) brother(-in-law) Wroughton in and about my Forest; and also his new device about the purlieu of my Lord of Pembroke whereby he justly procureth unto himself rather new displeasure and evill opinion at my hands then pardon and reconciliation for his former abuses and enormities". Verily, the Wroughtons had run true to type!

"The purlieu of my Lord Pembroke" is interesting; for it included the Brail Woods, these having been detached from the Protector's great estates at the time of his downfall. Lord Pembroke was specifically authorised to appropriate "all leaden channels and pipes", also all bricks lying at "Doddysdowne alongside the said wood called le Broylé".<sup>1</sup> In other words, he had licence to carry off all the materials which the Protector had gathered for the construction of the great, new Seymour mansion.

This purlieu therefore must have grieved Lord Hertford. He himself could not have afforded to continue building as his father had done; but he needed a good house of respectable size—and by this time Wolfhall had become almost ruinous. He could at least have made use, in repair work, of the Dodsdowen bricks.

As it was, "by credible report . . . my house is in way of utter ruine unlesse some speadie repayring be thought uppon for the same; I have thought good to desire you now at your being there to consider thoroughly of the state thereof and so to make an estimate what stone, tymber, brick, lyme, sand, and such other necessaries apperteinyng to building will be nedefull for the reparation of the same, and what somme the provision . . . amount unto".<sup>2</sup>

The matter was urgent: Wolfhall had now suffered a full generation of neglect. Part of the structure was positively dangerous; so that Hertford could write:—"My tower is down. Easier it is you wyll say as truth to pull down then set up, but better is it and more safety when the tymber is rotten, to pull down lest it fall as that was alltogether gon and the very iron of the windowes consumed in the midst".

It would be interesting to know what plans were evolved for the restoration of Wolfhall; but whatever they were, it appears that

<sup>1</sup> Royal grant to Lord Pembroke, 6 Edw. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Sir John Thynne, 1569.

Hertford soon entertained doubts as to their feasibility. The old place would have had to be virtually rebuilt. Would not money be better expended, he must have enquired, on the enlargement of his lodge at Tottenham? Here he had a small but substantial residence—one which would lend itself to being developed.

Though there remains little documentary evidence, events show clearly what the answer was. Some ten years after his release, we find Lord Hertford living at Tottenham Lodge. There is no indication of what the house was like, except as to its being large, with extensive outbuildings. A list has survived,<sup>1</sup> entitled "Totnam Lodge. A Note of the names of the Ordinarie of Household there"; and in this no fewer than 41 persons are mentioned. Allowing for some of them sleeping out, as they no doubt did in nearby cottages, we must still visualise a decidedly large place.

Not all of the persons named can be identified; but there was a tutor for Lord Beauchamp and for his brother; a steward, an agent and several more who were heads of departments. The list includes Smyth, who was keeper of the park, Gaskin the slaughter-man, Dowdinge the smith, Riche the farrier, Hewes the ale brewer, Gilbert the beer brewer, Warren the ostringer (i.e. the falconer), Barnaby the baker, six "Groomes of your Lordship's stable", and various others who may have been footmen.

As at Wolfhall, there were few female servants; but there were numerous boys. Some of these were personal boys, looking after the senior members of the staff: others clearly did work such as in later times was done by women. "Hugh, boy of the Warderobe" is an example of it.

From this period, about 1580, we may date the renewed prosperity of the Seymour family. Money must have accumulated during the ten years of confinement: thereafter we hear no more of Hertford having to borrow; he was able to live, if not so grandiosely as his father, at least in very comfortable style.

He was now also restored, although rather precariously, to the favour of Queen Elizabeth. We do not know whether she visited Tottenham; but at Elvetham, one of the former Esturmy properties in Hampshire, she was for several days Lord Hertford's guest. He began once again to be seen at Court—and incidentally to take an interest in one of the Queen's ladies.

His son, Lord Beauchamp, had by now grown up. Hertford, remembering that the boy was (although the Queen would never admit it) great-great-grandson to King Henry VII, and hence a possible heir to the throne,<sup>2</sup> no doubt began thinking of some important match for him. Young Beauchamp however had ideas of his own, and to his

<sup>1</sup> Longleat Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Through Lady Catherine Grey, he had descent from King Henry VII's younger daughter. King James of Scotland based his claim to the English throne on being descended from the elder daughter of the same King.

father's great anger he became engaged to a young lady named Honora Rogers. She was his cousin, the daughter of Sir Richard Rogers—and this relationship had no doubt caused the young people to be thrown together: none the less, when they had the temerity to marry in defiance of Lord Hertford's wishes, a most bitter quarrel resulted between father and son.

By nature, the Earl was a man of hot temper, outspoken and blunt,<sup>1</sup> although he could be charming and courteous also. His indignation against Beauchamp was such that the young man—he was scarcely of age—wrote in alarm to Lord Burghley and to Sir Francis Walsingham. To the latter he appealed “once again to stand my good friend . . . and, to avoid further occasion of dislike, to deliver me from his (i.e. my father's) custody”.

Walsingham replied in very sensible vein:—<sup>2</sup> “You desire to be removed from your father's presence, as you see he is greatly grieved through your not yielding to his desires, and are unwilling to be, as it were an eyesore to him. I am very sorry . . . but you must give me some time to think of it. In the mean time, carry yourself humbly and dutifully towards him, and await with patience a good hour, when your friends may prevail to remove from you his displeasure”.

It must have been painful to Hertford to have his domestic dissensions thus bruited abroad—although indeed they could hardly have remained private, since he was trying forcibly to keep the young lovers apart. So unhappy a situation was mitigated for him only by the approaching prospect of his own re-marriage. The lady of his choice was Frances Howard, sister of the great admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham.<sup>3</sup> Being one of the Queen's ladies, she had to seek the royal assent before she could wed—and, needless to say, this was not readily given. Frances however must have been a person of great charm: she wheedled Queen Elizabeth into consenting, while at the same time keeping up the spirits of her distracted and impatient suitor.

As to the Queen's opposition, she writes to him:—“Many persuasions che used agaynst maryge . . . and how littel you wold care for me . . . how well I was here and how mucche she cared for me. But in the end she said she would not be against my desire. Trust me, sweet Lord; the worst is past . . .”

As to the trouble with Lord Beauchamp, (who seems to have gained sympathy at Court, where it was thought that his father had “used

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<sup>1</sup> An example of his style is seen in a letter to his sister, who was Honora's aunt. He writes:—“Sister Mary, I have ever dealt plainly with all men, and will deal plainly with you”. After speaking his mind to her, he adds:—“But we grow old. Let us not discomfort each other”.—and so unexpectedly ends on a friendly and generous note.

<sup>2</sup> This and the foregoing letter are from the Longleat Archives.

<sup>3</sup> One of whose captains, incidentally, was Lord Hertford's brother.

him in great extremity")—"Be wise, and I pray you do not grieve. I would with all my heart I were with you to make you merry. I trust in God to bring you another pretty boy. Sweet Lord, you may have me now when you will, for the Queen praised you and said with all her heart you should have me. Farewell, sweet Mr. Edward. Love me and be merry."<sup>1</sup>

It is to be hoped that, with such a wife, Lord Hertford was able to forget his anger against the son who had become "an eyesore" to him. Unhappily, Frances' desire to give him another son was not fulfilled: no children were born of this marriage, although it lasted until her death in 1598. In his old age, Lord Hertford married a third time; but again without issue. His son Thomas being childless, his only descendants were in fact Beauchamp's children by Honora Rogers.

In 1603 something happened which no doubt Lord Hertford had long since foreseen. Queen Elizabeth being on her death-bed, the question arose as to who should succeed her. It is well known that her attendants questioned her, naming various persons who seemed to have claims to the throne. Among others, Edward Lord Beauchamp was mentioned—and to this name she reacted sharply. "I will have no rascal's son in my seat", said she, rousing herself from the stupor into which she had been sinking, "but one worthy to be a King"! (On being asked to amplify this, she then indicated a preference for "our Cousin of Scotland").<sup>2</sup>

It has already been pointed out, notably by Canon Jackson, that the word "rascal" did not, in Elizabethan English, have the same opprobrious meaning that it has today. None the less, it was scarcely complimentary to Hertford. Perhaps, to show clearly what was in the dying Queen's mind, I should quote from a letter of the 16th century, written (appropriately) from Savernake by a steward or agent.<sup>3</sup>

"Further, according my lord's grace's pleasure, I have byn at Vasterne Parke and there with moche worke I have put owt by estymacion 500 dere of all sorts into Braydon. It was not possible to devyde the bucks from the *vascalls* but one with the other. Whereof the most part were *vascalls*".

Lord Hertford, then, was likened—perhaps rather cruelly—to one of his Forest deer of an inferior type. It was not for nothing that such an analogy, in her last moments, had sprung to the lips of the old Queen. Obviously, Hertford's attachment to Savernake must have been well known at Court—and so it was natural to liken him to some denizen of the Forest.

Old records of Savernake show that indeed there were many developments under Lord Hertford's Wardenship. He had at first provided for the day-to-day management of his Forest through a Ranger and deputy Ranger. This is clear from his "Orders to be

<sup>1</sup> Both letters found among the Longleat Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 2nd ser, III, 107.

<sup>3</sup> John Barwick to Sir John Thynne.

presented to the Keepers of Savernake", dated 1554. Among other instructions, we find:—

"Item every kepere shall come every day come (sic) to the Ranger's Lodge to speake with him or his deputie or at the least to leve ther severall marks in a certaine place to be appoynted at the said Lodge".

This Ranger evidently was a person of some consequence, having magisterial powers; for the next order reads—"Item that every keeper mysse not to appeare at every iiiii weke courte day at the said Lodge ther to present all offences dunne in there severall walks as well tousing the gamb (game) as wood".

Towards the end of the century, however, Hertford determined that the Forest should be subdivided. We have seen that already there were separate parks at Tottenham and Wolfhall: now he fenced off additional areas of much greater size, so that no longer was there one broad tract of forest land through which the deer could roam at will. We learn that—"in the same forest newly paled in out of the forest (is) one parke callyd the great parke wherein there is one Lodge callyd the great lodge".<sup>1</sup>

We are told of the park's size—"Item 1650 ac of pastur; 300 ac of heath and waste"; also about its nature—"all is heath, grene ground and verry (? ferny) ground". As to the labour involved in fencing it, Lord Hertford's agent, writing in 1598, speaks of "the great bound newly made in the forest". Says he—"I have spent the greater part of this week in viewing his Lordship's work".

Another huge enclosure was "Brymslad", now Brimslade: this contained some 1300 acres. There was also "the forest unpaled.—Item there is in the thurde parte of the said forest or chase 1800 ac of pastur: item of heath and wast 400 ac. Item there is of coppice wood, in the foresayd great parke, forest and bremeslad 1400 ac". In other words, "coppice wood" covered a mere quarter of the entire area—emphasising once again the open nature of the original Forest.

The dividing line is of interest between "the forest unpaled" on the one hand and the two large new parks on the other. It must have agreed fairly closely with the mediaeval division between the two bailiwicks of La Verne and the West Baily: it agrees also, and more closely, with the present-day division between the woodland known to us as Savernake Forest and the expanse of agricultural land bordering the West side of it. Lord Hertford's "great bound" is thus a boundary still.

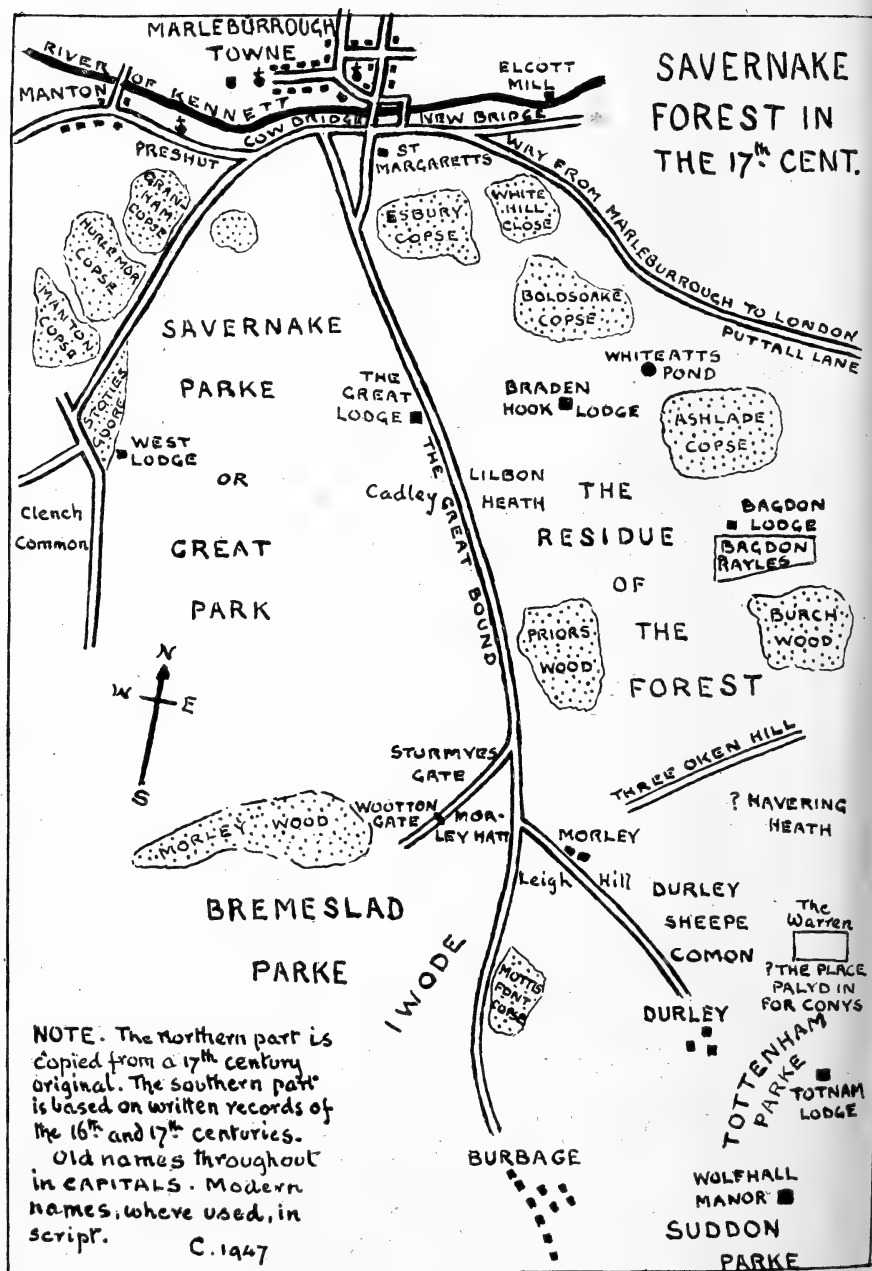
Having split up his Forest, Hertford's next decision was to appoint two Rangers. One was Sir Gilbert Prynne, who had authority over all areas enclosed: the other was Edward Danyell, in charge of "the forest unpaled". Each had his lodge, one at Great Lodge and the other at Bagdon;<sup>2</sup> and each, in addition to his salary, enjoyed certain perquisites

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<sup>1</sup> Survey, temp. Queen Elizabeth. A farm in this area is still known as Great Lodge.

<sup>2</sup> now Savernake Lodge.





An old book of Forest records<sup>1</sup> sets it all out clearly. We find—

“The allowance of what the Ranger and keepers of the Great Parke in Savernake shall henceforth (from 1591) have:

“In primis to the Ranger there for his wage and for his man keepinge the walk (or beat) where the great lodge standeth in reddey money yerely.....£10.

“Item more in reddey money for keepinge of his houndes.....40s.

“Item the herbage and keepinge of xii keyne and one bull valued at 15s. eney beast.....£9 15s.

“Item xvi loodes of wood at 4s. the loode.....64s.

“Item the feading of one Somer nag, one wynter Geldinge and twoe stalkinge horses at 13s. 4d. a pece..... 53s. 4d.

It seems that the Ranger's man kept one quarter of the Great Park area. There were three other “quarter keepers”, each receiving £6 13s. 4d., “and more for eny of them 20s. a yere for keepinge of hounds”. Each of these subordinates could keep two cows, a “nagge” and a stalking horse, besides getting 10 loads of wood for his lodge.

On the next page we find—

“The Allowance of what the Ranger and keepers of the forest of Savernake shall from henceforth have:

“In primis to the Ranger for the wage of him selfe and also for the keepinge of his hounds in reddey money.....£13 6s. 8d.

“Item the grasse feadinge for twoe geldings or mares to be kept within Bagdon Rayles<sup>2</sup> worth yerely.....26s. 8d.

“Item the feadinge of iiii milche kyne to be kept within the said Rayles worth yerely.....40s.

“Item xiv loodes of wood at 5s. the lode worth yerely beinge carried.....£3 10s.

“Item the feadinge of vi pigges for the somer and but three for the wynter tyme, soas they be alwayes ringed, worth yerely...20s.”.

The Forest Ranger had only two keepers under him; but each keeper here had his own man. A keeper, for himself, his man and his hounds, received £14 6s. 8d. Each keeper might have four cows “to be kept at lardge in the fforrest”, with one mare or gelding. Each received 10 loads of wood for his lodge, together with a quantity of “browse” or underwood.

We must suppose that both the Great Park Ranger and the Forest Ranger now had magisterial powers. When they held court at this period, it seems that they chiefly had to deal with such offences as the stealing of wood by the inhabitants of Marlborough and Manton. Typical items from the Forest records are:—

“Cannon of Marlebroughe the vii daie of february (1583) stole billett wodde, from whom I toke awaie his hatchett”.

“Tomsun of Marlebroughe eodem die stole wodde”.

“Cannon the ix daie of february stole billett wodde”.

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. in Savernake Lawn.

“ Breedcocke eodem die stole wodde ”.

“ All these are common stealers ”.

Breedcocke indeed was an old offender ; for there is an entry concerning his doings in the previous year :—

“ Richard Breedcocke of Marlebroughe for stealinge of wodde, (fined).....12d.”. This was perhaps before he graduated as a “ common stealer ” The fine, in bad cases, was usually 2s. 6d.

There were of course also cases of illegal grazing—for despite the change to private ownership, we find that cattle, sheep and pigs were still agisted in Savernake Forest.

Each village or township adjoining the Forest had its especial mark, which a trustworthy person had to imprint upon those beasts for which the right of pasturage was claimed. The holder of this mark or brand had to take oath that he would not misuse it—the oath taken by the representative of Stitchcombe (for example) being in the following form:—

“ I, William Dale, do swear that I shall not wittingly prent or marke any other cattell with the prent or marke made by the inhabitants of Stychecombe & delivered into my kepinge . . . other then the catell of suche . . . as . . . do bryng cattell within the said forest there to depasture . . . by annsient (ancient) use at all tymes used from tyme beyond memory of man untill this present tyme . . . So helpe me God ”.

An innovation for which Lord Hertford was responsible was the creation within the Forest of rabbit warrens, intended no doubt to provide flesh (as was the case with dovescotes) during the winter months when butchers' meat was not available.<sup>1</sup> There were few rabbits there formerly ; for—“ having begun a Conigree (coney warren) for the necessary provision of my house, I am driven to desyre the ayde of my neighbours and friends towards the storing thereof ”.<sup>2</sup>

The neighbours and friends must have responded nobly ; for a few years later—“ there be ii coney warryns or places for conys viz one callyd the place palyd in for conys & the other Durlly Heath & Haveringes Heath ”.<sup>3</sup>

In these two warrens the rabbits had multiplied exceedingly. By 1592, Hertford could make an agreement with one Anthony Cooke<sup>4</sup> whereby the latter leased the warrens for a term of 20 years, pledging himself to supply to his landlord annually “ seaven hundrethe and three scoare couples of Conys ”, i.e. 1,520 rabbits over and above what he (Cooke)

<sup>1</sup> Our ancestors, growing no root crops, could maintain few cattle through the winter.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Sir John Thynne, 1573.

<sup>3</sup> Survey, Savernake Archives. The places mentioned are close to a farm which is still named “ The Warren ”.

<sup>4</sup> Cooke had until recently been Ranger of the Forest. He seems to have retired to maké way for Danyell and Sir Gilbert Prynne.

would take for his own profit. The rabbits had to be delivered when needed at Tottenham Lodge, and they had to be "good, sweete and mete to be served used and spent in the house of the said Earle".<sup>1</sup>

Lord Hertford no doubt spent a good deal of his time at Savernake after the accession of King James I; for he must at first have felt uncertain as to how the Stuart dynasty would view him. All went well however; for as early as 1603 we hear of King James, with his Queen, paying a visit to Tottenham.<sup>2</sup> We need not doubt, I think, that the old horn of the Esturmys was brought out and blown for them: the Seymours unquestionably prized it and knew well its tradition. An artist was already working on the great 24-foot, richly illuminated Pedigree, by which Hertford's forebears were traced back to the Norman Conquest. It is noteworthy that, of all the insignia depicted therein, none is shown on so large a scale, nor is any delineated with a more minute care, than the horn of the mediaeval Wardens of Savernake Forest.

The King was again at Savernake in 1617, as is shown by the following entry in an account book:—<sup>3</sup>

"To Anthony Hedd and Grammat 2 dayes apeace looking to Sturmyes Gate and Wootton Gate at the King's being in the park, 2s. 8d."

These two gates lead into the newly-fenced Great Park, showing that this was where King James was hunting. He presumably spent at least the intervening night at Tottenham Lodge.

That the hunting at Savernake was to the King's liking seems to be indicated by the fact that he paid a further visit in the year 1620. There was an unfortunate accident on this last occasion; for—"while His Majesty was a guest at Tottenham, a young gentleman of good sort, one Waldron, was killed by the rise or bound of a buck in the King's presence".<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to visualise such an occurrence, which surely could not have happened in the open Forest: the buck may perhaps have been cornered by Waldron in one of Lord Hertford's new parks or enclosures.

<sup>1</sup> Savernake Archives. Until very recent times, the rabbits here were still so numerous that the writer has seen 2,000 shot in two days. Nearly all were destroyed however, as a war-time measure, in 1941.

<sup>2</sup> Waylen's *History of Marlborough*.

<sup>3</sup> City of Bradford collection. Grammat is mentioned also in Forest records (Savernake Archives). He had earlier (1592) been suspected of holding unsound—or unpopular—religious views; and to clear himself of this imputation, had had to produce a certificate as follows:—

"May it please your worshippe to understand . . . that the bearer hereof, Thomas Grammat, . . . did receive ye holy Communion at Easter last, & so doth yearely in our parische Church of Preshute. By me, John Chapman alias Hiscocke, Vicar there".

<sup>4</sup> Waylen's quotation: letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton.

## THE TROUBLESOME GRANDSON.

Their common interest in hunting no doubt served to establish Hertford in the good opinion of the new King. He was again given some employment in national affairs, and after leading an important embassy to Brussels to negotiate a treaty in 1605, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Wilts and Somerset. We may hope that the old Earl—for he was over 70—had by this time become reconciled with Lord Beauchamp, his son: the latter, not very robust, was growing into middle age and was himself the father of several children. The eldest of these, and Lord Hertford's senior grandson, was a young man called Sir Edward Seymour. There were two younger grandsons, one known as William and the other as Francis.

Young men have always been apt to cause anxiety to their elders—and in this case it was William Seymour who, in no small degree, was the disturber of his grandfather's peace of mind. As a youth, William showed himself to have more than ordinary intelligence; and he must have been somewhat precocious, for while still in his 'teens he attracted the attention of a young lady who was a person of some importance at Court. This was the Lady Arabella Stuart, who was another of the several living descendants of King Henry VII. As such, she had some claim to the throne of England, and might indeed have become Queen had there been any serious opposition to the accession of King James I.

Lady Arabella's romance with young William Seymour seems to have commenced in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The old Queen naturally objected to it—and so did King James when it came to his notice. The affair continued, however, despite opposition, until in 1610 the young people exchanged promises of marriage.

It was a most foolish engagement; for not only was the King certain to refuse consent, but there was also a great disparity in age, Lady Arabella being William's senior by a good many years. It appears that young Seymour made some effort<sup>1</sup> to disentangle himself before he was too far committed; but Lady Arabella was determined to risk all, and so a clandestine marriage between them took place.

It is curious to observe how, up to this point, William had repeated almost exactly the reckless behaviour for which his grandparents had suffered some 50 years earlier. The same result ensued; for the secret of course became known. Thus by 1611 young Seymour was languishing in the Tower, while his bride was being held in confinement elsewhere.

The sequel however was different. William and Arabella were not content to remain State prisoners; and although kept apart, they succeeded in planning simultaneous escapes. Both were able, on the day appointed, to elude their gaolers, and both made their way to the coast.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* draft letter, quoted by Canon Jackson from the Longleat Archives.

Lady Arabella was the first to reach the barque which had been hired to take them to France. William Seymour was somewhat delayed—and this caused a break-down of the pre-arranged plan. Lady Arabella's party lost patience, set sail before Seymour's arrival, and then anchored in supposed safety off the French coast. Here one of the King's pinnaces, sent to recapture the fugitives, came up with the barque. A few shots were fired—and then the unfortunate Arabella found herself once again a prisoner. She was taken back to England, lodged in the Tower of London, and was there kept in close confinement until, within a few years, early death released her.

William Seymour was left, of course, in most unhappy plight. He had managed to hire for himself another vessel; but being driven eastwards by unfavourable weather, never made contact with Arabella's barque. He reached the continent, only to learn the recapture of his bride, from whom he was now more hopelessly parted than ever before. He himself, by his flight, had so far roused the anger of King James that he dared not return to England. He thus found himself an exile in a foreign country, cut off—perhaps for ever—from his friends and family.

It may easily be imagined how much all this distressed his grandfather. The old Earl, who had by no means forgotten the ten years of disgrace which had marred his own youth, was appalled by the still greater recklessness displayed by William. He wrote to the Earl of Salisbury:<sup>1</sup>—“ . . . strange to think I should in those (sic) my last days be grandfather of a child that, instead of patience and tarrying the Lord's leisure (lessons that I learned and prayed for when I was in the same place whereout lewdly he is now escaped), would not tarry for the good hour of favour to come from a gracious and merciful (sovereign) . . . but hath plunged himself further into His Highness's just displeasure. To whose Majesty I do, by these lines, earnestly pray your lordship to signify how distasteful this his foolish and boyish action is unto me . . . ”

This letter of course was written with a view to placating those in power at Court; yet it was sincere enough, as may be seen from a letter written shortly afterwards to the errant William. This young man had decided to settle in Paris (although his grandfather would have preferred “ Jeneva, where your religion could not be corrupted ”) and there, having obtained some favour with King James' ambassador, had begun to adopt a somewhat lavish mode of life. Indeed, at one time he had had to leave the French capital to avoid his creditors—and in so doing had caused further offence by going to Dunkirk, a place which was forbidden to political exiles.

Lord Hertford, who “ ever dealt plainly with all men ”, did not mince his words now.<sup>2</sup> “ Your former great offences which I neede not

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS., 7003.

<sup>2</sup> Letter found by Canon Jackson at Longleat.

expresse", he wrote, "aded to your course of life, ever since you escaped over the seas, not a little agravated by your late wilfull repaire to Duncerke, . . . under pretence of feare of creditors in Fraunce, would make any Grandfather hate the memorie of suche a (grandson). . . . You writ(e) for payment of your debts and have prevayled with my worthy friend the Lord Imbassador Ledger<sup>1</sup> to write for increase of meanes, but do not consider how litle your ill government & profusse expense doth incourage mee to contynew that you have already.

" . . . To conclude, I advise you in the feare of God, serve him, amende your course of life, be carefull not to do any thinge that may offend your gracious Sovereaigne, to whome I wishe myself and all myne to be saints, though to God we cannot bee but sinners, live within your compasse, depend upon the good advise and counsell of that worthey gent. the Lo. Imbassador to whome you are muche bounde; his good indevours & justificacion of your reformation may be greate means for you one day to kisse the Royall hand which may make you happie, and bee a comfort to my old age. Whereas by your relaps you shalbe sure to rewin (ruin) your selfe and . . . (so far as) in you lyes tumble my graye haire with sorrow to my grave".

So much the old Earl wrote in stern disapproval. Then—it was typical of him—he added a few words in a kindlier vein. "In this course upon farther triall, I may be drawn to do for you what my meanes will give leave. And ever so prayinge God to blesse you with his Holy Spirite, I reste".

We do not know how far William was induced to reform himself; but after the hapless Lady Arabella had died a prisoner in 1615, he found himself able to obtain a pardon. His return to England must have done something to console his grandfather for a whole series of bereavements which the latter suffered at about this time. His elder son, Beauchamp, had died in 1612; his senior grandson, Sir Edward Seymour, in 1618. A great-grandson (Sir Edward's son) had died in infancy—and thus William had suddenly become the old man's heir.

Lord Hertford was now more than 80 years old. In his last years, he had the satisfaction of seeing William marry again—this time choosing a lady of his own station in life, Frances Devereux, daughter of the Earl of Essex. He saw the young man also assume some local responsibilities, entering parliament, for example, as member for Marlborough. The future looked brighter when, in the spring of 1621, the patriarch died.

His family buried him in Salisbury Cathedral, by the side of his first wife, Lady Catherine Grey. One may still read the graven tribute to—

"A matchless pair,  
who, after experiencing in many ways the  
hazards of a wavering fortune,  
at length repose here together in the same union  
in which they lived".

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<sup>1</sup> or "Leger", meaning Ambassador Resident.

WILLIAM SEYMOUR, MARQUESS OF HERTFORD: 1621—1660,

William Seymour was in his early thirties when he succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Hertford.<sup>1</sup> With Frances, his second wife, he was now able to enjoy the domesticity of which events had previously robbed him—and before long he was the father of a large family. Being still out of favour at Court, he seems to have lived quietly in Wiltshire, either at Tottenham or at Amesbury,<sup>2</sup> and to have taken no great part in affairs of State.

A picture of him, painted apparently at about this period, shows us a person very different from the former William, the youngster whose charm had brought disaster upon a lady of the royal blood—the bold young man whom even the Tower of London could not hold—the reckless exile who had piled up debts in Paris. The artist has depicted for us rather a sober-looking gentleman, with ruddy, fair hair falling to his shoulders, wearing a suit of black material, relieved only by some fine white lace at collar and cuffs. His face is not especially handsome, and its expression is thoughtful: it is the face, one would say, of a student—perhaps of a cleric.

There are indications that, as the possessor and Warden of Savernake, William Lord Hertford became known, among other things, as an authority on forests. It was not by chance, one imagines, that one of the few public functions which he undertook at this time was that of Assistant Commissioner for the disafforestation of the Forests of Roche and Selwood.<sup>3</sup> Of his activities at Savernake, we unfortunately have few records; but we know who his ranger was, and how he was appointed. An indenture<sup>4</sup> of 1636 says:—

“ Knowe yee that the said Earle of his especiall love, favour and trust which he beareth and hath unto and in his welbelovéd friend and neighbour John Popham of Littlecott in the Countie of Wiltes Esquire, doth by this presents give and grant unto the said John Popham the Office of Raunger or cheife fforester and keeper, and the charge, command, care and oversight of all and every the said Earle his lands and grounds . . . knowne by the name of the fforest of Savernack.

“ And of all his Game and Stock of Redd deare and ffallow deare, hares and Conyes. And of all Hawkes ffowles and birds therein breeding, feeding or abiding. And of all his wood and underwood. . . Together

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<sup>1</sup> He was not however allowed to succeed normally to the Earldom, for the Crown was still unwilling to admit that the old Earl had been legally married to Lady Catherine Grey. The title was therefore deemed to have lapsed—although it was immediately re-created for the natural heir.

<sup>2</sup> At Amesbury there is still a relic of Lady Hertford—a bell in the church, with the inscription:—“ Be strong in faythe; prayes God well —Frances Countess of Hertford’s bell”.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers, Domestic: Charles I.*

<sup>4</sup> Savernake Archives.



with full power and authority to restraine and punishe all disorders and abuses there . . . as fully and largely as he, the said Earle, could or might doe if he were then and there present”.

From this one may infer that William Lord Hertford had reverted to the earlier practice of employing one Ranger only. John Popham, in charge of “all and every the said Earle his lands”, must have been responsible for the entire Forest, parks included. A survey of 1632 shows that the various subdivisions of the Forest were retained, and had become permanent. There is reference to certain enclosures apparently reserved for grazing; one was Havering Heath; another—“That part of the fforest which the Tenants of Durley doe claime for their Sheepe Comon”. Hence “the Residue of the fforrest that nowe lyeth open for the deare” is reckoned at only about 2,250 acres.

Many of the old methods of forest management were however still retained. It will be remembered that, in mediaeval days, there were “Regarders” whose duty it was to make tours of inspection, reporting any breaches of the Forest Law. Now, the Ranger and his subordinates were expected to take “views” of the Forest, the parks and certain areas adjoining, either for a specific purpose such as a census of deer, or with the general intention of noting and checking abuses.

The findings were entered in a book kept for the purpose. Turning the pages, one sees, for example—“Savernake fforrest: A vewe of the deere there made by Edmund Pyke<sup>1</sup> & the persons hereafter named . . .”. Pyke had evidently mobilised for this “view” a small army of retainers, sending one or two to each part of the Forest. Whether this was an accurate method of making a count may be doubted; but each party recorded the number of deer seen—the total arrived at being 258 head.

No distinction seems to have been made between red deer and fallow. The Seymours certainly had some of the former—and not only in their Red-deer Park at Wolfhall. There are at this period references to red deer found in such places as Morley (Leigh Hill); and it is a pity that we do not know whether they were scarce or numerous.

A more common type of “view” was that recorded under the following heading:—

“A vewe taken . . . and Certificat made by the Ranger and keepers as also by the borderers hereafter named . . . of Trespasses damage and offence and of other disorders committed within the said forest . . . as well of the vert as of the venison . . .”.

Typical items<sup>2</sup> revealed by such a “view” would be:—

“Knoll: Tymbridge: Puttall:— Nicholas Kember doth say that all is good and fayre, savinge that many wood stellers to him unknownen do frequent the forest”.

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<sup>1</sup> Pyke was one of the keepers in James I's reign, i.e. in William Lord Hertford's youth.

<sup>2</sup> I have selected some representative items from the Forest records of the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

“Stychecomb :— Robert Cooke & John Baylie. They say that there hath byn & yet be sum seaven white swyne or piggs which have digged & done muche harme nighe unto and about Bradon Hook Lodge, and the owner of the same pigges ys not yet knowen”.

“Crofton :— William Batt (and others) do saye all well & fayre at this day”.

“Durley :— John Webb (and others)—who saye that William Lad hath kept as a common trespasser xx shepe & from tyme more & from tyme less, and hath also kept vi rother beasts<sup>1</sup> and cut downe wood in the litle cony warren”.

“Wotton :—Thomas Commyn (and others). They saye that the forest gate at Wotton Lane ys so hevye as that it is much hurtfull to all persons that way traveling and desire that it may be reformed”.

“Burbage :— Adam Platt (and others) do say—They present that Robert Smythe of Shercott hath oppressed the forest with x beasts which he hath brought from Shercott<sup>2</sup> & that Nicholas Dange Castell hathe guded them”.

“Eston :— William Kynge (and others) do saye all well”.

Often the Ranger would add his testimony as to some incident which had come under his personal notice. It will be seen therefore that, although the Forest was much less extensive than it formerly had been, and although it had passed from the Crown into private possession, it was still subject to an elaborate (and necessary) system of control. The hereditary Warden, by means of these “views”, could inform himself very exactly of what was going on there.

The increasingly precarious state of national affairs, however, was destined soon to break in upon the rural preoccupations of William Lord Hertford. Charles I was now King—and as the breach widened between that monarch and his Parliament, so he began to look for support towards the heads of country families upon whose loyalty he could depend. Hertford's youthful misdeeds were accordingly set aside : he was made Lord Lieutenant of Somerset in 1639, and in the following year he was created a Marquess. Although he was for long an Earl, and in his old age a Duke, it is as “the Lord Marquess” that William Seymour is chiefly remembered.

Although of unquestioned loyalty to the Crown itself, it should not be supposed that the Marquess of Hertford was King Charles' blind supporter. Politically, he was often in agreement with his brother-in-law, the Earl of Essex, who later became general of the Parliamentary forces.<sup>3</sup> It was not until recourse was had to arms that these two relatives found themselves leaders in opposing camps.

Meanwhile, in 1641, Lord Hertford was appointed Governor to the Prince of Wales—afterwards Charles II. It appears that he was selected for this post chiefly on account of his reputation as an

<sup>1</sup> Horned cattle. William Lad, incidentally, should have known better : he was at one time an under-keeper!

<sup>2</sup> Sharcott is a mile S.W. of Pewsey.

<sup>3</sup> H. St. Maur, quoting *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*

honourable and moderately-minded man. He was neither energetic nor personally ambitious, as is shown by the opinion of Lord Clarendon, who was acquainted with him.<sup>1</sup>

“The Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour, interest and estate, and of an universal esteem over the whole kingdom; and though he had received many and continued disobligations from the Court, . . . yet he had carried himself with notable steadiness from the beginning of the Parliament in the support and defence of the King’s power and dignity, notwithstanding all his allies, and those with whom he had the greatest familiarity and friendship, were of the opposite party.

“ . . . It is very true he wanted some of those qualities which might have been wished to be in a person to be trusted in the education of a great and hopeful Prince, and in forming of his mind and manners in so tender an age. He was of an age<sup>2</sup> not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved and was even wedded so much to his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises, and cared not to discourse and argue on those points, which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending (and had even contracted such a laziness of mind that he had no delight in an open and liberal conversation); and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance; but then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well support the dignity of a Governor and exact that diligence from others which he could not exercise himself; and his honour was so unblemished that none durst murmur against the designation.

“And therefore His Majesty thought him very worthy of the high trust, against which there was no other exception, but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution.”

In 1642, when the Civil War finally broke out, Lord Hertford was given a high military appointment, that of the King’s Lieutenant-General in the West. It may be thought, from Clarendon’s description, that he was hardly fitted for generalship; but the times were treacherous, and King Charles perhaps felt that this loyal and steadfast supporter could be of greater service to him than many another whose superior energies might be less honourably directed. Besides, the Seymours were a great West-country family, and locally could exercise a powerful influence.

Lord Hertford’s influence, alas, proved least effective in the town nearest to his home. We cannot attempt to follow the changing fortunes of the Civil War; but we may note that Marlborough was strongly Parliamentary, and that it was twice assaulted and once sacked by the Royalist forces (although not by those under the Lord Marquess’ direct command). There is a strong tradition—although I

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<sup>1</sup> Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion*.

<sup>2</sup> He was 53 when he took up this appointment.

can find no written evidence for it—that the Marlburians retaliated by attacking and damaging Tottenham Lodge.<sup>1</sup>

This must have been a sad period of Hertford's life. Not only was he fighting against his brother-in-law and many of his friends, but he also lost two of his sons. There is no record of their having been killed in action; so it is probable that some natural illness claimed them. William Lord Beauchamp—named after his father—died when he was just 21 years old, and Robert his brother, being in his early twenties, succumbed only a few years later. Edward, another son, had died in infancy; and thus, by the end of the civil war, there were but two heirs left—Henry, who had now taken the title of Lord Beauchamp, and the youngest of the original five brothers—John.

Henry Lord Beauchamp appears to have served with his father throughout the hostilities,<sup>2</sup> and his health—perhaps as a result of this—was by no means good. He left England after the final defeat of the Royalists; but was recalled by his father, who, having taken part in the negotiations for peace, had perhaps received some assurance of reasonable treatment for him. Lord Hertford wrote:—

“Harry, I hear you are now at Paris, I likewise understand you have a great desire to go for Italy, but for many reasons not fit to be expressed, I desire you to leave the thoughts of that journey, and to repair hither to London (where I now am), with all the possible speed and secrecy you can . . . So with my blessing I rest your most affectionate father”. The date was July, 1646.<sup>3</sup>

Lord Hertford himself had remained at the King's side: indeed he was among the faithful few who remained there to the end. When the decision was taken to bring King Charles to trial, he made one of a brave quartet, offering to take the King's place in the dock. Hertford, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Lindsay—all these urged that, since they were Privy Councillors, they were responsible, by their advice, for the alleged crimes with which the monarch was being charged.<sup>4</sup> It was a gallant gesture, but fruitless. A victim indeed was required—but for that role there could be no substitute.

It was Hertford again who, in the same goodly company, took the King's body after the execution, and saw to its private burial at Windsor. There, in the wrecked and desecrated interior of St. George's Chapel, he performed his last personal service to King Charles I, to whose Court he had come almost ten years before. No man “wedded so much to his ease” could have acted more loyally.

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<sup>1</sup> The damage, if any, can only have been partial; for a letter, preserved at Savernake, shows that Lord Hertford was in residence a few years later.

<sup>2</sup> H. St. Maur.

<sup>3</sup> Letters; Savernake Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.

During Cromwell's Protectorate, Lord Hertford inevitably lived under restraint. At first he was compelled to remain at Netley, Hampshire, where he had a house; then, having paid a fine of more than £8,000, he was allowed to live quietly at Tottenham and elsewhere. His son Beauchamp was less fortunate: for a considerable period he was imprisoned in the Tower, but at last he too was set at liberty again.

Lord Beauchamp had married in 1648, his bride being Mary Capel. He had one son, named William, and three daughters, two of whom died young. Imprisonment caused a renewal of his ill-health; and although he went to France again soon after his release, the change did not avail him. He died there, being still in his twenties, in 1654.

It was soon after this that Lord Hertford, being now almost seventy, felt that he must put his wordly affairs in order. His fortune was somewhat diminished; apart from the fine, he had laid out large sums to finance Charles I; and now, unknown to the Cromwellian government, he still made regular and heavy contributions towards the maintenance in France of the young King, Charles II. He had, none the less, great estates to dispose of.

Lord Hertford's will is of importance, since it caused the eventual transfer of Savernake out of Seymour hands. He left the bulk of his property, in the first instance, to little William, his grandson and heir. Should William have no son, it was then to go to Lord John Seymour (youngest of the testator's sons) and to his heirs male, if any. Failing these, it was to be shared out between Lord Hertford's several daughters and his one grand-daughter, Elizabeth Seymour.

On the face of it, this may seem reasonable; but it did not take account of the fact that the Seymour titles and honours might pass in time to other members of the family—the descendants, for instance, of the testator's brother.<sup>1</sup> If this were to happen (as in fact it did happen), some future Seymour would find himself rich in hereditary dignities, but poor in lands and money. Some daughter of the family (the little Elizabeth as it turned out) would become a great heiress, enriching with valuable Seymour properties the happy man to whom her hand should be given in marriage.

The unreasonableness of this was evidently not perceived—although it was much emphasised by the events of 1660. In that year, King Charles II was restored to his throne; and inevitably one of the first

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Hertford's surviving brother, who lived in Marlborough and had a house on the site of the old Castle, had been created Lord Seymour of Trowbridge. His son succeeded him in that Barony; but two of his grandsons became respectively the 5th and 6th Dukes of Somerset. The latter was the celebrated "Proud Duke", who restored the ducal fortunes by a prudent marriage. The 5th Duke can have had but a relatively small estate.





WILLIAM SEYMOUR,  
3rd Duke of Somerset.

A portrait painted shortly before his death in 1671.

to greet him when he landed at Dover was that faithful servant, now somewhat bowed with age but still strong in counsel—William Seymour, Lord Marquess of Hertford. The latter had done as much as anyone to facilitate the restoration, and that not only by financial aid: throughout the years of young King Charles' exile, he had (no doubt at considerable risk) been in constant communication with him, passing on information as to the state of affairs in England, with advice as to how best to turn it to the royal advantage.

One of the attractive qualities of Charles II was his readiness to reward and praise those who deserved well of him. He did so in this case—and an Act was passed by which the Dukedom of Somerset, of which the Protector Duke had been deprived at the time of his downfall, was now restored to the latter's great-grandson.<sup>1</sup> The King made the following reference to the matter when addressing both Houses of Parliament in September, 1660:—

“I cannot but take notice of one particular Bill I have passed, which may seem of an extraordinary nature,—that concerning the Duke of Somerset. But you all know it is for an extraordinary person who hath merited as much of the King my father, and myself, as a subject can do; and I am none of those who think that subjects by performing their duties in an extraordinary manner do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner. There can be no danger from such a precedent; and I do hope no man will envy him because I have done what a good master should do to such a servant”.<sup>2</sup>

The new Duke of Somerset did not live very long to enjoy his dukedom; but indeed it is probable that nothing thereafter could have pleased him so much as the generous manner of its bestowal. He could now say his *Nunc dimittis*; and about a month later, at his London house, he died. He was buried at Bedwyn, at night, on the feast of All Saints.

#### WILLIAM SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET: 1660—1671.

William Seymour was a boy of nine years old when he succeeded his grandfather as Duke of Somerset. He could hardly remember Lord Beauchamp, his father: he had been brought up partly by his grandparents, his mother having re-married and being now the wife of Henry, third Marquess of Worcester. His sister Elizabeth—known as the Lady Betty—was his chief companion, he and she being much of an age.

William was a good-looking boy, judging by a portrait at Savernake which must have been painted about 1660. He became somewhat less so as he grew older; for a later portrait shows him as a stout and rather puffy young man. It is to be feared that, like so many of his

<sup>1</sup> The Barony of Seymour was at the same time restored; and it so happens that these two titles, with a baronetcy, are the only ones which remain with the head of the Seymour family at the present day.

<sup>2</sup> Lords' Journals.



family at this period, he had a weak constitution, manifesting itself not in childhood, but in early adult life.

Affairs at Savernake were naturally managed for him by his trustees, and we know only indirectly what developments took place there. The remains of the old manor house at Wolfhall, which for a long time had been becoming more and more ruinous, were finally pulled down; and the materials appear to have been used for reconstruction at Tottenham. John Aubrey, who saw Wolfhall in 1672, noted that it "has been much bigger, and great part pulled downe within these 10 yeares, to build the house of Tottenham Parke. I remember a long gallery. It was never but a timber house".

We are left with a conundrum as to what exactly was going on at Tottenham. Had the house there been seriously damaged during the Civil War; and had the Lord Marquess merely patched it up during his lifetime, so that proper repairs had to be done in the next generation? It is possible; and yet it seems strange that the alleged damage should have occurred within the years 1642—46, and that not until 20 years later should the family have begun to collect the material to repair it. The work itself was still in progress, according to Aubrey, in the 30th year after the siege of Marlborough!

There is an alternative explanation which is far more probable. The family dukedom had just been restored; and dukes, in the 17th century at least, were expected to live in appropriate style. It was not for nothing that Tottenham Lodge (which indeed had originally been a hunting lodge) was now re-named Tottenham Park. May not the pulling down of Wolfhall be accounted for by the fact that the family mansion was being improved and extended, so as to provide a suitable home for the young Duke when he should be grown up and married?

Alas for such plans! William's health was precarious, and he was struck down by a fatal illness while he was still only 19 years old, Dying in London, his body was carried to Bedwyn, where great numbers of people—some moved by pity, others by curiosity—had gathered around the churchyard. "There was much rudeness (i.e. roughness) of the common people", reported the Dowager Duchess's steward, "amongst whome none suffered that I heare of, but my selfe, I having above a yard of the cloth of my long Black Cloake cutt or rent off in the crowd at my going into Church".

With solemn ceremonial, the young Duke was laid to rest beside his father. It was just before Christmas in the year 1671.

#### JOHN SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET: 1671—1675.

Lord John Seymour, as he had previously been called, was William's uncle—a man of about 40 at the time when he succeeded to the dukedom and (as tenant for life) to the family estates. Although not much is known about him, he had already played some part in public life, having served for ten years as M.P. for Marlborough.

It is a curious fact that nearly every writer who has hitherto made reference to Lord John (Mr. Burke of Burke's Peerage included) has supposed that he did not inherit his father's Savernake property, and so did not enjoy the hereditary Wardenship of Savernake Forest. This supposition is quite false; for the Marquess of Hertford's will—when one has waded through the excessive verbosity of it—is clear and explicit. He leaves the bulk of his property, if his grandson should die without male heir, "for the Benefit of the said Lord John Seymoure my Son for and during his natural life".

What is more, there are a number of documents in the Savernake Archives which reveal Lord John, now Duke of Somerset, acting as tenant for life. I take as an example a Recovery deed, signed by him and dated January 1671/2. In this he deals with—"all those the Mannors Lordships and Demesne Lands of Woulfehall . . . and all those parks . . . called Sudden parke . . . and Totnam parke . . . and all those lands . . . called West Courte . . . Bowden ffitzwarrens, Iwoodes meade, Rudglands, Ladiewell and the Heele (?) and the Brayle in the parish of Great Bedwyn and (/or) Burbage . . .

"And all those lands . . . called the ffarme of Puttell . . . in the parish of Little Bedwyn . . . and all those lands . . . called Longmeade ffritheways and Earlesheath in the parishes of Burbage and Collingborne Kingstone . . . And all that the fforrest and Chase . . . called the fforrest of Savernacke . . . and all those parkes as they are now enclosed, comonly called . . . the Greate parke or Savernacke parke and Brymeslade . . . parke, now or late part parcell or member of the said fforrest of Savernacke . . ."

There is a great deal more of it—in fact about 10 square feet of parchment, listing all the former Esturmy lands, with those which successive generations of Seymours had added. Enough has been quoted, however, to show that the new Duke of Somerset held, for the term of his life, substantially all that his ancestors had held before him.

It seems doubtful whether John, the fourth Duke, actually lived at Savernake. The house at Tottenham Park was apparently still in the hands of the builders when Aubrey visited it in 1672. Coming from Wolfhall, he noted "a most parkley ground and romancy pleasant place; several walkes of great length, of trees planted. Here the Duke of Somerset hath his best seate, which is now to be made a compleat new pile of good architecture." (Note that Aubrey says no word to support the war-damage theory.)

Pending the completion of his new mansion, the Duke appears to have lived at Amesbury. There is no portrait of him at Savernake, although there is one in the Council chamber at Salisbury. This shows him as a curious-looking individual—by no means handsome. He had married a widow, Sarah Grimston, daughter of Sir Edward Alston; but they had no children. (Sarah indeed was thrice married, but died without issue.)

This Duchess of Somerset must have been a woman of very charit-

able inclinations—and as such she is still remembered in Wiltshire and elsewhere. It was she who planned and endowed the Almshouses at Froxfield, which still combine beauty with usefulness to a remarkable degree; and this is merely the best known of her numerous benefactions.

It was a great misfortune for the Seymour family that she and the Duke were not blessed with a son: lacking such offspring, there was now no male heir who could benefit under the will of the Marquess of Hertford. The next Duke, John's cousin, would be a relatively poor man.

We do not know whether the fourth Duke was greatly concerned as to the impoverishment of his successor (but his wife was, as a clause in her will shows.)<sup>1</sup> John was probably more anxious as to the future of Savernake: it had been the home of his childhood, in the good days before the great Rebellion: it would be the home, he hoped, of his old age: he would move there as soon as his new plans for Tottenham Park were accomplished.

There was a Seymour tradition there now. Since the Wars of the Roses and earlier, the Seymours had ruled over Savernake Forest. They had loyally served each King of England, until such time as a King of their own blood had raised them from bailiffs to owners of that ancient woodland—until indeed they had become lords of all the countryside around them.

So they had grown in stature during two centuries and more. But what now? Lady Betty, the Duke's niece, would be a great heiress: no doubt she would marry, and no doubt have children. Her husband must be carefully chosen: he must be a man fitted to rule wisely, when the time should come, over those egypt possessions that his wife would bring him. He must be a man able to bring up his sons, so that they too should be worthy to reap where the long generations of Seymours had sown.

All this, thought the Duke, was yet far in the future: he himself was but entering on middle age. But time in fact was short, and shortening. That fatal constitutional weakness, which at this period struck down so many of the family in the high tide of life, had already begun to seek out a new victim.

John Duke of Somerset, still living at Amesbury, died in the spring of the year 1675.

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<sup>1</sup> She left some property with the sensible provision that—all named beneficiaries failing—it should pass to whatever individual should inherit the Somerset dukedom.

## BOTANICAL REFERENCES IN THE SAXON CHARTERS OF WILTSHIRE.

By J. DONALD GROSE.

In the surveys attached to the Saxon land charters are found frequent references to trees, and occasional references to herbs, which formed landmarks on the boundaries of the lands granted by those charters. These references are in some cases the earliest records of the plants for Britain. Over ninety of the charters have been attributed to Wiltshire, and in these may be found mention of about two hundred trees and plants. This total has here been reduced for various reasons: (a) Duplication. The same landmark may appear in two or more surveys, as in surveys of adjoining lands, or as in a later survey of the same lands. (b) Indeterminable landmarks. Many of the boundaries have never been satisfactorily interpreted, and botanical landmarks, by their very nature, can often only be approximately determined even in otherwise straightforward surveys. (c) Trees are frequently mentioned in connection with personal names (e.g. "Puntel's tree" in Baverstock) or with some qualification (e.g. "Great tree" in Christian Malford) but with no indication as to the species. (d) Doubtful translation. There are several instances where it is quite uncertain if a particular species is intended. (e) Cultivated plants. References to Woad, Flax, Wheat etc., are here excluded as they undoubtedly concern man-sown crops.

There remains, then, a residue of about 150 botanical landmarks with which this paper is concerned.<sup>1</sup> All the localities (except one)<sup>2</sup> have been visited and notes made for this investigation during the period 1944—46. As might be expected, much of the information collected is of little value, but a few general conclusions can be drawn, and it is hoped that some feeble ray of light might be shed not only on the botanical conditions of a thousand years ago but occasionally also on the interpretations of the surveys themselves.

Translations and solutions of nearly all the surveys may be found in Dr. Grundy's great work, *The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire* (*Arch. Journ.* lxxvi, 1919, and lxxvii, 1920). I acknowledge with gratitude the help I have received from Mr. H. C. Brentnall<sup>3</sup> and Mr. G. M. Young, without in any way imputing to them the (possibly erroneous) conclusions I have reached.

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<sup>1</sup> I have included also two examples of later date (the Privet and the Dock) owing to their particular interest.

<sup>2</sup> The Spindle tree, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The author has invited me to add a few further suggestions in the form of footnotes, and, having made them to him, I do so, if only as a guarantee of good faith. H. C. B.

A number following :

B. refers to the number of the charter in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*.

G. refers to the page number in Grundy's *Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire*.

K. refers to the number of the charter in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (used only when the charter is not given by Birch).

PN, W. refers to the page number in *The Place-names of Wiltshire*.

The dates given are those attributed to the original charters; the surveys are not necessarily contemporaneous.

#### **Water-cress.**

1.	A.D. 956.	B.948.	G.54.
. . . . .	<i>to caerscumbae</i>	. . . . .	to the combe of the water-cress . . . . .

The landmarks of the Ellandune Charter have never been certainly determined and Dr. Grundy himself makes only a few tentative suggestions.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. T. S. Maskelyne doubtfully identifies the combe with Markham (Marcum; Marcombe) Bottom, Wroughton,<sup>2</sup> and it is possible that this solution can be reconciled with Grundy's views. Water-cress will grow in almost any stream, but it flourishes best in calcareous waters. Most of the streams in the possible area south of Wroughton receive supplies from the drainage of Swindon Hill and hence are less highly calcareous than the higher reaches coming direct from the chalk at Wroughton. Of these two streams the one from the Waterworks has been deviated and altered considerably in modern times, but water-cress still thrives in it. The Markham Bottom stream has escaped alteration, and here again the cress grows. Southwards as far as Lydiard and Purton, the plant is almost completely absent except in ponds.

#### **The Lime.**

1.	A.D. 955.	B.917.	G.41.
. . . . .	<i>thonne ofer lind oran</i>	. . . . .	then over the bank of the lime-trees . . . . .

The bank was probably on the north slope of St. Bartholomew's Hill, Semley. No limes grow there now, and the nearest I have been able to find are in a field near Donhead Hall, a considerable distance away. None of the three species of lime found in Britain is thought to be native in Wiltshire, and the commonest, *Tilia europaea* was probably introduced by the Romans. The trees of the survey were almost certainly planted and in due course died without successors.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, lxxv, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xxxvii, 1912.

**The Holly.**

1. A.D. 778. B.225. G.152.  
 . . . to *holhryge gete* . . . . . to the gate of Holly  
 Ridge . . . . .

Grundy gives the alternative translation of "hollow" for "holly". The ridge is the slightly elevated ground now called Bedwyn Common and I can see no reason why it should be termed "hollow". There is one large tree in the hedge near the crest of the ridge, and many others around St. Katharine's Church on the summit, but these latter have probably been planted.

2. A.D. 778. B.225. G.154.  
 . . . *tham holen stypbum* . . . . . the holly stumps  
 . . . . .

The holly stumps were probably on the Little Bedwyn boundary south of Scrope's Wood. There is still one tree in the boundary hedge although a little to the west of the section suggested by Grundy.

3. A.D. 940. B.751. G.254.  
 . . . to *holendene* . . . . . to Holly Dean . . . . .

This is an unknown locality, possibly in Kington Langley. Holly is an unusually common tree in that district.

4. A.D. 940. B.754. G.14  
 . . . to *olencumb* . . . . . to Holly (or Hollow) Combe  
 . . . . .

The combe is possibly Shipley Bottom between Liddington and Aldbourne. No holly grows there now, nor is it a tree of the immediate district. The term "hollow" fits this valley admirably, and is probably the correct translation.

5. A.D. 964. B.1127. G.72.  
 . . . on *holenbrok* . . . . . to Holly (or Hollow) Brook  
 . . . . .

The locality appears to be near Housecroft Farm, Steeple Ashton. A careful search along the brook and in the surrounding district reveals that the holly is absent or very scarce. Where the brook is coincident with the present boundary, it flows through a deep hollow, so it seems probable that "holly" is an incorrect translation.

**The Spindle-Tree.**

1. A.D. 968. B.1215. G.83.  
 . . . *thannen on luthorn* . . . . . then to the spindle-tree  
 . . . . .

There is some doubt of the translation of *luthorn* as "spindle-tree"<sup>1</sup> and Grundy renders it as "(Louse ?) Thorntree". The fruits of the spindle tree, however, were at one time known as Louseberries. This tree probably grew at an angle in the boundary about a mile N.W. of

<sup>1</sup> *W.A.M.*, xlvi, 348, 1933; *PN,W*, 24, and *W.A.M.*, xlix, 221, 1940.

Bowls Barrow, Imber. The area is still in Army occupation and I have been unable to visit it.

2. A.D. 1043—53 B.479. G.179.  
 . . . *on tha holan wannan* . . . . . to the hollow spindle-tree (?) . . . . .

Again there is some doubt of the translation, and it may be argued that a spindle-tree rarely grows large enough to become hollow. The landmark was somewhere on the E. boundary of Little Hinton, S. of the Ridgeway. There are spindle-trees on this boundary over a distance of about a hundred yards near the site of the old Downs Barn. I was unable to find the tree anywhere else on the boundary or in the neighbourhood. This upland district must still be very much as it was in the days of the charter and, supposing the translation to be correct, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the existing trees are the direct descendants of the one mentioned then.

#### The Maple.

1. A.D. 939. B.734. G.244.  
 . . . *to mappledre lea* . . . . . to the lea of the maple-tree . . . . .

Dr. Grundy offers no suggestion of where this landmark might have been, but Mr. Brentnall<sup>1</sup> places it doubtfully on the slopes of Totterdown. All that can be said is that the maple occurs there now but is quite scarce.

2. A.D. 940. B.752 G.257.  
 . . . *on the grete mapildore* . . . . . to the great maple-tree . . . . .

This landmark has been placed at the angle in the boundary a little N.W. of Bradenstoke Abbey, Lyneham. The boundary hedge for the last few yards of the leg leading to the angle is composed almost entirely of maple. It is worth noting that no maple whatever was seen on the boundary (working in the direction given in the survey) for several miles until this locality was reached. Beyond the angle the tree becomes frequent.

3. A.D. 955. B.917. G.33.  
 . . . *up on mapuldor cumb* . . . . . up to Maple-tree combe . . . . .

. . . A.D. 958. B.970. G.35.  
 . . . *thanen on mapeldere cumb* . . . . . then to Maple-tree Combe . . . . .

This is Malacombe Bottom, Tollard Royal. A few trees, some of them large, still grow at the head of the Bottom, but the species is absent or very scarce in the lower part of the valley. This is another almost certainly undisturbed locality, and the fact that trees of varying ages and seedlings are found here shows that under these favourable conditions the maple can maintain itself through the ages.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. Marl. Col. N.H.S., 1938, 136.*

4. A.D. 984. K.641. G.93.  
*thannen on mapeldere hille* . . . . . then to Maple-  
 tree Hill . . . . .

The suggested locality is the slight elevation at Toke's Cottages, north of Semley. A few maples grow in the small wood adjoining the cottages; no others could be found in the district.

**The Broom.**

1. A.D. 905. B.600. G.215.  
 A.D. 957. B.998. G.215.  
 A.D. 960. B.1053. G.215.  
 . . . . . *to brom lace* . . . . . to the brook where broom  
 grows . . . . .

The brook forms the S.E. boundary of Stanton St. Bernard, about a mile W. of Woodborough. Broom does not grow along this stream, nor anywhere else in the district. The reference is almost certainly to gorse. The two plants are commonly confused at the present time, and it is likely that our Saxon forefathers did the same. Gorse grows in five or six places along this stream and the adjoining fields. One place in particular where several bushes grow together on a little hill seems a likely spot to have given the brook its name. Apart from the bushes near the stream, gorse is absent or very scarce in the entire district.

**The Blackthorn.**

1. A.D. 956. B.922. G.47.  
 . . . . . *usque ad blakethorne* . . . . . on to the blackthorn  
 . . . . .

The blackthorn probably grew at an angle in the boundary of Ashley, about a mile west of the village—a locality now in Gloucestershire. The boundary here is marked by a stone wall for a considerable distance. There are a few scattered hawthorns growing here and there at the foot of the wall, but blackthorn grows only in two places, and these two places are on the legs of the angle which was selected by Dr. Grundy as being the most likely one. Blackthorn is largely reproduced by suckers, and cultivation almost up to the wall isolates these two small colonies, preventing not only their spread but the introduction of bushes from elsewhere. It is probable that blackthorn has grown here continuously from the time of survey.

2. c. A.D. 956. B.956. G.21.  
 . . . . . *to thaen seoh tore* (read *slah thorn*) . . . . . to the blackthorn  
 . . . . .

The tree grew on the boundary of West Knoyle a little to the east of Common Wood. Blackthorn is common in the boundary hedge there and frequent in the district.



**The Bramble.**

1.	Before A.D. 672.	B.27.	Not in G.
	A.D. 826.	B.391.	Not in G.
	A.D. 905.	B.690.	Not in G.
	A.D. 948.	B.862.	Not in G.
	A.D. 948.	B.863.	Not in G.
	A.D. 997.	K.698.	Not in G.

. . . *brember wudu* . . . . . Bramble Wood . . . . .

The site of this wood is not determinable ; it may have been near South Newton.

2.	A.D. 931.	B.677.	G.227.
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. . . *on bremeles sceagan easte weardne* . . . . . on the east side of the shaw where brambles grow . . . . .

This was on the W. boundary of Ham. It is clearly impossible to reach any worth-while results by the consideration of a plant which grows in almost every wood and hedge in the county, and the records are here included largely for the sake of completeness. In the present case the most frequent species is probably *Rubus ulmifolius*.

3.	A.D. 940.	B.752.	G.256.
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. . . *eft on ther brembelthernan* . . . . . again to the bramble thorns . . . . .

This was between Swallett Gate and Dauntsey Station, and again the most frequent species seems to be *R. ulmifolius*.

4.	A.D. 940.	B.757.	G.266.
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. . . *brembelcumbe* . . . . . Bramble Valley . . . . .

The locality is thought to be Tilman's Dean, Grovely. The lower part of the valley is now clean pasture ; the upper part is rough scrub, and here there appears to be only one species of bramble present. It is *R. vestitus*.

5.	A.D. 943.	B.782.	G.278.
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. . . *brembel thyrgan* . . . . . bramble thorns . . . . .

An unknown locality perhaps somewhere S.E. of Salisbury.

**The Apple-tree.**

1.	A.D. 796.	B.279A.	G.158.
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. . . *et ab illo per le appeldore* . . . . . and thence by the apple-tree . . . . .

The tree grew in the extreme west of the parish of Purton, perhaps near Somerford Common. Grundy suggests that the apple-tree is a copyist's error for maple-tree. No apple-tree could be found in the district, but the maple does occur here and there in the boundary hedge.

2.	A.D. 796.	B.279A.	G.158.
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. . . *appeldore sele wyke* . . . . . Appletree - Farm . . . . .

This was probably at the S.W. corner of Battlelake Plantation, Braydon. No apple-tree could be found there, but there are a few maple-trees.

3. A.D. 825. B.390. G.163.  
 . . . to *aepelforda* . . . . . to Appleford . . . .

The ford was where the S. boundary of Alton Priors meets the stream. One tree grows about a hundred yards from this spot, and another about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile away, both on the boundary. It is a frequent tree in this district.

4. A.D. 850. B.458. G.167.  
 . . . *apeldorestob* . . . . . the stump of the apple-tree  
 . . . . .

The stump was on the S. boundary of Dauntsey between Avon and Dauntsey Brook. There is one tree at about the place indicated on the boundary, and two others in the neighbourhood, one of which is on the boundary. It is a scarce tree in the district.

5. A.D. 854. B.477. G.176.  
 . . . on *tha wogan apoldran* . . . . . to the crooked  
 apple-tree . . . . .

This landmark was probably on the boundary a little N. of Callas Hill, Little Hinton. The locality is rather indefinite, but there are two apple-trees in the boundary hedge there, and no others could be found in the immediate district. They are plentiful on the higher ground a mile away.

6. A.D. 854. B.477. G.176.  
 . . . on *tha apoldran* . . . . . to the apple-tree . . . . .

The tree was near the R. Cole towards the N.E. corner of Little Hinton parish. There are several trees, one of them unusually large, in a hedge about a hundred yards from the present boundary. No others could be found elsewhere in the district.

7. A.D. 940. B.748. G.251.  
 . . . on *tha havan apoldre* . . . . . to the hoar apple-tree  
 . . . . .

The location was on the boundary S.W. of West Wick Farm, Pewsey. No apple-tree could be found anywhere in this district.

8. A.D. 940. B.751. G.254.  
 . . . to *thar applidore* . . . . . to the apple-tree . . . . .

An unknown locality, perhaps in Kington Langley. The apple is rare in this parish, and only one tree could be found.

9. A.D. 956. B.1030. G.295.  
 . . . to *thare swete apuldre* . . . . . to the sweet apple-  
 tree . . . . .

The tree was apparently a planted one. It grew by the road between Wilton Park and Bulbridge. No apple-trees could be found in this district.

10. A.D. 964. B.1127. G.75.  
 . . . and *thanne on hapeldure hille* . . . . . and then to  
 Apple-tree Hill . . . . .

The hill is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile N. of Green Lane Wood, Steeple Ashton. There are two trees in a hedge a few yards from the present boundary on this little hill, and the tree could be found only in one other place in the immediate neighbourhood.

11. . . . . c. A.D. 965. . . . . Not in B. or K. . . . . G.268.

. . . . . *har apuldor* . . . . . the hoar apple tree . . . . .  
 This grew on the boundary W. of Baverstock village. There is one tree on the boundary at a probable place and no others could be found anywhere else in the district.

**The Pear-tree.**

1. . . . . A.D. 681. . . . . B.59A. . . . . G.11.

. . . . . *del perer* . . . . . of the pear-tree . . . . .  
 The translation is doubtful. The landmark was on the S. boundary of Charlton, perhaps a half-mile W. of Pond Plantation. The boundary hedge here was searched for two miles, and a single pear-tree was found about three furlongs W. of the Plantation. It bore very few flowers and no fruit. The Wild Pear is a very scarce tree in Wiltshire and until undertaking these present investigations, I had only found it in the county once. It is usually considered to be a degenerate form of the garden pear and to represent a reversion to the original form of the species. Hence its claim to be a native has been contested. There are, however, two varieties of the Wild Pear. One has a distinctly pyriform fruit and may be derived from the garden pear. The other has a more or less globose fruit, and it is possible that this is a true native. In the absence of fruit the Charlton tree cannot be allocated to either of these forms.

2. . . . . c. A.D. 922. . . . . B.1145. . . . . G.24.

. . . . . *on thaere pyrigean styb* . . . . . to the stump of the pear-tree . . . . .  
 The locality is not known; it may have been at Winterbourne Monkton or Winterbourne Bassett. No pear could be found in either parish.

3. . . . . A.D. 956. . . . . B.922. . . . . G.46.

. . . . . *usque ad pirum* . . . . . on to the pear tree . . . . .  
 The tree was on the boundary near Cowage Grove, Foxley. In the boundary hedge about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile S.W. of Cowage Grove there are two Wild Pears. They belong to the form with subglobose fruit, and may be native.

4. . . . . A.D. 956. . . . . B.1030 . . . . . G.293

*Be noddre aet thaere pyrigean.* By the Nadder at the pear tree.  
 The tree was probably on the river-bank between Ugford and Bulbridge. No wild pear could be found along the river, but there is an orchard which abuts on it.

5. . . . . A.D. 1001. . . . . K.706. . . . . G.101.

*Aerest of seuen pirien on there herewai* . . . . . First from the seven pear-trees to the highway . . . . .

This very definitely located landmark was at the bend in the boundary of Great Chalfield one furlong S.E. of Little Chalfield. No wild pear could be found, and a hedger who had worked there for 34 years did not know of a wild pear anywhere in the district. At the spot indicated, however, there is an orchard and it may be that this has been so continuously since Saxon days. It seems likely from the above records that there were both wild and cultivated pears then as now.

#### The Service-tree.

1. A.D. 940. B.757. G.264.  
 . . . *sylfre* (? read *syrfe*) . . . ? service-tree . . .

The landmark was on the S. side of the river near Wylze. No service-tree can be found there now, and judging by the present distribution of the species in Wiltshire, it is unlikely ever to have grown there.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Hawthorn.

1. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.156.  
 . . . *teowes thorne* . . . Teow's Thorntree . . .

As with the bramble, very little evidence can be adduced from the present distribution of the hawthorn in Wiltshire. From the numerous references in the charters, the tree was obviously quite a common one in Saxon times. Its present abundance is largely due to its extensive use to form quickset hedges, and no doubt this practice has been general for many years, perhaps even from the Roman occupation. All the localities given in the surveys have been examined, but no details will be given here except in the few cases where there are points of interest.

2. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.156.  
 . . . *hermodes thorne* . . . Harmod's Thorntree . . .

3. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.157.  
 . . . *helnes thorne* . . . Helen's Thorntree . . .

- A.D. 956. B.948. G.55.  
 . . . *haelnes thorne* . . . Helen's Thorntree . . .

Dr. Grundy considers these two references are to the same tree. This may well be so, despite the apparent gap of 160 years, for the hawthorn, although a quick-growing tree when young, grows very slowly afterwards and is reputed to live for about two centuries. In any case, it was sometimes the practice to replace an ancient tree serving as a landmark with a younger one, which would then probably take the name of its predecessor.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads "*on thaere ea sylfre*". This might be a mistake for "*on thaere eas ylfre*", which introduces another problem as to what *ylfre* might represent but at least removes any possible reference to a service-tree. H. C. B.

4. A.D. 825. B.390. G.163.  
*ofer tha dune on aenne thorn* . . . . . over the down  
to a thorn-tree . . . . .

It is suggested that the tree grew on the Knap Hill earthworks, but there are no trees there now and the species is uncommon until Golden Ball Hill is reached.

5. A.D. 850. B.458. G.169.  
*haythorne* . . . . . thorn of the hedge . . . . .

6. A.D. 854. B.477. G.173.  
*on thone greatan thorne stent bae lentan stathe* . . . . .  
to the great thorn standing on Lenta's bank . . . . .

The tree probably grew where the boundary leaves the stream  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile S. of Little Hinton Farm. Thorns are plentiful all along the water-course, but, curiously, the largest one in the district grows at the spot mentioned.

7. A.D. 854 B.477. G.175.  
*on thone thorn* . . . . . to the thorn-tree . . . . .

8. A.D. 901 B.586. G.119.  
*sic usque ad spinam* . . . . . thus on to the thorn-  
tree . . . . .

9. A.D. 901. B.595. G.198.  
*on greatan thorn* . . . . . to the great thorn-tree  
. . . . .

10. A.D. 901. B.598. G.204.  
*on thone thornestyb* . . . . . to the thorn-tree stump  
. . . . .

11. c. A.D. 922. B.1145. G.24.  
*on thone thorn* . . . . . to the thorn-tree . . . . .

12. A.D. 931. B.672. G.222.  
*le Culuer thorne* . . . . . the Woodpigeon Thorn-  
tree . . . . .

13. A.D. 931. B.672. G.223.  
*ad spinam* . . . . . to the thorn-tree . . . . .

14. A.D. 940. B.748. G.248.  
*to maerthorne* . . . . . to the boundary thorn  
. . . . .

15. A.D. 940. B.748. G.249.  
*wroht thorne* . . . . . the—thorn-tree . . . . .

16. A.D. 940. B.748. G.250.  
*on tone thorn* . . . . . to the thorn-tree . . . . .

(The "thorn-tree" on line 11, G.250., is a misprint for "stone").

17. A.D. 940. B.748. G.250.  
*on wippes thorn* . . . . . to Wip's Thorn-tree . . . . .

18. A.D. 940. B.754. G.13.  
*thanen on feden thorn* . . . . . then to—thorntree<sup>1</sup>

The tree grew at the head of the valley near Hill Farm, Liddington. There are several very tall, isolated trees growing there now.

19. A.D. 940. B.756. G.260.  
*on thane thorn* . . . . . to the thorn tree . . . .

20. A.D. 943. B.782. G.273.  
*on thorn dune cumb* . . . . . to Thorn Down Combe

21. A.D. 943. B.782. G.278.  
*rugan thyrgan* . . . . . rough thorn tree . . . .

22. A.D. 955. B.904. G.206.  
*thanen on the thorn* . . . . . then to the thorn tree

23. A.D. 955. B.904. G.207.  
*thanen on crowenthornisstibbe* . . . . . then to Crow  
 Thorn stump . . . .

24. A.D. 955. B.904. G.208.  
*on the thorn stubbe* . . . . . to the thorn stump

25. A.D. 955. B.917. G.27.  
*to than thorn* . . . . . to the thorn tree . . . .

26. A.D. 955. B.917. G.34  
*thonan to thorn wyll* . . . . . then to the spring of  
 the thorn trees . . . .

- A.D. 956. B.970. G.35.  
*thanen on thornwelles* . . . . . then to the spring of  
 the thorn trees . . . .

27. A.D. 956. B.922. G.46.  
*sub Bubbethorne ad aquam* . . . . . beneath Bubba's (?)  
 thorn to the water . . . .

This grew where the Fosse Way crosses the stream  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile N.W. of Brokenborough. The largest thorn in the immediate neighbourhood now grows at this spot.

28. A.D. 956. B.948. G.55.  
*hafuc thornae* . . . . . Hawk Thorn . . . .

29. A.D. 956. B.985. G.237.  
*thonne up to tham thorne* . . . . . then up to the  
 thorn tree . . . .

<sup>1</sup> If *feden* represents *fegeden*, "united", two thorns may have grown intertwined or even, Mr. Grose suggests, actually have coalesced. H.C.B.

A.D. 1045. K.778. G.291.  
 . . . *on thane greatan thorn* . . . . . to the great thorn-  
 tree

Although not so indicated by Grundy, these two references seem to apply to the same spot.

30. A.D. 956. B.985. G.237.  
 . . . *andlang dic to otheren thorne* . . . . . along the dyke  
 to the other thorn tree . . . . .

31. A.D. 957. B.998. G.213.  
 A.D. 960. B.1053. G.213.  
 . . . *on thorn dune* . . . . . to Thorn Down . . . . .

This is Thorn Hill about midway between Milk Hill and East Kennett. There are no thorn trees on the hill now.

32. A.D. 957. B.998. G.213.  
 A.D. 960. B.1053. G.213.  
 . . . *thonon on anne thorn* . . . . . then to a thorn tree

The tree grew between the Wansdyke and the valley S. of Thorn Hill. All the thorns have been uprooted recently, and in 1945 were still lying on the ground.

33. A.D. 961. B.1071. G.67.  
 . . . *oth thorn hline* . . . . . as far as the lynch of the  
 thorn trees . . . . .

A.D. 986. K.655. G.97.  
 . . . *on thornhlinch* . . . . . to the lynch of the thorn-  
 trees . . . . .

34. c. A.D. 965. Not in B. or K. G.268.  
 . . . *eald thorn* . . . . . old thorn tree . . . . .

This grew at a bend in the boundary W. of Baverstock. The principal tree of the boundary hedge is Blackthorn, and Hawthorn is very scarce in the district. It is probable that some of the A.S. thorns should be referred to the blackthorn.

35. A.D. 982. K.632. G.88.  
 . . . *fegeran thorne* . . . . . the fair thorn tree<sup>1</sup> . . . . .

36. A.D. 987. Not in B. or K. G.107.  
 . . . *thorn* . . . . . thorn tree . . . . .

37. A.D. 987. Not in B. or K. G.108.  
 . . . *thornstyb* . . . . . stump of the thorn tree . . . . .

38. A.D. 1045. K.778. G.291.  
 . . . *on thone haran thorn* . . . . . to the hoar thorn tree . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> If "fair" means "beautiful", the commendation seems curious. But New Pond Bottom in Savernake Forest was earlier known as Fairbough Bottom, and a tradition explains that a bough was there set up to mark an agreed boundary after a dispute. That tradition is probably very old, and if *fæger* bore, as it well might, this sense of "equitable", another dispute may have been ended by the planting or adoption of this thorn tree as a landmark. H.C.B.

**The Elder-tree.**

1. . . . . A.D. 850. . . . . B.458. . . . . G.169.

. . . . . *ellerne* . . . . . the elder-tree . . . . .

This tree grew near the Brinkworth Brook, north of Dauntsey. There are a few small trees on the banks of the brook. It is a scarce species in the district.

2. . . . . c. A.D. 922. . . . . B.1145. . . . . G.24.

. . . . . *on the ellen stybbas* . . . . . to the elder stumps

An unknown locality possibly W. of Winterbourne Bassett, where the tree is abundant. Stumps of various trees are frequently mentioned in the charters, but it is curious that no less than nine of the fourteen elder-trees given were stumps. I am unable to suggest an explanation.

3. . . . . A.D. 931. . . . . B.672. . . . . G.222.

. . . . . *le ellerne stubbe* . . . . . the elder stump . . . . .

The stump was where the boundary of Norton reaches the road at Vine Tree Inn. There are two elders growing at this spot. The tree is frequent in that district.

4. . . . . A.D. 939. . . . . B.734. . . . . G.241.

*Of Cynetan to thon ellene* . . . . . From the Kennet to the elder-tree . . . . .

Mr. Brentnall suggests that this landmark was on the W. side of Lockeridge village.<sup>1</sup> The elder is abundant there.

5. . . . . A.D. 940. . . . . B.748. . . . . G.250.

. . . . . *on ellen grafan* . . . . . to Elder-tree Grove . . . . .

The grove was between Denny Sutton Hipend and Abbot's Down, Pewsey. On the slope of Denny Sutton Hipend facing Abbot's Down there is a line of elders which might well be termed a "grove". It contains trees of all ages, including one very ancient specimen. The tree is absent from the actual valley.

6. . . . . A.D. 940. . . . . B.751. . . . . G.254.

. . . . . *on thene ellenestubbe* . . . . . to the elder stump

The identification of the charter is doubtful. The elder may have been in Kington Langley, where it occurs now but is scarce.

7. . . . . A.D. 940. . . . . B.752. . . . . G.256.

. . . . . *on ther ellenestub* . . . . . to the elder stump . . . . .

This was probably between Swallett Gate and Dauntsey Station. There are two elders in the boundary hedge near St. John's Farm, but the tree is not common about there.

8. . . . . A.D. 943. . . . . B.788. . . . . G.286.

. . . . . A.D. 962. . . . . B.1093. . . . . G.286.

. . . . . *on thone ellen stub* . . . . . to the elder stump . . . . .

The landmark was where Penhill Copse, Stratton St. Margaret, now stands. The elder is particularly abundant at the angle in the boundary at the N.E. corner of the copse.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. Marl. Coll. N.H.S.*, 1938, 126.



9. A.D. 955. B.917. G.32.  
 . . . *to than ellen stybbe* . . . . . to the elder stump . . . .  
 A.D. 958. B.970. G.35.  
 . . . *on thone ellen stub* . . . . . to the elder stump . . . .

The stump was on the N. slope of Winkelbury Hill. There are still a few elders there, and it is a frequent tree in the district.

10. A.D. 956. B.922. G.47.  
 . . . *usque ad Ellerne* . . . . . on to the elder-tree . . . .

This is an indefinite locality somewhere near Chedglow. Elder is frequent in the district, and particularly abundant on the present parish boundary.

11. A.D. 956. B.948. G.55.  
 . . . *aellen stybbae* . . . . . the elder stump . . . .

The landmark is lost, but may possibly have been on the River Ray a little N. of Swindon. Elder is scarce there, but elsewhere in the possible area of the grant it is common at Wroughton, Elcombe, Okus and Shaw.

12. A.D. 968. B.1216. G.86.  
 . . . *aet thaene ellen styb* . . . . . at the elder-tree stump . . . .

This was between the River Wylve and Pit Folly, Wilton. There is one tree at a bend in the boundary and others in the adjoining wood. It is uncommon in the district.

13. A.D. 972. B.1285. G.245.  
 . . . *on thaet ellen* . . . . . to the elder-tree . . . .

Mr. Brentnall has identified this landmark as the point where the Ridgeway crosses the river just N. of East Kennett.<sup>1</sup> Elder trees still grow at this spot.

14. A.D. 987. Not in B. or K. G.108.  
 . . . *ellenstybbe* . . . . . elder-stump . . . .

The stump was on the S. slope of the valley W. of Pewsey Down. Near the foot of this slope grow two elders. They are the only trees of any sort in the entire valley.

**The Mayweed.**

1. A.D. 931. B.672. G.222.  
 . . . *magthe ford* . . . . . the ford of the mayweed . . . .

Dr. Grundy suggests that the ford was where the road from Corston to Foxley crosses the brook a little N.W. of Gorseley Leaze, or alternatively on the same brook nearer Norton. No mayweed could be found anywhere along this stretch of the brook, but this is not surprising, as it is a fugitive plant depending upon disturbance of the soil. The Mayweed of the district is *Matricaria inodora*.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. Marl. Coll. N.H.S., 1938, 122.*

**The Thistle.**

1. A.D. 922. B.1145. G.24.  
 . . . *on thistel beorh* . . . . . to the barrow where thistles  
 grow . . . . .

This is an unidentified locality near one of the Winterbournes. It was possibly a little W. of Winterbourne Monkton. The nearest extant barrow W. of that village is rabbit-infested and two thistles (*Cirsium arvense* and *C. vulgare*) are common on it.

**The Heath.**

1. A.D. 901. B.595. G.200.  
 . . . *thaet ofer thone hethfeld* . . . . . then over the open  
 land where heath grows . . . . .

The heath was at the S.E. corner of Stockton, where the boundary meets the track on Chilmark Down. This is no longer open ground but is densely covered with bushes. No heath or heather grows there now, but heather occurs in the district, and this is probably the species intended by the charter.

**The Ash-tree.**

1. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.158.  
 . . . *usque ad la Freynne* . . . . . on to the ash-tree (?) . . .

The landmark was probably between Maple Sale Copse and Somerford Common. This is a distance of a mile and a half and, in addition, the translation is uncertain. All that can be said is that the tree is very scarce in the district.

2. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.159.  
 . . . *usque le esc* . . . . . on to the ash-tree . . . . .

Probably this tree grew at the bend in the boundary at the S.E. corner of Battlelake Plantation. An ash grows at exactly the spot given, and it is uncommon elsewhere in the district.

3. A.D. 854. B.469. G.171.  
 . . . *thone on aeschyrsle aestewerde* . . . . . then to the  
 east side of the small ash-tree wood . . . . .

The locality is somewhat indefinite but was probably on the boundary N. of Hardenhuish Church. Ash is common in this district and many trees grow on the boundary line. Five furlongs N. of Hardenhuish Church, at the point where the boundaries of Chippenham, Kington St. Michael and Hardenhuish meet, is a small triangular wood with the boundary on its E. side. Here grow several ash-trees, and it is likely to be the landmark of the survey.

4. A.D. 931. B.677. G.226.  
 . . . *thaet on esen thone gretan aesc* . . . . . to a level  
 with the great ash-tree . . . . .

This tree was probably near the south end of Ham Ashley Copse. Ash is uncommon in this district except as an obviously planted tree. I am indebted to Mrs. F. Partridge for the information that there are two very old trees about fifty yards inside the S. limit of the copse.

570 *Botanical References in the Saxon Charters of Wiltshire.*

5. A.D. 934. B.705. G.233.  
 . . . . . *to aescedaene* . . . . . to Ash-tree Valley . . . . .  
 This was probably the valley a mile W. of Enford Penning. This area is in army occupation and the valley and surrounding slopes are pitted with shell-craters. A few bushes and small trees have survived in the valley, but no ash. The species is almost absent in the entire neighbourhood.

6. A.D. 940. B.752. G.257.  
 . . . . . *endland this clives on then hen ayssh* . . . . . along the steep slope to the high (?) ash-trees . . . . .  
 The suggested locality is the sharp bend in the boundary W.N.W. of Bradenstoke Abbey. No ash-tree grows there now, but it is frequent in the district.

7. A.D. 956. B.934. G.283.  
 . . . . . *thonon on aes dune* . . . . . then to the down of the ash-trees . . . . .  
 This is the down at the S.E. side of Little Langford. The down itself is now almost treeless, but there are a few ash-trees at the foot of the down on the boundary.

8. A.D. 962. B.1093. G.285.  
 . . . . . *thanon ut on aesclace* . . . . . then out on the stream of the ash-trees . . . . .  
 The stream is the one entering the River Ray about midway between Crosslanes Farm and Tadpole Farm, Blunsdon, near the site of the now demolished Blunsdon Station. There are still ash-trees along the banks of this stream, including one extremely old tree.

9. c. A.D.965 Not in B. or K. G.268.  
 . . . . . *aesc wyll* . . . . . the spring of the ash-trees . . . . .  
 The spring was in the valley about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile N.N.E. of Baverstock. An examination of the valley revealed two likely places as the site of the original spring. At the higher there is a large group of ash-trees. At the lower, where there is a bush-covered ditch which was probably once the headwaters of the stream, there is a single very ancient ash. There are other trees at the present source of the stream lower down the valley. Ash is not common in the district except at these places. Mr. G. M. Young points out that the water-table is considerably lower now than in Saxon times, and this particular instance illustrates the point very clearly.

**The Privet.**

1. A.D.1300 Perambulation of Melksham Forest.<sup>1</sup>  
 . . . . . *to Prevetmore* . . . . . to the swampy land where privet grows . . . . .

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<sup>1</sup> See *W.A.M.*, xlviii, 1939, 578.

The marsh was on the E. boundary of Melksham near Sandridge. There are many small marshes here on the hill-slopes and all within about a mile of Sandridge were examined. The wettest marsh is exactly on the boundary between Sandridge and Prickmoor Wood, and in the middle of it is a small colony of privet. The plant is apparently entirely absent from the region except at this one spot. This is undoubtedly a native station for a species which has been extensively planted in recent times.

#### The Dock.

1. A.D. 1351. Inquisitions post mortem.  
*Dockham.* Hamm where dock grows.

This is Dockham, Donhead St. Mary; the name still appears on the 1 in. O.S. The valley is what might be termed a "closed locality" being almost entirely surrounded by woodland. The entire lower portion is covered with hundreds of thousands of head-high Broad-leaved Docks (*Rumex obtusifolius*) almost to the exclusion of all other plants. This is remarkable since the species is a pioneer of waste ground and, unless disturbance was renewed, would be expected to have been replaced long ago by other species. The fact that the name "Dockham" has survived for 600 years<sup>1</sup> suggests that the dock has been there continuously.

#### The Elm-tree.

1. A.D. 968. Not in B. or K. G.111.  
 . . . *to tham ealdan elebeme* . . . . . to the old elm-tree (?)

The site of this tree was in what is now Great Ridge Wood, on the W. boundary of Sherrington, a little N. of Longdean Bottom. The elm does not grow at this place now, and probably not within a mile or more in any direction. The existence (mentioned in the survey) of a "lynch" here in Saxon days suggests that it was then open ground. It is remarkable that we should have only this one doubtful reference to the Elm in the Wiltshire charters.<sup>2</sup> The Wych-elm (*Ulmus glabra* Huds.) is certainly native in North Britain and has been claimed as a native for Wiltshire. Our other common elm, the English Elm (*Ulmus procera* Salisb.) is not known to occur outside Britain, and since it is probably

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<sup>1</sup> It seems unlikely that a name of this type was a recent creation even 600 years ago. It was probably given some 1200 years ago, which argues a still more remarkable persistence of the weed. Mr. Grose reports a Dokham at Wanborough, though the name has fallen out of use possibly because the dock no longer infests that meadow. H.C.B.

<sup>2</sup> In the Charter of Bremhill, B.717, A.D. 937, is a landmark termed *huckeam*. Jackson, in Aubrey's *North Wilts*, 60, suggests that this might be "Cook's Elm". Grundy apparently rejects this proposition. Mention must be made also of Wishford (*Wicheford* in *Domesday Book*, 1086) which is translated "Ford by a wych-elm" (*PN,W.* 231).

as common in our county as anywhere else, there is good reason to class it as a native species or hybrid. But the absence of confirmatory evidence in the charters makes it necessary to admit the possibility of the trees being recent migrants or introductions from other parts of the country.

### The Birch.

1. A.D. 955. B.917. G.41.  
*andlang beorc oran* . . . . . along the bank of the  
 birch-trees . . . . .

A.D. 958. B.970. G.58.  
*on berg (read beorc) hore* . . . . . to Birch Bank . . . . .

It seems probable that these two landmarks refer to the same bank or slope. It was on the E. slope of St. Bartholomew's Hill, Semley. Birch grew here until recently, but nearly all have been felled and the hill replanted with larch. And the birch has been used as posts to fence the plantation! There are two trees left at the W. end of the hill, and these are on the boundary.

2. A.D. 958. B.970. G.60.  
*thannen on wadune beorch* . . . . . then to Wata's (?)  
 Down Birch (or Barrow) . . . . .

The birch or barrow was at an angle in the boundary about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile S. of Milkwell, Douhead St. Andrew. The spot is now covered by a house and garden and no birch grows in the immediate neighbourhood. Despite the paucity of birch-tree references there is no reason to suppose that the tree was not a common one in parts of Wiltshire in Saxon times. Topographically the surviving charters are more grouped than scattered, and they leave large areas of the county totally unrepresented. The birch is normally a tree of hilly districts, preferring an acid soil, and is often absent from large tracts of the fertile lowlands. And of these hilly, heathy places the charters are almost silent. Hence the arguments cited above concerning the elm do not hold good when the birch is considered.

### The Alder.

1. A.D. 901. B.595. G.199.  
*thonne and lang score hlinces on alercum* . . . . .  
 then along boundary lynch to Alder Combe . . . . .

This has been identified as the valley S.E. of Conyger Barn, Stockton. No alder grows there now, and it seems an impossible place for it, being high on the chalk. Alder rarely grows away from the water, except sometimes in woods, so one can only conclude that a thousand years ago this valley was drained by a stream. The lowering of the water-table by about 100 feet to the River Wylye is remarkable. Alder occurs by the Wylye, but it is not common. Mrs. M. B. Yeatman-Biggs tells me that she has failed to find a single tree away from the river.

2. A.D. 944. B.800. G.295.  
*Aerest endlang the fer to Alorbroke* . . . First along the furrow  
to Alder Brook . . .

The brook is at the W. foot of Gatcombe Hill, Nettleton. No alder grows by this part of the stream now.

3. A.D. 964. B.1127. G.73.  
. . . *than on alleburne* . . . then to Alder (?) Brook . . .

This is the stream which joins the Biss Brook near Brook House, between Trowbridge and Westbury. There are two trees just at the ford of the stream by Brook House, and one other higher up the same stream. The species was not seen elsewhere in the district.

**The Hazel-tree.**

1. A.D. 933. B.699. G.190.  
*Aerst on haesel wyll* . . . First to the spring of the hazels . . .

Mr. Young places the site of this spring as probably behind "The Limes" in Oare village. This is mostly garden-ground, but a short distance to the N.E. there is a small dry watercourse with a few hazels at the head. Hazel is a common tree in the hedges to the S. of Oare and at the foot of Martinsell Hill.

2. A.D. 974. K.584. G.115.  
. . . *note graue* . . . Nut Grove . . .

The grove was probably the track just W. of Oaksey Wood. It is unlikely that any nut could be intended other than the hazel-nut, and the neglected overgrown lane of the survey is still a veritable Nut Grove, being bordered with hazels for a considerable distance.

3. A.D. 994. K.687. G.197.  
*Aerest ou thone haran haesel* . . . First to the hoar hazel . . .

The tree grew where the E. boundary of Fovant leaves the S. bank of the River Nadder. There are several trees at the foot of the wood near the river; the largest of them grows at the exact spot given. Proceeding northwards there are no more hazels on the boundary.

4. A.D. 1001. K.706. G.104.  
. . . *to thes kinges imare at heselberi* . . . to the King's  
boundary at Hazel-tree Camp . . .

The camp was probably about three furlongs S.W. of Wormwood Farm, Atworth. Hazels still grow on the boundary there and are common elsewhere in that region.

**The Oak.**

1. A.D. 901. B.588. G.196.  
. . . *swa thurh dellwuda on land scor aac* . . . so through  
Quarry Wood to Boundary Oak . . .

Probably the tree marked the N.E. corner of the parish of Sutton Mandeville. An oak grows a few yards from this spot. It is a frequent tree in the district.

2. A.D. 940. B.748. G.248.  
*Aerest of thare anliphigan aec* . . . First from the isolated oak  
. . .

The oak stood on the W. side of Clench Common in the N. corner of Pewsey parish. The boundary hedge has not been destroyed in the recent clearance of Clench Common, and an oak still stands near the site of the landmark. It is no longer a solitary tree, for other oaks grow all along the boundary.

3. . . . . A.D. 940. . . . . B.751. . . . . G.254.  
 . . . . . *to acforde* . . . . . to the ford of the oak-tree . . . . .

This is an unknown locality perhaps near Kington Langley. Oak is a common tree there.

4 . . . . . A.D. 961. . . . . B.1067. . . . . G.63.  
 . . . . . *on tha ac on fleth cumbe* . . . . . to the oak at Hay Combe . . . . .

The oak was probably in the valley N. of Ram Alley, Burbage. Mr. Crawford<sup>1</sup> believes that the Saxon boundary here was about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile W. of the present boundary, and that no oak now marks the old site. There are, however, several very large trees close by, and, an ancient stump on the present boundary near the railway, and Mr. Brentnall tells me that in his opinion the present boundary was the original one.

5. . . . . A.D. 968. . . . . B.1213. . . . . G.80.  
 . . . . . *thonne on thone hleadreadan* (read *readhleafan*) *beam* . . . . .  
 . . . . . then to the red-leaved tree . . . . .

Dr. Grundy places this landmark at the summit of the ridge now called Bedwyn Common. Mr. O. G. S. Crawford,<sup>2</sup> however, suggests that it was S.W. of Timbridge Farm, Savernake Forest, and advances a most interesting argument that it is even possible that the old oak stump called the "Duke's Vaunt" represents the actual tree of the survey. This places the age of the still-living stump at nearly a thousand years, even if we suppose that an infant tree was selected as the landmark. Mr. Brentnall tells me that he has never seen anything to distinguish the foliage of the Duke's Vaunt from that of other oaks in the neighbourhood, and I do not think that the leaves of an oak would ever have sufficient coloration to warrant the term "red-leaved tree". I think it possible that the tree mentioned in the survey was the dog-wood (*Cornus sanguinea*), the leaves of which become bright red in late autumn.

6. . . . . A.D. 987. . . . . K.658. . . . . G.100.  
 . . . . . *thanen on cawan ac* . . . . . then to Crow Oak . . . . .

The Crow Oak grew between Stowford Farm and Midway Manor, Westwood. The county boundary for some way north of Stowford Farm is formed by a small stream, and there are several oaks on the banks. No other oaks could be seen within about a mile.

<sup>1</sup> *W.A.M.*, xli, 1921, 300.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.M.*, xli, 1921, 290.

7. A.D. 1001. K.706. G.101.

. . . *acceslegle* . . . . . Oak Lea . . . . .

This is a somewhat indefinite locality probably somewhere on the boundary S.W. of Little Chalfield, Atworth. There are several oaks in this boundary hedge, and it is an uncommon tree in the district.

8. A.D. ? Not in B. or K. G113.

. . . *ocle* . . . . . Oak Lea . . . . .

This was probably on the boundary a little to the S.E. of Murcott, Crudwell. Oak is frequent in this district, and one tree grows close to the boundary.

#### The Beech.

1. A.D. 958. B.970. G.58.

. . . *thanne forthbe dine on laiboc heued* . . . . . then on  
by the dean to Beech (?)<sup>1</sup> Headland . . . . .

The translation is doubtful. The landmark was probably at the S.E. corner of Gutch Common. One small tree grows in the hedge at about the place given, but no others could be seen in the district. The lack of references to the Beech in the Wiltshire charters is not surprising. It is a tree which only rarely reproduces itself from seed in Wiltshire, and it is almost certainly not a native. Although it must have been abundant in some English counties in Saxon times, it was probably almost unknown in Wiltshire.

#### The Willows

<i>Salix fragilis</i>	Crack Willow or Withy.
<i>Salix alba</i>	White Willow
<i>Salix triandra</i>	Almond-leaved Willow.
<i>Salix Caprea</i>	Great Sallow.
<i>Salix atrocinnerea</i>	Grey Sallow.
<i>Salix viminalis</i>	Osier.
<i>Salix purpurea</i>	Purple Osier.

1. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.157.

. . . *la wythie* . . . . . the willow-tree . . . . .

The tree probably grew where the boundary-line crosses the brook at Sparcell's Farm, Purton. *Salix fragilis* grows at this place, and no other species could be seen thereabouts. The Withy is often classed as a non-indigenous tree, but the many references to it can be construed as some evidence that it is native. It must be born in mind, however, that the word might have been used loosely, as it is today, to include other long-leaved willows.

2. A.D. 850. B.458. G.167.

. . . *usque ad le Wythybed* . . . . . on to the willow-bed  
. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Two possible emendations of *laiboc* are *leiboc* "the beech with a head of hair" or "bushy beech" or, if any sort of beech is unlikely, *lahboc*, "the lawbook headland" implying some legal decision on a boundary dispute. But both are temerarious. H.C.B.



This was probably where the stream crosses the parish boundary  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile N.W. of Swallett Gate, Dauntsey. At this spot there are two bushes of *S. atrocinerea*. *S. viminalis* grows nearby.

3. A.D. 939. B.734. G.241.  
 . . . *thonne on withigmeres* . . . . . then to the willow-pond . . . . .

Mr. Brentnall<sup>1</sup> identifies this pond as Pig-trow Pond beside the lane at the S. end of Barrow Copse, West Woods. Despite the partial reconstruction mentioned by Mr. Brentnall, the pond is still surrounded by willows and, since this is an isolated locality with little chance of the introduction of trees from elsewhere, these can hardly be other than lineal descendants of the originals. There are two species, *S. atrocinerea* and *S. Caprea*. The former grows sparingly in the district; the latter is absent, or at any rate very scarce.

4. A.D. 940. B.752. G.256.  
 . . . *on the withibed* . . . . . to the willow-bed . . . . .

This was where the N. boundary of Christian Malford leaves the Avon, about a mile E. of Seagry Heath. All the willows at this spot are *S. fragilis*. There is one very old tree, now decayed and fallen across the river, which it spans. *S. viminalis* and *S. triandra* occur nearby.

5. A.D. 943. B.788. G.287.  
 . . . *nythaer on thone ealdan withig* . . . . . down to the old willow-tree . . . . .

A.D. 962. B.1093. G.287.  
 . . . *nither on thone ealdan uuithig* . . . . . down to the old willow-tree . . . . .

The old tree grew at a place where a small stream enters the boundary stream about 200 yards S.W. of Penhill Copse, Stratton St. Margaret. At this exact spot now grows a huge specimen of *S. alba*. The girth of the tree at five feet from the ground is 12ft. 6in. Its height, as nearly as could be calculated from measurements on the ground, is 78ft. The junction of the two streams, supplying moisture on two sides of the tree, and bringing perhaps different nutritive material from the two directions must be a particularly favourable place for growth. An old dead tree lower down the stream had not attained anything like this size. The white Willow is frequently planted beside rivers, and it may not be native here, but it is the only species in the immediate district.

6. A.D. 956. B.922. G.47.  
 . . . *ab eo directe a parte boriali de saltherpe* (read *sealhthorp*) . . . . .  
 . . . thence straight north of the hamlet of the sallow-trees . . . . .

The sallops probably grew a little S. of Fosse Gate, Chedglow, but the exact locality has been considered uncertain. The wording of the survey seems to imply that there was a group of trees, rather than a few scattered ones. About three furlongs S.S.W. of Fosse Gate are the

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. Marl. Coll. N.H.S., 1938, 128.*

headwaters of a little stream which flows to West Crudwell. Here grow *S. atrocinerea*, *S. fragilis*, *S. triandra*, and *S. viminalis* in abundance. The trees near the road are possibly planted, but higher up the stream the first three species mentioned are growing with hazel, ash, hawthorn and elder. There is every indication that this is natural scrub and that the willows and sallows are native. The surrounding ground (an upland area on the borders of the Cotswolds) is quite unsuitable for the growth of willows, and they are almost absent. I think it highly probable that this spot is the landmark of the survey.

7. c. A.D. 956. B.956. G.21.  
 . . . *thanon to sahl beorge* . . . . . then to Sallow-tree  
 Barrow . . . . .

Dr. Grundy identifies this barrow with the one  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile S.S.W. of Keysley Farm, Knoyle. No tree now grows on this tumulus, and no willows could be found near.

8. A.D. 961. B.1067. G.63.  
 . . . *ut on Rod leage weste wearde* . . . . . out to the  
 west side of Withy (?) Lea . . . . .  
 A.D. 968. B.1213. G.79.  
 . . . *thonne with Rodleage meres* . . . . . then over  
 against Withy (?) Lea Pond . . . . .

Mr. Crawford<sup>1</sup> places this landmark at Bitham Pond, Savernake Forest. Bitham Pond has been enlarged during the war and used as an emergency water-supply. The margins have been cleared and flattened, and no willow grows there now. Three other nearby ponds are too much shaded by large trees for willows to grow, but at Leigh Hill occur *S. atrocinerea* and *S. Caprea*.

9. A.D. 961. B.1071. G.65.  
*Aerest on thone ealdan withig* . . . First to the old willow-tree

The tree grew where the Combe Bissett boundary leaves the River Ebbles,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the Church. Here grow now *S. fragilis*, *S. triandra*, *S. purpurea* and *S. atrocinerea*.

10. A.D. 963. B.1118. G.69.  
 . . . *on withig maere* . . . . . to Willow Balk . . . . .

This was probably the westernmost bend of the Patney boundary, a little S. of the railway. *S. fragilis* grows at this place. The only other species of the immediate neighbourhood is *S. alba*.

11. A.D. 968. B.1213. G.79.  
 . . . *thone to sael gaete* . . . . . then to the gate of the  
 sallow (?) . . . . .

Mr. Crawford<sup>1</sup> thinks that *sael gaete* might be Shoul Bottom, Savernake Forest. No willow could be found here but *S. atrocinerea* and *S. Caprea* grow in the district.

<sup>1</sup> *W.A.M.*, xli, 1921, 299.

**12.** A.D. 974. K.584. G.115.  
*le grete wythye* . . . . . the great willow-tree . . . .  
 The tree grew on Braydon Brook about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile E. of Eastcourt House. *S. atrocineera* and *S. fragilis* grow on the stream about here. Willows are scarce in the vicinity.

**13.** A.D. 982. K.632. G.89.  
*le withybedde* . . . . . the withy-bed . . . .  
 This was probably on the Reed Bourne to the S.E. of Bincombe Wood, Malmesbury. Many trees of *S. atrocineera* and a few of *S. fragilis* grow there.

**14.** A.D. 984. K.641. G.94.  
*thanen on withig broc(h)* . . . . . then to Willow Brook . . . .  
 This is the brook which crosses the boundary near Summerleaze Farm near East Knoyle. *S. atrocineera* and *S. fragilis* grow along this brook.

**15.** A.D. 986. K.655. G.96.  
*Aerest on thone welig* . . . . First to the willow-tree . . . .  
 The willow stood where the boundary of Stratford Tony crosses the River Ebble a little W. of the village. *S. alba* is abundant, and *S. fragilis* is frequent, at this spot.

**16.** A.D. ? Not in B. or K. G.113.  
*la brode wythie* . . . . . the broad willow-tree . . . .

This landmark cannot be identified accurately, but it was possibly about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile E. of Crudwell. Willows are remarkably scarce in this area, and only a solitary tree of *S. atrocineera* could be found. This species could hardly be described as "broad" from the point of view of girth, of spread or of width of leaf.

**"Bulbs".**

**1.** A.D. 863. B.508. G.186.  
*thanon on clophangran* (read *clofhangran*) . . . . .  
 then to the hanger where bulbs grow . . . .

The hanging wood has been placed as on the N. boundary of Buttermere where it reaches Ham Hill. There is no hanger there now. Mrs. F. Partridge has kindly made a close search in the district for woodland plants which could be described as "bulbs", and apparently the only two species present are the Mountain Star-of-Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum pyrenaicum*) and Ramsons (*Allium ursinum*).

**The Yellow Iris.**

**1.** A.D. 955. B.917. G.29.  
*and thanne west to lafres mere* . . . . . and then west to the pond where yellow iris (?) grows. . . .

An alternate translation of *lafres mere* might be "rush pond". The pond was in Larmer Grounds, Tollard Royal. There appears to be only one pond there now, and this was reconstructed in 1880 and its sides

planted with ornamental flowers. There are two plants of the Yellow Iris amongst these flowers, but it is quite probable that they were planted, perhaps even with the idea of restoring to the pond some semblance of its supposed original plant life.

2. A.D. 982. K.632. G.90.

. . . *le leuer bedde* . . . . . the bed of flags . . . .

The iris-bed was on the hill about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile N.E. of Bincombe Wood near Malmesbury. There are about ten ponds on this hill, none of which bears the Iris, and the plant could not be found elsewhere in the district.

#### The Rush.

*Juncus effusus* The Soft Rush.

*Juncus glaucus* The Hard Rush.

1. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.157.

. . . *usque richsbed* . . . . . on to the rush-bed . . . .

This was at the junction of the two streams  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile W. of Tadpole Farm, Blunsdon. *Juncus effusus* and *J. glaucus* both grow at this point in small quantity.

2. A.D. 892. B.567. G.188.

. . . *thonne on risclaed* . . . . . then to the rush slade

The slade seems to be the small declivity which forms part of the present boundary about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile E. of Cuttonham Farm, Wilsford. It is now normally dry, being overgrown and tree-shaded. No rushes grow there, but there is a little *J. effusus* in a nearby stream. The Bull-rush (*Scirpus lacustris*) also grows in this stream.

3. A.D. 933. B.699. G.190.

. . . *on risthysel* . . . . . to the rush thicket . . . .

This is an indefinite locality perhaps on Huish Hill. *J. effusus* grows in a pond on the hill, but there is nothing which could be termed a "rush-thicket". Conditions here may have been very different with the higher water-table of Saxon times.

4. A.D. 941. B.769. G.269.

*Up alang ninge (or Hringhe) burne oth that hrisc lad* (read *slaed*) . . . .

. . . . Up along Ring Bourne as far as Rush Slade . . . . (assuming *Hringhe* to be the correct reading.)

Probably Rush Slade was at the E. side of the small wood N. of the railway at Beechingstoke. *J. effusus* and *J. glaucus* are both abundant at this spot.

5. A.D. 955. B.904. G.209.

. . . *thanen on rishlak* . . . . . then to Rush Brook . . . .

The brook is the stream flowing N.W. from Medbourne, Liddington. *J. glaucus* occurs in small quantity in several parts of this stream. No other species could be seen the district.

#### Sedges.

1. A.D. 956. B.922. G.53.

. . . *usque ad segmede* . . . . . on to the sedge-mead

The Sedge Mead was where the Chissell Brook joins the Avon near Christian Malford. There is an affluent from the Avon at this spot, and the brook which forms the boundary joins the affluent a few yards from the river. The corner of the meadow where these waters meet is covered with a sedge growing so densely as to exclude almost any other plant. It is a real Sedge Mead. The species is *Carex riparia*, and no other sedge could be found in the district. This corner must have remained unchanged since the time of the survey.

**The Reed.**

- |    |                                      |         |            |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------|------------|
| 1. | A.D. 943.                            | B.788.  | G.284.     |
|    | A.D. 956.                            | B.983.  | G.284.     |
|    | <i>andlang hreod burnan on wurf</i>  |         | along Reed |
|    | Bourne to the Worf (now Ray)         |         |            |
|    | A.D. 962.                            | B.1093. | G.284.     |
|    | <i>andlang hreod burnan on uuorf</i> |         | along Reed |
|    | Bourne to the Worf                   |         |            |

This is the brook running through the village of Rodbourne Cheney. It has been straightened here and there, and much of its course is bordered with allotments. The Reed (*Phragmites communis*) still grows by the stream immediately S. of Rodbourne Cheney Church.

- |    |                   |        |                     |
|----|-------------------|--------|---------------------|
| 2. | A.D. 956.         | B.948. | G.55.               |
|    | <i>hrud wylle</i> |        | spring of the reeds |

The locality is identified in PN,W 497 as Ruddles Mead, Wroughton, but I have not yet been able to trace the site. There is a spring issuing from Swindon Hill at Mill Lane, Okus, where the boundary leaves the River Ray for a short distance, and the Reed is abundant there. It also grows plentifully near the spring in Marcombe bottom.

- |    |                    |        |             |
|----|--------------------|--------|-------------|
| 3. | A.D. 982.          | K.632. | G.90.       |
|    | <i>rithe burne</i> |        | Reed Bourne |

This is the stream which flows through the S. part of our other Rodbourne to join the Avon at Great Somerford. The stream was very thoroughly dredged late in 1945, and there is no reed now right from the Avon to the source. Formerly it grew at the spot where the stream joins the Avon at Somerford Bridge, and probably also in other places. The plant will probably reappear in a few years' time.

- |   |                   |        |                             |
|---|-------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| 4 | A.D. 984.         | K.641. | G.93.                       |
|   | <i>to rodelee</i> |        | to the lea of the reeds (?) |

The locality is where the S. boundary of West Tisbury leaves the River Sem about ¼ mile N. of Semley village. The reed no longer grows there, and I have never seen it in this part of Wiltshire. It is possible there has been a mistranslation, and in any case it is by no means certain that the plant intended in the above references is *Phragmites communis*. The word "reed" is sometimes used in a loose sense to include other aquatic plants with reed-like leaves.

**The Couch-grass.**

1. A.D. 681. B.59A. G.9.  
*quiccaeleyen* . . . . . couch-grass lea . . . . .

The landmark was probably on the S. boundary of Charlton, perhaps about a mile W. of Pond Plantation. The Wood Couch-grass (*Agropyron caninum*) is rather uncommon but may sometimes be seen in hedgerows. The Common Couch-grass (*A. repens*) is an abundant plant of waste ground and is only rarely found in hedgerows. In the boundary hedge of Charlton about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile W. of Pond Plantation there is an abundance of the Common Couch-grass, and it is frequent in other hedges in that district. The lea of the survey may have taken its name from the plants in the hedges or on the balks surrounding it.

**"Coarse Grass".**

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Arrhenatherum elatius</i>  | False Oat-grass.     |
| <i>Bromus erectus</i>         | Upright Brome-grass. |
| <i>Deschampsia caespitosa</i> | Tufted Hair-grass.   |
| <i>Phalaris arundinacea</i>   | Reed-grass.          |

1. A.D. 796. B.279A. G.156.

. . . *usque hassukes more* . . . . . on to the marsh of coarse grass . . . . .

The marsh was at Haxmore Farm, Purton. There is no extensive marsh near this farm now. Two places are still a little marshy, and it seems likely from the lie of the land that larger marshes existed in those places before the days of modern drainage. At one of these swamps *Deschampsia caespitosa* and *Phalaris arundinacea* are the common grasses; at the other, *Phalaris arundinacea* is the dominant.

2. A.D. 964. B 1127. G.72.

. . . *on hassukesmor* . . . . . to the marsh where coarse grass grows . . . . .

The marsh was on the boundary E. of Housecroft Farm, Steeple Ashton. The largest marsh in the possible area has *Deschampsia caespitosa* as the dominant.

- 3 A.D. 986. K.655. G.96.

. . . *on thon hassuc upp on hrofan hricge* . . . . . to the coarse grass up on Roof Ridge . . . . .

This is probably on the E. side of Throope Hill, Stratford Tony. The side of the track here, which forms the boundary, might possibly be called a ridge. The dominant grasses are *Bromus erectus* and *Arrhenatherum elatius*.

**The Spruce-fir.**

1. A.D. 984. K.641. G.93.

. . . *thannen on sap (sæppe) cumbe* . . . . . then to the combe of the spruce-firs . . . . .

The valley is on the S. boundary of Tisbury near Toke's Cottages. By a remarkable coincidence there are growing now several old spruce-firs in this valley. The tree is not native and is thought to have been

introduced in the 16th century. It rarely reproduces from seed in England, and there can be no connection between the present trees and those of the survey. It is difficult to account for the occurrence of the spruce at such an early date. Even if *sæppe* be translated as "larch" or "pine", we are still faced with the position that these also are not natives of Wiltshire. Probably the original trees were introductions from Northern Europe, and it may be pertinent to mention that the Danes were in occupation of the Tisbury district for a few years from A.D. 876.

Certain theories have been advanced above under different landmarks, and the following notes are intended to supplement these in a more general sense.

An analysis of the references shows that in a very large proportion of cases the botanical landmarks of the surveys can still be matched at the present day with examples of the same species at the same places. The critic may assign this to the long arm of coincidence or perhaps even to wishful thinking on my part, but after full allowance is made for such factors, there remains a substantial weight of evidence to support the assertion. And, after all, is not this position just what one should expect? If a species was a native a thousand years ago and is still a feature of our countryside, what is more likely than that the seed-sown descendants should occupy approximately the same places today? The boundaries are usually formed by hedgerows and until comparatively recent times, these hedgerows were deep and ragged, thus forming excellent nurseries for seedlings and saplings.

In several instances, particularly, as it happens, when an exact spot can be determined as the landmark, I have noticed that the modern representative of a certain tree is noticeably larger than usual, often the largest in the district. The original surveyors, faced with a choice between several trees for their landmark, would probably choose the tallest. The local conditions may have been ideal for the more vigorous growth of the selected tree and would remain so now. This proposal, of course, is bound up with the ages of the trees at the two periods, but trees in general reach almost their maximum height in early life.

In some other cases it was found that a tree had been chosen as a landmark at just about the place where that particular species began to become frequent along the boundary. This was noted only when following the boundary in the direction given in the survey; working in the reverse direction would not give the same result.

It must be admitted that the few woodland records do not work out so satisfactorily as those of the hedgerows, but it should be remembered that woods are often cleared completely and replanted with other trees. River-side and downland records give a fair measure of confirmatory evidence. Records of plants in marshland show the extensive drainage which has taken place, and references to springs in several cases illustrate vividly the modern lowering of the water-table. There is

some support for the theory that our common elms and the beech are not native trees in Wiltshire and that they were probably very uncommon here in Saxon times.

The great bulk of the references concerns native trees, and I think it can be concluded that these grew very much then as they do now. The wild flowers receive only very scanty mention, but a herb flora of a given community, factors of climate and soil being the same, is remarkably constant. Hence we can confidently assert that the flowers growing with these trees and bushes in a natural habitat would in general be unchanged. The flora of undisturbed places in large areas of Wiltshire **must** be substantially the same now as it was a thousand years ago.



## THE NATURAL HISTORY SECTION OF THE WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

During the summer of 1946 a few people, who had felt the need of a more active Natural History organisation in Wiltshire and who had already grouped themselves unofficially into a Field Club, approached the President of the Society asking if room could be made for them within the Society, as they were unwilling to form any rival organisation. This proposal was referred to by the Chairman of the Society in his speech at the Annual Meeting of the Society on July 26th, 1946, and the Committee of the Society was authorised to take the necessary steps. As the result of this the Committee of the Society invited Mrs. Egbert Barnes and Mr. Charles Heginbotham to call a small meeting of those likely to be interested. This meeting, which was attended by 16 people, was held at Devizes Museum on Wednesday, October 9th. Mr. Guy Peirson was elected to be chairman of the meeting. After discussion it was agreed that a Natural History Section should be formed and that its name should be the "Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Natural History Section".

A small provisional Committee of the Section was formed consisting of Mr. Guy Peirson (Chairman), Mrs. Egbert Barnes (Hon. Secretary), Mr. G. W. Collett (Hon. Treasurer), Miss Elizabeth Harvie, Mr. G. D. Grose, and Mr. Cyril Rice, to prepare formal proposals to put before the Committee of the Society. This provisional committee of the Section later prepared a draft constitution setting out the relation of the Section to the Society as follows:—

*Name :*

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Natural History Section.

*Membership :*

Open to anybody. Members of the parent Society to have all the privileges of membership of the Section, if they wish to claim them.

*Object :*

To promote the study of Natural History in the County of Wiltshire.

*Constitution :*

Pending the formation of the Section, there is a provisional Committee with authority to act, consisting of President, Secretary, Treasurer, and three others.

*Privileges :*

Members of the Section shall be permitted to attend meetings of the parent Society without power to vote (on payment of any meeting fees), to attend meetings of the Section, to take part in all other activities of the Section, to receive free one reprint of the Natural History articles printed in the *Magazine* of the Society.

These privileges include free admission to the Devizes Museum, members under 16 to be accompanied by an adult.

The Section will be represented on the Committee of the Society by two members.

*Finance :*

Members of the Section shall pay an annual subscription of 7s. 6d. to the Treasurer of the Section. Of this 1s. would be paid over to the Treasurer of the Society, 6s. 6d. would be available for paying for the reprints, Section meeting expenses, postage, circulating lists of members, etc.

*Rooms :*

The Section to have the free use of the Society's rooms once a year for an Annual Meeting and for Committee Meetings and at other times by arrangement on payment of an agreed fee for lighting, heating, etc.

This draft constitution has been approved by the Committee of the Society. It awaits approval at General Meetings of the Section and the Society.

The provisional Committee of the Section felt however that they had sufficient authority to go forward and avoid the waste of a year. They therefore drew up and sent to persons likely to be interested a circular detailing their proposals, which appeared also in an abbreviated form in several Wiltshire newspapers, and arranged a programme of monthly meetings for 1947.

## WILTSHIRE BIRD NOTES FOR 1946.

Recorder: RUTH G. BARNES, M.B.O.U.

This is the first Report to appear under the aegis of the newly-formed Natural History Section, although the notes in it were recorded before the Section came into being. Thanks are due to all those who have helped, and we hope that there will be still more contributors and a fuller Report for 1947.

For the benefit of new contributors it is recommended that written notes should be made as soon as possible, and, in the case of an unfamiliar bird, that the impressions of its appearance should be recorded *before* consulting descriptions and illustrations and not *afterwards*, to avoid wishful thinking. In the case of an unusual species a full description must be sent to the Recorder, for we are determined to maintain a high standard of accuracy.

The year 1946 has produced some records of outstanding interest, the presence of a Little Bustard, only the fourth known visit to Wiltshire since 1877. The nesting of the Shoveler, perhaps the first authentic record, and the nesting of the Marsh Warbler, for which the year 1900 only is given for this county, in the *Handbook of British Birds*. It is good to be able to report the breeding of Montagu's Harrier, Buzzard, Hobby and Stone-Curlew in spite of changed conditions in many areas resulting from the war.

The special mention of these species is not an indication that the Notes are intended to be only a list of rarities. Far from it; the intention is that by the collection of a number of small and apparently insignificant details over a period of years it will be possible to piece together, after the manner of a jig-saw puzzle, a complete picture of the bird life of our county.

## CONTRIBUTORS:

E. R. Brown, Trowbridge	...	...	...	E.R.B.
Miss M. Butterworth, Warminster	...	...	...	M.B.
Mrs. Barnes, Seagry	...	...	...	R.G.B.
C. C. Balch, Calne	...	...	...	C.C.B.
Major W. M. Congreve, Farley	...	...	...	W.M.C.
G. W. Collett, Chippenham	...	...	...	G.W.C.
E. J. Cruse, Chippenham	...	...	...	E.J.C.
Dauntsey's School Bird Trust, W. Lavington	...	...	...	D.S.
Mrs. D. Newton Dunn, Salisbury	...	...	...	D.N.D.
Miss E. Harvie, Westwood	...	...	...	E.H.
C. Heginbotham, Devizes	...	...	...	C.H.
Marlborough College Natural History Society	...	...	...	M.C.
F. W. C. Merritt, Devizes	...	...	...	F.W.C.M.
Mrs. Nurse, Worton	...	...	...	M.E.N.
Guy Pierson, Marlborough	...	...	...	G.P.

Mrs. Oscar Peall, Oare ...	...	...	...	D.P.
E. G. Parsons, Wishford ...	...	...	...	E.G.P.
C. M. R. Pitman, Clarendon ...	...	...	...	C.M.R.P.
Cyril Rice, Chippenham ...	...	...	...	C.R.
St. Mary's School Natural History Society, Calne ...	...	...	...	St. M.
R. Vaughan, Sutton Veny ...	...	...	...	R.V.
Rev. A. J. Watson, Upavon ...	...	...	...	A.J.W.
Brigadier R. H. Willan, Teffont ...	...	...	...	R.H.W.
Miss J. Wilson, Norton ...	...	...	...	J.W.

**HOODED CROW.** *Corvus c. cornix* L.

Seen in Kennet Valley in January and February. (M.C.).

**CARRION CROW.** *Corvus c. corone* L.

Definite increase in Salisbury District. (C.M.R.P.).

**MAGPIE.** *Pica p. pica* (L.).

A considerable increase reported from N. and S. Wilts. (E.R.B., R.G.B., G.W.C., W.M.C., C.M.R.P., D.P.). Nest building began at Seagry, March 18th. (R.G.B.).

[**CONTINENTAL JAY.** *Garrulus g. glandarius* (L.).]

At least 30—40 seen between Farley and East Grimstead, January 5th. Probably an influx of the continental race of which some specimens have been obtained by a local gamekeeper in recent years. (W.M.C.).

\***BRITISH JAY.** *Garrulus glandarius rufitergum* Hart.

A considerable increase in Trowbridge and Teffont districts. (E.R.B., R.H.W.).

**HAWFINCH.** *Coccothraustes c. coccothraustes* (L.).

Reported from Savernake Forest and at Pewsey Road Bridge, Marlborough (M.C.), and one seen near Calne, December 23rd. (C.C.B.).

**SISKIN.** *Carduelis spinus* (L.).

A flock of about 25 seen at Knighton near Ramsbury, February 17th. (M.C.), three birds on tops of alders near Shearwater, March 16th. One attempted a song. (C.R.) Two at Erlestoke, November 30th. (D.S.).

**BRITISH BULLFINCH.** *Pyrrhula pyrrhula nesa* Math and Ired.

A nest with five eggs near Chippenham, August 1st, a late date. (E.J.C.).

**CIRL BUNTING.** *Emberiza c. cirrus* L.

Nest with three eggs, April 23rd, at Farley, an unusually early date, feather lined, but feathers were supplied in a bag in garden hedge. This nest was deserted and a second nest built also feather lined, May 8th. (W.M.C.). Reported as common about Ford. (D.N.D.).

**HOUSE-SPARROW.** *Passer d. domesticus* (L.).

One seen with nesting material, March 7th., and one building on October 4th. (C.M.R.P.).

TREE-SPARROW. *Passer m. montanus* (L.).

Six reports in localities as widely separated as Clatford, Ogbourne and Knighton. (M.C.).

WOOD-LARK. *Lullula a. arborea*. (L.).

Nest of four incubated eggs near Farley, April 7th. (W.M.C.). Singing in Spye Park, March 25th and May 11th. (G.W.C., C.R.) Also two birds seen there, May 11th. (R.G.B.). A slight increase noted in Clarendon area. (C.M.R.P.). A pair seen and another bird singing on the Downs between Corton and Great Ridge, June 30th. A party of 13 on Downs between Longbridge Deverill and Great Ridge, July 3rd. (R.V.). One seen in Hursley Bottom, West Woods. (M.C.).

YELLOW WAGTAIL. *Motacilla flava flavissima* (Blyth).

In water meadows near Ramsbury, May 25th. (R.G.B.). Return migration noted near Chippenham, August 10th. (C.R.).

GREY WAGTAIL. *Motacilla c. cinerea* Tunst.

Sitting hard near nest of Dipper in Chalke Valley, the two nests less than a yard apart, April 6th. (C.M.R.P.) Records throughout the year at Seagry (R.G.B.) and near W. Lavington. (D.S.).

PIED WAGTAIL. *Motacilla alba yarrellii* Gould.

Decrease noted in Clarendon district, many pairs absent from usual haunts. (C.M.R.P.).

TREE CREEPER. *Certhia familiaris britannica* Ridgw.

Nest with young behind a stable door at Fonthill Gifford, June 1st, close to it was a nest of the previous year. (C.M.R.P.).

NUTHATCH. *Sitta europaea affinis* Blyth.

Reported from Norton and Chippenham to be less common in the last few years. (J.W., C.R.).

BLUE TIT. *Parus cæruleus obscurus* Prazak.

In late March a pair started to build in a nest-box near Trowbridge. They deserted, and after a fortnight the box was opened and found to contain a domed nest with a dozen Humble Bees. Later the nest was full of the white grubs of these bees. (E.R.B.).

WILLOW-TIT. *Parus atricapillus kleinschmidti* Hellm.

One heard singing, then seen and identified near Alderbury, April 6th. (C.M.R.P.).

LONG-TAILED TIT. *Aegithalos caudatus rosaceus* Mathews.

A nest practically completed March 7th, near Trowbridge. Previous night's temperature 12° of frost. Birds at work with the temperature just above freezing. (E.R.B.). A nest with three eggs at Farley, April 2nd. (W.M.C.). Both early dates.

RED-BACKED SHRIKE. *Lanius c. collurio* L.

First seen at Old Sarum, May 4th. Not up to usual numbers this year, absent from many haunts near Salisbury. (C.M.R.P.). Not seen near Chippenham this year. (C.R.). Reported from Manton and Broadtown Hill. (M.C.).

WAXWING. *Bombycilla g. garrulus* (L.).

Three were seen passing along a hedge near Memorial Hall, Marlborough, December 17th. (M.C.). There was a widespread invasion in other parts of Britain.

CHIFF-CHAFF. *Phylloscopus c. collybita* (Viell.).

Return migration noted September 7th. (E.J.C.).

WOOD-WARBLER. *Phylloscopus sibilatrix*. (Bechst.).

Common in Savernake Forest and in all suitable woods about Sutton Veny. (D.P., R.V.).

GRASSHOPPER-WARBLER. *Locustella n. naevia*. (Bodd.).

Seen and heard singing in reed-bed by the Avon at Manningford, April 23rd. (G.W.C., R.G.B., D.P., C.R.). One passage migrant in garden at Chippenham for one day, April 29th. (C.R.). One singing in Robin Hood's Bower near Sutton Veny, July 3rd. (R.V.).

REED-WARBLER. *Acrocephalus s. scirpaceus*. (Herm.).

A nest with five hard set eggs, May 31st, by Salisbury Avon. Also several nests and eggs, July 30th, rather late. (C.M.R.P.).

MARSH-WARBLER. *Acrocephalus palustris*. (Bechst.).

A pair nested in a water meadow near Ramsbury. The story of the discovery of their nest and the feeding of the young birds is the subject of an article in the Report of the Marlborough College Natural History Society. They were building on June 18th, first egg June 22nd, young hatched July 7th, young fledglings July 20th. The only date given in the *Handbook of British Birds* for nesting in Wilts is 1900. The species did nest near Marlborough for several years about 1920. (G.P.).

BLACKCAP. *Sylvia a. atricapilla*. (L.).

A wintering male was seen near Shelburne Road, Calne, at 10 a.m. on Christmas Day. (C.C.B.). A nest with six eggs and another with five of the scarce erythristic type of pink eggs, May 27th. (C.M.R.P.). A nest with five erythristic type eggs near Chippenham, May 18th. (E.J.C.).

LESSER WHITETHROAT. *Sylvia c. curruca*. (L.)

Large migratory movement in progress near Malmesbury, April 20th. Return passage through garden in Chippenham, observed September. Very few nesting birds in immediate neighbourhood. (C.R.).

DARTFORD WARBLER. *Sylvia undata dartfordiensis*. Lath.

Still no sign of recovery following winter 1944—45. (W.M.C.). One pair in their old haunts on October 25th, after an absence of many years. (C.M.R.P.).

FIELDFARE. *Turdus pilaris*. L.

Very large flocks in trees along the valley of the Norton Brook, March 24th. (J.W.). Large number, c. 1000, flying S.W. over Calne, December 11th. (St. M.).

[GREENLAND WHEATEAR. *Oenanthe oenanthe leucorrhoa*. (Gm.).]

Passing through, March 28th, may have been of the Greenland race which has been definitely known to occur in other years on Dean Hill, Farley. (W.M.C.).

REDSTART. *Phoenicurus p. phoenicurus* (L.).

Male in pollard willows by Summerham Brook, April 26th. (G.W.C., C.R.). Male seen in Spye park, May 11th, (C.R., R.G.B.) and June 3rd. (D.P.).

BLACK REDSTART. *Phoenicurus ochrurus gibraltariensis*. A female in garden at Eastleigh Road, Devizes, October 12th—13th. Appeared at 10 a.m. and stayed throughout the day and next day. "Greyish body with brilliant rump", (F.W.C.M.), also a female in garden at Warminster, October 24th—27th, "slate grey all over except for rump and tail". It spent the day as a gardener's robin does on a spade, on the ground or low fence. It perched on wire of chicken-house and fed among vegetables. It was entirely silent. (M.B.).

DIPPER. *Cinclus cinclus gularis*. (Lath.).

Sitting hard, April 6th, in usual area in Chalke valley. (C.M.R.P.). One record only of unsuccessful attempt to nest in W. Lavington district. (D.S.). One pair resident in Castle Combe District. (R.G.B.).

SAND-MARTIN. *Riparia v. riparia*. (L.).

About 50 pairs nesting in disused quarry near Crockerton, and small colony on Battlesbury Hill near Warminster. (R.V.).

NIGHT-JAR. *Caprimulgus e. europaeus*. L.

Flushed several from heather near Redlynch, June 22nd (C.M.R.). Common round Warminster, where habitat is suitable. (R.V.). Seem to be increasing in Marlborough area; reported from Clench Common, West Woods and Bedwyn Common. (M.C.). Not seen in Biss Wood for three seasons, perhaps owing to disturbance by military. (E.R.B.).

CUCKOO. *Cuculus c. canorus*. L.

Young bird 8—9 days old in Hedge-sparrow's nest, May 18th. (C.M.R.P.).

LONG-EARED OWL. *Asio o. otis*. (L.).

Sitting on four eggs in old Magpie's nest in tall hawthorns, March 25th. (C.M.R.P.).

SHORT-EARED OWL. *Asio f. flammeus*. (Pontopp.).

Up to eight seen near the Warren, January to March. (D.S.). As many as twelve were seen at Totterdown, January 15th and near Rockley Long Copse, February 8th and March 29th, feeding on voles

and beetles (an analysis of six pellets was carried out). (M.C.). Also wintering on down near Wishford, the first time the observer has seen it in that district. (E.G.P.).

PEREGRINE FALCON. *Falco p. peregrinus*. Tunst.

One seen at Preshute, July 20th. (M.C.). A not infrequent visitor in late summer and autumn on downs near Wishford. (E.G.C.).

HOBBY. *Falco s. subbuteo*. L.

One flying N.E. near Poulshot, April 27th. (G.W.C., E.H., C.R. R.G.B.). One hawking insects over Bristol Avon at Seagry, May 18th, perched on same dead branch as 1944. (R.G.B.). One flying over Avon at the Town Bridge, Chippenham, June 5th. (C.R.). Nest of three young 2—3 days old on Salisbury Plain, July 10th. Young flourishing July 19th. (W.M.C.). Constantly seen from July to October with family. (E.G.P.).

MERLIN *Falco columbarius oesalon*. Tunst.

The Merlins arrive about Wishford in autumn and then are numerous, though there is a marked decrease from November onwards and only a few winter in this area. (E.G.P.). So many reports have been received from Marlborough district and each with much evidence to support it that it appears that at least one must be correct. (M.C.).

COMMON BUZZARD. *Buteo b. buteo*. (L.).

One seen near Shearwater, February 2nd. (M.B.), and one soaring near Brokenborough, April 14th. (R.G.B.). Three pairs at least bred in Wilts this year and probably one or two more. Of two birds which took up residence in Savernake Forest, one was shot. (M.C.).

MONTAGU'S HARRIER. *Circus pygargus*. (L.).

One pair nested in S. Wilts. Nest found and male seen, May 9th. Female seen close to site and male  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles away, May 12th. Nest as before with no eggs. On June 9th the nest contained four eggs, female flying overhead. When visited again, June 22nd, the nest contained three young still showing a good deal of white. The female with two young well on the wing was seen in the area, August 25th. (C.M.R.P.).

HEN-HARRIER. *Circus c. cyaneus*. (L.).

Two Harriers described as "large brown birds with white rumps and owl-like check markings", on the downs near the Warren, West Lavington, January 20th. (D.S.).

SPARROW-HAWK. *Accipiter n. nisus*. (L.).

Increase reported from Marlborough and Salisbury districts. (M.C., L.S.G.P.).

[HONEY-BUZZARD. *Pernis a. apivorus*. (L.).]

The Honey-Buzzard has been shot in the Wishford area in the last few years, and one was very probably seen at the end of October. (E.G.P.).



COMMON HERON. *Ardea c. cinerea*. L.

Twelve nests occupied at Bowood, April 3rd. (G.W.C.). One nest only at Clarendon this year, April 1st—a decrease. (C.M.R.P.). Savernake heronry contained eight nests definitely occupied. (M.C.).

BITTERN. *Botaurus s. stellaris* (L.).

One seen flying from one reed bed to another at Coate Reservoir, January 5th. (G.W.C.).

WHITE-FRONTED GOOSE. *Anser a. albifrons*. (Scop.).

Seen every winter since 1941, Wishford. (E.G.P.).

GREY GOOSE. *Anser sp.?*

Small parties flying N.W. over Westwood about December 19th. (E.H.). Two skeins passed over Chippenham 3.30 p.m., December 28th. (E.J.C.). About 200 flying over Worton 3 p.m., three skeins (c. 150 birds) flying N.W. over Seagry 3.15 p.m. and 20 flying over Oare, all on December 29th. (M.E.N., R.G.B., D.P.). Skein of 23, probably White-fronted, passed over Corsham lake to N.W., December 31st. (C.R.).

RUDDY SHELL-DUCK. *Casarca ferruginea*. (Pall.).

A fine male, watched several times during day, April 26th, in meadows near Clarendon and was about for several days. There is a note of this occurrence in the *Countryman*. Attracted attention by its peculiar "honking" similar to that of a goose. This record must be treated with reserve as a possible escape from captivity. None are known to have been kept in the immediate neighbourhood. (C.M.R.P.).

TEAL. *Anas c. crecca*. L.

Strongly suspected of breeding along the Salisbury Avon, but no definite proof, although birds flushed as late as May and beginning of June. (C.M.R.P.). Two or three at Coate, April 13th. (R.G.B.). Seen on flooded meadows near Wishford in autumn, and a few in winter at Coate, Corsham and Shearwater. (M.B., G.W.C., C.R.).

WIDGEON. *Anas penelope*. L.

About 40 in one flock at Chilton Foliat in January. (M.C.). Two seen in late autumn on pond by Southampton Road, Salisbury. (D.N.D.). Seen on flooded meadows near Wishford in autumn. (E.G.P.).

SHOVELER. *Spatula clypeata*. (L.).

A duck with her ducklings on the Salisbury Avon, June 8th. Attention attracted to them by the warning call of the parent bird. This is possibly the first authentic record of this species nesting in Wiltshire. One immature bird was shot on the Avon, September 15th. (C.M.R.P.). A pair feeding together in a small pool among reeds at Coate, April 13th. (R.G.B.). Pair seen there twice in April and on May 30th, but no nest found. (C.R.).

COMMON POCHARD. *Aythya ferina*. (L.).

Eight at Bowood, January 27th. (St. M.). In winter at Corsham,

(11 males, January 15th), Shearwater and Braydon (C.R.), and a number at the Pits, Britford, October 24th. (C.M.R.P.).

**TUFTED DUCK.** *Aythya fuligula* (L.).

Many on gravel pits, Britford, from January 3rd until March 21st. (C.M.R.P.). And some in winter at Shearwater, Corsham, Braydon and Stourton (G.W.C., C.R.) and at Bowood. (St. M.).

**GOLDENEYE.** *Bucephala c. clangula* (L.).

One at Coate in March. (M.C.).

**CORMORANT.** *Phalacrocorax c. carbo* (L.).

Five flying over the Salisbury Avon at Britford January 3rd, and six together on December 26th. Can be seen in this district almost daily during winter and are much persecuted owing to their depredations in trout streams. (C.R.M.P.)

One fishing in Shearwater in March (C.R.), and two there in November and on December 16th. (M.B.).

**GREAT CRESTED GREBE.** *Podiceps c. cristatus* (L.).

Eleven pairs at Coate, April 13th. (C.R., R.G.B.). Some young successfully reared there. (M.C.). Three pairs at Shearwater, February, and later nested. (E.R.B., C.R.). Twelve birds there in June (R.V.). Only one pair with two young to be seen in August. (E.R.B.). One pair at Corsham, four at Braydon, none seen at Stourton. (C.R.). Seen at Fonthill, June 2nd, no evidence of nesting. (C.M.R.P.). One bird at Bowood, April 3rd, later none seen (G.W.C. and St. M.).

[**GREAT NORTHERN DIVER.** *Colymbus immer* Brunn.]

The keeper at Coate reported one about March 5th. (M.C.).

**STOCK-DOVE.** *Columba cenas* L.

Sitting on three eggs, November 17th. (C.M.R.P.).

**COMMON CURLEW.** *Numenius a. arquata* (L.).

A number flying round and alighting in a meadow between Potterne and Urchfont, March 29th. (A.J.W.). Heard flying over Chippenham at night, April 7th. (C.R.). Two pairs known to have nested S. Wilts this year. (C.M.R.P.), and report of nesting in mid-Wilts. (D.S.).

**WOODCOCK.** *Scolopax rusticola* L.

Flushed on many occasions throughout March and April near Clarendon, and several nests found. Five birds seen April 6th. (C.M.R.P.). Were again more common than usual in Marlborough district. (M.C.). Two in Biss Wood in October. (E.R.B.).

**COMMON SANDPIPER.** *Actitis hypoleucos* (L.).

Five perched together on a branch by Shearwater, July 2nd. (R.V.).

**GREEN SANDPIPER.** *Tringa ochropus* L.

Three feeding by the Pits, Britford, January 3rd, and by Avon, February 16th. Seen off and on throughout autumn and winter. (C.M.R.P.).

REDSHANK. *Tringa totanus britannica* Math.

Feeding by floodwater by Salisbury Avon, March 6th. (C.M.R.P.). Piping among reeds at Coate, April 23rd. A pair by Kennet at Fyfield, May 2nd. At least five in one meadow near Stitchcombe, May 30th. (R.G.B.).

GOLDEN PLOVER. *Pluvialis apricaria* (L.).

A flock of 60 flying over Devizes. (C.H.). Seven with Lapwing near Warminster, January 4th. (M.B.): Seen in many places, as many as 30 at one time. (M.C.).

STONE-CURLEW. *Burhinus æ. cædicnemus* (L.).

Reported from several localities between March 24th (W.M.C.), and August 21. (M.B.). Three pairs seen together at dawn, April 8th. (W.M.C.). Slight increase, but many nests on arable are destroyed by harrowing, rolling, etc. (C.M.R.P.).

LITTLE BUSTARD. *Otis tetrax* L.

This bird was first seen feeding in a clover field on the evening of July 16th, by Mr. E. G. Parsons and Squadron-Leader Scotter. It was seen again by the former on July 18th, and a small party assembled that evening hoping to see it, consisting of Mr. Parsons, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Peall, Mr. G. W. Collett and Mrs. Barnes. The bird was approached by car, of which it showed little fear, and thus the observers were able to watch it at a distance not exceeding ten yards. It was an adult male of which the black and white gorgets, the sandy mantle and white underparts were clearly noted. The head was brown with light eye-stripe and the iris pale yellow. After a few minutes the bird rose from the clover and flew some 80 yards. When flying, a large amount of white was shown on the wings, under the tail and on the underparts. The wing beats were rapid, and in gliding down the wings were bowed like those of a grouse. When again flushed, it flew into an adjoining field of potatoes. It was seen again on July 21st by Mr. R. Brown and remained in the neighbourhood until the second week in September. As stated in the *Handbook of British Birds* the races cannot be separated in the field, so it is idle to speculate whether this bird belonged to the Eastern or Western form. In either case the dates are unusual, the dates hitherto recorded for the country as a whole are most frequently from October to January.

The Little Bustard's past history in Wiltshire appears to be as follows: 1877, August 6th. A pair seen near Netheravon.

*The Birds of Wiltshire*, p. 364. Rev. A. C. Smith.

1897, September 27th. One near Over Wallop (Hants Border).

„ November. Presumably the same bird.

1905 or 1906. One shot at Chilmark.

1909, April 26th. One shot at Avebury.

All these from Hony's List in *W.A.M.*, xxxix, 12.

BLACK TERN. *Chlidonias n. niger* (L.).

One seen at Wilton Water, May 5th. (M.C.).

CORNCRAKE. *Crex crex* (L.).

Reported nesting near Draycot Cerne. (C.R.). Flushed from cornfield near Wishford at the end of September, but it is many years since their call was heard there in summer. (E.G.P.).

WATER-RAIL. *Rallus a. aquaticus* L.

Several seen at Britford Pits, January 6th. (C.M.R.P.). Comparatively common by the Wylve. (E.G.P.).

RED-LEGGED PARTRIDGE. *Alectoris r. rufa* (L.).

Nest with 12 eggs near Chippenham, May 29th. (E.J.C.). Seen on at least three occasions in Marlborough district. (M.C.).

QUAIL. *Coturnix c. coturnix* (L.).

For two days, May 24th—25th, in a field at Farley. (W.M.C.).

Scientific nomenclature follows the *Handbook of British Birds*.

## ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF MIGRANTS, 1946.

## ARRIVAL.

## REDSHANK.

March 6th, Salisbury, C.M.R.P.  
April 13th, Coate, C.R.

## CHIFF-CHAFF.

March 8th, Chippenham, C.R.  
March 19th, Deweys Water, D.S.  
March 25th, Warminster, M.B.  
March 26th, Farley, W.M.C.  
March 26th, Marlborough, M.C.  
March 26th, Seagry, R.G.B.  
March 26th, Clarendon,  
C.M.R.P.

March 27th, Oare, D.P.  
March 30th, Calne, St. M.

## STONE-CURLEW.

March 24th, Winterslow,  
W.M.C.

## WILLOW-WARBLER.

March 26th, Farley, W.M.C.  
March 26th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
March 31st, Calne, St. M.  
April 1st, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
April 2nd, Chippenham, C.R.  
April 2nd, Savernake, D.P.  
April 6th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
April 11th, Marlborough, M.C.  
April 12th, Trowbridge, E.R.B.

## WHEATEAR.

March 26th, Marlborough, M.C.  
March 28th, Farley, W.M.C.  
April 1st, Ramscliff, D.S.

## SWALLOW.

March 28th, Codford, M.B.  
March 30th, Biddestone,  
G.W.C., C.R.  
April 4th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
April 6th, Norton, J.W.  
April 7th, Oare, D.P.  
April 10th, Marlborough, M.C.  
April 10th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.

## SAND-MARTIN.

March 31st, Farley, W.M.C.  
April 5th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
April 18th, Coate, C.R.  
April 19th, Marlborough, M.C.

## COMMON SANDPIPER.

April 1st, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
April 23rd, Fyfield, C.R., R.G.B.  
May 2nd, Marlborough, M.C.

## CUCKOO.

April 5th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
April 9th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
April 13th, Oare, D.P.  
April 14th, Brokenboro', R.G.B.

- April 14th, Worton, M.E.N.  
 April 14th, Langley Burrell, E.J.C.  
 April 15th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 April 15th, Allington, C.R.  
 April 17th, Marlborough, M.C.
- HOUSE-MARTIN.  
 April 6th, Chippenham, C.R.  
 April 26th, Poulshot, R.G.B.  
 May 3rd, Calne, C.C.B.  
 May 4th, W. Lavington, D.S.
- WOOD-WARBLER.  
 April 11th, Spye, C.R.  
 April 14th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 April 15th, Farley, W.M.C.  
 May 5th, Marlborough, M.C.
- YELLOW WAGTAIL.  
 April 11th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
 April 18th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 May 10th, Marlborough, M.C.  
 May 25th, Ramsbury, C.R.
- BLACKCAP.  
 April 13th, Coate, C.R., G.W.C., R.G.B.  
 April 15th, Farley, W.M.C.  
 April 18th, Norton, J.W.  
 May 1st, W. Lavington, D.S.  
 May 3rd, Marlborough, M.C.
- NIGHTINGALE.  
 April 14th, Farley, W.M.C.  
 April 19th, Trowbridge, E.R.B.  
 April 20th, Braydon, C.R.  
 May 1st, Seagry, R.G.B.  
 May 7th, Marlborough, M.C.
- SEDGE-WARBLER.  
 April 15th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
 April 18th, Coate, C.R.  
 April 19th, Christian Malford, R.G.B.  
 April 27th, Poulshot, G.W.C.  
 May 1st, Marlborough, M.C.
- GARDEN-WARBLER.  
 April 15th, Farley, W.M.C.,  
 April 22nd, Kington Langley, C.R.
- April 26th, Poulshot, G.W.C., R.G.B.  
 May 5th, Marlborough, M.C.
- COMMON REDSTART.  
 April 15th, Corsham, C.R.  
 April 26th, Poulshot, G.W.C.  
 April 27th, Savernake, D.P.  
 May 1st, Marlborough, M.C.
- COMMON WHITETHROAT.  
 April 17th, Queensbridge, C.R.  
 April 19th, Seagry, R.G.B.  
 April 20th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 April 28th, Marlborough, M.C.  
 April 30th, W. Lavington, D.S.
- LESSER WHITETHROAT.  
 April 18th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 April 20th, Malmesbury, C.R.  
 April 22nd, Seagry, R.G.B.  
 May 6th, Marlborough, M.C.
- GRASSHOPPER-WARBLER.  
 April 22nd, Manningford, D.P.  
 May 2nd, Marlborough, M.G.
- TREE PIPIT.  
 April 22nd, Manningford, D.P.  
 April 22nd, Marlborough, M.C.  
 April 23rd, Bulford, C.R., G.W.C., R.G.B.
- SWIFT.  
 April 23rd, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
 May 1st, Marlborough, M.C.  
 May 2nd, Calne, St. M.  
 May 3rd, Warminster, M.B.  
 May 3rd, Calne, C.C.B.  
 May 5th, Seagry, R.G.B.  
 May 5th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
 May 8th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 May 8th, Limpley Stoke, E.J.C.
- HOBBY.  
 April 27th, Poulshot, E.H., R.G.B., G.R., G.W.C.  
 May 18th, Seagry, R.G.B.
- TURTLE-DOVE.  
 April 29th, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
 May 5th, Mere, C.R.  
 May 5th, Alton Barnes, D.P.  
 May 6th, Marlborough, M.C.

May 9th, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
**RED-BACKED SHRIKE.**  
 May 4th, Salisbury, C.M.R.P.  
 May 20th, Marlborough, M.C.  
**WHINCHAT.**  
 May 5th, Marlborough, M.C.  
**SPOTTED FLYCATCHER.**  
 May 5th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
 May 10th, Marlborough, M.C.  
 May 20th, Chippenham, C.R.  
 May 21st, Calne, St. M.  
**REED-WARBLER.**  
 May 7th, Marlborough, M.C.  
 May 30th, Coate, C.R.  
**CORNCRAKE.**  
 May 11th, Marlborough, M.C.  
**NIGHTJAR.**  
 May 16th, Marlborough, M.C.  
**REDWING.**  
 October 26th, Warminster, M.B.  
 October 27th, W. Lavington, D.S.

October 28th, Chippenham, E.J.C.  
 November 3rd, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 November 7th, Marlborough, M.C.  
**FIELDFARE.**  
 October 31st, Marlborough, M.C.  
 November 2nd, Chippenham C.R.  
 November 3rd, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
 November 3rd, W. Lavington, D.S.  
 November 6th, Seagry, R.G.B.  
 December 11th, Calne, St. M.  
**BRAMBLING.**  
 November 20th, Marlborough, M.C.

DEPARTURE.

**REDWING.**  
 March 10th, Warminster, M.B.  
 March 4th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
 March 3rd, Seagry, R.G.B.  
**FIELDFARE.**  
 April 20th, Malmesbury, C.R.  
 March 27th, W. Lavington, D.S.  
 March 24th, Norton, J.W.  
 March 20th, Seagry, R.G.B.  
 March 10th, Warminster, M.B.  
 March 10th, King's Play Hill, St. M.  
**SPOTTED FLYCATCHER.**  
 July 23rd, W. Lavington, D.S.  
**YELLOW WAGTAIL.**  
 August 10th, Chippenham, C.R.  
**SWIFT.**  
 August 29th, Trowbridge, E.R.B.  
 August 10th, Marlborough, M.C.  
 August 7th, Warminster, M.B.

**WILLOW-WARBLER.**  
 September 7th, Chippenham, E.J.C.  
**COMMON WHITETHROAT.**  
 September 8th, Chippenham, E.J.C.  
**CHIFF-CHAFF.**  
 September 21st, Clarendon, C.M.R.P.  
 September 17th, Chippenham, E.J.C.  
**COMMON SANDPIPER.**  
 September 28th, Wishford, R.G.B.  
 September 1st, Chippenham, G.W.C.  
**SAND-MARTIN.**  
 October 3rd, Marlborough, M.C.  
**WHEATEAR.**  
 October 4th, W. Lavington, D.S.

## HOUSE-MARTIN.

October 29th, Marlborough, M.C.

October 24th, W. Lavington,  
D.S.

October 20th, Warminster, M.B.

October 8th, Chippenham,  
G.W.C.September 26th, Chippenham,  
E.J.C.

## SWALLOW.

November 10th, Chippenham,  
C.R.

October 24th, Marlborough, M.C.

October 16th, Warminster, M.B.

October 4th, W. Lavington, D.S.

## WILTSHIRE PLANT NOTES—[8].

By J. DONALD GROSE.

The dry, sunny April and early May of 1946 was followed by a cold, rainy period lasting until the end of June. In early July, there was a profusion of downland orchids. Hundreds, or even thousands, could be counted on some hills where, in normal seasons, they are few or absent. In particular, the Frog, the Spotted and the Fragrant Orchids were abundant, while even the Burnt Orchis was quite common. The Marsh Orchids of the water-meadows, however, did not appear to be in any greater quantity.

There was very little good weather in July and August, and the temperature was for the most part below normal. The rainy season produced a number of abnormalities, particularly in the sedges, plantains and clovers, and references to such forms will be found scattered through the List. The two Fluellens were again frequent, and White Melilot appears to be gaining ground.

Perhaps the best discovery of the year was the hybrid between the Frog Orchis and a Spotted Orchis found on Bishopstone Downs by Mrs. Shepherd. A second specimen was later found by Mrs. Grose on the Wansdyke near Horton Down.

I am glad to be able to include in the List for the first time a number of records by Dauntsey's School Natural History Society, mostly on the authority of Mr. Coulson and Mr. Marsden-Jones. Some of these records are several years old; all other notices refer to 1946 unless the contrary is stated.

Intending contributors are asked to note that new county records cannot be included in these lists unless confirmed by specimens. Voucher specimens should also be sent of all critical plants, and these will be submitted to the appropriate referees. Records received year by year include some which have already been published. I am glad to have this up-to-date information, but it is not advisable to print such details again unless there are points of special interest.

Abbreviations used are :

A.H.R.	Mr. A. H. Ridout, Swindon.
B.W.	Mrs. Welch, Richmond.
B.W.H.C.	Mr. B. W. H. Coulson, Dauntsey's School N.H.S.
C.D.H.	Mr. C. D. Heginbotham, Devizes.
C.R.C.	Lt.-Col. C. R. Congreve, Salisbury.
D.E.H.	Miss Harvie, Westwood.
D.M.F.	Miss Frowde, Colerne.
E.C.W.	Mr. E. C. Wallace, Sutton, Surrey.
E.M.M.-J.	Mr. E. M. Marsden-Jones, Littleton Pannell.



F.M.B.	. . . . .	Miss Barton, Bath.
G.G.	. . . . .	Mr. Geoffrey Grigson, Broad Town.
G.H.	. . . . .	Mr. G. Hazzard, Winterslow.
G.W.C.	. . . . .	Mr. G. W. Collett, Chippenham.
J.D.G.	. . . . .	Mr. J. D. Grose, Swindon.
J.H.H.	. . . . .	Mr. J. H. Halliday, Marlborough College N.H.S.
M.B.Y-B.	. . . . .	Mrs. Yeatman-Biggs, Stockton.
M.C.F.	. . . . .	Miss Foster, Aldbourne.
M.E.L.	. . . . .	Miss Long, Castle Eaton.
M. le F.S.	. . . . .	Mrs. Shepherd, Lydiard Millicent.
N.H.S.	. . . . .	Natural History Section Excursion.
N.P.	. . . . .	Mr. N. Peskett, Swindon.
R.B.	. . . . .	Mrs. Barnes, Seagry.
R.Q.	. . . . .	The Rev. Canon R. Quirk, Salisbury.
†	. . . . .	Indicates that a plant is not native.
det.	. . . . .	Indicates that a specimen has been identified by the authority named.

(A few contributors of single records are named in full.)

*Myosurus minimus* L. 1, Dauntsey's School, Lavington, B.W.H.C. The Mouse-tail occurred as a weed here before the Order Beds had been planted.

*Ranunculus bulbosus* L. Pale-flowered form. 4, Whitefield Hill.

*R. Flammula* L. var. *tenuifolius* Wallr. 1, Potterne, E.M.M-J.

*R. fluitans* Lam. 8, River Wylde near Hanging Langford, det. R. W. Butcher.

*R. circinatus* Sibth. 1, Bradford-on-Avon, N.H.S. Avoncliff, N.H.S. 3, Sadler's Water, Rodbourne Cheney, A.H.R.

*R. trichophyllus* Chaix. A large-flowered form. 1, Midway Manor, Westwood, det. R. W. Butcher.

*R. hederaceus* L. 11, Near St. Peter's Pump, Stourton.

*R. Ficaria* L. var. *bulbifera* Marsden-Jones. 3, Hodson. 7, Wilcot.

*Aquilegia vulgaris* L. 4, Wood between Bagshot and Burridge Heath.

*Papaver Rhoeas* L. White-flowered form. 3, Broome, Swindon, A. Whiting.

*P. Argemone* L. 4, Avebury Down. 8, Grovely Castle.

*Arabis hirsuta* (L.) Scop. 1, West Yatton Down. 4, Avebury. Rivar Hill.

† *Hesperis matronalis* L. 1, Roadside near Potterne, B.W.H.C. 4, Ogbourne St. George, A.H.R. 9, Great Ridge Wood.

† *Sisymbrium altissimum* L. 2, Quarry, Moor Green, Corsham.

† *S. orientale* L. 2, Quarry, Moor Green, Corsham. 3, Wroughton.

*Arabidopsis Thaliana* (L.) Heynh. (*Sisymbrium Thalianum*). 1, Littleton Pannell, E.M.M-J. 3, Okus, Swindon; N.P. Chedglow. Hannington Station,

† *Diplotaxis muralis* (L.) DC. 3, Rodburne Cheney, A.H.R., N.P. and J.D.G. 4, Marlborough Station, J.H.H.

† *D. muralis* (L.) DC. var. *caulescens* Kittel. 2, Moor Green, Corsham.

† *Carara didyma* (L.) Britton. 1, Clyffe Hall, Lavington, B.W.H.C. The Park, Trowbridge. 3, Rodbourne Cheney, A.H.R. 4, Marlborough Common, J.H.H.

† *Lepidium Draba* L. 1, Trowbridge. 2, Chippenham, G.W.C. Little Somerford. 3, Rodbourne Cheney, A.H.R. 5, West Winterslow, G.H.

*L. campestre* (L.) R.Br. 1, Market Lavington, B.W.H.C. 2, Near Park Farm, Garsdon. 3, Near Braydon Manor, M. le F.S. and J.D.G.

† *L. sativum* L. 1, Colerne, D.M.F. Canal-Bank, Avoncliff, N.H.S. 4, Foxbury Wood, J.H.H. 7, The Butts, Salisbury, C.R.C.

*Thlaspi perfoliatum* L. 3, Near Stanton Fitzwarren. This is the second known locality in Wiltshire.

*Helianthemum nummularium* (L.) Mill. Pale yellow form. 7, Round Down, Everleigh.

*Viola palustris* L. 2, Spye Park, R.B. and G.W.C. Mr. Heginbothom suggests that Meredith's original locality of 1860 for the Marsh Violet was near Westbrook Mill, north of the Sandridge Road. My 1945 station was in the extreme north of Spye Park, while this new find is at the Chittoe end of the Park.

*V. segetalis* Jord. 8, South Down, Kingston Deverill, det. H. Drabble.

*V. ruralis* Boreau. 1, Patcombe Hill, det. H. Drabble.

*Polygala serpyllacea* Weihe. 3, Lydiard Plain, M. le F.S., 1939, det. A. J. Wilmott. 8, Eastleigh Wood, det. A. J. Wilmott. This species is probably far less common in Wiltshire than our other Milkworts.

*Silene noctiflora* L. 1, Lavington, B.W.H.C. 2, Near Stanton Park.

*Lychnis Flos-cuculi* L. Double-flowered form. 2, Near Norbin Farm, South Wraxall, A.H.R. and N.P.

*L. Flos-cuculi* L. White-flowered form. 4, Chilton Foliat, Mrs. G. M. Brown.

*L. Githago* (L.) Scop. 1, Lavington, B.W.H.C. 3, Hodson, R. W. Walling. 7, Redhorn Hill. 8, Lavington Down. 10, Middle Down, Alvediston.

*Cerastium semidecandrum* L. 3, Okus, Swindon. The Small Mouse-eared Chickweed is a rare plant in the county. Unfortunately it is doomed at Okus by the housing programme.

*Minuartia tenuifolia* (L.) Hiern. 6, Hampshire Gap, Newton Tony.

*Sagina apetala* L. 9, Tilman's Dean, Grovely.

*S. nodosa* (L.) Fenzl. 3 and 4, Bishopstone Downs, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 6, Everleigh Ashes.

*Montia verna* Neck. 9, Near East End Farm, Gutch Common.

*Hypericum Androsaemum* L. 1, Vagg's Hill.

*Malva moschata* L. White-flowered form. 6, Near Figsbury Rings.

† *M. neglecta* Wallr. (*M. rotundifolia*). 1, Dauntsey's School Farm, Lavington, E.M.M.-J. 3, Mill Lane, Okus, Swindon. 8, Wyllye.

*Geranium pratense* L. White-flowered form. 4, Near Boreham Wood, R. L. Davis.

*G. dissectum* L. White-flowered form. 5, West Winterslow, G.H.

*G. rotundifolium* L. 8, Near The Bustard, Shrewton.

*G. pusillum* Burm. fil. 1, Dewey's Water, G. H. Wiltshire.

*G. Robertianum* L. White-flowered form. 3, Near Braydon Pond.

† *Impatiens capensis* Meerb. 1, River-bank near Vagg's Hill.

† *I. glandulifera* Royle. 4, Little Frith.

*Rhamnus Frangula* L. 1, Black Dog Woods.

*Genista tinctoria* L. 7, Smithen Down, E.M.M.-J. An uncommon plant on the downs, but frequent in some parts of north-west Wilts.

*Ulex Gallii* Planch. 2, Chippenham Golf-course, A.H.R., 1941.

*Ononis spinosa* L. White-flowered form. 4, Avebury Down.

† *Medicago apiculata* Willd. A form in which the spines are reduced to obtuse tubercles; it may be var. *confinis* Koch. 2, Near Norbin Farm, South Wraxall, A.H.R. and N.P. Not previously recorded for North Wilts.

*M. arabica* (L.) All. 2, Seend Cleeve.

† *Melilotus albus* Medik. 3, Wroughton Hill, N.P. and J.D.G. 4, Froxfield. Bishops Cannings Down. 6, Near Hampshire Gap, Newton Tony. Beacon Hill, Bulford. 7, Rushall Down. Apparently an increasing species.

*Trifolium medium* L. 1, Kington Down. 2, Near Avon. 3, Gospel Oak Farm, Braydon, N.P. Rodbourne Cheney, A.H.R., N.P. and J.D.G. Near Braydon Manor, M. le F.S. and J.D.G. 7, Everleigh Ashes.

*T. pratense* L. A remarkable form with simple, not trifoliate, leaves. 3, Old Swindon, N.P.

*T. pratense* L. White-flowered form. 4, Whitefield Hill.

*T. filiforme* L. 4, London Ride. Rivar Hill.

*Lotus tenuis* Waldst. and Kit. 6, Near Beacon Hill, Bulford.

*Astragalus glycyphyllos* L. 1, Potterne, E.M.M.-J.

*Hippocrepis comosa* L. Cream-flowered form. 4, Morgan's Hill, A.H.R. and N.P.

*Vicia sylvatica* L. 1, Between Lavington and Patney, E.M.M.-J.

† *V. lutea* L. 4, A large, well-established colony on the site of the American airfield at Rudge, Froxfield. 5, Roadside near Pitton, G.H., det. Kew. Mr. Hazzard's record of the Yellow Vetch is the first certain one for South Wilts.

*Lathyrus sylvestris* L. 1, Three Graves, Lavington, J. G. Manners.

*L. Aphaca* L. 3, Near Bishopstone, N.P.

† *Prunus domestica* L. 8, Rushall Down.

x *Geum intermedium* Ehrh. 1, Viaduct Field, Lavington, E.M.M.-J. Dewey's Water, E.M.M.-J.

*Fragaria vesca* L. A form with the petals tri-lobed. 9, Donhead St. Mary.

*Agrimonia odorata* Mill. 1, Potterne, E.M.M.-J, Greenlands Wood. 4, Bagshot. Stype Wood.

*Rosa*. I am grateful for the help of Dr. R. Melville (R.M.) and Mr. N. Y. Sandwith (N.Y.S.) of Kew with this difficult section. Mr. Sandwith wishes it to be understood that his identifications are "sensu Wolley-Dod, 1931 Revision".

*R. arvensis* Huds. var. *ovata* (Lej.) Desv. 2, Somerford Common, 1941, det. N.Y.S.

*R. arvensis* Huds. var. *laevipes* Greml. 1, Potterne, E.M.M.-J and W. B. Turrill, 1929.

*R. stylosa* Desv. var. *systyla* (Bast.) Baker. 2, Seend Cleeve, det. R.M.

*R. canina* L. var. *sphaerica* (Gren.) Dum. 3, North Wroughton det. R.M.

*R. canina* L. var. *senticosa* (Ach.) Baker. 3, Coate Water, 1942, det. N.Y.S.

*R. canina* L. var. *spuria* (Pug.) W-Dod. 2, Somerford Common, 1941. Witcomb Bridge, 1942. 3, Coate Water, 1942. 8, Sherrington, 1941. All det. N.Y.S.

*R. canina* L. var. *globularis* (Franch.) Dum. 4, Pumphrey Wood, det. R.M.

*R. canina* L. var. *ramosissima* Rau. 2, Seend Cleeve, det. R.M.

*R. canina* L. var. *dumalis* (Bechst.) Dum. 2, Braydon Pond, 1942, M. le F.S. 3, Broome, Swindon, 1941. Coate Water, 1942. 4, Whitefield Hill, 1942. All det. N.Y.S.

*R. Afzeliana* Fr. var. *glaucophylla* (Winch) W-Dod. 3, Hodson Wood, 1942, det. N.Y.S. *R. Afzeliana* is rare in the south of England and has not previously been recorded for Wiltshire.

*R. dumetorum* Thuill. var. *typica* W-Dod. 7, Milkhouse Water, det. R.M. 11, Pitt's Farm, Sedgemoor, det. R.M.

*R. tomentosa* Sm. 1, Potterne, E.M.M.-J. & W. B. Turrill, 1929. 2, Bremhill, 1941, det. N.Y.S. Witcomb Bridge, 1942, det. N.Y.S.

*R. tomentosa* Sm. var. *pseudo-cuspidata* (Crep.) Rouy. 10, Fyfield Down, 1941, det. N.Y.S.

*R. Sherardi* Davies. 2, Somerford Common, 1941, det. N.Y.S.

*R. Sherardi* Davies var. *omissa* (Desegl.) W-Dod. 1, Potterne Field, 1929, E.M.M.-J. and W. B. Turrill, det. A. H. Wolley-Dod. 4, Near West Grafton, det. R.M.

*Pyrus Piraster* L. 2, Charlton. 3, Near Braydon Manor, det. R.M.

*Crataegus oxyacanthoides* Thuill. 2, Stanton St., Quintin.

† *Ribes nigrum* L. 2, Kington Langley.

*Sedum Telephium* L. em. Gren. and Godr. 7, Field near Frith Wood.

*S. acre* L. 4, Russley Down, Baydon, M.C.F. Dean Bottom, Rockley. A.H.R. Avebury Down, 5 and 6, Thorny Down. 7, Rushall Down, 8, Stockton Wood. The Biting Stonecrop seems to have become commoner on the downs in recent years; it is probable that this is due to transport of living parts of plants on wheels and tracks of army vehicles rather than to seed dispersal.

*Peplis Portula* L. 1, Sleight Wood, Wingfield. 2, Oak Hill, Seagry N.P. Broughton Common, C.R.C. and J.D.G.

*Epilobium obscurum* Schreb. x *parviflorum* Schreb. 11, Marsh near St. Peter's Pump, Stourton, det. G. M. Ash.

*E. roseum* Schreb. 9, Fovant, det. G. M. Ash.

† *Oenothera Lamarchiana* Ser. 4, St. Martin's, Marlborough, J.H.H.

† *Apium graveolens* L. 1, Stream near Rowde Hill.

*Petroselinum segetum* (L.) Koch. 1, Canal-bank between Widbrook and Staverton, D.M.F. and F.M.B. 6, Allington.

*Oenanthe pimpinelloides* L. 11, Near Lower Mere Park Farm.

*O. fistulosa* L. 1, Between Widbrook and Staverton, D.M.F. and F.M.B. 3, Near Pry Farm, Purton. N.P.

*Caucalis arvensis* Huds. 4, Uffcott. Near Walker's Plantation, Hackpen, N.P. and J.D.G.

† *Sambucus Ebulus* L. 8, Between Chitterne and Codford.

*Galium uliginosum* L. 1, Sleight Wood, Wingfield.

*Sherardia arvensis* L. White flowered form. 7, Border of Porton Firs.

† *Valerianella eriocarpa* Desv. 4, Boreham Down. Not previously recorded for Wiltshire.

*V. rimosa* Bast. 2, Between Biddestone and Weevern, D.M.F. and F.M.B.

*Dipsacus pilosus* L. 1, Potterne Wood, E.M.M.-J. Heath Bridge, Cuckold's Green. 2, Hazeland Hill, G.W.C.

*Succisa pratensis* Moench. White-flowered form. 1, Pomeroy Wood.

*Scabiosa Columbaria* L. Red-flowered form. 4, Horton Down.

*Knautia arvensis* (L.) Coult. White-flowered form. 1, Shire Hill.

† *Erigeron canadensis* L. 2, Moor Green, Corsham. 3, Rodbourne Cheney, A.H.R., N.P. and J.D.G. Wroughton.

*Filago germanica* L. 7, In the short grass of the airfield near Porton Firs.

*Gnaphalium sylvaticum* L. 7, Frith Wood. 8, Eastleigh Wood.

† *Inula Helenium* L. 2, The well-known colony at Calstone Welling-ton has been destroyed by building.

† *Galinsoga parviflora* Cav. 1, Dauntsey's School Farm, Lavington, E.M.M.-J.

† *G. quadriradiata* Ruiz. and Pav. 7, Garden weed, Salisbury, Miss E. Herron, det. A. B. Jackson.

*Chrysanthemum segetum* L. 1, 1, Littleton Pannell, E.M.M.-J. Corn-field below Cheverell Cliff, B. W. Sandilands. 9, Sutton Mandeville.

*Matricaria inodora* L. A form with all the florets ligulate. 3, Kingsdown, Stratton.

† *Doronicum Pardalianches* L. 1, Dauntsey's School Manor Woods, Lavington, B.W.H.C.

† *Senecio sarracenicus* L. 1, Near Stowford Farm, Wingfield, D.E.H. and J.D.G. Corsley.

† *S. squalidus* L. 4, Hackpen, J.H.H. 5, Cathanger Wood. This is the first time I have seen the Oxford Ragwort at any great distance from the railway.

*S. vulgaris* L. var. *radiatus* Koch. 3, North Wroughton, N.P. Fox-bridge, Liddington. 7, Leigh Hill.

*S. integrifolius* (L). Clairv. 4, Cherhill Down, N.P. Horton Down, Barbury. 7, Adam's Grave, Martinsell, A.H.R. and N.P. 8, Near Lavington, B.W.H.C. Near Conygar Barn, Stockton. Yarnbury Castle.

*Carduus crispus* L. White-flowered form. 2, Near Chippenham, 1944, G.W.C. 3, Lower Wanborough.

*C. crispus* L. x *nutans* L. 1, Shire Hill.

*Centaurea Cyanus* L. 1, Near Lavington, B.W.H.C. 4, Beside the Pewsey Road, Marlborough, J.H.H.

*C. Scabiosa* L. White-flowered form. 1, Etchilhampton Hill, C.D.H. 4, Near Harrow Farm, R. L. Davis. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 6, Between Cholderton and Park House.

*Cichorium Intybus* L. 1, Slaughterford, G.W.C. 7, Marden Cowbag.

*Picris Hieracioides* L. 1, Bratton Castle. 2, Quarry near Stanton Park. 11, West Knoyle.

*Tragopogon pratensis* L. var. *grandiflorus* Syme. 3, Railway bank, Swindon.

† *Campanula latifolia* L. 2, Clyffe Pypard, J.H.H.

*Vaccinium Myrtillus* L. 8, Eastleigh Wood.

*Monotropa Hypopitys* L. 1, Castle Combe, D.M.F. 4, Near Manton Racing Stables, J.H.H. 5, Roche Court, G.H. Hare Warren, Winterslow, G.H.

*Primula veris* L. x *polyantha*. 3, Meadow, Lydiard Millicent, M. le F.S., det. E. M. Marsden-Jones. This hybrid between the Cowslip and the garden Polyanthus has only rarely been recorded in Britain.

*Lysimachia vulgaris* L. 2, Little Somerford, A.H.R.

*Anagallis arvensis* L. subsp. *foemina* Schinz and Thellung. 2, Near Draycot Park, det. E. M. Marsden-Jones.

*Centunculus minimus* L. 1, Sleight Wood, Wingfield. Not previously known in Wiltshire except in the extreme south-east of the county.

*Centaureum umbellatum* Gilib. White-flowered form. 10, Wood near Clarendon, C.D.H.

*Gentiana anglica* Pugsl. 1, Near Cheverell Barns, C. B. Smith. 2, Near Devizes Golf-course, E.M.M.-J. 3, Liddington Hill. 4, Cherhill, M. le F.S. 7, Huish Hill, A.H.R. and N.P. 8 and 9, Great Ridge.

*G. anglica* Pugsl. White-flowered form. 8, Stockton Earthworks.

*G. baltica* Murb. 5, West Grimstead, B.W., det. A. J. Wilmott. Not previously recorded for South Wilts.

*Menyanthes trifoliata* L. 8, Water-meadow, Stockton, M.B.Y.-B. Between Bapton and Wylve.

† *Polemonium caeruleum* L. 4, Green Hill, Aldbourne, Mrs. Olive Fraser.

† *Symphytum peregrinum* Ledeb. 9, Near Arundell Farm, Donhead St. Andrew.

† *Borago officinalis* L. 2, Field near Kington Langley Church, G.W.C. 6, Collingbourne, J.H.H.

† *Anchusa sempervirens* L. 2, Seend, E.M.M.-J.

† *Pulmonaria officinalis* L. 2, Little Town, G.G.

† *P. officinalis* L. White-flowered form. 3, Burderop, A.H.R. and N.P.  
*Myosotis collina* Hoffm. 1, Great Cheverell, B.W.H.C. 8, Longdean  
 Bottom. Near Stockton Wood. 9, Near Great Ridge Wood.

*Cuscuta europaëa* L. 1, River-bank, Avoncliff, N.H.S.

*Atropa Bella-donna* L. 2, Cocklebury, Chippenham, G.W.C., R.B.  
 and J.D.G. 6, Wood between Newton Tony and Tower Hill. Miss  
 Barton tells me that the plant was gathered in abundance from this  
 district by herb collectors during the war.

† *Datura Stramonium* L. Sand-pit at Dewey's Water, 1938, B.W.H.C.  
 3, Vicarage garden, Wroughton, 1945, Rev. E. V. Rees.

*Hyoscyamus niger* L. 2, For many years near Bincknoll Farm, up to  
 1944, G.G. 3, Castle Eaton, M.E.L. 5, Roche Court Woods, G.H.

*Verbascum nigrum* L. 8, Tilshead.

† *Mimulus guttatus* DC. 2, Stream near Goatacre, G.G.

*Veronica montana* L. 1, Coxhill Lane, Potterne, E.M.M.-J. 10, Wood  
 near Croucheston Down Barn, Knighton Wood.

*V. persica* Poir. White-flowered form. 2, Wick Hill, Bremhill.

*Rhinanthus calcareus* Wilmott. 1, Bratton Castle. 7, Chirton  
 Maggot. 9, Near Hindon.

*Lathræa Squamaria* L. 4, Stype Wood, C.D.H.

*Mentha rotundifolia* (L.) Huds. 1, Between Slaughterford and  
 Biddestone, confirming Prior's record of 1837, G.W.C.

† *M. alopecuroides* Hull. 1, River-bank, Avoncliff, N.H.S.

† x *M. piperita* L. 1, Clyffe Hall, Lavington, B.W.H.C.

† x *M. gentilis* L. 6, Allington. The third locality in this district.

† x *M. rubra* Sm. 4, Chilton Foliat, M.C.F.

*Scutellaria minor* Huds. 1, Slight Wood, Wingfield. Black Dog  
 Woods.

*Stachys arvensis* L. 2, Park Farm, Garsdon. Between Draycot Park  
 and Clanville.

*Lamium hybridum* Vill. 7, Near Stanton Dairy.

*Plantago lanceolata* L. A monstrous form with a dense compound  
 inflorescence. 8, Sutton Veny, Lt. N. Rankin, comm. R.Q.

*Chenopodium polyspermum* L. 2, Park Farm, Garsdon.

*Atriplex hastata* L. var. *deltoidea* (Bab.) Moq. 1, Roundway Park.  
 Seend Cleeve. 11, White Hill.

*Polygonum Bistorta* L. 2, Prickmoor Wood, G.W.C. and R.B. 4,  
 Rectory garden, Marlborough, E.M.M.-J. Between Stype and Oak Hill,  
 C.D.H. 8, Between Wylve and Bapton. 9, Teffont Magna. Between  
 Semley Common and Billhay Farm.

*P. nodosum* Pers. 3, North Wroughton.

*P. Hydropiper* L. var. *densiflorum* A. Br. 1, Dewey's Water, det.  
 J. E. Lousley.

*Rumex crispus* L. x *obtusifolius* L. 4, Near Walker's Plantation,  
 Hackpen, N.P. and J.D.G., det. J. E. Lousley. This hybrid Dock will  
 probably prove to be frequent, but it has rarely been recorded for the  
 county.

- Viscum album* L. 1, On lime between Southwick and Rudge.
- Ulmus glabra* Huds. x *Plotii* Druce. 4, Near Foxbury Wood, Crooked Soley, det. R.M. West Overton, det. R.M.
- Salix alba* L. x *fragilis* L. ♂ 3, Croft Road, Swindon, det. R.M.
- S. purpurea* L. 3, Blackburr Bridge, Castle Eaton.
- S. atrocinerea* Brot. x *aurita* L. 1, Near Bradford-on-Avon, D.E.H. and J.D.G., det. R.M. The hybrid hermaphrodite willow gathered in 1945 at or near the same place by Miss Harvie (*W.A.M.* li, 118) was probably this combination.
- Neottia Nidus-avis* (L.) Rich. 1, Erlestoke Woods, B.W.H.C., confirming Knipe's record of 1888. 4, Foxbury Wood, Stype, J.H.H. 8, Stockton Wood.
- Spiranthes autumnalis* Rich. 1, Near Rooktrees, Lavington, B.W.H.C
- Epipactis purpurata* Sm. 1, Cuckoo's Corner, Urchfont. 4, Cobham Frith.
- Orchis ustulata* L. 4, Horton Down, Russley Down, Baydon, M.C.F. 7, Barley Hill, Upavon, Mrs. I. E. Ainley-Walker. 8, Stockton Earthworks. Yarnbury Castle. The Burnt Orchis was unusually abundant in 1946, and a specimen seen by N.P. at the Cherhill Down locality reached the height of 30 cm.
- Orchis pardalina* Pugsl. (*O. latifolia* auct. angl. non L.) 4, Whitton-ditch, N.P. det. H. W. Pugsley. A highly critical plant bearing a strong resemblance to the hybrid *O. Fuschii* x *O. praetermissa*; it has not previously been recorded for North Wilts.
- O. latifolia* L. sec. Pugsl. (*O. incarnata* auct. angl. non L.) 1, Dewey's Water, B.W.H.C. 2, Near Avon. 4, Oak Hill, M. le F.S. and J.D. G.
- O. praetermissa* Druce. 1, Near Stowford Farm, Wingfield, det. H. W. Pugsley. Dewey's Water, B.W.H.C. 8, Stockton, M.B.Y-B. Between Bapton and Wylve.
- O. ericetorum* (Linton) E. S. Marshall. 3, Webb's Wood, N.P. Near Braydon Manor, M. le F.S. and J.D.G., det. H. W. Pugsley.
- O. ericetorum* (Linton) E. S. Marshall x *O. Fuschii* Druce. 3, Near Braydon Manor, M. le F.S. and J.D.G., det. H. W. Pugsley.
- Ophrys apifera* Huds. 1, Cheverell Barns, J. H. Wood. Ford, G.W.C. Shire Hill. 1 and 2, Kingsdown. 2, Morgan's Hill, A.H.R. and N.P. 4, Russley Down, Baydon, M.C.F. Horton Down. 7, Garden lawn, Salisbury, R.Q. Walker's Hill, A.H.R. and N.P. Easton Hill. 8, Stockton Down, M.B.Y-B. 9, Fovant Down, abundant, B.W.
- O. muscifera* Huds. 1, Erlestoke Woods, B.W.H.C., confirming Knipe's record of 1888. Combe Wood, Slaughterford, D.M.F. 2, Near Devizes Golf Course, E.M.M-J.
- Herminium Monorchis* (L.) Br. 1, West Yatton Down, on limestone. 4, Rivar Hill. 9, Foot of down facing Fovant, a distinct locality from the better-known one on Fovant Down, B.W.
- Gymnadenia conopsea* (L.) R.Br. White-flowered form. 1, West Yatton Down. 2, Morgan's Hill, A.H.R. and N.P. 8, Stockton Down, M.B.Y-B.



*Coeloglossum viride* (L.) Hartm. The Frog Orchis was remarkably plentiful in 1946 and was reported from many new localities on the downs. The following localities are not on the chalk and deserve special mention. 2, Kington Langley, C. Rice. 3, Castle Eaton, M.E.L.

*C. viride* (L.) Hartm. x *Orchis Fuchsii* Druce. 3, Bishopstone Downs, M. le F.S. The fresh specimen was seen by Mr. Pugsley and the naming is on his authority, but Canon Quirk points out that certain characters might well be considered as being derived from a Marsh Orchis. 4, Horton Down, Mrs. J. D. Grose. This second *Orchicoeloglossum* found a few days later had a more deeply-lobed labellum with even stronger markings. Mr. A. J. Wilmott has kindly examined the dried specimen and reports that the naming seems the most obvious interpretation. Full descriptions of these hybrids will be given in the next *B.E.C. Report*.

*Platanthera chlorantha* (Cust.) Reichb. 3, Fresden, Highworth. 8, Longdean Bottom. 9, Teffont, M.B.Y-B. confirming Roger's record of 1888.

*Iris foetidissima* L. 1, Manor Woods, Market Lavington, E.M.M-J. 4, Foxbury Wood, Chilton Foliat.

*Convallaria majalis* L. 1, Dauntsey's School Manor Woods, J. H. Wood. 9, Great Ridge Wood, M.B.Y-B.

*Colchicum autumnale* L. 1, Field below Roundway Down, E.M.M-J. 2, Dunley Wood, Grittleton, R.B. Upper Swinley Farm, Stanton St. Quintin, A.H.R. and N.P. 6, Everleigh Ashes, C.D.H.

*Juncus conglomeratus* L. var. *laxus* A. and G. 11, Stourton Wood, 1938, det. R. D. Tweed and N., Woodhead. This rare form has not previously been recorded for Wiltshire.

*J. bulbosus* L. 1, Black Dog Woods.

*Typha angustifolia* L. x *T. latifolia* L. 5, Clarendon Lake, C.D.H. This remarkable hybrid between the two species of Reed-mace was first found in 1944 by Mr. Heginbotham and recorded in *Plant Notes* (6) as *T. angustifolia* which species it more nearly resembles. In most plants the female part of the spadix is poorly developed and tapers from a broad base upwards. A full discussion of the characters by T. G. Tutin and J. E. Lousley appears in the *B.E.C. 1945 Report*.

*Lemna polyrrhiza* L. 1, Avoncliff, N.H.S. 3, Sadler's Water, Rodbourne Cheney, A.H.R., N.P. and J.D.G. 5, Pond near Down Barn, Fosbury.

*Alisma lanceolatum* With. 1, Canal, Seend Cleeve.

*Butomus umbellatus* L. 3, Canal near Castle Eaton, M.E.L. .

*Triglochin palustris* L. 2, Seend Cleeve.

*Potamogeton alpinus* Balb. 2, River Avon between Sutton Benger and Avon, 1939, det. J. E. Dandy and G. Taylor.

*P. Friesii* Rupr. 7, Canal, Horton, det. J. E. Dandy and G. Taylor.

*P. Berchtoldii* Fieb. 2, Pond, Dollaker's Green, det. J. E. Dandy and G. Taylor.

*P. pusillus* L. 7, Canal, Horton, det. J. E. Dandy and G. Taylor.

*P. densus* L. 1, Canal, Avoncliff, N.H.S.

- Zannichellia palustris* L. 9, Wincombe Park.
- Scirpus Tabernaemontani* C. C. Gmel. 7, Pond on Clifford's Hill.
- S. sylvaticus* L. 1, Clyffe Hall, Lavington, N. Rea.
- Eriophorum angustifolium* Roth. 11, Near Pitt's Farm, Sedgemoor.
- Carex Pseudo-Cyperus* L. 3, Near Drill Farm, Braydon, N.P.
- C. riparia* Curtis. A form with no ♂ spikelet and only one ♀ spikelet. 9, West Harnham, C.R.C.
- C. riparia* Curtis. A form with densely-compound ♀ spikelets. 2, Near Langley Burrell.
- C. pilulifera* L. 9, Great Ridge Wood.
- Carex Goodenowii* Gay. 8, Between Bapton and Wylke.
- x *C. axillaris* Good. 1, Near Midway Manor, Westwood.
- C. vulpina* L. A specimen of this species collected in Wiltshire by Alexander Prior, probably about a hundred years ago, has been discovered by Mr. E. Nelmes in the Kew Herbarium. No locality is given on the label, but the plant is likely to have been gathered near Corsham or Chippenham. The specimen is the oldest one known for Britain. Our common "Fox Sedge" is now referred to *C. Otrubae* Podp.
- C. polyphylla* Kar. and Kit. 6, Roadside near St. Thomas' Bridge, det. E. Nelmes. New for South Wilts.
- C. pulicaris* L. 9, Near Great Ridge Wood.
- † *Echinochloa crus-galli* (L.) Beauv. 1, Dauntsey's School Farm, Lavington, E.M.M.-J.
- \* *Milium effusum* L. 2, Near Norbin Barton. Ennix Wood. 5, Winterslow, G.H. 8, Stockton Wood.
- Calamagrostis epigejos* (L.) Roth. 11, West Knoyle.
- Deschampsia flexuosa* (L.) Trin. 4, London Ride. 11, Stonedown Wood.
- Sieglingia decumbens* (L.) Bernh. 4, Whitefield Hill.
- Catabrosa aquatica* (L.) Beauv. 6, Winterbourne Dauntsey.
- Poa compressa* L. 2, Corsham, det. C. E. Hubbard.
- Glyceria declinata* Bréb. 4, Baydon, det. C. E. Hubbard. 9, Semley, det. C. E. Hubbard.
- Vulpia myuros* (L.) Gmel. 3, Kingsdown, Stratton, det. C. E. Hubbard.
- Festuca ovina* L. var. *firmula* Hack. 1, Lavington, det. W. O. Howarth.
- F. elatior* L. subsp. *arundinacea* (Schreb.) Hack. 1, Trowle Common. 2, Pound Hill, Corsham. 3, Wroughton Hill. All det. W. O. Howarth.
- Bromus Thominii* Hard. 4, Allington Down, det. C. E. Hubbard. New for Wilts.
- B. lepidus* Holmb. 1, West Lavington, B.W.H.C. 4, Allington Down, det. C. E. Hubbard. 7, Etchilhampton Hill, E.C.W. and J.D.G., det. C. E. Hubbard. 9, Middle Down, Alvediston, det. C. E. Hubbard.
- Lolium multiflorum* Lam. x *perenne* L. 3, North Wroughton, det. C. E. Hubbard. Mr. Hubbard tells me that we may expect this hybrid to become increasingly frequent.

*Brachypodium pinnatum* (L.) Beauv. 1, Castle Combe, D.M.F. This aggressive grass is still scarce on the limestone, but on some of our chalk downs its rapid spread in recent years bids fair to become a serious menace. It is worthless for grazing purposes and hence is often burned by shepherds. This treatment sometimes produces the reverse of the required effect, for, unless the operations are strictly confined to the False-brome colonies, the more palatable surrounding grasses are destroyed, their place being rapidly usurped by the hardier False-brome.

*Equisetum palustre* L. var. *polystachyum* Weig 4, Near Oakhill.

*Athyrium Filix-foemina* (L.) Roth. 1, Black Dog Woods. 8, Eastleigh Wood. 9, Near Donhead Hall. Wincombe Park.

*A. Filix-foemina* (L.) Roth. var. *convexum* Newm. 8, Eastleigh Wood. This form is induced by greater light intensity.

*Dryopteris spinulosa* (Muell) O. Kuntze. 8, Great Ridge Wood.

*Cetarach officinarum* DC. var. *crenatum* Milde. 1, Rudge.

*Ophioglossum vulgatum* L. 1, Steeple Ashton. 3, Near Braydon Green Farm, M. le F.S. Castle Eaton, M.E.L. 4, Ogbourne St. Andrew, M.E.L. 7, Near Cuckoo's Knob, W. E. Wright. 8, Near Lavington, B.W.H.C.

† *Azolla Filiculoides* Lam. 7, Near Milkhouse Water. Near Stanton St. Bernard. This species was far less abundant in 1946 than in some recent years.

## WILTSHIRE PLACE - AND FIELD-NAMES, I.

A letter to the Editor from Mr. E. H. L. Poole of Martin, a village which belonged to our county till 1895:

“To the student of local history and topography, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* must always be the principal book of reference. Many, who like myself find an interest in field names and parochial records, might be able to contribute some additions and an occasional correction to this work.

“The Wiltshire Archæological Magazine is the obvious repository for information of this kind. I suggest that you open a page or two in the Magazine for this purpose. As an example of the kind of thing I have in mind, I enclose notes on a few place-names at Broad Chalke and Martin.”

The Editor promptly places a couple of pages at Mr. Poole's disposal. He even heads this section with a hopeful I. Corrections and additions to *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* have appeared in succeeding volumes of the Survey, but no volume has issued from the press since 1943. There is much more to add, and *W.A.M.* will be glad to cooperate in the manner here suggested, attaching only the condition that the relevant page of *PN.W.* be quoted in each case.

Ref. in *PN.W.*

- |     |                  |  |
|-----|------------------|--|
| 206 | BROAD CHALKE.    | Vittrel Gate is <i>Bitter Hill Gate</i> . The fields below it are Hither and Further <i>Bitter Hills</i> , 1840, T.A., cf. Churchwarden's Accounts 1813, “wagon load of earth from Bittrells”. The identification with Vyrells in the text would seem to be wrong. |
| 402 | MARTIN.          | Adam de <i>Mertuna</i> . 1189. <i>Glast. Inq.</i> , 1189.  |
| ,,  | Blagdon.         | <i>Blakedon</i> , 1483. <i>Cal. Pat. Rolls</i> 1476—1485.  |
| ,,  | Tidpit.          | <i>Toudeputt</i> , 1307. <i>Reg. Simon of Ghent.</i>   |
| 403 | Toyd.            | <i>Todeputte</i> , 1342. <i>Monyton's Foedary</i> .  |
| ,,  | Bustard Farm.    | Apud <i>Duas Hydus</i> , 1235. <i>Glast. Rl.</i>   |
| ,,  | Kites Nest Farm. | I have searched Hoare in vain for this reference. 1567 suggests the Pembroke Survey, where also I cannot find it. The first allusion known to me is 1819, <i>Wilts Poll Book</i> .   |
| ,,  | Paradise.        | Was <i>North Blagdon Farm</i> in 1840, T.A. It derived its name from <i>Kites Nest Wood</i> (T.A.), which overhangs it, at a later date.   |
| ,,  | Sweetapple Farm. | Is <i>the barn in Wilton Field</i> in 1840, T.A., v. <i>infra</i> <i>Wilton Field</i> .  |
| ,,  | Sweetapple Farm. | Is <i>Swetapulle</i> , 1518, Hoare (1), <i>Swetaple</i> 1579, <i>Pem. Survey</i> .   |

- 403 Talk's Farm. If this be identified with *Tulkes* or *Toukes*, 1579, Pem. Surv., then there are earlier references to *Johannes Tooke*, 1518, Hoare, and to *Johannes Touke* vel *Tooke*, 1456—1493, John of Glastonbury, I, 281. But the possibility that it was named after William *Talk*, Mayor and Alderman of Salisbury, who acquired property in Martin and was buried in the church in 1789, cannot be ignored.
- 512 FIELD NAMES. Add, Smallend Lane Ground, 1840, T.A., is *Smalelonde*, 1518, in the Terrier of Richard Beere, Abbot of Glastonbury, printed in Hoare's Hundred of South Damerham. Remund de *Smalelon*, 1235, Glast. RL.
- „ Storkes. 1840, T.A., possibly from *Johannes Storke*, who was Firmarius domini (of the Abbot of Glastonbury) in 1518.
- „ Wilton. 1840, T.A. The *Wilton Way*, 946, Birch, ii, 579, passes along its eastern boundary.
- „ Blandford Way Ground, 1840, T.A. is apparently *Blakedonway* of 1518, Hoare. The same path led to Blandford and Blagdon.
- „ Lodge Down. Is the *Rotherdown* of 1579, Pem. Surv. probably so named after *Vernditch Lodge*, which overlooked it and was demolished in 19th century.
- „ The Peak. Is *Pykylonde*, 1578, Hoare (v. supra 443) cf. Fitzherbert, Book of Husbandry, 1523, "often brode at one ende and a sharpe pyke in the other ende". \*
- „ Longbarrow Lane. Is *Langbergewaye*, 1578, Hoare, not marked on 6" Ord. Map.
- „ (Tidpit) Courtland, 1840, T.A., is *Curte Lawe*, 1518, Hoare (v. supra 436, *hlaw*). In Richard Beere's Terrier, 1518, twelve of its twenty acres are marked with a rubric \* signifying "est terra dominicalis videlicet Overlonde ultra prae-dictam firmam terrarum". This may give a clue to the origin of the name Demesneland.
- „ Hop Garden. 1840, T.A. There used to be a Malthouse adjoining it, but there is no earlier reference.
- „ The Chalk Pit. Is *Marlynputtes* of 1518, cf. Aubrey, Mon. Brit., Part 5, "about this Todpitt and other parts hereabout are pitts of great antiquity. I could never learn why they were made".
- „ "The Orchard. T.A., 1840. *La Orcharde*, Pomerarium, gardinium Abbatis (Glaston.) in 1518, Hoare.
- „ Sheepsleight at Toyd. 1642, I.P.M., 18, Ch. I., pt. i, 26. (v. supra 454). Apparently an early instance of this word,

## WILTSHIRE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES.

[The Editor has not come across any books.]

**Passing of a River. An Obituary. By G. K. M.**  
*Blackwood's Magazine*, January, 1947. Once the River is identified, many will recognise the author's initials. Col. Godfrey Maurice has long had the apparent fate of the Kennet very much at heart. He has watched it dwindling in its upper reaches with the concern of one who was born and bred at Marlborough and ascribes the weakening of its flow, in part at least, to the intrusion of the Swindon pumping stations into its basin. He might have added that Devizes has been guilty of a similar encroachment. The Marlborough Rural District is planning another at Clatford, though most of the water taken at that point must ultimately return to the river—'ultimately' is perhaps the significant word. But that is not the whole story, as Col. Maurice realises. The modern policy of clearing affluents of the Thames has increased the whole pace of the Kennet and removed much water from its Wiltshire course. At present the river shows no weakness: its bed is fuller than it has been for several years. But by the autumn Swallowhead Springs, the true source of the Kennet, will doubtless be dry again, and for that we shall blame Devizes.

The prospects are distressing, and to a fisherman like Col. Maurice peculiarly exasperating. The Thames above Reading is a mere tributary of the ancient Kennet which has usurped the latter's title to the whole basin. But that wrong is of long standing and belongs to a period whereof there is no memory of man to run. Is a single generation to see the Kennet above Hungerford reduced to a winterbourne like its northern tributaries?

Water-engineers tell us that all these assaults upon the water-table of the Chalk cannot seriously affect its level. But astronomical estimates of the gallons that lie underground, though they afford assurance that we shall not go thirsty or unwashed, do not console us for the loss of the visible surface-flow, and a drop of a mere foot or so in the average level of the subterranean supply might well turn the Kennet into a dry valley—not that that would worry the water-engineers. They would deepen their wells and pump on.

For such possibilities Colonel Maurice reserves his lament till the closing section of his article, where he voices it with commendable restraint. The greater part of what he writes deals very pleasantly with his memories of the river at the end of the last century—with boats that navigated where boats will no longer float, and vanished swimming pools and boys who fished as often as not by hand, till the fly-fisherman arrived and they knew their wickedness. It is largely of course an oblique criticism of the policy that is turning our chalk streams into *wadis*, but on its own merits Colonel Maurice's cunningly unvarnished tale must commend itself to Wiltshire readers. H. C. B.

**Linear Earthworks.** There is a great deal of work to be done in connection with the study of the boundary dykes and defensive linear earthworks so widespread over different parts of the country.

With this in view, the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries have made this their principal scheme of research for the next few years, and Sir Cyril Fox, Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil and Mr. W. F. Grimes, who have done much to further this field of study, have published notes on methods of survey in the *Antiquaries' Journal*.

In this a suggested line of procedure is laid down, such as planning the course of the dyke with the 6-in. O.S. maps, noting passage-ways through the dyke, as well as broad gaps in it, and other features. The fundamental points to be noted in field work are those in relation to (a) the character of the country through which the dyke passes, and (b) other antiquities such as Roman roads and ancient trackways, early settlements and barrows.

No extensive excavations are called for, and it should be stressed that even small-scale ones on the lines indicated in the paper should not be attempted without expert guidance; much valuable work can be done in survey without resort to the spade. In Wiltshire a whole complex of minor linear ditches need to be planned.

Anyone who is interested in archæological field work should get a copy of the paper from the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1. price 6d. (8½d. post free). OWEN MEYRICK.

**"Save the old Cottage now."** An address on this subject was given in March last before the Town and Country Planning Association by Mr. Basil Sutton, F.R.I.B.A., of Baydon. It was based on Dr. Orwin's *Country Planning* and dealt largely with a typical 15th century cottage still partly inhabited by rural workers. Mr. Sutton showed how it could be made healthy and convenient, and in every way more attractive to the modern villager than the council houses on the outskirts, for an expenditure not exceeding two-thirds of the cost of new building.

The real difficulty is often a Demolition Order too hastily issued. Under the Housing (1936) Act such orders, once served, cannot be rescinded. Another Act empowering local authorities to use their discretion is clearly needed.

**Vandalism at Liddington.** The Swindon *Evening Advertiser* for April 12th, 1947, reported that the memorial tablet to Richard Jefferies and Alfred Williams had been found in a hedge and rescued by the owner of the lard. The tablet was wrenched from the obelisk on Liddington Hill some time about February 1945, when the vicinity was a closed military area. A photograph shows that the inscription is defaced by many bullet holes.

## NOTES.

**Kimmeridgian Sarsens?** Mr. Brentnall's map in the last number of *W.A.M.* assigns the Swindon stones to a Downland origin, and I thought it just possible they might have derived from another source. On mentioning this to him, he very kindly offered to print any relevant remarks I might care to put into writing. Hence the following note.

1. It will be agreed that the Cretaceous strata once covered Swindon. By analogy, but not by evidence, we may credit these with a superincumbent load of Eocene sand and boulders. As the chalk escarpment slowly retrograded to its present position—two miles distant in the case of Burderop—the overhead blocks whose existence we are assuming would, as they were successively reached, be let down by solifluxion upon the intervening Swindon-Broome area.

If this theory were correct, we should expect such blocks *equally far from the foot of the Downs* throughout North Wilts. But that evidence is virtually non-existent, only a very small number of stones being found even quite close to the escarpment (e.g., at Little Hinton, Earl's Court Farm; Burderop, Ladder Hill Bottom; Wroughton, Perry's Lane. These of course would be Bagshot blocks). Further, the supposition that the Swindon-Broome chalk carried a super-load of boulders to explain their immense numbers in this limited area and their absence elsewhere to east and west abreast of Swindon is extremely unlikely. Further still, there is no evidence of any northward extension of a Tertiary sea beyond the present line of the Chalk unless the blocks of Broome are perversely so regarded.

2. Did ancient man bring sarsens from the Downs for some cult-memorial? There are 50 blocks in one field alone at Broome, and when Aubrey passed that way he was struck both by their quantity and their alignment. We need merely remark that Bronze Age folk were gluttons for such work, and that there is a sarsen stone circle at Coate.

3. The local (Swindon) sandy top of the Kimmeridgian is a mixed calcareous and siliceous sedimentary deposit (with massive doggers) called Shotover Grit Sand. This layer thins out toward Coate and Burderop, and rapidly changes to a much more siliceous character. In Park Field (Old Swindon) blocks indistinguishable from sarsen have been disinterred from this stratum at considerable depths. To confirm my own observation, I quote Messrs Bradley, builders, who wrote:—“Some of the stones (in Park Field) were found on the surface but the majority about five feet down during excavations for drains”. These boulders are still visible, some of them huge.

Could a local intensive concentration of silica—due to current variation—have occurred in this (Swindon-Broome) area? Such a phenomenon cannot be ruled out, though its revolutionary nature, i.e., so sudden a change in facies, makes it difficult to entertain. But how can we explain otherwise the deep presence of wholly siliceous boulders in the bowels of undisturbed Shotover?



Criticising adversely my own theory, I should suggest that the Park Field blocks might have been covered by a washdown of débris from slightly higher ground northward. But as I watched excavation here, the sands appeared to be previously untouched, and two experienced builders whose opinion I sought thought the same. Upon the evidence set forth above I feel that a Kimmeridgian provenance for the Swindon-Broome boulders may fairly be claimed.

J. B. JONES.

And this is perhaps the place to recall that one of the papers of Prof. Rupert Jones referred to in my article on Sarsens was read before the General Meeting of our Society in 1886 and printed in *W.A.M.*, xxiii, under the title "A History of the Sarsens". I should at least have mentioned that such an article appeared in these pages 60 years ago.

H. C. B.

**Edington and the Black Prince.** Perhaps the Editor should preface this communication with the explanation that the Bones-Homes, Bons Hommes or Bonhommes were an English "reformation" of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. They had only two houses, the other being at Ashridge, Bucks. An account of them will be found in Jackson's article on Edington (*W.A.M.*, xx, 241). Edington Church is also the subject of a paper by Ponting (*W.A.M.*, xxv, 209).

"Prince Edward, called the Black Prince had a great favour to the Bones-Homes . . . he heartily besought Bishop Hedington to change the minster of his college into Bones-Homes".

\* From Leland's *Itinerary*.

In the west window of the south aisle of Edington Church there is a roundel of a lion's face with protruding tongue, and there are at least two smaller ones in the north aisle. These lions' faces closely resemble those on the sword belt of the Black Prince's effigy at Canterbury.

The windows of the north aisle at Edington have, or had, heraldic borders, but the glass is darkened or has been obscured. The best preserved are behind the font and over the north door, where fleurs-de-lis and lions can be made out. The lions are statant gardant: at Canterbury they are passant gardant.

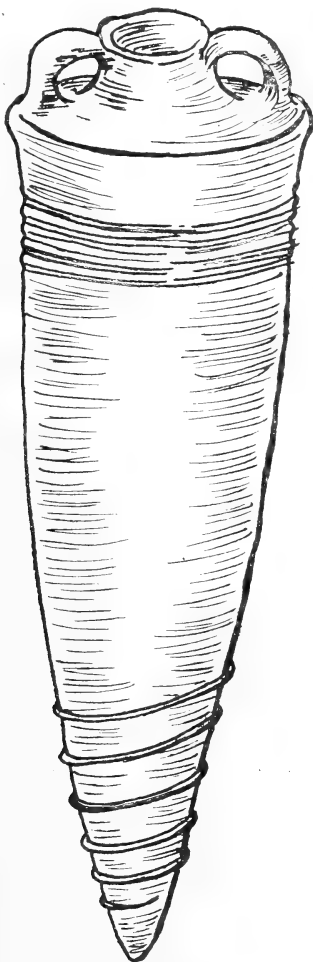
In the old St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, however, there was a contemporary mural of the Black Prince, and there the lions were statant gardant. This mural was most likely painted during the lifetime of William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester, as the Black Prince is shown young and without beard or moustache. There is some connection between William of Edington and St. Stephen's Chapel, as his obit was afterwards kept there for having drawn up its statutes.

It is assumed that the chancel at Edington was begun in 1352, when William of Edington (Bishop Hedington) founded a chantry, the "minster of his college" in Leland's words, and that the rebuilding of the other parts of the church was after the change "hastily besought" of the Black Prince. If so, the north aisle windows would have been glazed when the Monastery of "Bones-Homes" was in existence.

In addition to the lions and fleurs-de-lis there are roses and other emblems. So the heraldic glass at Edington should repay careful study, as it probably commemorates the benefactors of the Monastery.

D. U. SETH SMITH.

**An Amphora.** Examples of amphorae are fairly common and seen in many of our museums. Usually they were made of earthenware, conical in form, and used for holding oil or wine. This specimen was



Scale: about  $\frac{1}{8}$

dug up some years ago at the foot of Old Sarum on the southern side by the late Mr. Soul of Amesbury, from whom I obtained it."

The chief point of interest in this amphora is that its lower tapered end is fashioned into a coarse screw and looks as though it was intended to be screwed into some substantial base—perhaps a stone pedestal—in order that it might be kept upright. The vessel is 27 ins. high and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. diameter at the top. The lower part plainly shows that the screw was formed when the amphora was made. The upper half of the screw is perfect, but the lower half has been considerably worn down; suggesting that it had been repeatedly screwed in and out of some kind of base. But there still remains enough of the screw-thread to show that it originally continued to the point. A copy of the accompanying sketch has been sent to the British Museum and the Colchester and Essex Museum, but apparently the screw peculiarity is unknown at either institution. Perhaps some readers of the *W.A.M.* may know of similar vessels and explain the screw base. The amphora is now in the Museum.

B. HOWARD CUNNINGTON.

**The "Charlton Cat."** About eight miles from Devizes on the road to Salisbury via Netheravon there stands a small way-side inn known as The Charlton Cat. In the village of Charlton once lived Stephen Duck, who in his early days earned his living as a thresher and in his leisure hours wrote poems. He died in 1756, and the rent of a of small plot of land at Charlton, known as Duck's Acre, was given to pay for an annual dinner for agricultural labourers of the village. I have recently seen a fine brass tankard inscribed with the words—

"YE OLD POORS  
ARMS  
CHARLTON CUT"

At one time the family of Poore were Lords of the Manor of Rushall, a village nearby. Those of us who are familiar with the district will remember that the road leading to the Inn is cut into the bank and just beyond it runs through a cutting in the hill on the way to Netheravon. The tankard is a genuine old one, possibly 18th century, and from this it may be presumed that the original name of the Inn was "Charlton Cut" and not "Cat." Later on a signboard representing a Leopard—the Arms of the Poore family,—was hung outside the Inn, and it seems probable that in this way *Charlton Cut* became changed into *Charlton Cat*, the name it retains to the present day.

B. HOWARD CUNNINGTON.

**The Crime of Kingsdown Hill.** In the second week of the Suppression of Periodicals, which accompanied this winter's fuel crisis, the *Sunday Times* for March 2 carried Major Jarvis's "A Countryman's Notes" from the unpublished *Country Life*. They began:—

"The *Western Gazette* publishes an extract from its files of 200 years ago which suggests that even in those days the country suffered from

much the same kind of petty-fogging officialdom that is so familiar to-day. The extract reads:—

“On Monday last on the top of Kingsdown Hill, in the road between Chippenham and Bath, was committed a murder of a most uncommon kind. Five of the inhabitants of Chippenham having seen two wagons belonging to a Calne man, one with 10 horses and the other with 11, went to the said hill with a design (as the law directs) to seize all the horses more than six they should then find drawing the wagons. While waiting in an empty barn they were attacked by three men, and one of them died of his wounds next day”.

This would suggest that two centuries ago there was a law prohibiting the use of more than six horses in any wagon or conveyance (though I can find no mention of it in any of my books of reference), and it is not easy to understand the reason for it. . . . One can only conclude that the road up Kingsdown Hill was in a shocking state and that, owing to the gradient, the unfortunate carter had had to employ the extra trace horses to get to the top.

Previously I had always regarded the middle of the 18th century as a pleasant and carefree period in which to live, but I am not so certain about it now after reading this extract and learning that the ordinary members of the public were encouraged to interfere and act as self-appointed policemen whenever they detected a slight infringement of the law.”

Kingsdown is in Box parish, which just makes the incident a Wiltshire concern. A letter from the Rev. R. H. Lane setting the facts in a clearer light was published in *Country Life* when it reappeared, and he has kindly supplied the substance of his comments for reproduction at the Editor's request.

“It is, perhaps, hardly fair to describe 18th century traffic regulations as “pettifogging officialdom.” Heavy traffic was on the increase, civil engineering hardly existed, and even main roads were still in the hands of countless local authorities. Very large numbers of Acts were therefore passed, intended either to limit the weight of road vehicles or to enforce the use of such wheels, tires, and other points of design as were supposed to do least damage to the roads. The favourite method of restricting loads at this period was to limit the number of horses (or oxen) which might be used to draw a wagon.

The first restriction was imposed by a proclamation of Charles I, dated July 20th, 1618, by which the limit was fixed at five horses for a four-wheeled waggon. It mentions waggons carrying  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tons. The Act in force at the time of the incident quoted was 9 Annæ c. 23, which limited the number of horses to six.

Persons “discovering and prosecuting” under the Act, if residents of the parish where the offence was committed, received half the penalty of £5. This seems to account for the action of the Chippenham men.

Further we learn from a petition presented to Parliament in 1695 that a “racket” in the best modern style had grown out of previous

restrictions. Professional informers agreed to allow the carriers to break the law on payment of a regular quarterly sum, in default of which even the law-abiding were prosecuted and put to much expense and loss of time.

It does not seem far-fetched to believe that this custom still continued in 1747, and that the "three men" were representatives of the "racketeer" who did not propose to allow anyone else to poach on his preserves. Possibly the Calne man had paid his quarterly fee, and was entitled to "protection."

The encouragement of "ordinary members of the public" to act as "self-appointed policemen" is not really unreasonable, when it is remembered that at the time there were practically no officially appointed policemen. But it does not seem to have worked well".

R. H. L.

**Parish Registers.** The British Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is actively at work through its Genealogical Branch (149, Nightingale Lane, Balham, S.W.12) making micro-films of the parish registers of the country. They seem to have been particularly active in some northern dioceses, and a number of Wiltshire parishes have already given their consent. We may not hitherto have associated the Mormons with antiquarian research, but the preservation of these records is a very laudable aim. The results, however, will be of less use to us in Utah than in England. For that reason it is to be hoped that incumbents who co-operate will accept the copy of the negative which is offered free of charge. This Society or, better, the County Archives at Trowbridge would willingly house such copies if the recipients preferred to put them in a place of safety, as seems desirable.

H. C. B.

**More Masons' Marks.** Mr. Cunnington has received further evidence of the interest aroused by his article on page 378 of the present volume (*W.A.M.*, December, 1946) in a letter from Mr. Edwyn Jervoise of Shaftesbury. In 1936 Mr. Jervoise, with the aid of the then Borough Engineer of Salisbury, examined from a punt the underside of some of the arches of Harnham Bridge (built in 1245) and discovered a number of masons' marks, of which the Surveyor made drawings. They included Nos. 4 and 10 of the Edington series and, to the best of Mr. Jervoise's recollection, a No. 12 as well. No. 21a was also found on the Close Wall in Exeter Street, and a form intermediate between Nos. 22a and 22b on a stone in the ruins of Clarendon Palace.

**Two Rare Moths.** Even such a shocking year for lepidoptera collecting as 1946 has produced two records of unusual interest. Mr. J. R. L. Baiss found on a telegraph pole in Savernake Forest a specimen of the Pine Hawk Moth (*Hylocius pinastri*). Members of the Marlborough College Natural History Society found on poplars in West Woods a number of larvae which were bred and proved to be those of the Chocolate Tip Moth (*Pygaera curtula*).

L. G. PEIRSON.

## WILTSHIRE OBITUARIES.

THE REV. WALTER LEACROFT FREER of Evershot, Dorset, died in a London Hospital after an operation on August 11th, 1946. He was born near Stourbridge, Worcestershire, on August 18th, 1883, and was Vicar of Chute, Wiltshire, from May 1933 to September 1943. Outside his parochial work his chief interest was in Natural History.

He was a member of our Society and sometimes contributed plant notices to the *Magazine*. Of a gentle, lovable disposition, he was an ideal companion for a botanical ramble in the countryside he knew so well and loved so much.

J. D. G.

THOMAS SHARP died at his home in Westbury on February 18th, 1947, within a month of his 91st year.

Though it is over 20 years since he retired from his post of Horticultural Instructor under the Wiltshire County Council, there will be many who remember his skill and helpfulness in that capacity. But his contacts extended far beyond this county. He had a remarkable collection of cacti, succulents and orchids, the gathering of which had brought him acquaintance not only with the staffs of English, Scotch and Irish Botanical Gardens but with many correspondents in tropical regions of the world. In 1908 he succeeded in a grafting operation on the medlar in the garden of Bemerton Rectory which George Herbert is supposed to have planted in 1632, thus securing for that veteran tree a new lease of life.

Obit. *Wiltshire Times*, March 1st, 1947.

MRS. ELIZABETH ANNICA GODDARD died at Red Gables, Devizes on February 27th, 1947. She was 80 years old. Her father, the Rev. C. W. Bradford, was for 20 years Vicar of Clyffe Pypard, and she was descended on her mother's side from the Goddard family, whose connection with Clyffe began 400 years ago. In 1883 the Rev. E. H. Goddard succeeded to the living, and three years later the representatives of two branches of the family were married. Canon and Mrs. Goddard, after 50 years of service to their ancestral parish, retired to Devizes, where in April 1946 they celebrated their diamond wedding. Her husband, who was a full twelve years her senior, survives her with a son and two daughters.

Obit. *Wiltshire Gazette*, March 6th, 1947.

COMMANDER KENNETH EDWARDS, R.N., died on February 28th, 1947, in London at the age of 44.

The son of Brigadier General T. B. Edwards of Sloperton Cottage, Bromham, and later of Threeways, Seend, Commander Edwards was born in India and educated at Haileybury. He joined the Navy in 1919 and became a submarine commander. After service at home and in the Far East he retired in 1932 and became Naval correspondent of the *Morning Post*, the *Sunday Times* and finally, after a recall to the Press Division of the Admiralty, of the *Daily Telegraph*.

He was the author of "Mutiny at Invergordon" and of a number of other books, the last being "Operation Neptune", which described the Navy's part in "D" Day.

In 1931 he married Elizabeth Kathleen, daughter of L. T. Martin of Seend House and New York City. His wife and their son and daughter survive him.

Obit. *Wiltshire Gazette*, March 6th, 1947.

ALFRED ERNEST WITHY of Westlecott, Swindon, died March 30th, 1947, aged 86. The son of John Withy of Bath, he was educated at King Edward's School in that city and became a solicitor, being for 40 years Clerk to the Swindon Borough Magistrates. He was the last of the original members of the Wilts County Council who met at the Devizes Assize Courts in January 1889. As a councillor he served for over 50 years and for 30 of them was vice-chairman. He was an alderman for more than 20 years, and his intimate knowledge of Local Government Law made him a valuable chairman of more than one Committee.

Obit. *Wiltshire Gazette*, April 3rd, 1947.

COLONEL HENRY BASIL INMAN of Rockley House, Devizes, died on March 5th, 1947, aged 66. The son of Canon Edward Inman, Vicar of Potterne, he was educated locally and was commissioned to the Royal Marines in 1900. In the first World War he became Senior Marine Officer in the Mediterranean and won the Military Cross. In the Russian Revolution of 1917 he was with the Marines in the Crimea and, later, Second Commandant at Chatham. Retiring from the Marines in 1933, he returned to Devizes and interested himself in local government, serving for nine years on the Town Council. In the recent war he was responsible at Trowbridge and Tidworth for the raising of the 6th Battalion, The Wiltshire Regiment, and also served, as long as his health permitted, as an officer of the Home Guard. He made the British Legion his especial concern and was at one time County Chairman. He was well known over a wide area.

In 1919 he married Joan, daughter of Henry Daubeney of Charlton Kings, Gloucestershire. Mrs. Inman became the first chairman of the Women's Section of the Devizes branch of the British Legion. She died last year. There were no children of the marriage.

Obit. *Wiltshire Gazette*, March 6th, 1946.

CANON HARRY ERNEST KETCHLEY, Rector of Biddestone with the chapelry of Slaughterford, died on March 5th, 1947, the victim at an advanced age—he was over 80—of the severe and prolonged winter. His college was Christ Church, Oxford. He was ordained deacon 1890 and priest in the following year. From 1890 to 1893 he was curate in succession of Romsey and Great Malvern, from 1894 to 1904 chaplain to the Hon. Mrs. Meynell Ingram. For the next ten years he was Rector of Barton le Street in his native county of Yorkshire and came to Biddestone in 1917. In 1933 he was made honorary Canon of Bristol Cathedral.

He wrote numerous articles in the *Bristol Diocesan Review* and elsewhere, though his only contribution to this *Magazine* was a list of Quaker marriages at Slaughterford (Vol. xlix). He was our local secretary in his own area from 1920 and again and again, in unobtrusive ways, proved himself a generous friend of the Society. There was a warm-hearted and forthright honesty in his words and actions which at times might seem almost embarrassing to circumspect Southerners. But no one could mistake Canon Ketchley for a Southerner..

Obit. *Wiltshire Gazette*, March 6th, 1947.

WILLIAM CHARLES DOTESIO died at his home in the Isle of Wight on March 6th, 1947, at the age of 82. For more than 50 years he lived at Bradford-on-Avon, the head, until his retirement, of the printing firm which bears his name. He was a student of the antiquities of the ancient town and published the results in the Guides which his firm produced. He frequently conducted visiting Societies on tours of the monuments for which Bradford is renowned, and was for many years a member of our Society.

He was at one time a member of the Wiltshire County Council. As a Freemason, he was a Past Master of the Lodge of Friendship and Unity in Bradford and held provincial rank. In later years he was an active member of the Baptist community and an enthusiastic supporter of the Waifs and Strays Society.

Obit. *Bath and Wilts Chronicle*, March 8th, 1947.

SIR HENRY HUGH ARTHUR HOARE, 6th Baronet, of Stourhead, and LADY HOARE both died on March 25th, 1947, at Stourhead. Sir Henry was in his 82nd year. He was educated at Harrow and succeeded to the title in 1894 on the death of his cousin, the 5th Baronet. He was a Justice of the Peace in four counties and High Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1915.

He married in 1887 his cousin Alda Annie, daughter of William Purcell Weston of Lane House, Dorset. There was one son of the marriage, Captain Henry Colt Arthur Hoare, who died of wounds in 1917.

Sir Henry was a director of Lloyds Bank. He had been in his day a keen follower to hounds and at one time chairman of the Blackmore



Vale Hunt Committee. A generous supporter of various rural organisations, he was a well-known breeder of pedigree cattle. On his death the title again passes to a cousin, Peter William Hoare, who was born in 1898.

Obits. *The Times*, March 17th : *Wiltshire Gazette*, April 3rd, 1947.

CHARLES INGHAM HADEN, died at his home in Trowbridge on May 24th, 1947. He was born in January, 1863, the youngest son of George Nelson Haden, and was for many years partner with his brother, whose death we recorded a year ago, in the firm of G. N. Haden and Sons. From a directorship in the later company he retired some ten years ago. His business took him abroad to many parts of the world, but he was known and loved at home as a kind and considerate employer. In Trowbridge his outside interests were manifold. He was a prominent and generous member of the Congregational Church and worked whole-heartedly in the cause of the local Hospital. But no good cause in Trowbridge appealed in vain for his support. Like his brother, he was a member of the County Education Committee and for many years the Chairman of the local Magistrates and of the Managers of the Trowbridge Schools. His great personal charm, warm heart and liberal mind endeared him to all who knew him. He had a keen sense of humour and a delight in simple things, but he shared also with the brother who died before him a sense of duty which never forsook him. Trowbridge is the poorer for the loss of the last Haden of his generation and one who made the welfare of the town his constant concern.

Obit. *Wiltshire Times*, May 31st, 1947.

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## ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

**Museum.**

- Presented by MRS. LEECH: cannon ball found in a field near the County Mental Hospital.  
 „ „ MESSRS. J. H. and K. W. LEECH: cabinet containing a collection of British Lepidoptera.

**Library.**

- Presented by MR. C. D. HEGINBOTHOM: G. MONTAGU'S "Testacea Britannica, or Natural History of British Shells".  
 „ „ MR. E. G. H. KEMPSON: "Oxford Prize Poems, 1768—1823" (including one on Stonehenge).  
 „ „ DR. T. R. THOMPSON: "A Short History of Cricklade".  
 „ „ MR. F. C. PITT: "Guide to Trowbridge Parish Church", (revised edition).  
 Copy of "Instructions for training Volunteer Rifle Corps". 1859.  
 Act for enclosing Stockham Marsh (Bremhill), 1775.  
 Prospectus of the College for Adult Education at Urchfont Manor.  
 Two sale catalogues.
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