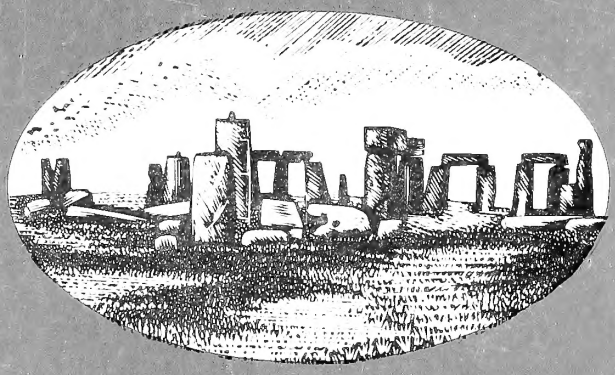
The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine



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THE WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY MAGAZINE
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Hon. Editor: Christopher Chippindale
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Change of Title

The journals issued to volume 69 as parts of *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* (Part A Natural History; Part B Archaeology and Local History) were from volumes 70 to 75 published under separate titles as *The Wiltshire Natural History Magazine* and *The Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*. With volume 76 the magazine reverted to its combined form and title.

Contributions for the *Magazine* are always welcome. Longer contributions are printed as papers, and shorter ones as items within the Notes section. There is no fixed maximum length, but as space is at a premium, papers should not normally exceed 6000 words. There is no hard-and-fast dividing rule, but items making less than four pages (including their illustrations) will generally appear as Notes. All contributions should, in the first instance, be sent to the Editorial Committee at The Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS. The Editor is happy to advise intending contributors, if asked, at any stage during the preparation of their work. Fuller notes for the guidance of contributors appear in the last volume of *WAM*, vol. 77 (1983), pp. 189–90.

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The Society was founded in 1853. Its activities include the promotion of archaeological and historical work within the County and the study of natural history; the issue of a Magazine, and other publications; excursions to places of archaeological and historical interest; and the maintenance of a Museum, Library, and Picture Gallery.

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THE WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY MAGAZINE

The Magazine is issued free to members of the Society. Contributions and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Editorial Committee at The Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS. A preliminary letter before submitting contributions is helpful, especially if a lengthy paper is proposed or if you are writing for publication for the first time. Contributors are asked to read the notes for their guidance printed in vol. 77 (1983), pp. 189–90.

For information about the availability of back numbers and of other publications issued by the Society, application should be made to the Society's Secretary at The Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS.

THE SOCIETY'S MUSEUM AND LIBRARY, 41 LONG STREET, DEVIZES

The Curator is Mr F.K. Annable, the Librarian Mrs P. Colman.

The Museum contains many objects of great local interest, and the Library a rich collection of books, articles, prints, drawings and notes about the history of Wiltshire.

Old *printed* material and photographs of Wiltshire buildings or other objects of interest will be welcomed by the Librarian at the Museum. The repository for records, e.g. old deeds, maps. plans, etc., is the Wiltshire Record Office, County Hall, Trowbridge.

THE WILTSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

This Society was founded, under a slightly different name, in 1937 to promote the publication of the documentary sources for the history of Wiltshire. It is now one of the leading societies of its kind in the kingdom and is required by its rules to publish one volume in respect of each year's subscription. Thirty-eight volumes have already appeared; the thirty-eighth, was published in 1983; nine others are in preparation. An annual meeting is held each year with an address and discussion, usually at some place of historical interest in Wiltshire.

The annual subscription is £10.00. New members are *most urgently* needed.

Full particulars about membership may be obtained from Mrs Nancy D. Steele, Milestones, Hatchet Close, Hale, near Fordingbridge, Hampshire.

THE WILTSHIRE BUILDINGS RECORD

The Wiltshire Buildings Record was inaugurated in May 1979 to study and record Wiltshire buildings of all types and periods. A central record, open to the public, is housed at the Public Library, Sheep Street, Devizes, and contains a collection of photographs, drawings and reports and an index of information held elsewhere. To date, about 1500 buildings have been wholly or partially recorded. The Society issues a newsletter and offers members opportunities for active fieldwork in their own area.

The annual subscription is £2.50 for individual members and £5.00 for institutions. Membership forms are obtainable from The Secretary, Wiltshire Building Record, c/o The Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 7–30.

Stonehenge – The Environment in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age *and* A Beaker-Age Burial

by J.G. EVANS *with contributions by* R.J.C. ATKINSON, T. O'CONNOR, *and* H.S. GREEN

A palaeoenvironmental study on deposits in the ditch of Stonehenge I and the Avenue using molluscan analysis is described. The sequence in the ditch indicates an abandonment of the monument during Stonehenge I, when scrub or woodland grew up. Later, more open, phases were paralleled in one of the Avenue ditches. A tentative environmental history of the site and surroundings in the Neolithic and Bronze Age is proposed, using additional data from near-by sites. Grassland was widespread, but there is evidence too for arable land and patches of scrub or woodland.

A Beaker-age burial cut into the Stonehenge I ditch deposits showed evidence of traumatic pathology. Two arrow tips were embedded in the bones. Associated arrowheads and a bracer are described. The presence of bluestone fragments in the burial pit has necessitated a re-assessment of the chronology of the ditch infilling in relation to the building phases of the monument.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper a study of the palaeoenvironment of Stonehenge is described. The work should be seen in both its chronological and spatial contexts, and at various scales, regional, local and site.

In the last 20 years the technique of molluscan analysis has been applied to a large number of sites in the calcareous regions of Britain, among the most important of which is the Wessex chalk. Much of the work has been concerned with the environment of the neolithic and bronze-age periods (Evans 1972). It is a well-tested yet still evolving technique.

In the vicinity of Stonehenge a number of sites has been investigated, important among them being Durrington Walls, Earl's Farm Down, the two henges of Woodhenge and Coneybury, and the Wilsford Shaft. There was, therefore, some sort of regional environmental background available. By contrast, very little had been done at Stonehenge itself, the data of the 1930s being unsatisfactory by modern standards. So it was felt that the prima site of British prehistory should not be excluded from environmental study.

On a site basis, too, Stonehenge seemed a particularly suitable choice. The excavations of S. Piggott and R.J.C. Atkinson in 1954 and those of earlier workers had established a sequence of building phases for the monument, and sediments equivalent in age to these phases had been located (Atkinson 1979). It was known that shells were well preserved.

Two areas of the monument were selected for excavation, the bank and ditch of Stonehenge I, and a section of the Avenue.

In the course of the excavations a Beaker-age burial was discovered and excavated (preliminary report in Atkinson and Evans 1978). It is described in this paper in full.

STONEHENGE I, BANK AND DITCH

To minimize the amount of disturbance to the monument, Piggott and Atkinson's 1954 cutting was reopened and the W section cut back (Figures 1 and 2). Our Cutting I was extended into undisturbed bank and counterscarp bank areas. An additional bank section, Cutting II, was made.

A key to the symbols used in the section drawings is shown in Figure 6. Layer numbers are given from latest to earliest levels. Measurements are in metres, except in the molluscan histograms which use centimetres.

The bank (Figures 3 and 7)

Below the modern turf was bank material (layer 11) to a maximum thickness of 0.15 m; it consisted of chalk lumps loosely dispersed in a humic matrix. At its base was a prominent pea-grit horizon. The buried soil (layer 12) was poorly differentiated, lacking clear horizons. These features have been ascribed to earthworm activity (Atkinson 1957; 1979). At the base of the buried soil was a thin horizon of compact grey gritty

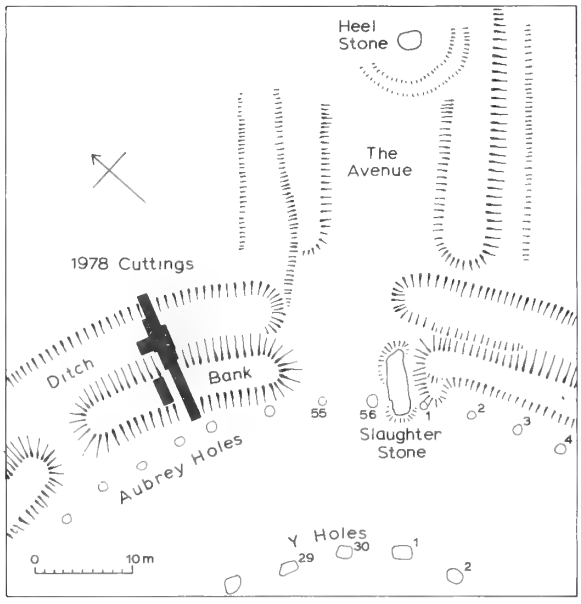

Figure 1. Stonehenge I. Plan of the NE entrance area showing the location of the 1978 cuttings.

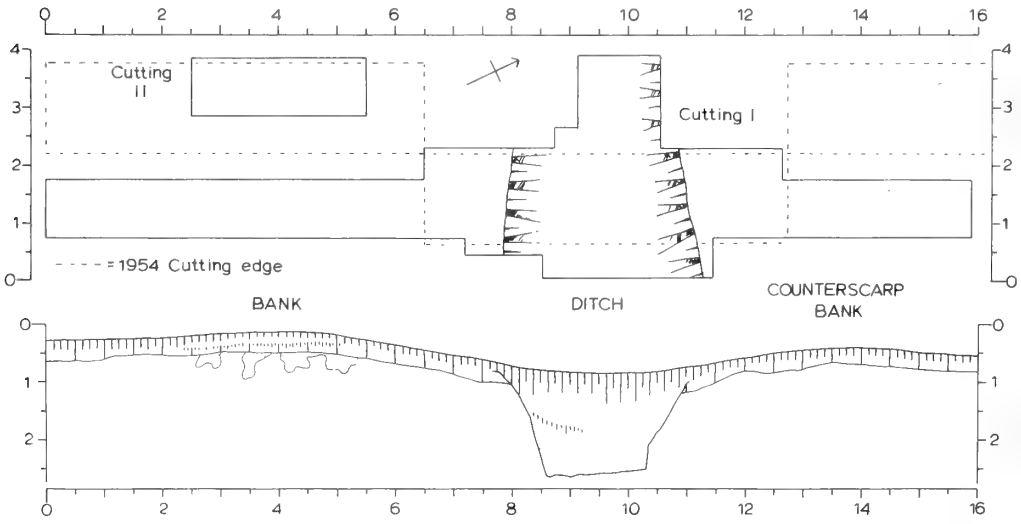

Figure 2. Stonehenge I, bank and ditch. Above, cutting plan. Below, simplified section.

material, probably the only undisturbed vestiges of the pre-bank profile. This surface was carefully searched for traces of cultivation but none was found. Below, in a matrix of coombe rock, was a series of periglacial involutions (layer 13) filled with pale buff silty material (cf. Evans 1968 for other Wiltshire examples).

This profile was analysed for molluscs (Figure 7 for position of samples, Figure 8 for histogram). The weights of stones in the samples show the reality of a buried turf-line, with a stone-line (mainly flints) immediately below it. The molluscan sequence, however, was poor (Table 1). The relatively large numbers of *Pupilla muscorum* – and the fact that many of these down to the base of the profile were clearly recent or modern – suggest that no true pre-bank fauna was preserved. The involution material was totally devoid of shell.

The counterscarp bank (Figure 2)

The counterscarp bank was present as intermittent patches of chalk lumps, not more than 0.03 to 0.05 m thick. There was a faint suggestion of a buried soil.

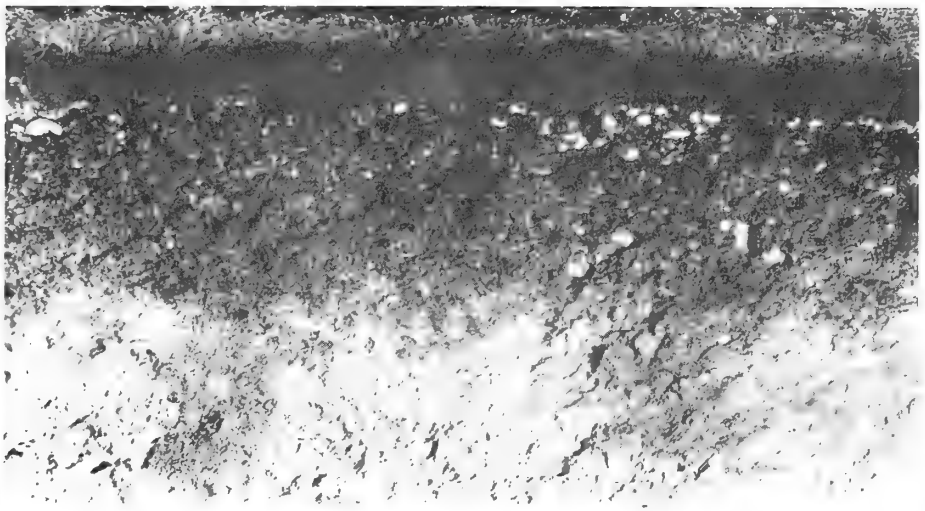

Figure 3. Stonehenge I, bank. Cutting II, W section, showing bank vestiges, buried soil and involutions. (Depth of section 0.8 m.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

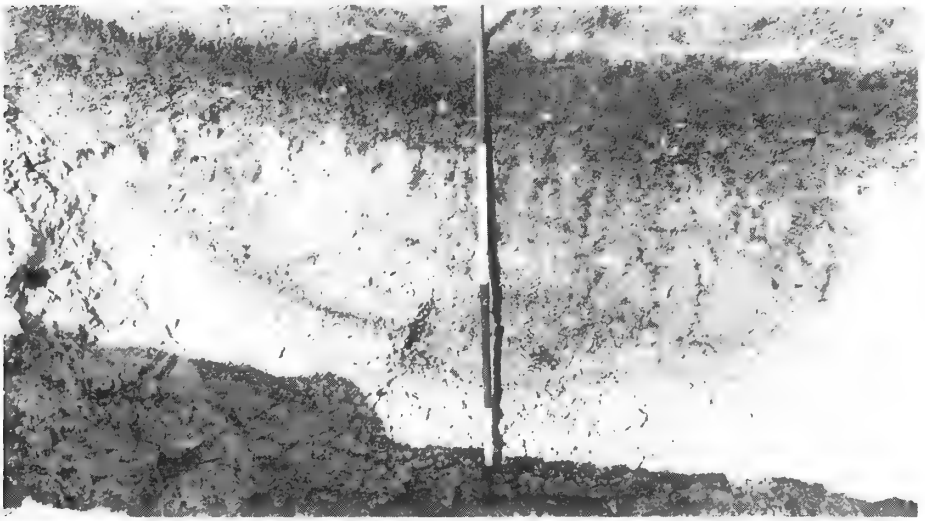

Figure 4. Stonehenge I, ditch. Cutting I, W section (before excavation of burial). (Scale is 2 m.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

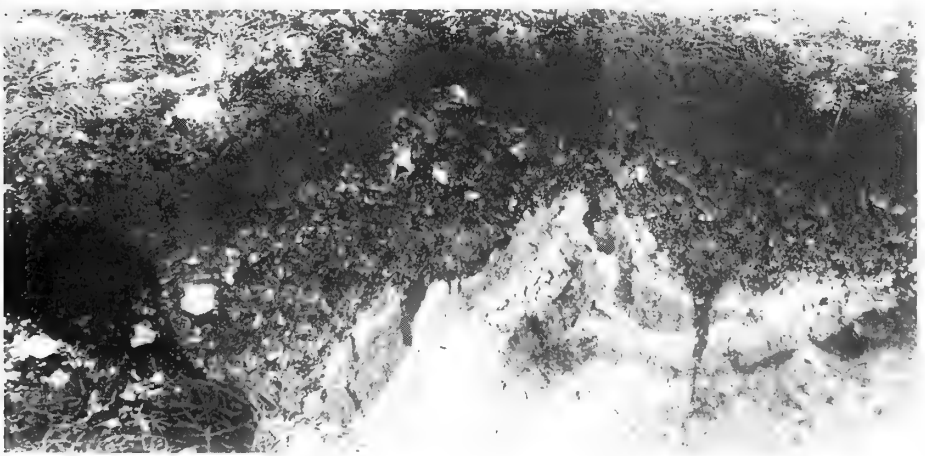

Figure 5. Stonehenge Avenue, rubbish-pit section. Modern soil (showing turf, flint and pea-grit horizons) and periglacial involutions. (Depth of section 0.65 m.) (Photo: J.G.E.)

Figure 6. Key to symbols used in section drawings. (The density of the modern soil has been understated in order to emphasize the prehistoric features.)

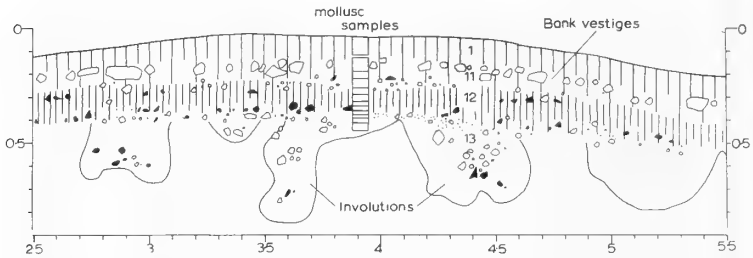

Figure 7. Stonehenge I, bank section in Cutting II. 1 modern turf; 11 bank vestiges; 12 buried soil; 13 periglacial involutions.

The ditch (Figures 2, 4 and 9)

The ditch section on the W side of Cutting I was studied, drawn, and sampled for molluscs. There was considerable lateral variation. Part of the primary fill (layer 10) may have been deliberately thrown back in, and a burial pit (layer 5) had been cut into the sediments at the north end of the section. The sediments generally were loose and variable, due partly to the coarse, uncompacted nature of the primary fill and partly to animal burrows. Two pieces of chalk showed traces of badger scratching (p. 22), the burial (Figure 10) had been obviously very disturbed by a large animal, and the skull of a polecat was found in the secondary fill (layer 7). Earthworm burrows penetrated to at least 0.75 m below the surface. There are several references to rabbits on the site in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Depth below surface (cm)	32–41	28–32	22–28	10–22	0–8
Air-dry weight (kg)	4.0	1.88	2.0	3.0	1.42
Pomatias elegans	–	1	3	2	1
Cochlicopa spp.	4	5	2	–	–
Vertigo pygmaea	–	–	–	–	3
Pupilla muscorum	26	55	42	25	13
Vallonia costata	4	1	2	–	–
Vallonia excentrica	4	10	4	8	2
Vitrea contracta	–	–	–	1	–
Deroceras spp.	–	–	–	1	–
Candidula intersecta	–	–	–	–	?2
Helicella itala	7	3	8	5	10
Trichia hispida	1	5	1	3	–
Cepaea nemoralis	1	–	–	–	–
Cepaea spp.	3	1	1	2	–

Table 1. Stonehenge I, bank section. Mollusca. Each column is the amalgamation of several samples as indicated in Figure 8. (Nomenclature after Kerney 1976.

Broadly the deposits can be grouped as follows:

Modern soil, layers 1 to 3
Silty loam, layer 4
Burial pit, layer 5
Secondary fill, layers 6 to 8
Primary fill, layers 9 and 10

The deposits sampled for molluscs showed the following stratigraphy (Figures 8 and 9):

Depth below surface (cm)

0–18 Modern turf (layer 1). Practically stone-free.

18–25 Flint horizon with numerous bluestone fragments (layer 2).

25–35 Pea-grit horizon (layer 3). Masses of small angular chalk fragments, little flint. Aestivation burrows of earthworms, penetrating very irregularly into the underlying deposits (cf. Figure 5).

35–45 Fine pale chalky silt loam (layer 4). This may be an aeolian deposit. It appeared to overlie the fill of the burial pit (layer 5).

45–90 Secondary fill. Pale chalky loam and chalk rubble, becoming increasingly stony with depth (layers 6 and 7). Practically no flint.

90–96 Dark chalky loam (layer 8). Laterally variable, with darker and paler areas, and without horizonation. Probably a weak soil combined with material derived from the original pre-bank profile.

96–157 Clean chalk rubble with layers of compact fine grey loam (layer 9).

157–186 Coarse, clean chalk rubble (layer 10).

It is probable that some of the coarse chalk rubble in the centre of the ditch had been deliberately thrown back in; otherwise this profile is a standard ditch infilling of primary fill (9 and 10), secondary fill (6 to 8) and soil (1

Depth below surface (cm)	110–120	100–110	88–95	80–88	75–80	70–75	65–70	60–65	55–60	50–55	45–50	35–45	30–35	25–30	18–25	10–18	5–10	0–5
Air-dry weight (kg)	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.82	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.58
Pomatias elegans	–	1	1	1	–	1	2	–	–	–	1	6	1	–	2	2	–	–
Carychium tridentatum	–	–	–	33	9	15	2	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cochlicopa lubrica	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cochlicopa lubricella	–	–	2	3	2	2	7	10	6	7	4	–	14	3	–	–	–	–
Cochlicopa spp.	–	1	1	13	12	15	12	18	20	18	7	9	12	5	2	1	3	–
Vertigo pygmaea	–	–	4	16	8	10	9	13	14	7	7	5	4	–	–	–	6	–
Pupilla muscorum	–	–	2	21	24	25	54	70	71	42	26	36	58	19	49	20	9	2
Lauria cylindracea	–	–	6	34	57	62	69	33	31	31	39	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Vallonia costata	2	2	94	231	166	208	372	347	274	214	132	115	122	47	11	12	5	3
Vallonia excentrica	–	–	5	4	8	16	36	33	35	31	5	10	26	7	3	16	86	39
Ena obscura	–	–	–	2	–	1	4	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Punctum pygmaeum	–	–	1	11	11	20	15	15	16	7	7	2	4	–	4	–	–	–
Discus rotundatus	–	–	3	20	10	6	3	5	1	1	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Vitrina pellucida	–	–	–	8	14	5	13	16	10	7	10	4	4	–	–	–	–	2
Vitrea crystallina	–	–	–	–	?1	?1	?2	–	–	–	?2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Vitrea contracta	–	–	1	64	61	73	41	24	23	19	17	11	2	–	2	3	–	–
Nesovitrea hammonis	–	–	–	4	6	4	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	–	1	–	–	–
Aegopinella pura	–	–	–	1	4	3	6	10	6	4	9	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Oxychilus cellarius	–	–	5	6	6	2	5	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	–	–	–	–
Oxychilus alliarius	–	–	5	1	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Deroceras spp.	–	–	8	23	16	24	40	26	30	17	17	8	15	6	3	4	1	1
Clausilia bidentata	–	–	1	2	4	11	19	12	12	8	13	3	–	4	1	2	–	2
Cernuella virgata	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	2
Helicella itala	–	–	5	14	13	10	30	33	28	25	8	14	36	28	23	11	6	–
Trichia hispida	–	–	1	19	2	5	14	16	12	16	1	1	7	5	–	–	2	–
Cepaea spp.	1	1	3	6	9	5	12	9	11	6	–	1	1	1	3	3	–	2

Table 2. Stonehenge I, ditch section. Mollusca. The sample 95–100 was devoid of shells and is not listed. (Nomenclature after Kerney 1976.)

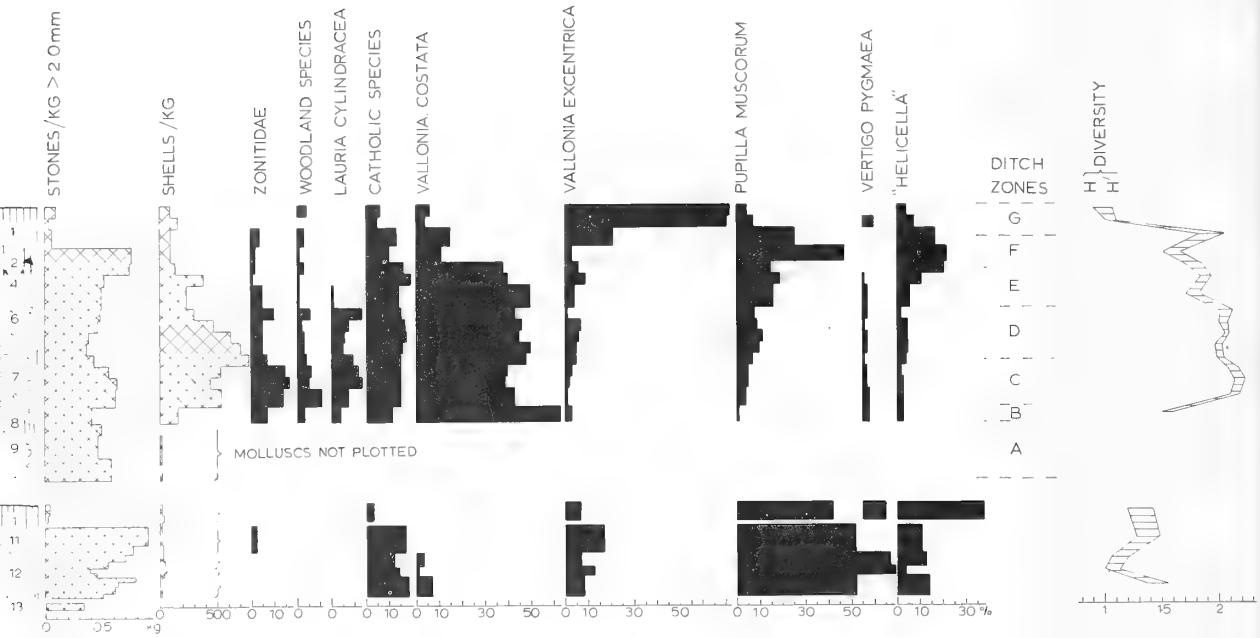

*Figure 8. Stonehenge I, molluscan diagrams.**
Above, ditch.
Below, Bank.
See Figures 7 and 9 for location of samples and key to layers.

*The groups of Mollusca in Figures 8 and 25 are made up as follows:
(1) Zonitidae: *Vitrea contracta, V.* (?) *crystallina, Aegopinella pura, Oxychilus cellarius, O. alliarius.*
(2) Woodland species: *Carychium tridentatum, Clausilia bidentata, Ena obscura, Discus rotundatus.*
(3) Catholic species: *Pomatias elegans, Cochlicopa lubrica, C. lubricella, Deroceras, Trichia hispida, Cepaea nemoralis, Punctum pygmaeum, Vitrina pellucida, Nesovitrea hammonis.*
(4) 'Helicella': *Candidula intersecta, Cernuella virgata, Helicella itala.*

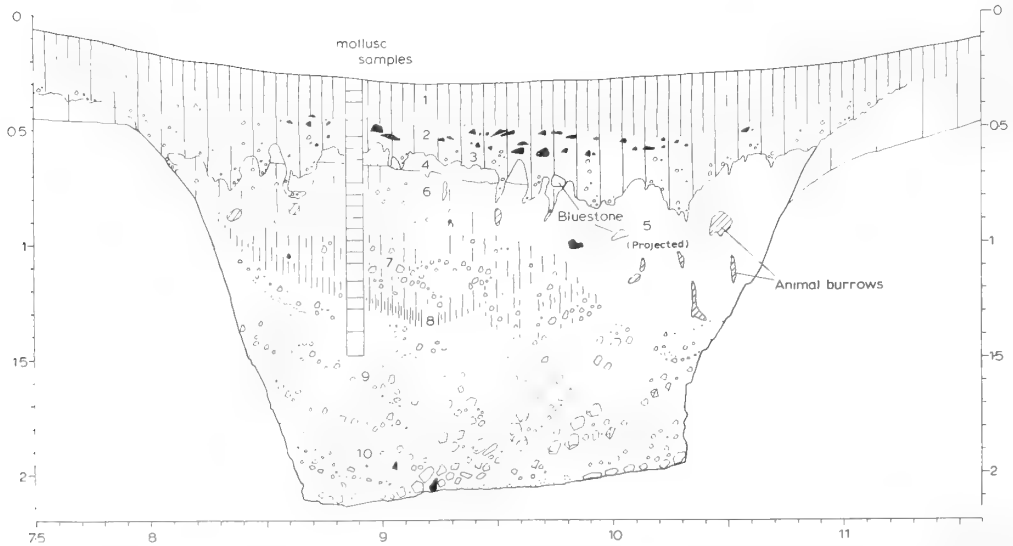

Figure 9. Stonehenge I, ditch section. 1 modern turf; 2 flint horizon; 3 pea-grit horizon; 4 silt-loam, aeolian; 5 fill of burial pit; 6 fine chalky loam – secondary fill; 7 coarse chalky loam – secondary fill; 8 organic chalky loam; 9 coarse chalk rubble with layers of grey loam – primary fill; 10 coarse chalk rubble – primary fill.

to 3), such as that recorded at South Street (Ashbee *et al.* 1979). The origin of layer 8 is not absolutely clear, but its somewhat exiguous and laterally heterogeneous character together with the low number of shells in it argues against a developed soil profile or turf-line. None of the deposits is of ploughwash type, and no ploughmarks were detected on the weathering ramps.

The molluscan sequence from these deposits is in broad agreement with these conclusions (Figure 8, Table 2). The diagram is best considered in terms of ditch zones. The basis for these is the relative abundance of certain species and ecological groups (Evans 1972), as well as the diversity (H, H') (Pielou 1975) of the fauna as a whole.

Zone A. Shells very sparse. This is layer 9, the upper part of the primary fill, in which the surfaces were unstable and generally dry and unvegetated, presenting conditions on the whole hostile to molluscs.

Zone B. A low-diversity fauna in which *Vallonia costata* predominates. Numbers of shells low. This is equivalent to layer 8, the organic horizon at the base of the secondary fill. The fauna is a local one, special to the ditch bottom, and probably represents the initial colonization by molluscs as infilling slowed, vegetation became established, and the ground surface got moister.

Zone C. A relatively high-diversity fauna with large numbers of shells. This corresponds to layer 7. The general paucity of xerophile species ('*Helicella*', *Pupilla* and *Vallonia excentrica*) argues for woodland or scrub cover. Even if only confined to the ditch, such a fauna indicates the presence of similar habitats in the vicinity from which the species spread, although the lack of certain common species (e.g. *Acanthinula aculeata*, *Aegopinella nitidula* and *Pomatias elegans*) that would generally be expected in such a context hints that such refugia were widely scattered in a generally open landscape. Nevertheless, on a local scale, it seems clear that this episode reflects human abandonment of the site.

Zone D. Faunal diversity falls slightly; some increase in open-country species. This is the lower part of layer 6.

Zone E. The trends begun in zone D become more marked. The woody vegetation of zone C had probably died out (or been destroyed), presumably through renewed activity on the site by people. The paucity of *Vallonia excentrica* and '*Helicella*', and the absence of a turf-line argues against true grassland. There were probably areas of bare ground, with patchy vegetation becoming increasingly herbaceous through zones D and E as infilling proceeded. This corresponds to layers 6 and 4.

Zone F. Low- to variable-diversity fauna. *Pupilla* and '*Helicella*' predominate (although see discussion on p. 28 for the possibility that this assemblage is an artefact of earthworm sorting). Probably grassland. This corresponds to the pea-grit and flint horizons (layers 3 and 2).

Zone G. Very-low-diversity fauna in which *Vallonia excentrica* is predominant. This corresponds to the modern turf. The environment is of short-turfed grassland.

Animal remains (*by* T. O'CONNOR)

The remains of three species of small mammal, mostly teeth, were recovered from the molluscan samples. They were the bank vole (*Clethrionomys glareolus*), the field vole (*Microtus agrestis*) and the wood mouse (*Apodemus* sp.). They were distributed as follows:

Depth below surface (cm)	
10–18	Bank vole, left lower M3.
18–25	Bank vole, frag. (?) left lower M1. *Microtus* sp., left lower M2.
25–30	Bank vole, left upper M1.
33–45	Bank vole, left upper M1. Wood mouse, right upper M1.
50–55	Field vole, left upper M2.
60–65	Field vole, left humerus and right metatarsal III.
65–70	Field vole, left lower M1.
75–80	Wood mouse, left lower M1, right lower M1, M2, M3.

In addition, the lower jaw, teeth and part of the skull of an approximately six-month-old pig were found at 55–60 cm below surface, adjacent to the column of samples. A polecat skull, probably male, was recovered from layer 7.

THE BEAKER-AGE BURIAL

The skeleton (Figures 10–14) (*by* T. O'CONNOR)

On the penultimate day of the excavation a collapse of the ditch section revealed the foot and lower leg bones of a human skeleton. It lay between 9.3 and 10.3 m N and between 2.4 and 3.85 m W in Cutting I. There was not time to plan the skeleton but a sketch plan of the bones and associated artefacts is shown in Figure 11. The bones lay between 1.0 and 1.2 m below the surface in an indistinct pit that cut through the secondary fill into the upper levels of the primary fill (Figure 9). The N side of the burial pit followed the ditch edge. The fill

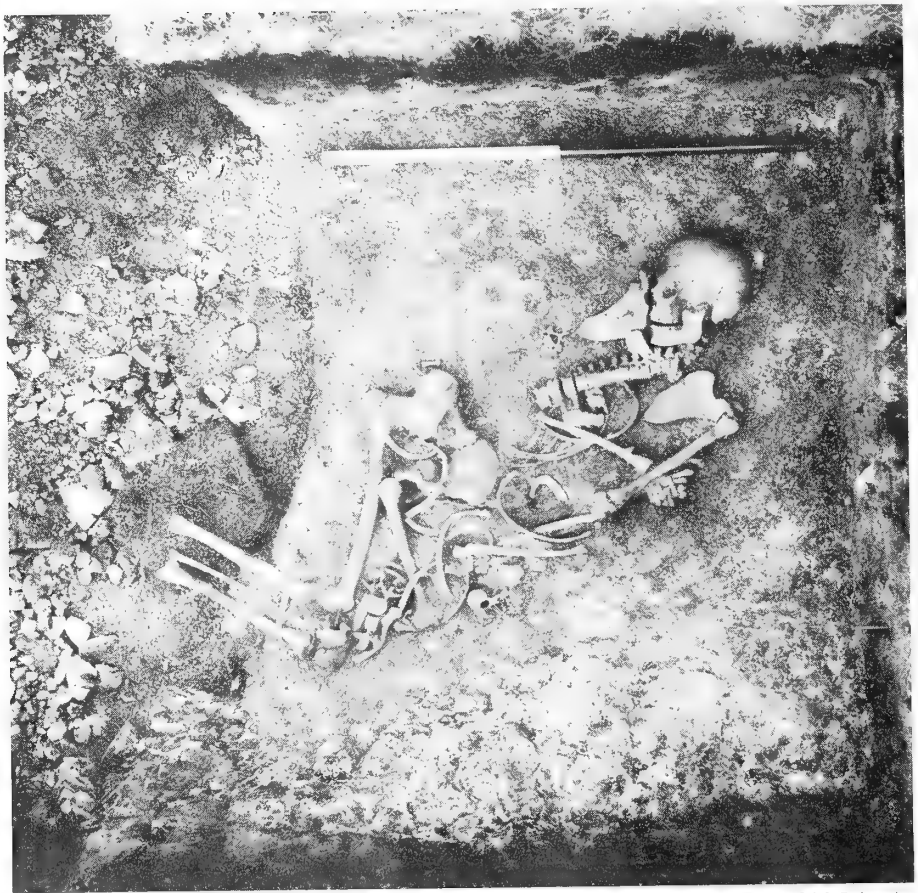

Figure 10. Stonehenge I, Beaker-age burial. Near-vertical photograph. (Scale is 1.0 m.) (Photo. Dick Spicer.)

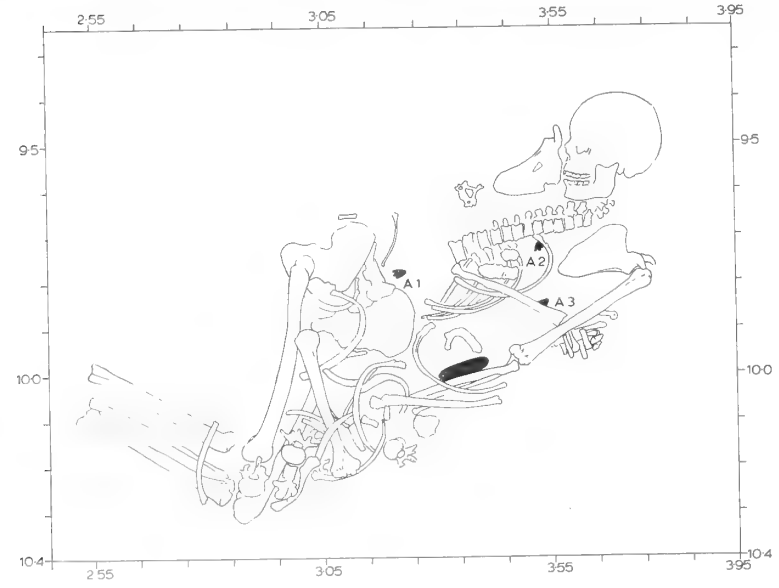

Figure 11. Stonehenge I, Beaker-age burial. Sketch plan of skeleton and associated arrowheads and bracer, made from near-vertical photographs and on-site sketches.

Figure 12. Beaker-age burial.
Right, ninth right rib, upper edge, showing cut marks. (Length of cut 4.5 mm.)
Left, eleventh left rib, upper edge, showing cut marks. (Length of cut 5 mm.) (Photo. Conservation Lab., UCC.)

of the pit (layer 5) consisted of a mixture of largely pale chalky loam (similar to layer 6), patches of darker earth, and chalk rubble. It was heavily disturbed by animal burrows and the skeleton itself had clearly been disrupted by the passage of a large animal, possibly a badger. Bones from the vicinity of the right shoulder had been displaced towards the left hip, and the left fibula, the sixth right rib and parts of both feet were missing. Otherwise the skeleton was complete and the bones in an excellent state of preservation. It lay supine with the legs flexed to the left and the head facing to the right.

The remains are those of a male. The greater sciatic notch is acutely angled and there is no pre-auricular sulcus. Furthermore, the proportions of the well-preserved sternum are thoroughly masculine. These features, taken in conjunction with the large mastoid processes on the skull, leave no doubt that the skeleton is that of a man. As to age, dental attrition is slight, there being exposure of the dentine at only a few points on the first molars, and enamel wear alone on the second and third molars. The basi-sphenoid synchondrosis is fused, and all the appendicular epiphyses are fused. The sacrum, however, presents a slightly ambiguous appearance. The first coccygeal vertebra is fused to S5, usually an indication of relatively advanced age, but the sacral bodies are not fully fused. The indications are that this individual died at an age of between 25 and 30 years. The state of health appears to have been good. The bones are robust, with particularly well-marked muscle insertions, and there are no signs of degenerative joint disease. The teeth are in perfect health where present, the upper first medial incisor having been lost several months before death. There is a slight accumulation of dental calculus on the lingual surfaces of upper and lower incisors and canines.

There is a number of interesting traits of non-traumatic pathology, mostly in the axial skeleton. The atlas vertebra has an incomplete neural arch, fusion having failed in the sagittal plane. Another failure of fusion is seen in L5, the neural arch and anterior zygapophyses being separate from the centrum and posterior zygapophyses, with a stepped 'articulation' between the two parts. The interesting implication of this is that the two centres of ossification which normally form the lamellae and neural arch must themselves have been divided in two. T12 is also abnormal. The neural spine is displaced sharply to the right, and there is an absence of fusion between the spine and the right transverse process. In the sacrum, the hiatus sacralis is open to S4, and the third spine of the median sacral crest is reduced and displaced to the right. This displacement of the neural spine is manifest in the otherwise normal thoracic vertebrae, there being no consistent pattern. The spines are displaced by several millimetres either side of the sagittal plane, approximately alternating to left and right. Supernumerary ossicles are present throughout the coronal, sagittal and lamboidal sutures of the skull. More unusually, the sutural pattern within the acetabula indicate the presence there of bilateral ossae acetabulii. Two other notable traits in the skull are the presence of bilateral parietal foramena, and the distinctly spatulate form of the maxillary incisors, with small accessory tubercles being present on the lingual surfaces.

Traumatic pathology is manifest throughout the thorax. A small fragment of flint, apparently the tip of a projectile point, is embedded in the posterior surface of the first segment of the mesosternum. The angle of penetration of the fragment would indicate projectile entry on the left side of the dorsal part of the thorax. Three ribs bear further evidence of similar penetrating injury. The fourth left rib bears a small hole with associated cracks on the external surface of the rib, just

Figure 13. Beaker-age burial. Fourth left rib with tip of arrowhead 3 in place. Frontal view. (Length of broken end 5.5 mm.) (The transverse crack is post-excavation.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

Figure 14. Beaker-age burial. Fourth left rib with tip of arrowhead 3 in place. Ventral view. (Scale as in Figure 13.) (Photo. Conservation Lab., UCC.)

	left	*right*
Long bones (mm)		
femur, max. length	(cast available, not measured)	472
tibia, max. length	396	392
fibula, max. length	395	(not recovered)
humerus, max. length	349	349
humerus, major diameter	25.1	25.8
humerus, minor diameter	20.8	21.2
radius, max. length	265	265
ulna, max. length	290	291

Skull (mm) (some measurements omitted, as the skull is extensively reconstructed)

max. length = 214	lambdoidal arc = 106.0
max. breadth = 146	frontal chord = 117.4
biasterionic breadth = 116.5	parietal chord = 117.0
supra-orbital breadth = 102.8	lambdoidal chord = 90.5
basi-bregmatic height = 149.5	nasal height = 54.8
frontal arc = 136.0	max. breadth pyriform aperture = 26.0
parietal arc = 131.0	

Palate (mm)

max. length = 55.6
breadth at M2 = 45.9

Mandible (mm)

max. length = 118.0	coronoid height = 73.0
bigonial breadth = 99.2	condylar height = 79.8

Table 3. Bone measurements

to the left of the sternal junction (Figures 13 and 14). The hole contains a fragment of flint, the tip of arrowhead 3 (see below, p. 19), angled upwards into the bone. The eleventh rib (Figure 12) has a narrow and deep groove on the anterior edge with some associated fragmentation of the compact bone, located dorsally to the thorax. The groove is too sharply defined and narrow to be attributable to damage during excavation, and it seems likely that this is damage caused by a sharp-edged projectile passing between ribs ten and eleven. A similar groove with some associated dark staining is seen on the anterior edge of the ninth right rib (Figure 12), lateral to the thorax. The same interpretation can probably be placed upon this injury.

It is likely that the damaged eleventh rib in the lower left back is the point of entry for the arrow which embedded in the back of the sternum. This was the fatal wound, the arrow entering the back on the left side, hitting the edge of the rib and being deflected upwards, almost certainly passing through the heart before reaching the sternum. In addition to the arrow tip in the fourth left rib, the damage to the ninth right rib suggests a third arrow to have entered the chest from the right. The man was probably shot at close range as none of the injuries shows the penetration downwards that would be expected from an arrow falling in an arc.

Overall, the appearance of the skeleton is of a muscular and well-built man in the prime of life. Muscle insertions on the humerus, radius and ulna of each arm indicate full, although by no means abnormal, development of the muscles associated with flexion and rotation. There is slight asymmetry in development around the elbow, possibly indicative of right-handedness. The bones of the legs are particularly robust. Both femora show an unusual medio-lateral curvature, the diaphysis curving medially around mid-shaft, as well as the usual antero-posterior curvature. The points of attachment for the gluteus maximus, adductor magnus, and gastrocnemius muscles are very prominent. Both femora show slight lipping of the medial condyle over the intercondylar fossa, and there is some lipping at the edges of the right trochlear articular surface. This does not look like degenerative joint disease, rather an extension of healthy articular surfaces in response to considerable use. Both tibiae show some periosteal hypertrophy in the region of the attachment of the anterior cruciate ligament. An interesting anomaly on the left tibia is a small semi-circular articular facet on the anterior margin of the distal epiphysis. In the absence of the appropriate tarsals, it is not clear why this facet should be present.

Application of the regression equations of Trotter and Gleser (1958) indicates stature to have been between 176 and 178 cm (5 ft 9½ in. to 5 ft 10 in.) (Table 3). It should be stressed that this is only an approximation.

The cephalic index (max. breadth/max. length x 100%) gives a value of 68.2%, indicating a distinctly dolichocephalic skull. The vertical index (basibregmatic height/max. length x 100%) is 69.86%, only just below the orthocephalic range. According to the Lee-Pearson formula, the cranial capacity is 1405.7 cc.

Burial accompaniments

In the fill of the burial pit in greater or lesser association with the skeleton were three barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, an archer's bracer or wristguard, three pieces of bluestone, and two lumps of grooved chalk.

The bracer (Figures 15, 16, 21a) (*by* R.J.C. ATKINSON)

The bracer lay parallel to and mid-way along the inner side of the left radius (Figures 10 and 11).

It measures 110 mm in length, 28 mm in width and 9 mm in thickness, and is asymmetrical in plan, one edge being more convex than the other. The ends are facetted rather than rounded, the facets showing traces of coarse grinding. The surfaces are convex both longitudinally and transversely, and the edges have been squared, though the arrises have been rounded by subsequent grinding. One face, presumably the one visible in use, has been finished by fine grinding, though not to the stage of obliterating completely the scratches, mainly oblique, resulting from an earlier and much coarser abrasion. The relative smoothness of the finish is now partially obscured by an adherent deposit of fine short branched lines of calcium carbonate, due probably to a former growth of fungal hyphae or roots. The other face has been less well finished and bears widespread traces of coarse oblique grinding. The adherent deposits are minimal.

The two holes for attachment to a leather cuff have been counter-bored from opposite sides to give an hourglass-shaped perforation, and are set asymmetrically towards the more convex edge. In one case the counter-bores coincide to produce a circular hole 4 mm in diameter at the mid-thickness; in the other the centres are offset by about 2.5 mm. The stepped striations in the counter-bores show that a flint drill-point was used, the edges of which broke away in places during use. The rough state of these perforations contrasts with the smooth surface of the counter-bores in many other bracers, evidently achieved by the use of a bone or hardwood point and a fine abrasive.

The material is a dark grey fine-grained metamorphic

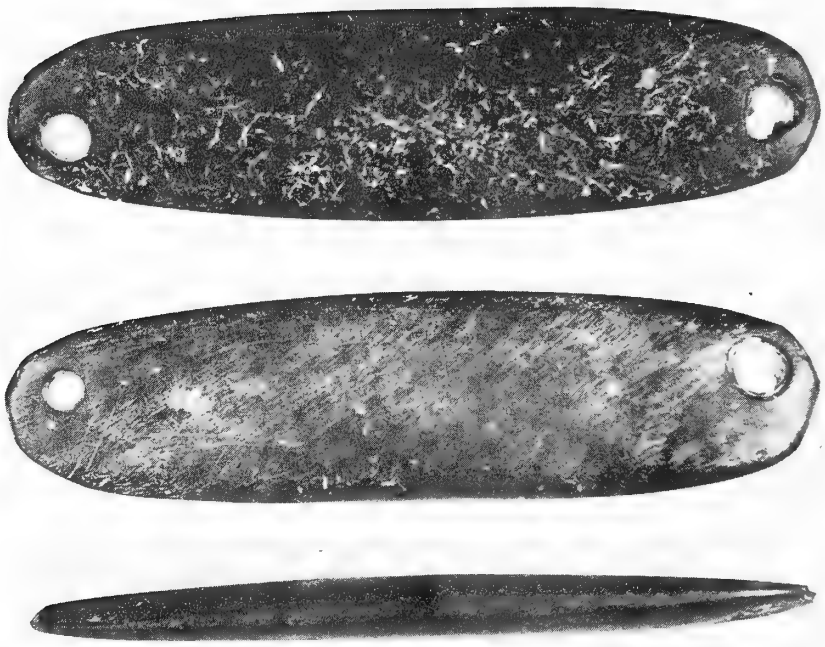

Figure 15. Beaker-age burial. Bracer.
Above, upper surface in burial. (Length 110 mm.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

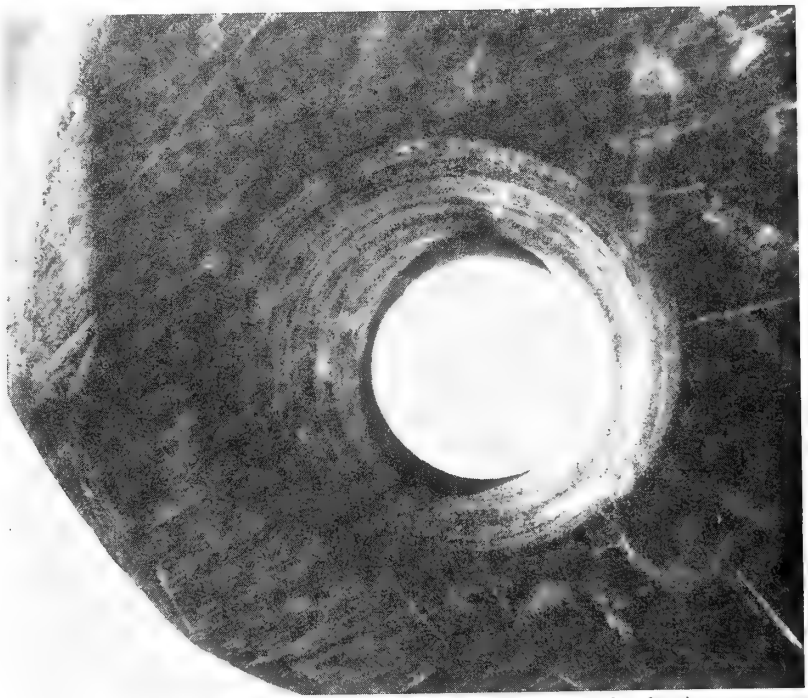

Figure 16. Beaker-age burial. Bracer showing details of ground surface and perforation.
(Photo. Conservation Lab., UCC.)

Site	*NGR*	*Length (mm)*	*Width (mm)*	*Museum*	*Reference*
Fyvie, Aberdeenshire	NK 7637	87	28	NMA, Edinburgh, AT 7	*PSAS*, *27* (1892–3), 11
Ballogie, Aberdeenshire	NO 5795	77	18	NMA, Edinburgh, AT 8	*PSAS*, 27 (1892–3), 11
Broadford Bay, Skye	NG 6423	84	23	NMA, Edinburgh, AT 3	D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, I (1863), 223
Callachally, Glenforsa, Mull	NM 5942	90	33	NMA, Edinburgh, EQ 135–8	*PSAS*, 9 (1871–2), 537–8
Lomond Hills, Fife	NO 2207	63	33	NMA, Edinburgh, AT 6	
Crawford, Lanarkshire	NS 9520	61	26	Hunterian, Glasgow, Bishop coll.	
Moss Side, Co. Antrim		100	28	Salisbury, 31/D.25	
Co. Antrim		64	16	Belfast, 1911.251 B	
South Rauceby, Lincolnshire	TF 0245	70	20	Lincoln	C.F.C. Hawkes, *Arch. J.*, 103 (1946), 5
Burnt Fen, Cambridgeshire	TL 6087	76	25	Downing Street, Cambridge	
Stonehenge, Wiltshire	SU 1242	110	28	Salisbury	

Table 4. Bracers of type A1.

rock of slaty character, probably not to be identified specifically even by thin sectioning.

This bracer conforms to type A1 as defined in the classification outlined in Clarke (1970, 570). The provenances of the other ten examples known (Table 4) are mainly in Scotland and Co. Antrim, with single outliers in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire. This example is the most southerly occurrence of the type, and it is also the longest. Only the example from Glenforsa in Mull has any associations : an N3 beaker, an S3(E) beaker and a single-rivetted (?copper) knife. The association of the Stonehenge bracer with barbed-and-tanged flint arrowheads is unique.

In the grave the bracer lay in an anomalous and functionally useless position, half-way up the inner side of the left forearm, parallel to and in contact with the radius. Neither the radius nor the adjacent ulna appeared to have been disturbed, so the position of the bracer must be regarded as deliberate. A bracer of type C1 from Kelleythorpe near Driffield, East Yorkshire, which was also accompanied by a single-rivetted knife, appears to have been worn in a similar position, but on the right forearm (Mortimer 1905, 274). A bracer is normally worn much lower down the arm, in order to protect the veins on the inside of the wrist from the cutting impact of the bowstring.

The arrowheads (Figures 17–20, 21b–d) (*by* H.S. GREEN) The three arrowheads, all of flint, are of barbed-and-tanged type. All lack the tip, two each have a damaged barb, and one lacks the tang.

Arrowhead 1 lay in the lumbar region immediately anterior to the sacrum (Figures 10 and 11). Its dimensions are: estimated original length, 29 mm; max. breadth, 20 mm; max. thickness, 4 mm; weight, 1.6 g. The tang is rounded, and the surviving barb roughly pointed in shape. It is of Sutton b or c type, probably the latter (Green 1980).

Arrowhead 2, the smallest of the three, lay in the thoracic region just to the left of the fourth thoracic vertebra (Figure 11). Its dimensions are: estimated original length, 22 mm; estimated max. breadth, 22 mm; max. thickness, 2.75 mm; weight, 1.0 g. The tang and surviving barb are both 'squared'. It is a small example of Conygar type (Green 1980).

Arrowhead 3 lay alongside the distal end of the right radius (Figures 10 and 11). The broken-off tip was embedded in the front of the fourth left rib (p. 17) (Figure 13 and 14). Its dimensions are: estimated original length, 29 mm; max. breadth, 23 mm; max. thickness, 4 mm; weight, 1.5 g. The barbs are 'squared'. It is an example of possibly Sutton b but more probably Conygar type (Green 1980).

The tip of a fourth arrowhead was embedded in the dorsal side of the mesosternum (p. 15). The rest of this arrowhead was not found.

Arrowheads of Sutton type are a characteristic Beaker association and appear throughout the whole chronological range of barbed-and-tanged arrowheads. But Conygar-type arrowheads are uncommon as a Beaker type, being more characteristic of Food-Vessel burials. Known Beaker associations are listed in Green (1980, 138). Analysis of barbed-and-tanged arrowheads showed that 45% had been broken. While there is no doubt that in many instances arrowheads were placed as grave goods (Green 1980, 172), greater attention will have to be paid in future to their precise context in graves.

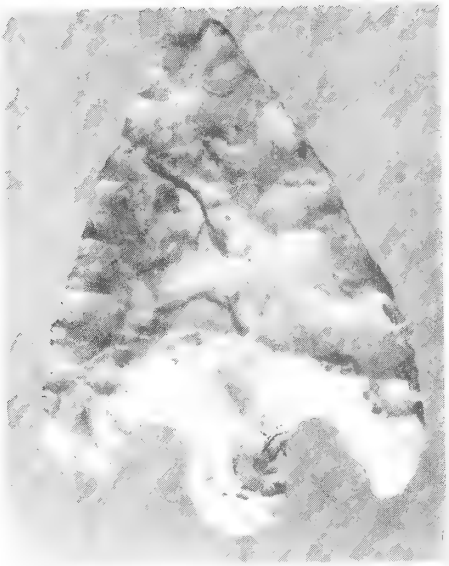

Figure 17. Beaker-age burial. Arrowhead 1. (Length 27 mm.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

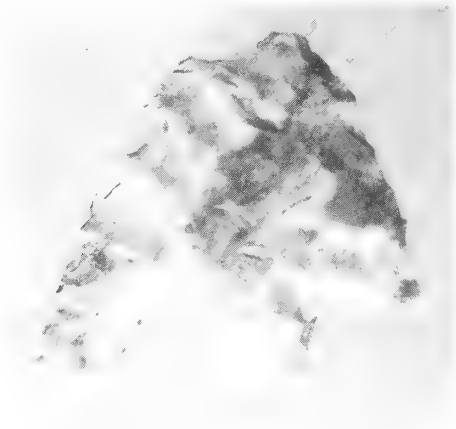

Figure 18. Beaker-age burial. Arrowhead 2. (Length 19.5 mm.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

Figure 19. Beaker-age burial. Arrowhead 3, with tip extracted from fourth left rib. (Length 28.5 mm.) (Photo. J.G.E.)

Figure 20. Beaker-age burial. Arrowhead 3, with tip extracted from rib. Detail to show matching flake scars. (Photo. J.G.E.)

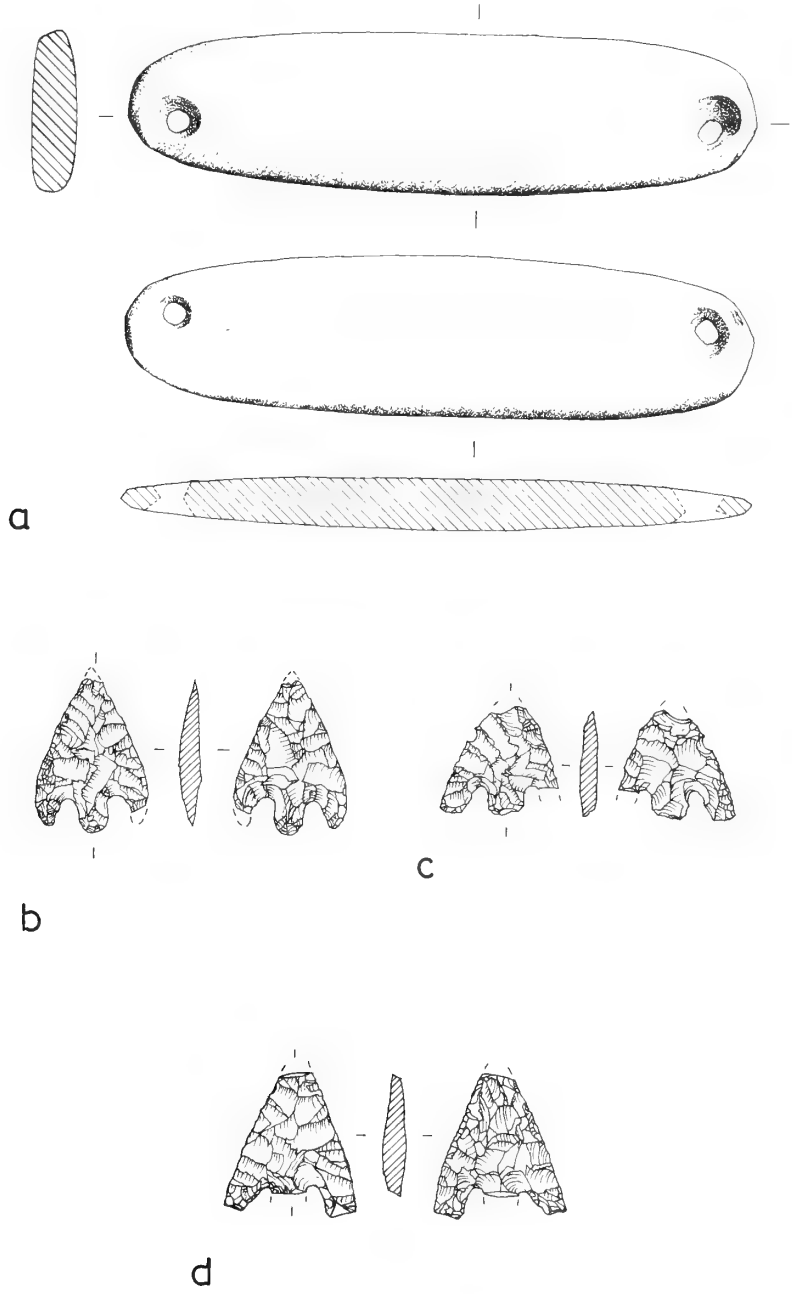

Figure 21. Beaker-age burial. (a) The bracer; views as in Figure 15; (b) Arrowhead 1; (c) Arrowhead 2; (d) Arrowhead 3. (For scale see Figures 15 and 17 to 19.) (Drawing: Paul Hughes.)

The bluestone pieces

Three pieces of bluestone were recovered from the fill of the burial pit, slightly higher than the skeleton (at 70 cm below the surface) and not obviously associated with it, but clearly in the chalky fill. These pieces have been looked at by a number of people with varying comments. Dr H.S. Green has made the most detailed study.

Piece 1 is of rhyolitic tuff. Hilary Howard has examined the material petrographically and characterized it as rhyolitic tuff – type B (Howard, in Pitts 1982, 116). Its dimensions are: length, 82 mm; max. breadth, 46 mm; thickness, 20 mm; weight, 78 g. This is thought to be a bifacially-flaked knife, a crude copy of a leaf-shaped knife.

Piece 2 is a flake of spotted (ophitic) dolerite. Its dimensions are: length (along long axis of flake), 136 mm; max. breadth, 201 mm; max. thickness, 52 mm; weight, 747.5 g. This is interpreted as an end-scraper.

Piece 3 is of spotted (ophitic) dolerite. Its dimensions are: length, 87 mm; breadth, 55 mm; thickness, 42 mm; weight, 247.5 g. This is interpreted as a scraper.

In my view, only piece 3 is certainly a tool, though piece 1, while not a knife, has been crudely flaked bifacially along one edge. The scars on piece 2 are no more than one would expect from normal fracture from the parent block. One of the surfaces of piece 2 is pitted and has a thin weathering crust (2.0–3.0 mm). This is considered by Dr M. Pitts to be an artificially pecked surface subsequently weathered. It is more likely, however, that this is the product of natural weathering alone.

The chalk lumps

Two lumps of chalk, one with slight and the other with deep scratches, were the only other interesting contents of the burial pit. They were found close to the North edge of the pit at 60 cm below the surface. They are thought to be from a badger's sett in the ditch, where they served as scratching posts. The striations closely resemble the badger-scratchings on the walls of some of the chalk-cut neolithic 'grottoes' in the Marne valley in France (R.J.C. Atkinson, personal communication).

RADIOCARBON DATES

Two pieces of red deer (*Cervus elaphus* L.) antler recovered in the 1954 excavation, one from on and one from close to the bottom of the ditch, were submitted to the British Museum for radiocarbon dating, as follows:

BM–1617 Collagen from tine of antler from bottom of ditch
4390 bp ± 60 (= 2440 bc ± 60)

BM–1583 Collagen from beam of antler from *c.* 30 cm above bottom of ditch
4410 bp ± 60 (= 2460 bc ± 60)..

When calibrated according to Klein *et al.* (1982) these dates become 3130 BC ± 115 and 3135 BC ± 115 respectively. An earlier determination from an antler fragment from the same 1954 excavation in a similar primary context was 2180 bc ± 105 (I–2328), which when similarly calibrated becomes 2710 BC ± 145. Since all three specimens provide estimates of the date of the same event, they may be combined to give a weighted mean and standard error of 2410 bc ± 40, which when calibrated is 3120 BC ± 120.

After a cast had been made of the left femur of the human skeleton from layer 5, the femur was dated by the British Museum as follows:

BM–1582 Collagen from left femur of human skeleton, layer 5
3715 bp ± 70 (= 1765 bc ± 70)

which when calibrated as above becomes 2170 BC ± 110. The deposits between the bottom of the ditch and the base of layer 4 thus built up over a period of about 935 ± 155 years, or roughly between six and twelve centuries.

THE AVENUE

Three cuttings (I, II and III) were laid out immediately to the SW of the bend in the Avenue and approximately 520 m from its origin at Stonehenge (Figure 22). The position of these cuttings in relation to the various features of the bend is shown in RCHM (E) (1979, Figure 5). Cutting I was laid out so that it partially sectioned Newall's Mound.

Periglacial deposits

Silty periglacial deposits were present, as at Stonehenge, but here the involutions were more contorted as if having been subjected to lateral stresses, and their fill was darker. They were exposed beneath

Figure 22. Stonehenge Avenue. Plan of cuttings.

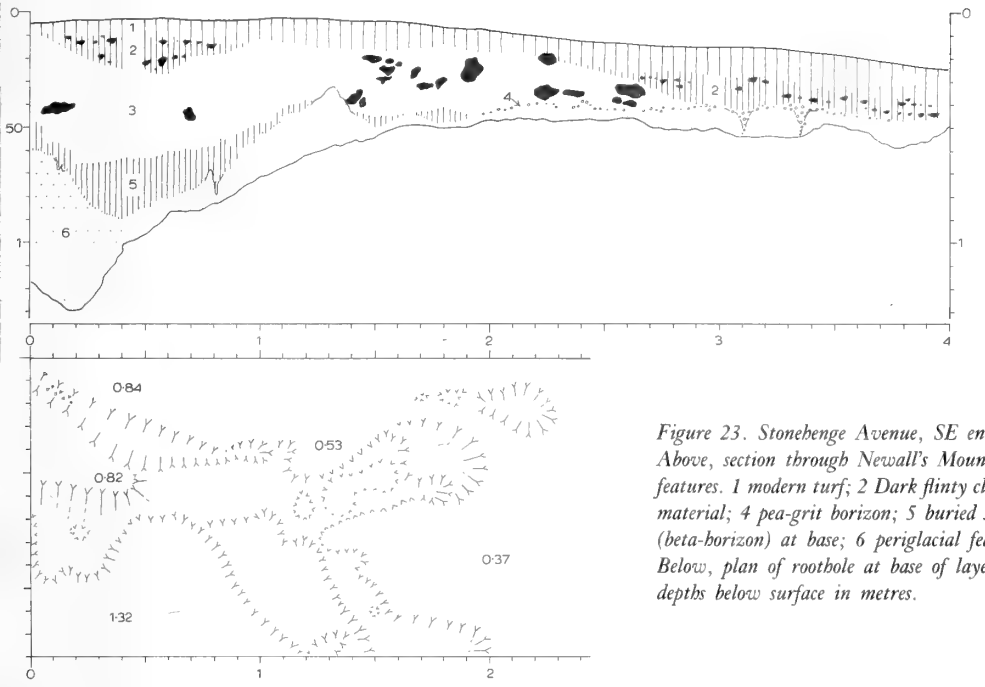

Figure 23. Stonehenge Avenue, SE end of Cutting 1. Above, section through Newall's Mound and underlying features. 1 modern turf; 2 Dark flinty clay-loam; 3 mound material; 4 pea-grit horizon; 5 buried soil with clay skin (beta-horizon) at base; 6 periglacial feature.
Below, plan of roothole at base of layer 5; numbers are depths below surface in metres.

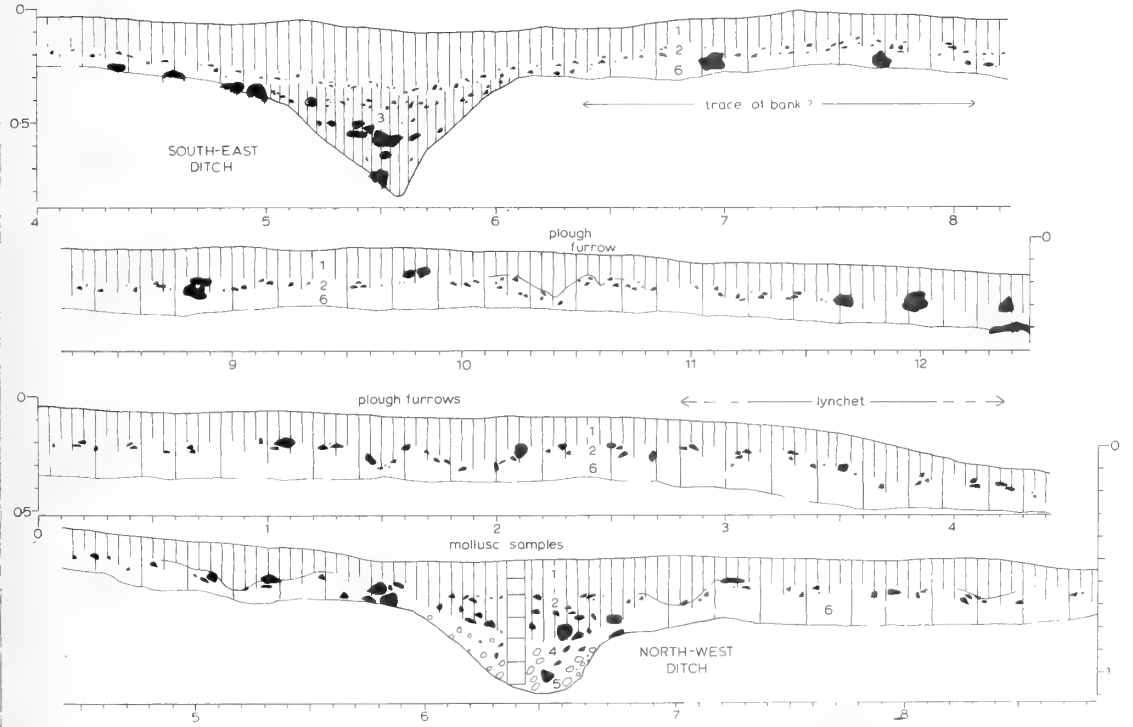

Figure 24. Stonehenge Avenue, ditch sections. Above, Cutting I. Below, Cutting II. 1 modern turf; 2 flint horizon; 3 alternate horizons of flint and clay loam (in SE ditch only); 4 flint and chalk rubble; 5 chalk rubble; 6 A/C-horizon of modern soil.

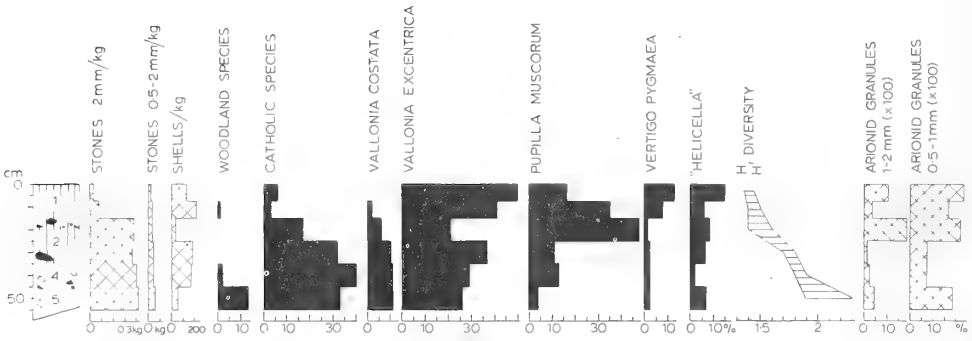

Figure 25. Stonehenge Avenue, NW ditch. Molluscan diagram. See Figure 24 for location of samples and key to layers. The groups of mollusca in Figure 25 are as in the caption to Figure 8 (page 12).

Newall's Mound (Figure 23, layer 6) and in the side of a rubbish pit dug about 50 m NNE of Cutting III (Figure 5). The fill was devoid of molluscs.

Post-glacial soils

The soils in the area of the Avenue cuttings showed considerable decalcification in contrast to the chalky rendsinas at the Stonehenge site. This is possibly a function of subsoil differences between the two sites and, more recently, of land use. In some cases, as in layer 5 below Newall's Mound, a true decalcified B-horizon showing clay illuviation, and with a thin coating of clay at its base (beta-horizon), was present. Below Newall's Mound the Post-glacial soil (Figure 23, layer 5) filled a series of irregular hollows. These are probably the remains of a tree root. Faunal material was absent, however, so its age is unknown.

Newall's Mound (Figure 23)

The area of Newall's Mound was complicated by periglacial features and the tree-root hole. Layer 5 is the B-horizon of the pre-mound soil; it is patchily preserved and thins out into the modern pea-grit horizon. The mound material consisted of a mixture of large flint nodules and clay-loam. Above, was a layer of flinty clay-loam, with the flints (and occasional sarsen fragment) horizontally layered, probably a combination of old plough soil and worm-sorted horizon. There were no indications of the age relationship between Newall's Mound and the SE ditch of the Avenue.

The Avenue ditches (Figure 24)

The Avenue ditches were shallow, the deposits often weakly calcareous or decalcified, and their molluscan content generally poor. There were no pre-bank soils, these having been destroyed by ploughing, although there was a hint of the protected surface where the SE bank had once been. The modern soil (layers 1 and 2) showed clear evidence of ploughing in the presence of deep furrows (at right-angles to the length of the cuttings).

In section, the SE ditch was a shallow V, with the flat bottom 0.1 m wide. The infilling (layer 3) was non-calcareous, consisting of large flint fragments in a clay-loam, overlain by a succession of flinty and non-flinty horizons.

The NW ditch had a rounded profile and the infilling was calcareous throughout. The details of the section sampled for molluscs are as follows:

Depth below surface (cm)	
0-15	Modern turf (layer 1).
15–35	Flinty clay-loam with chalk flecks (layer 2).
35–45	Flinty and chalky loam (layer 4).
45–55	Very chalky loam, flints sparse (layer 5).

Layers 4 and 5 probably constitute natural infilling, with the lower part of layer 2 perhaps being the vestiges of a buried soil as described by Pitts (1982, 94) for the sections closer to Stonehenge. The upper part of layer 2 is a plough soil.

The molluscan diagram is shown in Figure 25 (see also Table 5). In addition to the shells, the granules of arionid slugs were counted, samples of 100 g of soil being used for this purpose. They have been excluded from the diversity (H, H') calculations, however. The succession is very similar to that in the upper part of the Stonehenge I ditch (zones E, F and G) and probably reflects the same general pattern of faunal change. The *Pupilla* peak is present, there is a neat complementary change in the frequencies of the two species of *Vallonia*, and *Vertigo pygmaea* increases in the turf. In layer 5, woodland species are present at almost 15%. The diversity curve shows a regular fall through the profile. There is a peak of the larger arionid granules (1–2 mm)

Depth below surface (cm)	45–55	35–45	25–35	15–25	7.5–15	0–7.5
Air-dry weight (kg)	1.62	1.0	1.0	1.69	1.0	1.0
Pomatias elegans	4	1	3	1	–	–
Carychium tridentatum	3	–	–	–	–	–
Cochlicopa lubricella	–	2	2	–	–	–
Cochlicopa spp.	–	9	9	5	4	2
Vertigo pygmaea	1	5	4	1	18	18
Abida secale	?1	–	–	–	–	–
Pupilla muscorum	2	23	21	34	79	22
Vallonia costata	5	19	19	4	4	–
Vallonia excentrica	12	50	68	15	92	66
Punctum pygmaeum	1	5	–	–	–	2
Discus rotundatus	1	1	–	–	–	–
Arion spp. / 100 g	74	149	153	174	434	453
Vitrina pellucida	–	1	–	1	–	–
Nesovitrea hammonis	–	1	–	–	–	–
Aegopinella pura	1	–	–	–	–	–
Oxychilus cellarius	2	–	–	–	–	–
Deroceras spp.	7	3	9	1	8	3
Clausilia bidentata	–	2	–	–	1	–
Cernuella virgata	–	–	–	–	4	20
Helicella itala	3	4	12	6	9	–
Trichia hispida	2	51	36	4	–	1
Cepaea spp.	1	1	1	–	1	–

Table 5. Stonehenge Avenue, NW ditch. Mollusca. (Nomenclature after Kerney 1976.)

at the same level as the *Pupilla* peak (15–25 cm) and possibly for the same reason as discussed below (p. 28).

The Gate Ditch (Figure 26)

The transverse profile of the Gate Ditch (so-called because when traced by Atkinson in 1953 it appeared to run through a neighbouring gateway) was asymmetrical. The NW side was steep and the bottom rounded. The SE side was less steep and irregular, but it was not clear whether layer 5 was natural or fill; if natural then the cross-section becomes more symmetrical. A deep groove to the SE of the ditch is probably a plough furrow.

The infilling consisted of:

Modern turf (layer 1)
Flinty loams, probably plough soils (layer 2)
Chalky loam with flints (layer 3)
Coarse chalk rubble (layer 4)
Chalk rubble and coombe rock (layer 5).

Layers 4 and 3 can be seen as the natural products of primary and secondary infilling. Layer 5 may be a pocket of natural or a part of the primary fill.

These deposits were sampled for molluscs, but only 88 shells were extracted from 5.0 kg so the results are not given in detail. The fauna is of low diversity (H' = 1.56). All the species are of open-country type, those familiar from the other deposits being predominant. The total list is as follows:

Cochlicopa lubricella	1
Cochlicopa spp.	2
Vertigo pygmaea	3
Pupilla muscorum	36
Vallonia costata	4
Vallonia excentrica	25
Vitrina pellucida	1
Deroceras spp.	3
Helicella itala	13

An alternative way of accounting for some of the curious features of the Gate Ditch is to see it as a palisade trench for a series of posts. This would explain the paucity of molluscs and the irregularities and uncertainties along the SE edge. Layer 5 could be considered as natural material compacted when heavy timbers were slid into the ditch, or even as a deliberate-

ly prepared ramp. No casts in the deposits or impressions on the bottom of the ditch were seen during excavation, however, even though the possibility of this being a palisade trench was realized. Part of the same ditch had been excavated on the site of the Stonehenge underpass in 1967 by F. and L. Vatcher (unpublished) and was there found to support a timber palisade.

DISCUSSION

The main objective of the excavations was to obtain an environmental sequence, but for the following reasons we were not as successful in this as had been hoped:

(1) The molluscan fauna beneath the Stonehenge I bank, although in a recognizable buried soil, was largely recent and modern. This was due to earthworm activity.
(2) The Stonehenge I ditch deposits had been disturbed by a variety of burrowing animals, badgers, polecats, possibly rabbits, and worms.
(3) A Beaker-age burial had considerably disrupted the ditch deposits.
(4) No shells were present in the periglacial involutions or early/mid-Post-glacial tree holes and soils.
(5) The Avenue ditch deposits were shallow and poor in molluscs (although one reasonable sequence was obtained), and no pre-Avenue mollusc-bearing soils were preserved.

I suspect that practically all these deficiencies stem from the limited extent of the excavations, and that had these been more extensive the environmental record would have been more complete.

The main events in the environmental history of the site can now be summarized, remembering as this is done that the various episodes are not of equivalent importance in spatial and chronological terms. Brief reference will be made to earlier work on snails at Stonehenge (M.E. Cunnington 1933; R.H. Cunnington 1935; Kennard, 1935) and to near-by sites with environmental evidence (Figure 27). These are Boscombe Down (Newall 1931), Earl's Farm Down (Christie 1964; 1967), Ratfyn (Stone 1935), Durrington Walls (Wainwright and Longworth 1971), Woodhenge (Cunnington 1929; Wainwright 1979), Coneybury (Martin Bell, personal information), the Wilsford Shaft (Osborne 1969), Fargo Plantation (Stone 1938), and Greenland Farm (Christie 1970).

Periglacial deposits

Periglacial deposits consisting of coombe rock and silt-filled involutions (not clay-filled as stated by Pitts

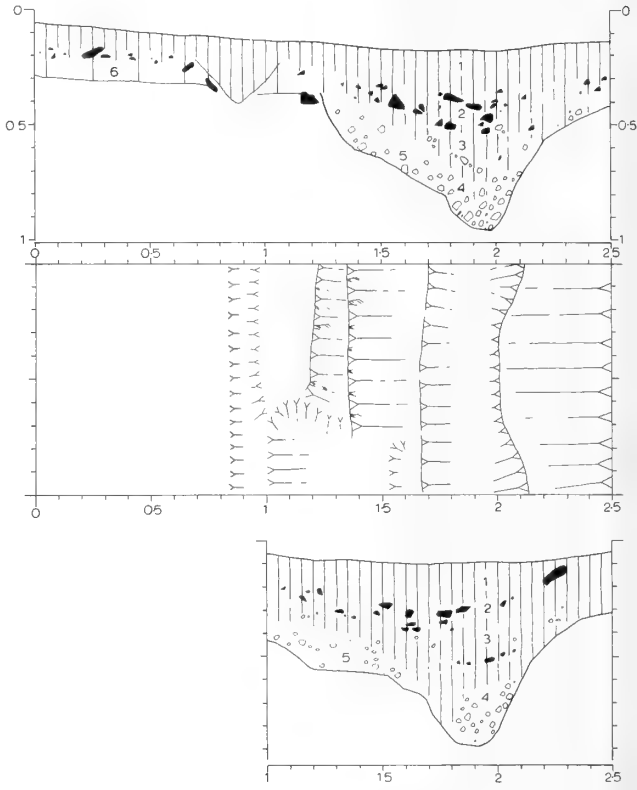

Figure 26. Stonehenge Avenue, Gate Ditch.
Above and below, sections. 1 modern turf; 2 flinty clay loam; 3 chalk loam; 4 chalk and flint rubble; 5 fine chalk rubble and orange silt-loam.
Middle, plan.

1982, 81) were present on both the Avenue and Stonehenge, but were devoid of shells. Similar deposits are known from Woodhenge and Durrington Walls, at the latter site containing a molluscan fauna of probable Devensian Late-glacial age. Further afield they are known from Marden in the Vale of Pewsey (Evans 1975) and in the area around Avebury (Evans 1968; 1969).

The pre-henge environments

Deposits and soils of early/mid-Post-glacial age were sparse and securely stratified shells absent. Nevertheless, at both Durrington Walls and Woodhenge there was pre-henge woodland, so it is likely that such also occurred at Stonehenge. The tree-hole beneath Newall's Mound is probably of the same general age.

There was no evidence of ploughing in the pre-henge soil, nor any other hint as to the various land-use activities that went on before Stonehenge I was built. Late-neolithic/early-bronze-age grassland is indicated

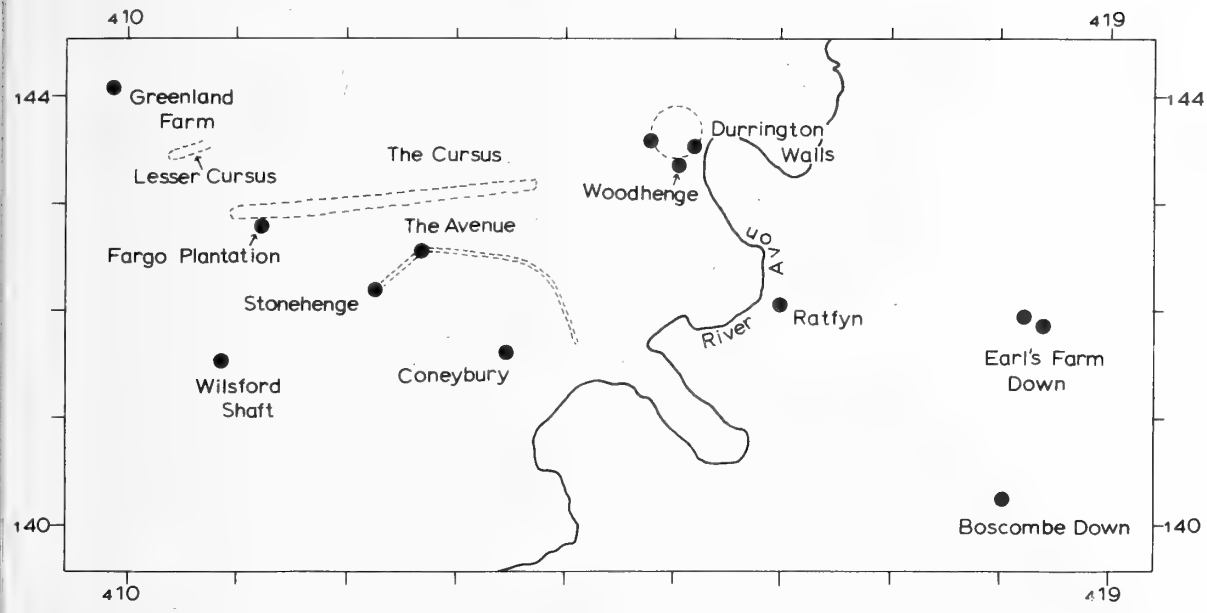

Figure 27. Location of sites with neolithic and bronze-age environmental data in the vicinity of Stonehenge. (National Grid at 1–km intervals.)

in pre-barrow/pre-henge contexts by the molluscan and rodent faunas and the soil profiles at Boscombe Down, Earl's Farm Down, Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and Greenland Farm. At Earl's Farm Down there was earlier pre-barrow ploughing.

Stonehenge I

After the construction of the Stonehenge I earthwork, the ditch appears to have filled up in part by natural processes, aided, perhaps, by some deliberate destruction of the bank. In the secondary infilling, after a short episode of colonization (zone B), a woodland or scrub vegetation became established (zone C). Although this saw the richest molluscan fauna at any stage in the infilling, diversity (H' = 2.2) was low by comparison with faunas from similar contexts, for example South Street (H' = 2.7) (Ashbee *et al.* 1979). This might reflect the sparse distribution of woodland and scrub refugia in the Stonehenge area at this time. Indeed, at Woodhenge the situation is even more extreme in that no woodland fauna of any kind established itself in the ditch (max. H' = 2.3). On the other hand the ditch fauna from Coneybury, of broadly similar age and only 1.2 km distant, is quite rich (max. H' = 2.7).

Of the 10 loci examined for molluscs by A.S. Kennard at Stonehenge only one was from the middle of the ditch deposits (Kennard 1935; notebook for Wiltshire in the British Museum, Natural History). They include the bottom and various levels of the ditch fill of Stonehenge I, various 'postholes' of Stonehenge II, and the base of the recent soil, thus spanning several millennia. *Vallonia costata* is more abundant than *V. excentrica* in the bottom of the ditch, and this is in agreement with the current work. There was 'a total absence of damp-loving species', and an environment of 'open downland with absence of scrub growth' was postulated. It is impossible to use these data to suggest a date for Stonehenge as proposed by the Cunningtons, and one wonders how their argument for a later-bronze-age date would have gone had the deposits of zone C been analysed. Nevertheless on a local basis it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the immediate vicinity of Stonehenge has been more or less continuously open since or from before the construction of the earliest monument. Woodhenge was probably within this compass (although much of the deposit in the ditch is Romano-British and later), but Coneybury seems to have been outside it. Faunas from the ditch of a Beaker/Food-Vessel grave at Fargo Plantation and a Grooved-Ware pit at Ratfyn were of a mixed shaded and open character but of low diversity.

At Stonehenge itself, however, there is equally little doubt that zone C represents the abandonment of the site by people, and the growth of scrub or woodland. This conclusion is of the greatest importance archaeologically in that it implies a cultural discontinuity early in the sequence at Stonehenge. It is consonant with other archaeological and astronomical evidence, providing a context, for instance, for the growth of trees on the margins of the site as suggested by holes F, G and H

(Atkinson 1979), which are almost certainly tree-holes and not artificial. This conclusion is entirely new in the putative history of Stonehenge.

Later, in zones D and E, diversity falls, and the environment becomes more open. This episode is probably connected with renewal of human activity on the site. It may be equated with the evidence for deliberate backfilling noted in the upper levels of some of the sections excavated by Colonel Hawley (M. Ehrenberg and P.J. Berridge, personal communication).

The Beaker-age burial

The discovery of the Beaker-age burial requires some re-interpretation of the stratigraphy of the ditch infilling as presented in Atkinson's *Stonehenge* (1979, 73 ff., but see also 215). In 1954 a fragment of rhyolite was found at a depth of 0.9 m immediately above layer 8. This was taken to show that the bluestones had arrived at Stonehenge soon after the formation of the primary fill, and that the deposits above this level (layers 6 and 7) belonged to the period of Stonehenge II. This fragment can now be seen to have derived from the extreme edge of the filling of the burial pit, along with the other three pieces recovered in the current work. It is probable, therefore, that the greater part of the infilling, as visible today, had formed before the bluestones were brought to Stonehenge.

Bronze-age aeolian deposits

Layer 4 in the ditch of Stonehenge I may be an aeolian (wind-lain) deposit, equivalent in age and origin to the fill of one of the Y Holes (16) analysed by Cornwall (1953). However, as explained above, it was too worm-riddled to sample properly. It is in the right stratigraphical position, as it is almost certainly later than the infilling of the Beaker-age burial pit, while at the same time it contains none of the later debris found in the soil profile. Two sarsen mauls were found on its surface in the 1954 excavation (Atkinson 1979, 74). The radiocarbon date for an antler on the bottom of Y Hole 30 is 1240 bc ± 105 (I–2445), which calibrated is 1480 BC ± 120. Unfortunately no wind-lain deposits were located in the Avenue ditches.

As suggested in the case of Mount Pleasant (Wainwright 1979), the accumulation of aeolian deposits indicates the near-by presence of cultivated ground, although, as at Mount Pleasant, not necessarily uniformly around the site. Stonehenge itself has never been ploughed, and 1.6 km to the SW at the Wilsford Shaft the environment of middle-bronze-age times was grassland. The evidence from this site is based on insects (mainly beetles), the fauna probably deriving from a wider area than is usually the case with snails. Even so the presence of several species usually found in sandy situations is perhaps noteworthy in the context of a discussion of aeolian deposits.

The reality of an episode (or several episodes) of wind erosion and deposition during the Bronze Age in southern Britain can hardly be in doubt (Wainwright 1979, 210), but the chronology of such episodes and their relationship to agricultural activity are quite unclear. There is a rewarding research project here.

The Avenue and Gate ditches

Both the Avenue and Gate ditches, whatever their form and function, were certainly constructed in an open-country landscape. There is a hint of a slightly richer fauna at the base of the NW Avenue ditch, but this is no more than one would expect from tall herbaceous vegetation.

The present-day soil

The present-day soil profile (layers 1 to 3) at Stonehenge formed over a period of more than three millennia. Its horizonation into turf, flint horizon and pea-grit horizon is very striking, both at Stonehenge and on the Avenue. But the neat zonation of mollusc species (zones F and G) and especially the *Pupilla* peak in zone F and the equivalent large (1.0–2.0 mm) arionid peak in the Avenue soil may be artefacts of earthworm activity. The *Pupilla* shells may have been actively selected and pushed or carried down by earthworms to line their aestivation chambers. They are just the right size and shape for this purpose – about 3.0 by 1.7 mm, chunky, barrel-shaped and very tough, especially the somewhat stunted varieties, sometimes ascribed to *Pupilla muscorum* var. *bigranata* and var. *triplicata*, found at Stonehenge.

IN CONCLUSION

The main implications of the results of this work for the chronology of Stonehenge are as follows:

(1) Radiocarbon dates

(a) Those from the ditch bottom/primary fill of Stonehenge I point to the ditch having been dug a few centuries earlier than previously thought (2450 ± 60 bc as opposed to 2180 ± 105 bc).

(b) That from the Beaker-age burial indicates that the ditch had become practically infilled by 1765 ± 70 bc.

(c) The two groups of dates (when calibrated) give a time span for the infilling of the ditch of about nine centuries.

(2) Bluestone fragments
The finding of bluestone fragments in the Beaker-age burial pit indicates that the earlier find of a single bluestone fragment probably came from the same context. There are thus no bluestone fragments from the ditch fill proper anywhere at Stonehenge, and it is therefore likely that there were no bluestones on the site until the ditch had become infilled to more or less its present level.

(3) Abandonment phase (ditch molluscan zone C)
As shown by the molluscan analysis, the monument was abandoned early on in the infilling of the ditch. This appears to have taken place before the deliberate backfilling documented by Colonel Hawley. There was therefore a hiatus between the construction of the ditch and the pre-Beaker/pre-bluestone renewed activity as evidenced by Hawley's recorded deliberate backfilling and the molluscan evidence (zones D and E) for clearance.

These events are summarized in Table 6.

It is to be hoped that the increasing amount of environmental evidence from the area around Stonehenge will be useful for archaeologists, and that this will be on the various scales of area that have been considered. On a site basis there is now a bit more environmental background to the building phases, and the important abandonment period of zone C has been recognized. Locally it can be suggested that the landscape was open with arable and pasture interspersed with occasional scrub and woodland refugia. The NE skyline was probably similarly vegetated, although the precise distribution of trees along it is conjecture (cf. Atkinson 1982, 112). And on an increasingly regional and countrywide scale the work may provide a background to the sort of studies made by Fleming (1971) and Whittle (1978) on such matters as stress and territoriality in prehistoric cultures and their relationship to the environment.

Development of grassland soil (zones F and G).
(?) Aeolian deposits (layer 4; Y Hole 16).
(Y Hole 30 = 1240 bc ± 105).
Beaker-age burial (1765 bc ± 70). Bluestones at Stonehenge.
Natural infilling. Some artificial backfilling (Hawley's evidence).
Molluscan evidence for clearance (zones D and E).
Abandonment phase. Scrub or woodland (zone C).
Natural infilling (zones A and B). (?) Some artificial backfilling.
2450 bc ± 60
Ditch dug

Table 6. Main events in the infilling of the ditch at Stonehenge.

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Assistance with the post-excavation work was received as follows: conservation, and making the cast of the human femur, Conservation Laboratory, UCC; radiocarbon dating, R. Burleigh and the Research Laboratory, British Museum; photography, Gaye Booth, Dick Spicer and the Conservation Laboratory, UCC; drawing of arrowheads and bracer, Paul Hughes, National Museum of Wales; bluestone pieces, Dr H.S. Green, M. Pitts and Hilary Howard; information about rabbits at Stonehenge, Isobel Smith. Peter Berridge read the manuscript and made helpful comments.

I am especially indebted to Mrs E. Race for her help with the molluscan analysis; to Terry O'Connor for his work on the small mammals and, aided by Dr J.L. Wilkinson, for his report on the human skeleton; to Dr H.S. Green for his work on the bluestone pieces and the arrowheads; and to Professor R.J.C. Atkinson for his report on the bracer and his inestimable help and tolerance.

Finds and archive. The finds, the human skeleton, and the site records are in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury, accession number 7/1983.

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The Potterne Project: Excavation and Research at a Major Settlement of the Late Bronze Age

by CHRISTOPHER GINGELL *and* ANDREW J. LAWSON

Limited excavation in 1982 and 1983 at Blackberry field, Potterne, confirms the national importance of this late-bronze-age site. The excavation demonstrated the site to contain two major depotist; a midden deposit, which extends to at least 5 ha, overlies an occupation site. The significance of the site is explained, and the research programme planned for its exploration is summarized.

Introduction

In December 1984 the Rev. (later Canon) E.L. Goddard, the distinguished Secretary of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, received a letter[1] from General Pitt-Rivers commenting on a collection of potsherds from allotments at a field known as Blackberry, Potterne, which is situated on a spur of the Upper Greensand escarpment at 96 m OD (ST 996591):

> I cannot identify any of the pottery as being certainly Romano-British . . . It is thicker, harder and coarser than Romano-British pottery generally. I should think it is very likely Norman or Mediaeval, though none of it is glazed . . . One piece contains grains of quartz in its composition, like the No. 1 quality of British, but it is much harder and must I think be attributed to post-Roman times, as the firing appears to be superior.

After identifying correctly the oolite-tempered fabrics, probably for the first time, the General concludes:

> The absence of green glaze, if Norman or Mediaeval, is remarkable, and it should be looked for amongst the rubbish from which the fragments are taken . . . still I incline to the opinion of Norman and Mediaeval, but one cannot be very confident.

Pitt Rivers's tentative steps towards a date some 2000 years late is understandable in view of the paucity of comparable material available to him. However, the publication nearly 30 years later of Mrs Cunnington's excavations at All Cannings Cross[2] enabled the range of wares and styles found at Potterne to be dated to the Early Iron Age. Most of this material, before the introduction of the scratched-cordon haematite-coated bowls at sites like All Cannings Cross, would now be placed in the Late Bronze Age, although such subdivisions of the Hallstatt period in Britain may prove irrelevant. For the last 50 years the civil cemetery on the site of the former allotments has produced abundant finds from grave-digging, groups of which have been acquired by Devizes Museum. In 1982 a gold bracelet of late-bronze-age date (Taylor, this volume, pp. 35–40) proved to be the first of many finds of metalwork.

Trial excavations

In October 1982 one of the writers (C.J.G.) excavated a trial trench close to the find spot of the bracelet; it showed that a midden consisting of undisturbed deposits of domestic refuse of the Late Bronze Age approximately 1 m in thickness overlay the stratified occupation features of an earlier phase of the settlement. Since the discovery of the bracelet, regular observation of grave-digging has produced more finds including further metalwork, and has shown that the total late-bronze-age stratigraphy can extend to as much as 2·08 m.

Within an extension to the cemetery not yet required for burial, a further trial excavation was carried out in the autumn of 1983 by the writers for the Trust for Wessex Archaeology, with the consent and generous assistance of the Parish Council and a grant from the Department of the Environment. At the E end of the cemetery extension two 5 m squares were excavated, one of them extended a further 8 m by 1·5 m into the field to the S of the cemetery.[3]

The midden

The midden was confirmed throughout this area, the thickness of deposits varying from 0·8 m to 1·2 m as a result of the stepped effect of underlying terracing. At the S edge of the cemetery it was truncated by the negative lynchet of 19th-century cultivation (Figure 2). N of the cemetery a series of 1 m square cuttings[4] down the valley side showed midden thicknesses reducing

1. A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers, TS letter dated 5 December 1894 to E.H. Goddard in Devizes Museum Library.
2. M.E. Cunnington, *The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Cross* (Devizes: Woodward, 1923).
3. Permission kindly granted by the owner, Mrs Montagu, and tenant, Mrs Bond.
4. By kind permission of the owner, Mr Nutland.

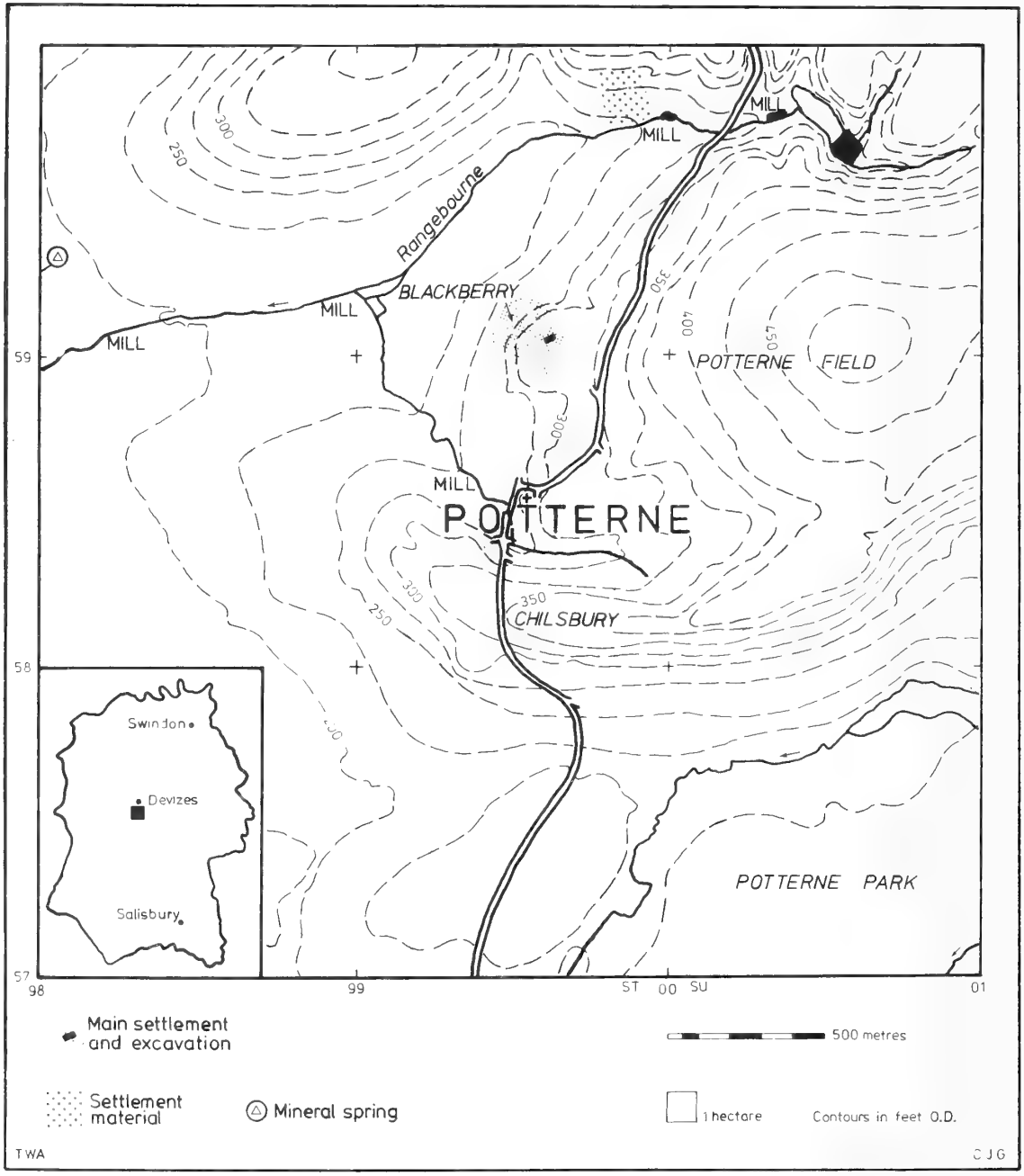

Figure 1. The location of the Potterne site in and around Blackberry field at the N end of the village.

from 1·2 m towards its N limit at the margin of the Upper Greensand over the Gault Clay. The midden is everywhere characterized by large quantities of pottery, bone and other finds in a dark brown stiff sandy loam. There is little worm-sorting of finds or of the coarse soil components, and the absence of horizontal dispersal of the midden deposits is shown by the presence of articulated bone, such as a long section of bovine vertebrae. Rapid accummulation accounts for the high degree of preservation demonstrated by a complete bovid skull with attached mandibles, found towards the base of the midden. No occupation fea-

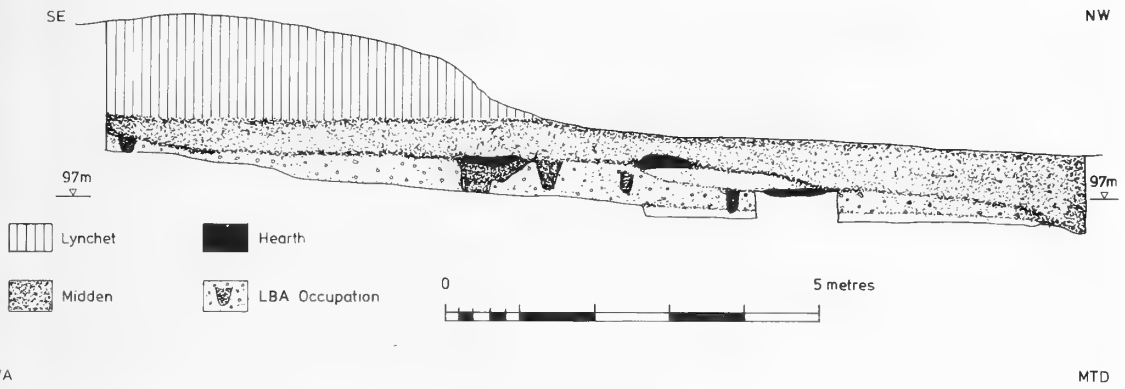

Figure 2. Section of the W face of cuttings 2 and 12 shows the midden deposit overlying hearths and the occupation deposit.

tures have been observed within the midden.

Preliminary analysis of the midden assemblage shows that vertical seriation of pottery fabrics and styles can be obtained wherever the midden is sampled. In other words, the midden appears to have accummulated in a matter of a century or two in a uniform way over the whole area. Further work, especially on the occurrence of pottery joins, may show some variation. The extent of the midden is not completely known, but has been shown by excavation and coring to cover at least 5 ha (12·5 acres) (Figure 1).

The pre-midden occupation

Immediately beneath the midden appears an abandonment surface marking the end of occupation of the areas of the site so far examined. This level is marked by a high degree of mineralization of finds, which increases with depth in the midden itself, together with precipitated concretions. Much of the final occupation surface is covered with fragmentary bone, with large quantities of mineralized coprolite, largely dog faeces. The majority of finds of bronze occur at this level, at which the gold bracelet would also appear to have lain. The occupation remains of the earlier phase survive as discrete areas of structural post-holes, metalled surfaces, palisade fences and specialist activity areas such as a series of well-constructed clay and stone hearth or oven floors. These discrete groups relate to terraces cut on the sloping hill-side. The total depth of the occupation levels varies considerably, denuded of stratigraphy by erosion during the life of the settlement on some terraces, accumulated with debris between structural phases in other areas, especially within the area of recent grave-digging in the cemetery.

The first independent dating of the pre-midden occupation has been an archaeomagnetic date of 750 BC from samples from the latest in the stratified series of clay over floors in cutting 2, constructed shortly before the close of this period of occupation. The range of ceramics would suggest that the early phase of settlement lasted from about 1000 BC to 750 BC.

Later land-use

Over most of the area of the site examined in 1982 and 1983 the absence of finds of later periods is remarkable, especially in view of the proximity of the large and prosperous medieval village. Very little Romano-British pottery is found, and medieval material is almost completely absent. Only S of the cemetery on the crest of the ridge is the situation different. Here a low bank behind the modern hedgebank proved to be a field lynchet of Romano-British or possibly later date, formed from midden material from further up the ridge, containing both re-deposited Late Bronze Age pottery and Romano-British material, including 3rd-century fine wares and tile fragments. This cultivation probably represents part of a villa field system.

Both the remarkable survival of the midden and the absence of later debris, structures or evidence of cultivation over most of the site may suggest that woodland was allowed to regenerate and survive, with Romano-British cultivation confined to a clearing on the crest. Field-name evidence appears to support this view: whereas leazes are named both on the crest of the ridge and the valley floor (which also bears post-enclosure narrow rig cultivation), the name Slade Acre adjacent to the site suggests woodland clearance at enclosure. The name of the field in which the cemetery stands, Blackberry, may well be a corrupt spelling of a 'bury' form descriptive of the late-bronze-age site. In 1894 the parish land here was allotments, and the upper part of the midden throughout this field has been disturbed by 19th-century cultivation.

Other areas of late-bronze-age settlement

The Blackberry site should not be seen in isolation. The group of later-bronze-age metalwork finds[5] from near Rangebourne Mill were found in an area producing a similar range of pottery, and a streamside element of the settlement should be sought here. The occasional finds of contemporary material from the modern village suggests further activity in the valley to the S of the site. The tufa and chalk found as building materials during excavation of the settlement, as well as the clay required for pottery and for hearths and ovens came from other working areas around the Potterne district.

Rescue excavation

The area occupied by the civil cemetery is being progressively destroyed to the depth required for grave-digging. The opening of a new extension affords us an opportunity to excavate totally an area in the centre of the settlement. After allowing for the space required for burials during the period that the excavation would take to complete and reconsolidate, an area 45 m by a little more than 20 m is available for this work. In addition, small building developments in this part of the village may require investigation. Experience gained in 1982 and 1983 shows that a balance has to be established between the need to develop efficient but less time-consuming excavation techniques, especially in dealing with up to 1 m of midden, and the maintenance of a high recovery rate of small finds and environmental remains. The method proposed involves totally wet-sieving a sample of 2 per cent of the midden, hand excavation by trowel of 10 per cent and more rapid excavation of the remaining 88 per cent by light pick and trowel. The underlying occupation deposits can then be excavated by conventional methods.

Research programme

The rescue excavation itself becomes more significant when seen in the context of a wider research framework. For both academic and practical reasons funds are being sought to provide a wide-ranging study of this remarkable site.

The Potterne settlement is outstanding in two principal respects. Any site at which the structures and debris of perhaps four centuries of occupation have accumulated in clear stratigraphical successions, which will provide both detailed pottery seriation and a profile of radio-carbon and archaeomagnetic dates, has considerable academic value. This is the more true where prehistoric fieldwork and excavation is handicapped by the lack of a clear chronological framework for domestic pottery assemblages, for example. Secondly, to understand the changes in domestic economy, technology and exchange systems during a period of marked cultural development like the period of bronze–iron transition, we need to examine sites which filled different roles in society. It can be shown that in the Late Bronze Age farmsteads used a different range of ceramic vessels from sites fulfilling other functions such as hill-forts or large open settlements. Similar considerations apply to the interpretation of metalwork and worked bone, for example. At least 11 sites of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition are known from the Vale of Pewsey, mostly situated below the chalk escarpment and characterized by grain storage pits. The location – on the largely Greensand ridge which crosses the Vale between watersheds – of a major settlement which appears to have a different economic basis from that of these farmsteads is an important step in associating site function with the range of artefacts employed.

Briefly stated, the aims of the research programmes formulated for study of the artefact assemblages seem elementary: to determine what range of artefacts were produced during the period of settlement at Potterne and related sites, and by what technological means; how and why they changed during this period. In practice, however, to even pose such questions is often unrealistic in the face of a paucity of large, chronologically structured assemblages. British prehistoric studies are handicapped by the absence of the stratified settlement so well known from much of Europe and the Mediterranean lands.

Research in the environmental and economic aspects of the site also enjoys several advantages: the well-stratified nature of samples of botanical specimens, and through the agency of mineralization the survival of an exceptionally preserved assemblage of animal bones together with abundant coprolites. Both crop-processing and animal husbandry can be studied in great detail. Moreover the varied topography with drier sand ridges intersected by streams on the clay valley floors provides opportunities to examine much of the environment in which the late-bronze-age community lived.

Our knowledge of later prehistoric settlements, especially those of the Bronze Age, is heavily dependent on sites which are mere palimpsests of unrelated features truncated by erosion and cultivation. The structural details and changes in settlement pattern which can be observed at this new site will have a lasting importance for the study of later prehistoric communities.

5. A. Turnbull, 'Bronze age and Hallstatt finds from Rangebourne, Potterne', *WAM*, vol. 77 (1982), pp. 45–8.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 35–40.

The Potterne Gold Bracelet and its Affinities

by JOAN J. TAYLOR

The Potterne gold bracelet, found by chance in 1982, is described and discussed. Its affinities with other bracelets, mostly also recent finds, are assessed. The new finds establish a previously unsuspected type of gold bracelet, with a predominantly SW England – N Wales distribution, from the Ewart Park phase of the Later Bronze Age, c. 750 BC. The capricousness of recovery of this new 'Potterne type' of bracelet is emphasized as a demonstration of the fickleness with which prehistoric evidence, especially of stray finds, is recovered.

INTRODUCTION

Four significant finds, all made in the 18 months between July 1982 and December 1983, have established a new type of gold bracelet from the Later Bronze Age. A similar bracelet was found in the Lincolnshire fens in the late 19th century and went to the British Museum in the Greenwell Collection in 1909. Another had been found about 100 years before at Fore Abbey, Co. Meath, Eire, and is now in the National Museum, Dublin (ex Sirr Collection). The proliferation of new finds might cause one to suspect modern skulduggery, were it not for the secure and datable contexts in which they were found. These suggest that gold bracelets of the new type enjoyed a popularity late in the Ewart Park phase of the Later Bronze Age. The range of evidence, giving mutual concurrences of time and distribution, establishes this group, beyond all reasonable doubt, as a new gold bracelet type.

There are numerous examples with similar terminals or similar cross-sections in the body of the bracelet, but none combine both terminals and cross-sections apart from the group described here (Taylor 1980, 66–8, plates 30, 50, 52–5).

THE POTTERNE BRACELET

This bracelet was found by Mr William Simms, while digging a grave in the civil cemetery at Potterne, 3 km S of Devizes, in July 1982. Its finding drew archaeologists' attention to a significant site which has been largely uninvestigated since 1894. A note on the Potterne site appears elsewhere in this volume (Gingell and Lawson 1984); only a brief summary is required here to indicate the bracelet's context. Potterne is today recognized as the most important later-bronze-age settlement site known in the British Isles; overlying it is an extensive late-bronze-age/early-iron-age midden. After discussion with Mr Simms and excavation of a trial trench 2 m E of the find, the excavation director, C. Gingell, believes that the bracelet came from the settlement rather than the midden levels. The bracelet has now been purchased by the Society, and will be retained in the proper collection along with the excavated Potterne material. An indication of date is given by an archaeomagnetic dating of *c.* 750 BC for the clay hearths or oven floors in Cutting 2, as these lie immediately beneath the midden and form (Gingell and Lawson 1984) an approximate *terminus ante quem* for the pre-midden phase.

The bracelet itself is in excellent condition and shows little signs of use; the outer surface and internal lipping retain a dull surface, although they would have polished if the bracelet had been worn. This is demonstrated in the heavily worn bracelets found at Llanarmon-yn Iâl (discussed below). Its body was hammered flat, giving it a ribbon-like appearance; the width at mid-point is $8\frac{1}{4}$ mm. The ends revert to the rounded section (diameters 7.0 x 7.1 mm) common to numerous bronze-age pennanular bracelets just behind the flattened circular terminal (diameters 7.5 x 7.1 mm), which in itself resembles the head of a nail. The bracelet's overall diameter is 63.4 x 66.6 mm. Its weight of 25.54 g is nearly identical with those of the two from Brean Down and is similar, again, with those of the Llanarmon-yn-Iâl pair. Keith Crabtree converts the Fore Abbey weight, given as '16 dwt to 16 gr', to 25.9 g, so there is a remarkable consistency of weight among these bracelets.

OTHER BRACELETS OF SIMILAR TYPE

The Brean Down bracelets (Crabtree, 1984)

A pair of gold bracelets were found on 6 May 1983 at Brean Down, Somerset, curled one inside the other in a block of sand. The bracelets are now in the British

Museum, and a report has appeared. The sand had weathered out of the cliff face from an area identified by Apsimon (Apsimon, Donovan and Taylor 1961) as a settlement layer (layer 4) of the Early Iron Age. That dating of layer 4 at Brean was made on the basis of pottery of All Cannings Cross type. Crabtree (1984, 52) cites ApSimon as agreeing that Brean Down layer 4 now should be considered Late Bronze age in date.

In the spring of 1983, I examined both the Potterne bracelet and the Brean Down pair within a few hours of each other, and was struck not only by their identical nature of manufacture and shape, but also by their very similar unused condition. The Brean Down bracelets were beaten up from a rod or ingot in a manner similar, probably identical, with the method used for both the Potterne bracelet and the one with 'buffer' terminals from Llanarmon-yn-Iâl. The similarity in measurements bears this out. However, in proportion to the body of the bracelets, the terminals of the Llanermon-yn-Iâl example are much smaller than either of the two finds from SW England.

A small fragment of gold, similar in section to the flattened part of the bracelet, was subsequently found in the sand block from which the Brean Down bracelets came; it measured *c.* 8 x 5 mm and weighed 0.522 g. At Llanarmon-yn-Iâl also, a small piece of gold was found with the bracelets; this 'link', if it were unfolded and its chiselled ends connected, might approximate the Brean fragment in general shape – although it would be larger by a factor of 10. But to draw significance from this may be spurious, as both may be scrap for further gold-working.

The Llanarmon-yn-Iâl bracelets (Green, 1984)

This hoard, consisting of two gold bracelets and a small gold 'link', was discovered inside a socketed axe by a geology student at Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, Clwyd, on 14 July 1982.

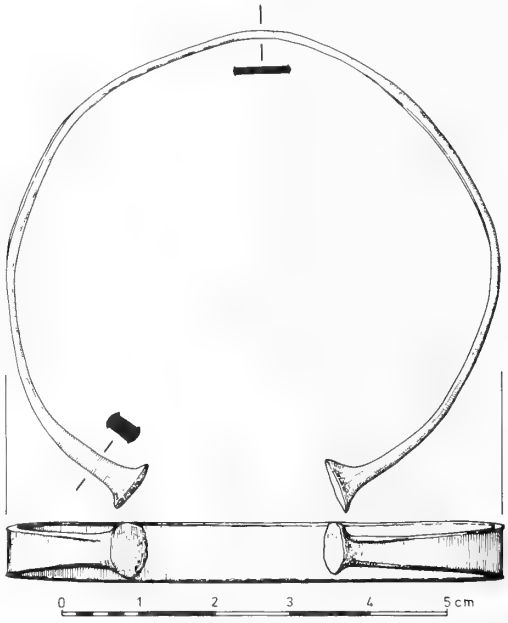

Figure 1. Drawing of the Pottern bracelet.

Few gold ornaments found in the British Isles, as contrasted with those of western Europe, show as much wear as this pair of bracelets from Llanarmon-yn-Iâl. A pair found with three small rings in a pot at Duff House, East Midlothian (Taylor 1980, 57), do show comparable wear, but few others. The Llanarmon-yn-Iâl bracelet with 'buffer' terminals (Green 1984, Fig. 13, 2) is heavily worn not only on its outer surface but also on its inner, where the lipping common to the Potterne and Brean Down bracelets is badly worn but still evident. The 'buffer' terminals are proportionately small to the body of the bracelet, but this difference should not exclude it from this new group. Its association with a Ewart Park bronze known as a Gillespie type of axe (Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 191–7) places it

	Potterne	Brean Down a*	Brean Down b*	Lincolnshire Fens
Length (mm)	–	175	180	–
Outer diameter of bracelet (mm)	63.4 x 66.5	–	–	61.5†
Width of ribbon (mm)	8.25	8.2	8.5	115
Diameter of terminal (mm)	7.5 x 7.1			
	7.0 x 7.1	4.2–4.8	4.0–4.5	7.2 x 7.3
				7.4 x 7.7
				8
Length of terminal (mm)	–	4	7	8
Thickness (mm)	2.1	1.5	1.3	1.04
Weight (g)	25.54	25.46	25.39	28.0†

*Measurements kindly supplied by K. Crabtree.
†Measurements kindly supplied by S. Needham.

Table 1. Physical comparison of Potterne, Brean Down and Lincolnshire Fen bracelets.

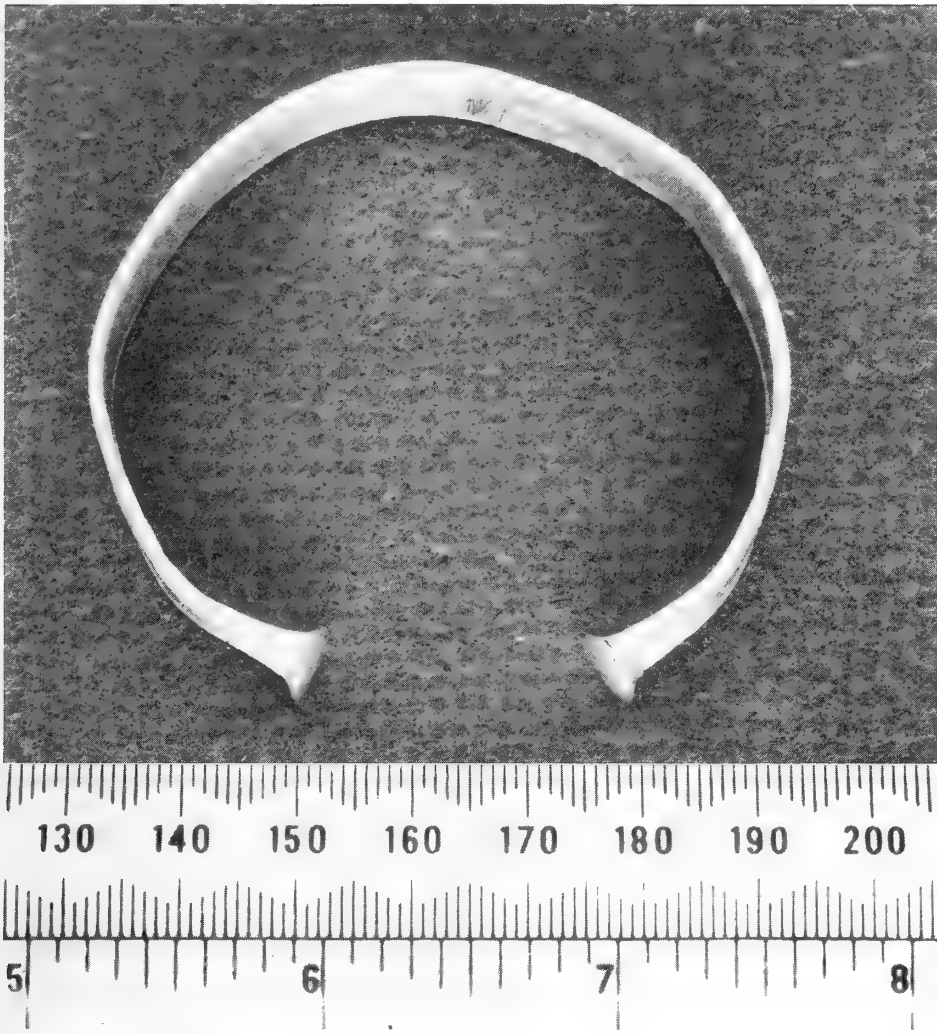

Figure 2. General view of the Potterne bracelet with the possible point (a) just behind the left facing terminal where the goldsmith gripped the bracelet while hammering it into shape. Traces of the lipping can be seen along the inner edge of the ribbon, an aspect seen better in Figure 3. (Photograph: P. Robinson.)

	Au	Ag	Cu	Sn	Other elements
Potterne*	85	12	3		
Llanarmon-yn-Iâl bracelet with terminals†	78.4	17.0	4.6		
Llanarmon-yn-Iâl bracelet without terminals†	79.7	14.5	5.8		
Llanarmon-yn/Iâl Ingot†	77.5	15.9	6.7		
Llanarmon-yn-Iâl Link	71.7	19.8	8.5		
Fore Abbey, Co. Westmeath‡	–	*c.* 16	11	0.80	0.05 Pb

* Kindly supplied by P. Robinson, and published at the time of the inquest.
† Green, in press.
‡ Hartman (1970, 92–93; Au/1105).

Table 2. Analyses of bracelets' metal components, by percentages.

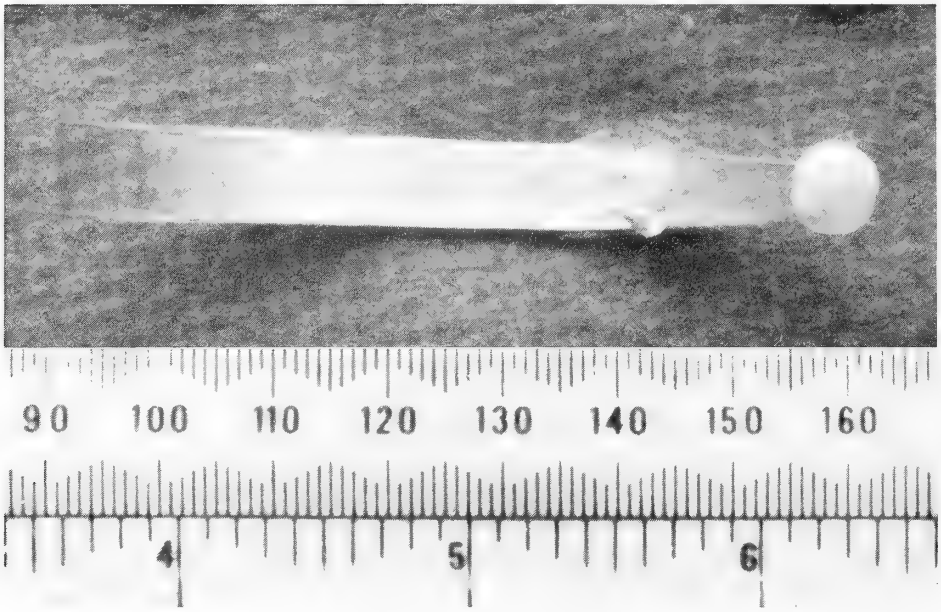

Figure 3. The end-on view of the terminals also shows the lipping created by hammering along the edge. The internal lipping was heavily worn away through use on the Llanarmon-yn-Iâl bracelet, while on the Potterne bracelet it is very sharp and fresh in appearance, suggesting little wear. (Photograph: P. Robinson.)

in roughly the same chronological framework as those from Potterne and Brean Down.

Lincolnshire Fens bracelet

This gold bracelet is in the Greenwell Collection, now in the British Museum (BM WG 7; Taylor 1980, 83, Lc 5). No details about its discovery are known, it too has the dull finish, hammered edge apart from a findspot in the Lincolnshire fens and slight lipping common to the Potterne and Brean Down bracelets. Its ribbon is slightly broader, but otherwise it corresponds well with them.

Fore Abbey bracelet

Again no details are known of its discovery. It passed from Major H.C. Sirr's collection to the Wilde collection, which is now in the National Museum of Ireland (Taylor 1980, 114, Co. Wm 4). Dr Hartmann analysed it (see Table 2).

Henhull bangle (Williams, 1984)

A bracelet was found in late December 1983 by a metal detector 6 m from a Roman road at Henhull, near Nantwich, Cheshire. It was twisted out of shape but, reconstructed, would fall into the new group.

DISCUSSION

The Lincolnshire and Fore Abbey bracelets lacked context, as they have no recorded association, so the new finds establish the date as well as the general pattern of the type. The settlement evidence from Brean Down and from Potterne is in accord, while the rare association of gold with a datable bronze axe establishes a similar date for Llanarmon-yn-Iâl. As Potterne was the first of the recent finds, the type may be called the 'Potterne type' of bracelet.

The two finds from SW England are in very fresh condition, and identical in weight and shape (Table 1). The small fragment with the Brean Down bracelets may represent scrap, and so may that with the Llanarmon-yn-Iâl bracelets, which was equal to the difference between the two bracelets and the gold ingot. Although S. Green (1984) suggests the ingot may represent a melted-down bracelet, it seems more likely to the author that it represents a blank for a new bracelet. The unworn nature of the two fragments of scrap (described as 'the link') support the idea that Llanarmon-yn-Iâl is a founder's hoard.

Table 2 shows the metal analyses available for Potterne-type bracelets. The copper content ranges from 3 to 11 per cent. Stephen Green (1984) accepts A. Hartmann's claim for 5 per cent copper alloying at this time, whereas up to 12 per cent copper has occurred naturally in gold (Taylor 1980, 18). To suggest the inclusion of 5 percent copper as a deliberate alloy implies the knowledge and ability to standardize all gold in circulation within the British Isles about 750 BC; although this is not impossible, it would require either all gold to be of one melt (since the quantity of gold is far less than the abundant amount of bronze in

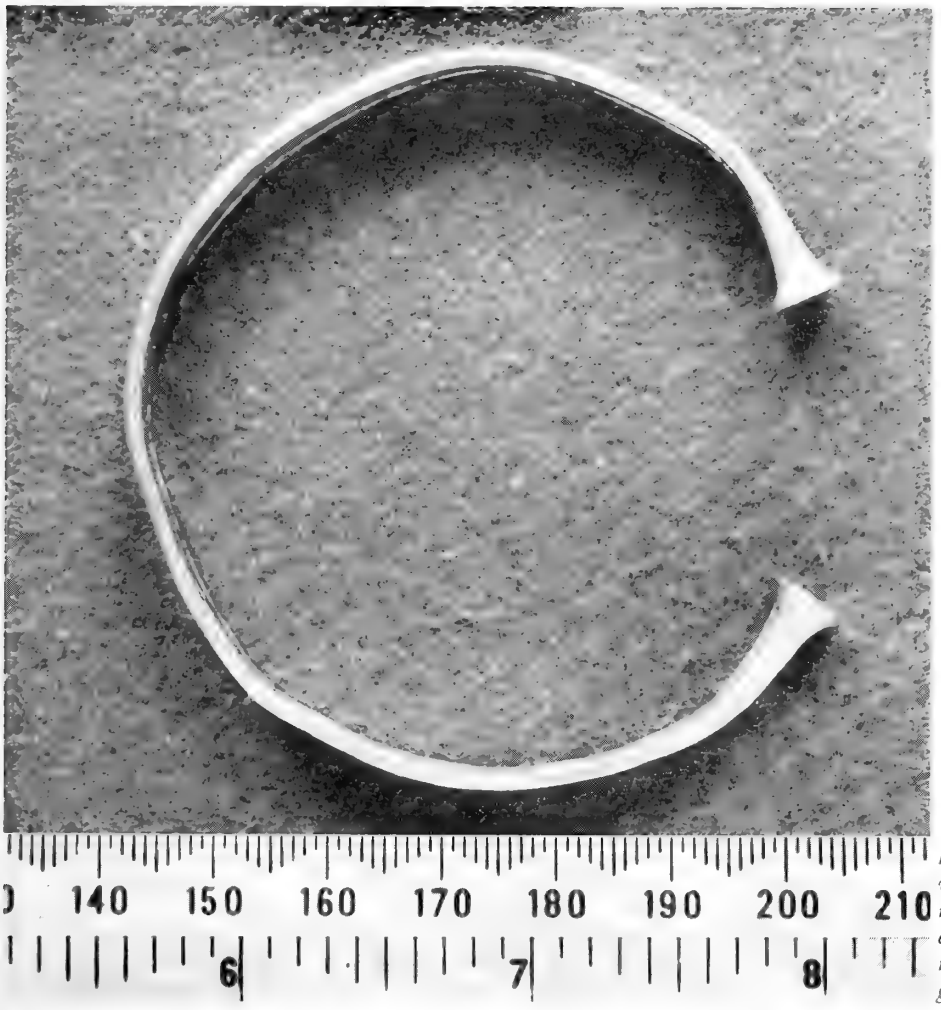

Figure 4. The reverse general view of the bracelet, with its internal lipping very prominent along the bottom edge of the ribbon body. (Photograph: P. Robinson.)

use) or a sophisticated means of communicating a formula for standardizing gold alloys around the British Isles. It would have been useful had the British Museum determined trace elements, especially the tin levels, since contamination from dirty bronze crucibles might account for some unintentional alloying. But even variable traces of tin and copper introduced from such crucibles would appear as variable amounts in the gold bracelets rather than as a predictable alloy of about 5% copper (Taylor 1980, 20). It is more likely that the preferred source of gold at this time naturally contained from 3 to 6 per cent copper. Since remelted items would add further copper as well as other trace elements, their possible contribution also must be considered when assessing whether an alloy of specific fixed composition was being intentionally made. Only by trace element analysis can local sources of gold be identified, and it would be of interest to discern whether Welsh gold was used for the Welsh bracelets over another British source for those from Brean Down and Potterne.

CONCLUSION

The story of the finding of these bracelets demonstrates the fickleness of our recovery of prehistoric evidence, especially of stray finds. Only in such contexts as settlements does one find the range of material that enables a general view to be reconstructed of the Later Bronze Age – a period without the grave contexts that are so useful in the Earlier Bronze Age. The known contexts of the Potterne, Brean Down and Llanarmon-yn-Iâl finds provide an interlinked set of archaeological facts to show the Potterne type of bracelet was in use about 750 BC, and that it seems – the Lincolnshire and Co. Westmeath finds apart – to have had a SW

England/N Wales distribution, although the number of examples is far too small to know if this fairly represents the prehistoric pattern. No parallels are known from continental Europe, and only the Fore Abbey bracelet from Ireland exists outside Britain.

Acknowledgements. I wish to thank Christ Gingell and Paul Robinson for their assistance in my study of the Potterne bracelet, David Dawson for letting me examine the Brean Down bracelets shortly after their discovery, and Colin Shell for calling my attention to the Llanarmon-yn-Iâl find. Stephen Green gave me access not only to his unpublished manuscript but also to the hoard itself. Keith Crabtree very kindly sent me his unpublished manuscript and discussed the Brean Down find with me, while Rhys Williams told me of the Henhull bracelet. I also wish to thank Stuart Needham for supplying the maximum diameter and the weight of the Lincolnshire Fens bracelet. Without their rapid assistance, the Potterne bracelet would have lacked its proper bronze-age context in relation to the other new discoveries.

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The Easterton Hoard of Mid-Fourth-Century Roman Coins

by T. S. N. MOORHEAD

The Easterton hoard of Roman coins, found in the mid 19th century, was largely dispersed. However, some 90 coins in the Devizes Museum collection can be identified, with more or less confidence, as coming from the hoard. The official pieces date to the years 348–53; it may be concluded the hoard was deposited in 353 or 354. The expected base denominations, mints, emperors and reveree types are represented, and the selection is in general conformity with the pattern of British hoards in the period. A full catalogue of the Devizes material completes the paper.

INTRODUCTION

In *WAM* for 1867, there appears an article describing approximately 100 mid-4th-century Roman coins from a hoard found 'some years before' at Easterton, Wiltshire.[1] The article was based upon a letter, dated 14 March 1866, written by the Rev. D.M. Clerk of Kingston Deverill, near Warminster, which survives in the library of the W AN H S in the grangerized copy of *WAM*, vol. 10. Neither the article nor letter furnish any details about the total number of coins found, but the article mentions that many pieces were dispersed amongst private collections. The coins described in the article and letter were, therefore, only a sample from the hoard.

A bronze bow-spring brooch, donated by W. Cunnington in 1903, was also said to have been found with the hoard, although doubt has been expressed at the association.[2] A fragment of the pot in which the coins (and possibly the brooch) were found also survives in the Museum. No significant Roman sites have been recorded in Easterton, although other artefacts of that date have been found there.[3]

This article discusses the Easterton hoard, using coins in the Devizes Museum collection. All the official pieces under consideration are base billon or bronze coins of three denominations (large and small-module AE 2 coins, and AE 3 coins) of the emperors Constantius II (337–61), Constans (337–50) and Magnentius (350–3), which date from the period 348–53. There are several barbarous imitations, based upon official prototypes from the same period. The imperfect state of both the written and numismatic source material for this hoard should be emphasized: the evidence is incomplete, and it is likely that some of the apparent inconsistencies between the sources will never be resolved. It is not intended to discuss the sources thoroughly in this report, although several of the more notable problems are mentioned.

EASTERTON COINS IN DEVIZES MUSEUM

In the Devizes Museum collection, there are three groups of coins which may be ascribed with reasonable confidence to the Easterton Hoard, the 'Ellen', 'Flower', and 'Possible Easterton' groups.

Group 1: the 'Ellen' coins[4] (72 coins with catalogue numbers that have no affix)

WAM, for 1869, notes that Mr J. Ellen, of Devizes, donated to the WANHS 'a collection of the Roman coins found at Easterton'.[5] No further details are furnished, but these coins are almost certainly those described in Clerk's letter and in *WAM*, vol. 10. Ellen's coins had been scattered amongst the society's collection, but 72 have been regrouped by comparing the verdigris deposits, by using Clerk's letter, and by using tickets in the trays.[6] It is not certain that Ellen presented all the coins listed by Clerk or that those presented were only those listed.[7] It is also apparent

1. WAM, vol. 10 (1867), pp. 178–80. The exact number of coins under consideration in both the *WAM* article and Clerk's letter is not clear. See note 7, below.
2. See *WAM*, vol. 33 (1903), p. 91, and *WAM*, vol. 35 (1908), p. 403 and fig. 19.
3. See *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. I, part 1, p. 66.
4. It is possible that some of the coins in Groups 2 and 3 are Ellen coins (Group 1) that have undergone cleaning, but the evidence provided by Clerk's letter suggests that in most cases this is unlikely. It seems certain that the selection of coins covered in this report derive from at least two separate parcels.
5. *WAM*, vol. 11 (1869), p. 120.
6. Some coins are included in Group 1 which might not be from Ellen's donation. See catalogue notes for nos. 27 and 44.
7. There is a notable problem concerning the totals for the coins listed in Clerk's letter. He does not seem to give a grand total for

	Amiens	Trier	Lyons	Arles	Rome	Aquileia	Siscia	uncertain/barbarous	total	barbarous	according to Clerk
348–50											
AE 2a: FTR; emp. on galley											
–Emp. holds phoenix	–	2	1	–	4[b]	–	–	–	7	3	18
–Emp. holds Victory	–	10[c]	2[d]	–	–	–	–	–	12	–	
AE 2b: FTR; soldier and hut	–	11	3	4	14	3	1	–	36	–	31
AE 3: FTR; phoenix on rocks	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	3(1)[e]
348–50/350–1(?)											
Ae 2a: FTR; falling horseman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1[f]	1	–	1[g]
350–1											
AE 2a: FTR; falling horseman	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	
AE 2a: FELICITAS REI PVBLICE	–	10	6	–	–	–	–	–	16	2	67/17[h]
AE 2a: GLORIA ROMANORVM	2	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	6	1	16
AE 2a: FTR; falling horseman	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1[g]
TOTALS	3	40	13	5	18	3	1	1	84	6	138/88[h]

a. AE 2a and Ae 2b = large– and small– module AE 2 pieces; FTR = FEL TEMP REPARATIO. The mint attribution for nos. 1–83 are made with relative confidence, although several coins lack clear mintmarks (nos. 3, 5, 24, 26, 41F, 55, 56F, 63F–65, 79F and 81).
b. No. 64 might be barbarous; 'phoenix on globe' unclear.
c. No. 15PE might be barbarous.
d. 'Victory on globe' unclear on no. 45.
e. Clerk lists four smaller coins for Constans, but notes a 'phoenix' reverse for only three of them. It is possible that the poor preservation of one piece prevented an identification. See catalogue note for no. 27.
f. This piece is problematical. It could be a hybrid, but it is probably a barbarous imitation. See catalogue note for no. 84.
g. Clerk lists two 'falling horseman' pieces, but does not differentiate between them.
h. For a discussion of these totals, see note 7 to the text.

Table 1. Analysis of coins by type and mint.[a]

the coins that he lists, although he provides sub-totals for emperors and types. (See Tables 1 and 2 for an outline of Clerk's totals.) He appears to give 83 as the total for Magnentius, which would agree with the sub-totals of 67 for the FELICITAS REI PVBLICE type and 16 for the GLORIA ROMANORVM type. This would give a grand total of 138 for all the coins listed in the letter.

However, the 67 (for the FELICITAS REI PVBLICE type) is unclear and could read 17. If 17 was the correct reading, it would give a total of 33 coins for Magnentius, and a total of 88 for the entire selection. If the 83 (which has already been considered as the total for Magnentius) was actually intended as a grand total, and 17 was in fact the total for the FELICITAS REI PVBLICE type, Clerk seems to have miscounted because the total would be 88. The fact that there are only 16 FELICITAS REI PVBLICE pieces in the Ellen group (Group 1) might suggest that 17 is the correct total for this type in Clerk's letter. There are 2 barbarous FELICITAS REI PVBLICE pieces in Groups 2 and 3 which, if they are cleaned Ellen coins, would make a total of 18 for this type).

The smaller total might also be more acceptable because it would appear unusual that so many coins of Magnentius would go missing (see note 8, below). In this report, both the possible totals of 138 or 88 for the entire group and 83 or 33 for Magnentius are considered.

	official	barbarous	Clerk
Constantius II18[a]	8[a]	1	14
Constans 42[b]	42[b]	2	41[c]
Constantius II or Constans	2[c]	2[c]	
Magnentius22	22	3	83/33[d]
Totals	84	6	138/88[d]

a. Nos. 64 and 84 might be barbarous.
b. Nos. 65 and 69PE seem to be of Constans, but the legends are unclear. No. 15PE might be barbarous.
c. Two of the small coins listed under Constans by Clerk are too unclear to support his attribution (nos. 29 and 30).
d. For a discussion of these totals, see footnote 7 to the text.

Table 2. Analysis of coins by emperor.

Two other items concerning Group 1 should be noted. First, there is an apparent inconsistency because Clerk lists six small-module AE 2 FEL·TEMP·REPARATIO 'soldier and hut' pieces for Constantius II, whereas there appear to be seven such coins in the Ellen donation. Second, there is also a problem concerning four AE 3 coins in the selection, but there could be a solution (see catalogue note for no. 27).

	Number of coins	%	% in Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage* period 350–3[b]	period 353–4[b]
GAUL	61	73.5	92.3	92.4
London	0	–	–	0.2
Amiens	3	3.6	3.1	8.6
Trier	40	48.2	64.8	43.7
Lyons	13	15.7	13.3	29.1
Arles	5	6.0	11.1	10.8
ITALY	21	25.3	6.7	5.6
Rome	18[d]	21.7	5.3	4.2
Aquileia	3	3.6	1.4	1.4
BALKANS:	1	1.2	0.8	1.6
Siscia	1	1.2	0.4	0.9
Others	0	–	0.4	0.7
EAST	0	–	0.3	0.5
Totals	83	100	*c.* 100	*c.* 100

a. Uncertain and barbarous coins are excluded from this analysis (nos. 84–90F). Also, see second part of note a to Table 1.

b. These figures are for British hoards with the latest coin dating to 350–3 and 353–4 (see Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, p. 98). 92.4% appears the correct total for Gaul for 353–4, as opposed to the 92.3% that is listed by Kent.) Because there is a post-Magnentian coin amongst these pieces, this selection falls into the group with the latest coin dating to 353–4. However, as only this one official coin post-dates spring 351, and as it also pre-dates 354, it has seemed necessary to include and consider the figures for the hoards with the latest coin dating to 350–3.

c. No. 15PE might be barbarous.

d. No. 64 might be barbarous.

Table 3. Analysis of coins by mint, with percentage shares.[a]

that some coins listed by Clerk are not now in this group.[8]

Group 2: the 'Flower' coins[9] (13 coins with 'F' affix to the catalogue numer)
Thirteen coins in the museum collection of identical types, reigns and mints to the Ellen coins have an accompanying ticket in canon Goddard's hand, reading '16 Roman all presented by Mr Flower of Bath'. Although Flower was a prominent member of the WANHS in the second half of the last century, there is no record in *WAM* of this donation.[10] The coins have been heavily cleaned to remove the patina. Nevertheless, it is reasonably certain that these 13/16 coins are a second parcel from the Easterton hoard.

Group 3: 'possible Easterton' coins[11] (five coins with 'PE' affix to the catalogue number)
There are a further five coins in the museum collection which have a blackened surface due to an early attempt to clean them, and which are of similar issues to the coins in the Ellen and Flower groups. These five coins may possibly be coins from either of the above groups that have been cleaned in a different manner. Alternatively, they could derive from a third parcel of coins from the Easterton hoard.[12]

In the statistical tables and commentary below, the coins in these groups are considered as all originating from the Easterton hoard: in fact, there would be little variation in the overall picture portrayed by these coins if the groups were covered individually.

Although these coins can only be regarded as a sample, they do provide enough material for tentative conclusions to be drawn about the hoard. It is fortunate that the recently published volume 8 of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, by J.P.C. Kent,[13] is available; for the period 337–61, Dr Kent admirably provides a catalogue, an analysis of hoard material, and an overall commentary on the currency.

8. If there were 138 coins listed in Clerk's letter, it would mean that as many as 64 pieces of Magnentius have gone missing; if there were 88 coins, it would leave as many as 14 pieces of Magnentius missing. Whatever the exact total, it is possible that at least two coins for Constantius II/Constans have gone missing.
9. See note 4 above.
10. *WAM*, vol. 15 (1875), p. 352, records the gift of 'two copper coins' by Mr Flower.
11. See note 4 above.
12. One really cannot be sure that these five coins share a similar source. One must be especially hesitant about linking no. 69PE with the other four coins.
13. J.P.C. Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 8. (London: Spink, 1981). (Abbreviated as *RIC* in this report.)

STATISTICAL TABLES

As noted above, all the coins in the three groups are considered together in the statistical tables. The totals provided in Clerk's letter are included in the last column of Tables 1 and 2. These tables are intended to give a general overview: several of the possible inaccuracies and anomalies are covered in the notes.

COMMENTARY

The latest official coin in this selection is from the sole reign of Constantius II, a large-module AE 2 FEL TEMP REPARATIO 'falling horseman' piece of Amiens (no. 3), struck between 18 August and the end of 353. The barbarous imitations in this selection most likely pre-date this piece (see below). Therefore, the hoard was probably concealed soon after the defeat of Magnentius in the summer of 353, either late in 353, or early in 354.

Except for the latest coin (as noted above), all the official pieces come from the period 348–51. The barbarous imitations might easily date to a similar period (see below). For the years 348–51, the expected base denominations, mints, emperors and reverse types are represented. There is a notable void of official coins for the period between Decentius' elevation to Caesar, in spring 351, and the deaths of Magnentius and Decentius, in August 353. The issues most noted by their absence are the AE 2 and AE 3 'Two Victories' types and the AE 1 and AE 2 'Salus' types of Magnentius and Decentius. Dr Kent does note that these types are scarce in Western hoards deposited soon after the death of Magnentius.[14] Therefore, the lack of coins for the period 351–3 in this selection does not appear an unusual phenomenon. This shortage of coins after spring 351 would also explain why Constantius Gallus and Decentius are not represented in the selection, both rulers' being elevated to Caesar in spring 351.[15]

The predominance of AE 2 coins over AE 3 coins is to be expected, but the higher proportion of small-module AE 2 coins than the larger-module AE 2 pieces should be noted for the period 348–50 (35:19 = 64.8%); 18 of the 35 smaller-module pieces come from Italian and Balkan mints. One would expect a greater number of the larger-module coins in a British hoard because the larger-module pieces were struck more prolifically at Gallic mints.[16]

The distribution of coins by mint shows that the Gallic mints supplied most of the coins (73.5%), trier's being the major source (48.2%). The Italian mints provide most of the remaining coins (25.3%), Rome's being predominant (21.7%). From the mints E of Aquileia, there is only one coin from Siscia (1.2%). Other British hoards of this period tend to have a larger percentage of coins from Gallic mints (*c.* 92%) and a smaller percentage from Italian mints (*c.* 6%).[17] This selection has a notably large number of Rome coins (18 coins = 21.7%), especially from the small-module AE 2 FEL·TEMP·REPARATIO 'soldier and hut' issue (14 coins). However, as many as 14 or 64 coins of Magnentius, mentioned by Clerk, are now missing.[18] These coins probably mostly came from Gallic mints and so would increase the percentage of coins from mints in Gaul. With regard to individual mints, the percentage share is acceptable for Amiens, Trier, Lyons and Aquileia, but is low for Arles and high for Rome. The existence of the odd coin of a Balkan mint, in this case one from Siscia, is not unusual in British hoards.

The existence of barbarous imitations in this period is well attested. There are six definitely barbarous coins in this selection (nos. 85F–90PE), and there may be some others (e.g. nos. 15 PE, 64 and 84). The AE 2 size flans and generally reasonable style of these coins suggests that they were issued soon after their official prototypes were struck (348–51). It is almost certain that they were issued prior to 354; it is possible that they were produced a few years earlier, because smaller-module copies were characteristic of the later years of Magnentius's reign and the early years of Constantius II's sole reign. The pieces all appear to be modelled upon official prototypes from Gallic mints (although no. 64, a coin of Rome, may be barbarous). Even though these coins display a variety of styles, they do provide relatively faithful renditions of their prototypes.[19]

There are no individual coins of great significance in the selection, but there are some clear varieties and some possible varieties. The poor preservation of many coins hinders their precise identification, but nos. 6, 7, 10F, 20, 44, 60 and 83 seem the most notable pieces. Details of possible significance on other coins are mentioned in the catalogue notes. One should not overlook the barbarous and possibly barbarous coins

14. See *RIC*, p. 81.
15. The complete absence of the 'Two Victories' and 'Salus' issues in this selection might be a result of pilfering by collectors when the hoard was discovered, as these relatively scarce specimens may have been more sought after. The same might apply to coins of Constantius Gallus and Decentius.
16. For a discussion of these denominations, see *RIC* p. 62. In the Cobham hoard (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885, pp. 108–117) and the Croydon hoard (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, pp. 1–27), the larger-module AE 2 was predominant over the smaller-module AE 2 (*c.* 298: *c.* 94 and *c.* 1816: 1).
17. These percentages are approximations of the figures given in *RIC* (p. 98), which are listed in Table 3 above.
18. For a discussion of the missing coins, see note 8, above.
19. For a discussion of barbarous imitations, see *RIC*, p. 91.

(nos. 15PE, 64 and 84–90F).

Because of the incomplete and confused nature of the sources, it is not possible to draw any concrete conclusions about the Easterton hoard. The composition of this selection does not appear very unusual for a British hoard of this period, but there are some interesting features. The lack of coins for the period 351–3 is understandable, but it is nevertheless striking. Most notable, however, is the large proportion of coins from Rome, although this feature might be made more pronounced by the fact that several Gallic mint coins appear to be missing from the sample. It is the numerous small-module AE 2 FEL·TEMP·REPARATIO 'soldier and hut' coins from Rome that are largely responsible for the higher proportion of small-module AE 2 pieces than larger-module AE 2 pieces for the period 348–50.

It is reasonable to speculate that the complete Easterton hoard had a composition comparable with that of the Cobham hoard, which was probably concealed about the same time.[20]

CATALOGUE

Abbreviations and symbols

F	F affixed to a catalogue number denotes a coin in Group 2 – 'Flower' – as discussed in the Introduction.
PE	PE affixed to a catalogue number denotes a coin in Group 3 – 'Possible Easterton' – as discussed in the Introduction.
*	Footnote on coin.
illus.	Coin is illustrated.
RIC	References are to J.P.C. Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 8 (*RIC*). The officina letter is noted in parentheses after the *RIC* number. An officina letter followed by ? denotes that it is unclear.
cf.	cf. is used for new varieties, unclear and obscured coins, and for possibly barbarous coins.
AE 2a	Large-module AE 2 coin.
AE 2b	Small-module AE 2 coin.
CsII	Constantius II, 337–61.
Cn	Constans, 337–50.
Mg	Magnentius, 350–3.
Mm.	Mintmark.
() and []	When a coin is described in full, () enclose unclear or obscured details, [] enclose details that appear to be off the flan.
and . . .	When a coin is described in full, . denotes an illegible letter, and . . . an indeterminate number of illegible letters.
–	– denotes a legend-break.

Note on punctuation

Punctuation marks occur in the reverse legends of several FEL TEMP REPARATIO issues. Unless otherwise mentioned in the notes, either the punctuation in a legend is consistent with *RIC*, or the punctuation is unclear or obscured. Only when the punctuation is reasonably clear and of significance is it mentioned in the notes.

Roman mints

Coin no.	*Emperor*	*RIC*
Amiens		
350 – AE 2a: GLORIA ROMANORVM; emperor galloping r.		
1	Mg	4
2*	Mg	cf. 4
353–4 – AE 2a: FEL TEMP RE – PARATIO; falling horseman		
3	CsII	cf. 46
Trier		
348–50 – AE 2a: FEL TEMP – REPARATIO (sometimes punctuated); emperor on galley		
4F*	CsII	cf. 212/214(S)
5*	CsII	cf. 218(P)
6*	CsII	cf. 218(P?)
7*	Cn	cf. 219(P)
8	Cn	219(P?)
9	Cn	219(S)

2. Rev. after mm. unclear (cf. *RIC*, p. 4, note).
3. Rev. Mm. unclear and legend break obscured, but mint attribution confirmed by J.P.C. Kent.
4F. Rev. There could be a punctuation mark between FEL and TEMP.
5. Rev. T in mm. unclear, but coin almost certainly in style of Trier. The piece is mis-struck.
6. Rev. There appears to be a punctuation mark between FEL and TEMP, but this is not recorded for the 'Victory on globe' variety in *RIC* (cf. *RIC*, no. 212).
7. Rev. Mm. may be ·TRP (as opposed to TRP), but ·TRP is not recorded for the 'Victory on globe' variety in *RIC* (cf. RIC, no. 217).

20. For details about the Cobham hoard (836 coins), see *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885, pp. 108–17, and *RIC* pp. 86 and 97, no. 188.

10F*	Cn	cf. 219A(P)
11*	CsII	cf. 239(?)
12, 13PE	Cn	243(S)
14	Cn	243(S?)
15PE*	Cn	cf. 243(S(

348–50 – AE 2b: FEL·TEMP·REPAR – ATIO; soldier and hut

16, 17	CsII	220(P)
18	CsII	220(S?)
19	Cn	221(P)
20*	Cn	cf. 221(P)
21	CsII	222(P?)
22, 23F	CsII	222(S)
24*	Cn	cf. 223(S(
25	Cn	223(?)
26*	Cn	cf. 223/225(?)

348–50 – AE 3: FEL·TEMP·REPARATIO; phoenix on rocky mound

27*	Cn	228(P)
28	Cn	228(S)
29*	CsII/Cn	cf. 227–8(P)
30*	CsII/Cn	cf. 226–30(?)

348–50 – AE 2a: FELICITAS – REI PVBLICE; emperor standing

31, 32	Mg	264(P)
33	Mg	264(S)
34	Mg	266(S)
35*, 36*	Mg	cf. 266–7(P)
37*	Mg	cf. 266–7(S)
38*	Mg	cf. 266–7(?)
39*, 40*	Mg	cf. 264–7(?)

350–1 – AE 2a: GLORIA ROMANORVM; emperor galloping r.

41F*	Mg	cf. 270(?)
42*, 43F*	Mg	271(S)

Lyons

348–50 – AE 2a: FEL TEMP – REPARATIO (sometimes punctuated); emperor on galley

44*	Cn	cf. 74/76(P)
45*	Cn	cf. 105(P)
46	Cn	105(P?)

348–50 – AE 2b: FEL·TEMP·REPAR – ATIO; soldier and hut

47	Cn	84(P)
48	Cn	84(S)
49	Cn	85(P)

350–1 – AE 2a: FELICITAS – REI PVBLICE; soldier standing

50	Mg	112(P)
51, 52	Mg	112(S)
53*	Mg	cf. 109/112(P)
54*	Mg	cf. 109/112(S)
55*	Mg	cf. 109/112(?)

350–1 – AE 2a: GLORIA ROMANORVM; emperor galloping r.

56F*	Mg	cf. 115–7(?)

10F. Rev. Officina P not recorded for this variety in *RIC*. Mm. may be ·TRP (as opposed to TRP), but ·TRP is not recorded for the 'Victory on globe' variety in *RIC* (cf. *RIC*, no. 217).

11. Obv. A behind bust obscured. No coins with 'second-series' reverses are recorded with an obverse type without an A behind the bust, in *RIC*.

15PE. This piece has a smaller module (20–1 mm) than would be expected (21–3 mm), and the reverse type appears to be of a reduced size. The coin might be barbarous, but the style is not notably crude.

20. Rev. Legend break variety: A–T.

24. Rev. T in mm. unclear, but coin in style of Trier.

26. Rev. Mm. illegible, but coin in style of Trier.

27. This piece has been heavily cleaned. It is quite possible that it is one of the small module coins listed for Constans by Clerk. He only noted three with 'phoenix' reverses, although 4 such pieces are listed here (nos. 27–30). The poor condition of one coin may have prevented an identification. No. 27's reverse may have been obscured prior to cleaning, but it is also possible that Clerk failed to identify the phoenix on no. 30 which is still unclear. It is therefore quite reasonable to suggest that no. 27 does belong to the Ellen donation Group 1).

29. Rev. Mm. appears to be TRP·

30. Rev. Only TR of mm. on flan.

35–8. Rev. ◡ definitely visible at end of mm., but possibly ◡

39. Rev. Only TR of mm. legible.

40. Rev. Only T of mm. legible.

41F. Rev. Only the final stop of mm. visible (eg. TRP·). The emperor holds a shield. This combination of a mm. with final stop and a shield only seems to occur for coins of Trier. The style of the coin does not refute this attribution. The emperor is not nimbate.

42,43F. Rev. The emperor is not nimbate.

44. This coin has been heavily cleaned. Although one cannot be sure that it is an Ellen coin (Group 1), or even an Easterton coin, it is quite possible.

Rev. There appears to be a punctuation mark between FEL and TEMP, but such a variety is not recorded in *RIC*, although it is recorded for some AE 3 pieces of a similar type (cf. *RIC*, pp. 95–9). There may be a stop after the mm., on the edge of the flan.

45. Rev. 'Victory on globe' unclear, but the 'phoenix on globe' variety is not recorded for 'second-series' coins in *RIC*.

53–4 Rev. The first letter in mm. is obscured.

55. Rev. Entire mm. unclear, but coin is type of Lyons.

56F. Rev. Mm. is unclear, but PLG seems discernible. The emperor does not hold a shield and there is no star to his right, which support this attribution to Lyons. The style of the coin does not refute such an attribution. The piece appears mis-struck, and has a large and thin flan (23–5mm).

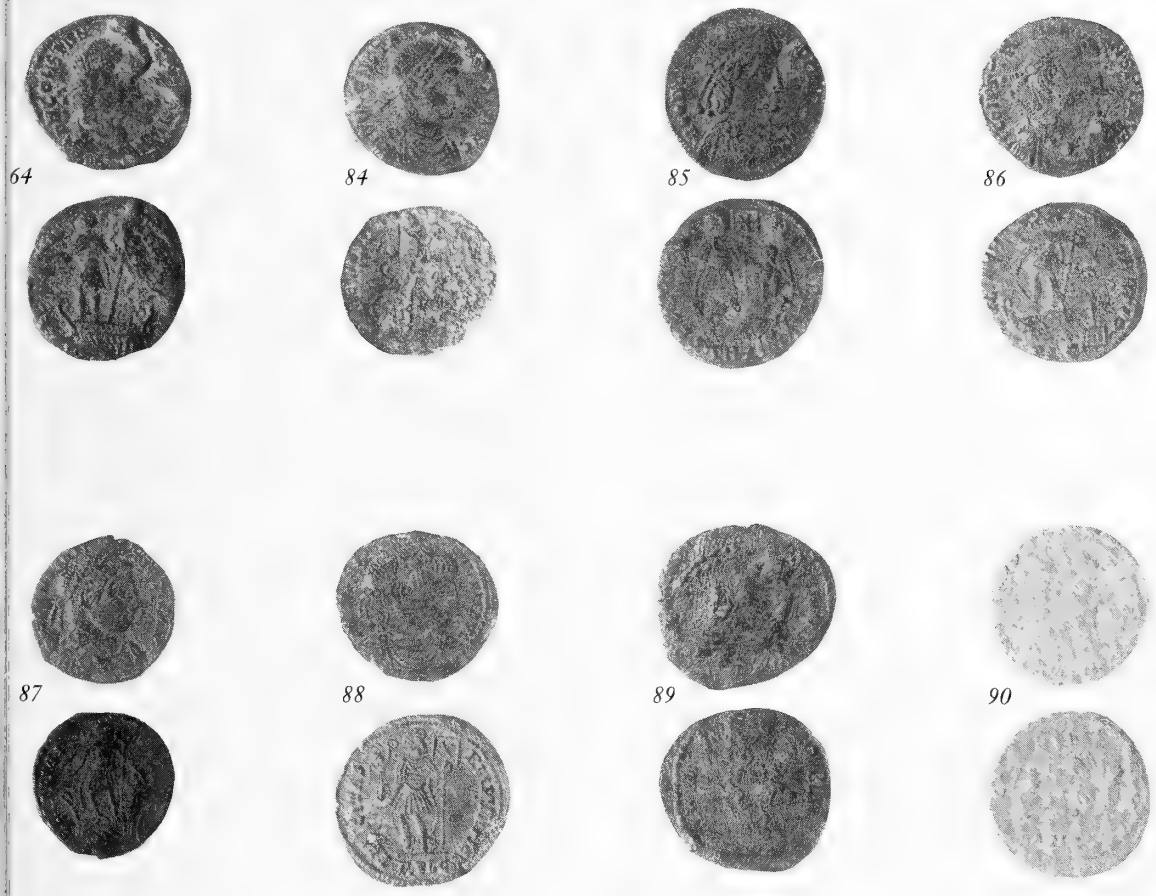

Figure 1. Selected coins from the hoard. Scale 1:1.

Arles

348–50 – AE 2b: FEL·TEMP·REPAR – ATIO (sometimes unpunctuated); soldier and hut

57, 58	Cn	106(S)
59	CsII	108(P)
60*	CsII	cf. 104/108(?)

60. Rev. *RIC* records a coin of 'variety A' with a punctuated reverse (no. 104), and a coin of 'variety B' with an unpunctuated legend (no. 108). This coin is of 'variety B' and appears to have a punctuated legend (see between FEL and TEMP).

61F. Obv. Name of emperor off flan, but this issue only recorded for Constantius II in *RIC*.
Rev. The exact variety is uncertain because the reverse legend-break is not visible. The A in mm. is obscured. This piece has a small module (19 mm) with most of the legends off the flan.

350–1 – AE 2a: FEL TEMP REPARATIO; falling horseman.

61F*	CsII	cf. 141–2(P)

Rome

348–50 – AE 2a: FEL TEMP – REPARATIO; emperor on galley.

62	CsII	107(S)
63F*	CsII	cf. 107(P/B?)
64* (illus.)	CsII	cf. 108(?)

63F. Rev. Mm. unclear, but coin in style of Rome.

64. Obv. Type of diadem unclear.
Rev. Mm. seems to be R followed by an officina letter; the left field is obscured, but seems clear; the 'phoenix on globe' is unclear, but 'Victory on globe' is not recorded for this issue in *RIC*.
The coin is in the style of Rome, but the lettering and style of design give it a barbarous appearance.

65*	Cn?	cf. 109–111(?)

348–50 – AE 2b: FEL·TEMP·REPA – RATIO (sometimes unpunctuated*); soldier and hut

66	Cn	140(P)
67	Cn	140(T)
68	Cn	140(T?)
69PE*	Cn?	cf. 140(T?)
70, 71	Cn	140(E)
72F	Cn	140(E?)
73	Cn	140(S)
74	Cn	140(T/S?)
75, 76, 77, 78	Cn	140(?)
79F*	Cn	cf. 138/140(?)

Aquileia

348–50 – AE 2b: FEL·TEMP·REPAR – ATIO; soldier and hut.

80	Cn	101(S)
81*	Cn	cf. 103(P?)
82*	Cn	cf. 101/103(T)

Siscia

348–50 – AE 2b : FEL·TEMP·REPA – RATIO; soldier and hut.

83*	Cn	cf. 212(r)

Uncertain mint or barbarous imitation

348–50/350/1? – AE 2a (21–2 mm:) FEL TEMP R – EPARATIO; falling horseman.

84* (illus.) CsII

Obv. D N CONSTAN – (TIVS) P F AVG; pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.

Rev. FEL TEMP R – (EPARATIO); helmeted soldier to l., shield on l. arm, spearing falling horseman; shield on ground at r.; horseman wears pointed cap, (sits to r.) and raises both hands.

In field and exergue: A|

(P...)?

Barbarous imitations

Note that nos. 14PE, 64 and 84 might also be barbarous imitations.

The legends of the following pieces are often crudely rendered. Only approximations of the legends are furnished: there is not an attempt to reproduce the style of lettering.

Prototype: 348–50 – AE 2a: FEL TEMP – REPARATIO; emperor in military dress standing l. on galley, holding phoenix on globe and standard with Chi-Rho on banner; in the stern sits Victory, steering the ship.

85F* (illus.)

22–3 mm; copied from a piece of *Trier* (?), struck for *Constans*. cf. *RIC*, Trier, no. 215.

Obv. (N CONSTA)–NS P F AV(G); pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.

Rev. FEL (TEMP) – REPARATIO; emperor on galley etc. * on banner of standard.

In exergue: TAZ or TRZ

86*(illus.)

21–2 mm; copied from a piece of *Lyons*, struck for *Constans*.

cf. *RIC*, Lyons, no. 71.

Obv. N CONSTA – NS P F AVG; pearl(?)-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.

Rev. (F)EL TEM R – EPARATIO; emperor on galley etc. Semblance of Chi-Rho on banner of standard.

In exergue: PLG

65. Obv. Legend unclear and diadem obscured. Rev. Mm. off flan, but coin in style of Rome.

66–79F. Rev. In the following listing, the officina letters are noted in parentheses following the catalogue number. Nos. 66(P), 70–1(Є), 72F(Є?) and 75(?) have punctuated legends; no. 76(?) seems to have a punctuated legend, but is unclear. Nos. 67(T), 68(T?), 73(S), 74(T/S?) and 77(?) appear to have unpunctuated legends; no. 79F(?) seems to have an unpunctuated legend, but is unclear. Nos. 69PE(T?) and 78(?) have legends which are too unclear to allow any decision.

69PE. Obv. Legend unclear.

79F. Rev. Mm. illegible, but the coin is almost certainly in the style of Rome.

81. Rev. Mm. rather unclear, but the coin is almost certainly in the style of Aquileia.

82. Rev. There could be a stop after mm. Officina T not recorded for no. 101 in *RIC*.

83. Rev. Legend-break variety: R–A. ⌐= △.

84. The mm., reverse legend-break (and style?) tend to suggest Lyons or Arles. The absence of an A behind the bust on the obverse is a feature of the 'first series' of the 348–50 period. However, the reverse type belongs to the 'second series' of the 348–50 period. Therefore, the piece might be a hybrid. It should also be noted that at Arles there was another issue in 350–1 that was similar to the 'second series' of 348–50. See *RIC*, Lyons, pp. 182–3 (cf. no. 100); Arles, pp. 210–11 (cf. no. 120) and pp. 213–14, nos. 140–8.

The uneven lettering and the style of the coin do tend to suggest that it is barbarous. No attempt has been made to reproduce the style of lettering in the catalogue description.

85F. Rev. Mm. could be a crude rendition of TRS. There appears to be a crescent-like form after the mm., but it seems to be part of Victory's oar.

86. Obv. The head-dress seems to be a crude rendition of a pearl-diadem.

87PE*(illus.)
22 mm; copied from a piece of *Trier or Lyons*?, struck for *Constantius II*. cf. *RIC*, Trier, no. 214; Lyons, no. 69.
Obv. D N CONSTAN – TIVS P F AVG; pearl(?)–diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.
Rev. FEL TEMP – (REPAR)[ATIO]; emperor on galley etc. Design on banner of standard obscured.
In exergue: (.VG or .VS)?

Prototype:
350–1 – AE 2a: FELICITAS – REI PVBLICE; emperor in military dress standing l., holding Victory on globe and standard. (There is either a Chi-Rho or a wreath on the banner of the standard.)

88F*(illus.)
23–5 mm; copied from a piece of *Lyons*, struck for *Magnentius*. cf. *RIC*, Lyons, no. 112.
Obv. D N MA (GNEN) – TIVS P F AVG; rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.
Rev. FELICITAS – REI PVBLICE; emperor standing etc. X on banner of standard.
In exergue: RPLG

89PE*(illus.)
22–4 mm; copies from a piece of *Lyons or Arles* ?, struck for *Magnentius*. cf. *RIC*, Lyons, nos. 109/112; Arles, no. 136.
Obv. (D N MAGNEN – TIVS P F AVG); pearl (?)-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.
Rev. (FELICITAS – RE)I PVBLI(CE); emperor stg. etc.
Design on banner of standard obscured.
In exergue: obscured.

Prototype:
350 – AE 2a: GLORIA ROMANORVM; emperor in military dress, on l. arm shield, galloping r., spearing barbarian with outstretched arms kneeling l. in front of horse; below horse, shield and broken spear.

90F*(illus.)
21–2 mm; copied from a piece of *Amiens*, struck for *Magnentius*. cf. *RIC*, Amiens, no. 4.
Obv. (D N MAGNEN) – TIVS P (F AVG); bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust r. Behind bust, A.
Rev. GL(OR)[IA ROM](ANO)RVM; emperor galloping r. etc.
In exergue: AMB ⋔

Acknowledgements. I must thank Dr Paul Robinson for allowing me to work on this hoard at the Devizes Museum. I am indebted to him, John Kent, Andrew Burnett, Christopher Blunt, and the staff of the Devizes Museum for providing much valuable assistance. I am also grateful to the Morehead Foundation, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, for sponsoring my work at the Devizes Museum in the summer of 1982.

87PE. Obv. The head-dress seems to be a crude rendition of a pearl-diadem.
Rev. Mm. suggests LVG, PLG or TRS. The mm. LVG was not used on issues of this type, but was used on gold and silver coins from the mint of Lyons in this period. The style of the coin might suggest that the prototype was a coin of Trier.

88F. Rev. On official coins of the FELICITAS REI PVBLICE type of Lyons, a Chi-Rho appeared on the banner of the standard.

89PE. Obv. The head-dress seems to be a crude rendition of a pearl-diadem. The pearl-diadem is only list in conjunction with the FELICITAS REI PVBLICE type at Arles, in *RIC*.
This coin has a particularly crude style.

90F. Rev. The design is rendered in a particularly crude manner.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 50–54.

The Cult and Tombs of St Osmund at Salisbury

by DAPHNE STROUD

Three monuments in Salisbury Cathedral are connected with St Osmund, Bishop 1078–99. Monument I, a late-12th-century effigy slab, was brought from Old Sarum to the new cathedral in 1226. Together with its foramina base Monument II was the focus of Osmund's cult until his canonization in 1456. The shrine then erected was destroyed at the Reformation and the site marked by Monument III, a coffin lid inscribed with the date of Osmund's death.

THE MONUMENTS

Three monuments thought to have an association with St Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury 1078–99, are to be found in Salisbury Cathedral today.

Monument I

A Purbeck marble tomb slab in the S nave arcade (third bay from the W) with the effigy, in low relief, of a bishop in full pontificals; length 206 cm, width 76 cm tapering to 58 cm. The words '*Quisquis es affer opem devenies in idem*' (Whosoever you may be grant the help [of your prayers] you will become the same) are cut down the centre of the vestments, and a verse epitaph in Latin round the vertical edge of the slab. The verse may be translated:

> They weep today in Salisbury for he is dead who was the sword
> Of justice and father of Salisbury's church.
> While he lived he cherished the unfortunate and did not fear the pride of the great
> But was a mace striking terror into the hearts of evil-doers.
> He took his descent from dukes and nobles
> And like a jewel reflected glory on the . . . princes of his house.

Monument II

A Purbeck marble table-topped monument in the S nave arcade (eighth bay from W); length 218 cm, width 89 cm tapering to 81 cm; three openings (foramina) 46 x 35 cm in each side. This monument is thought to be the base of St Osmund's shrine. Sick or crippled pilgrims would place their limbs in the holes in the hope that the proximity of the saint's bones would effect a miraculous cure.

Monument III

A ledger stone or coffin lid of dark grey stone on the plinth at the SW corner of the Trinity (Lady) Chapel; length 198 cm, width 71 cm tapering to 51 cm. On the face of the stone, at the wider end, are cut the letters *ANNO MXCIX* (1099, the date of Osmund's death).

All three monuments have been moved from their original positions in the cathedral, and their connections with Osmund forgotten or called in question at one time or another. It can be shown, nevertheless, that they were associated with the saint; and with the scanty evidence provided by surviving records it is possible to piece together an account of the history of Osmund's memorials and cult from his death in 1099 to the present day.

THE CULT AND CANONIZATION

Osmund, of Norman birth and, by repute, a relative of William the Conqueror, was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury in 1078, shortly after the see had been moved from Sherborne. He built the first cathedral on the hill of Old Sarum and established a community of canons who rapidly became famous for their learning and the excellence of their singing.[1] He was revered in his lifetime as a man of great purity of conduct, as the father of his church, and as the champion of its people. At his death the canons demonstrated their veneration by keeping his chasuble and broken pastoral staff among the treasures of the cathedral.[2]

Osmund died on 3 December 1099 and was buried in the cathedral at Old Sarum. Effigy slabs are not found in England at this early date, and Monument I was not part of his first tomb.[3] The opening words of the

1. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (ed.), *William of Malmesbury : Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls series, 1870), p. 193.
2. W.H. Rich-Jones (ed.), *Register of St Osmund* (Rolls series, 1883–4), vol. 2, pp. 133, 135.
3. The correct attribution of the monument has been the subject of much debate. The plaque in the cathedral now (1984) ascribes it to Bishop Jocelin (1141–84). This paper accepts the case for Osmund made by F.J.E. Raby, 'The tomb of St Osmund at

epitaph, however – 'They weep today in Salisbury' – suggest that the verse was composed at the time of his death. The verse used for his first burial may have been later transferred to a second tomb, of which Monument I is part.

A number of stone coffins dating from the period when the see was at Old Sarum were found (and subsequently re-buried) in the course of excavations of the canons' cemetery there carried out in 1913–14.[4] For the most part these coffins were plain, or marked only with a simple cross, but two were distinguished by carved Latin verse epitaphs. One, commemorating a certain Alward of Ramsbury, who is otherwise unknown, has a verse form – a hexameter with internal and tailed rhymes – identical with the epitaph on Osmund's tomb slab. The second verse, similar but lacking the internal rhymes, commemorates Godwin, consecrated priest by Anselm of Canterbury (Archbishop, 1093–1109), and therefore a younger contemporary of Osmund. Godwin was the Cantor (Precentor) of the Cathedral and an author of some repute, although only the *Meditations to Rainilva, a Recluse* has survived of his works. It seems clear that the tribute of an inscribed verse was used at this period to mark the most honoured of the Cathedral's dead, and it is reasonable to suppose that the first tomb of the greatly revered Osmund would have been so adorned.

Twenty to thirty years after Osmund's death the E end of the cathedral was greatly extended by Bishop Roger (1107–39), and it is probable that the tomb was then moved to the N side of the new high altar where some indications of a tomb were discovered in 1914.[5]

During the 12th century miracles started to occur at the tomb. The earliest recorded in the canonization proceedings of 1228 is dated about 1180.[6] Only eye-witness accounts were, however, permitted (the witness in this case was said to be about 100 years old), and it cannot be assumed that this was the first miracle which occurred or was commonly reported. In all likelihood the tomb was a place of resort for the sick and afflicted well before this date, and Osmund regarded locally as a saint by the early 13th century. The title 'saint' could only officially be conferred by papal authority and the word is carefully avoided in the canonization applications. In making a list of the cathedral's treasures for local use, however, the Treasurer of 1222 was less cautious, and a gift to the tomb of *Saint* Osmund slipped into the record.[7]

During the late 12th and early 13th centuries Salisbury was an outstanding centre of ecclesiastical progress. Under the leadership of Richard Poore (Dean 1197–1215 and Bishop 1217–28) a group of exceptionally able men developed and codified the constitutional and liturgical practices of the cathedral so successfully that the 'Use of Sarum' was widely adopted throughout the British Isles. Osmund's name was from the outset associated with this development, the fame of Salisbury's revered bishop and the excellence of the works attributed to him combining to bring honour to his Cathedral and its Chapter.

I suggest that it was in the early years of Richard Poore's diaconate that, to promote their bishop and the 'Use of Sarum' together, the Chapter embellished Osmund's tomb with a handsome new effigy (Monument I) and transferred his verse epitaph to the edges of the new slab. The effigy cannot be closely dated by style, but its similarity with the slab of Abbot Benedict (d. 1193) in Peterborough Cathedral suggests a date towards the end of the 12th century. Possibly Monument II was provided at the same time as a mount; the two monuments are both tapered, and the smaller slab would have fitted on to the foramina base. The account of a miracle attributed to 1216 at Old Sarum states that a mad boy was *tied* to the tomb, something more easily done if the grave slab had a base with holes in it.[8] Alternatively Monument II may have been provided when Osmund's remains were brought down to New Salisbury.

On 14 June 1226 the body of Bishop Osmund, by then described as '*beatus*', blessed, was brought down from Old Sarum to the Lady Chapel of the new cathedral, the only part completed at the time.[9] Its tomb was later said to be 'between the Salve chapel and that of St Stephen, that is in the third arch from the morning altar'.[10] The 'Salve' altar was at the E end of the Lady Chapel, and St Stephen's on the site of the present Hertford memorial. The description points to the position on the plinth at the SW of the Lady Chapel where Monument III has now been placed. The remains were apparently buried under the floor or within

Salisbury', *Arch. J.*, vol. 104 (1947), pp. 19–20, which the RCHM(E) endorses (*Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury*, vol. 1 (London: HMSO, 1980), pp. 19–20). H. de S. Shortt's pamphlet, *The Three Bishops' Tombs Moved to Salisbury Cathedral from Old Sarum* (Salisbury: Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, 1971) makes the case for Jocelin.

4. 'Report on the excavation of the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum in 1913', *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, vol. 26 (1914) pp. 112–16.
5. Ibid., p. 108.
6. A.R. Malden, *The Canonization of St Osmund* (Salisbury: Wilts. Record Society, 1901), p. 35.
7. *Register of St Osmund* (note 2), vol. 2, p. 131.
8. Malden (note 6), p. 45.
9. *Register of St Osmund* (note 2), vol. 2, p. 55.
10. Salisbury Chapter Muniments, Press 2, Miscellaneous Volumes, *Catalogus Episcopi ad annum 1672*, fo. 2r.

the plinth, with the foramina base surmounted by the effigy above. A 15th-century letter in the canonization papers says that the laity, impatient of the long delays in securing Osmund's canonization, were threatening to take the body up from the earth (*'de terra'*) and translate it themselves to a new shrine.[11]

On 30 May 1228 Pope Gregory IX, on the petition of Richard Poore and his Chapter, appointed a Commission of Enquiry into Osmund's canonization. Their report gives an illuminating account of the popular devotion to Osmund at Old Sarum and at the new cathedral in its earliest years.[12] All the miracles took place at the tomb, which was obviously readily accessible, and there is a homely familiarity about the attitude of the devotees. They not only habitually watched through the night at the tomb; they leaned over it and lay on it; a clerk sat 'irreverently' on it and was promptly punished for his impudence with a violent headache; a mad girl, 'wearied out with much shouting and screaming', lay down and slept at its head and woke up cured; a drowned girl recovered when laid on the top of the tomb by her father, one Walter West. (A small child could lie comfortably on the effigy in the slight hollow of the vestments.)

Bishop Poore's petition was not successful, and no further progress was made until the appointment of a new commission in 1424 by Pope Martin V.[13] Forty-six witnesses gave evidence of a new set of miracles over the previous 40 years, i.e. since the 1380s. The revival of the case after so many years indicates the continuing popular veneration for Osmund, and we may reasonably assume that there were many unrecorded miracles during the gap of 150 years.

The second group of miracles are concerned with much the same sorrows and ills of the flesh as the first – drowned children are revived; the mad restored to sanity; headaches, toothaches and sundry other illnesses cured – but the accounts reveal a noticeable change both of attitude and of practice. The faithful of the 12th and early 13th centuries watched and prayed through the night close to, often actually touching, the tomb. In the years to 1424 only six miracles out of 33 occurred at the tomb itself. In the majority of cases the supplicants called for aid in a set formula to 'God, the blessed Virgin Mary and Bishop Osmund', in whatever place the sickness or accident overtook them. A pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the tomb was usually, but by no means invariably, performed afterwards. The relationship with Osmund seems less close, and the tomb itself of less importance.

Only one of the 15th-century witnesses gives us a glimpse of the actual tomb. In about 1384 one John Bemyster, a madman, was cured by placing his head and hands in 'certain openings in the tomb' while the mass of the blessed Virgin Mary was being celebrated. This is the earliest definite reference to Monument II, the foramina base of the tomb.

By the 15th century some of the many memorials to later bishops, richly carved and brilliantly painted, must have appeared far more splendid than Osmund's worn and now thoroughly unfashionable effigy, still in its old position at the corner of the Lady Chapel. Papal authority was, however, required before the bones could be translated to a new tomb. The desire to provide a worthy shrine which would, by its own magnificence, draw pilgrims with their offerings to the cathedral, became an important element in the campaign for canonization.

In 1456 Pope Callistus III finally approved Osmund's canonization, and his Bull, dated 1 January 1457, included instructions for the preparation of a new tomb 'in a worthier place'. A papal mandate, issued shortly after[15] and dealing with the apportionment of offerings at the shrine, stresses the need to prepare and adorn the place to which the new saint's remains were to be translated 'worthily and honourably'. Salisbury hastened to carry out the long-awaited injunctions. A magnificent shrine was erected in a commanding position at the centre of the Lady Chapel, and the ceremony of translation took place in July 1457.[16]

The shrine must have been a substantial structure. A much-damaged leaf of the canonization papers records payments for a 'cofyn of Tymbre', for a silver gilt head of the saint, and for many jewels.[17] Other shrines of the period included ornate stone canopies covering richly adorned and bejewelled coffins mounted high as a focus of worship; it can reasonably be assumed that Osmund's shrine was of this type.[18]

The Bull of canonization promised indulgences to all pilgrims who, within the ensuing three years, made offerings at Osmund's shrine during the octave of his feast. No doubt the indulgences and the glittering shrine drew in the crowds. But it was a far cry from the July morning, two centuries earlier, when a distraught Walter West had stumbled at first light past the scaffolding and builders' litter of the unfinished cathed-

11. Malden (note 6), p. 108.
12. Ibid., p. 35ff.
13. Ibid., p. 56ff.
14. Ibid., Appendix 1, p. 224.
15. Ibid., p. 216.
16. Ibid., p. 219.
17. Ibid., pp. 217–18.
18. For example, the shrine of St Edmund at Bury. British Library MS Harley 2278.

ral to the place where Osmund lay, carrying his drowned child wrapped in a blanket in his arms; and found his faith justified when the little girl, cradled on the good bishop's tomb, 'opened her eyes, held out her hand to her nurse, and smiled'.

About 1540, some 80 years after the canonization, the antiquary John Leland, presumably reporting local tradition, said that 'S. Osmunde's first tumbe [was] on the south side of our Lady [chapel] while the shrine was a makyng'[19] – that is, where Monuments I and II had stood for over two centuries. Leland's comment suggests that no part of the old tomb was incorporated in the new shrine. The two monuments were probably left when the shrine had been completed and the saint's bones translated the few feet to their new resting place in the centre of the Lady Chapel. Possibly Leland's comment was occasioned by his seeing the foramina base on its old site.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE OSMUND MONUMENTS

The cult of the saint was abolished at the Reformation, and early in 1539 Henry VIII's commissioners stripped the shrine of its gold and jewels. What remained of the edifice was demolished in the course of the ensuing year. Two men were engaged on the work for nine days in January/February; four men for a day in the following May; and one man and his mate for 15 days later in the summer.[20]

Leland also mentions a 'grave' in the N aisle of the nave, inscribed with the words '*Adfer opem devenies in idem*',[21] which must be Osmund's effigy slab (Monument I). Leland attaches no name to the 'grave', but it is difficult to believe that, so soon after the suppression of his cult, the identity of Osmund's effigy had been forgotten. It seems more likely that the effigy had been deliberately removed from its base in the E end of the cathedral and placed in a less conspicuous position in the nave. Even this degree of respect for the saint's memory might have been dangerous, and Leland's informants may well have thought it prudent not to identify the monument.

The account of Osmund in Francis Godwin's *Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (1601) refers to the removal of the saint's bones from Old to New Sarum where, it adds, 'they now lye in the middle of the Lady Chappell under a marble Stone bearing this only inscription *ANNO MXCIX*'.[22] So by the end of the reign of Elizabeth I the dated stone, Monument III, was on the site of Osmund's shrine. It is interesting to note that Godwin believed that Osmund's remains were still buried under the floor there, since in most cases the bones of saints were thrown out at the time their shrines were destroyed.

In 1962 a small stone receptacle (61 x 30.5 cm) was discovered empty under the floor in the centre of the Lady Chapel.[23] It is unlikely that this was part of the 15th-century shrine since the evidence indicates that Osmund's remains were then placed in a wooden coffin on a raised pedestal; moreover so small a receptacle can scarcely have held a complete skeelton.

I offer below an account which seems to me to furnish the best explanation of the known facts of the dated stone, the receptacle below the floor, and Godwin's statement:

Some relic – perhaps a single bone saved from the desecration of 1539 – was buried under the floor at the site of the demolished shrine during the Marian restoration of Catholicism. An old coffin lid was used to cover the reliquary, with the date of Osmund's death, but not his name, cut on it – a wise precaution since overzealous commitment to one or other side in the religious dispute could have dire conseqences. We may surmise that the monument was sufficiently inconspicuous to have been left alone when Protestantism returned under Elizabeth I.

The Bishop of Salisbury at the beginning of Mary's reign was John Salcott or Capon, a man who changed ecclesiastical sides nimbly with the times and who was said by his successor Jewel to have 'devoured all' of his church's revenues. It is tempting to see Salcott as responsible for a gesture so in keeping with his reputation as the provision, for Osmund's last memorial, of this second-hand tombstone with its prudently evasive inscription.

In 1644 the royalist officer Richard Symonds noted some of the cathedral monuments in his diary:[24] 'In the middle of this chapel [the Lady Chapel] lyes a blew

19. L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland* (London: Centaur Press, 1964), vol. 1, p. 264.
20. J.M.J. Fletcher, 'Bishop Richard Beauchamp 1450–81', *WAM*, vol. 48 (1938), p. 165.
21. *Itinerary of John Leland* (note 19), vol. 1, p. 265.
22. Francis Godwin, *Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (1601), p. 272 (Bodleian Library, Gough Eccl. Top. 55). The long-standing but unsupported tradition – e.g. W. Dodsworth, *Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, (Salisbury : W. Dodsworth 1814), p. 198 – that Monument III was part of Osmund's tomb at Old Sarum possibly derives from misunderstanding of this passage.
23. The receptacle was found during the installation of heating in the chapel and is shown on a 'Plan of the empty tombs found in 1962 under the Trinity Chapel floor', in the possession of the cathedral Clerk of Works.
24. C.E. Long (ed.), *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; kept by Richard Symonds* (London: Camden Society, vol. 74, 1859), p. 130.

stone rising four ynches from the ground, the east end narrower than the west; this lately written; Anno *MXCIX*. For Bishop Osmund, first builder of this church.'

This is clearly Monument III, still marking the site of the demolished shrine, but what did Symonds mean by 'lately written'? In all probability the inscription was almost a century earlier, and certainly more than 40 years old, since Godwin knew of its existence. Perhaps it was simply that Symonds had an unreliable guide.

Symonds also saw, on the S side of the Lady Chapel, 'an altar tombe of marble; and on each side are three open holes in resemblance of six wells, for the Lord Stourton, who was executed (hanged) in this city for killing the two Hurgalls knights. Sans inscription.[1] This is Monument II still in its old position. The ascription to Lord Stourton (d. 1557) appears a piece of ingenious ignorance perpetrated at a time when the monument's true function had been forgotten.

A cathedral plan of 1733 shows Lord Stourton buried near by in the thickness of the S wall of the Lady Chapel. The position of all three Osmund monuments is also shown as : Monument I (the effigy slab) in the third bay of the S nave arcade where it still lies; Monument II (the foramina base) on the plinth at the SW corner of the Lady Chapel; Monument III (the dated stone) in the centre of the Lady Chapel.[25]

In the course of James Wyatt's alterations in 1789–92 Monument II was moved to its present position in the S nave arcade.

Wyatt moved Monument III to the N nave arcade, but it was returned to the Lady Chapel in about 1875. It was first placed in the centre of the Chapel, where the 15th-century shrine had stood, but was later moved to its present position on the plinth at the SW corner. There it marks the site of Osmund's tomb between its removal from Old Sarum in 1226 and the translation of 1457.[26]

25. 'Ichonographical plan of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury'. British Library, Map Room K Top XLIII 39–f. Printed in J.D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the XII, XIV and XIX Centuries* (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1877), frontispiece.

26. W.H. Jones, 'Bishops of Old Sarum', *WAM*, vol. 17 (1876–7), pp. 173–4. A.R. Malden, 'The burial places of the Bishops of Salisbury', *WAM*, vol. 37 (1914), p. 340.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 55–61.

The Manor of Brixton Deverill: a Custumal and an Extent of the Thirteenth Century

by J.R. PIERREPONT

A custumal, of the mid 13th century, and an extent, dated 1294, for the Manor of Brixton Deverill are discussed. The texts are given in translation and the original Latin.

Brixton Deverill lies in the valley of the upper reaches of the river Wylye, on the B3095 about 2½ km S of its junction with the A350, and some 16 km, as the crow flies, N of Shaftesbury. Including Brixton Deverill there are five Deverills within a 5-km stretch of the valley. Deverill is a topographically descriptive name of the area, derived from the Celtic *Dwfr-ial*, the river of '*ial*', a fertile upland region. This is just what the area is; the fertile upper reaches of the river Wylye. Brixton is derived from the name of the pre-Conquest owner, which in Domesday book is given as Brictric,[1] and so 'Brictric's tun', or Brixton.

Domesday book also states that the manor of Devrel was held in capite of the king by the abbey of Bec, by gift of Queen Maud.[2] At the time of Domesday the abbey of Bec held only one other property and that was Tooting, which was given to it by Richard Clare (FitzGilbert). By the time of Henry II, however, it held numerous manors, advowsons, tithes, etc. The reason for this spate of gifts will be apparent when the abbey's connection with the archbishopric of Canterbury, is considered.

The abbey of Bec, one of the most famous in France, was founded in the year AD 1034 by Hellouin or Herluinus, who was its first abbot, and had been a knight in the service of Count Gilbert de Brionne, founder of the FitzGilbert or Clare family. Shortly after its foundation, *c.* 1040, Lanfranc entered the abbey, and three years later became its prior. He founded a school there, as a result of which the abbey from its humble foundation rose to become the most famous and influential of the Norman monasteries. By about 1050 Lanfranc had become one of William Duke of Normandy's closest advisors, and in 1063 William brought him from Bec to be abbot of his new foundation at Caen. Finally after the Conquest William made him Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. William Rufus made Anselm, abbot of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, and Stephen made Theobald, abbot of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1139, so it is scarcely surprising that Bec quickly acquired possessions in England.

A charter of confirmation by Henry II[3] gives a long list of Bec's possessions, two of which claim attention:

De dono Matildis reginae, matris H. regis senioris, Cornel et Deverell.

Ex dono Matildis de Wallingford, Minorem Okeburne, et Majorem Okeburne.

Ogbourne is mentioned here because, as will be seen in the extent, the manor of Brixton Deverill (Brythteston) was held by the prior of Ogbourne, and also, in the custumal that the manor of Brixton Deverill sent its wool to Ogbourne.

Matilda de Wallingford, in her charter of *c.* 1149, gave Little and Great Ogbourne to the abbey of Bec '*ad vestiendum praedictos monachos*'.[4] It was this Matilda who held the castle of Wallingford so stoutly for the Empress Maud against Stephen, and it was to Wallingford that the Empress went, when she escaped so dramatically across the snow from Oxford castle.

It may be that originally there was a cell at Brixton Deverill, but by the early part of the 13th century most of Bec's manors in this country, some 26 of them, were managed from the priory of Ogbourne, which by then had become its chief and richest cell in this country. Brixton Deverill, with 717 acres of arable land, 6 acres of meadow and 1143 sheep, was the third largest manor in the bailiwick of Ogbourne.[5]

The custumal and the extent are printed here both in a modern English translation and in the original Latin.

1. Domesday Book 1.68.
2. Ibid.
3. William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edited by J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Badinell (London, 1846), vol. 6, p. 1068.
4. Ibid., p. 1016.
5. Marjorie Morgan, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford Historical Series, London, 1946), p. 47.

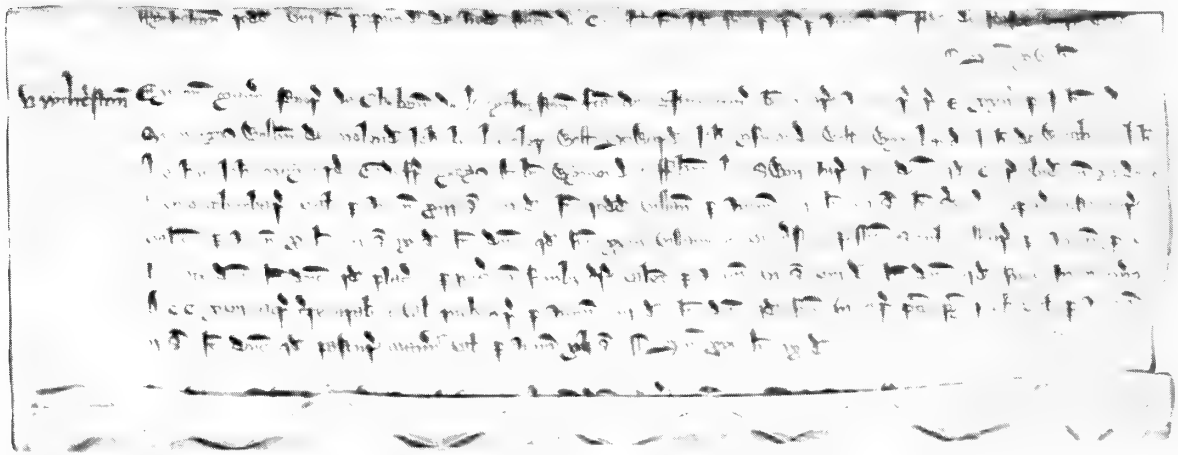

Figure 1. The extent (Crown copyright; reproduced by permission of the Public Record Office).

The custumal

The custumal is not dated, but Maitland puts it in the first half of the 13th century. This seems to be born out by the court roll of 1247 in which six villeins mentioned in the custumal appear.[6] Besides Ogbourne, the other places mentioned in the custumal are Southampton, Shaftesbury, Pertwood and Woodcombe. No doubt the cheeses sent to Southampton were being exported to the abbey of Bec, for English cheeses were highly prized in Normandy; moreover the priory of Ogbourne also was liable to provide cheeses for the abbey of Bec, some 32 weys (about 150 kg) at the feast of St John the Baptist each year. Shaftesbury was the nearest market town to which they took their corn. Woodcombe and Pertwood, to which Wm Cok and others owed carrying service are about 1½ km W and 4 km SE of Brixton Deverill, respectively. Possibly they were berewicks of the manor.

The services claimed from the villeins seem on the face of it to be very heavy, and no doubt are compared with some manors, but they are by no means the heaviest known. The Bishop of Chichester claimed four days' work every week from his villeins on his manor of Preston, and the villeins of the manors of Waldon and Walpole in East Anglia were called upon to perform six days' work a week throughout the year. In the case of Deverill, it was only three days a week except for harvest time (St Peter in chains to the feast of St Michael, 1 August to 29 September) when they were required to work every day except Saturday, but only to reap half an acre a day and to bind the sheaves, by no means a full day's work! With regard to the three days per week, the customary tenant only worked to the third hour, except when threshing, when he had to thresh a fixed quantity. If he was to work longer hours, it was stipulated – to harrow in Lent for one day till the ninth hour, and he sometimes worked from morning till evening when carting. For some duties he is excused one, two or three works. It must be realized only one man from each tenancy was called upon to perform these works, and the rest were free to see to their own holding. If more were required, the custumal said so. For instance the customary tenant was called upon to provide two men to wash and shear sheep, and if the lord so required, to be there himself as well to supervise them. So things were not quite so bad as they seem, especially if he had a family of strong sons.

There are five versions of the custumal:

1. The original version on the earliest roll, now in the King's College manuscripts in Cambridge University Library (King's Dd 33). This has been printed by the Camden Society.[8]
2. The altered version on the last membrane of the same roll. This is the one printed here.
3. An unfinished copy, following no. 1 with some variations, now in the British Library, London (Add. MS 24316, fos. 92v–3 (81v–2)).
4. A version of no. 2, and almost analogous with no. 5, on the same British Library roll (Add. MS 24316, fos. 9–11).
5. The later roll, now also in the King's College manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library.[9]

6. F.W. Maitland (ed.), *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*, (London, : Selden Society, 1888), vol. 2, pp. 4, 13.
7. (London: Camden Society vol. 73,), p. 69.
8. Ibid., pp. 69–73.
9. King's College also has the following Court Rolls: C2: 1247, 1248. C4–6, 8–10: various years temp. Edward I. C7, 13–15: various years temp. Edward II.

The extent (Figure 1)

The extent is dated 8 September 1294, and is some 50 years later than the custumal. It is remarkable for the paucity of its information. It states that there were 23 villeins, but says nothing of their holdings or services, neither does it mention the mill. A possible reason for this is that it is a royal extent taken when the Crown took over what would now be called 'enemy assets'. This would account for its being in the Public Record Office and not with the custumal among the King's College records.

The year 1294 saw the beginning of a period of four years' war with France. It was time of crisis for king Edward; he needed every penny he could lay his hands on, and Deverill (Brythteston), being a possession of the French abbey of Bec, was fair game. Edward would not be interested in details, but only in what cash the manor could generate. Incidentally, the total of £21 0*s.* 9*d.* does not seem to agree with the figures given in the body of the extent.

The extent, printed here for the first time, is Public Record Office Exch. KR, E 106/2/2.

Later history of the manor

At the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII, the manor of Brixton Deverill with others, including that of Ogbourne, went to St Nicholas College, Cambridge, later King's College. Therefore the custumal is to be found with other King's College records.

The translations and transcriptions

The custumal and extent are given here in English translation. The original Latin texts follow in smaller type. In the original text a single stroke / indicates end of line. Words in round brackets () are indecipherable. Passages in square brackets are written out and deleted in the original.

The custumal in translation

William Coke holds a virgate of land with appurtenances and when he works fully he pays ten pence at the feast of St Michael and in any week of works, from the aforesaid feast until the feast of St Peter in chains, he ought to work for three days at whatever work the lord shall wish. And when he threshes he ought to thresh of whatever corn one estrich' unless of oats of which he shall thresh a half-quarter. And as often as he performs other work, he shall work till the third hour, and this he ought to do without payment. And also he ought to plough one acre, according to whatever he has for ploughing for one day in winter or in Lent, when he shall be summoned. And every year in the vigil of St Martin he ought to take his plough to the place where the lord's ploughs are ploughing and there he ought to plough an acre and a half and he ought to carry seed from the lord's granary to the aforesaid place and to sow the aforesaid land and to harrow (it), and for this he ought to be quit of three works. Also in preparation for Christmas and Easter, he ought to prepare half a quarter of malt and to dry it with the lord's straw, and to carry it to the lord's mill and there to deliver it to the lord's servant. And if he ought to grind at a neighbouring mill, then he shall deliver it to the lord's courtyard, and for this he ought to be quit of one work. Also concerning all pigs weaned for himself or bought, he ought to give pannage at Christmas, namely for whatever pig of between one and two years old, one penny. And for a pig of half a year old, a halfpenny. Furthermore concerning pasturage he ought to pay, at the same term, for whatever draught animal of two and a half years, two pence, and at the feast of St John the Baptist one penny, and for those of two years, one penny at Christmas and at the feast of St John the Baptist, a halfpenny. Also he ought to harrow in Lent for one day until the ninth hour with one horse without food. Also he ought to wash and shear sheep with two men and to be present himself, if the lord should so wish, to see that they work well and for three whole days to hoe, and to have a food allowance once. Also he ought to mow and to make hay and to carry until it shall be finished and then he shall receive together (with the others) a second-best ram and a fresh cheese. Also from the day of St Peter in chains till the feast of St Michael, he ought to reap every workable day except Saturdays, half an acre, and to bind (sheaves) and to have every eighteenth sheaf. Also he ought to carry and when he carries to Pertwood, then he shall carry four cart-loads and when to Woodcumbe five, and when elsewhere then he shall carry from morning to evening and for one day of carrying he shall receive one sheaf and for another two. And if the corn remains in the fields after the feast of St Michael, he shall work until it is finished and it shall be allowed to him in other works. And if it shall have been (completed) by autumn before the feast of St Michael, he ought to do whatever work the lord shall wish until the same time without payment. Also with the community, he ought when he shall have been summoned, to carry cheese with two wagons safely to Southampton and to receive them by tale and so to deliver them, and with regard to any lost or damaged, he ought to replace (them). And for each wagon he ought to receive one penny and one loaf of bread, and on account of this he shall be quit of three works. Also he ought to carry wool to Ogbourne and to be quit of three works. And he ought to perform carrying service for a day's journey and to be quit of two works. And when he performs carrying service to Shaftesbury he ought to be quit of two works. And when to nearer places, to be quit of one work. And let it be known that when he carries corn he ought to carry half a quarter. Also when he does not work fully he shall pay at the aforesaid term forty pence and shall perform all the aforesaid services excepting the aforesaid three works that he ought to do each week from the feast of St Michael until the feast of St Peter in chains and except the ploughing of one and a half acres just as is aforesaid in the vigil of St Martin and except the carrying of corn. Also he is not able to give his daughter without a licence, neither to sell horse or ox. And if he shall have sold a horse within or outside the manor

excepting at a fair, he shall give two pence for toll. And if an ox, one penny. Also at all communal gifts and aids he ought to scot and lot. And after his death the lord shall have the best beast for heriot. And if he should die intestate all his goods remain at the lord's disposition. Also he ought to have on the day of the shearing of the ewes, a fresh cheese.

Peter Ford.
William son of Warin.
Guner Hatter.
Walter Meadow.
Margaret widow of Edward.
William Cobb.
William Goldhawk.

All (these) hold in the same manner as William Coke.

Peter Wade holds half a virgate of land for two shillings payable annually at the aforesaid term and in all services and customs he ought to do the same as the aforesaid William Coke, except that he shall not perform ploughing service of St Martin, just as the aforesaid William, neither shall he prepare malt and that at the winter boonwork, if he has a horse, he shall harrow a whole day and shall have food, also at the same boonwork he shall plough according to what he has for ploughing, and if he ploughs then he does not owe the aforesaid harrowing. Also in Lent he shall harrow for one day until the ninth hour without food. Also at the feast of St Martin he owes if he is married, three hens and one cock, and if he does not have a wife, two hens. And his widow owes in the same manner. Also (he ought) to wash and shear sheep with one man, to mow and make hay with one man. Also he ought to reap the same as the aforesaid virgator, but he shall carry nothing. He shall not carry wool nor cheese nor any other load, neither shall he perform any service that pertains to a horse. Also he ought to drive cattle for one day's journey and to carry writs. Also he ought to have all his sheep in the lord's sheepfold, and then he ought to carry the lord's fold from one place to another, and he ought to wattle a hurdle for his five sheep, and for another five another hurdle and so on, and for this he ought to collect straw. Concerning, moreover, the marriage of his daughter, pannage, pasturage, the sale of horse and ox and the giving of toll and other things, he is the same as the aforesaid William Coke. Also if the lord shall wish, he shall be shepherd or ploughman or swineherd or reeve, and if he shall be shepherd he ought to guard the sheep safely from the wolf, thief and dog, and to be responsible for them. Also these are the wages of a shepherd. He ought to be quit of money rent but nevertheless he ought to wash and shear, to mow, to make hay, just as is aforesaid and to hoe, and concerning all other works, to be quit and he ought to have the ploughing of seven acres a year, namely at the feast of St Martin three acres, at the Annunciation of the blessed Mary one acre, and at the Nativity of St John three acres. Also at the same feast he shall have two pence halfpenny for shoes if he guards the sheep or lambs. And if he guards wethers he ought to have one fleece and if he guards ewes, one fleece and one lamb and five pence, and if he guards lambs he ought to have one lamb and shall have his portion of whey. Also if he is ploughman he shall be in everything the same as the shepherd excepting the lamb and fleece and portion of whey, and all through the year he ought to have every other Saturday the ploughing of one plough. And on the days of Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and of All Saints, he ought together with the same village officials, namely the shepherd, the smith, the miller and the reeve, to have food. If he is reeve he ought to guard safely all the lord's goods within and without and for these to be responsible and he shall be quit of all rents and works and shall receive thirty pence from the lord's purse. And also he shall have food from the feast of St Peter in chains until the feast of St Michael and the maintenance of one horse for the lord's service. And if he should have sown seed for the whole time of sowing he shall have food and he shall plough at the boon ploughing according to what he has for ploughing.

John Thresher.
Henry Hat.
Ralph de Ogbourne.
William Benjamin.
Richard Crokere.
Hugh Bollinger.
Arnold Doren.
Richard Cook.
Walter Crop.
Walter Hog.
Peter de Ogbourne.
Martin Farrier.

All these hold in the same manner as the said William (sic) Wade.

William de Woodcumbe.
Geoffrey de Woodcumbe.

These hold in the same manner as Peter Wade with this addition that they ought to pay 12*d.* annually more than Peter.

Also Matilda Golde holds one croft and ought to drive sheep from the beginning (of the year) until the feast of St Michael and (ought) to have her portion of whey and at the feast of St John the Baptist two pence halfpenny for shoes. She ought to wash and to shear sheep and to spread the meadows (with muck) and to make hay and just as the others to hoe and at the feast of St Martin she owes churchscot just as the aforesaid others. Also Godelot holds one croft in the same manner as Matilda Golde.

Also William Miller holds one croft for four pence at the aforesaid term and in other things is the same as Matilda for that croft. Also the same William holds half a virgate of land with a mill for nine shillings at the same term and ought to stack for the whole of autumn without food and he ought to receive sheaves just as those who carry and he ought to harrow in Lent for one day until the ninth hour without food and to give churchscot and to wash and shear sheep, to mow the meadows, to make hay and to stack and to hoe and to (thresh) the corn of the lord and his household. He ought to be quit of toll to the said mill. Concerning the marriage of his daughter and the sale of horse and ox, and scot and lot, he is the same as William Coke.

Also widow Alice holds one croft for six pence at the said term and ought to mow and make hay and to stack and in

other things is the same as Matilda.

Christine Dogebarbe holds one croft and half an acre on the other side of the water and another half acre on this side of the water and on account of this she shall go to the lord's sheepfold in the same manner as Matilda Golde and do all things similarly except that she shall not give churchscot.

Also Rocelinus holds one croft for which he ought to do just as the said Matilda for hers. Also he holds three acres for eighteen pence at the feast of St Michael. Also he holds two acres for which he ought to be chief pledge and he ought to be before the justices in eyre in person at his own costs, and to represent the vill everywhere as tithingman, and in communal works and receipt of wages he is similar to a semi-virgator.

Also John Thresher holds one croft for twelve pence and in other things is the same as Rokilde who is placed at the end of the roll.

Also Robert Young holds three acres and one plot of meadow for twenty pence and in other things is the same as the aforesaid Matilda except that he does not owe to go to the fold.

Also William Swineherd holds half a hide of land for ten shillings at the feast of St. Michael and he ought to carry for one day in autumn and to have food, and he ought to plough at the boon ploughing, to wash and shear sheep, and to mow the meadows, to make hay and carry (it). To carry wool and cheese, to be reeve. Also he ought to have sixty sheep and one ram in the lord's pasture, following the trail of the lord's sheep and on account of this he ought to guard the lord's pastures and cornfields towards Pertwood safely and for default of this the lord shall be compensated. He shall be liable to a fine. He is not able to (give in) marriage his daughter or kinswoman or bond woman without licence, nor to sell horse or ox. And if he shall have sold, he shall give toll. He ought to scot and lot the same as the others.

Thomas Guner holds one hide of land for twenty shillings and six pence at the aforesaid term, and in everything else is the same as William Swineherd except that he shall not have sheep in the lord's pasture nor guard the lord's cornfields or pasture.

Also Richard de Ogbourne holds one virgate of land and a half for seven shillings and six pence and is in all other things the same as the aforesaid Thomas.

And be it known that if anyone brews within the manor he owes for toll seven gallons of ale.

Also he ought to have (when) serving as reeve, hayward, pastor of sheep,shepherd of lambs, for whichever of them, a lamb. Also the dairyman ought to have a fleece.

Widow Matilda holds one curtilage for four pence at the aforesaid term, and ought, when the lord's sheep are washed to collect the wool in the water, and after the sheepshearing she ought to carry the fleeces to those who themselves bind the fleeces.

These are the dressers and binders of wool. Arnold Smith, William Miller.

Ralph de Woodcumbe holds a dwellinghouse which was widow Margaret's for two shillings for all service excepting tallage.

Richolda widow holds one croft for twelve pence and performs all communal works except that she shall not reap nor carry nor thresh nor guard sheep nor shall she go to the plough nor to the fold and she shall give for churchscot one hen.

Arnold Smith holds nine acres for any year of sowing and for these he ought to make the ironwork of four ploughs and not more unless for payment, if for the ironwork of any plough two shillings per annum and he ought, just as the others to plough at the boonploughing and to harrow, to hoe, to make hay and to stack it in the lord's granary with one man, and for one day to cart corn if he should have a cart and to have food. He owes on the day of St Martin, in place of churchscot, sixty horseshoe nails. Concerning the marriage of his daughter, the sale of horses or oxen, tallage, he is the same as the others. And he ought to have one draught animal quit of pannage and if he shall have more he ought to pay pannage just as the others. And if he brews, he shall give toll the same as the others.

The extent in translation

Brixton. The extent of the manor of the prior of Ogbourne of Brixton made on the birthday of the blessed Mary in the twenty second year of the reign of king Edward by John de Sunninges, William de Molend, John le Butler, William Stiward, John Esmond, William Wyneband, John de Witecline, John le Ku, John Maynard, Godfrey Morris, Robert Symond and Phillip le Swon being sworn, say that the house there with the garden and dovecote is worth 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. Also the villeins pay £4 6*s.* per annum. Also the services and customary works are worth £10 4*s.* 9*d.* per annum. Also they say that there are twenty three villeins in all and they can be tallaged once a year at the lord's will. Also they say that the pleas and perquisites with the fines of land are worth 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Also they say that there are in the manor seven hundred and seventeen acres of arable land, each acre of which is worth 4*d.* per annum. Also they say that there are six acres of meadow of which each acre is worth 2*s.* per annum. Also they say that the pasture of the manor is worth 41*s.* per annum.

Total £21 0*s.* 9*d.*

The original custumal

Consuetudines manerii de Devrel

Willelmus Cok tenet unam virgatam terre cum pertinentiis et quando plene operatur solvit per annum x. denarios ad festum sancti Michaelis / et qualibet septimana operabili a predicto festo usque ad festum sancti Petri ad vincula debet operari per tres dies qualecumque opus dominus / voluerit. Et quando triturat debet triturare de quolibet blado i. estrich' nisi de avena de qua triturabit dimidium quarterium / Et quociens aliud opus facit operabitur usque ad horam tertiam et hec facere debet sine stipendio. Item et per unum diem in yeme / vel in quadragesima quando summonitus fuerit secundum quod habet ad carucam arare debet unam acram. Et singulis annis in vigilia sancti Martini / ducere debet carucam suam ad locum ubi caruce domini arant et ibi arare debet acram et dimidiam et a granario domini por / tare debet semen ad locum predictum et seminare predictam terram et herciare et ob hoc debet esse quietus de tribus operibus / Item contra Natale et Pascha parare debet dimidium quarterium brasii et cum faragine domini siccare et ad molendinum domini cariare / et ibi servienti domini liberare. Et si ad

vicinum molendinum molari debet tunc liberabit illud in curia domini et ob hoc / quietus esse debet de i. opere Item de omnibus porcis sibi nutritis vel emptis pannagium dare debet ad Natale scilicet de quolibet porco / superannato i. denarium Et de porco dimidii anni obulum debet eciam de herbagio ad eundem terminum pro quolibet grosso averio duorum / annorum et dimidii ij. denarios et ad festum sancti Johannis baptiste i. denarium et pro quolibet duorum annorum i. denarium ad Natale et ad festum sancti Johannis / baptiste obulum. Item debet in quadragesima herciare per i. diem usque ad horam nonam cum i. equo sine cibo. Item debet oves lavare et tondere cum ij. / hominibus et ipse interesse si dominus voluerit et videre quod bene faciant et per tres dies integros sarclare et semel habere corredium. / Item debet falcare et levare et cariare quousque perfectum fuerit et tunc percipiet in communi alterum meliorem coillardum et caseum illius diei / Item a die sancti Petri ad vincula usque ad festum sancti Michaelis metere debet singulis diebus operabilibus exceptis sabbatis dimidiam acram et ligare / et percipere octavam decimam garbam. Item cariare debet et quando cariat apud Perteworthe tunc cariabit quattuor carretatas / et quando apud Wodecumbe quinque et quando alibi tunc cariabit a mane usque ad vesperam et uno die cariationis percipiet unam garbam et altero / duas Et si blada restant in campis post festum sancti Michaelis operabitur usque ad consummationem et ei allocabitur in aliis operibus. Et si / per autumpnatum fuerit ante festum sancti Michaelis debet qualecumque opus dominus voluerit facere usque ad idem tempus sine stipendio. Item debet / cum communa quando ad hoc summonitus fuerit cum duabus quadrigis salvo cariare caseum usque ad Suhantonam et per numerum recipere et ita liberare / et de perdita vel fracta restaurare et recipere debet qualibet quadriga i. denarium et unum panem et ob hoc quietus erit de tribus operibus / Item cariare debet lanam usque ad Ockeborn' et quietus esse de tribus operibus Et avrare debet per unam dietam et quietus esse de ij. operibus / Et quando avrat Saftesbir' quietus esse debet de duobus operibus Et quando ad propinquiora loca quietus de i. opere. Et sciendum quod quando avrat / bladum portare debet dimidium quarterium. Item quando plenarie non operatur solvet ad predictum terminum xl. denarios et omnia predicta servicia faciet / exceptis predictis tribus operibus que facere debet qualibet septimana a festo Michaelis usque ad festum sancti Petri ad vincula et excepta arura unius acre et / dimidie sicut predictum est in vigilia sancti Martini et excepto avragio bladi. Item non potest filiam suam sine licentia dare nec equum vel bovem vendere / Et si equum vendiderit infra manerium vel extra exceptis Nundinis dabit ad Theolonium ij. denarios Et si bovem i. denarium Item ad omnia dona communia / et auxilia scotare et lotare debet. Et post decessum suum habebit dominus meliorem bestiam ad herietum. Et si intestatus decesserit / omnia catalla sua remanebunt in dispositione domini. Item debet habere die tonsionis matricum ovium caseum unius diei.

Petrus de Forda.
Willelmus filius Warini.
Guner Hatter.
Walterus de prato.
Margareta relicta Edwardi.
Willelmus Cobbe.
Willelmus Goldhauck.

Omni eodem modo tenent quam Willelmus Cok.

Petrus Wade tenet dimidiam virgatam terre pro ij. solidis annuis solvendis ad predictum terminum et in omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus debet facere / sicut predictus Willelmus Cok exceptis quod non faciet aruram sancti Martini sicut predictus Willelmus nec brasium preparabit et quod ad beneriam yemalem / si habeat equum herciabit tota die et habebit corredium et eciam quod ad eandem beneriam secundam quod habet ad carucam arabit et habebit corredium / et si arat tunc non debet predictam herciaturam Item in quadragesima herciabit per unum diem usque ad horam nonam sine cibo Debet etiam ad festum sancti / Martini si uxoratus fuerit iij. gallinas cum gallo et si non habuerit uxorem ij. gallinas et eodem modo debet vidua. Item lavare et / tondere oves cum i. homine falkare et levare fenum cum i. homine. Item metere debet si (cut) predictus virgatarius sed nichil cariabit Non cariabit lanam / neque caseum neque aliquod summagium faciet nec aliquod servicium quod pertineat ad equum Item fugare debet per i. dietam et brevia ferre / Item omnes oves suas debet habere in falda multonum domini et tunc debet portare faldam domini ab uno loco ad alium et debet wiscare pro / v. ovibus suis i. cratem et pro aliis v. aliam cratem et sic deinceps et ad hoc debet colligere stipulas. De filia autem maritanda panagio herba / gio equo et bove vendendis et theoloneo dando et aliis par est predicto Willelmo Cho. Item si dominus voluerit erit bercarius vel carucarius vel / porcarius vel prepositus et si bercarius fuerit debet custodire oves salvo de lupo latrone et cane et pro eis respondere /

Item hec sunt stipendia bercarii quietus debet esse de redditu denariorum set tamen debet lavare et tondere falcare levare sicut predictum est et sar / clare et de omnibus aliis operibus quietus esse et debet habere aruram vij acrarum per annum scilicet ad festum sancti Martini iij. acrarum ad annunciationem / beate Marie i. acre et ad Nativitatem sancti Johannis iij. acrarum Item ad idem festum habebit ij. denarios obulum ad sotulares si custodiat multones / vel agnos Et si custodiat multones debet habere i. vellus et si custodiat matrices oves i. vellus et unum agnum et quinque denarios et si / custodiat agnos debet habere i. agnum et habebit portionem suam de sero.

Item si carucarius est in omnibus erit par bercario excepto agno et vellere et portione seri et per totum annum debet habere altero sabbato aru-/-ram unius aratri. Et diebus Natalis Pasche Pentecostes et Omnium Sanctorum debet una cum aliis Wikemans scilicet bercario fabro molendinario / et preposito habere corredium.

Si prepositus est salvo debet custodire omnia bona domini intus et exterius et de eis respondere et quietus erit de omnibus redditibus et operibus et de / bursa domini xxx. denarios recipiet Et etiam habebit corredium a festo sancti Petri ad vincula usque ad festum sancti Michaelis et susten-/-tationem unius equi ad servicium domini. Et si semen seminaverit per totum tempus seminationis habebit corredium et arabit ad beneriam / secundum quod habet ad carucam.

Johannes Triturator.
Henricus Hat.
Radulfus de Ockeburn.
Willelmus Beniamin.
Ricardus Crokere.
Hugo Dolling.
Ernoldus Doren.
Ricardus Cocus.
Walterus Crop.
Walterus Hog.
Petrus de Ockeborn.
Martinus Farreful.

Omnes isti tenent eodem modo quam dictus Willelmus Wade.
Willelmus de Wodecumb.
Galfridus de Wodecumb.

Isti tenent eodem modo quam Petrus Wade hoc addito quod debent solvere annuatim xii. denarios plus quam ille Petrus.

Item Matillis Golde tenet i. croftam et debet trahere oves ab initio usque ad festum sancti Michaelis et habere portionem suam de sero et ad festum sancti / Johannis baptiste ij. denarios obulum ad sotulares debet oves lavare et tondere et prata spargere et levare et sicut alii sarclare et debet ad festum sancti Martini cherisettum / sicut allii predicti. Item Godelote tenet i. croftam eodem modo quam Matillis Golde.

Item Willelmus molendinarius tenet unam croftam pro iiij. denariis ad predictum terminum et in aliis par est predicte Matilli pro illa crofta.

Item idem Willelmus tenet / dimidiam virgatam terre cum molendino pro ix. solidis ad eundem terminum et tassare debet per totum autumpnum sine cibo et percipere debet garbas sicut illi qui cariant / et debet herciare in quadragesima per unum diem usque ad horam nonam sine cibo et cherisetum dare et oves lavare tondere prata falcare levare et tassare / et sarclare Et bladum domini et familie sue (triturare) quietus debet esse ad dictum molendinum de tholneto. De filia maritanda. de equo et bove / vendendis et scoto et loto par est Willelmo Cok.

Item Alicia vidua tenet unam croftam pro vi. denariis ad dictum terminum et debet falcare et levare et tassare et in aliis par est predicte Matilli.

Cristina Dogebarbe tenet unam croftam et dimidiam acram ultra aquam et aliam dimidiam acram citra aquam et propter hoc / ibit ad faldam domini eodem modo sicut Matillis Golde et omnia consimilia faciet hoc excepto quod non dabit cherisetum.

Item Rocelinus tenet unam croftam et pro ea debet facere sicut dicta Matillis pro sua. Item tenet iij acras pro xviiij. denariis ad festum sancti Michaelis. Item tenet ij. acras / pro quibus debet esse caput plegii et esse debet coram justiciis itinerantibus propriis sumptibus et pro villa respondere ubique sicut tedingeman et / in communibus operibus et stipendiorum perceptionibus similis est semivergatariis / [Item Johannes Triturator tenet unam] croftam pro xij. denariis [et in aliis par est Rokilde que in fine rotuli ponitur.]

Item Robertus Juvenis tenet iij. acras et i. particulam prati pro xx. denariis et in aliis par est predicte Matilli excepto quod non debet ire ad faldam /

Item Willelmus Porcarius tenet dimidiam hidatam terre pro x. solidis ad festum sancti Michaelis et debet cariare per i. diem in autumpno et habere corredium / et arare debet ad beneriam. oves lavare et tondere et prata falcare levare et cariare. Lanam et caseum cariare, prepositus esse / Item debet habere in pastura domini lx. oves et i. coillardum sequentes vestigia ovium domini et propter hoc debet custodire salvo pasturam / et blada domini versus Perteworthe et pro defectu eius dominus dampnificatus fuerit subiacebit emendacioni. Non potest filiam suam vel / nepotem vel nativam domini maritare sine licentia. nec equum vel bovem vendere. et si vendiderit theoloneum dabit. Scotare / debet et lotare sicut alii.

Thomas Guner tenet i. hidatam terre pro xx. solidis et vi. denariis ad predictum terminum et in omnibus aliis par est predicto Willelmo porcario / excepto quod non habebit oves suas in pastura domini nec blada vel pasturam domini custodiet.

Item Ricardus de Ockeburn tenet unam virgatam terre et dimidiam pro vij solidis vi. denariis et in omnibus aliis par est predicto Thome.

Et sciendum quod si aliquis braciaverit infra manerium debet ad tholsextarium vij. galones cervisie. /

Item debet serviens prepositus. messor. pastor ovium. pastor agnorum. quilibet eorum unum agnum habere. Item debet daya habere unum vellus.

Matillis vidua tenet unum curtilagium pro iiij. denariis ad predictum terminum. Et debet quando lavantur oves domini colligere lanam / in aqua et post tonsionem ovium debet deferre vellera ad ipsos qui ipsa vellera ligant

Isti sunt reparatores et ligatores lane. Ernoldus Faber et Willelmus Molendinarius.

Radulfus de Wodecumbe tenet masuram que fuit Margarete vidue pro ij. solidis pro omni servicio / excepto tallagio.

Rokilda [vidua tenet i. croftam pro xij. denariis et facit opera communa] omnia excepto quod non metet nec ca-/ [-riabit nec triturabit nec oves custodiet nec ibit ad carucam nec ad faldam et dabit ad cherisetum] unam gallinam

Ernoldus Faber tenet ix. acras quolibet anno seminandas et pro eis debet facere ferramenta quattuor carucarum et non amplius nisi pro stipendio si pro ferrura cuiuslibet caruce ij. solidis per annum et debet / sicut alii ad beneriam arare et herciare sarclare fena levare et in grandia domini / fena tassare cum uno homine et per unum diem blada cartare si habeat carectam et habere corredium / debet die sancti Martini loco de chersetto lx. clavos equorum de filiabus maritandis / equis bobus vendendis tallagiis par est aliis Et debet unum averium habere quietum / de pannagio et si plura habuerit debet illa pannagiare sicut alii. / et si braciat dabit tolsextarium sicut alii.

The original extent

Brythteston. Extenta manerii prioris de Okeborn de Brythteston facta die Nativitatis beate Marie anno regni regis Edwardi xxij per Johannem de Sunninges Willelmum de Molend Johannem le Boteler Willelmum Stiward Johannem Esmond Willelmum Wyneband Johannem de Witecline Johannem le Ku Johannem Maynard Godefridus Morys Robertum Symond et Phillipum le Swon juratores qui dicunt quod curia ibidem cum gardino et uno columbario valet per annum xiij solidos iiij denarios. Item reddunt villani per annum iiij libras vj solidos. Item servicia et operationes custumaria valent per annum x libras iiij solidos ix denarios. Item dicunt quod sunt xxiij villani in universo et possunt semel talliari per annum pro voluntate domini. Item dicunt quod placita et perquisitiones cum finibus terre valent per annum vj solidos viij denarios. Item dicunt quod sunt in manerio D c c xvij acre terre arabilis et valet quelibet acre per annum iiij denarios. Item dicunt quod sunt vj acre prati quarum quelibet valet per annum ij solidos. Item dicunt quod pastura manerii valet per annum xli solidos. Summa xxj libre ix denarii.

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St Katherine's Hospital, Heytesbury: Prehistory, Foundation, and Re-foundation 1408–1472

by MICHAEL HICKS

The paper complements previous publications on Heytesbury hospital by adding new information about its early years and by setting the hospital in its wider context. The first involvement of the Hungerford family is noted, together with the roles of the Salisbury dean. Walter Hungerford's foundation of the hospital is described, together with the circumstances of its new endowment by his daughter-in-law Margaret in 1472. The statutes of Margaret's re-foundation are examined, together with their consequences.

Heytesbury hospital is a medieval almshouse that still performs its original function and has an assured future in the modern world. One of the better-known Wiltshire almshouses, it has featured in past issues of this journal and has twice received full-length treatment.[1] Its recorded history nevertheless contains significant gaps, none more important than its origins and early years. Modern historians have relied principally on the statutes of the co-founder Margaret, Lady Hungerford (d. 1478), even though these were compiled 30 years after the establishment of the hospital and depart in many particulars from the wishes of the first founder Walter, Lord Hungerford (d. 1449). Moreover such histories dwell on limited aspects of the foundation rather than seeing it in the round. They ignore the essential context of other Hungerford foundations and similar institutions elsewhere. It is no wonder that they have failed to bring out the full importance of Heytesbury hospital.

The hospital's origins are irrevocably entwined with the fortunes of the Hungerford family, which arose from obscurity early in the 14th century to national prominence a hundred years later. Sir Thomas Hungerford, speaker of the House of Commons, first established the family's prosperity, acquiring the two country seats at Farleigh Hungerford (Somerset) and Heytesbury. On his death in 1397, he was succeeded first by his widow Joan, so that only in 1412 did Heytesbury pass to their son Walter, a statesman of the first rank, also speaker of the Commons, royal councillor, treasurer of England, knight of the Garter, and baron. On his death in 1449 Heytesbury was held briefly by his widow Eleanor, dowager-countess of Arundel (d. 1455), his son Robert (d. 1459), and then Robert's widow Margaret. Her tenure was clouded by the political misfortunes of her son and grandson in the Wars of the Roses, yet she clung on to Heytesbury and ensured its inheritance by the male line of the family.

The Hungerfords were outstanding benefactors of the church, founding between 1325 and 1472 eleven chantries, eight obits and two hospitals. These were scattered throughout Wiltshire, Somerset, Gloucestershire and London, but were concentrated in Salisbury cathedral, where there were three Hungerford chantries, and at Farleigh, where there were two. Sir Thomas had ordered the foundation of a chantry in Longleat priory, near Heytesbury, but it failed, in the last resort because his son Walter was more interested in other foundations. Apart from Heytesbury hospital, Walter established four chantries and three obits.[2] Heytesbury hospital is the odd one out – at once the most elaborate and the most charitable, the fruit of his declining years, and the end result of 30 years' experiment. This article traces the hospital's prehistory, its foundation by Walter and its re-foundation by Margaret up to the issue of her statutes.

Heytesbury lay within the peculiar of the dean of Salisbury, the area within which the dean exercised the authority of a bishop, and was served from the ancient collegiate church of St Peter and St Paul with its chapter of four canons and a dean, who was also dean of Salisbury. In practice the chapter were never resident, the church being served by stipendiary priests. To laymen they were the parish priests of their parish church. About 1472 it was served by two priests, two

1. J.E. Jackson, 'Ancient statutes of Heytesbury almshouse', *WAM*, vol. 11 (1869), pp. 289–308; *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3, pp. 337–8; *Hospital of St John, Heytesbury* (commemorative booklet, Salisbury, 1972). Unless otherwise stated, all places in this paper are in Wiltshire. Manuscripts in the Public Record Office (PRO) are cited by their call numbers, as are those in the Wiltshire Record Office (WRO), and Somerset Record Office (SRO).
2. I hope to discuss the Hungerford foundations as a group elsewhere.

deacons, and the chaplain of the confraternity of St Mary. In 1409 there were only five chaplains, one serving the outlying chapel of Knook and two others the chantries at the altars of St Katherine and St Mary.

Both chantries were in the S part of the church, presumably – in the absence of other evidence – in the S choir aisle and S transept.[3] By at least 1436 the N transept was dedicated to St Michael: it acquired its Perpendicular stone screen adorned with Hungerford sickels in the early 16th century, when it was the chosen sepulchre of Sir Walter (d. 1516) and Sir Edward Hungerford (d. 1521).[4]

St Katherine's chantry was founded by William Mount of Heytesbury for the souls of himself, his ancestors and all Christians in about 1317, when he was licensed to alienate a messuage and curtilage, two cottages with curtilages, 30 acres of arable and a parcel of meadow, all at Heytesbury. By the early 15th century the Leigh family were patrons. St Mary's chantry, founded before 1339 by Lucy Clifton, was endowed with a messuage, curtilage, three virgates of land and 10*s.* rent for masses for the souls of herself, her late husband Gaudinus de Albo Monasterio, her ancestors, and her heirs. Seven successive chaplains were said to have served the chantry up to 1409, when it was in the gift of Lucy's heirs, the Hungerfords. Both chantries were fully constituted ecclesiastical benefices, being subject to institution by the dean on presentation by the patron.[5]

The Hungerford involvement is first recorded in 1408, when Joan presented John Wademan. Her right was questioned, so on 11 September Bishop Hallum ordered an inquiry. Wademan was nevertheless instituted on 22 September, before the inquiry on 10 February 1409, which found the chantry to be in the gift of the founder's heirs, but failed to identify them. A search of the cathedral registers uncovered Lucy's charter to Heytesbury prebendal church (9 January 1411)[6] and confirmed the Hungerfords as patrons.

On Joan's death in 1412, her son Walter proposed changes so radical that Dean Chandler, fearing for his deanery, consulted with the cathedral chapter. His colleagues authorized him to conclude his negotiations at his discretion to the best interests of himself and his successors. Whatever was envisaged, Walter was admitted to the cathedral confraternity on 8 December 1413[7] and enjoyed good relations with the chapter thereafter.

Probably it was with Chandler's consent that Walter used his embassy to the General Council of the Church at Constance to secure, on 18 March 1415, a papal bull transferring St Mary's chantry to his household oratory at Heytesbury, which he proposed developing with more chaplains and clerks. This proposal was justified, quite untruthfully, by its poverty, so great 'that for a long time no priest has celebrated divine office in it'. The privilege depended on a favourable report from the papal commissioner, the prior of Bath, who duly appeared at Heytesbury in 1415–16 'for executing of a certain bull of the lord pope there', consuming victuals to the value of 12*s.* 3*d.* Whatever the reason, the proposed transfer never took place, and in 1421 Walter presented another chaplain to the chantry.[8]

The most likely reason for an unfavourable report was that the chantry was not then vacant nor normally so. Moreover the scheme was designed to part-finance Walter's own household chapel from Lucy Clifton's endowment and in defiance of her original wishes. That Walter was finding his chapel costly and wanted some financial assistance is suggested by the scale of its staff in 1436, when it included Master John Russell 'rector of the chapel of my lord Hungerford', other chaplains, a cleric yet to be ordained priest, other clerks and boys, presumably choristers.[9] By 1443 he had enclosed Farleigh parish church within the castle walls and had taken it over, establishing chantries of two priests in it, yet in 1450 his son maintained two other stipendiary chaplains there. The pomp of the Hungerford domestic chapel emerges from the lavish fittings in their wills: Margaret kept at least two priests, had her chapel hung with red tapestries, and possessed a wealth of vestments and assorted paraphernalia.

Thwarted in one direction, Walter did not abandon hope of developing his Heytesbury chantry. Perhaps it was on it that he expended £80 3*s.* 4*d.* on building at

3. Jackson (note 1), p. 307; *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3, pp. 390–1 (to be used with caution); WRO, Register of Deans Chandler and Sydenham, part 1, fos. 118–19.
4. PRO PROB 11/3 PCC 21 Luffenam, will of William Sergeant); PRO PROB 11/18 (PCC 21 Holder).
5. WRO Chandler (note 3), part 1, fo. 119–v; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1313–17*, p. 610; E.C. Stokes (ed.), *Abstracts of Wiltshire Inquisitions post mortem, Edward III* (London: British Record Society no. 48, 1914), p. 134; see also SRO DD/SAS H348, fos. 114–v, 116v (Hungerford Cartulary).
6. WRO Chandler (note 3), part 1, fos. 118–19v; part 2, fo. 29; Salisbury Cathedral Muniments, Register Viringe, p. 58.
7. Salisbury Cathedral Muniments, Register Viringe, p. 92; Register Pountney, p. 1.
8. *Calendar of Papal Letters 1404–15*, pp. 490–1; *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3, p. 391; PRO SC 6/1153/14 m.4.
9. PRO PROB 11/3 (PCC 21 Luffenham). For what follows, see J.E. Jackson, *Guide to Farleigh Hungerford* (Chippenham: 1879), pp. 48–50; H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (ed.), *Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443–65*, vol. 1 (Somerset Record Society no. 49, 1934), pp. 3, 135; F.W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383–1500* (Somerset Record Society no. 16, 1901), pp. 187–9; Devizes Museum, [Canon Jackson's] Hungerford [Family] Collections, Personal, vol. 1, fos. 270, 274v.

Heytesbury church in 1428–31.[10] By 1438 he had reached an agreement with Elizabeth Leigh, patron of St Katherine's chantry, which was far too poor to support a chaplain. On 1 April 1438, the selfsame day that the incumbent of St Mary's chantry died, both patrons secured from Bishop Neville a commission of inquiry into a proposed union between their chantries, two others at Upton Scudamore and at Calne, and the free chapel of Corston in Hillmarton, all of Walter's patronage, all (so it was alleged) too poor to support incumbents, and all, therefore, long desolate and neglected. Inquiries were held at Heytesbury, Warminster, Calne and the manor of Compton Burnell on 7–8 April, the haste probably being occasioned for the need to complete the union before the presentation to St Mary's chantry devolved by lapse on the dean of Salisbury rather than Walter himself. It was found that St Mary's chantry was now worth only £2 a year, St Katherine's chantry only 8*s*., the Scudamore chantry at Upton Scudamore only £3 10*s*., that of Sir Robert de Hungerford (d. 1352) at Calne only £1 10*s*., and Corston chapel only £1 3*s*. 4*d*. United they would provide an income of £8 11*s*. 4*d*. and a tied house, comparable with the generous endowment provided by Walter elsewhere. All four chantries and the free chapel were poor, but not too impoverished to attract incumbents: St Mary's chantry, Heytesbury was regularly filled; that at Upton Scudamore was not vacant, although admittedly the chaplain had been absent at Abingdon Abbey for 30 years; and the Calne chantry had been served by the warden of the hospital there, for whom it represented a valued supplementary income.[11]

In spite of the favourable report of the commissioner, the bishop did not act at once, perhaps because not all the livings were vacant. There was nothing, however, to prevent amalgamation of the Heytesbury chantries, which may indeed have been united at this stage. There is no record of any such transaction, but it would have been registered not in the extant register of the bishop but that of the dean, now lost. Certainly St Katherine's chantry does not occur again. The union was never implemented in the form apparently envisaged.

'At the basis of all medieval pious foundations there lies the idea of continuous intercession for the living and the departed'.[12] Clearly true of monasteries and even more obviously so of chantries, which existed solely to offer up prayers for the soul of the departed, this dictum applies also to hospitals. Charity was a department of piety: it was a Christian duty to relieve the sick and indigent. They, in return, reciprocated by praying for benefactors, a duty given institutional expression in the hospital. 'The newer foundations, even more explicitly than the older, were "bede-houses" or houses of prayer', in which the inmates prayed continuously for their founders. Founders were not much concerned with the problem of poverty, seeing its relief 'only as a means to an end'. The medieval hospital was decidedly not a 'medical institution. It was for care rather than cure: for the relief of the body, when possible, but pre-eminently for the refreshment of the soul.' Founders did not want sick people in their hospitals, who were unable to carry out the arduous observances required of them. Most hospitals were mere almshouses, sources of shelter and keep for the indigent, who lived out their days in strict discipline.

By such late medieval standards, the Hungerfords were a charitable family. In 1386–7 Thomas was supporting ten paupers at Farleigh Hungerford on pensions of ¾*d*. a day. Perhaps they lived in the unendowed almshouse mentioned in 1465–6. His will and that of his widow provided for works of charity. All Walter's foundations included doles for the poor, he left money for the relief of poor tenants on 22 manors, and he possessed a best almsdish of silver shaped like a hand. In 1428–31 he was supporting thirteen paupers on his estates: two at Down Ampney (Gloucs.) and South Cadbury (Soms.), four (counted as one) at Rushall (Wilts.), and one each at Farleigh, Saltford, Mapperton, Wootton Courtenay, Sutton Lucy, Backwell (Soms.), Teffont and Cheverell Hales (Wilts.). Including a married couple, each was paid 4*d*. a week, 17*s*. 4*d*. a year. It was a logical step to bring them together into an almshouse at Heytesbury.[13] In 1444–5, after the foundation of Heytesbury hospital, Walter's receiver-general was pensioning only three paupers, none the same: two at Hungerford (Berks.), one dead by 1448, and a hermit at South Cadbury, all at the old 17*s*. 4*d*. annual rate.

Walter had erected the hospital buildings at Heytesbury and had installed the almspeople by 19 July 1442, when Bishop Aiscough at last annexed Corston chapel

10. PRO SC 6/1119/9 m.3; Hungerford Collections (note 9), vol. 1, fo. 37.
11. WRO D1/2/9, part 2, fos. 55–56v (Register Neville).
12. A.H. Thompson, *English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: 1947), p. 132. For the rest of the paragraph, see R.M. Clay, *Medieval Hospitals of England* (London: 1909) especially pp. xvii-xviii, 29; M.A. Seymour, *Organisation, Personnel and Functions of the Medieval Hospital in the Later Middle Ages* (London MA thesis, 1946), especially p. 24.
13. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Arundel ii, fo. 152; Register Stafford fos. 115–16v; PRO SC 6/970/22 m.2; SC 6/971/14 m.3; SC 6/1119/9 m.2; Hungerford Collections (note 9), vol. 1, fo. 132. For what follows, see PRO SC 6/1119/11 m.2, /12 m.2.

and the Upton and Calne chantries to St Mary's chantry, Heytesbury, whose chaplains were henceforth to commemorate all the founders:[14] Lucy Clifton, her husband, ancestors and heirs; Sir Walter Scudamore, his wife, ancestors and heirs; Sir Robert de Hungerford and Geva his wife, their ancestors and heirs; and perhaps also William Mount and his ancestors, although St Katherine's chantry is not mentioned. Four days after the episcopal decree, Walter announced that the trustees of his manors of Cheverell Burnell and Cheverell Hales were to hold them until a royal licence for their alienation in mortmain to the hospital had been secured. Meantime they were to pay £33 6*s*. 8*d*. annually to William Cook, cantarist at St. Mary's altar in Heytesbury church,

> and to his successors there priests for evermore by the said Walter, Lord Hungerford ordained . . . to the use, exhibition, sustentation and relieving of 12 poor men and 2 women for to keep the said 12 poor men in an hospital there, by the said Walter, Lord Hungerford made, named Saint Katherine's Hospital and . . . to do other almsdeeds and works of pity upon Good Friday, and other certain days of the year . . . for the said Walter, Lord Hungerford, and for all them that he hath ordained there to be prayed for in the said chantry.

The trustees had sworn 'as they shall answer before God to keep it, and by their assigns, and by the assigns of their assigns'. This declaration is what Margaret, Lady Hungerford meant, when she said that Walter had founded the hospital in his last will.

What Walter did was to combine the almshouse and chantry: while managing his chantry as before, the cantarist would direct the hospital as well, disbursing money as required; the paupers would also pray for the founders. The declaration of 1442 makes no mention of a school, but by 1449 Walter had built a house for the schoolmaster, who had taught many times at Heytesbury. The schoolmaster was also left a share of Walter's residuary estate.[15] The most likely explanation for the dedication is derivation from the other Heytesbury chantry, although St Katherine is a common patron for medieval hospitals.

Late medieval hospitals resembled chantries and foundations combining chantries and schools were not unusual. Founders never set up schools by themselves. Only five late-medieval foundations, however, combined almshouse, school and chantry, of which Heytesbury was one. The others were established at Higham Ferrers (Northants.) by Archbishop Chichele, at Ewelme (Oxon.) by the Duke of Suffolk, at Tattershall (Lincs.) by Lord Cromwell and at Eton (Berks.) by King Henry VI. Long close colleagues in government, the founders undoubtedly influenced one another, although the direction of such influence is far from clear. Higham Ferrers, founded 1422, is the earliest of the five and the accepted dates of Ewelme (1437), Tattershall (1439) and Eton (1440) all precede that – 1442 – when Heytesbury hospital can first be proved to exist.[16]

There are grounds, however, for suggesting Heytesbury hospital was founded or at least conceived before 1442. Since the act of union of the chantries does not refer to the simultaneous establishment of the hospital, it may be that this was already envisaged at the inquiry in 1438 and passed unmentioned because it did not require episcopal consent. The dedication to St Katherine may commemorate Walter's first wife Katherine Peverell, who died about 1436 and for whose soul Walter performed other pious works, notably the construction of Standerwick causeway (Soms.).[17] And if St Katherine's chantry was included, a date near 1438 is likely. Commemoration in the prayers of the almspeople may have compensated the Leigh family for the loss of the patronage of their moribund chantry.

However early the hospital, the school – as at Ewelme and Tattershall – was an afterthought, inspired by the example of Eton College, where it was intended from the start as part of Henry VI's twin foundations of Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Walter himself was educated and cultured, read both poetry and theology, and was a benefactor of Merton College, Oxford. He probably expected more than one person to fill the roles of warden, cantarist and schoolmaster at Heytesbury, since we know that he added a house for the schoolmaster, although there was already one for the cantarist. His will speaks of his chantries at Farleigh, Heytesbury and Chippenham quite apart from the school, a separation pointing to a clear distinction in his own mind. The terms used, 'for the augmentation of the master of the scholars who many times lives and works there'.[18] point both to different endowments and to the possibility that Walter may have endowed an existing school. At Eton, Tattershall and Ewelme, admittedly larger establishments, the three functions were undertaken by more than one man. Combination of all duties in one man could have been an economy in salaries, if it were not that the

14. WRO D1/2/10, part 2, fo. 48–v (Register Aiscough); SRO DD/SAS H348 fo. 27–v. For what follows, see J.S. Davies (ed.), *Troponell Cartulary*, vol. 2 (Devizes: 1908), pp. 265–6; WRO 490/1469, pp. 14–15.
15. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Strafford, fo. 118; R., Colt Hoare (ed.), *Modern Wiltshire* (London: 1822–40), vol. 1, part 2, p. 102.
16. N. Orme, *Education in the West of England* (Exeter: 1976), p. 143.
17. Weaver (note 9), p. 189.
18. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Stafford, fos. 115, 118. For what follows, see below; Orme (note 16), p. 143.

stipend for the cantarist alone was more than for most schoolmasters and that the income of the combined official about 1472 was more than that of the master at Winchester College, Eton College or even John Colet's St Paul's school. School and almshouse were certainly combined in a single individual in 1454, but we have only the testimony of Margaret Hungerford – not a reliable witness – that this arrangement originated with Walter himself.

Walter died without securing the licence necessary for the permanent endowment of the hospital, which was obtained neither by his widow, nor his son, nor until 1472 by his daughter-in-law Margaret. Either they lacked sufficient influence at court or the fine demanded was too high. During the 30 years 1442–72 the combined foundation is sporadically illuminated by odd references in wills and Hungerford estate accounts. In 1454–5 the Heytesbury ministers paid the schoolmaster (*Magister Scolarum*) subsistence for fourteen paupers, £2 for his chantry and a further £1 for his servant, total £22 15*s*. 0½*d*. In 1461 10*s*. 4*d*. was spent on repairs to the almshouse and £1 5*s*. 6*d*. for the support of the almsfolk. In 1464–5 the rent collector at Upton Scudamore paid £4 3*s*. 5*d*. to the schoolmaster as ordered by Margaret, Lady Hungerford.[19] Without accounts for the Cheverell manors one cannot be sure of the normal arrangement, but payments appear to have been *ad hoc* from the family purse rather than from strict application of the terms of the 1442 declaration of trust. Meanwhile the trustees were reduced by death to two in 1472, when the last survivors, John Cheyne and John Mervyn, joined in the re-foundation.

Unlike her father and father-in-law, Margaret was not particularly charitable. She was not involved in Walter's project either as an executor or trustee and had pressing problems of her own that took priority for a decade over the hospital. There was a parallel situation at Bath, where her father Lord Botreaux had left his almshouse with the formalities of endowment incomplete. In that instance Margaret sold the endowment, merely pensioning the inmates until death, thus ensuring eventual closure of the hospital.[20] Fortunately she took a different view at Heytesbury. In her agreement in 1469 with the future Richard III, she secured his assurance of a royal licence within a year 'if he goodly may'. Richard failed to keep his promise, so in her 1471 will Margaret required her executors to obtain the licence and to found also a new chantry at Salisbury, which together 'I most charge and desire of things earthly'. Actually Margaret survived to achieve both herself, securing a licence to alienate the two Cheverell manors on 20 February 1472 and conveying them to the hospital in her foundation deed of 4 April following.[21]

There is nothing to confirm Margaret's claim in 1476 that she acted 'at the request of the said Robert, late Lord Hungerford, my husband, son and heir to the said Walter'.[22] Certainly she took the obligations laid on her by Robert seriously, but there is no other evidence that this was one of them. The paltry £1 left by Robert to the hospital does not indicate much interest and Margaret left even this unpaid until 1474. We know to be untrue her similar claim that Robert wanted a chantry chapel at Salisbury cathedral.[23] If Margaret preferred to endow Heytesbury rather than Bath, its convenient proximity to her own home may have been a factor. Another probable influence was the opportunity to benefit the souls of her husband and herself, a takeover reflected in the new seal of 'Custos, Poormen and Woman of the Hospital of Walter and Robert, late Lords of Hungerford and Heytesbury'. This process had begun by 1471, when the number of women had been reduced from two to one,[24] and was carried further in her statutes.

Margaret regulated the hospital both in her foundation deed and her statutes. The deed named Robert Stephens as custos or keeper, 12 men as almsmen, and Alice Sawter – perhaps wife of the almsman John Sawter – as almswoman. All vacancies would be filled by Margaret for life. Thereafter the keeper was to be appointed by the chancellor of Salisbury cathedral and the almsmen and almswomen were to be nominated by her veteran retainer John Mervyn for life, by her grandson Walter for life, and then by successive lords of Heytesbury. On admission both keeper and almsfolk would swear obedience to these and to any other statutes by the founders.

The surviving copy of the Heytesbury statutes lacks the dating clause, but they probably belong to 1472–4. Obviously they postdate the deed of 4 April and they are also later than the statutes of Margaret's Salisbury chantry, which they amplify by providing a £1 annual pension from the hospital towards the repair of chantry ornaments. The dating clause of the Salisbury statutes is also missing, but they are certainly subsequent to the

19. PRO SC 6/971/12; SC 6/1054/7 mm. 3, 4; SC 6/1061/21 m.2.
20. W. Dugdale, *Baronage of England* (London, 1675), vol. 1, p. 630; SC 6/1061/21 m.2; SC 6/1119/15 m.4; Hungerford Collections (note 9), vol. 1, fo. 270v.
21. British Library MS Cotton Julius BXII fo. 123; PRO C54/312 rot. 8d; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1467–77*, p. 306; Hoare (note 15), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 128–31.
22. Hoare (note 15), vol. 1, part 2, p. 102. For what follows see Weaver (note 9), p. 187; WRO 490/1465.
23. I hope to discuss this fully elsewhere.
24. PRO C 54/312 rot. 8d. For the next paragraph, see Hoare (note 15), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 102, 125.

chantry's foundation deed of 1 May 1472. Both sets of statutes survive as copies in the Hungerford cartulary at Taunton, where they are grouped with related deeds of 1473–4, but unfortunately internal evidence does not help in dating them. Clearly both sets of statutes must precede Margaret's death in 1478.

Just as the final version of the Salisbury statutes precedes the Heytesbury ones, so the first draft is also earlier. There was a draft of the Salisbury statutes by 14 January 1471, when the Heytesbury ones remained to be written.[25] Such considerations are relevant to the hospital because its ordinances are based on those of the chantry, twelve being little more than translations of Latin originals.

Chantry statutes resemble one another, reflecting the same preoccupations: the precise regulation of services, especially the weekly cycle; the desire for permanence, involving precautions against embezzlement and waste; and the wish for regular services, involving a ban on absenteeism, other forms of neglect, and delays in new appointments. Some common solutions feature in Walter's statutes of 1429 for two other chantries, which are Margaret's most likely source. While thorough, these are not especially rigorous and unusually allow his chaplains to hold office of the family compatible with their daily duties and even to entertain female relatives. Margaret rearranged and amplified these into a longer, more comprehensive and tougher code. She tried to legislate for every eventuality and to exclude offences by shutting off loopholes and by a system of checks and balances. An authoritarian woman, only too aware of human frailty and intolerant of it in others, she tried to regulate it out. It is symptomatic that her Heytesbury statutes commence with the procedure and justification for depriving the keeper. Canon Jackson justifiably considered her code 'could hardly have been more minute and elaborate had it been prepared for the establishments of Greenwich and Chelsea'.

As Margaret's first love was her chantry, the heart of her 21 Salisbury statutes are liturgical and without parallel at Heytesbury. At both she relied on the cathedral chapter not just for appointments but for dismissals. Holidays were limited to a month and carefully defined. No exceptions were permitted to chaplains or keeper regarding the prohibitions on exchanges and pluralism. On admittance inventories were compiled. There was an annual audit, at Heytesbury before the estates steward, and annual inventories were authenticated by witnesses. At each foundation there were chests with multiple locks. At Salisbury there was a three-lock chest beneath the altar for valuables and an aumbry with two locks for everyday vestments and ornaments. At Heytesbury the three-key chest was in the almshouse, where it remains, and contained the common seal and common fund. It was accessible only by co-operation between the keeper, the dean's official, and an honest parishioner nominated annually by the latter; the vestment and ornament coffer in the church had two keys, one kept by the keeper and another by an almsman. There were financial inducements for annual inspections by the dean's official and for annual public readings of the statutes by the parish clerk.

Whereas the Salisbury cantarists had purely liturgical functions, the Heytesbury keeper was busier and more versatile. He could not be spared even briefly without nominating a deputy, and outside vacations might only 'walk a mile or 2 for his recreation at certain times, not absenting himself from his place by nights time'. Although the keeper was appointed by the chancellor, the cathedral dignitary in charge of education, his re-designation from schoolmaster to keeper indicates a lower educational priority and, indeed, only one statute dealt wholly with the school. Unlike Walter, Margaret was no Latinist or university patron. As in 1471, she foresaw difficulties in finding an adequate teacher and allowed for temporary appointments to chantry and almshouse pending discovery of the right man. This was in spite of the high pay, £16 8*s*. 8*d*. plus £1 for his servant, twice as much as Margaret's Salisbury chaplains, besides the tied house. The keeper had 'the rule and governance' of the hospital and the 'administration of the same'. As cantarist he celebrated mass daily, once or twice a week in the almshouse and otherwise in church. Those commemorated were Margaret, her husband, her parents, his parents, John Cheyne, John Mervyn 'and all the souls that the said Walter and Katherine, Robert and Margaret be come of and all the souls that be come of them, and all the souls they be bound to pray for'. Apart from directing the almshouse and celebrating mass daily, the keeper taught all levels at school everyday except Sundays and feastdays, when he was released to share in matins, high mass and evensong at the church. Only Sunday prayers and the annual obit were left to the parish priests.

The 17 statutes regarding the poor are independent of the Salisbury chantry, but are commonplace for medieval almshouses. The paupers received shelter, food and clothing, but little care, for Margaret had cut the sisters from two to one. Lepers were excluded and

25. SRO DD/SAS H348 fos. 317–end; C 54/312 rot. 8d. The next four paragraphs are based on J.E. Jackson, *Farleigh Hungerford*, pp. 118–27; Jackson 'Statutes' (note 1), pp. 289–308; C. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: 1901), pp. 285–6; SRO DD/SAS H348 fos. 322a–4v, 255.

any with lingering or noxious illnesses were isolated. Detailed statutes regulated their possessions, alms, income and wills. To be of good character, they were selected from servants and tenants of the Hungerfords, swore obedience on admission and could be expelled if not. They were expected to 'study and intend to execute and fulfil the charges in the foundation and statutes aforesaid with all his power as poor men should do'. All had to learn the Lords Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed and were examined on them quarterly. On getting up, all said three Lords Prayers, three Hail Marys and a Creed 'in confirmation of the faith'. At leisure, the illiterate said four psalters of Our Lady, each of 15 Hail Marys, five Lords Prayers and a Creed, while the literate said matins of Our Lady, 21 psalms and the associated lessons before lunch and the office of the dead afterwards. After supper, while the literate said the psalm *De Profundis* (psalm 130) with the accustomed versicles and prayers, the illiterate muttered a further three Lords Prayers, three Hail Marys and a Creed. It was a taxing programme of unbelievable boredom, involving endless repetition of Latin prayers, especially for the illiterate with their 66 Hail Marys, 26 Lords Prayers, and six Creeds, but it was in no way unusual.

In these statutes Margaret did her meticulous best to provide for every eventuality and planned to give freely of her time until death. But what need was there for her labour? In 1442 Walter had dedicated the hospital, fixed the complement of paupers, settled the almsdeeds to be done, and ordained those to be commemorated in prayers. The terms of his instruction in his will to his executors to remedy any deficiencies in statutes, endowments or ornaments at his three later foundations do not suggest that he foresaw much need for them to intervene and certainly they indicate some existing provision. Indeed at Farleigh Hungerford we know that no amendments to the statutes were required. This is hardly surprising, since statutes preceded settlement of the endowment in his first three chantries. Whatever statutes Walter had ordained were sufficient to guide the hospital safely through its first 30 years. They may not have been comprehensive and some extra regulations may have been needed. They may have been unsatisfactory in detail, but there is little sign that Margaret's code was a response to specific defect. Certainly the 12 statutes borrowed from her Salisbury chantry can hardly be in response to local conditions at Heytesbury. Margaret appears to have started from scratch, not by recasting existing statutes, and in the process departed from Walter's wishes in many particulars.

Take the chantry. The 1442 union had provided for daily masses at St Mary's altar in Heytesbury church and nowhere else – not, however convenient, in the hospital chapel. Masses were for the souls of those named in the original chantries plus Walter's additions, which would certainly have included his parents and not Margaret's. Margaret, however, omitted all beneficiaries of the original chantries, went no further back in the Hungerford line than Walter and Katherine, and brought in her own parents and maternal relatives. Bishop Aiscough had assigned the endowment of all chantries, which Margaret confirmed only after including them in her provisions.[26] The only exception, incidentally, is Corston chapel, which somehow escaped annexation in 1442.

Margaret's innovations owe much to her cult of Jesus and Mary, the patrons of her Salisbury chantry. She reduced the number of paupers to 13 – the magic number of Christ and the Apostles – insisting that sick paupers in isolation must 'always be taken and called of the number of the said 12 poor men and woman during his life, so the number of poor men in Heytesbury be not augmented'. Similarly she ordained doles for 13 other paupers of Heytesbury on Friday before Whitsun – not on Good Friday, as Walter had wanted. The almsfolk were to wear white gowns with badges bearing the initials JHU.XRT. (Jesus Christ) in black letters; for her obsequies they and thirteen other paupers wore black gowns with similar lettering in white. The same point emerges in the final statute, that keeper and paupers should

> have together continual charity to our Lord God Christ Jesu, and the souls aforesaid after this present ordinance laudably serve, and so live and be conversant together in the foresaid house, that they may after this life transitory come to the houses of the kingdom of heaven. The which our Lord God by his mouth to poor men hath promised.[27]

If these poor were really to be saved, as the beatitudes said, it would please Him to model the almshouse on Him and his apostles.

Margaret, conventionally enough, wanted her almsfolk to eschew illicit sex, but, more than that, she wanted them as celibate as monks:

> Always provided that there be no man taken into the said house, neither servant, nor tenant, nor other, that hath a wife: for it was the will of him that first ordained the said house, that no manner of man that was married should be admitted into the said house.[28]

26. Jackson 'Statutes' (note 1), p. 304; WRO D1/2/10, part 2, fo. 48. For what follows, see Jackson (note 1), p. 304; J.E. Jackson, 'Ancient chapels', *WAM*, vol. 10 (1867), p. 274.

27. Jackson 'Statutes' (note 1), pp. 302, 305, 307–8; Hungerford Collections (note 9), vol. 1, fo. 275v.

28. Jackson, 'Statutes' (note 1), p. 299.

Nothing about Walter suggests that he would have taken such a line. The pensioners, who probably formed the nucleus of the original almsfolk, included at least one married couple; another may have been resident in 1472. It is more likely that this clause is further evidence of Margaret's devotion to the chastity of the Virgin, perhaps dating from her sojourn in Syon Abbey in 1470. Similarly, what Margaret expected of the inmates was prayers in honour of St Mary, not St Katherine, their patron saint. St Katherine features neither in her deed or statutes. Margaret called the hospital by the names of her husband and her father-in-law.[29] Any confusion about the dedication, such as the modern stress on St John the Baptist, is excusable.

Some of Margaret's changes may have improved the hospital's organization. It made better sense to hold the masses sometimes in the hospital chapel and to limit full participation in the canonical hours to days when the school was closed. It was vital that such a pivotal figure as the keeper should be restricted in his movements. In all these ways Margaret achieved the best possible compromise, but it was still a compromise. But was it really Walter's intention to overburden one man with three functions, or had he intended two – a keeper/cantarist and a schoolmaster? If the latter, the compromise would have been unnecessary. If this was Walter's intention, it was changed early on – not by Margaret, but by Walter's widow – and the price paid was a high one. The cantarist could not perform all his functions, and surely both almshouse and school must have suffered from divided attention. Ultimately the school lost out. As Margaret foresaw, it proved hard to find ordained priests competent as schoolmasters willing to work so hard for even a princely salary, so the teaching was often in the hands of an usher. Even at the end of the middle ages, the well-qualified gave priority to quality of life.

Heytesbury hospital was the result of evolution: a 14th-century prehistory, foundation in the currently fashionable form, and re-foundation on more conservative lines. Later generations re-worked the provisions of their ancestors. Had Margaret failed to endow it properly, Heytesbury hospital might have faded away like the Botreaux foundation at Bath or might have lingered on obscurely like the unendowed Farleigh almshouse. Most of the 41 hospitals and *Maisons dieu* at late-medieval York, Beverley and Hull were unendowed[30] and the unendowed poor-house is a familiar post-Reformation phenomenon. Even before the Reformation endowment did not equal existence: almshouses and schools are not to be numbered merely by counting endowments. But Heytesbury hospital could not have survived until the present day without its endowment, which it owed in the last analysis to its location at the centre of Hungerford power. Closure of the hospital would have been a blow to family prestige. It was self-esteem and family pride, not filial piety, that caused Margaret to complete Walter's foundation.

29. Ibid., *passim*; Hoare (note 15), vol. 1, part 2, p. 125.
30. J.I. Kermode, 'The merchants of three northern English towns', in C.H. Clough (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England* (Liverpool: 1982), p. 30.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 70–73.

William, Third Earl of Pembroke, and the MPs for Wilton, 1621–1628

by MICHAEL BRENNAN

Letters are discussed concerning the third Earl's interest in the election of MPs for Wilton during the 1620s. They confirm what has previously been inferred, that the Earl was active in the process of selection of local MPs.

There are few 16th- or 17th- century documents at Wilton House, Wiltshire, almost certainly on account of the disastrous fires which severely damaged the House and its contents in 1647 and 1705. However, one volume of miscellaneous manuscript letters, dating from the 16th to 18th centuries, is preserved in the Archive Room. This collection includes eight letters by William, third Earl of Pembroke, written between 1621 and 1628, to the Mayor and Aldermen of Wilton. Their purpose in each case was to indicate the Earl's clear preference for particular parliamentary candidates, whom he described as 'Burgesses to be resident in the Commons House of Parliament'. These letters provide rare and interesting documentary evidence of the Earl's close involvement in the selection of MPs for Wilton during the 1620s.[1]

Their preservation in the 20th century is due to the antiquarian zeal of Reginald Herbert, fifteenth Earl of Pembroke, who made considerable efforts to organize and preserve the Herbert family's archive material. He recorded how he had discovered another letter in a sadly decayed condition, written in 1625 by the third Earl, to his uncle Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester. The fifteenth Earl explained in 1937 how he had ensured the preservation of this and other family letters: 'I found it in a sorry state in 1932–33 and had it bound with other historical and family letters of the 17th and 16th century in one volume, now in the muniment room, which I had built in 1934–35'.[2]

It appears, however, that this collection of letters has escaped the attention of most parliamentary historians.[3] For instance, in 1935, Miss Violet A. Rowe published an article on the third and fourth Earls' influence on parliamentary elections between 1625 and 1641, but she made no reference to the third Earl's correspondence to the Mayor and Aldermen of Wilton.[4] Nevertheless, using other sources, she illustrated how Pembroke sponsored the elections of such figures as his friend Sir Benjamin Rudyerd as a member for Portsmouth; his two Secretaries John Thoroughgood and Michael Oldsworth for Shaftesbury and Old Sarum; his Steward Sir Thomas Morgan for Wilton; and several others. She provided ample proof of Clarendon's supposition that Pembroke's 'interest in many places was so great that many burgesses were chosen by his recommendation'.[5] Miss Rowe stated that the most desirable, but rare, form of evidence for providing such proof, 'consists of letters requesting or instructing boroughs to return the nominees of the earls, though there are one or two examples of this kind'.[6] These letters preserved at Wilton House are just such communications. They illustrate exactly how Pembroke was accustomed to indicate his choice of candidate to the Mayor and Aldermen of Wilton. They also record the powerful patronage the Earl gave to his chosen protégés, in particular his Steward, Sir Thomas Morgan.

The first letter from the Earl of Pembroke, which is reproduced in full, was addressed to the Mayor and Aldermen of Wilton in November 1621. Sir Thomas Tracy, the member for Wilton, had died on 17 May 1621, and Pembroke had selected Sir Henry Neville to be his successor:

After my harty Commendacions etc. Wheras it hathe pleased God to call away Sr Thomas Tracie one of your Burgesses of Wilton, I shall take it as a speciall testimonye of your due respect unto me, if uppon my mediacion, you Chuse Sr

1. I am grateful to the Earl of Pembroke for allowing me to examine the contents of his Archive.
2. The Earl's annotation is contained in J. Nightingale's 1879 transcription of the *Wilton House Inventory – 1683*, p. 17, which is preserved in the family archives.
3. These letters were first rediscovered by Dr J.R. Briley, who included a transcript of them in 'A Biography of William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke, 1580–1630', University of Birmingham, Ph.D thesis (1961).
4. V.A. Rowe, 'The influence of the Earls of Pembroke in parliamentary elections, 1625–41', *EHR* (1935), pp. 242–56.
5. Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. W.D. Macray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), i. 218; quoted by Rowe, p. 242.
6. Ibid., p. 242.

Henry Nevill in his steede. I shall not need to recommend the sufficiencie of a Gentleman so generally knowne nor promise my readines of requitall in any thing within my powre, since I presume you are allready perswaded of it. Thus with my heartie Commendacions I bid you Farewell from Whitehall this 4th of November 1621.

Tracie was the second son of Sir John Tracy of Toddington, Gloucestershire, and brother of Sir John, later first Viscount Tracy of Rathcoole. Philip, Earl of Montgomery, Pembroke's brother, had probably nominated him as a candidate for Woodstock in 1614. It also seems likely that the Herbert family had supported his election to the Wilton seat on 16 December 1620, along with Thomas Morgan, who was Pembroke's Steward.[7] His successor, Sir Henry Neville (d. 1629), was duly elected as the member for Wilton on 8 November 1621.[8]

On 30 December 1623, Pembroke again wrote from Whitehall to the Corporation of Wilton, this time naming two favoured candidates:

I have thought fitt to recommend unto your choyce my loving Cosine Sr Percie Herbert and my Steward Sr Thomas Morgan, whome if at my request you shall admit unto Burgesseshippes of that your Borrough besides theire care and sufficiencie to steed you in anything, to the height of theire abilities, you shall by this favour bind me in any thing wherein I, may, to shewe my self.

Sir Percy was a member of the Herbert family of Powis Castle and had been created a Baronet on 16 November 1622. He had reaffirmed his rising social and financial status by marrying Elizabeth, sister and co-heiress of the Earl of Craven, three days later.[9] Thomas Morgan was Pembroke's Steward and son of a Welsh gentleman, Edmund Morgan of Penllwyn-Sarth. Earlier in 1623, King James had visited Wilton and had knighted Morgan.[10] Morgan had been involved in the arrangements for this royal visit and in the same volume of letters in Wilton Archives, there is a copy of one from Morgan to Sir John Oglander, Governor of Portsmouth. He informed Oglander that Pembroke 'hath an intencon for to have his Maiestie to Wilton upon the Six daie of August next', and he requested Oglander's presence at Wilton on the fifth, 'in assisting my lorde with some daynties'.[11]

Following Pembroke's letter of 30 December 1623 in support of Sir Percie Herbert and Sir Thomas Morgan, the corporation was evidently instructed to defer their nominations. A month later, Pembroke wrote to them from his London house, Baynard's Castle:

After my harty Commendations, Whereas I have formerlye written unto you concerning the electing of Burgesses for this next Parliament, which for sum farther reason you weare intreated to deferre; I have thought good in confirmation of my former letters to desire you that ye persons nominated in the sayd letters, may bee chosen by you, for your Burgesses of Wilton. And thus nothing doubting of your ready performance heerof I bid you hartily farewell, and rest

Your very loving Friend
Pembroke.

Baynards Castell
this 23 of January, 1623.

On 26 January, Herbert and Morgan were duly chosen.[12]

King Charles I succeeded his father in March 1625; on 2 April Pembroke again addressed the Mayor and Aldermen of Wilton, sponsoring Morgan and another of his cousins, Sir William Herbert:

After my very heartie Commendacions, Whereas it hath pleased his Maiestie to signifie his Royall pleasure for the speedy Calling of a Parliament, and to that end hath given order that writte shalbe directed to all Borrough Townes, which have priviledge of eleccion, for the chusing of Burgesses to be resident in the Commons House of Parliament. These are therefore to desire you that when those writte shall enable you thereunto, you will make choice of my very loving Cousin Sr William Harbert in the first place, and my servant Sr Thomas Morgan in the second place to be your Burgesses for this next Parliament. And thus nothing doubting of your readines to performe it accordingly, I bid you very heartily farewell, and rest

Your very loving frend
Pembroke.

Herbert and Morgan were returned on 18 May, but Herbert chose instead to serve for Montgomery. Pembroke had to write to the authorities of Wilton once more in June:

After my very hearty Commendacions. I shall in ye first Place retorne you thanckes, for your respect to mee, in Chooseing my Cozen Sr William Herbert into one of those Burgesseshipps of Wilton, I am afterwardes to lett you knowe, that my said Cosin being Knight of ye Sheire for Montgomery,

7. I am grateful to Mr J.P. Ferris of The History of Parliament Trust for supplying me with much detailed information on the careers of Tracy and other MPs mentioned in this article. All dates for returns are taken from *Return. Members of Parliament. Part I. Parliaments of England, 1213–1702* (London: Kegan Paul, 1878), p. 454.
8. Ibid., p. 454.
9. See *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (1980 ed.), under 'The Herbert Family of Powis Castle'.
10. *Rowe* (note 4), p. 244. J. Nichols, *The Progresses . . . of King James the First* (London: 1828), vol. 3, p. 888.
11. This copy of an original letter in the possession of Mrs Aspinall-Oglander of the Isle of Wight, was sent to Reginald, the fifteenth Earl of Pembroke, on 26 November 1936.
12. *Return* (note 7), p. 461.

Which hee haveing accepted of, ye said Burgesseshipp is void, so yt you are to proceed to a newe Eleccion; wherein if you shall Concurre upon ye nominacion of Sr William Harrington my Kinseman likewise, a Man very able to discharge to ye best advantage, any trust that happily you may repose in him; I shall doubly acknowledge this Courtesy, and deserve it whensoever your occasions shall need my assistance. And so I bidd you heartily Farewell.

Your very loving freind,
Pembroke.

Court at Whitehall
this 1st of June 1625.

Sir William Harrington, who was distantly related to Pembroke by marriage, was elected to replace Sir William Herbert.[13] Harrington became Lieutenant of the Ordinance in November 1625 and in January of the following year, Pembroke addressed the Mayor and Aldermen of Wilton in a much longer letter than usual. He urged them to reselect Sir Thomas Morgan for Charles's parliament:

After my very heartie Commendacions. Whereas it hath pleased his most excellent Maiestie to give order for the assembling of the high Court of Parliament, and to that purpose writtes being directed unto all the severall Corporacions which have the priviledge of electing Burgesses to reside in the said high Court; I have hereby thought good to desire you, that when the said writtes shall come unto your handes whereby you are enabled to make an eleccion, that then you will for one of your Burgesses make choice of my Servant, Sr Thomas Morgan Knight, to serve you in the first place, of whose fidelitie and abilitie you have formerly had experience. And you may confidently assure your selves, that as he hath heretofore bene readie to serve you without fee or allowance, so he shall still continue to employ his best indevors for your satisfaccion in the discharge of that place, without expecting anything from you towardes his charge or expence during the time of the said Parliament. I doubt not but your readie inclination to pleasure him herein for my sake, will give me occasion to continue the opinion I have of your good affeccions towardes me, I shall therefore in that assurance heere end and committing you to Godes proteccion rest

Your very loving frend
Pembroke.

Pembroke added a revealing postscript, indicating that he was still considering his choice of a second candidate:

I shall also desire you that for the other Burgesse place, you will send me up a blanke, that therein I may insert the name of such one of my frendes, as I shall thinke fitt. From the Court at Whitehall the fifth of January, 1625.

It appears that after some deliberation, Pembroke selected Sir John Evelyn, who was returned along with Morgan on 17 January 1625/6 to serve in this parliament.[14]

In 1627 Pembroke requested the town to nominate his 'very loving Cousin Sr William Harbert' and Sir Thomas Morgan:

After my very hartie Commendacions – Whereas it hath pleased his Maiestie to signifie his Royall pleasure for the speedy calling of a Parliament and to that end hath given order for writts to be directed to all Borough Townes, who have priviledge of eleccion, for the chusing of Burgesses to be resident in the Commone Howse of Parlament. These are therefore to desire you, that you will make Choice of my very loving Cousin Sr William Harbert Knight in the first place, and of my servant Sr Thomas Morgan Knight in the second place, to be your Burgesses for this next Parlament, of whose probitie and sufficiencie to performe that service, I assure myself, you are most confident. And so nothing doubting of your readines to performe it accordingly I bid you very heartily farewell, and rest

Your very loving frend
Pembroke.

Whitehall the 24th
of February 1627.

The authorities did this, but once again Sir William Herbert was elected for Montgomery and so Pembroke requested them to choose John Pooley. Little is known about Pooley, although he was presumably a relative of the Robert Pooley who had been returned for Queensborough, another of the Herbert family's seats, in 1624 and 1626. This final letter in the collection was written from Whitehall on 30 March 1628:

After my very heartie Commendacions, Whereas upon your last eleccion of Burgesses to serve in this presente Parliament you made Choice of my Cousin Sr William Herbert in the first place, who hath bene returned for Knight of the Shire in the Countie of Montgomery, whereof he hath made Choice, and doth now serve for that shire; And the Howse of Commons having given direccions for a new writt, whereby you shall have power to proceede unto a new eleccion, I have therefore thought fitt to recommend unto you John Pooley Esq, a gentleman well qualified, of good parts, and one upon whose integritie you may confidently rely for discharging the trust you shall repose in him, neither shall he putt you to any Charge by way of allowance for his aboade here during the time that he shall doe you service in this employment; I shall therefore earnestly desire you, that so soone as the writt shall come unto you will presently make choice of him to be your Burgesse in Sr William Harberts place, which I shall take as a

13. Ibid., p. 466. Rowe (note 4), p. 244. See also G. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: the Civil Service of Charles I, 1625–1642* (1961), pp. 286–7.
14. *Return* (note 7), p. 472.

curtesy done unto him at my request, for which I shall rest

Your very loving frend,

Pembroke.

Whitehall the 30th
of March 1628.

On 2 April 1628, Pooley was returned as Herbert's replacement to represent Wilton, along with Sir Thomas Morgan.

I have been unable to establish either who preserved these letters in the 17th century or when they were deposited at Wilton House. However, it is fortunate that they have survived, since they reveal the extent of the Earl of Pembroke's control over parliamentary elections in Wilton during the 1620s. They fully corroborate Violet Rowe's supposition that the third Earl was closely involved in the selection of local MPs.

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Earl Bruce's Plan to Amalgamate Marlborough Grammar School and Marlborough College in 1853

by MARK BAKER

The paper sets out Lord Bruce's plan of 1853 to amalgamate the two Marlborough schools, considering the reasons which led to the proposal being made, how the idea was received, and why it was rejected. The differences, in history, allegiance, curriculum and social make-up, between the two foundations are noted, together with their contrasting financial circumstances at the time. The progressive nature of Bruce's plan, with its emphasis on science and other 'modern' subjects, is shown. The rejection of the plan, after a stormy public meeting, is described, and its wisdom in the circumstances of the time assessed.

EARL BRUCE'S PROPOSAL

Early in March 1853 a pamphlet was circulated in Marlborough which described in detail a plan to amalgamate Marlborough Grammar School and Marlborough College. The pamphlet was written by Earl Bruce, who three years later succeeded his father as second Marquess of Ailesbury, and was in the form of a letter addressed to the Mayor and Burgesses of Marlborough. Their reaction was immediate and hostile. The background to this plan, the plan itself and its hostile reception and rejection together make an interesting chapter in the history of secondary education in Wiltshire.

THE BACKGROUND

Marlborough Grammar School and Marlborough College had points in common, but the differences between them were far greater than the similarities. The main difference was one of size; and, as the citizens of Marlborough realized, if the two schools were joined together the larger was likely to absorb the smaller. The College in 1853 had just over 400 boys; the Grammar School had 24 boarders and 6 day boys.[1] The College was brand new: the first boys had arrived in August 1843. The Grammar School was 300 years old: it was a King Edward VI foundation established by letters patent in 1550.[2] The College was almost wholly a boarding school; the Grammar School was meant to cater primarily for day boys from the town of Marlborough, and the fact that there were four times as many boarders as day boys in 1853 did not prevent the citizens of Marlborough from regarding it as primarily *their* school, to which any boys in the town could go daily, provided their parents could pay the fees for certain subjects to be taught. On the other hand the social differences between the two schools were not then as great as they later became. The College was founded mainly for the benefit of parsons, and parsons' sons were much in evidence there, but not to the total exclusion of other professions. For instance, the father of William Morris, an early Marlburian, was a businessman who did well out of a copper mine near Tavistock.[3] The fathers of boarders at the Grammar School between 1846 and 1851 included clergymen, solicitors, doctors and landowners, while wine merchants, a banker, an estate agent and an auctioneer were to be found among the fathers of the day boys.[4] So social differences existed inside the Grammar School, but they did not amount to an unbridgeable gulf; and that Grammar School boys could join satisfactorily in the life of the College was shown by a few who transferred to the College to complete their school education there. Boys often moved from one school to another in those days, which might appear to have made an amalgamation of the two Marlborough schools all the easier.

But, first, what standing had Lord Bruce in the affairs of either school? What led him to plan their amalgamation?

Bruce was in a somewhat difficult situation, and was trying to carry out with conscientious thoroughness a duty which had fallen to him unexpectedly. In February 1853 his father, the first Marquess of Ailesbury, celebrated his eightieth birthday. Inevitably, at that

1. Earl Bruce, *To the Mayor, Burgesses and Other Inhabitants of the Town of Marlborough* (Marlborough, 1853), pp. 12, 41 note 1. A.R. Stedman, *A History of Marlborough Grammar School* (Devizes: C.H. Woodward, 1946), p. 66.
2. Stedman (note 1), p. 6.
3. 'William Morris', in *Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement*, p. 1069.
4. Stedman (note 1), p. 59.

advanced age, the Marquess was obliged to depute to his son and heir most of the work of managing his estates. Among his other responsibilities was that of supplying the Marlborough Grammar School with a headmaster; he had the sole right of appointment, and was expected, since a headmaster in those days was nearly always a clergyman, to find him a suitable living on the Ailesbury estates when he retired, as a way of pensioning him off. The headmaster might even hold the living while running the school and so add to his salary, putting a curate in charge of the parish. This unusual method of appointing a headmaster – or Master, as he was normally called – originated with the school itself. Protector Somerset, as Warden of Savernake Forest, took it for granted that he should appoint a Master for the school which he had created in the name of the boy king, just as he appointed rangers and bailiffs for the Forest. In 1676 the Bruces succeeded the Seymours as Wardens of Savernake Forest, and the right of appointment passed with the wardenship of the Forest to the Earls of Ailesbury. It was as simple as that. Although many objections were raised to Bruce's scheme, nobody questioned Lord Ailesbury's right of appointment; and, in the opinion of the school's historian, the Ailesbury family 'were successful over a period of 200 years in appointing to the School a succession of Masters, each of whom served the school well and not one of whom failed in his task'.[5] The Master in 1852 was the Rev. T. Meyler, who died in harness that November; and it was the need to make a new appointment which led Bruce to put forward his scheme.

Lord Ailesbury's connection with the College was more tenuous and indirect. The College was then governed, as it still is, by its own Council; but the land on which it stood and its main building, previously the Castle Inn, belonged to Lord Ailesbury, who had rented them to the Council on fairly generous terms, and in 1853 the lease still had four years to run. In his capacity of landlord Lord Ailesbury had interfered in the planning of new buildings[6] but he had no say in the management of the school or control over appointments. The Ailesbury presence was shown from time to time by the young and attractive Marchioness, Bruce's stepmother younger than himself, who would drive down to the school in style, with outriders, and at the request of the senior boys ask the Rev. Wilkinson, the headmaster, for a half-holiday. The outriders would be invited to sample the College ale 'amid the chaff of some of the bolder spirits, who enjoyed the grimaces which the ale produced'.[7] The fact that on one occasion the Marchioness brought with her the Duke of Wellington, while he was staying at Tottenham House,[8] suggests that she regarded the College as a part of the estate which an important visitor ought to be shown. The old Duke, who considered that for a boy 'any school is better than none',[9] no doubt viewed with polite curiosity the motley crowd of turbulent early Marlburians confronting him.

Lord Bruce, then, had to advise his father whom to appoint as Master of the Grammar School; but when he looked into the matter there seemed to be more to it than simply making an appointment.

The Grammar School had shrunk to an unhealthily small size. It was not providing enough of the sons of Marlborough citizens with the kind of education they required to equip them for careers in trade and industry. Greater emphasis was needed on 'modern' subjects – languages, mathematics, perhaps even science. Languages and mathematics were taught as extras which had to be paid for. The only subjects which did not have to be paid for in the Royal Free Grammar School, as the inhabitants of Marlborough liked to call it – the only subjects which were genuinely free – were Latin, Greek and writing. It was for teaching those subjects that grammar schools had originally been founded; but the educational needs of the sons of Marlborough tradesmen and professional men had changed in the course of three centuries. The school was really being run for the benefit of the boarders, most of whom were the Master's private pupils. The Master had been allowed to take in boarders since 1678, and their fees contributed to his income. In 1853 some of the boarders came from Wiltshire, some from further afield; and they included boys who later got on well in the world, among them future headmasters and senior officers in the Army and Navy.[10] Very few foundationers – i.e. boys who were entitled to places at the Grammar School with free lessons in Latin, Greek and writing, because their parents had lived in Marlborough for at least seven years or because their fathers were Burgesses – benefited by the full educational course provided for the boarders, for the simple reason that their parents either could not or would not pay the fees for the extra subjects, such as languages, mathematics, music and dancing. And, as Bruce himself pointed out

5. Stedman (note 1), pp. 6, 17.
6. *The Kennet*, spring 1951. L. Warwick James, *Marlborough College*, vol. 2, *The Buildings* (1951).
7. Edward Lockwood, *The Early Days of Marlborough College* (London, 1893), pp. 73–4. A.G. Bradley *et al.*, *A History of Marlborough College* (London: John Murray, 1923), p. 131.
8. Bradley (note 7).
9. Unpublished letter, the Duke to Priscilla Countess of Westmorland, 20 December 1835 (Wellington College archives).
10. Stedman (note 1), pp. 59–60.

at the meeting in the Town Hall called by the Mayor to discuss the amalgamation scheme, the boarders not only got the best of the teaching, they even monopolized the school playground, from which the day boys were excluded. The boarders looked down on the day boys and called them 'nippers' or 'cads'. But was not the school intended to benefit the 'nippers' and 'cads' just as much as the others?

Another problem, which was obviously likely to arouse strong feelings, was that of the Somerset Scholarships and Exhibitions. Sarah Duchess of Somerset, who died in 1692, owned estates which she bequeathed to trustees for charitable purposes.[11] In this way she founded the Froxfield almshouse on the Bath Road (A4) between Hungerford and Marlborough for the benefit of poor widows of clergymen; and she founded the Scholarships and Exhibitions by arrangement with Brasenose College, Oxford, and St John's College, Cambridge, for the benefit of boys from Marlborough Grammar School, Hereford Cathedral School and Manchester Grammar School.[12] There were 36 Scholarships and Exhibitions in all, so that each of the three schools was entitled to 12 of them, provided enough boys qualified; and the Duchess appears to have hoped that by giving the cleverest boys in these schools the chance of a university education the awards would result in more able young men going into the Church.[13] Further details about them need not be given here. The problem which the Somerset Scholarships and Exhibitions presented, as Bruce saw it, was that Marlborough Grammar School was not making nearly enough use of them. Though it was calculated that 19 boys in the school between 1846 and 1851 went on to the universities,[14] very few sons of town residents ever won Somerset Scholarships. 'There are not, it is believed,' wrote Bruce, 'above two or three instances in the present generation of any boys in the Town obtaining them.'[15] This was understandable when so few town boys completed the classical course at the Grammar School, and the examinations for the Scholarships and Exhibitions were based largely on the classics. The result was that the few winners of Somerset Scholarships and Exhibitions were nearly all boarders and private pupils of the Master; and 'no one can suppose' as Bruce said, 'that it was intended by the Founder that the Private Pupils of the Master should enjoy 19 twentieths of these Exhibitions – Nor have they done so, the fact being that these Scholarships have been in great part lost for want of Candidates.'[16] This was not at all satisfactory, and something needed to be done about it.

Finally there was the problem of whether the Grammar School, with its small endowments, could on its own cater for the needs in secondary education of a town the size of Marlborough, which in 1853 had 4000 inhabitants. The Rev. T. Meyler, the Master who had just died, had extended the curriculum 'to include the other branches of Science and Literature' which would enable boys to qualify for 'superior trade and mercantile business'[17]; but these extras, as we have seen, had to be paid for. In 1842 the Rector of St Peter's Marlborough, the Rev. Erasmus Williams, and some other leading citizens tried to ensure that modern subjects would form a permanent part of the Grammar School's curriculum and therefore be taught free. The only way to do this was by altering the 17th-century statutes, which involved a petition in Chancery; and the Lord Chancellor, Lyndhurst, refused permission for the change.[18] That did not lessen the demand for an education that would prepare boys for 'superior trade and mercantile business'; and Bruce was prepared to go further than Erasmus Williams and his friends by actually including Physics in his proposed curriculum.[19] But how could the Grammar School, with its limited resources, support an extended curriculum without making parents pay for the teaching of modern subjects and at the same time enable the town boys to make greater use of the Somerset Scholarships? Bruce put the point frankly, almost brutally, in his pamphlet.

> If the education for the Town's boys is to be confined within the limits of the present Grammar School, you must I fear make up your minds, either to allow the benefits of the School, which were intended for the Town generally, to be, as heretofore, the privilege of the few only, or you must adapt them to the wants of the larger number by making it a scientific and commercial School, thereby sacrificing the advantages of the Somerset Exhibitions. You must choose between these two alternatives.[20]

Marlborough College meanwhile, with 400 boys, was bursting at the seams; but it was not in a healthy state. The specially reduced fees for parsons' sons did not bring in a big enough income. Remote control of the administration from an office in London did not work satisfactorily, any more than it did some years later at Wellington College. It took the Governors of public

11. Stedman (note 1), pp. 24–7.
12. Stedman (note 1), p. 25.
13. Stedman (note 1), p. 26.
14. Stedman (note 1), p. 59.
15. Bruce (note 1), p. 6.
16. Bruce (note 1), p. 20.
17. Stedman (note 1), p. 62.
18. Ibid.
19. Bruce (note 1), p. 24.
20. Bruce (note 1), p. 13.

schools time to realize the importance of having a good bursar on the spot. Three unfortunate consequences followed. The food was bad. One early Marlburian's account of the food rationing in Lent, although no doubt somewhat exaggerated, makes one wonder how the boys survived at all.[21] The discipline was bad. Another early Marlburian, F.A.Y. Brown, described how his friend Boscawen Somerset had a stand-up fight with a local Flashman, who 'had been bullying young Somerset, and his brother had interfered'. Yet Brown considered that 'Marlborough was a rough, but not a bullying school'![22] The truth was that, with a poorly paid staff, most of whom took no interest in what went on out of school hours, the boys in Dr Wilkinson's time got increasingly out of hand; and on Guy Fawkes' Night 1851 they virtually staged a mutiny, to the accompaniment of plenty of fireworks. Wilkinson himself called it a rebellion, and the name has stuck. He supplied Mr Simpson of the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* with full details, so that Bruce, if he read his local paper while he was away, must have kown about it.[23] Thirdly, the College finances were nearing crisis point by 1853; and in a handbill circulated to the Burgesses of Marlborough the College was described as 'the bankrupt institution in the Bath Road'.[24]

But there was plenty of life in the bankrupt institution, and the Council acted just in time. In the summer of 1852 Wilkinson resigned and retired to the comparative peace and quiet of the vicarage at Market Lavington; he was replaced by Dr Cotton, a strong man from Rugby who had known and worked under Dr Arnold. There was an immediate and vast improvement in the discipline, to which F.A.Y. Brown among others bore witness, but putting the finances right took longer. Already by the time Bruce's pamphlet was published Cotton had the College under good control, imposing a prefectorial system that worked, on Arnold's lines, and Guy Fawkes' Night 1852 had passed off peacefully. Many, if not msot, of the boys were keen on their academic work because they wanted to qualify for entrance to the professions or the universities. It was said that Dr Wilkinson as early as 1844 had cast envious eyes on those unused Somerset Scholarships.[25]

It seems as if the situation at the College was not fully understood either by the Burgesses of Marlborough or by Bruce, and certainly not by Erasmus Williams. But Bruce, not living on the spot – for his house, Savernake Lodge, was more than three miles away in the depths of the Forest – approached the problem of the relationship of the two schools with a detachment and lack of prejudice for which he deserves credit but which unfortunately led to misunderstandings. Erasmus Williams obviously regarded Bruce's detachment as aristocratic aloofness and his lack of prejudice as determination to favour the College at the expense of the Grammar School.

One of the first people with whom Bruce discussed the situation at the Grammar School was his brother, Lord Ernest Bruce. It was natural that the two of them should discuss many matters connected with their father's estates, especially as Lord Ernest was likely in due course to become the third Marquess of Ailesbury; for Lord and Lady Bruce, who by 1853 had been married for 15 years, had no children. Lord Ernest was not a brainy man and seldom spoke in public; during 46 years in the House of Commons as MP for Marlborough he did not make a single speech.[26] But on this occasion he had a bright idea; for it was he who first suggested the amalgamation of the two schools.

To begin with, Bruce paid little attention to his brother's idea, considering the matter of highest priority to be the appointment of a new Master. Bruce is reported as saying at the meeting on 17 March 1853,

> 'The plan suggested, however, afterwards appeared to him to be better than he had at first thought it, and as he found it would be impossible to introduce such alterations in the Grammar School as he had hoped to see adopted, he thought the amalgamation would best accomplish the object in view. Therefore, although the original proposal was his brother's, the working out of the plan had been entirely his own. He mentioned this because there seemed to be a sort of notion that the College had mysteriously arranged the plan of joining the two schools and had got him [Earl Bruce] to be its tool to concoct the thing before [? for] them. That was not the case.'[27]

THE PLAN

What then exactly was Bruce's plan? A brief summary will suffice. The two schools were to be united as one institution with two departments or branches of education, the English Branch on the premises of the Grammar School and the Classical Branch at the College. There would be one headmaster for both, and a resident under-master for the English Branch at the

21. Lockwood (note 7), pp. 91–2.
22. F.A.Y. Brown, *Family Notes* (Genoa, 1917), p. 87.
23. *The Kennet*, winter 1951. L. Warwick James, *Marlborough College*, vol. 4, *The Rebellion* (1951).
24. Sir Cyril Norwood, in *Marlborough College 1843–1943* (1943), p. 45.
25. *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, 24 March 1853.
26. Earl of Cardigan, *The Wardens of Savernake Forest* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 308.
27. Bruce's fourth speech at the Town Hall meeting, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853.

Grammar School. There would be three Visitors – the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Ailesbury and the Mayor of Marlborough. The curriculum of the Classical Branch was not specified, but it was implied that it would prepare boys for the universities. The curriculum of the English Branch was 'to include the rudiments of the Latin Language, and Greek if required, French, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Physical Science, and such kinds of general instruction, as will fit a boy for Professional and Commercial pursuits'.[28] The intake of day boys as well as boarders for both Branches was to be encouraged by admitting the sons of new residents of the town, so that people would be encouraged to come and live in Marlborough in order to take advantage of the good education their sons could get there.[29] 'All the Exhibitions of both the Schools, to be open for competition to all the Scholars, whether Foundation boys or others.'[30] This obviously implied making the Somerset Scholarships and Exhibitions available to the boys at the College, with the prospect of many more of them being taken up. The plan left several questions unanswered, but was much more fully worked out than might have been expected.

The ideas behind the plan are some of them openly stated; others can be read between the lines. To provide a system of secondary education adapted to modern needs and make it available to all boys living in Marlborough who could qualify for it; to increase the prosperity of the town, which had suffered from the coming of railways and the consequent decline in coaching, on which Marlborough had so much depended, and so increase the value of property in the town, including Lord Ailesbury's; to shore up the College with its shaky finances and enable it to go on benefiting the Marlborough tradesmen to the tune, on Bruce's estimate, of £15,000 a year; to see that the Somerset Scholarships were not wasted – these appear to have been among Bruce's principal aims. And what he envisaged in order to achieve them was not unlike what we now call a comprehensive school.

The greatest merit of Bruce's plan is the curriculum for the English Branch. Here he showed some insight into the educational trends of his day, for he included French, Mathematics *and* Physical Science. If he had also included German and Experimental Science (Chemistry), we should have had to suppose that he had been discussing education with Prince Albert or perhaps with the Rev. Henry Moseley, an inspector of Education who two years later submitted to the Prince by request a draft scheme of instruction for the new Wellington College, just about to be built, which included both those subjects.[31] It was quite something in 1853 to include Physics in a curriculum for boys who might leave school at sixteen. The example Bruce was following, as he said in his pamphlet, was that of another King Edward VI foundation, King Edward's School Birmingham.[32] There the curriculum had been broadened while James Prince Lee, the first Bishop of Manchester, was Chief Master (1838–48), though it was in fact his predecessor Francis Jeune who had initiated the changes.[33] The new subjects at King Edward's Birmingham could give boys not by nature scholars a wider knowledge and understanding of the world they would have to work in than they could possibly gain from the classics. These included the subjects Bruce specifically proposed for the English Branch at Marlborough and other subjects as well, such as Geography and Drawing, which he would probably have been happy to see included among 'such kinds of general instruction, as will fit a boy for Professional and Commercial pursuits'.[34]

The wind of change in British education during the 1850s almost proved strong enough to bring science to the fore in secondary schools. Prince Albert and a few others realized its importance for the future welfare of the country; but, as Faraday pointed out, you couldn't have science in schools without science teachers and there weren't enough of them.[35] So Bruce was on the side of the angels, but there might have been serious practical difficulties in carrying out his programme.

The chief weaknesses of his plan were its shock effect, its vagueness on financial matters, and the legal difficulties it involved. If Bruce wanted it to be treated as what we should now call a green paper, a draft that could be discussed and altered, he had not made that clear. The citizens of Marlborough assumed that they were expected to accept it *in toto*, just as it was, and *in toto* they rejected it. Those who received copies did not even bother to acknowledge them, as Bruce complained, although he had taken a lot of trouble on their behalf. How much of the education at the combined institution was in fact going to be free for the sons of

28. Bruce (note 1), p. 24 (para. 3).
29. Bruce (note 1), pp. 5, 26 (para. 13).
30. Bruce (note 1), p. 25 (para. 9).
31. Benson papers, Wellington College archives: Governors' meetings and various reports 1853–1873. Moseley's curriculum is also given in *Journal of Educational Administration and History* (1980), p. 22.
32. Bruce (note 1), p. 17.
33. T.W. Hutton, *King Edward's School Birmingham 1552–1952* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 84–6.
34. Bruce (note 1), p. 24 (para. 3).
35. G.M. Young, *Portrait of an Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 97.

Marlborough residents, if any of it? A definite assurance was given about the Grammar School trust funds: '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 Head Master, towards the salaries and expenses of King Edward's School exclusively.'[36] But if the number of boys joining the English Branch on the Grammar School premises increased considerably, as it might do by including boys at the College among others, could the property of King Edward's School meet all the expenses, and, if not, where was the rest of the money to come from? And what fees, if any, were the Town boys to pay who joined the Classical Branch at the College? Finally, whether an amalgamation of the two schools could take place without breaking the law, as far as the Grammar School was concerned, was a point which Bruce appears to have ignored. It was brought home to him forcibly at the meeting on 17 March.

It would be wrong however to suppose that Bruce tried to impose his scheme on the citizens of Marlborough without any attempt to have it vetted. He had sounded the opinions of some important and intelligent men, but not, as far as we know, of anyone in Marlborough; and that perhaps was a pity. He had consulted the Bishop of Salisbury and Dean Hamilton too, who had supported him in 1851 on emigration business.[37] But, if the Bishop was to be a Visitor under his scheme, so was the Mayor of Marlborough, and Mr Emberlin, whose family printing business printed the pamphlet, appears not to have been asked for his views. Bruce had consulted Mr Sotheron (T.H.S. Sotheron Estcourt), an influential and public-spirited Wiltshire landowner and MP, who six years later became for a few months Home Secretary in Lord Derby's second government; but Mr Sotheron had never been specially concerned with education. He had consulted Lord Granville, a personal friend and prominent Whig politician who had already been Foreign Secretary, a man who was generally liked but no educationist; and he had consulted Mr Baring, whom he mentioned as if everyone knew who he was, so perhaps he was Thomas Baring, the Chairman of Lloyds who refused to be Chancellor of the Exchequer.[38] All these men had given Bruce's scheme their blessing; but apart from Sotheron and the Bishop they were little more than names to the Burgesses of Marlborough.

At what stage Bruce broached his plan to other members of the College Council is not clear. His remarks on their cautious reactions suggest that he did so before publication, a step bound to arouse the suspicions of Erasmus Williams and his friends. That Bruce was anxious about the future of the College is shown in clause 15 of his plan, which reads: 'If the College should ever be dissolved, or removed, King Edward's School to revert to its former condition.'[39] In 1853 it might well have seemed that the College would soon be 'dissolved or removed'. Erasmus Williams took particular delight at the meeting on 17 March in pointing out that this might happen, and that Bruce would then be left with premises on his hands which he could use to assist the expansion of the curriculum at the Royal Free Grammar School.

According to the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* the question of amalgamating the two schools had 'for some time past given rise to a good deal of controversy, carried on with greater acrimony than there was any occasion for'.[40] 'For some time past' may have been an exaggeration, but there could be no doubt about the acrimony; it reached its peak in the days just before the meeting at the Town Hall, when Erasmus Williams emerged as the chief opponent of Bruce's scheme. He certainly had a right to take a leading part in the controversy; he had been Rector of St Peter's Marlborough for 24 years and he was also chairman of the committee which managed the municipal trusts, and these included the funds of the Grammar School. In 1843 he had succeeded to his father's baronetcy, which increased his standing in the town and his sense of his own importance; for there were not many reverend baronets around. He was a combative and not very intelligent man, and enjoyed being the self-appointed champion of the town's liberties.

THE PUBLIC MEETING

The meeting of 17 March, summoned by the Mayor and held in the Town Hall, attracted plenty of attention, in spite of the short notice given. The tone of the speeches suggests that ladies were not admitted; certainly only men spoke, and many Burgesses and other leading citizens were present. So was Bruce, indignant at the suggestion he had heard, that he had come to intimidate the town authorities and to defend his own personal interests. 'It would not be manly on his part or respectful towards them,' he said, 'if he had declined to meet them face to face, and hear and answer any

36. Bruce (note 1), p. 23 (para. 2).
37. Minute Book of Wiltshire Emigration Association and Register of Emigrants. Wiltshire Record Office.
38. Bruce's second speech, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853.
39. Bruce (note 1), p; 26 (para. 15).
40. *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853, article on p. 3.

objections which they might have to make against him.'[41] His use of the word 'manly' is typical of the time; this was four years before the publication of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, and 'manliness' was, as Dr David Newsome has explained to me, 'part of being an Englishman and not furtive, devious or sly'.[42] Therefore Bruce was infuriated with Williams for implying that in his pamphlet he was really speaking for the College Council without openly sayng so, and he lashed out at the Rector. The *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* reported Bruce as saying: 'The right reverend gentleman – he begged pardon, he had anticipated an event which might perhaps happen – the *reverend* gentleman who had put his name to a paper which appeared yesterday . . . said it was quite obvious the letter he [Lord Bruce] had published was not written by himself.' This, he said, 'was simply not the truth . . . and I beg to assure the reverend gentleman, and everyone present, that I would scorn to appear in the borrowed plumes of other persons. I repudiate, therefore most strongly the insinuation of that gentleman [hear, hear]'. Williams's objectionable paper has vanished into limbo, and other speakers at the meeting had the good sense not to refer to it. Bruce's sarcastic reference to 'the right reverend gentleman' may have been a slip of the tongue; more probably it showed the strength of his feelings. Everyone at the meeting must have known that a man who had been rector in a country town for 24 years, even if he was a baronet, was extremely unlikely to be made a bishop and to sit with Bruce in the House of Lords.[43] Bruce spoke five times at the meeting, and protested that he did not mind in the least whether his scheme was accepted or not, whereas he obviously minded a great deal. However he sensibly promised to withdraw the plan altogether if it did not prove acceptable, and this he did towards the end of the meeting. He had made plain his integrity, defended his reputation, and won on manliness.

Erasmus Williams won on the main point at issue. At the end of a long and tedious speech, in the course of which he touched on the legal aspect of making changes in the Grammar School, said he was sure no mother in Marlborough would entrust a son to the tender mercies of the College boys, and persisted in regarding the amalgamation plan as a plot by the College Council to get control of the Somerset Scholarships, he proposed a motion which was carried by a large majority, that

> it is not desirable to unite the Royal Free Grammar School and the Marlborough College, as proposed in the letter of Lord Bruce to the Mayor and Burgesses of the town, this meeting being of 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.

At the end of the meeting another motion was carried, this time unanimously requesting Lord Ailesbury,

> before making a permanent appointment of a master to the Royal Free Grammar School, to obtain from him a pledge that he will, in addition to Greek and Latin, instruct the boys or youths entrusted to his care in other branches of literature and science, so as not only to qualify them for admission to the universities, and with a view to the learned professions, but also for preparing them for the superior trades and mercantile business. . . .

French, Arithmetic and Mathematics were to receive special attention.

The proposer of this second motion was Thomas Baverstock Merriman, a previous Mayor of Marlborough and member of a well-known local family, whose name survives in the firm of Merrimans, Solicitors, in Marlborough today. Bankers, lawyers and businessmen, the male Merrimans had nearly all been educated at the Grammar School. T.B. Merriman was a solicitor, and probably understood the legal situation of the Grammar School better than anyone else at the meeting. It was he who pointed out that to change the status of the Grammar School as drastically as Bruce proposed to do would almost certainly require a private act of Parliament. You could not abolish the Grammar School as a separate entity just like that. Perhaps the College Council realized this when they said they would consider the amalgamation plan only if the town authorities wanted them to, and then rejected it by a majority.[44] As the writer in the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* put it,

> The Marlborough Free Grammar School is entitled to be preserved in the form given to it by the grant of King Edward the Sixth, and with all the rights conferred on it by that grant; and certainly, of all rights, the right of an independent existence is the most fundamental essential.[45]

Not now – but 130 years ago it was.

THE AFTERMATH

The dust seems to have settled on the controversy quite

41. Bruce's first speech, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853. Further quotations from speeches at the Town Hall meeting are from this same source.
42. Personal information. For an analysis of the idea of 'manliness' see David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London: John Murray, 1961).
43. Bruce had been promoted to the House of Lords in Queen Victoria's coronation honours of 1838.
44. Stedman (note 1), p. 65. Bruce's fourth speech, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853.
45. *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853, article on p. 3.

quickly. Merriman's was obviously a sensible proposal, provided that fees continued to be paid for the teaching of French, Arithmetic, Mathematics, etc. Bruce accepted it and, as already stated, withdrew his own plan. He appointed as Master of the Grammar School the Acting Master, the Rev. F.H. Bond, who had taught for seven years at the College. The two schools went their separate ways. But, curiously enough, 20 years later, the idea of amalgamating them was revived, and this tail-piece to the story is not without interest.

Bond's was the last of the Ailesbury appointments to the mastership of the Grammar School; it was also one of the best. It was not long before, backed by Bruce, now Lord Ailesbury, Bond organized a proper modern side, which became popular.[46] In the sixties the school flourished and four assistant masters were employed; in 1868 there were 60 boarders and 30 day boys. Some Somerset Scholarships were won, and it became usual for two or three boys annually to go up to the universities.[47] 'The boys in those days,' wrote a former assistant master at the school, '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.'[48] The citizens of Marlborough appeared to have made the right decision in rejecting Bruce's plan – provided, of course, that they were content to see their Royal Free Grammar School remain small and exclusive.

Then in the seventies the situation changed rapidly for the worse. While the number of day boys increased slightly – there were 40 in 1876[49] – the number of boarders went down; and the boarders paid much needed fees and at the same time included most of the scholarly boys. Bond became alarmed, and set about making a new plan for amalgamation with the College. The school's trustees and Lord Ailesbury accepted the plan, and once more threatening noises were heard from certain quarters in the town. But this time it was not the Burgesses who rejected the idea of amalgamation; it was the College. Dr Cotton, Dr Bradley, Dr Farrar, a succession of capable Masters, the last two backed by an extremely capable Bursar, the Rev. J.S. Thomas, who towards the end of his time became Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Wiltshire County Council in succession to Lord Lansdowne's brother, put Marlborough College in the front rank of the public schools. The financial difficulties had been overcome, and neither the buildings of the Grammar School nor its day boys were wanted by the College. The financial weakness of the Grammar School was again exposed, and again it was shown not to be providing nearly enough of the 'nippers' and 'cads' with an education that would enable them to qualify for jobs in 'superior trades and mercantile business'. Bond resigned, and the school was temporarily closed.[50] The rest of its history, till its demise in 1899, does not concern us here; and the secondary school which replaced it in 1904, though called the Grammar School, was soemthing quite different from the King Edward VI foundation.

What remains to be considered is whether Lord Ailesbury (as Earl Bruce) had not been right to suggest the amalgamation of the two schools in 1853, for the benefit of both. Twenty years later amalgamation was simply not practicable, and if it had been it wuld have meant the extinction of the smaller unit. But in 1853 it might have served a useful purpose in the establishment of a proper modern side, desirable for all the boys concerned, with science in the curriculum; and it could have enabled more sons of parsons and other able boys in the combined schools to go to Oxford and Cambridge on Somerset Scholarships. It was a forward-looking plan. The day boys from the town could have introduced a healthy element into the life of a big boarding school, so long as they fitted in successfully with the College boys. Whether they would do so or not was a big question at the time, and Bruce probably underrated its importance. Erasmus Williams said that the town boys going to the College would be called 'snobs' and 'charity boys'[51]; but would that have been any worse than being 'nippers' and 'cads' at the Grammar School? It is possible to imagine a school emerging from an amalgamation in 1853 based on a broad social foundation like that of Christ's Hospital, with a headmaster determined to make it work. Such a school might have become one of the more interesting educational experiments of Victorian England.

46. Stedman (note 1), p. 68.
47. Stedman (note 1), p. 67.
48. Stedman (note 1), p. 69.
49. Stedman (note 1), p. 66.
50. Stedman (note 1), p. 72.
51. End of Erasmus Williams's speech, *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 24 March 1853.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 82–6.

Edward Kite, Antiquary of Devizes (1832–1930)

by EDWARD BRADBY

The paper gives a brief biography of Edward Kite, the Devizes antiquary whose large collections of cuttings and note-books are now in the Society's Library. His role in the early years of the Society, in which he was for a while assistant secretary and curator, is described, and the circumstances of his departure. His later work, especially on Wiltshire buildings, is described.

Anyone who browses in the bound volumes of the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* or in the huge books of cuttings in the Devizes Museum Library will soon come across the name of Edward Kite. If his curiosity is aroused he will begin to notice countless examples of Kite's spidery handwriting in the cuttings books, including transcriptions of long legal documents, complicated genealogies, and miscellaneous notes about any period in the past history of Wiltshire. If he enquires further and finds a capacious filing box[1] in the Museum Library filled with Kite's closely written note-books, he may begin to wonder, as I did, who this industrious antiquary was, and how he found the time to amass such a quantity of detailed information.

My first steps in the journey in search of Edward Kite were baffled by the curious fact that although he must have spent thousands of hours in unravelling the past, his own notes and memoranda are rarely if ever dated. This could be infuriating, as, for example, when a note about the Seend Court Leet says that it had been held 'within living memory' at a house 'now Ellis'[2] – but when was 'now'?

The Museum Library index soon led me to an obituary from the *Devizes Gazette*, which showed that he lived for nearly 98 years, being born on 14 May 1832 and dying on 9 January 1930. Now that more than half a century has passed since his death, it may be of interest to make more generally available the facts about his life, recorded in the obituary just mentioned, supplemented by another in the *Magazine*, and by gleanings from other sources.[3]

Edward Kite was born in Devizes in 1832, the son of a grocer of the same name, whose shop and home had originally been in the Brittox, but by 1832 had been moved to no. 1 St John's Street (now occupied by the Midland Bank). A printed advertisement in one of the cuttings books (undated!) tells us that the shop sold 'fine flavored Teas, raw and refined Sugars, Spices, Foreign fruits, and every article in grocery of the best quality, and on the most reasonable terms. Coffees fresh roasted on the newly discovered principle.'[4] By 1853 (when he was 21) he was beginning to appear on the local history scene: in October of that year, at the first annual meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, he exhibited 15 rubbings from monumental brasses, and the first volume of the Society's *Magazine* included a finely executed drawing of some Anglo-Saxon relics, with the subscription soon to become so familiar – 'Edw. Kite Devizes *del.*'

To find what had given the grocer's son his interest in history and his skill in drawing, the obvious course was to look at his schooling. Here too, however, the facts proved surprisingly elusive. Kite himself in 1920 provided notes on the Devizes schools for an article in the *Gazette*, but with characteristic self-effacement made no mention of having himself attended any of them, giving only the location and dates of the schools, with the barest biographical details of the heads.[5] However, the obituary notice of 1930 stated that Kite had at first attended the school kept by Dr Biggs in Long Street, adding: 'He was under the first schoolmaster of the name, and it was the teacher of classics, Mr Grantham, who gave the lad that thorough grounding in Latin, which was of such service to him in his after life, when he had to read and translate old Latin parchments and inscription.' The obituary continues:

1. Devizes Museum, box 56.
2. Devizes Museum, Cuttings, vol. 2, p. 265.
3. Obituaries: *Gazette*, 16 January 1930, in Cuttings, vol. 11, p. 272; *WAM*, vol. 45, p. 94. Devizes *Directories*, Electoral Registers, Census Returns, and other sources named *ad loc.* See also *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 10, p. 230, where Kite is given an honourable place among the worthies of Devizes.
4. Cuttings, vol. 8, p. 1.
5. *Gazette*, 15 January 1920.

'When the first Dr Biggs died and was succeeded in the school by his son, Kite was removed to a school close by – that one kept at what is now Eastbourne House . . . in Bridewell Street'.

Interesting details about these two schools are given in a series of articles contibuted to the *Gazette* in 1910 by a writer signing himself 'Septuagenarian', who, like Kite, was the son of a local tradesman and had attended both these schools some time between 1840 and 1851.[6] But this account implies that the author went *first* to Mr Evans's school in Bridewell Street, which he describes as giving the boys a good grounding in writing and arithmetic, with a visiting French master, adding that 'nearly all the boys left at 12', and then to the school kept by Dr Biggs, for whom he evidently had a great admiration; in his three years at the latter school the curriculum included Geometry, Algebra, Latin or German, and drawing was taught by James Waylen, who had a well-equipped studio and was 'an antiquary by nature'. He also writes of the long excursions made by the boys in Dr Biggs's 'light spring waggon' to such places as Fonthill, Stourhead and Wilton.

Unfortunately both 'Septuagenarian' and the obituarist have made statements about the Biggs school which do not square with the facts revealed by contemporary sources.[7] 'Septuagenarian' states that the son started his own school after taking his Dublin Ll.D: in fact he had been running it since 1842 (having graduated as MA Dublin in 1837), but did not take his doctorate till 1847. The obituarist is wrong in stating that the son took over the school on his father's death, whereas in fact the father lived on in Long Street for many years after his retirement, and also in referring to the father as 'the first Dr Biggs', whereas he was *Mr* Richard Biggs, the son being *Dr* Richard Williams Biggs.[8]

In view of this confusion, I wondered whether the obituarist had made a further error, and that in reality Kite had received his elementary grounding from Evans's school and his later education (including Latin and drawing) from one of the Biggses. But while minor confusions about date and title were understandable in an article written nearly 70 years after the events, it seemed unlikely that someone who knew Kite as well as the obituarist obviously did should have been misled about the order in which he attended the schools. The most probable explanation, therefore, is that Kite started his education under Mr Richard Biggs, and that when Mr Biggs retired in 1841 (when Kite was 9), instead of continuing with Richard Williams Biggs (later 'Dr Biggs'), he was transferred to Mr Evans's school in Bridewell Street. How long he remained there we do not know. But 'Septuagenarian' was demonstrably wrong in stating that most of the boys left at 12, since the Census return of 1841 shows that Mr Evans had in that year 16 resident pupils, and all were between 12 and 15 years old. The obituarist is doubtless right in stating that Kite was well grounded in Latin by Mr Grantham while at Richard Biggs's school. Henry David Grantham himself ran a school at 8 Long Street, moving to no. 27 in succession to Mr Richard Biggs, though by 1851 he was running his school in Heytesbury.[9] We are left with no light on how Kite acquired his remarkable skill as a draughtsman and engraver. 'Septuagenarian' makes no mention of drawing in the Evans curriculum; but Kite may, of course, have had private lessons, perhaps from James Waylen himself.

After leaving school the young Kite helped his father in the grocery shop, and in the 1851 census returns both father and son are styled 'grocer'. We do not know how much of his time this demanded, but it is evident that his enthusiasm as an antiquary and his skill and accuracy as a draughtsman were beginning to be much in demand for the *Magazine*. The early volumes abound in plates drawn and/or lithographed by him, and volume 2 (published 1855) contained a series of illustrated articles by him on the churches of Devizes. He was also working on an ambitious collection of drawings and descriptions of all the monumental brasses of Wiltshire, which, originally designed as a series of articles for the *Magazine*, was instead published in book form in a limited edition in 1860.[10]

Kite had also become closely involved in the development of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society and its headquarters in Devizes. Founded in 1853, the Society had at first no premises, but as well as publishing the *Magazine*, it used to hold quite elaborate three-day annual meetings in different centres, with visits to places of interest and *ad hoc* exhibitions of objects and documents lent by members. By 1855 the administrative task was getting beyond what honorary secretaries could manage, and Edward Kite was voted £10 for past services and a salary of £15

6. *Gazette*, 28 July 1910, 4 August 1910, 18 August 1910.
7. Devizes *Directories*, 1822, 1839, 1842, 1848, etc. in Devizes Museum; Census Returns, 1841, 1851, in Wiltshire Record Office or Devizes Public Library. For a full account of private schools in Devizes see *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 10, pp. 306–7 (though the reference to the Biggs schools needs correcting on the lines argued below).
8. Confusion is increased by the fact that Dr R.W. Biggs's son was also a Doctor; but he was never a *Devizes* schoolmaster.
9. Grantham as Head: *Directories*, 1842, 1844, Census 1851.
10. *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (London and Oxford: J.H. & J. Parker, 1860; facsimile reprint, 1969).

a year for the future, to perform the duties of Assistant Secretary to the Society.[11] This brought him into close and fruitful collaboration with Canon J.E. Jackson, a founder member of the Society and one of its two General Secretaries, who later paid tribute to the help which Kite had given him 'as an auxiliary', adding that he had often told his friends who wondered how he got through the work, 'I could not have done it without Mr E. Kite to support me.'[12] One outcome of this collaboration was the publication by the Society in 1862 of Canon Jackson's revised edition of Aubrey's *Topographical Collections of Wiltshire*, for which Kite did 42 plates, mostly of heraldic devices, but also including drawings and plans.

It must have seemed to the young grocer that an attractive avenue was opening up which promised to give him scope for pursuing his interests and exercising his skills in the service of the young but growing archaeological society, and maybe even to offer him a career. It is true that £15 a year was not a living wage even in those days (the Seend schoolmaster was paid £30 a year at about this date); but commissions for illustrations were increasing, and the Society was already hoping to acquire premises of its own. It now began to rent a room over the Devizes Savings Bank, and in November 1857 a subcommittee was appointed to draw up a list of the duties which would be expected of the Assistant Secretary and 'to communicate them to Mr Kite'.[13] He was to attend at the room as required, with the title of 'Assistant Secretary and Curator', and supervise the issue and return of library books, attend to the distribution of the *Magazine*, and have some responsibility for the Society's collections, besides 'making himself generally useful' at the Annual General Meeting, especially with regard to the 'temporary museum' mounted on these occasions.[14]

It seems, however, that already things were not going altogether smoothly, for Canon Jackson, writing to Kite in February 1858 to express his pleasure that Kite had accepted the redefined office, was at pains to dispel some doubts which the latter had evidently expressed. It appears that many subscriptions were in arrears, as a result of which the Rev. A.C. Smith, who had been added as a third General Secretary in 1857, had taken over the collection of subscriptions himself, and that there had been delay in settling accounts due to Kite, both of which points had probably been taken by Kite as casting doubt on the confidence which the Secretaries had in him.[15] But in spite of Jackson's reassurance, the difficulties soon recurred over arrears of subscriptions and missing library books, and the Assistant Secretary's reluctance or inability to round up the defaulting members.

By June 1861 the Council were so concerned at this situation that they instructed Kite within three weeks to furnish the hon. secretaries with a full and detailed statement 'accompanied with all the necessary vouchers and books to enable the auditors to fulfil their task'. This had the desired effect, and in March 1862 the Council were presented with the general accounts up to December 1861, 'accurately prepared by the Assistant Secretary', balanced, and audited. However, the trouble soon started again, and this time Canon Jackson was no longer at hand to smooth things over; he had decided to retire in 1864, and at the annual meeting in November of that year Mr William Cunnington joined the Rev. A.G. Smith as general secretary.[16] A few months earlier, the Council had again requested Mr Kite to make immediate application for subscriptions due, and in November 1864 they ruled that in future the subscriptions should be collected in January. In spite of this they found in April 1866 that no steps had been taken to collect sub-scriptions for that year, and directed Mr Kite to remedy this immediately. Finally, in August 1866, the Council resolved that 'Mr Kite, having failed for some time past to discharge satisfactorily the duties of Assistant Secretary, his services in that capacity should be discontinued from the time of the Annual Meeting' (December 1866).[17]

Kite's reaction to his dismissal was never made public. In fact the writer of his obituary in the *Magazine* did not know what lay behind it, merely describing it as 'owing to some disagreement in which he thought that he had not been fairly treated', and regretting that this had led to his making few contributions to the *Magazine* in the following decades.[18] However, it does

11. WANHS Council Minute-book, 1853–1905, Minute of 20 June 1855. The early years of the Society are fully recorded in its *Centenary History*, published in 1953.
12. Letter of 1 January 1867, further cited below: see note 19. The other secretary was the Rev. W.C. Lukis.
13. Minute of 10 November 1857.
14. Minute of 19 January 1858.
15. Letter of 16 February 1858: see note 19.
16. The other joint secretary, the Rev. W.C. Lukis, had resigned on leaving the diocese in 1861. The appointment of Secretaries is not reported systematically in *WAM*, but can be deduced from the reports and printed notices of Annual Meetings, many of which are in Cunnington's interleaved copy of *WAM* in Devizes Museum. The relevant dates are: Rev. W.C. Lukis 1853–61; Canon Jackson 1853–63; Rev. A.C. Smith 1857–90; Mr William Cunnington 1864–76.
17. Minute of 3 August 1866.
18. *WAM*, vol. 45, p. 94. The *Gazette* obituarist seems unaware that Kite ever served as Assistant Secretary, and there is no mention of Kite in the long account of the Society's early years written by Capt. B.M. Cunnington in *WAM*, vol. 45, p. 1 f. The *Centenary History* (see note 11 above) refers to Kite only in connection with the Library, and gives incorrect dates for the resignations of Jackson and Lukis.

not take much imagination to see that dunning respected citizens for overdue subscriptions and chasing books and manuscripts, borrowed but not returned, would be no easy or congenial task to the young grocer, especially at a time when he was canvassing for subscriptions to finance the publication of his book on the Wiltshire brasses. In any case his time must have been heavily engaged by the work on brasses (involving visits to churches all over the county), and by the illustrations for Jackson's *Aubrey*. That personalities also entered into the disagreement is clear from an interesting series of letters from Jackson to Kite, which the latter evidently preserved with care, and which eventually found their way into a cuttings book in the Museum Library.[19] It seems that in December 1866 there was still some question of Kite's appointment being renewed, and that he had written to Jackson complaining of his treatment by the secretaries, and expressing doubts about the prospects of the Society under the present management. Jackson, writing on 27 December 1866, while giving full credit to the contribution made by Kite to the work of the Society, is careful not to be drawn into any criticism of his own successors; he advises Kite to retire from a position 'which must have ceased to be agreeable to yourself, and is becoming embarrassing to them', and 'never [to] do or say anything which might be construed into an attempt to disparage them', adding – 'you have earned a very good reputation by your own industry and abilities in the cause of the Society, and can very safely repose upon it'. A few days later (1 January 1867) he wrote: 'You have done most wisely in retiring. My only regret, for your own sake, is that you did not do so when *I* did. For I had a little surmise that (for various reasons) you might possibly not find the new Pharaohs of Devizes altogether so familiar and easy to work under, as the Old one of Leigh Delamere'.

Whatever may have been the rights and wrongs of this episode, it is a fact that Kite's articles and illustrations in the *Magazine* cease abruptly after 1866, and the loss of this outlet must have been doubly galling in that it came at a time when he was becoming proficient in the new technique of photography, and the *Magazine* was beginning to experiment with reproducing photographs; for as a result of his disagreement with the Council he lost the chance of tendering for these.[20] Some years later the appearance of *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* gave him a fresh opening for the publication of his antiquarian researches and drawings, and he made many contributions to the eight volumes, which were issued from 1896 to 1916.

The period of his service in the Society had also seen the publication of Kite's only non-historical work, a translation of the Song of Solomon into the Wiltshire dialect. It was one of a series of small books, which also included a work on the Dorset dialect by William Barnes, and it was issued in 1860 in a limited edition of 250, 'of which one on thick paper'. The Museum Library has a copy, from which a couple of typical extracts may be quoted:

I be th'rwoäs o' Sharon, an'th' lily o'th' valleys.
As th' lilly amang tharns, zo uz my love amang the moydens.

Stoy m' wi' wine, comfort m' wi' apples, vor I be zick o' love.

After 1866, with no prospect of a salaried post with the Society, Kite explored another avenue. While helping with the grocery business, and carrying it on for a while after his father's death in 1875, he also dealt in pictures, and became one of the first professional photographers in the district, specializing in outdoor pictures. An article in the *Wiltshire Advertiser* of 4 February 1909 mentions that his collection of photographic plates is most interesting. I have only come across one authenticated example of his work in this field – a view of Place House, Melksham, taken in 1864, shortly before it was demolished, which has been pasted into a volume of William Cunnington's interleaved copy of the *Magazine*.[21] It would be interesting to know if any other prints are extant, and if any of the original plates exist.

By 1877 he had given up the grocery business, and he appears in directories as 'artist' (1878) and 'photographer' (1880). By this time, however, he had begun to make his hobby his career by doing freelance work. He undertook a number of commissions from county families to compile their genealogies, and this involved much travelling round the countryside, mainly on foot, as well as frequent visits to London, travelling in early days by stage coach.

Although he remained the owner of no. 1 St John's Street until 1898, he evidently decided that his professional interests would be better served by living in some of the villages of N Wiltshire. From 1885 to 1893 he lived at Seend, and he appears in directories of this period in the Seend section, as 'artist'. He rented a cottage near Seend Green from William Newman, and also lived for a short time in the old Malthouse Farm, now known as Dial House.[22] During this time he compiled much of the material for a history of Seend.

19. 'Wilts Archaeological Notes' (Goddard Papers, vol. 32), pp. 35–6.
20. Minutes of 3 April 1866 and 3 August 1866.
21. Vol. 24, at p. 150. The print measures 15 × 11½ cm (6 × 4½ ins). It was reproduced in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, vol. 4, opp. p. 241.
22. Wiltshire Record Office 1850/8, 472/9: his occupation of the cottage can be traced from 1885 to 1889. Malthouse Farm: Cuttings, vol. 2, p. 287.

The draft prospectus and table of contents (dated 1895) survives,[23] but the obituary in the *Magazine* states that although he wrote a considerable portion of the history, he never finished it, and 'the manuscript, which passeed out of his own hands, has entirely disappeared'. Many of the cuttings in the Museum cuttings books, especially book 2, are further evidence of his investigations into Seend history.

In 1894 he moved to North Bradley for two years. For the next four years he lived at Yarnbrook Side, West Ashton; in 1899, when he was no longer registered as a voter in Devizes, his abode is described in the electoral register as a dwelling house in Kettle Lane, West Ashton. From 1901 to 1909 he lived at Bodman's Cottage, Mill Lane, Poulshot, and evidence of his attachment to this village may be found in the numerous cuttings about it, mainly in cuttings book 8.

Early in the 1900s Kite's name begins to crop up again in the *Magazine*, usually in notices of articles which he had contributed to *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, and in 1901 he and Arthur Schomberg of Seend (another enthusiastic antiquary and genealogist) compiled an index to volumes 25–32 of the *Magazine*. In 1909 he moved back to Devizes, living in a house at first called no. 18 Forty Acres, and later 18 Longford Road. He was already 77, but his output of articles continued unabated. After the demise of *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* he found another channel for publication in the *Devizes Gazette*, to which he contributed, between 1917 and 1929, 40 articles, of which 15 formed a series on old houses in Devizes.[24] These are packed with interesting details. Kite's observant eye notes stone mullions and transoms at the *back* of a house; the Lamb Inn's previous name of the Scribbling Horse enables him to link it with the wool trade in Devizes; consideration of two houses in Bridewell Street leads to a note on the Wiltshire properties of the knights Hospitallers of St John. Occasionally there is a touch of dry humour, as when he notes that Brownston House 'has been ascribed to Sir Christopher Wren, but this is somewhat negatived by the fact that at the time of its erection Sir Christopher had already reached the advanced age of 86' (and an additional joke for us is that Kite himself was 87 when he wrote this).

It is clear that in compiling these articles he was drawing on wide-ranging research in the Public Record Office, parish chests, title deeds and wills, combined with detailed observation on the spot. Unfortunately the fact that they were published in the ephemeral medium of a local newspaper precluded references to his sources, such as, but for the unfortunate breach, he would have provided for articles in the *Magazine*, and were liberally given in his articles for *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* while it lasted. Perhaps the best example of how Kite's erudition and wide-ranging interest could illuminate a topic is the article on Judge Robert Nicholas in volume 3 of *Notes and Queries:* he corrects a current mistake about Nicholas's parentage and birthplace, gives his full pedigree, and collects together the facts of his life from national and local sources.

The breach with the Society was completely healed in 1924, when he was made an honorary member (the only one at that time) for 'the great value of his contributions for so many years to the history, the topography, and the genealogy of the county of Wiltshire'. He remained active until well into his 98th year, regularly walking round to the *Gazette* office to deliver his latest article. Contributions in that year included part of the series on the old houses of Devizes, and articles on a Chirton Martyr, on Melksham Forest, and on Devizes Market. His eyesight and handwriting remained clear to the end, and he had been confined by illness for only a few weeks when, on 9 January 1930, he died. He never married, and according to his obituary in the *Gazette* he left no relatives. One of his four 'immediate mourners' at the funeral was Miss M.A. Nash, who had been his housekeeper for over 50 years. The obituary records that Kite had often been pressed to write the story of his life, but had always refused to do so, showing the same reluctance to intrude personal details on the facts which we have already noticed in connection with his notes on Devizes schools.

In some ways Edward Kite seems to stand in the long line of amateur antiquarians of whom John Aubrey is the best-known example: like scholarly magpies, they could not resist any tit-bit of detail about the past, but often lacked the general perspective or the time to work it into a significant whole. But Wiltshire history owes Kite an immeasurable debt of gratitude for the quantity of information which he assembled, much of it involving the laborious transcription by hand of old documents, often preserving for posterity inscriptions or sayings which would otherwise have been lost. And even if we are sometimes irked by his failure to date his own notes, we cannot fail to admire the tenacity with which he carried on his investigations for more than 70 years, and the high standard of accuracy which he maintained in all his work, whether as a young man of 21 or as a veteran of 97.

23. Cuttings, vol. 2, p. 185.

24. A list of his published writings, including his contributions to *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* and the *Gazette*, is included at the end of the obituary in *WAM*, vol. 45, p. 94.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 87–93.

The Educational Crisis in Salisbury, 1888–1890

by JAYNE WOODHOUSE

The paper examines the educational crisis in Salisbury during the late 1880s, when the Church successfully resisted Nonconformist pressure for the establishment of board schools, as provided for by the 1870 Education Act. The events of 1888–90 in Salisbury are described, and the way the Church interests maintained their position. The role of Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury is emphasized, and the issues raised by the crisis concerning the Bishop's position, the cost, political implications and the class implications are explored.

INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1870, elementary education was in the hands of denominationally based organizations. Schools were maintained by private subscription and fees, and supported in some instances by a Government grant. The role of the Established Church was particularly important in determining the structure of education during this period. The Church regarded the provision of schools as an extension of its authority, and religious instruction as a means of strengthening Anglican influence.

The methods of financing and administering elementary education became a major issue during the 19th century, dividing Nonconformists and the Established Church. Many parties pressed for some sort of state intervention, where the influence of the Church would be moderated. The pressure for reform intensified when it became clear that the voluntary system could no longer cope with the increasing demand for elementary education. The 1870 Education Act was essentially a compromise between these conflicting elements. It provided for state intervention at the local level through the election of school boards. These were empowered to meet any deficiences in accommodation by the establishment of board schools, financed through the rates. However, by allowing the voluntary denominational schools to remain, the Act encouraged the continuation of religious hostility. Rivalry between Church and Chapel became focused on the boards, as the struggle for the control of education continued.[1]

By the 1880s the voluntary bodies were feeling the competition of the boards more acutely. The board schools, with far greater resources provided by the rates, generally offered better facilities, a wider range of subjects, and often higher standards.[2] Many voluntary schools had already given up the struggle and transferred to the boards. However, some areas, such as Salisbury, Birkenhead, Winchester and York, put up a determined resistance to the spread of the state system.[3] The example of Salisbury illustrates in some detail how one local campaign to prevent the introduction of a board school was successfully carried out. It highlights many of the controversies surrounding elementary education during the late 19th century, and shows how, in an area with a strong Anglican tradition, the Church was able to maintain a virtual stranglehold on the elementary system.

THE SALISBURY CRISIS

During the years 1888–90, a shortage of elementary school accommodation in the city led to a vigorous campaign by the Nonconformists for the establishment of a board school. The opposition of the Church resulted in a bitter controversy, which featured widely in the local and national press, and was debated as a test-case in the Commons. In spite of a determined effort, the Nonconformists failed to achieve their objective, and the voluntary system in Salisbury was upheld and strengthened. The Church continued to exert its authority, to the extent that no board school or council school was built until 1924.

The significance of this issue and its eventual outcome can be better appreciated by considering the character of Salisbury at the time. It also helps to reveal how the Church was able to determine subsequent events, in spite of the active opposition of a large and vocal lobby.

During the late 19th century, Salisbury's main eco-

1. N.J. Richards, 'Religious controversy and the School Boards 1870–1902', *BJES*, vol. 18 (1970), pp. 180–96.
2. M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education* (London: Macmillan, 1964), p. 150.
3. G. Sutherland, *Policy Making and Elementary Education 1870–95* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 98.

nomic importance lay as a market town. There had been areas of expansion to the N and E of the city, but these were mainly housing schemes. There was very little industrial development, and the city retained an essentially rural and insular outlook. In this situation, the authority of the Anglican Church, particularly as vested in the bishopric, was a powerful influence. As a result, the Nonconformist body, although a long established and large minority, did not exert the impact on local affairs that it often did in larger, and more industrialized towns. It was within this framework that the Church sought to maintain its authority over the educational provision in Salisbury, despite the national trend towards a state system.

At the time of the Salisbury controversy, elementary education was still in the hands of voluntarists, with places for 2101 children provided by five National and two British schools.[4] Pressure by the Nonconformists for the establishment of a board school was of long standing. It began as early as 1871, when both British schools were offered to the newly established board by their managers. The offer was rejected, in the absence of one member, by the casting vote of the chairman. This action was repeated at regular intervals throughout the board's three years of office. In subsequent elections, the Church party maintained a majority of 4 : 3. Nonconformist members repeatedly moved for the establishment of a board school, but were continually defeated.

The situation finally came to a head in February 1888. The Education Department wrote to the board drawing attention to a deficiency in elementary school accommodation to the north of the city, in an area of recent housing development. This was compounded by a threat of closure from Scots Lane British School. The building had been officially recognized as dangerous for at least three years, and the Education Department was recommending that it should be closed down. Both British schools were also heavily in debt, and unable to undertake a programme of structural improvements. However, the owners of the buildings were willing to offer them to the board at a 'peppercorn rent'.[5] It seemed to Nonconformists and many Church supporters alike, that the best way to solve the financial problems of the British schools was by replacing them with a board school. A mutual, though unwritten, understanding by both parties agreed that this would be an acceptable course of action. In an attempt to force the issue, the second British school, Fisherton Street, also offered to close.[6]

The idea of a board school alarmed many Church supporters, who found it totally objectionable. It particularly outraged the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr John Wordsworth, (a relative of the poet) who had always taken a keen personal interest in elementary education. The Bishop was an ardent supporter of the voluntary system, which he wished to maintain in Salisbury at all costs. He began to spearhead the attack against the establishment of a board school. His personal role in organizing support for this cause was to play a crucial part in subsequent events.

At the Bishop's instigation, the managers and supporters of the National schools formed the Salisbury Church Day School Association (SCDSA) in April 1888. Their aim was to raise funds to meet the deficiency in accommodation by extending the voluntary system. Later that month they were already offering to supply an additional infant school to be run on National lines.[7] These attempts to strengthen the voluntary system aroused a great deal of opposition, especially when the British schools were forced to close through lack of funds. The shortage of accommodation was now made much more acute, with all existing places in the hands of the Church. As a result, the parents of 700 children were faced with no option but to send them to schools whose religious doctrines they disagreed with. The Nonconformists demanded that the deficiency of accommodation should be remedied by a board school, in order to secure undenominational education, and break the monopoly of the Church.

The issue became focused on the impending school board elections of February 1889, which were fought entirely on denominational grounds. The level of interest taken in the elections is shown by the number of votes cast: 14,978 as compared with 9215 in 1880. Although the Nonconformist candidates gained over 6500 of these votes, they were unable to prevent the Church party returning four members, and once again securing a majority.[8]

Throughout 1889 the controversy intensified, until popular reports began to refer to the 'educational crisis' in the city. Supporters of the voluntary system continued lengthy negotiations with the Education Department for time to supply the deficiency. They were aided by the Church Extension Society, who offered financial help, and the Kilburn Sisters, an Anglican Sisterhood of somewhat extreme views, who agreed to supply an additional infants school. Supporters of both parties held public meetings, appealed from the pulpit, wrote petitions to the Education Department, and

4. PRO, Education Department Files, ED 16/322.
5. Salisbury School Board Minutes, 28 February 1888. WRO, Trowbridge.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 18 April 1888.
8. Ibid., 20 February 1889.

lobbied Parliament. The issue dominated the local press, and featured widely in national newspapers. The Bishop threw the full weight of his ecclesiastical office behind the voluntarists, while Edward Pye-Smith (Vice-Chairman of the school board) emerged as spokesman for the Nonconformists.

At one point it seemed as if the voluntarists' efforts would fail, but the situation was short-lived. In June 1889 the Education Department were still not satisfied with the board's attempts to remedy the deficiency, and threatened to issue a formal requisition. The Bishop meanwhile announced his intention to found and maintain at his own expense, a higher-grade elementary school in the cathedral grounds, to cater for 200 boys.[9] The following month the Education Department gave its approval to the final plans submitted by the board to extend the voluntary system.[10]

The Nonconformists continued to protest at this decision. They gained the support of A.J. Mundella, who as former Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, and President of the British and Foreign School Society, was a formidable spokesman on education. Mundella raised a question in the Commons and appealed to Parliament on the situation in Salisbury. He attempted to show that it was the statutory duty of the Education Department to compel the establishment of a board school, but was defeated in debate.[11]

By June 1890 the crisis had passed. The Nonconformists had been defeated at every turn. Unable to secure a majority on the school board, they were unable to achieve their objective of a board school. An ardent and vocal campaign in the city and in Parliament had failed to win the support of the Education Department. The Government was bound by the limits of the 1870 Act, and impelled to uphold the board's majority decision to extend the voluntary system. The completion of a building programme which increased the accommodation of the National schools secured the domination of the Church over elementary education in Salisbury. Although the Nonconformists continued to voice their objections, they were never again to be such a serious challenge to the voluntary system.

THE ISSUES

The educational crisis in Salisbury highlights a number of areas that were of major concern to educational policy in the late 19th century. It illustrates particularly the importance of the religious issue, which was an underlying factor throughout the local campaign. To the members of the Church in Salisbury, denominational religious education in schools was of the utmost importance, and could only be secured by the continuation of the voluntary system. It was through the early and continuing instruction of children in the tenets of the Anglican faith that the tide of immorality and ungodliness could be held at bay. The value of religious education was advoated on behalf of the SCDSA by Chancellor Swayne, a former member of the school board:

> It is a matter of unspeakable importance that in our public elementary schools, religion should have a settled home . . . this is only attainable by 12 means of what are called voluntary . . . schools[12]

The greatest objection to a board school lay in the fact that it would offer secular education, or in the Bishop's words, 'a colourless and uncertain ratepayers' religion'.[13] Members of the Established Church were determined that such a system should never be introduced in Salisbury.

The Nonconformists were equally anxious to secure religious education for their children, but of an undenominational nature. After the closure of their schools, they were placed in a most unsatisfactory position. They could either permit their children to learn Anglican doctrines, or claim the protection of the 'conscience clause', which would cut them off from all religious instruction. The latter course was already proving unsatisfactory. Mundella received many complaints from parents that their wishes were being ignored by the National schools. In several instances children had received religious instruction contrary to the demands of their parents. In other cases, exclusion had meant children being shut out of the classroom in cold, dark corridors, without any supervision.[14]

The Nonconformists were further antagonized when it was proposed to hand over the running of the new infants school to the Kilburn Sisters. They were outraged that a sect with such 'extreme doctrines' could be deemed preferable to the teaching offered by a board school.

Pye-Smith clearly stated the objectives of his supporters: they demanded schools entirely free from denominational control, but with teaching based on the Bible.[15]

9. Ibid., 26 June 1889.
10. Ibid., 29 August 1889.
11. *Hansard*, 3rd series (Commons), 25 March 1890, vol. 342, cols. 1825–63.
12. *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5 January 1889. This, and many of the following press reports, can be found in a scrapbook of newscuttings compiled by a Nonconformist supporter, and located in Salisbury Local Studies Library.
13. *The Times*, 28 December 1889.
14. *Hansard*, 3 March 1890, vol. 341, cols. 1639–40.
15. *Journal*, 23 November 1889.

At no time did any Nonconformist spokesman suggest that a board school should be without religious instruction. On the contrary, they were all stalwart members of Baptist or Methodist congregations, to whom the idea of education without religious instruction was as objectionable as it was to the staunchest Anglican. However, even a board school which safeguarded teaching from the Bible failed to satisfy the voluntarists.

The role of the Bishop

The Church party received immense support from the personal intervention of Bishop Wordsworth, whose influence proved a focal point of the campaign. In a city with a strong Anglican tradition, the weight of Dr Wordsworth's office helped to strengthen and validate the Church cause. It also helped to rule out any possibility of a compromise solution. Initially it is possible that a board school might have been established to the satisfaction of all parties, had it not been for the intervention of the Bishop. Prior to the school board elections of February 1889, there had been a mutual understanding on both sides that when the British schools closed they would be replaced by a board school. This undertaking had been considered sufficiently binding for Pye-Smith to mention it throughout the period in question. Mundella was also confident enough in its authenticity to refer to it in the Commons debate:

> Before the election came on there was an informal understanding arrived at by men of influence on both sides that if the Scots Lane Schools were closed a School Board school should be opened. I do not say there was a compact or written agreement, but there was an understanding as stated by men of high honour whose word is as good as that of the Bishop himself.[16]

The Bishop, however, denied that any such undertaking had ever existed, and proceeded to force the issue along the lines of a personal campaign. To Dr Wordsworth, denominational education was the mainstay of the elementary system. He believed that board schools, with secular instruction, opened the way to atheism and vice. They also challenged the authority and control of the Church. He was determined that in a time of mounting competition, Salisbury should remain a bulwark of the voluntary system.

> I will never willingly allow, declared the Bishop at a public meeting, I will do all in my power to prevent the establishment of a Board school as long as I have a penny in my pocket.[17]

To secure his objective, Bishop Wordsworth regularly addressed meetings, wrote prodigiously to the press, and encouraged his clergy to rally support from the pulpit. In a series of letter published in the press, the Bishop and Mundella crossed swords on the Salisbury crisis, bringing his viewpoint before a wide public. Dr Wordsworth further occupied a central role in the efforts of the SCDSA, which raised £14,000 to extend the National schools. He also helped to secure the financial support of the Church Extension Society. His personal guarantee that the cost of extending and maintaining the voluntary system could be met by private subscription helped to persuade the Education Department to approve the final plans. This was in spite of the fact that there was still a substantial deficit of £1200 by November 1889.[18]

Bishop Wordsworth also went to great personal expense and trouble to meet the deficiency in accommodation: holding classes in the palace, and founding, from his own pocket, a higher-grade elementary school. His actions were regarded as gestures of the highest principle and generosity by his supporters. His opponents were alarmed at the extent to which the Bishop was prepared to use the influence of his office to strengthen the control of the Church. They argued that the establishment of a higher-grade school did not help to remedy the lack of school places, as its fees of 9d. a week placed it beyond the reach of the majority of working-class parents. Nonconformist members of the school board were further antagonized by the willingness of the Education Department to correspond directly with the Bishop. Pye-Smith claimed that it seemed as if Dr Wordsworth had sole charge of elementary education in Salisbury, and that he was being officially encouraged to act independently of the board.[19]

The cost

Of secondary importance to the religious issue only was the question of cost. The 1870 Act allowed the expense of building and maintaining board schools to be met from the rates. The managers of the British schools were therefore reluctant to continue funding them by private subscription as they felt 'the burden of building and supporting public schools should be borne by the whole of the ratepayers'.[20] This was interpreted by the Church supporters as an attempt by Nonconformists to renege on their financial obligations. They accused them of trying to shift the cost of their schools onto the rates for purely mercenary reasons. Stanley Leighton, MP, claimed the British schools had been closed:

16. *Hansard*, 25 March 1890, vol. 342, col. 1828.
17. *The Times*, 17 October 1889.
18. *South Wiltshire Express*, 30 November 1889.
19. *Journal*, 23 November 1889.
20. PRO, ED 16/322.

because the British and Foreign denominationalists thought they could get the religious teaching they desired propagated at the expense of the ratepayers and not at their own expense.[21]

If the Nonconformists were successful in establishing a board school, the Church party would not only have to pay for the upkeep of their own schools, but also contribute via the rates to the expenses of the board. The voluntary system was widely represented by its supporters as saving the ratepayers from an enormous financial burden. E.H. Hulse, the local Conservative MP, summarized this view in the Commons debates:

I cannot see any legal or moral reason why the School Board should be called upon to spend thousands of the ratepayers' money when the cost of providing for the education of the children is readily, willingly, and cheerfully supplied from private sources.[22]

The two key issues of religion and cost were at the heart of the Salisbury controversy. On one hand, the Nonconformists demanded the right to secular education, financed from public funds. On the other, the Church party was determined to maintain denominational instruction, while avoiding the burden of additional rates. The four Anglican candidates in the 1889 school board elections were returned on the strength of their proposals to secure the place of religion in schools, at no extra cost:

We think it most important that all children should receive religious and moral training, and that this object can be best attained in Schools of a Denominational character . . . If elected our endeavour will be to . . . maintain, as far as possible, the system of Voluntary Schools . . . Our desire is that the advantages accruing from the voluntary action and management which now prevail should not be lost, and that the additional burden upon the rates which Board Schools entail should, if possible, be avoided.[23]

The political issue

As a result of questioning the authority of the Church, and focusing on the two vital issues of religion and cost, the Nonconformists were accused of sinister and ulterior motives in their attempts to secure a board school. Their objective came to be viewed as a subversive and political attack on the establishment. Its supporters were charged by their opponents, and the local press, with deliberately engineering events to undermine the whole system. It was alleged that the British schools had been closed deliberately to provoke a crisis. It was said there had been no attempt to find the money for their upkeep, and that offers of financial help had been refused.[24] This was entirely untrue. The shortage of school places was aggravated, but not caused, by the closure of Scots Lane and Fisherton Street. The Education Department made it clear on several occasions that Salisbury needed a new infant school 'irrespectively of the closing of the British School'.[25] Moreover, many attempts to raise funds had been unsuccessful. The dangerous nature of the Scots Lane building, and a deficit of several hundred pounds made it impossible for the managers to meet their commitments without the help of public funds.

The desire for a board school was interpreted as a wholesale attack on the Church and the voluntary system. Pye-Smith continually refuted this accusation, and repeatedly stated that his supporters had no objection whatsoever to the continuation of National schools in the city. This had little effect on the leading local paper, the conservative *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, which came down vociferously on the side of the Church party. In a series of editorials, the Nonconformists were subjected to a scathing attack; Pye-Smith being singled out as the target of a personal, verbal assault.

It was further widely claimed that the demand for secular education was politically motivated, and that agitators were using Salisbury for their subversive activities. *The Times* carried the mild rebuke that

the many religious-minded Nonconformists have been ill-advised in acquiescing in the action of their spokesmen.[26]

The Journal was more vehement in its accusations:

Beyond political agitators in the city, and those anxious to stir up strife and arouse sectarian animosity, we do not believe there is any demand for a Board School.[27]

This viewpoint was carried over into Parliament. Hulse was convinced that the schools question was

a sectarian grievance, fostered and encouraged by certain reverend gentlemen who are anxious to make political capital out of it. The closing of the British schools was, in the opinion of many, only a piece of political strategy, and wholly unnecessary.[28]

The Nonconformist spokesmen continually asserted that they regarded the controversy solely as an educational issue, and that their desire to secure freedom of conscience in schools had no political motivation. Their attack on the Church was focused only on its monopoly

21. *Hansard*, 25 March 1890, vol. 342, col. 1849.
22. Ibid., col. 1843.
23. *Journal*, 2 February 1889.
24. *Journal*, 19 October 1889.
25. PRO, ED 16/322.
26. *The Times*, 28 November 1889.
27. *Journal*, 22 June 1889.
28. *Hansard*, 25 March 1890, vol. 342, col. 1840.

of education: they had no wish to destroy the voluntary system, but wanted a board school to exist alongside it. This argument tended to be submerged by the weight of rhetoric, particularly in the local press, which described the Nonconformists as a group of sectarian agitators. This viewpoint would be long standing. It is certainly the one expressed in the biography of Bishop Wordsworth, written some 25 years after the event:

> the militant Nonconformists devised a plan by which they expected to obtain their desire of introducing undenominational education into the city. To obtain this end the Nonconformists closed in succession several schools, financially solvent, with an honourable history and providing good education. The scheme . . . was doubtless promoted by politicians outside Salisbury.[29]

However, in the end it was the limitations of the 1870 Act, and the inability of the Education Department to abandon these constraints, which eventually secured the collapse of the Nonconformist lobby. Pye-Smith and his supporters tried to force the hand of the board by a deputation to the Education Department in November 1889.[30] They claimed that the board had not fulfilled its obligations. It was almost two years since the Department had written to the board drawing attention to the shortage of school places. In spite of the threat of a requisition, the board had still not remedied the deficiency. The Nonconformists asserted that the Education Department was allowing the voluntarists to procrastinate, when it was their duty to compel the establishment of a board school. They further claimed that the structure of the board allowed the Church party to dominate the education question. In spite of securing a substantial proportion of the votes at the elections, the Nonconformists were unable to formulate any policy, as they were continually outvoted by a majority of one.

These same arguments were put before Parliament by Mundella in March 1890, when he moved that

> the action of the Education Department in reference to the supply of public schools accommodation in . . . Salisbury is contrary to the spirit and intention of the Education Act of 1870 and injurious to the interests of Education.[31]

Mundella claimed that it was the statutory duty of a school board to supply a deficiency. The Education Department had been negligent in its willingness to allow other bodies to perform the work only a board was empowered to do.

In his rejection of Mundella's argument, Hart Dyke, as the authoritative voice of the Education Department, effectively ended the Nonconformist campaign. The overriding principle by which the Department was guided was enshrined in the 1870 Act:

> the School Board system is to supplement and not supplant voluntary effort . . . It is only after this appeal to voluntary effort has been found to be fruitless that the Department is to step in and take the necessary means for supplying the deficiency through the agency of the School Board.[32]

Hart Dyke was convinced that the plans to extend the voluntary schools in Salisbury would effectively remedy the shortage of accommodation. Mundella's claim that there was a legal obligation to force the establishment of a board school was, therefore, unfounded. Furthermore, Hart Dyke asserted, the wishes of the locality were being expressed through its elected board members. A majority of Church supporters had been returned through the democratic process of the elections. It followed that the board was fully justified in acting in the interests of the majority.

The defeat of Mundella's motion secured Parliamentary approval for the action of the voluntarists, and signalled the end of the Nonconformist campaign.

The class question

Finally it remains to consider to what extent the educational crisis in Salisbury was a working-class concern, affecting as it did the education of their children. Certainly both sides claimed the support of working men at their meetings and on their petitions. However the level of working-class involvement in issues based so largely on denominational factors is always difficult to assess.

The advocates of a board school appear to have had the more direct contact with the working classes. Two of the Nonconformist members of the school board, Joshua Phillips and Josiah Saunders, were respectively a baker and a housepainter, and the only working-class representatives. They spoke regularly at board and public meetings, although Pye-Smith, their most vocal advocate, belonged as a solicitor to the professional classes. There is further evidence that other working men attended and addressed Nonconformist meetings on the educational issue. They also wrote letters to *The Times* and the local press in support of their objectives. On the basis of this evidence, there does seem to have been real support from the working class for the Nonconformist cause.

29. E.W. Watson, *Life of Bishop John Wordsworth*. (London: Longmans, Green, 1915), p. 202.
30. *The Times*, 26 November 1889.
31. *Hansard*, 25 March 1890, vol. 342, col. 1825.
32. Ibid., cols. 1852–3.

Conversely, it is the clergy and middle class who feature almost exclusively in the Church campaign. It can be suggested that the introduction of a board school may not have been as such a threat by the working class. As the National schools were not faced with the prospect of closure, these parents had little personal motivation to support the Bishop's party. It seems that the principles of denominational education and voluntarism were of more immediate concern to those with a vested interest in the Church. To the working classes, a school's personal reputation or its proximity to home was often a more important factor than its religious bias.

Although the extent of working-class involvement is difficult to ascertain, it is clear that the education question was used by the middle classes on both sides to air their personal grievances and prejudices.

CONCLUSION[33]

In conclusion, the educational crisis in Salisbury illustrates the struggle in one particular locality to prevent the establishment of a board school. A number of factors contributed to the success of the Church party. A long-established Anglican tradition encouraged the influence of the Church on local policy. This was channelled and directed by the considerable personal authority of the Bishop. Furthermore, the voluntarists had the wholehearted support of a predominantly conservative local press, which did much to publicize and reinforce their aims. Finally, the permissive nature of the 1870 Act itself allowed the extension of the voluntary system, in spite of the protests of a large minority.

The Salisbury controversy highlights the importance of the religious issue to educational policy in the 19th century. It shows how in one city the Church was successful in its claim to determine the form and structure of elementary education. The authority of the Established Church in Salisbury would remain unchallenged until well into the present century.

Acknowledgements. I would like to thank Dr J.S. Hurt, and Eric Smith for their help in the preparation of this article.

33. Since this article was written, a brief account of the affair has been published by Dr J.H. Chandler in *Endless Street* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), pp. 188–90.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 94–104.

Small Rodents in Wiltshire: Voles and Mice

by PATRICK J. DILLON *and* MARION BROWNE

The paper surveys the occurrence of six species of voles and mice in Wiltshire, using data from historical records and from systematic survey over the years 1976–83. The methods of data collection are described, and the new records are set out. The discussion identifies patterns in the data in respect of distribution, habitat choice, mortality and predation, and field signs.

INTRODUCTION

A 'small rodent' is here defined as being a terrestrial mammal belonging to the order Rodentia and having an average adult weight of 50 g or less. The six species thus defined are the bank vole *Clethrionomys glareolus*, the field vole *Microtus agrestis*, the wood mouse *Apodemus sylvaticus*, the yellow-necked mouse *A. flavicollis*, the harvest mouse *Micromys minutus* and the house mouse *Mus musculus*. The order used follows Corbet (1975). The criteria also apply to the dormouse *Muscardinus avellanarius* which, as it occupies a separate arboreal niche, will be considered in a separate paper.

Records from historical sources and from earlier surveys prior to 1976 were available. During 1976 mammal recording was established on a firmer basis, recording sheets were printed and circulated, and records were actively sought using every available recording method. This paper summarizes known incidence and distribution of small rodents in Wiltshire up to the end of 1983 and presents available information on aspects of their biology and behaviour.

METHOD

Provisional distribution maps were established from information extracted from the National Biological Records Centre and from known local sources both published and manuscript (Dillon and Noad 1980; Dillon 1984) up to 1976. The information was sparse and the resulting maps showed a patchy and incomplete coverage. Accordingly, a mammal recording sheet was prepared and circulated throughout the county to natural history and conservation societies, to schools, to members of Women's Institutes, to farmers and to everyone who had ever submitted a record in the past; field meetings and live trapping programmes were organized for the purpose of studying the identification of live specimens and for the study of location and habitat; lectures and workshop meetings were held for the purpose of studying the identification of skeletal remains from owl pellets and other sources; short articles were published in the local press and in the newsletters and bulletins of several local societies; individual natural historians took part in a national

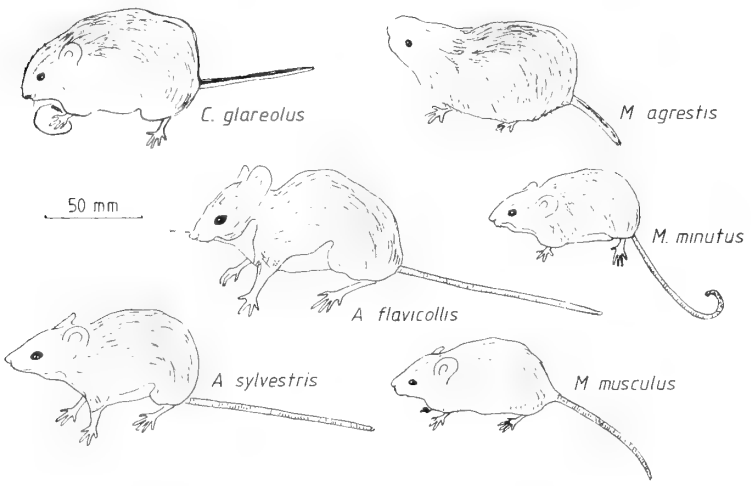

Figure 1. Comparative sizes and proportions of small rodents. 1:4.

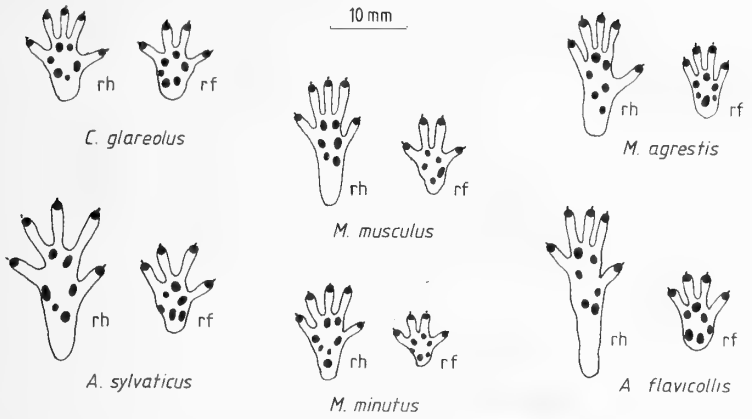

Figure 2. Toe and foot pads of small rodents. 1:1.

a) plum b) hazel c) walnut opened by *A. sylvaticus*. d) damson e) filbert opened by *C. glareolus*.
Figure 3. Nuts and fruit stones opened by small rodents. 1:1.

Harvest Mouse Survey instituted by the Mammal Society, and one took part in a national survey, called 'What the cat brought in', which was organized by Doncaster Museum with the aim of determining the importance of the domestic cat as a predator. Additionally, people were questioned during casual conversations, from which transcripts were made and records extracted.

Evidence was sought on the presence of small rodents from sightings and field signs, with information on location, map reference, habitat, date, diet and predation, with comments on behaviour when available.

Physical characteristics of the rodents for identification purposes were established from the study of live animals kept in short-term captivity and during live trapping sessions, and from dead specimens. Comparative sizes and proportions are shown in Figure 1. In general terms, the voles have rounded heads with blunt muzzles and their tails are conspicuously shorter than their bodies; the mice have longer, pointed muzzles and tails which are ringed and as long as, or longer than, their bodies.

Live sightings and dead animals provide acceptable evidence, as do field signs such as tracks, burrows, runs, nests, feeding signs and skeletal material.

Tracks and footprints have been studied in detail, as have the feet of live and dead animals. The diagnostic features are shown in Figure 2.

Burrows up to 30 mm in diameter are made by all six species. *C. glareolus* and *M. agrestis* burrow near the surface, with runway systems above ground level but well hidden by vegetation or concealed under discarded metal sheets. *A. sylvaticus* and *A. flavicollis* burrow in a variety of situations, particularly under tree stumps. *M. minutus* occasionally uses burrows and has been seen below ground (authors' data) but is usually considered too small for successful digging. *M. musculus*, although often commensal, digs tunnel systems when living away from human habitation. Burrows and runs are not diagnostic and require supporting evidence.

Grass nests are made by *C. glareolus* and by *M. agrestis*, either in the burrow systems or at ground level among grasses. *A. sylvaticus* also makes nests of grass or moss in tunnels or above ground level, for example in disused nests of birds and dormice or in nest boxes; occasionally the nests are more elaborate and the mice may use unusual materials. Only *M. minutus*, however, builds nests which are typical and provide reliable evidence of its presence; this mouse uses the leaves of monocotyledonous plants, such as arable crops and some grass species, drawing the leaves together and weaving them into a neat spherical nest without detaching them from the plant, so that the nest is composed of living material and hangs suspended amid the stems (Dillon & Browne 1975).

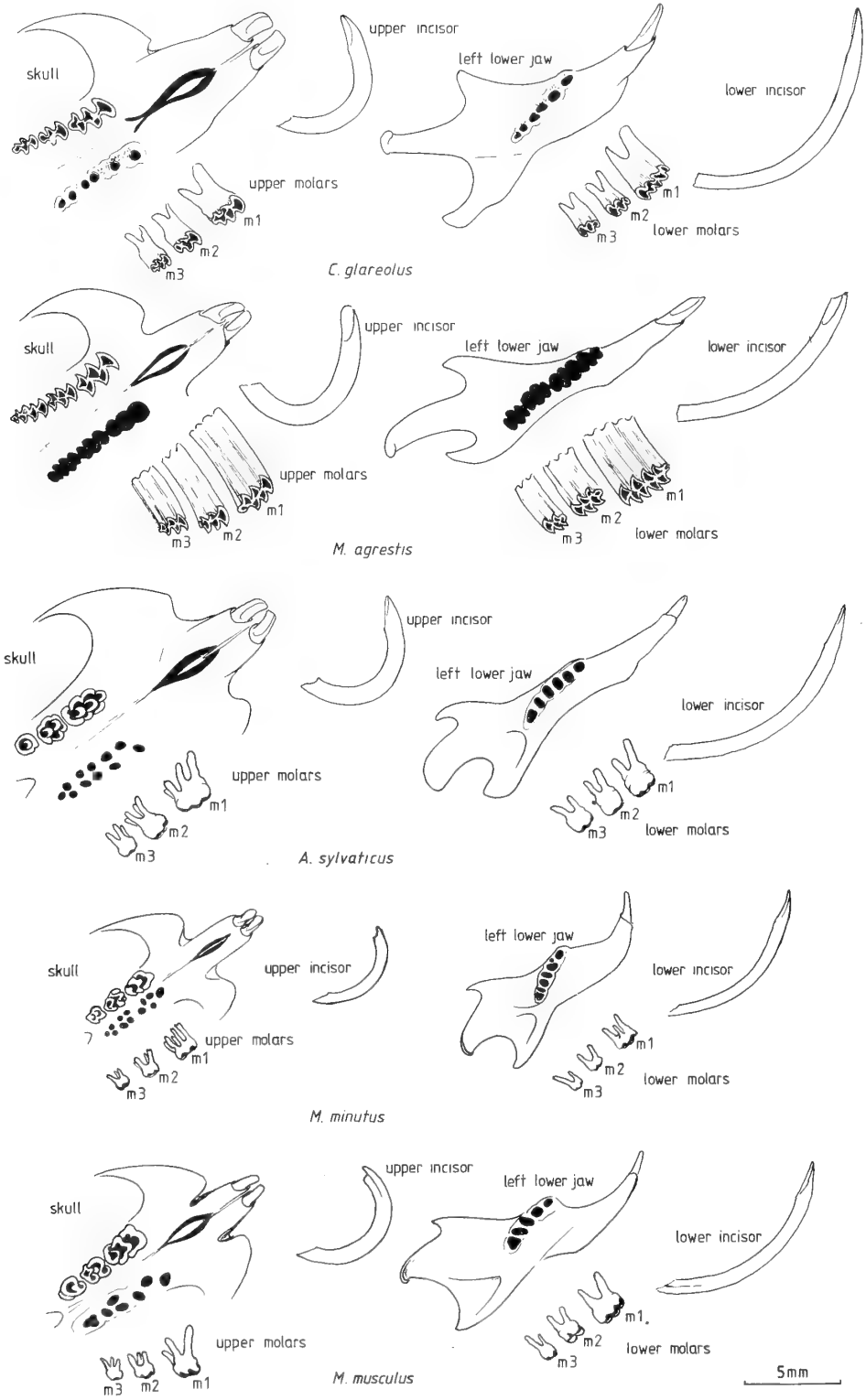

Figure 4. Skulls, jawbones and teeth of small rodents. 3:1.

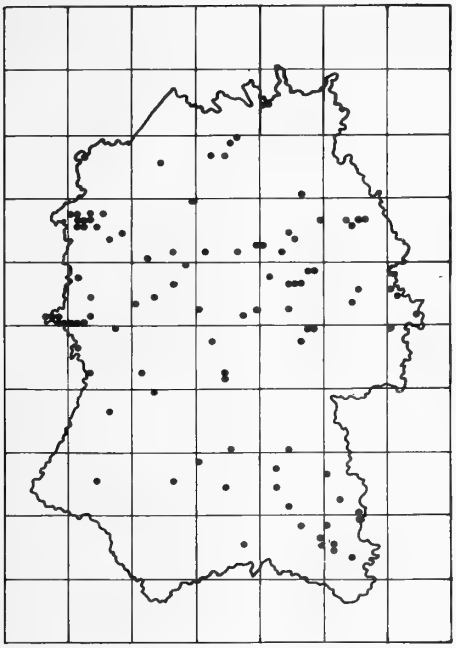

Figure 5. C. glareolus: known distribution in the county

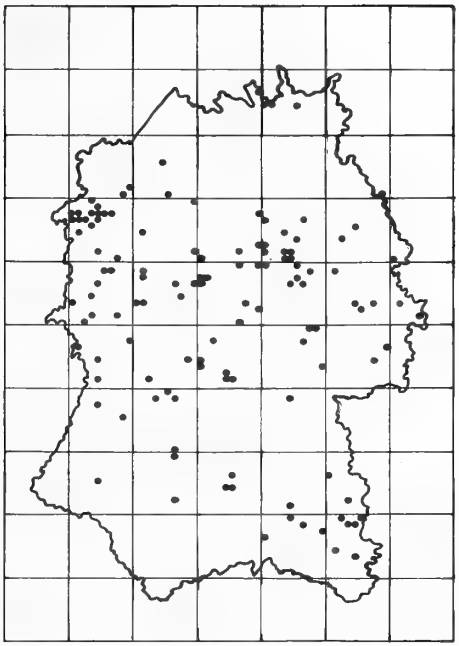

Figure 6. M. agrestis: known distribution in the county.

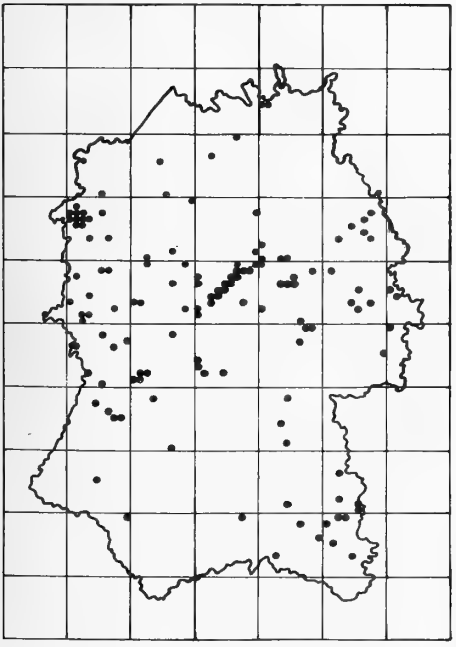

Figure 7. A. sylvaticus: known distribution in the county.

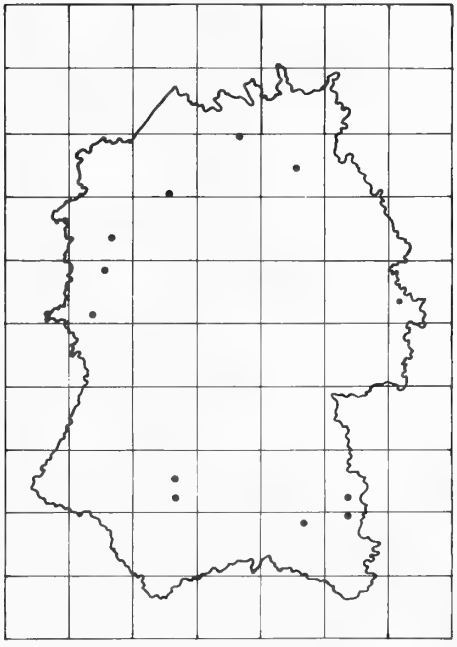

Figure 8. A. flavicollis: known distribution in the county.

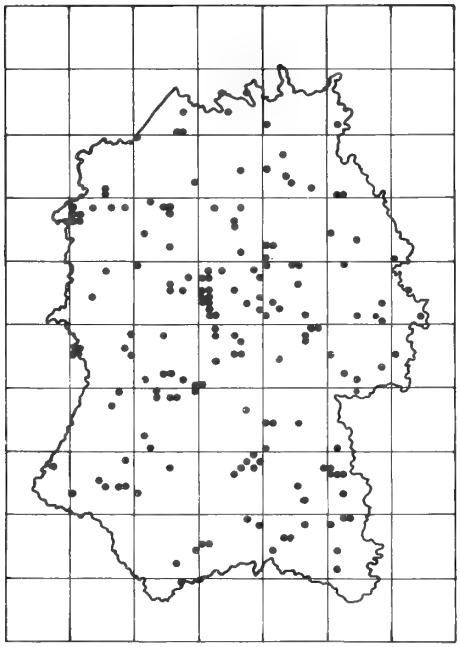

Figure 9. M. minutus: known distribution in the county.

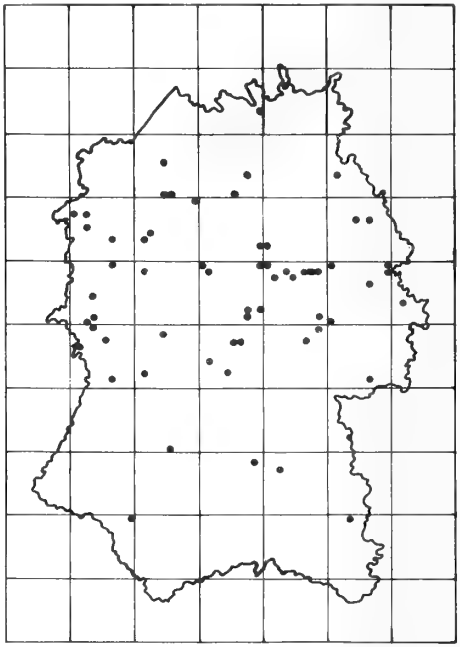

Figure 10. M. musculus: known distribution in the county.

Food is cached by all except *M. minutus*. Small piles of chopped grass may be found in the tunnel systems of *M. agrestis*. Nuts and fruit stones are stored by *C. glareolus* and *A. sylvaticus* in burrows or in the central hollows of coppiced trees, sometimes in sheds; these two rodents use characteristic methods of opening nuts and stones and the marks made by the incisors, when extracting the kernels, are diagnostic; these features, noted for voles and mice by East (1965) have been studied in detail and are shown in Figure 3.

Skeletal material, particularly skulls and jaw bones, may be encountered in the field and isolated from the castings of predatory birds and from animal remains in discarded bottles. Earlier work yielded material from which diagnostic features were noted and used in subsequent analysis (Dillon, Browne and Junghaans, in prep.); these features are shown in Figure 4.

RESULTS

By the end of 1983, the number of record sheets received was 1020, in which the number of individual animals mentioned was in excess of 8000 (this being a minimum number deduced from the evidence), representing 4904 1 km square records. All records were added to the existing distribution maps. Known distribution of the species at 31 December 1983 is shown in Figures 5 – 10; the distribution maps are plotted on a 1 km grid but, for clarity, only the 10 km grid is shown in each case. Basic details of the records were reported in annual Mammal Reports (Browne 1977–82).

More than 25 per cent of records received were of live sightings; some were of single animals, some were of multiple sightings and, in one case, numbers of *A. sylvaticus* were described as 'teeming' on road and road verges. For the purpose of comparative quantification of records, where exact numbers were not stated, 'more than one' were deemed to be three, 'several' and 'occasional' to be five, 'many' and 'frequent' to be 10 and 'teeming' to be 100. Live animals were recorded either by chance or in live-trapping programmes (Figure 11). Very few records were received for the yellow-necked mouse *A. flavicollis;* on the few occasions when it has been recorded, it has occurred within territory colonized by *A. sylvaticus*, and these two species are therefore taken together except when otherwise stated.

	% casual sight	% trapping
C. glareolus	21	79
M. agrestis	62	38
A. sylvaticus / *A. flavicollis*	45	55
N. minutus	90	10
M. musculus	85	15

Figure 11. Live records.

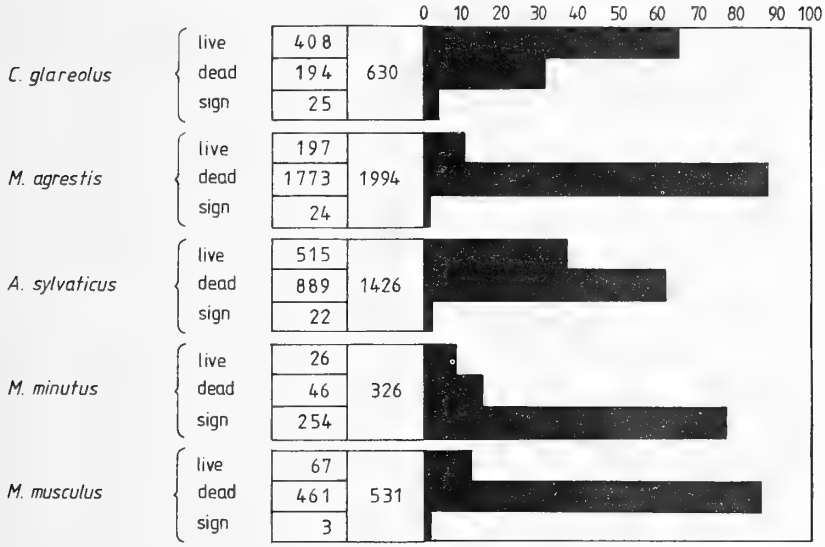

Figure 12. Nature and number of records and per cent representation.

Nearly 50 per cent of the records were of dead animals and nearly 25 per cent were of field signs. The nature of record is shown for each species in Figure 12, as total numbers and as percentages.

Habitat information from the record sheets was divided into four main categories in terms of cover – 'open', 'marginal', 'closed' and 'artificial and commensal'. Each main category was sub-divided into more detailed habitat types. The terminology employed exemplifies the problem of standardizing information from numerous diverse and descriptive returns; inevitably there is some overlap of detailed categories although the main categories themselves are clearly defined. Thus, of the 'open' habitats, 'grass' denotes downland, pasture or rough grassland in agricultural situations, whereas 'waste' denotes rough grassland in urban situations and areas of industrial and agricultural dereliction. Of the 'closed' habitats, 'woodland' denotes mature but substantially unmanaged primary or secondary woodland, 'plantation' denotes newly planted or young commercial woodland and 'coppice' regularly managed deciduous woodland. Other categories are self explanatory. In assigning records of skeletal material to habitat categories, when the provenance of the prey units was unknown, the habits of the predator have been taken into account; thus, the prey of the tawny owl *Strix aluco* and the long-eared owl *Asio otus* has been assigned to 'woodland' and the prey of the hen harrier *Circus cyaneus*, the kestrel *Falco tinnunculus* and the barn owl *Tyto alba* to 'open grass'. The proportions of each habitat type used by the rodents is shown in Figure 13.[1]

More than 3000 individual animals were found dead. Some were chance recordings, several were killed on roads and several were found drowned in water butts. A few died in Longworth traps and all six species have been killed in breakback mouse traps set in houses and gardens. A number have been found in discarded bottles from which they have been unable to escape (Morris 1966), about 50 per cent being specified as milk bottles; one beer bottle was found which contained a dead specimen of *C. glareolus* and this, together with records from unspecified bottles, was entered in the category 'other'. The greatest number of dead animals were isolated from the castings of predatory birds and these featured prominently in the records. The incidence of mortality is shown in Figure 14.

Predators known to have taken small rodents in Wiltshire are the hen harrier *C. cyaneus*, the kestrel *F. tinnunculus*, the barn owl *T. alba*, the little owl *Athene noctua*, the tawny owl *S. aluco*, the long-eared owl *A. otus*, the short-eared owl *A. flammeus*, the weasel *Mustela nivalis*, the badger *Meles meles*, the domestic cat and the domestic dog. Of the mammalian predators, domestic cat records were by far the most numerous (148 animals killed) whereas *M. nivalis*, *M. meles* and domestic dog were few (two, one and two animals killed respectively). Much of the domestic cat data for Wiltshire derived from the 'What the cat brought in' survey (Ward 1981).

1. In the interests of succinctness, the numerical data, upon which per cent representation in Figures 13, 14 and 15 are based, are not tabulated. Full sets of data, together with copies of the paper, have been lodged with the Wiltshire Biological Records Centre at Devizes Museum and with the National Lending Library at Boston Spa.

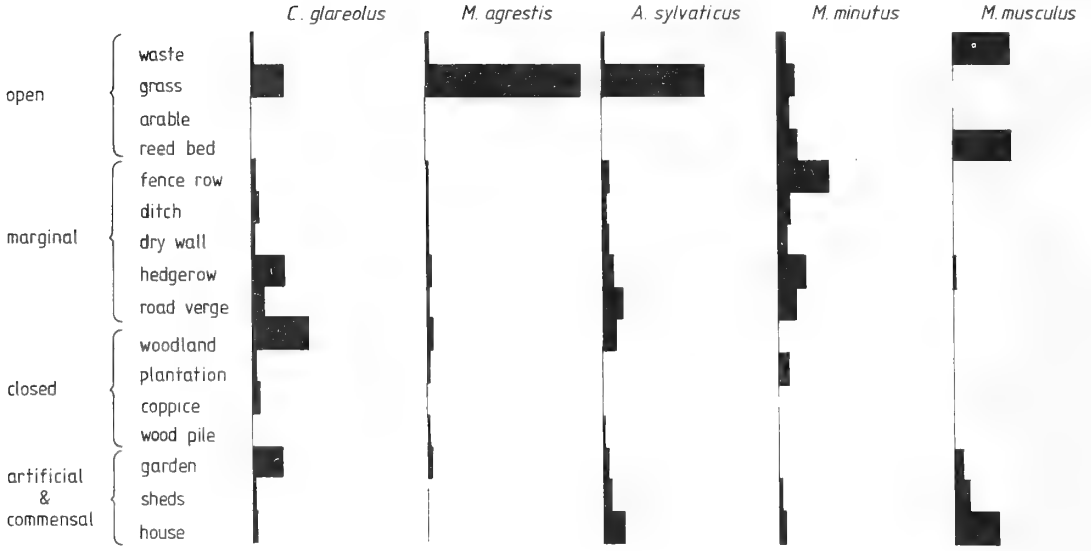

Figure 13. Habitat. Per cent of records.

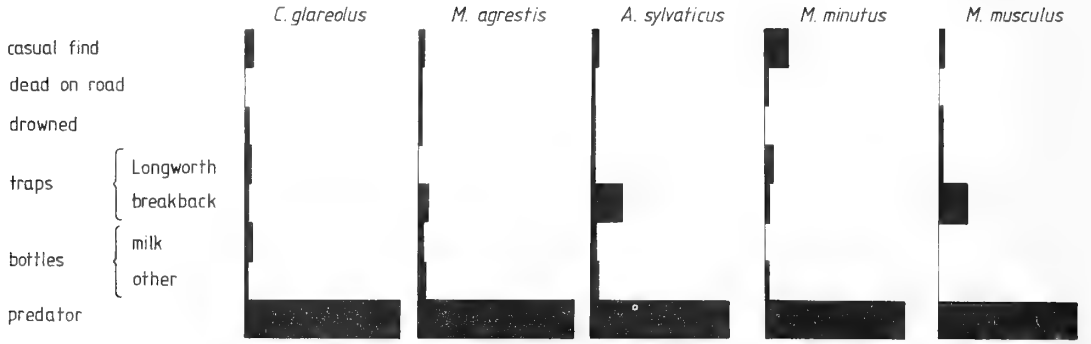

Figure 14. Mortality. Per cent of records.

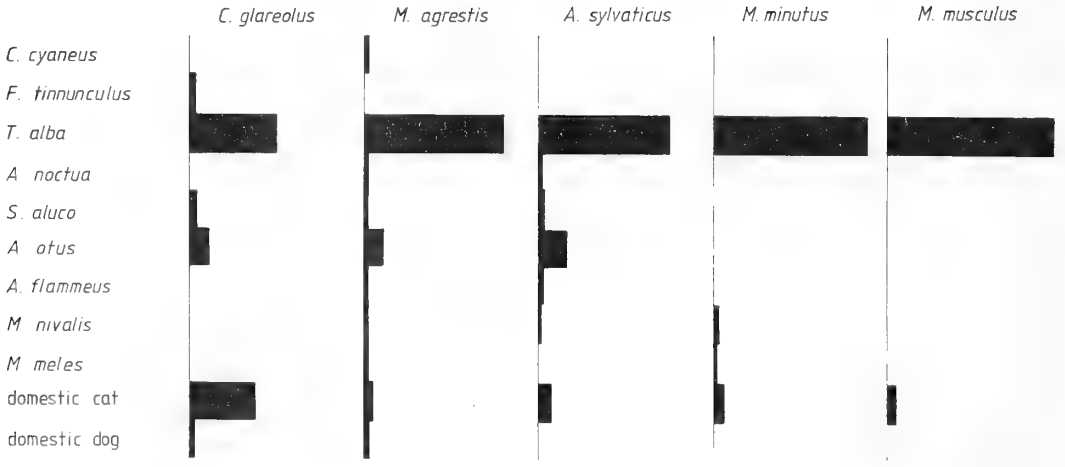

Figure 15. Predation. Per cent of records.

		C. glareolus	*M. agrestis*	*A. sylvaticus*	*M. minutus*	*M. musculus*
nuts and stones	damson	–	–	1	–	–
	plum	–	–	1	–	–
	hazel	19	–	16	–	–
	walnut	–	–	1	–	–
nests		5	2	4	127	–
burrows		–	–	3	–	–
runs		–	11	–	–	–
droppings		–	–	–	–	1

Figure 16. Field sign records.

C. cyaneus predation data came from an analysis of 30 pellets collected in South Wiltshire in 1977 (Turner 1978) and the *F. tinnunculus* data from the analysis of a few odd pellets (Turner, pers. comm.). Owl pellets have been collected more systematically and analyses and data were available for the following: 539 individual *T. alba* pellets from various roosts in the county and a large fertilizer bag full of partially decomposed pellet material from Milton Lilbourne (Ticehurst 1935; Gillam 1973; Turner 1976; Dillon 1977 and 1983; Tichner 1978; Ward 1979; Newton, pers. comm.; Dillon, Browne and Junghaans, in prep.); 86 *A. noctua* pellets from one locality (Dillon 1977); 10 *S. aluco* pellets from four localities (Dillon 1977; Turner, pers. comm.); 106 *A. otus* pellets from four localities (Gillam 1973; Dillon 1977; Turner, pers. comm.); 15 *A. flammeus* pellets from a single locality (Gillam 1973). Incidence of predation based on these data is shown in Figure 15.

Tracks and footprints did not feature in the records but have been noted occasionally in the past. Burrows and runs were noted in support of other evidence. Nests were recorded frequently, particularly the diagnostic nests of *M. minutus*. Feeding signs, such as opened nuts and fruit stones, featured prominently among the records. In addition to various nuts and the kernels from fruit stones, small rodents have been observed to eat a variety of food in houses, sheds and gardens. *C. glareolus* eats carrots and other root vegetables in the ground as well as in store and has been observed eating the dead leaves of stinging nettle *Urtica dioica*. *A. sylvaticus* eats stored apples, potatoes and beetroot. *A. flavicollis* has been caught eating peas and broad beans. Crocus bulbs and gladiolus corms have been removed from a bucket to a food cache in a nest by *Apodemus* species. During the hard winter of 1981, *A. sylvaticus* entered the house in greater numbers than usual for shelter and food, eating several pots of jam including the cellophane tops and rubber bands and leaving the jars as clean as if they had been washed (authors' data). *M. musculus* also has been caught in jam cupboards. Food put out for birds is taken by voles and mice; this includes a number of items such as maize flakes, sunflower seeds, oatmeal, barley and other grains, which have also been used successfully for baiting live traps to catch all six species. The same foods have been used for feeding small rodents kept for short-term study and it has been found that most grains, seeds, nuts, fruits and root vegetables are accepted. Captive rodents have also been observed to take small insects (authors' data). Field sign records are presented in Figure 16; the figures indicate numbers of records (i.e. of nut hoards or groups of nests), they do not indicate total numbers of nuts or nests, nor are they any indication of total numbers of individual rodents.

DISCUSSION

On a 10 km square basis, there is a near complete county distribution for *C. glareolus*, *M. agrestis*, *A. sylvaticus* and *M. minutus*. The 1 km square representation for these species suggests a general distribution and occurrence wherever habitat conditions are suitable. Under represented areas of the county, such as the NE and SW corners, reflect a local paucity of experienced recorders, not necessarily a lack of rodents. The exceptionally complete coverage of *M. minutus* is an illustration of what can be achieved when the county is systematically searched for a species in response to a national survey. The sparse coverage for *A. flavicollis* is associated with problems of species identification and separation from *A. sylvaticus*, but it undoubtedly has a restricted distribution. The distribution of *M. musculus* may also be limited; some recorders have suggested a decline in recent decades but this is impossible to substantiate for lack of an adequate baseline. As a commensal species it may well be on the decrease as more effective methods of control are developed; in open countryside it is known to be a poor competitor and areas where it is not found are probably those occupied by other small rodents (Berry 1981).

In terms of numbers of records, the large figures for

M. agrestis and *A. sylvaticus* reflect the susceptibility of these species to avian predation and the incidence of skeletal remains in pellet accumulations at roosts of birds such as *T. alba*, a trend which is exemplified fully in the detailed analysis of predation data. Much of the 'live'-record data derives from trapping programmes, where *C. glareolus* and *A. sylvaticus* are readily taken and are well represented numerically, the other species being either trap shy or difficult to trap by virtue of their behaviour. The importance of the nests of *M. minutus* as diagnostic field signs is apparent from the field sign data.

Habitat data reveal *C. glareolus* to be the most uniquitous species in Wiltshire, able to exploit overgrown grassland and marginal and closed habitats wherever there is thick cover; the preference for thick cover in this species is in keeping with the findings of Southern and Lowe (1968), who examined distribution patterns of small rodents in the context of the feeding habits of *S. aluco*. *M. minutus* is found in a wide range of open and marginal habitats offering a well developed herb layer; the habitat requirements of this species have been discussed fully elsewhere (Dillon & Browne 1975). The predominance of *A. sylvaticus* in open habitats is at variance with the normal stated preference for woodland; this can be explained by distortion of the data caused by assigning owl pellet records on the basis of the habitat requirements of the predator. *Apodemus* species have been important components of the diet of *T. alba* in the county and, in the interests of consistency, these records have been assigned to the 'open grass' category, this being the usual hunting area of *T. alba* although, in practice, it is likely that the owls were finding these items of their diet in marginal situations. The few *A. flavicollis* records available for Wiltshire show an overlap with *A. sylvaticus* territories; the data are insufficient for an examination of the relationship between distribution and ecology of the two species in terms of single biotic or abiotic factors (Corke 1977) or associations with wet and dry areas of mature deciduous woodland (Montgomery 1978). *M. agrestis* is confirmed to be predominantly a species associated with grassland. Similarly, *M. musculus* is confirmed to be commensal or to frequent areas of urban and rural dereliction; the data suggest that reed beds are favoured alternative habitats for this species. The overall pattern of habitat selection in the voles and mice suggests a situation where inter-specific competition is minimized, with the likelihood that a given species will be dominant in its preferred habitat.

In terms of mortality, the relatively high incidence of chance finds of *M. minutus* may be expected, for the young of this species are sometimes found dead in the above-ground nests. Numbers of animals found dead on roads or drowned are too small for any discernible trends to be established. All species (with the exception of *M. agrestis*, which is rarely caught in live traps) were susceptible to death in Longworth traps in cold spells, particularly *M. minutus* which, owing to its small size, has problems with thermoregulation. The relatively high incidence of *A. sylvaticus* and *M. musculus* as breakback trap casualties reflects the extent to which these animals enter houses and outbuildings, the former particularly during winter months. Most records of *C. glareolus* and *M. agrestis* in breakbacks concerned animals in gardens, where they are frequently suspected of damaging vegetables and bulbs. *M. musculus* was the only species not found dead in discarded bottles and *M. minutus* was so found only very occasionally, their smaller size and greater agility presumably making them less susceptible than the larger rodents. All species are highly susceptible to predation.

As a predator, the domestic cat is an efficient sampler of small rodent populations, particularly of *C. glareolus*. Cats are crepuscular hunters and it has been noted that many of their *C. glareolus* victims are caught early in the morning soon after first light (authors' data); it may be that this diurnally active vole is particularly vulnerable at that time of day, before it has become fully alert. Of the other mammalian predators in Wiltshire, *M. nivalis*, *M. meles* and domestic dogs have been observed taking small rodents. The fox *Vulpes vulpes*, the stoat *M. erminea*, the ferret *M. furo*, the mink *M. vison* and the otter *Lutra lutra* are also known to take them, although no records exist in the county. Additionally, the hedgehog *Erinaceus europaeus* and the brown rat *Rattus norvegicus* may take young rodents when they encounter them in the nest. It is likely that, with the decline of predatory mammals in general, the domestic cat is now the most significant check on populations of small rodents in the vicinity of human settlement.

Many birds are known to take small rodents but only two orders, the *Falconiformes* and the *Strigiformes*, have been recorded as doing so in Wiltshire. *M. agrestis* remains occurred in 60 per cent of the *C. cyaneus* pellets analysed by Turner (1978) from around a 5·6 hectare field of coarse upright brome grass *Zerna erecta* on the Salisbury Plain; *M. agrestis* is undoubtedly the dominant small rodent in such situations. The few *F. tinnunculus* pellets examined contained remains of *C. glareolus*, but this predator is probably of greater significance to populations of *M. agrestis*.

Comparative interpretation of data derived from owl pellet analysis is problematical as the five British species have widely differing habits, particularly with respect to when and where they regurgitate pellets.

Moreover, there are differences in the extent to which prey items are accurately represented within the pellets. *T. alba* produces pellets at the roost which, once it has been located, can be visited regularly for pellet collections to be made. *A. otus* is similarly predictable in its pellet regurgitation habits but location of the roosts is extremely difficult. *A noctua* and *A. flammeus* are apt to be unpredictable in their roosting behaviour and the latter is also a winter visitor only; regular pellet collections for these species are therefore difficult to make. *S. aluco* is the least consistent and a representative pellet sample may only be obtained after exhaustive searching, for these birds regurgitate randomly within their territories. Moreover, only the pellets of *T. alba* provide a consistent yield of the jaw remains of small rodents upon which identification is based and from which a meaningful interpretation of diet can be made.

Despite the limitations of the data, however, some trends are apparent from Figure 15. *T. alba*, like the domestic cat, is a comprehensive sampler of small rodents, but its recent decline has meant that its influence is now only of local significance. Despite the variety of its diet, it is heavily dependent upon one species, *M. agrestis*, which accounted for 70 per cent of the prey items in a batch of 63 pellets from the Salisbury Plain in 1975 (Turner 1976), 45 per cent of the prey items from 60 pellets representing the winter diet at a Trowbridge roost in 1977–8 (Tichner 1978) and 48 per cent of the prey items from 112 pellets from a roost at Aldbourne in 1977–9 (Newton, pers. comm.). As would be expected from their woodland habitat preference, *S. aluco* and *A. otus* are regulators of *C. glareolus* and *A. sylvaticus* populations, although for both species the proportion of *M. agrestis* in the pellet remains is surprisingly high; as *M. agrestis* has been shown to be almost exclusively associated with open habitats, this probably represents a diversification of hunting behaviour in the owls rather than an indication of a substantial woodland presence for the small mammal. The small samples of pellets from *A. noctua* and *A. flammeus* suggest limited predation on *M. agrestis* and *A. sylvaticus*.

With regard to field signs, the importance of nests as diagnostic features of *M. minutus* is again apparent. Droppings of the small rodents are virtually impossible to distinguish and the one record for *M. musculus* was in support of other evidence; it should be noted, however, that the droppings of *M. musculus* have a slight musty smell, which does help to distinguish them from the droppings of other small rodents, particularly when they are found in houses. Runs can be diagnostic for *M. agrestis*, especially in 'vole years' when they may be particularly apparent in untended lawns. Similarly, the burrows of *A. sylvaticus* are characteristic and often associated with caches of food; this is apparent from one of the earliest Wiltshire records based upon field signs of small rodents (Dillon 1977a):

> Clyffe Dec. 4th. 1884. As Will Gale was turning over the rubbish heap near the stable today, he came upon a very neat mouse's nest inhabited by a couple of very prosperous mice, and about 18 inches away from the nest and connected by a tunnel, he found the store room well packed for the winter with 51 good walnuts all of which they had carried some 8 or 10 yards or more. Both dwelling house and store room were in the centre of the rubbish heap.

Feeding signs are an important source of records now that the fine differences of incisor marks for *C. glareolus* and *A. sylvaticus* have been worked out (East 1965). Careful examination of damson and plum stones and walnuts opened by these two rodents and used as a basis for records in this survey suggest that there is great scope for extending and developing this type of study. The survey yielded insufficient data on field signs to enable comparative evaluations to be made.

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Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 105–13.

Natural History Manuscripts in Devizes Museum[1]

by PATRICK J. DILLON

The value of natural history manuscript sources is explained, with special reference to their value for research on collections and their systematics, on the history of natural history, and on historical ecology. The form of the catalogue is explained. The catalogue itself provides a comprehensive listing of the Devizes Museum resources in natural history manuscripts.

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to *Natural History Manuscript Resources in the British Isles* the authors provide a brief review of the background to the growth in awareness in recent decades of the importance of manuscript sources to research in the history of science (Bridson, Phillips and Harvey 1980). Widespread concern about scanty information on the nature and whereabouts of material arose from the 1960 Washington DC Conference of the History of Science Society, which was devoted to scientific manuscripts, and the Oxford History of Science Symposium the following year. The intervening years, Bridson, Phillips and Harvey contend, 'have seen a great expansion of research into the history of science and a steadily increasing audience has become attracted to the subject'. In response to the lack of adequate documentation on the whereabouts and scope of British natural history manuscript resources, Bridson, Phillips and Harvey circulated a nation-wide questionnaire to local record offices, learned societies, universities, libraries, museums and other repositories. Their catalogue is the outcome of the survey.

More recently, a parallel growth of interest in natural history documentation has developed in the museums sector. In 1977 a meeting was organized jointly by the Biological Curators' Group, the Geological Curators' Group and the Systematics Association to examine 'the function of local natural history collections' at which the problems of documentation were discussed (Greenwood 1977). Subsequently, a North West Collection Research Unit was set up and in 1979 a *Register of Collections and Collectors in North West England* was published (Hancock and Pettitt 1980). Other regional research groups have now been established, including one covering SW England, coordinated through the Federation for Natural Science Collections Research with the aim of producing a national register of collections available through an automated data processing system. Clearly, this work involves the cataloguing of a great deal of collection documentation, much of which, for provincial museums, is in manuscript form.

Unfortunately, at the time of the Bridson, Phillips and Harvey survey, no separate natural history library existed at Devizes Museum; many of the natural history books and manuscripts were uncatalogued and had been in idle storage for some years. Devizes Museum, as a repository, is thus grossly under-represented in *Natural History Manuscript Resources in the British Isles.* Moreover, a good deal of additional manuscript material has been acquired since the survey, including the extensive geological collection of Andrews and the botanical collections of Grose and Sandell. Improvements at the Museum in recent years, providing for additional office, storage and display space, have enabled a full listing of the natural history resources to be undertaken and for the material to be made available for research. In presenting this catalogue therefore, the needs of the museum curator, the historian and the archivist, which are seen as interacting and complementary, are taken into consideration. The scope of the resources and their research potential is assessed in terms of collections research and systematics, the history of natural history annd historical ecology.

RESEARCH POTENTIAL

Collections research and systematics

Frequently, in provincial museums, essential historical information regarding the background against which the natural history collections were made is lacking, thus diminishing the potential return from a detailed study of the material. Catalogues for the major collec-

1. This is Part Two of the Catalogue of the Natural History Library of the Wiltshire Arcaheological and Natural History Society. Part One, dealing with Printed Works, was published in the *Wiltshire Natural History Magazine* (Dillon and Noad 1980).

tions at Devizes survive, although they date from a period when amalgamation and direct accession to existing Society collections were the fashion. Details of the individual collections from which these 'amalgamations' were formed are difficult to elucidate. The Society's herbarium and geological and bird collections are of this type, and in those instances contemporary and independent manuscript sources may help to unravel component histories. An example is provided by the Hony manuscripts which include two early catalogues of the bird collection, one a simple list of species with sketches of case lay-outs designed for curatorial use, the other a history of the collection with details of the acquisition of individual specimens.

For accessions after the Second World War, extensive documentation is often an integral part of the collection, as with the Andrews geological collection and the Heginbothom mollusc collection. In each case, the existence of field notebooks, catalogues and correspondence considerably enhances the research value of the collection and enables a full assessment of the work of the individual to be made in an accurate historical and methodological context. Delair and Barron (1979) examined the Andrews notebooks and found that, although they were composed largely of drafts of papers, the published versions omitted drawings and details which are now considered of some significance, particularly as many of the sites examined by Andrews are now obscured or no longer assessible. Delair and Barron (1979) and Torrens (1979) provide a general synopsis of the extent of Andrews's Wiltshire investigations, with sites visited and fossils listed, and suggest further research so that unincorporated parts of his material reach an appropriate geological archive. The Heginbothom collection is perhaps more remarkable as the extensive documentation and the specimens correspond so well. Thus it is possible to re-sample localities for which specimens were obtained in the 1920s and 1930s and to make direct comparisons – an important consideration for species which show morphogenic variation and an opportunity to investigate long-term survival of varieties when land use and other environmental variables have changed. A synopsis of the work of Heginbothom and an evaluation of his contribution to conchology is in preparation.

Whitehead (1971), in discussing literature and specimens, the two major sources of information for systematists, emphasizes the importance of the interplay between the two; if they are complementary, hours can be saved in information retrieval from scattered sources. In any event, when it comes to rare, critical or type specimens, all published and manuscript material is of relevance and 'the missing of a single obscure reference can have severe consequences on nomenclature and lead to endless misunderstandings' (Whitehead 1971). In this respect, the combined resources of the Grose herbarium and manuscript material can be appreciated; for many species mentioned in the *Flora of Wiltshire* (Grose 1957) voucher specimens are available from the former and essential notes on occurrence and correspondence regarding identification from the latter. Moreover, in a preliminary analysis of the Grose herbarium, 391 sheets (representing a random 4 per cent sample) were examined and, of these, 178 were contributed as exchange items from Wiltshire and non-Wiltshire sources by 54 different collectors including many leading specialists (Cross, in preparation). Clearly, the research potential of the Grose collections extends well beyond purely local interest.

History of natural history

The period before the 20th century of this branch of the history of science is of particular importance, as so many of the leading protagonists were in the polymath tradition; as a result the broad developmental framework is well documented, particularly from a social perspective (Allen 1976). The Victorian period saw a peak in popular interest in natural history (Barber 1980) and in the appetite for collecting (Jones 1978). At the same time the social and intellectual climate at the local level gave rise to the learned society as the administrative organ of natural history (Piggott 1976). Such local societies lend themselves to investigation through archival sources as has been done for Worcestershire (Jones 1980), but the resulting histories are inevitably predisposed to largely biographical accounts of key figures. That is not to say that Wiltshire naturalists are any less worthy of attention than those in other counties, and the Devizes manuscript material is certainly a rich source, but there is little of national importance except perhaps the letters to William Cunnington from prominent 18th-century naturalists.

Probably the greatest value of the local material lies in its bearing on contemporary attitudes to wildlife and the gradual development of the 'conservation awareness' which characterizes the present time. The history of the nature conservation movement is well documented (Sheail 1976), but the changing ethos and climate of opinion underlying this development may be traced from the local record. Evidence of change in the Victorian period and beyond is found in the notebooks of Goddard and Gwatkin and in the correspondence of Trumper. The early signs of sympathy for what would now be called 'conservation issues' are present in the writings of Goddard in the 1880s and 1890s (Dillon 1977) soon after the peak in collecting and taxidermy.

The drastic decline in this particular style of 'field sport' in the period 1878–1938 is illustrated by the Gwatkin notebook where the approach changes from one of collector to birdwatcher to inspired naturalist (Dillon and Jones 1982). On the other hand, the Trumper papers indicate that egg collecting in Wiltshire, the primary activity of the short-lived Devizes Field Club, reached a peak in the first decade of the present century. The development in ecological understanding after the Second World War, and with it a new and different growth in popular interest in natural history, is reflected in the records of the Natural History Section of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. The role of national organizations such as the British Trust for Ornithology and the Botanical Society of the British Isles in stimulating this development through coordinated field surveys is particularly striking.

A further important contribution that local manuscript material makes to the history of natural history is in the field of methodology. Different historical periods are characterized by different styles of approach; it is generally a simple matter to define the style or fashion but difficult to establish the methodology of the approach. This is because the style is characterized by the key printed works, and the printed works represent only a small fraction of the working documentation. The selection and editing of material for publication tends to eliminate or mask methodological detail which can only be rediscovered by reference to what Price (1971) has called the 'total manuscript background'. Thus, once again, the tremendous manuscript resource offered by the Grose *Flora of Wiltshire* documentation representing – with its species lists, habitat lists, field notebooks and correspondence – the entire basis of the publication, is of great potential research value. This is particularly so since the Grose book set a new pattern for later flora writers by combining a traditional 'Flora' with an innovatory section on the 'Vegetation of Wiltshire' where an ecological approach was adopted in describing plant associations and habitats. By the same token it can be seen that a vast amount of data from historical sources and field surveys was condensed in the production of the *Wiltshire Birds* handlist (Peirson 1959). The publication gives no indication of the approach adopted in compiling the information but the manuscript material reveals a closely coordinated project involving dozens of researchers.

Finally in this section, there is the small contribution that manuscripts make to the literature on local names of plants and animals, although this is usually dealt with as a branch of folklore. The definitive county work is the natural history material incorporated into the Dartnell and Goddard (1892–9) 'Contributions towards a Wiltshire Glossary'. However, some unpublished details are to be found in the Dartnell and Hony manuscripts, and the 'Flora of Winsley' contains a number of local plant names prevalent in the West of the county. A detailed analysis of Wiltshire plant and bird names has been incorporated into a book on Wiltshire dialect shortly to be published.

Historical ecology

Historical ecology is concerned with species histories (changes in the status of organisms) and habitat changes. Such long-term biological patterns are usually only apparent from the interaction of different types of data. Generally the data is concerned with land use changes, as investigated through historical geography and agricultural history, and contemporary habitat preferences, environmental requirements and distribution patterns of species as revealed by the documentary record. The types of manuscript which are of particular interest to the historical ecologist are described by Rackham (1980a) and Sheail (1980). Of these, field notebooks, species lists, herbarium records and annotated photographs and maps are found in Devizes Musuem.

Sheail and Wells (1980) have demonstrated that by collating evidence from written records and from herbaria, and with a knowledge of present day habits of individual species, it is possible to reconstruct changes in the vegetation patterns of a defined locality over a period of up to 300 years. Such reconstructions are usually only possible for botanically distinct regions (the Huntingdonshire fenland in the case of Sheail and Wells) or habitats (of which ancient woodland types have been well studied: Rackham 1980b). Wells *et al.* (1976) and Cameron and Dillon (1984) have used documentary techniques in reconstructing vegetation patterns in downland areas of Wiltshire, the former in investigating the relationship between vegetation, soils and land use history and the latter in relating patterns of variation in *Cepaea* to habitat stability and population history. The most productive sources of data for these reconstructions are tithe and enclosure documents and early maps, all of which are generally located in local record offices, but important supplementary data is often available from natural history manuscripts in museums.

Potential for assessing more recent change in habitats and species is provided by the Grose data, particularly the 5000 species lists used in compiling the 'Vegetation of Wiltshire' section of the *Flora*. Sufficient locatory information exists on some of these lists to enable sites to be revisited and re-surveyed and for habitat change

to be assessed, as has been done recently with Good's *Geographical Handbook of the Dorset Flora* data of the 1930s (Horsfall 1979–82).

Sufficient printed and manuscript sources exist for Wiltshire to allow an assessment to be made of the changing status of some bird species over the last 150 years. Taking Smith's *Birds of Wiltshire* (1887) as a base-line and working through the manuscript sequence offered by the Goddard, Gwatkin and Hony notebooks and the *Wiltshire Birds* data of the 1950s, statements for parts of Wiltshire should be possible along the lines of those produced for the neighbouring Lambourn Downs (Jones 1966) and NW Hampshire (Jones 1963).

ORGANIZATION OF THE CATALOGUE

In compiling this catalogue, the widest interpretation of the term 'manuscript' has been taken. It thus includes unpublished sources such as species lists, field notebooks, personal documents, collection records and catalogues, correspondence, minute books and records of natural history organizations, photographs and drawings. Printed material, such as collections of papers, have been included where these form an integral part of a collection of documents, as have books which have been extensively annotated and serial publications which are a continuation of a manuscript record.

The catalogue is arranged alphabetically, according to author, in the following sections: general natural history; geology and palaeontology; zoology; botany. The format for each entry is: author; title of manuscript; date (where specified); number of boxes or volumes; volume size (where appropriate); number of pages; illustrations; presentation if other than manuscript. For most items this is followed by an inset description of the content and a reference to any appropriate publications and, in three cases, the number of the listing in Bridson, Phillips and Harvey (1980).

(Note that of the five sources listed in this work, item 110.1. the 'Bird Records Card Index' is now held by the Wiltshire Ornithological Society and is no longer available in the Museum. Item 110.2. the 'List of the Flora of Bradford-on-Avon' by W.G. Collins can no longer be found.)

CATALOGUE

General natural history

Cunnington, William. Correspondence, 1798–1810. 2 vols., approx. 300 letters in each.

Vol. 1: letters from leading antiquaries of the time;

Vol. 2: some natural history material including letters from John Britain (28), James Douglas (16), H. Johnson (17), Aylmer B. Lambert (53), James Sowerby (14) and Joseph Townsend (5). (Bridson, Phillips and Harvey 1980; item 110.3).

Goddard, Edward Hungerford. Natural history notes, 1873–1887. 1 vol., $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, 54 pp.

Notes, covering most branches of natural history, made at Winchester, Oxford, Hilmarton and Clyffe Pypard (both Wiltshire) and on trips to central Europe, 1873–87, with a note, added 1942, on the changing status of some birds in Wiltshire. Edited version published (Dillon 1977).

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Natural history photographs. 2 boxes.

Mainly black and white, 1950s and 1960s, covering most branches of natural history, particularly botany. Some annotated. Several photographers acknowledged but mainly the work of N.U. Grudgings.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Natural History Section records, 1946–81. 2 boxes. MS and typescript.

1. **Minute books.** No. 1, 1946–53, $7 \times 9''$, 114 pp.; no. 2, 1953–63, $7 \times 9''$, 128 pp.; no. 3, 1963–75, quarto, 232 pp.; no. 4, 1975–81, A4, 56 pp. All with numerous looseleaf inserts.

   These minute books constitute a formal record of the Section in its 35 years of existence.

2. **Records of field meetings,** 1950–70. 19 exercise books, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. All with looseleaf inserts.

   A record of dates and venues of field meetings, attendance and activities, often with a list of species observed.

3. **Natural History Bulletin.** First series nos. 1–2, September 1973 and January 1974; second series nos. 1–16, June 1974–August 1981. A4, 180 pp., typescript.

   Includes records of field meetings (a continuation of 2 above), reports of lectures, short articles by members, reports of the activities of other natural history organizations and details of the Section's publishing projects.

4. **Miscellaneous papers,** 1947–73. Foolscap, quarto and A4, approx. 300 pp., typescript.

Members lists; programmes of meetings and lectures; details of surveys carried out in conjunction with national organizations such as the BTO and BSBI and some newspaper cuttings.

Geology and paleontology

Andrews, William Ryton. Geological notebooks, *c.* 1890. 1 box.

The Andrews geological memoranda, including early drafts of papers and chronological lists of sites visited with notes and drawings on the exposures and their fossils (Delair and Barron 1979; Torrens 1979).

1. **Geological history of Chilmark Valley.** 1 vol., $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, 60 pp.

   Introduction; sketch of the Vale of Wardour; scenery of Chilmark quarries; the strata and their fossils; the building stone and its uses; ending.
2. **The origin and mode of the formation of the Vale of Wardour.** 1 vol., $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$, 59 pp.

   Read before the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society and printed with minor alterations in *WAM* (Andrews 1892).
3. **Geology of Vale of Wardour.** 1 vol., $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8''$, 184 pp.

   The 'old' book. The best of the material was extracted and incorporated into 4 below, but some original material remains.
4. **Introduction to the physical and geological description of the Vale of Wardour.** 1 vol., $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8''$, 186 pp.

   The 'new' book. Revised edition of 3 above. Systematic account of strata and their fossils.
5. **Geological notes.** 1 vol., $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, 126 pp.

   Miscellaneous notes on the Wardour Vale, wells, sand pits, road cuttings, railway cuttings, quarries, chalk pits and other geological exposures. It 'contains the greatest amount of important material relating to exposures in the Vale of Wardour and the Salisbury areas' (Delair and Barron 1979).
6. **Section of Upper Cretaceous bed near Eastbourne.** 1 vol., $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, 38 pp.
7. **Collection of papers on the Purbeck and Portland beds and the Vale of Wardour and Salisbury area.** 24 items.

   Sources used by Andrews in the compilation of his notes and papers.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Geological papers. 1 box. MS and typescript.

1. **Anon. Fossils displayed in the Natural History Room of Devizes Museum.** 5pp Typescript.
2. **Anon. List of Fossils below display cases (the 'Students Collection').** 11 pp. Typescript.
3. **Anon. Display cases, Notes and list of fossils.** 32 pp. Typescript.

   These three typescripts refer to the geological display at the Museum, 1958–82.
4. **Anon. Geological display.** 11 pp. Typescript. Refers to a pre-1958 display.
5. **Anon. Palaeontolographical Society.** Vols I-III contents lists. 10 pp.
6. **Anon. Wiltshire references in *QJGS* and *Proceedings of the Geological Association* and geological articles in *WAM*.** 1859–1971. Incomplete. Exercise book.
7. **Arkell, William Joscelyn. Letter to E.H. Goddard,** 23 November 1927.

   Concerns identification of 18 fossils from the Pictonia and Rasenia Zones of the Kimmeridge Clay, Wootton Bassett New Cutting, 1927. List appended.
8. **Delair, Justin B. Wiltshire fossil vertebrata: a bibliography.** 1978, Foolscap, 7 pp. Typescript.
9. **Dillon, Patrick J. A bibliography of Wiltshire geology and palaeontology.** 1982, A4, 18 pp. Typescript.
10. **Edmunds, J.H. Correspondence with Cecil Simpson,** 1942–3. 10 letters.

    Concerned with Simpson's work on the geomorphology of the Vale of Pewsey.
11. **Grover, Anne. Wiltshire geological references from the subject catalogue of the Geological Survey library.** 1968, A4, 4 pp. Typescript.
12. **Spicer, Rev. E.C. Syllabus of a course of six lectures on the geology of Wiltshire.** 1909, Cr. 8vo, 12 pp. Typescript.
13. **Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Catalogue of fossils held in the Museum.** 1 vol., $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$, 142 pp., with watercolour illustration and numerous looseleaf inserts.

    Catalogue lists specimen no., genus, species, locality, formation and in some case donor. Donors mentioned include Brooke Collection, W. Brown, T. Codrington, C.W. Cunnington, Mrs Cunnington, W. Cunnington, W. Curry, B. Everett, Rev. A. Fane, E.H. Goddard, Canon J.E. Jackson, H.G.O. Kendal, E.C. Lowndes, P. Pickering, R.E. Sandell, E. Sloper, Warminster Museum Collection and H. Withers. Other data include notes on a slab of Upper Greensand from the Blackdown Beds and a list of 16 fossils identified with it; corrections to exhibits by Dr R. Casey of

the Geological Survey and Museum, July 1939; list of fossils identified at Bristol University, September 1958, for display in Devizes Museum; list of fossils deposited in the Geological Museum, South Kensington, May 1959 and a list of fossils sent to Kenya, 1959. Watercolour illustration is of specimen 2299, a Plesiosaur.

Zoology

Gwatkin, Joshua Reynolds Gascoigne. Notes on birds, 1878–1938. 1 vol., Cr. 8vo, 166 pp.

Provenanced observations on birds, mainly in the Potterne/Tilshead area; details of specimens taken for taxidermy; phenological records; lists of birds seen on trips to Europe in the 1890s, Asia Minor in 1903 and India in 1905; some copied textbook descriptions (Dillon and Jones 1982).

Gwatkin, Joshua Reynolds Gascoigne. Indian birds, 1905. 2 vols., A4 looseleaf binders.

Descriptions and notes on the occurrence and habitats of 60 species,all with water colour illustrations (mainly 7 × 10″).

Heginbothom, Charles Davis. Mollusca papers. 2 boxes.

1. **Notes on the distribution of the mollusca of Wiltshire.** 1 vol., 9 × 7″, 192 + xxix pp.

Section 1 (pp. 1–43) is a county list giving details under family, genus, species, date of capture, county division, reference number (to cabinet of specimens in Devizes Museum), locality and remarks. Section 2 (pp. 44–192) comprises notes on individual species giving expanded information for details listed under section 1 together with taxonomic information; some illustrations (line drawings and watercolours) and location maps. Other material includes a motto on the inside front cover, biographical notes on the author as regards his land and freshwater shell collecting hobby (2 pp.), cabinet details and an index (27 pp.). The whole work provides a record of his collecting from the 1890s to 1950.

2. **Notebook.** 1 vol., $6\frac{1}{2}$ × 4″, 157 pp.

List of Wiltshire mollusca not recorded by the author; list of Wiltshire mollusca authors with biographical details of some; Conchological Society records for Wiltshire; errors in books on Wiltshire records; extracts from Cunnington notebooks and other county lists; shells found in various archaeological excavations and miscellaneous notes on species. Most of this data was incorporated into his two papers on conchology (Heginbothom 1946, 1948).

3. **Wiltshire mollusc collectors.** 1 vol. $5\frac{3}{4}$ × $8\frac{1}{2}$″, 20 pp.

Copies of his two papers on conchology (Heginbothom 1946, 1948); 6 pp. watercolour illustrations by A.E. Stubbs; letters from J.D. Grose and D.M. John (Town Clerk of Swindon) regarding the gift of a shell collection to Swindon Museum.

4. **Land and freshwater snails taken in North and South Wilts.** 1 vol., $6\frac{1}{2}$ × 4″, 60 pp.

Species listed alphabetically with details of specimens taken in the Devizes district and those exchanged. (An early notebook superseded by 'Notes on the distribution of the mollusca of Wiltshire').

5. **Index to variations and band formulae of** *Helix nemoralis* **and** *Helix hortensis.* 1 vol., 9 × 7″, 43 pp.

Index to a separate cabinet of *Helix* (now *Cepaea*) varieties, Devizes Museum.

6. **Correspondence,** 1898–19. 102 letters and miscellaneous notes.

Concerns species identification, distribution, exchange and the bibliography and biography of Wiltshire conchology. Correspondents include J.H. Adams, A.E. Boycott, H.C. Brentnall, E. Cook, B.H. Cunnington, E.A. Ellis, J.D. Grose, J.H. Halliday, C.P. Hurst, J.W. Jackson, R.S. Newall, G. Peirson, C.W. Pugh, W.D. Roebuck, A.E. Salisbury, F. Stevens, A.E. Stubbs, E.W. Swanton, J.W. Taylor, E. Todd and J.R. LeB. Tomlin.

7. **Census of distribution.** 2 lists.

Census lists for Taylor's *Monograph of British Land and Freshwater Mollusca* annotated with details of records still required for the two Wiltshire vice counties.

8. **Collection of papers on Wiltshire land and freshwater mollusca.** 16 items with MS index.

The 16 sources used by Heginbothom in the compilation of his papers (1946, 1948). Some annotations.

Hony, George Bathurst. Natural history notes. 1 looseleaf binder, MCr. 8vo, approx. 200 pp.

The notes, covering mammals, birds, fishes, reptiles, amphibians, fossil vertebrates and a bibliography of zoology, include pre-1900 records extracted from literature and new records collected by Hony in the period 1908–1919. Most of the data were summarized in a series of handlists (Hony, 1915a, 1915b 1916, 1917).

Hony George Bathurst. Correspondence, 1916–17. 6 letters.

From G.H. Engleheart (1), W.S. Medlicott (1),

R.S. Newall (2), W.D. Roebuck (2), following the publication of the handlists.

Hony, George Bathurst. Catalogue of birds in the Museum, 1914, 1 vol., 8 × 10½″, 58 pp. MS and typescript.

Includes notes on the nomenclature, a history of the collection, a list of cases and specimens, notes on the birds in the collection (including details of acquisition), local names of birds and an index to the collection.

Hony, George Bathurst. List of birds. 1 vol, quarto looseleaf binder, 80 pp. Typescript.

Compiled from the 1914 catalogue but including sketches of case lay-outs.

Squires, A.E. Natural history observations. Quarto looseleaf folder, 26 pp., with maps and record cards.

Notes made by A.E. Squires during his term as Biology Master at Tidworth Down Secondary Modern School, Ludgershall 1960–2 and as Zoological Recorder for the Salisbury & District Natural History Society 1962. Includes lists of Arachnidae, Coleoptera, Amphibia, Reptilia, Aves and Mammalia.

Trumper, W.T. Bird's egg collection papers. 1 box. MS and typescript.

1. **Correspondence,** 1903–19. 46 letters.
   Concerned with egg collection, purchase and exchange from J. Gill (2); H.W. Marsden (1); Watkins and Doncaster (7); R.H. Wrigley (36).
2. **British birds. A classification.** Foolscap, 16 pp.
3. **Label lists, price lists and catalogues,** *c.* 1910.
   From H.W. Marsden, Bristol; Rowland Ward, Piccadilly; Watkins and Doncaster, Strand.
4. **Reprints of papers on oology by Thomas Parkin of Hastings.**
   Four reprints from the *Hastings and St. Leonards Observer*. 1880s and 1890s.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Catalogue of eggs of Wiltshire breeding birds in Devizes Museum, 1902. 6¼ × 8″, 107 pp.
Details listed under species, reference number, place of collection and collector. 107 species listed but collection incomplete. Specimens collected 1894–1902 by W.S. Medlicott and J. Penrose and some obtained from the collection of E. Sloper.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. 'Wiltshire Birds' papers, 1952–9. 1 box. MS and typescript.

The full documentation for the research, production and sale of the *Wiltshire Birds* handlist (Peirson 1959).

1. **Wiltshire birds.** MS for Handlist. Quarto, 81 pp.
   Summary statement for 425 species. Read by W.B. Alexander, G. Boyle, W.M. Congreve and J.K. Stanford. Some records added by R.G. Barnes to complete 1957.
2. **A checklist of Wiltshire birds.** 1 looseleaf binder, quarto, 38 pp.
   Statement of intent for production of handlist; plans for the first draft; summary of work done; abbreviations used; form of entries.
3. **Species lists.** 5 looseleaf binders, quarto, 408 pp.
   Records extracted from ornithological literature and indexed according to the BTO *Field List of British Birds*, 1953.
4. **Summaries of records for north and south Wiltshire vice counties.** Foolscap and quarto, 98 pp.
   Summaries, from Bird Records Card Index (Bridson, Phillips and Harvey 1980; item 110.1), prepared by G.L. Boyle, G.W. Collett, D. Newton Dunn, M. Luckham, M.E. Nurse, D. Peall, C. Rice, J.K. Stanford, H.W. Timperley, R. Whitlock and others.
5. **Breeding season survey,** 30 species, 1952. Foolscap, 88 pp.
   Data, on BTO Distribution Record Sheets, for 14 localities with a typescript summary of results.
6. **Warbler record maps.** Quarto, 9 pp.
   Maps, showing distribution of 9 species in Wiltshire according to available records, 1946–52.
7. **Queries.** 1 looseleaf binder, quarto, 16 pp.
   Queries arising from the documentary research.
8. **Extracts from Bowood game records.** Foolscap, 8 pp. Typescript.
   Records of woodcock, teal, snipe, landrail, duck and plover 1851–1933.
9. **Correspondence,** 1952–8. Approx. 30 letters.
   Concerns the editing of the Handlist.
10. **Wiltshire ornithological bibliography.** Foolscap and quarto. MS and typescript.
    Compiled from Mullens and Swann (1917), *The Zoologist*, *The Field*, *WAM*, and other sources. Wiltshire records extracted.
11. **List of birds considered to be essential to a collection of Wiltshire birds.** Foolscap, 5 pp. Typescript.
12. **Sales correspondence and accounts.** Approx. 200 items.
    Orders, sales, invoices, bank statements, account books and correspondence regarding the sale of the Handlist.

Botany

Anon. Flora of Winsley. 1 box. Several hundred sheets.

The compiler signed himself 'Avismore' and the collection, which consists of species notes, including medicinal lore and local names, watercolour illustrations and some mounted plant material, appears to have been made in the grounds of Winsley Sanatorium, near Bath.

Dartnell, George E. English plant names. 1 vol, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 8''$, 78 pp.

Lists common name or local variants, scientific name and locality. Wiltshire names incorporated in Dartnell and Goddard (1891–9).

Dartnell, George E. Wiltshire: popular names of plants. 1 vol., $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$, 53 pp.

Record labels, arranged alphabetically according to scientific name, listing scientific name, local variant and locality. Some of the material incorporated in Dartnell and Goddard (1891–9).

Grose, J. Donald. Botanical papers. 2 boxes and an 8-drawer card index.

1. *Flora of Wiltshire* **documentation.** 8-drawer card index.

   Seven drawers deal with plant localities arranged as species; locality; 10 km grid. ref.; date; habitat; recorder (if not J.D.G.). These data formed the basis of Part One of the *Flora of Wiltshire* (Grose 1957). Voluminous correspondence interleaved with cards. One drawer deals with site data.
2. *Flora of Wiltshire* **documentation.** 1 box.

   Approximately 5000 site lists used in compiling Part Two of the *Flora*, 'The vegetation of Wiltshire'. For arrangement of lists according to habitat and for format see Grose (1957, 671–9).
3. **Wiltshire field notebooks.** 1934–53. 6 vols., $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and $8 \times 5''$, each approx. 200 pp.

   Mainly individual plant records listing date, species, locality, details of material collected, habitat with maps and anatomical details where appropriate. Entries have a pencil cancellation where data have been incorporated into *Flora* card index or Herbarium (now in Devizes Museum) as appropriate. This was a set of seven volumes; volume one is missing as each entry is numbered starting at 601. Some correspondence interleaved.
4. **Non-Wiltshire plant notes,** 1939–52. 1 vol., 12 7″, approx. 300 pp. Typescript.

   Notes on the Isles of Scilly, Cornwall, Monmouth, Hereford, Glamorgan, Gower, Brecon, Carmarthen, Pembrokeshire, Cardigan, Anglesea and Caernarvon, Alderney (published as Grose 1937), Sark and Guernsey.
5. **List of families, genera and species of British flowering plants.** 1 vol., $12 \times 7''$, approx. 500 pp. Typescript.

   The scheme adopted by Grose in all his listings.

Heginbotom, Charles David. Plant notes, 1923–42. 1 vol., Cr.8vo, 347 pp.

Annotations, mainly Wiltshire, and watercolouring in *Illustrations of the British Flora*, 3rd edition (Bridson, Phillips and Harvey, 1980 item 110).

Heginbothom, Charles David. Plant notes, 1943–4. 1 vol.

Annotations, mainly Wiltshire, in *The Botanist's Field Diary for Recording the Place and Date of Flowering Plants*. (Tunbridge Wells: Baldwin, 1939). Insert 'Botanical Excursions 31st May, 1947 – 30th July, 1947' 8 pp. Species lists for a number of Wiltshire localities.

Heginbothom, Charles David. Herbarium catalogue. Foolscap, 128 pp.

Specimens, mostly Devizes, collected 1907–30. Some non-Wiltshire material. 93 Orders represented, catalogued under order, genus, catalogue number, species, English name, date found, locality, situation.

Sandell, Richard Emery. Botanical Notebooks. 1 box. Bridson, Phillips and Harvey 1980, item 110.5.

1. **Field notebooks.** 3 vols., $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, 2 vols. approx. 200 pp plus index vol.

   Individual plant records for the 1940s and 1950s, mainly Wiltshire but covering much of the British Isles, arranged according to species, locality and date. Maps and anatomical detail where appropriate.
2. **List of botanical records,** 1927–62. 6 vols., $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$, each approx. 300 pp., ring binders.

   Individual records, including material transcribed from field notebooks arranged according to Clapham, Tutin and Warburg (1951) as species, locality and date with some maps and anatomical detail.
3. **Indices to botanical records.** 3 vols., foolscap and $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$.

   Alphabetical listings of plant localities and listings of species under family, genus and species.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Herbarium catalogue. 2 vols., foolscap, approx. 300 pp.

Details, as of 1958, of 2068 specimens in the

Devizes Museum Collection. Entries listed under catalogue number, district as defined by Flower (1870), condition on a 9 point scale, place of collection, date of collection and collector where known; with letters concerning some specimens. The catalogue was re-written during the restoration of the Herbarium in the 1950s and lists 'infested specimens' (mostly destroyed) and specimens donated by J.D. Grose in 1958. There are three inserts: 'The Herbarium of the Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Society' by Miss B. Gullick, Salisbury, 10 April 1937; 'List of infested plants to be destroyed' by J.D. Grose, 25 November 1957; and 'Plants of the *Wiltshire Flora* not yet represented in the Herbarium' by J.D. Grose.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. *Flora of Wiltshire* **and** *Supplement to the Flora of Wiltshire* **papers.** 1 box.

Orders, sales, invoices, bank statements, account books and correspondence regarding sales of the two publications. Approx. 300 items.

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Notes

Millbarrow and Shelving Stone – Finally at Rest?

Although both are now destroyed, Millbarrow and Shelving Stone are amongst the better known of the chambered tombs in the Avebury region. This immortality has been ensured by the reproduction, in various publications, of drawings of the monuments by John Aubrey (1665–97, Bodleian Library MS Top. Gen. c25, fo.57 fo.63) and William Stukeley (1743, Tab XXX and XXXVII). Both tombs were situated close to Winterbourne Monkton, a village 2 kilometres north of Avebury. Indeed it is this proximity to one another that has led to the uncertainty concerning their precise locations (Smith 1885, 83–4; Crawford 1921, 55; Daniel 1950, 229–30; Grinsell 1957, 146; Corcoran 1969, 294).

Millbarrow

The earliest reference to Millbarrow is that of John Aubrey in his *Monumenta Britannica* (1665–97, Bodleian Library MS Top. Gen. c25 fo.57). His sketch shows a long barrow surrounded by an orthostatic peristalith and containing some form of chamber within its broader end. He states that 'it lies between Mounkton and Aubury'. In 1695, in the enlarged version of Camden's *Britannia* (1695, 112) Mr Tanner writes of 'that large oblong barrow in Monkton field, called Millbarrow', but a more helpful reference in terms of locating the site is given by William Stukeley (1743, 46): 'In Monkton, west of the town, is a large and flat long barrow . . . a most magnificent sepulchre, and call'd Millbarrow.' So impressive was the monument that it merited mention by name on the early maps of Wiltshire (Andrews and Dury 1773; Cary 1789), on which it is shown to the NW of Monkton. Sadly, Colt Hoare did not illustrate it on his maps of Wiltshire, but in 1815 the first Ordnance Survey maps showed it on the N side of the track from West Field Barn to Winterbourne Monkton. The belief that this 'tumulus' was Millbarrow is supported by a survey of Monkton compiled in 1774, in which the field directly to the N of the track at this point is named 'Millborough' (Anon. 1774).

But even this splendid megalithic tomb was not immune from the processes of destruction, and by 1849 Rev. Merewether (1849, 93) recorded that the long barrow had 'been levelled'. However, it must still have been recognizable, for in 1854 William Hillier investigated several sarsen-covered burials 'about 300 yards west of Millbarrow'. A hand-drawn map, accompanying the report (Hillier 1854, 303) in the annotated copy of WAM, vol. 1, in Devizes Museum, again shows the long barrow (labelled 'Millbarrow') on the N edge of the track running W from Monkton.

The barrow was finally levelled by the farmer soon after 1863 (Davies and Thurnam 1865, Plate 58; Thurnam 1869, 201.). When Rev. Smith (1885, 83–4) wrote his account of Wiltshire antiquities, he ascribed the site to Shelving Stone, placing Millbarrow immediately adjacent to West Field Barn. Smith's error could possibly have been due to his misreading of the passage that he quotes from *Crania Britannica* (Davies and Thurnam 1865, Plate 58). O.G.S. Crawford (1921, 54) was also of the opinion that the 'tumulus' marked on the OS 1815 2-inch map was Shelving Stone, and such was his influence that from 1924 the site at SU 0943 7220 was labelled 'Shelving Stone Long Barrow (Site of)' on the larger-scale OS maps.

Despite Professor Daniel's correct identification of this site as that of Millbarrow (1950, 229), both subsequent surveys have adhered to the belief that Shelving Stone stood here, with Millbarrow further to the W (Grinsell 1957, 146; Corcoran 1969, 294.).

Shelving Stone

Shelving Stone was even unluckier than Millbarrow, and was destroyed totally some time between 1825 and 1849 (Britton 1825, 309–10; Merewether 1849, 93). Much of the evidence for locating its site derives from William Stukeley's papers, but the earliest reference is again that of John Aubrey (1665–97, Bodleian Library MS Top. Gen. c25 fo.63), who writes, 'In Mounkton Field, a mile from Aubury, is a long picked stone seven foot and more. It leaneth eastward upon two stones as in the figure: it is called Shelving Stone.' The editors of the recently published fascimile of *Monumenta Britanni-*

ca (Fowles and Legg 1982, 822–3) concluded that the tomb was at SU 0943 7220, their decision influenced by the belief that Monkton field lay only to the W of the Avebury–Swindon road. This is not so – the fields of Monkton parish extend well to the E, as is illustrated in the following quotation from Stukeley's manuscripts. 'Walking a good way into Monkton fields upon the elevation there and bringing Silbury and the cove into a line which is the grand meridian you see the horizon open in a very beautiful manner as a vista beyond it.' (Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 231, fo.31) This elevation (at SU 105 725) was known as Chink Hill, and it appears on several drawings as the northerly point of Stukeley's 'grand meridian'.

Strangely, at no point in either *Abury* or his unpublished manuscripts does Stukeley mention Shelving Stone by name. But it is clear from a comparison of Aubrey's drawing (Bodleian Library, MS Top. Gen. c25 fo.63) and Tab. XXXVII in *Abury* (Stukeley, 1743, 72) that this was the tomb that Stukeley was illustrating. Colt Hoare (1821, 94) confirms this.

Stukeley shows Shelving Stone in the foreground of a view from Chink Hill (Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 231, fo.6r) which is labelled '20 May 1724 The Archdruids Sepulchre on the hill E of Monkton & in the meridian of Abury'. Another drawing, illustrating the 'Northern Meridian line of Abury 22 May 1724', shows the tomb on the second ridge of land to the northeast of the Avebury complex (Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 231, fo.6v). And in the 'Prospect' from Waden Hill the 'kistvaen', as Stukeley calls it, appears twice – its initial positioning slightly corrected, placing it directly upon the drawn 'meridian' (Figure 1: Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. b65 fo.109).

The crucial evidence, which allows an accurate estimate of the site of Shelving Stone to be made, comes from the parish survey (Anon. 1774). On the map of Middle and South fields, field 24 is named as 'Shelven Stone', and in the accompanying inventory the third strip of land south of the northern boundary hedge is described as 'Brown the stones acres'. Transferring these fields on to a modern map, and ensuring that the proposed site lies on Stukeley's 'meridian', the estimated grid reference for Shelving Stone is SU 1037 7156. This places the tomb on the second ridge of land NE of Avebury, E of the Swindon road, as indicated by Stukeley's drawings.

The confusion over these two tombs need never have arisen. Examination of Stukeley's unpublished manuscripts in the Bodleian Library has revealed that on two of his drawings both Millbarrow and Shelving Stone appear (MS Eng. Misc. b65, fo.93, fo.109), with Millbarrow to the W and Shelving Stone to the E of Monkton church. Once again research has shown how remarkably accurate much of Stukeley's fieldwork.

It is the author's hope that these destroyed megalithic tombs may now rest in peace – Millbarrow at SU 0943 7220, Shelving Stone at SU 1037 7156!

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Figure 1. William Stukeley's prospect from Waden Hill, drawing of 1722–4.
The view looks over Avebury from the S, with the henge at the right, the church prominent to its left, and the manor just beyond. 'Milbarrow' is marked and labelled, beyond the trees and a little to the left of the manor.
Shelving Stone is marked twice. The correct position is on the meridian, the thin double line running straight up and down the photograph and running, as Stukeley visualized it, through Silbury Hill and the Avebury Cove; Shelving Stone is the little megalithic construction drawn just on the line, halfway above the henge bank towards Broad Hinton. It had first been marked wrongly, as the other megalithic structure, labelled 'kistvaen', just to the left. (Photograph: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. Misc. b65 fo. 109, reproduced by permission.)

The Calendar of the Amesbury Psalter

Little is known of the school of the Sarum Illluminator, which flourished between 1240 and 1260, producing a small number of works of considerable artistic beauty and importance.[1] Characterized by a marked similarity of style and execution, most of the known manuscripts were commissioned by prominent persons associated with the diocese and city of Salisbury.[2] While there is no evidence to connect specific works with the patronage of the royal court at nearby Clarendon, it is significant that the two psalters in the collection were made for the religious houses of Amesbury and Wilton, both esteemed as places of retirement for noble widows and the upbringing of aristocratic children.[3] Eleanor of Provence, relict of Henry III, took the veil at Amesbury some years after the death of her husband in 1272.[4] Wilton abbey had continued to attract royalty and nobility from the early days of its foundation in pre-Conquest times.[5]

The most distinctive works of the Sarum illuminator are the Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Lat. 24) and the Amesbury Psalter (Oxford, All Souls College MS 6), both of which, together with other products of his school, have been described by Dr Albert Hollaender.[6] Here are offered some observations on the calendar of the Amesbury Psalter, a part of the manuscript to which Dr Hollaender devotes little attention, being concerned principally with historical and artistic, rather than liturgical, considerations.[7]

The calendar occupies fols. 7r–12v of the manuscript, each leaf of which measures 305 × 217 mm as the result of trimming, apparently during the mid 18th century, when the psalter was rebound in its present casing of blind-tooled dark morocco.[8] Finely drawn, ruled frames of greyish black crayon containing 30 lines enclose written space of 193 × 141 mm. KL headings are in gold, occupying 3–4 lines on a background of blue and reddish pink with scroll decoration in white or red. Golden numbers are in black or red; dominical letters in red, blue, or black. Entries are in black, red, and blue with gradings, many with *Te Deum*.[9] Capitals are single-line in red or blue with pen flourishes of opposite colour. Deletions include both feasts of St Thomas of Canterbury (translation, 7 July, in red, and martyrdom, 29 December, in blue with octave), though a later, probably Marian, hand has reinstated the earlier entry in black ink. Other, perhaps contemporary, additions include St David (1 March, ungraded),[10] St Richard [of Chichester] (3 April, ungraded), St Anne (26 July, ungraded), octave of St Andrew (7 December, ungraded). The obit of Queen Mary is entered in the margin opposite 17 November, the anniversary of her death in 1558.

With the exception of the feasts of saints Emerentiana (23 January), Sabina (29 January), and Potamius (31 January), the last two being apparently unknown to English observance, the calendar is distinctly Sarum and may be dated after 1252 on account of the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (15 September, in blue). Celebrated on the same day was the feast of relics at Salisbury, also written in blue. Other characteristic Sarum entries include St Lucian (8 January), St Sulpicius (17 January), St Edward (18 March, with translation on 20 June), translation of St Benedict (11 July, in blue), translation of St Swithun (15 July), St Cuthburga (31 August), St Edith (16 September, in red), and St Melor (1 October, in red, ungraded). Another entry for St Melor, probably commemorating his translation, occurs in blue under 6 May,[11] and is evidence that the psalter was intended for use at Amesbury where the relics of the young Armorican prince had lain since the late 10th century.[12] The saint appears also in the litany, immediately before St Kenelm, on fol. 176r.[13]

The inclusion of saints Emerentiana, Sabina and Potamius in an otherwise typically Sarum calendar is presumably due to the devotional interests of the nun for whom the psalter was commissioned. That the original owner of the manuscript was a nun is suggested by the kneeling figure depicted on two of the full-page

1. A. Hollaender, 'The Sarum illuminator and his school', *WAM*, vol. 50 (1944), pp. 230 sqq.
2. Ibid., p. 230.
3. *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3 (1956), pp. 231, 246–7.
4. Ibid., p. 247.
5. Ibid., pp. 231–2.
6. See note 1.
7. Hollaender (note 1), pp. 230 sqq. See also R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200–1500* (London, 1981), pp. 14 and 54–61 (plates 8–11).
8. Cf. ibid., p. 241.
9. Cf. J. Wickham Legg ed., *The Sarum Missal*, (Oxford: 1916), p. xx.
10. St David was a *novum festum* at Salisbury as late as 1452 (C. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge: 1901), p. 261).
11. The grading of three lections probably applies to the more important feast of St John before the Latin Gate, entered also in blue.
12. G.H. Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, vol. 3 (Oxford: 1964), p. 24.
13. Other saints in the litany include Polycarp, Macharius, Columbanus, Philibert, Maiolus, Mary of Egypt, Radegund, and Genevieve (fols. 176r,v).

miniatures.[14] Veneration of St Emerentiana was characteristic of, though not confined to, Roman and monastic usage,[15] and in English observance her cultus was known also to the York rite. According to the tradition followed by the Roman martyrology, Emerentiana was the foster-sister of St Agnes, at whose tomb she was stoned to death by the mob while mourning.[16] This association appears to have determined the date of her feast on 23 January, two days after that of her relative. The cultus of the virgin Sabina originated at Troyes where the saint was commemorated on 29 January,[17] as in the Amesbury calendar. Usuard and the Roman martyrology unaccountably assign her feast to 29 August, thus making it coincide with that of the synonymous Roman widow who perished for the faith during the reign of Hadrian.[18] The *acta* of the Gallic Sabina are associated with those of her brother, St Sabinianus, whose martyrdom at Rilly, near Troyes, occurred in the time of Aurelian.[19] Born of pagan parents on the island of Samos, Sabina was later converted to Christianity and, forsaking her idolatrous kin, departed for Rome to receive baptism.[20] In search of her lost brother she travelled to Gaul by way of Ravenna, accomplishing many miracles during the journey.[21] Upon reaching Troyes and learning of his martyrdom, she died shortly after, probably expiring at the place where Sabinianus lay a few miles from the city.[22] The saint was buried beside her brother with whom a shared cultus developed in the locality.[23] Also venerated at Troyes was St Potamius, whose feast occurs on 31 January. Tradition relates that Potamius, a nobleman of the vicinity, journeyed to Rome to seek forgiveness of the pope in expiation of a grave transgression.[24] On return the saint lived as a hermit near Troyes, spending the remainder of his life in penitential prayer and works.[25] After his death Potamius was laid to rest in an oratory dedicated to St Mark, around which the village of Saint-Pouange eventually grew in his memory.[26] The shrine continued as a centre of pilgrimage until the 16th century, when it was desecrated and destroyed during the religious disturbances of the period.[27]

Since its refoundation by Henry II in 1177, Amesbury had been a daughter establishment of the abbey of Fontevrault.[28] Another dependency of that house was the priory of Our Lady at Foicy in the diocese of Troyes, settled by Thibaut de Champagne in 1102.[29] The notable occurrence of saints Sabina and Potamius in the calendar suggests that the original owner of the psalter may have been a nun of Foicy professing for various reasons at the sister house of Amesbury. In view of the richly decorated quality of the manuscript, evidently a specially commissioned work, such a nun is likely to have been high-born,[30] and her apparent devotional interests may contribute towards establishing identity by providing a possible clue to her background.

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14. Fols. 4^{r}, 6^{r} (see Hollaender (note 1), pp. 243–4).
15. The saint occurs also in two other calendars from Amesbury : Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS Ee.6.16 (breviary offices, 14th cent.) and Oxford Bodl. MS liturg. misc. 407 (psalter, *c.* 1220, adapted for Franciscan use after 1337). In the latter Emerentiana appears to be a 14th-century addition.
16. H. Delehaye *et al.* (ed.), *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris . . . Martyrologium Romanum (Acta Santorum* [vol. 49], Brussels: 1940), p. 32.
17. In the revised Troyes calendar she is commemorated on 1 September (*Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Instituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense, vol. 11 (Rome, 1978), col. 539).
18. J. Dubois (ed.), *Le martyrologe d'Usuard* (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, no. 40, (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), p. 293; and *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris* (note 16), pp. 367–8.
19. *Acta Sanctorum Januarii*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1734), pp. 937–46 (cf. *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris* (note 16), p. 368).
20. *Acta Sanctorum Januarii*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1734), p. 944.
21. Ibid., pp. 944–5.
22. Ibid., p. 945 (cf. p. 946).
23. Ibid., p. 946.
24. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (note 17), vol. 10 (Rome, 1968), col. 1057.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. P. Guérin (ed.), *Les petits Bollandistes, vies des saints*, vol. 2 (Bar-le-Duc: 1876), p. 154.
28. *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3, p. 243.
29. Cf. V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1924), p. 296.
30. Cf. *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 3, pp. 246–7.

Excavations at Barton Farm, Bradford-on-Avon, 1983: Interim Report

A small excavation was undertaken at Barton Farm in July 1983 with volunteer labour to examine the remains of a large medieval barn to the NW of the Tithe barn. Examination of the standing remains in and around a later barn built in 1769, recently burnt, suggested the existence of a large barn of cruciform shape, about 40 m in length and 8·5 m in width, the arms being formed by two porches. The stratigraphical association of coursed rubble and ashlar walling with a pair of sawn-off crucks preserved in the walls of the 18th-century barn suggested that about half of the walls of the original barn (period 1) were still substantially intact. Details of the preserved crucks suggested that they belong to the same period as those in the Tithe barn, the Granary barn and Barton Farm itself.

An area which covered the probable E wall of the N arm of the barn was therefore excavated to test the hypothesis formed as a result of the examination of the standing structures, as well as to obtain dating evidence. The foundations of this wall of the barn of

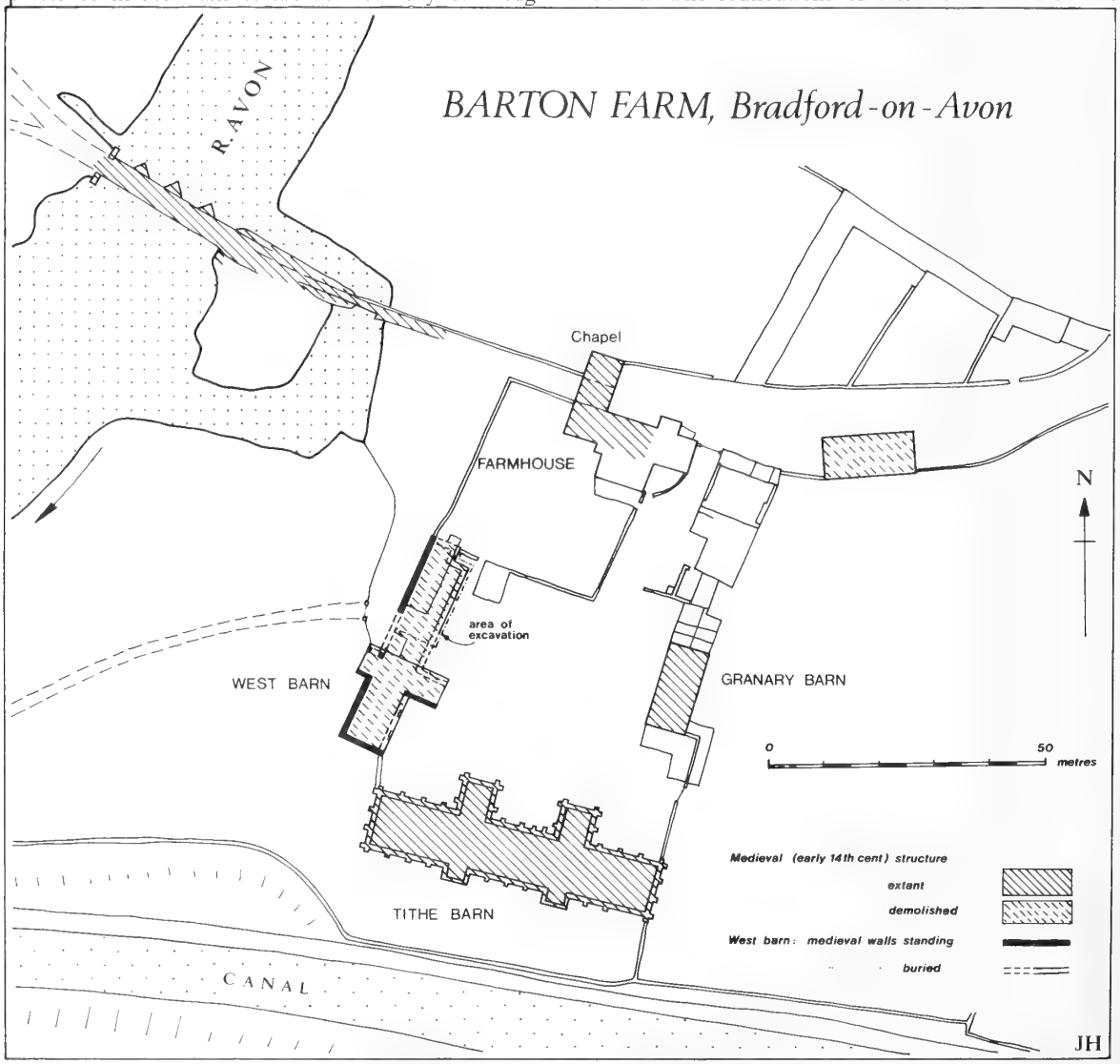

Figure 1. Barton Farm, Bradford-on-Avon, showing medieval structures. The date of the barn to the E of the farmhouse is uncertain. Drawing based on the Ordnance Survey 1:500 map of 1876.

period 1 were indeed located as predicted. Much of it had been destroyed in the post-medieval period (period 2) as a result of the creation of a new gateway and cobbled track through the original wall on the W side (which survived for the rest of its length as a precinct wall), and none of the internal floor levels had survived. Details of the surviving portions suggested a period of rebuilding at some time in the medieval period, a conclusion also suggested by the structure of some of the standing walls elsewhere. The E wall and the roof were probably demolished to ground level when the gateway and track were established. Layers abutting up against the foundations on the exterior provided many fragments of glazed ceramic ridge-tile and a few pieces of pottery, all probably of early-14th-century date, with which were associated fragments of stone roofing tiles.

Two small trenches inside the burnt-out barn of 1769 confirmed details of the plan of the medieval barn as postulated from the standing structures. One of them suggested that the N side of the E–W arm of the barn formed by the two porches was blocked off at a date prior to 1769, probably on the formation of the roadway and disuse of the N end. This would have formed a T-shaped barn extending to the S which would have still used the original medieval roof. This in turn was superseded by the barn of 1769 which reused the older structure on the south side, its northern wall being rebuilt about 1 m N of the line of the walls of the porches of the original medieval barn. This was floored with large rectangular cobbles.

It seems likely that the medieval barn functioned as a byre, though there was no evidence to demonstrate this directly. Its importance lies in the fact that it comprised, and indeed still in part comprises, the fourth side of a large medieval Grange Farm (which also included the Tithe barn, Granary barn, Barton Farm, another barn to the E, and the bridge over the river), built by the Abbess of Shaftesbury as a planned complex arguably newly laid out in the early 14th century. The complex as a whole must be one of the grandest and best-preserved in the country.

JEREMY HASLAM

Littleton in Semington Parish

An area of earthworks at Littleton (ST 907 603), discovered by Roy Canham and Alison Borthwick during aerial photography of the county in February 1978, was chosen for further investigation as a possible medieval site by the Junior Section of the Society in early 1983. The earthworks lie mainly in a field which is called Bar Crofts on the Tithe Award of 1838, in a triangular area situated in the fork of a Y-shaped network of roads. There are also a few platforms to the E of the fork, and in the rickyard adjoining these, a few sherds of green-glazed and coarse buff medieval pottery were found by Junior Section members. As they are on clay soil the house platforms are poorly defined but those in the triangle are dominated by one larger, higher area set inside a rectangular ditched enclosure.

The modern road, the A361, from the Semington roundabout to Littleton has altered the appearance of the hamlet, as the road from Semington formerly came down the W side of the Y. To the immediate NE of the earthworks a part timber-framed farm called Littleton Green remains. A few other houses are shown on the Tithe Map but the most notable is Littleton Wood Farm, now passed by the A361. Documentary evidence and examination by the Junior Section and the Wiltshire Buildings Record have shown that this was the capital messuage of the small manor of Littleton. The building is of four main phases: a timber-framed house running E–W with a 2 (or $2\frac{1}{2}$) bay open hall and a 2 bay solar-service end in line dating from the 15th century; a timber-framed extension in the form of a wing to the N of early-16th-century date; considerable rebuilding in stone with the addition of an unheated parlour wing to the S in the late 16th century, and further alterations including the building of a large new parlour wing to the N with a fine plaster ceiling in the first half of the 17th century.

The village is not mentioned in Doomsday Book. The first references occur in the mid 13th century. It appears in the eyre rolls of the Forest of Selwood at that date, the Semington Brook being the boundary between the Forests of Melksham and Selwood. In 1257 the regarders presented a purpresture at Littleton and it may be that the settlement had originated as an assart of the forest. In 1261 Littleton was one of the 12 tithings owing suit to the Whorwellsdown hundred court and represented there by one tithingman. It was part of the large manor of Steeple Ashton which together with Edington belonged to the Nunnery of St Mary at Romsey in Hampshire from 964 till 1535. Thomas Stikeberd is known to have lived at Littleton in 1262 and there is an Assize Roll reference of 1268. Taxation records show that in 1334 it was a small village assessed

Figure 1. Medieval earthworks at Littleton, looking S with Littleton Green Farm on the left. (Wiltshire Library and Museum Service).

at 28s. 0d. (compared with Semington at 33s. 4d.) and in 1377 it had 43 adults. By 1801 there were still only 65 inhabitants, including children.

The manor (or sub-manor) of Littleton contains a water mill on a leat of the Semington Brook less than half a mile to the NE of the earthworks. It must be of medieval origin since it was once called Stikeberd's Mill after the inhabitant mentioned above. It was at different times leased by the Passion and Somner families, but in 1494 Robert Long of Steeple Ashton, a member of the well-known local family of clothiers, held it from the Abbess of Romsey. The Longs gradually came into possession of extensive lands in the area and as tenants were able to buy them at the Dissolution. In 1509 Thomas Long of Potterne had inherited 'an estate and term of years in a house at Lyttleton in the parish of Steeple Ashton' from his father Thomas of Semington. His own son Henry inherited it in 1550 and lived at Littleton till his death in 1557. The inventory made at the death of a later Henry Long, of Whaddon House, in June 1612, chiefly concerns Whaddon but also lists goods at Southwick Court and at Littleton Wood Farm. The most valuable items at Littleton were 180 acres of corn and 362 sheep. This last item is an echo of fines levied in the Manor Court in the 15th century for overloading the common pastures with sheep at Steeple Ashton, West Ashton, Littleton and Hinton.

Ridge and furrow shown to the W of the earthworks on the aerial photograph (Figure 1) confirms that this was part of one of the open fields of the settlement. Field boundaries suggest another one lay to the immediate E of the earthworks. In 1301 there is a reference to a house (the capital messuage), 40 acres of ploughland and 6 acres of meadow in one holding. A rental and custumal of 1340 lists 8 virgates of land being held by bond tenants in Littleton. This was divided into holdings of $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate or more but with few holdings of over 1 virgate. In 1632 Nicholas Flower of Littleton Mill owned a farm with 68 acres of enclosed land and only 7 acres in open fields, showing that enclosure was early at Littleton as it was in all the area around Semington. In 1788 Littleton Wood Farm consisted of over 60 acres, all enclosed. Finally, in the early 19th century, Littleton Wood Common next to the E boundary of the village was enclosed.

A stone building to the NW of Littleton Wood Farm is known as the 'chapel'. It is about 5·7m square. Only the S and E walls are original and they have a plinth with moulded top and large ashlar quoins, at the top of the E wall are three carved corbels, apparently sawn fragments of an egg and dart cornice. Inside there are parts of a doorway and a fireplace of around 1600 and a shell niche, all used decoratively. It may perhaps be an older building converted into a summer house and later used as a stable. No documentary evidence for a chapel at Littleton has been found. The chapel at Semington was in existence by 1370 and in 1470 it was being used by the inhabitants of Littleton who contributed to the cost of services there. The will of Henry Long of Littleton, proved 1557, mentions that he was to be buried at Semington.

In conclusion, it seems that a small nucleated vill was established at Littleton, probably by the Abbess of Romsey between the late 11th century and the early 13th century. The original site was later abandoned and houses were built on the periphery. The population seems to have remained fairly stable over the centuries, while the farming has changed from predominantly arable to pasture.

P. M. SLOCOMBE

Acknowledgements. The writer would like to thank all the members of the Junior Section and the Wiltshire Buildings Record who co-operated in the project and the owners and tenants of property at Littleton who gave us permission to examine it. Photographs, notes and drawings of Littleton Wood Farm and the 'chapel' have been deposited in the collection of the Wiltshire Buildings Record at Devizes Public Library.

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Disaster Relief in the Seventeenth Century: the Ramsbury Fire of 1648

Fire was an ever-present danger to the early modern community. The widespread use of combustible building materials, especially thatch, inadequate flues and chimneys, the practice of trades with a high fire risk in unsuitable premises, and the stocks of hay, corn and fuel that were kept within the built-up area all contributed to the hazard, and extensive losses of property in accidental fires were not uncommon. A community which suffered from a major fire or other disaster in the period normally received some help in both provisions and money from the surrounding area within a short time of the accident. Further assistance was subsequently raised on a regional, or even national, scale on a charitable brief, a licence to collect relief which was issued by the Lord Chancellor. Collections were taken by the parochial officers, after divine service or on a house-to-house basis. The system was, however, a slow one which was expensive to operate and was open to abuse.[1]

The 'sudden hideous and devoureinge fire' which destroyed the houses and belongings of 130 families in Ramsbury on 14 June 1648 was a serious catastrophe, causing losses estimated to be worth at least £15,000. The county committee authorized collections throughout Wiltshire, but 11 weeks after the fire the victims had received very little aid.[2] This was a consequence of the deleterious effects of the Civil War, the post-war recession and the consequent increase in the number of charitable appeals. In such circumstances voluntary donations were not only reduced in scale but were also more widely diffused than in normal, peacetime, conditions.

The victims of the fire had also appealed to Parliament for a brief, and on 31 July the House of Commons referred their petition to the Committee for Burnings.[3] This committee had been established to deal with the flood of requests for assistance from those places which had lost property during the first Civil War as a result of military activity and in accidental fires.[4] So many claims of that nature were received that the committee was unable to find adequate sources of funds to compensate even those towns of known parliamentarian sympathies which had suffered serious damage.[5] In such a climate those communities which experienced fires after the end of the war had a low priority and were apparently only allocated relief when all the deserving cases of wartime property losses had been provided for.[6] Applications for assistance were dealt with only slowly. Certainly, no official brief had been issued for Ramsbury by the beginning of June 1649, almost a year after the fire, but the inhabitants were alarmed to discover that a brief purporting to relate to the blaze had been forged and that it was being used to raise money. This was, of course, a serious development, for those who had contributed in good faith to the fraudulent brief on the assumption that it was valid would be unlikely to make similar donations when a second, legitimate, collection was taken for the same disaster. To minimize this risk it was necessary for the inhabitants to publicize the fraud as widely as possible, to prevent any further collections being taken and to make those who had already given money aware of the deceit. One of the methods which they chose was to place a notice of the circumstances in the London newsbooks, stressing that the fire had indeed taken place, but that the briefs then circulating 'through many Counties' were invalid. The statement also offered an unspecified reward if any of the culprits were arrested. Both *The Moderate* and *A Perfect Diurnall* printed this account without comment. John Dillingham, in his *The Moderate Intelligencer*, however, took the opportunity to castigate those who had pirated the brief and the justices and clergymen who were deceived by it.[7] As well as publicizing the illegal brief these notices also served to draw attention to the fire itself. None of the newsbooks had mentioned the disaster at the time, for they were then concerned almost exclusively with the second Civil War.

This was a very early example of the press being used to give publicity to such a case. The newsbooks

1. W.A. Bewes, *Church Briefs* (London:Black, 1896). A brief detailing a fire at Cockermouth, Cumberland, was described in 1633 as a 'counterfeit'. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1631–1633*, p. 546.
2. J.S. Cockburn (ed.), *Western Circuit Assize Orders 1629–1648: A Calendar* (Camden Society, fourth series, vol. 17, 1976), p. 285.
3. *Commons' Journal, vol. 5, 1646–8*, p. 654.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
5. Some wartime claims for compensation had still not been dealt with by 1653. *Commons' Journal, vol. 7, 1651–1659*, p. 306.
6. This was the ruling made in the case of Barton-upon-Humber, for instance. *Commons' Journal, vol. 5, 1646–8*, pp. 249, 502–3.
7. British Library, Thomason Tracts, E 559(16), *The Moderate*, 5 – 12 June 1649, 553; E 530(35), *A Perfect Diurnall*, 4 – 11 June 1649, 2568 – 9; E 560(6), *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 7 – 14 June 1649, 2093. The forging of briefs in the post-war period was apparently not uncommon. *Commons' Journal, vol. 7, 1651–1659*, p. 316.

had only developed in the early 1640s, with the lapse of government control and the public's appetite for news of the events of the first Civil War. Many newsbooks were founded, but some survived for only a short time, although a number of them acquired a large enough readership to continue for several years. Initially they were concerned chiefly with military and political events, but gradually their contents widened and in the later 1640s some began to carry advertisements; for horses which had been lost or stolen, books and medical remedies, for example. The inclusion of items such as that placed by the victims of the fire at Ramsbury marked a further expansion of their functions and one which anticipated later developments, for in the early 18th century newspapers became one of the commonest means of publicizing fires and advertising for assistance.

STEPHEN PORTER

A 'New' Wiltshire Seventeenth-Century Token

Williamson Lancashire 3 reading –
obv. IOHN GOVLDING = the Tallow-Chandlers arms.
rev. IN. ASHTON. 1669 = I.G.
attributed to him to Ashton-under-Lyne, is a particularly rare token, no example surviving in either the British Museum or Ashmolean Museum. The surname, however, does not occur in the parish records of that town in the 17th and 18th centuries. Recently an example was found by Mr J. Philpott in his garden at Steeple Ashton, in Wiltshire, and has been acquired by the Devizes Museum, through the good offices of Martin Norgate, the County Museums Officer. The coincidence of the place name suggests most strongly that the token should be attributed to Steeple Ashton.

Although neither the issuer himself, nor the family name, are found in the parish records of this village, it is possible John Goulding was a member of the Goulding family of the near-by village of Seend. Being clearly a dissenting family, they appear only very occasionally in the parish records there. Thomas Goulding was a prosperous farmer at Seend Park. His son, Francis Goulding, was apprenticed as a grocer to another dissenter, Edward Hope, of Devizes, on 19 September 1651, and was admitted freebrother to the Devizes guild on 5 October 1658. Both men issued tokens: that of Francis Goulding (Williamson, Wilts. 67) is undated, while Edward Hope issued two, both dated 1652 (Wilts. 68 and 69). The will of Thomas Goulding, dated 9 May 1663, reveals that he had a younger son, named John, and I would suggest that he was probably set up by his father in Steeple Ashton and issued the token from that village.

It may be noted that John and Francis Goulding were the only people in Britain with this surname to strike tokens in the 17th century, and that the clerk of the Tallow-Chandlers Company confirms that John Goulding was apparently not a member of that Company, and that they have no official records of him.

PAUL ROBINSON

Buckland *et al.*, Pipemakers in Melksham

Clay pipes of a mid-17th-century style bearing the name John Buckland have been found in Wiltshire, for example at Devizes and Marlborough.[1] Pipes by William Buckland have been reported from Marlborough.[2]

A search of parish registers for Melksham[3] produced a great deal of information about the Buckland or Bookland family in the period 1620 to 1735. There is also data about the Buckly, Buckley or Bookly family. There are sufficient coincidences in Christian names, dates, and a trade, to strongly suppose that these are the same family; this assumption is made in what follows. The complete extracts are too long to be reproduced here : the data is deposited with the local studies collection at Wiltshire Library Headquarters, where the reader may like to make his own sythesis of the family relationships. The family trees set out below make reasonable sense of the data; they cannot be proved. Some of the less apparent relationships are more obvious in the context of the whole data. Years are corrected to modern style. No other useful records

1. D.R. Atkinson, 'Clay pipes . . . Marlborough', *WAM*, 60 (1965), 85–95, Fig. 1, no. 15, bowl D. D.R. Atkinson, 'Further notes on clay tobacco pipes . . . Marlborough and Salisbury . . .', *WAM*, 67 (1972), 149–56, Fig. 1, no. 37.
2. A. Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, no. 14), p. 198.
3. Wiltshire Record Office, parish registers, Melksham, call no. WRO 1368. These have been searched for 1620–1735 only. Notes have been deposited with Wiltshire Library Headquarters, Local Studies collection.

were found, but manor court rolls were not searched.

From records there are two John Bucklands and a Thomas Buckley who were definitely pipemakers in Melksham. There are at least two possible identifications for William Buckland; if he was a pipemaker in Melksham, that is.

John Buckland (1) pipemaker

Estimated date of birth *c.* 1640. Possible baptisms:
1643 'John the son of Will: Buckland . . . the 12th March'.
1647 'John the son of John Buckly the 29th April'.

Estimated date of death *c.* 1700. Possible burials:
1683/84 'John Buckland was B[ ]' damaged records, late in the year.
1697 'John Buckly October 21'

Estimated date of marriage *c.* 1670, to Deborah:
burial 1708 'Deborah Buckley Feb: 22d'.

Children's baptisms:
1672 'Edith the daughter of John & Deborah Buckland bap: March 9th'

Note the possible marriage 26 June 1693 'Abraham Wilsher & Edith Buckland both of ys psh'.

1673 'John ye sonn of John Buckland was Baptized December 27th'.

He could possibly have carried on his father's business; see John Buckland (2).

1683 'Samuel the son of John Buckland pipemaker feb 24'

(Slightly long gap. There are other interpretations of the data: e.g. Samuel is son of John Buckland (2) by an earlier marriage than that noted below).

One might estimate that John Buckland snr, (1), made pipes in the period 1665–95, say. This matches some of the pipes reported and dated by their style.

John Buckland (2)

Estimated date of birth *c.* 1670. Possible baptisms:
1665 'John ye son of Wm Buckland' 10 September. Wm was possibly a pipemaker, William Buckland (2).
1673 'John ye sonn of John Buckland' 27 December. i.e. JB (1) the pipemaker.

Estimated dated of death *c.* 1740. Possible burials: none yet found.

Marriage:
1699 'John Buckland of This psh: & Grace Coomes of ye psh: of Lacock January–21',

Wife's burial:
1724 'Grace ye wife of John Bookly pipe maker dec: 16'.

Children's baptisms:
1701 'Tho: ye son of John Buckland June 21' not certain,
burial 1701 '[ ] ye Dr of John Buckly July–6' not certain.
1703 'John the son of John Buckland pipmaker Feb: 7'.
1705 'James the son of John Buckland pipemaker – Octr 7th',
burial 1707 'James the son of John Buckley July 17'.
1709 'James the son of John Buckland – Apr: 25th'.
1711 'Thomas the son of John Buckland – Novr: 4th'.
1719 'Jacob ye son of John Buckly pipe maker October 11'.

One might estimate that John Buckland jnr, JB (2), made pipes in the period 1690–1730, say. This matches reported examples.

Pipes with heel-stamp IOH/BVCK/LAN are described by Atkinson[4] dated to the 1660s and might be ascribed to John Buckland (1). Pipes with stem-stamp IOHN/BVCK/LAND are described by Atkinson[5] dated to the early 18th century and might be ascribed to John Buckland (2). Such ascriptions are a little too definite: father and son working together as these probably did, cannot be separated so simply.

Thomas Buckly pipemaker

The same degree of synthesis is not possible for Thomas Buckly – there is no way to choose from the available data. The only sure record of a pipemaker is a baptism in 1689, 'Mary the daughter of Thomas buckly pipmaker August 11'.

Making bold guesses about age at marriage, 30 say, and the number of years of begetting children, say 15, it is possible to suggest a date of marriage about 1685 and of birth about 1655. Thomas Buckly or Buckland would then be producing pipes on his own account from 1640 to 1710, say: the evidence for this is poor.

Possible baptisms:
1652 'Thomas the son of Walter Buckland the 24th July'.
1656 'Thomas the son of Will: Buckland May ye 5th'.

Burials, a little early:
1692 'Tho: Buckly June 10'.
1695 'Tho: Buckly of Whitly May–17'.

There is even a possible marriage – though rather late, and believed to be another Thomas:
1689 Thomas buckland and mary bull both of this sam parish was married . . . July th 17'.

4. Atkinson (note 1).
5. Atkinson (note 1).

There are other records of Thomas Buckly, Buklands at these dates.

No pipes by Thomas Buckly or Thomas Buckland have come to the attention of the author.

William Buckland, pipemaker

The existence of this pipemaker in Wiltshire is reported by Oswald,[6] but this is not substantiated by more local sources, e.g. the papers by Atkinson.[7] No records have been found, in the limited range searched, of a William Buckland, pipemaker. However, there is one clay pipe fragment in the collections of Devizes Museum (reference DZSWS:1982.226) which can be ascribed to William Buckland. It was excavated at Knap Hill Camp 1908–9. The inscription on the heel base is readable as

W/[B]VC[K]/LA[ ]

using '/' to indicate a new line.

If the estimate of the pipes from style – which is a very uncertain procedure – is taken, there are several possible William Bucklands in Melksham at the right time. The two major candidates are set out below; the style of the Knap Hill pipe does not help the choice of Williams.

William Buckland (1)

Estimated date of birth *c.* 1610; baptisms not searched this early.

Possible burial:
1682 '[ ]am Buckland of Whitly febary the 3:'
but also see William Buckland (2).

Married to Mary Cooke:
1640 'Will: Bucklande and Mary Cooke the 15th November'.

Wife's burial:
1684 'Mary the wife of William Buckland march [ ]'.

Children's baptisms:
1643 'John the son of Will: Buckland . . . the 12th March'.
This John could be the pipemaker, John Buckland (1).
1645 'Eedy the daughter of William Buckland the 5th January'.
burial 1664 'Edith ye daughter of Wm. Buckland buried Febr. 4.1664'.
1654 'Mary ye daughter of William Bucklen eadem [October] ye 11'.
1656 'Thomas the son of Will: Buckland May ye 5th', This could be the pipemaker.

William Buckland (2)

Estimated date of birth *c.* 1630, possible baptism:
1620 'Willm the sonne of Thomas Buckland Taylor decemb 3'.

Possible burials:
1696 'Will: Buckland March – 10'
1720 'William Buckland Sept: 11'
but also see William Buckland (1).

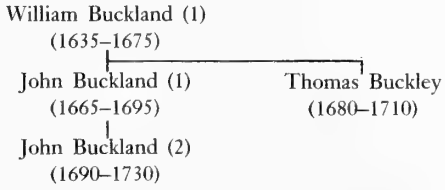
Estimated date of marriage *c.* 1660

Children's baptisms:
1663 'Jeremiah ye son of Wm Buckland baptized Nov 29'
1665 'John ye son of Wm Buckland baptized Sept 10' This could be the pipemaker, John Buckland (2).
1667 'Daniel ye son of William Buckland baptized June 16'
1669 'Mar[ke] the sonne of William Buckland Bapt : June 13th'

William Buckland (1) would have been working from 1635 to 1675, say; William Buckland (2) from 1655 to 1690, say. The reported pipes are dated in the 1660s or 70s.

Possible relationships

Finally, a very neat arrangement of their working dates would be:



The neatness warns against jumping to conclusions in this way.

MARTIN NORGATE

6. Oswald (note 2).
7. Atkinson (note 1).

Edward and James Fox, Pipemakers of Trowbridge

Clay pipes of a 17th-century style bearing the name Edward Fox have been found in the Trowbridge area of Wiltshire. A typical example is that found in the garden of 22 High Street, Steeple Ashton; the stamp mark on the heel base reads ED/WARD/FOX plus four dots (Figure 1).

Pipes by Edward Fox are reported by Oswald.[1] Oswald's work can be misread to imply accurate places of manufacture from pipe finds; this is an uncertain procedure. The resultant distribution of Wiltshire pipemakers would then be concentrated on Salisbury and Marlborough with a few exceptions. Pipemaking was a small-scale industry and more dispersed than this would suggest: the apparent distribution is an artefact of the distribution of research effort. Oswald's distribution has validity at a broad, national scale only. Collections of pipes found in Wiltshire are not all reported and those that are are not well documented. Without firm evidence and good documentation (in the museological sense) it is premature to propose locations for many of those who might appear to be Wiltshire area pipemakers.

Oswald's data is not corroborated by local research, i.e. by Atkinson.[2] The 'Fox' mentioned by the latter used a figure of a fox on a heel stamp: pipes found in Salisbury etc. No relationship is assumed between that Fox and the Fox family of this note. Atkinson mentions Edward Fox, of this note, *en passant* as a name on a pipe in the Devizes Museum collection.

A search of documents in Wiltshire and Somerset Record Offices (WRO and SRO) produced the following data about Edward Fox, his wife Edith, and son James who was also a pipemaker. All records are for Trowbridge. PR indicates parish registers (WRO 608), MCR manorial court records (SRO DD/WY).

1658 PR baptisms: 'December – James son of Edward Fox & Edith his wife borne 26th'.

1665 MCR: a shambles belonging to Edward is presented as being in decay.

1677 MCR: the well against Edward's door in Back Street is mentioned.

1660s, 1670s MCR: Edward appears on the list of residents.

1680s MCR: both Edward and James appear on the list of residents.

1681 lease [WRO 947/732] '. . . Between Sir Walter Long of Whaddon . . . and Edward ffox of Trowbridge . . . Pipemaker . . . in consideration of the sum of ffive pounds . . . All that Messuage or Tenement with a garden therunto adjouneing . . . situate lyeing and being in Trowbridge aforesaid in a street there called the Backstreett . . .' for 99 years or 3 lives.

Figure 1.

1689 PR burials: November 20 'Edward Fox'.

1692 MCR: James appears on the list of residents, but not in 1697. It was not an uncommon lapse to leave a name off.

1707 PR burials: December 6 'Ed[e]ath ffox'.

1710 MCR: James is presented for laying dung in the street.

1711 MCR: James is admitted to a copyhold house in Duke Street.

1713 MCR: James presented for building a house on Slade's lands so that the eaves drop on the Lord's lands in the possession of John Whitaker.

1713 MCR: James is again on the list of residents. The position on the list indicates a house in Back Street (now Church Street) between Duke Street and Union Street, on the east side.

1714 lease (WRO 1347/1) between 'Joseph Houlton the elder . . . and James ffox of Trowbridge . . . pipemaker . . . All that Messuage or Tenement garden

1. A. Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, no. 14, 1975).

2. D.R. Atkinson, articles in *WAM*, vols. 60, 65, 66, 67, 72, 73 (1965–80).

orchard . . . and also the Little Chamber over Elizabeth Griffithd Entry . . . in Trowbridge . . . in a street there called Lowmead . . .' for 99 years.
1721 MCR: James presented for building on the highway in Hilperton Lane.
1723 MCR: James is on the list of residents, as in 1713.
1725 PR burials: June 17 'James Fox a batchelor'. The death is also presented in the manorial court.

There are few references to members of the Fox family in these records. Other entries include records of George and Gartred his wife 1626, 1629 and Edward son of Edward and Mary, 1642 – these do not appear to be closely related. The parish registers were searched up to 1750. The indices of Wills produced no return in the period.

From the above one would estimate that Edward Fox was born in the 1620s and probably made pipes on his own account between 1650 and 1685 say. And that James, born 1658, worked with his father to the latter's death and continued on his own account to 1725, say.

No pipes marked James Fox have come to the attention of the author.

MARTIN NORGATE[3]

3. My thanks are due to Ken Rogers, County Archivist, Wiltshire for alerting me to the two leases and for providing the manorial court data.

Another Early Oil Painting of Stonehenge

In a paper on three early oils of Stonehenge in the last *WAM*,[1] I dismissed in passing a Woodforde painting, which I had seen before its sale at Sotheby's in March 1982.[2] The painting is now back in Wiltshire with a new owner and has been cleaned; it can be seen to be much more than the 'uninspired plain view' it seemed to me then.

The picture (Figure 1) measures 100·5 × 126·6 cm. It is in oil on an unsized canvas, and it is very thinly painted. In some parts of the upper cloudscape the canvas is entirely bare; in others the paint layer is so insubstantial that it suggested to its restorer the character more of a watercolour pigment than an oil. The painting is nevertheless in good condition, protected by the thick layer of yellow-brown varnish that had masked it at Sotheby's. There were indications it had for a long time been over a fireplace.

The subject is Stonehenge, viewed from the SE. The foreground is quite empty, and the usual scatter of perambulating tourists and curiosity-seekers is absent. On the right, between the main ruin and the Heel stone, drifts the customary flock of sheep; their shepherd, with a broad-brimmed hat and dressed all in brown, sits inconspicuously on a fallen stone. The position of the stones is accurately given, and such details as the angle of lean of stone 56, the surviving upright of the great trilithen, are correct. The canvas is much too large to have easily been taken to the spot; but the painting was evidently made with speed and with a familiarity with the subject. The stones are made as dark solid masses, accurate to life and with some sense of sculptured form, rather than that 'correction' to a purer geometry or to the raggedy gothick often found in early views of Stonehenge.

Behind the stones is a blue sky with fluffy white clouds. This, with Stonehenge and the forefront ground, fills the lower half of the picture. The upper half is given over to a solid mass of brown-black cloud, without detail or relief, whose weight presses down on the ruin below.

The painting is neither signed nor dated. The seller was a descendant of Woodforde, and Sotheby's reasonably believed it to be a Woodforde that had descended in the family.

The fall of the fourth trilithon in 1797 makes a convenient chronological marker, since any Stonehenge painting that shows it upright must refer to a date before 1797.[3] This picture is painted from the one direction that obscures a proper view; nevertheless, I think the 1797 trilithon is fallen,[4] and therefore the painting is later.

No accurate assessment of date can be made from the style. The proportion of the picture given over to sky is reminiscent of the Turner (1828) and Constable (1835)

1. Christopher Chippindale, 'Three early oil paintings of Stonehenge', *WAM*, vol. 77 (1983), pp. 81–6.
2. I added insult to the injury by mistakenly calling him 'James' rather than 'Samuel', as if he was the Norfolk parson.
3. There is an exception. James Malton's watercolour, now in the Victoria & Albert museum, is securely dated to after 1797 but has the trilithon up. It must have been painted from sketches made before 1797.
4. A stone can be glimpsed in the gap between the uprights of the second trilithon. I think this is stone 60, the surviving upright of the fifth trilithon, not part of the fourth, 1797, trilithon. The shepherd is too lightly drawn, and his dress too timelessly rustie, to deduce a date from his figure.

watercolours.[5] But both Turner and Constable give such interest and intensity to their sky-scapes – with the theatrical distractions of a lightning strike and a double rainbow respectively – that Stonehenge loses prominence by comparison. This picture gives no such relief, but throws the eye back to the plain dark masses of the stones. And at the centre of the stones, and of the whole composition, is an unrelieved square of solid stone.

Nothing about the picture suggests the picturesque; there is neither a prettying-up of the monument into a more conventional kind of ruin, nor the distraction of electric goings-on in the atmosphere.[6] Instead the painting evokes the sublime proportions – obscurity, power, privation (vacuity, darkness, solitude, silence), vastness both natural and artificial. Edmund Burke, it may be remembered, had used Stonehenge in 1757 as exemplar of the Sublime: 'When any work seems to have required immense force and labour to effect it, the idea is grand. Stonehenge, neither for disposition nor ornament, has anything admirable; but these huge rude masses of stone, set on end, and piled on each other, turn the mind on the immense force necessary for such a work. Nay the rudeness of the work increases this cause of grandeur, as it excludes the idea of art, and contrivance; for dexterity produces another sort of effect which is different enough from this.'[7]

The picture makes a companion to the Vancouver 'Marlow', which is also uncertainly dated. As an evocation of the sublime Stonehenge, and in its spirit as well as its technique may be reckoned to come very soon after 1797. Since its style does not seem diagnostic, there is only its provenance to depend on, and the possibility (not certainty) it is a Woodforde.

CHRISTOPHER CHIPPINDALE[8]

5. Reproduced in Christopher Chippindale, *Stonehenge Complete* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1983), illus. VIII and VII.
6. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 39, 57.
7. Reproduced in Chippindale (note 1), Figure 3.
8. I am grateful to the painting's new owners for their help.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 131–4.

Wiltshire Archaeological Register for 1982

This Register for 1982 is arranged by chronological period and by parishes. In order to save space, '82' does not precede the serially numbered entries in the text, but this prefix should be used to identify individual entries in future cross-references.

The Register has again been compiled on a selective basis. Records of unassociated flintwork and pottery, when of uncertain date or of uninformative Romano-British or medieval types have been omitted. While it is no longer practical to include all stray finds, it is hoped that contributors will continue to supply full records so that future Registers may be compiled from as comprehensive a range as possible.

Acquisitions by museums are noted by the short name of the museum (Devizes, Salisbury), followed by the museum accession number. For objects remaining in private hands, the sources cited are the museum records or individual informants. Particulars of attribution and provenance are as supplied by the museums named.

The illustrations have been kindly provided by N. Griffiths.

Abbreviations

C	century, as in C2, 2nd century.
DB	Devizes Museum Day Book.
PP	in private possession.
WAM	*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine.*
WAR	Wiltshire Archaeological Register.

PALAEOLITHIC

1 **Aldbourne,** Ogbourne Hill. SU 216755. Large flake with iron oxide staining. PP. Devizes DB 860.

2 **Aldbourne,** the Common. SU 26427424. Large thick sub-circular scraper. PP. Devizes DB 849.

3 **Aldbourne,** Woodsend. SU 22727596. Large sub-circular scraper made from a flake; heavily iron oxide stained. PP. Devizes DB 848.

4 **Aldbourne,** Roundhill Down. SU 217754. Heavily rolled triangular flake with iron oxide staining. PP. Devizes DB 858.

5 **Little Bedwyn,** Knowle Farm. Two hand-axes, Wymer type D; three hand-axes, Wymer type J; core scraper and roughly worked pointed implement from an early collection. Devizes 23.1982.

6 **Salisbury,** Highfield. SU 132306. One hand-axe, Wymer type M and a broken hand-axe, Wymer type F. Devizes 23.1982.

MESOLITHIC

7 **Cherhill,** 43 The Street. SU 032701. Bi-polar core; waste and calcined flakes. Devizes 105.1982.

8 **Kington Langley,** SE of Cold Harbour. ST 92907635. Small assemblage. Devizes 102.1982.

9 **Kington Langley,** E of Coldharbour. ST 93157655. Assemblage including a blade core, awl, scrapers, re-touched flakes, calcined and waste material. Devizes 150.1982.

10 **Kington Langley,** E of Coldharbour. ST 93107655. Large assemblage including a denticulated flake, a backed lunate blade, four scrapers, flake worked as awl, blade flakes, calcined pieces and waste. Devizes 95.1982.

11 **Kington Langley,** Pot Bridge. ST 92307825. Small asemblage. Devizes 99.1982.

12 **Kington Langley,** W of Long Pond plantation. ST 931764. Assemblage including cores, calcined pieces and an end-scraper. Devizes 96.1982.

13 **Sutton Benger,** NW of Sydney's Wood. ST 938768. Core, re-touched blade and calcined piece. Devizes 104.1982.

NEOLITHIC

14 **Aldbourne,** Ogbourne Hill. SU 21487572. Small flint assemblage. PP. Devizes DB 883.

15 **Aldbourne,** Ogbourne Hill. Around SU 216755. Core, scrapers and shouldered arrowhead. PP. Devizes DB 853.

16 **Aldbourne,** Sugar Hill. SU 233792. Butt of large polished flint axe-head; core-tool and sarsen flake re-touched as a crude knife. PP. Devizes DB 873.

17 **Amesbury,** garden of 'Woodlands', Countess Road. SU 152431. Small assemblage of flint implements and waste. Salisbury 24.1982.

18 **Milston,** Milston Down. SU 202460. Flint knife. Devizes 31.1982. See WAR 81.19.

19 **Ogbourne St George,** Round Hill Down. SU 216754. End of a narrow axehead or chisel; small discoidal knife. PP. Devizes DB 904.

20 **Shalbourne,** Shalbourne House. Around SU 31186325. Assemblage including un-polished axe-head, circular scrapers, awl, re-touched and waste flakes. Devizes 107 and 108. 1982.

21 **Wanborough,** SW of Liddington Warren Farm. SU 23227872. Small flint assemblage. PP. Devizes DB 886.

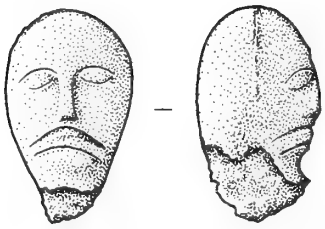


Figure 1. Bronze head from Broughton Gifford, register no. .41.

BEAKER

22 **Aldbourne,** Sugar Hill. SU 233792. Bodysherd with rouletted decoration. PP. Devizes DB 873. See also .16 above.

23 **Aldbourne,** Peaks Downs. SU 26427814. Small abraded beaker sherd. PP. Devizes DB 851.

24 **Aldbourne,** Four Barrows. SU 247734. Abraded beaker sherd and fragment of domestic beaker ware. Devizes 8.1982. See also WAR 81.5 and the references given there.

25 **Aldbourne,** NE of barrow G7. SU 246788. Two small beaker sherds. PP. Devizes DB 899. See also .28 below.

26 **Oaksey,** no n.g.r. The small flat copper axe-head of Migdale-Marnoch type in Corinium Museum has been placed on loan to Devizes. 9.1982.

BRONZE AGE

27 **Aldbourne,** Four Barrows. SU 248773. Handle from a barrel urn. Devizes 7.1982.

28 **Aldbourne,** Sugar Hill, domestic site W of barrow G7. SU 24447828. Concentration of heavily gritted sherds; fragment of a large, facetted sarsen muller. PP. Devizes DB 898.

29 **Aldbourne,** Southward Down domestic site. Around SU 26987396. Sherds from heavily gritted black carintated vessels with fingertip impressions. PP. Devizes DB 864.

30 **Aldbourne,** Sugar Hill. SU 233792. Collection of heavily gritted sherds. PP. Devizes DB 873.

31 **Bishopstone,** Hinton Downs. SU 250802. Large heavily flint-gritted sherd from an urn showing the carination and fingertip impressions along it. PP. Devizes DB 845.

32 **Bratton.** ST 903523. LBA sherds of oolite-gritted and shell-tempered wares; fragment from the mouth of a socketed axe. Devizes 88.1982.

33 **Broad Hinton,** Weir Farm. Around SU 12207695. Fourteen sherds of flint and shell-tempered wares; fragment from the blade of a knife. Devizes 128.1982.

34 **Broughton Gifford,** N of the GWR line. ST 87876235. Sherds of oolite-gritted and shell-tempered wares. Devizes 67.1982. See also .41 below.

35 **East Knoyle,** Willoughby Hedge. ST 878339. Two flint scrapers. Salisbury 13.1982.

36 **Erlestoke/East Coulston,** Brounkers Court Farm. Around ST 9654. LBA sherds including flint and oolite gritted wares; furrowed bowl sherd; fragment from blade of socketed axe. Devizes 2.1982.

37 **Potterne,** garden of Ammonite House, Coxhill Lane. ST 99785837. Sherd of heavily flint-gritted fabric with other LBA or EIA sherds; steep-sided flint scraper and waste flakes. Devizes 110.1982.

38 **Upavon,** SW of village. SU 13235463. Small tanged bronze chisel (illustrated in *WANHS Annual Report* (1982), No. 6). Devizes 37.1982.

39 **Wilcot,** W of Giant's Grave promontory fort, SU 169633. Sherd from furrowed bowl and 4 coarse-ware sherds. Devizes 12.1982.

IRON AGE

40 **Bratton,** N of Bratton Castle. ST 90285236. Dobunnic silver coin, type A in Allen's classification. Devizes 90.1982.

41 **Broughton Gifford,** N of GWR line. ST 87876235. Bronze head, probably the pommel of an anthropoid sword; 'Durotrigian'-type pottery and black burnished sherds. Devizes 67.1982. See also .34 and .55.

42 **East Coulston,** E of village. ST 955542. Durotrigian bronze or base silver stater, type Mack 317–8. Devizes 89.1982.

43 **'Easton Grey',** no details of findspot. Silver coin of the 'Irregular Dobunnic' series, type Mack 384a. Devizes 50.1982. This and .45 below are additional examples of this series listed in P. Robinson, 'A local Iron Age coinage in silver and perhaps gold in Wiltshire', *Brit. Numis. Journal*, vol. 47 (1977), p. 14. Most of the Ancient British coins found within the last decade at Easton Grey are treasure-hunters' finds. The exact find-spot(s) are unknown and even that they were found in this parish must now be questioned.

44 **Erlestoke,** allotment gardens. ST 959538. Dobunnic silver coin, type A in Allen's classification. Devizes 99.1982.

45 **Upavon,** near the River Avon. SU 13405455. Silver coin of the 'Irregular Dobunnic' series, type Mack 384a. Devizes 141.1982. See .43 above.

ROMAN

46 **Aldbourne,** Ewins Hill. SU 255739. Late C3 coin hoard, together with the pot in which it was found and other RB sherds found in the immediate area. Devizes 112.1982. See *WAM*, vol. 77 (1983), pp. 61–6.

47 **Aldbourne,** below Hodd's Mill. Around SU 28647526. House platforms and small enclosures recorded; 16 coarse RB sherds and hearth fragments collected. PP. Devizes DB 861.

48 **Aldbourne,** the Common. SU 26537400. Large, concentrated area of large, often burnt flints, with associated RB pottery: possibly a corn-drier. PP. Devizes DB 871.

49 **Aldbourne,** Hodd Hill. SU 287753. Six hut-platforms from a farmstead or hamlet recorded; collection of 60 coarse RB sherds. PP. Devizes. DB 872.

50 **Alton Barnes,** W of Knap Hill. Around SU 11706375. Collection of coarse RB sherds. Devizes 22.1982.

51 **Avebury,** Beckhampton Penning. SU 093677. Small collection of RB sherds. Devizes 30.1982.

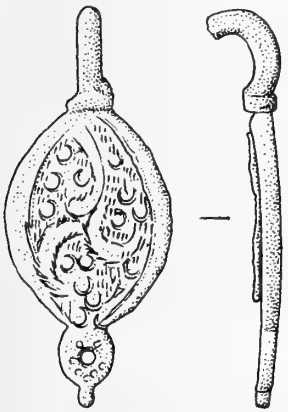


Figure 2. Bronze mount from Bishops Canning, register no. .73.

52 **Avebury,** West Kennet Manor Farm. no n.g.r. Eleven late C3–4 bronze coins. Devizes 120.1982.

53 **Bratton,** N of road. Around ST 903/905523. Seven late C3–4 bronze coins; collection of sherds including Samian, New Forest and Oxford colour-coated ware pieces; fragment of finger-ring, type Q fibula and plate-brooch. Devizes 88.1962 and PP, DB 895.

54 **Broad Hinton,** Weir Farm. SU 12207695. Collection of C1 to late C4 coins (detailed listing in archive at Devizes Museum); fragments of Langton Down and Dolphin type fibulae; plate brooch; large collection of pottery. Devizes 128.1982 and PP DB 907. See also WAR '81.23 and .74 below.

55 **Broughton Gifford,** N of GWR line. Around ST 87876235. Twenty-two C2 to C4 coins; collection of RB sherds; fibula; lead and bronze fragments. Devizes 67.1972. See also .34 and .41 above.

56 **Devizes,** garden of 17 Jackson Close. SU 01446082. Late C4 coin of GLORIA ROMANORUM (8) type. PP. Devizes DB 875.

57 **Erlestoke – East Coulston,** Brounker's Court Farm. Around ST 9654. Collection of early C3 to late C4 coins (listing at Devizes Museum); fibulae, including Langton Down (3), Hod Hill (2), straight bow, tapering bow and head-stud types; other metalwork finds and large series of sherds. Devizes 28.1982 *et al.* and PP. See also .44 above and WAR '81, .46 and .41. The proportion of Langton Down fibulae suggests that these may be pre-Conquest in date.

58 **East Coulston,** N of the Imber-Warminster Road. ST 946488. *Siliqua* of Julian the Apostate. Devizes 106.1982.

59 **Great Cheverell,** SW of the Manor House. ST 97865418–97805425. Twelve C3 and 4 coins; type H fibula and fragments of two others; collection of sherds including early bead-rim and Savernake ware pieces. Devizes 16 and 126.1982.

60 **Grittleton,** Fosse Way. ST 846808. Small gold finger-ring. PP. Devizes DB 908.

61 **Lacock,** E of Lackham Park farm. ST 92186990. Early C4 coin. GLORIA EXERCITUS type. PP. Devizes DB 880.

62 **Melksham,** N of halt. ST 90966821. C4 coin, URBS ROMA type. PP. Devizes DB 876.

63 **Mildenhall,** Black Field, site of CUNETIO. SU 218694. Hod Hill Type fibula. Devizes 33.1982.

64 **Potterne,** garden of Ammonite House, Coxhill Lane. ST 99785837. Small group of RB sherds. Devizes 77.1982.

65 **Upavon,** W of Avon. SU 13455425. Bronze surgical implement, combined 'tongue-depressor' and file. Devizes 76.1982.

66 **Upavon,** W of A345. SU 13235463. Oval plate brooch. Devizes 35.1982.

67 **Urchfont,** Wickham Green. SU 02345678. Group of coarse-ware sherds. Devizes 14.1982.

68 **Wanborough,** SW of Liddington Warren Farm. SU 22967868. Group of sherds; dolphin fibula. PP. Devizes DB 887.

69 **Worton,** S of stream, ST 97455721. Irregular C4 coin of GLORIA EXERCITUS type. PP. Devizes DB 894.

70 **Winterbourne Earls,** garden of Orchard Cottage, SU 175347. *Follis* of Galerius Maximian. PP. Salisbury.

EARLY MEDIEVAL (*c.* AD 450–100)

71 **Avebury,** bed of R Kennet S of Silbury Hill. *c.* SU 101683. Bronze triangular book (?) mount with the design of a lion facing right with head raised to eat fruit (?) hanging from a branch. C10–11. Devizes 25.1982. See also 76 below.

72 **Aldbourne,** Southward Down. SU 268740. Two grass-tempered sherds. PP. Devizes DB 852.

73 **Bishops Cannings,** Bourton. SU 04266456. Bronze mount from a hanging bowl with triskele decoration. C7. Devizes 64.1982.

74 **Broad Hinton,** Weir Farm SU 12207695. Bronze fragment: a terminal in the form of an animal's head. Possibly from an equal-armed brooch as that from Collingbourne Ducis cemetery. Possibly C5. Devizes 128.1982.7 See also .54 above.

75 **Castle Eaton,** probably from silt dredged from the Thames. SU 16036936. Anglo-Danish stirrup of iron with applied decoration. Type as *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 24 (1980), p. 107, no. 5. Devizes 27.1982.

76 **Pewsey,** NE of Hill View, SU 15905937. Bronze triangular book (?) mount with design as .71 above. C10–11. PP. Devizes DB 868.

77 **Teffont Magna,** Thompson's Orchard. ST 988326. Undiagnostic sherd of probably Saxon pottery. Salisbury 12.1982.

78 **Wootton Bassett,** near. The Mercian silver *sceatta* found *c.* 1850 of tvpe BMC 42 has been acquired by Devizes. 6.1982.

MEDIEVAL (*c.* AD 1000–1500)

79 **Amesbury,** grounds of Amesbury Abbey. SU 15094180. Seven encaustic tiles collected during construction work. Salisbury 75.1982.

80 **Bishops Cannings,** Bourton. SU 04376456. Anglo-Irish penny of Edward I struck at Dublin and half-groat of

Edward III of the period 1351–60 of the London mint. PP. Devizes DB 857 and 858.

81 **Bishops Cannings,** E of school. SU 04156430. Fragment of a cut halfpenny of Stephen, a variant of type 1 (the 'Watford' type) struck at Southampton by the moneyer Samsun (or, less probably, Willem). Devizes 24.1982.

82 **Highworth,** Highworth circle No. 39 in the North Leaze Farm group. SU 19139545. Two unglazed pot-sherds from the ditch on the NE side. Devizes 87.1982.

83 **Idmiston,** Idmiston Manor. SU 19753732. Iron key. Salisbury 19.1982.

84 **Lyneham,** Bradenstoke. SU 00257946. Collection of glazed and unglazed sherds; animal bones, iron fragments and fragment of glass. Devizes 93.1982.

85 **Malmesbury,** in or S of moated site of Cole Park. ST 965749. Collection of unglazed *c.* C12 pot-sherds. Devizes 57.1982.

86 **Salisbury,** E of Old Deanery, Cathedral Close. SU 14092954. Four encaustic tiles. Salisbury 1.1982.

87 **Upavon,** near Dairy Cottage. SU 13345490. Bronze annular brooch with six raised sockets for glass jewels of which two survive. Devizes 53.1982.

88 **Upavon,** near the Avon. SU 13405460. Bronze annular brooch with unintelligible inscription. C15. Devizes 142.1982.

89 **Urchfont,** Wickham Green. SU 02345678. Collection of unglazed and green-glazed sherds; fragment of bronze bowl. Devizes 14.1982.

UNCERTAIN DATE

90 **Ramsbury,** garden of 11 Crowood Lane. SU 27897192. Silver finger-ring with punched decoration. PP. Devizes DB 909. Possibly early medieval.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 135–6.

Stonehenge So Far

a review article by JULIAN RICHARDS

Christopher Chippindale. Stonehenge Complete. 296 pp., 247 monochrome illustrations in the text, and 13 colour plates. London: Thames & Hudson, 1983. £12.50.

The title is ambitious, and perhaps should have been qualified with 'so far' as recent events both administrative and anarchic have shown that Stonehenge will continue to be a subject of contention as long as it stands.

Stonehenge is a remarkable monument, less tranquil than Avebury, less massive than Durrington, yet somehow its hanging stones have excited interest, curiosity, speculation and investigation over the millenia. All this has naturally spawned a vast array of anecdote, ephemera and what passes in archaeology for hard fact, all of which Chippindale has mined and presented in a thematic and entertaining manner.

Recent archaeological research has demonstrated that Stonehenge, even during its active lifetime, at times lay abandoned while the surrounding landscape bustled with activity. During the later prehistoric periods, the site may have sat in a landscape devoid of much in the way of life while perhaps only the occasional visitor, drawn by curiosity came and gazed during the Roman period. These suggestions, hints of the way that a defunct monument was regarded by successive generations can be teased from the archaeological record. Not until the medieval period, however, where Stonehenge first appears in pictorial form and in written description can we obtain a direct idea of the way in which it was conceived, if only by an educated and communicative minority.

Chippindale has used the prolific iconography of Stonehenge to illustrate its long metamorphosis; Stonehenge the product of successive ages and philosophies. This is manifest not only in pictorial form but also in the cultural attributes heaped upon it; Danes, Romans, Phoenecians or Giants all appearing as possible builders, even occasionally the 'rude savages' of the barbaric pre-Roman era.

If Aubrey's scrappy Stonehenge plan must characterize the 17th century then the 18th must surely belong to Stukely, whose keen observation noted so much in the Stonehenge landscape that has since disappeared beneath the plough. The Stonehenge of this era could be seen as 'a British monument', but as the century progresses so the chosen illustrations show us a monument at times of classical symmetry and rigidity.

The 19th century is shown to develop as an age of expanded curiosity, with the need to seek exotic parallels in the foothills of the Himalayas, in Egypt, in Libya. But the Age of Darwin and Petrie is still one in which the visitor to Stonehenge would be confronted by a catastrophist shepherd custodian and where scientific curiosity still necessitated carrying off a fragment of the Stones as a souvenir. Alongside the elaborate picnics and the celebration of the monument in verse itself monumental, the beginnings of a 'modern' attitude could be seen emerging. In that golden age of imperial self-confidence everything was possible, a bigger and better Stonehenge could be built, if necessary – and if there was money in it.

Twentieth-century Stonehenge is shown by Chippindale to be the product of diverse philosophies, interests and ideals. The century opens with conflict between landowner and State, the old order and developing bureaucracy, a conflict now fortunately resolved. Introduce the New Druids, an increasingly mobile tourist, the Army, the Air Force, a radical change in farming techniques and finally an annual hippy invasion and the stage is set for the archaeologists, astronomers and ley-hunters.

Archaeological research in this century at Stonehenge can only be seen as a mixed bag and a mixed blessing. Hawley is treated fairly, a man isolated and out of his depth, but his comment, 'the more we dig, the more the mystery seems to deepen' sums up those long floundering years 1919 to 1926. The excavations of the 1950s, extensive and thorough were designed to remedy the deficiencies in Hawley's work, yet these are noted as having an 'overdue' final report. It is on the interim results of Professor Atkinson's work, and the publication of more popular work that we base our present phasing of Stonehenge, yet recent work by Peter Berridge on behalf of his professor has hinted at variations within our long-accepted framework. Professor Atkinson's recent assurances that the final report will be with us shortly are to be warmly

welcomed.

Modern theory, from Mycenae and its rejection to prehistoric astronomy and the work of the RCHM in placing Stonehenge in its wider context are all presented in the later chapters. Here Chippindale offers a concise appraisal of recent tides in mainstream archaeology and their effect on our perception of the monument, at times seen as epitomizing a system or idea currently in vogue. Equally though 'Alternative Visions' are explained in a good-humoured, but far from mocking manner. It is very easy to poke fun at the 'lunatic fringe' but at times the intellectual antics of mainstream archaeologists ('these geniuses with trivia and ignoramuses with ideas') may seem equally ludicrous to those excluded from their rituals.

Our developing and changing attitudes towards Stonehenge, so graphically illustrated in the book, have in the past led both the curious, and genuine researchers to act in a way which now seems little short of vandalism. Yet vandalism can be seen to be taking place, even in these years of post-war enlightenment. The Stones are spray-painted, a convenient and prominent canvas for messages of allegiance to radio stations or football teams and the rumours persist that the paint was removed by sand blasting. Yet equally damnable is the vandalism by neglect, neglect of the obligation to present Stonehenge and its setting in a comprehensible manner to the annual hordes of visitors, many of whom leave feeling disappointed and with little comprehension of what they have seen. There seems no immediate solution to the problem of access to the Stones (winter Tuesdays, weather permitting and still a wonderful experience); free access, the erosive power of a million feet a year and standing room only in the centre are horrifying thoughts. Even if the suggested rubber matting or artificial grass were laid, a throwback to the gravel of the 1970s, the sought-for 'magic' of the Stones would surely be lost in the vocal battles of the massed guides and visitors. One suspects too that the vigilance of the custodians would be tested to the limit listening for the tap of a hammer in the hubbub, for I am sure that some people, given an opportunity, would still prefer a more tangible souvenir.

Access, the nearby A344 road and Festival pose a series of problems, which over the past decade have grown and with them an unwillingness on anyone's part to tackle them. The road has been debated by 'closers', 'keepers' and now 'diverters' but meanwhile the traffic roars by the Heel stone and those unwilling to pay their 80p court death for their vantage point. Nobody appears to want the festival but the thousands who attend it, so each May the gates and lanes bristle with barricades of machinery and manure and siege is laid.

But now into this controversial area has come the newly formed Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, with an avowed and much-publicized intention to improve Stonehenge and present it in its wider context. Consultations have been taken, a new Stonehenge Study Group is to be set up to report within a year and, in the recognition that radical change is needed, perhaps in the near future we will see Stonehenge transformed.

Within this climate of potential change Chippindale's biography of Stonehenge is particularly appropriate. The approaches of the past have seen more follies than triumphs and to be able to reflect upon them collected and presented in such a good-humoured way may yet help us towards our present goal.

Reviews

Edward Besley and Roger Bland. The Cunetio Treasure: Roman Coinage of the Third Century AD. London: British Museum Publications, 1983. 199 pages, 40 plates £25.

The Cunetio find, uncovered in October 1978 just outside the defences of the Roman town, comprised nearly 55,000 coins and is by far the largest find of Roman coin to have come from Britain. It was a two-container deposit. The greater number of coins had been collected together and concealed in *c.* 270–1 AD in a Savernake-ware storage jar, which had been sunk into a cobbled courtyard (but not covered by the cobbling) at an uncertain date after 266–7. A second deposit was contained in a lead box sunk into the ground by the side of the storage jar and consisted of two chronologically separate groups of coin – some 642 silver denarii and antoniniani brought together between *c.* 240 and 244, and a larger number of later coins concealed *c.* 274–5. As an exceptional find the hoard has been preserved in its entirety at the British Museum, and we must be grateful that the conservation, examination and detailed presentation of such an immense body of material has been completed and published so promptly, to be available for other students of Roman coinage and of Roman Britain and for the interested public.

For the purposes of this review it is unnecessary to elaborate on the value of the Cunetio find and of this report for the study of the coinage of the Roman Empire in the mid to late 3rd century. The catalogue and discussion show how it has resulted in the substantial increase in our knowledge of series strongly represented in the hoard, both of the Central Empire and of the breakaway empire in Gaul established under Postumus. Sadly the notorious circumstances of the find's discovery by treasure-hunters destroyed any potential contribution which the find might have given to the chronology of these coinages (p. 43). These circumstances are deprecated in several other places in the text – for destroying evidence for the composition of the two deposits (preface), for destroying evidence relating to the sequence of burial of the deposits (p. 15) and for the loss of evidence concerning the relative chronologies of the Central Empire and the Gallic empire (p. 18). The book shows clearly the dis-service to history in general caused by treasure-hunters at the present day. Having said this, it is unfortunate that the title of the book includes the word 'treasure' with its salacious undertones, although 'hoard' is used in the text.

The book is arranged and presented in a lucid and practical manner. After the general introduction there are separate discussions and reconstructions of the three series of coinage represented in the find, that of the Central Roman Empire, of the breakaway Gallic empire and the 'irregular coinages', a partial synonym for 'counterfeits'. They are followed by a detailed catalogue of the coins found. There are forty pages of plates of coins, while five brief appendices describe *inter alia* the background to the find and the circumstances of its deposit. While the photographs are excellent and will be invaluable for identifying or comparing other coins, this reviewer found the print of the main text rather too pale and tiring to the eyes after a while.

Two aspects of the volume make it a particularly important contribution to the study of Roman Wiltshire. Firstly, over 2000 coins or nearly 4 per cent of the hoard were irregular. Most of these are struck forgeries, but 64 were cast. The evidence of duplicates from the same die or dies in the hoard, and of die duplicates with coins in the recent Aldbourne hoard, strongly suggests that counterfeits were being made locally at this time. It is clearly desirable to locate further die duplicates among the coins from other sites in E Wiltshire, such as Wanborough and Littlecote to extend or define more closely the range of locally made pieces. The authors half-heartedly attempt to ascribe the cast counterfeits to the countefeiting work-shop at Whitchurch, Somerset. The discovery of a forger's mould at Silchester and the presence of mould duplicates in the Cunetio find suggest rather that these too were locally made.

The find also provides new if confusing evidence for the history of Cunetio itself. Our meagre knowledge of the town is summarized in Appendix A, but could have been extended, for example, by reference to other sets

of aerial photographs of the site than those cited. It includes a few inaccuracies. It is not correct to say that the earliest Roman activity was military, merely that there is the suggestion of the presence of the Roman army at the spot not long after the Conquest. The probable pre-Conquest origin of Savernake ware should have been mentioned. With the finding of pre-Roman coins at Black Field (which are lacking at Wanborough), it suggests that the town may have originated in the late Iron Age and may be the *oppidum* which Cunliffe postulates to have existed in the Marlborough area. It is particularly tantalizing that subsequent to the discovery of this hoard, no opportunity was taken to investigate more fully the circumstances of its deposit, to attempt to clarify why it was concealed at Cunetio, and why outside the town defences, so close to the road leading from the S gate – if the location map is correct. The type and size of the building with which the hoard would be associated would help in identifying its purpose and might have helped resolve some of the numismatic problems raised by it. Such an investigation might have been undertaken by the British Museum after the effort taken by them to retain the entire hoard.

The preface stresses that the volume does not resolve all the problems raised by the find but that it has a particular value in enabling problems now to be identified. It is altogether an important addition to the books relating to Roman Wiltshire.

P.H. ROBINSON

The Register of Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury 1407–17, edited by Joyce M. Horne for the Canterbury and York Society, part cxlv, vol. lxxii (1977–78, 1978–79). Torquay: Devonshire Press, 1982. xviii + 344 pages. Obtainable from St Anthony's Hall, Peasholme Green, York YO1 2PW, £12 plus postage.

The editing of such a lengthy and complex text as a medieval episcopal register is a laborious task, demanding painstaking care and thoroughness. These very qualities are admirably displayed in this meticulous version of the principal administrative document of the energetic Bishop Hallum, the distinguished ecclesiastical statesman who died in office while attending the Council of Constance during its last year. As leader of the English delegation, to which the Salisbury chapter made so significant a contribution, his eloquent and forceful sermons provided a source of inspiration and guidance to his countrymen in their proposals for unity and reform within the church at a critical period in its history. Renowned abroad for his rhetoric and statesmanship, Hallum was also respected widely at home as a diligent and capable prelate conscientiously serving the diocese in which he resided constantly, apart from absences necessitated by affairs of state, convocations and conciliar matters.

The admiring estimation of Hallum as *virum valde industrium et etiam virtuosum* by Dietrich of Niem, historian of the Great Schism and the redoubtable theorist and upholder of conciliar authority, is confirmed by the former's full and efficiently maintained register, edited now in calendar form to provide ease of access for both scholar and general reader alike. The result is pleasing and the calendar a delight to use; it is a model of lucidity and succinctness, amply demonstrating Mrs Horne's obvious palaeographical competence and mastership of not infrequently difficult material.

The register, as Mrs Horne states in her short but full introduction, represents the diocesan aspect of this prelate of international stature. Most of its entries are of a routine nature, comprising ordinations, institutions and exchanges of benefices, and licences, letters and commissions concerning a variety of matters. Of particular interest is the commission, dated 22 September 1408, appointing the able and gifted canonist William Lyndwood as president of the consistory court at Salisbury, the important post of bishop's official later to be defined and described by Lyndwood in his *Provinciale*. Lyndwood was to become chancellor to the bishop before June 1410, being succeeded as official by Geoffrey Crukadan, whose commission was never recorded in the register. Other entries include wills, royal writs and their execution, and judicial *acta*. Proceedings against heretics indicate that the muddy waters of Lollardy continued to cause disquiet throughout Hallum's episcopate.

It was customary in the Salisbury chancery to use separate quires in the registers for recording varieties of business rather than maintain chronological sequence of entry in a single series of gatherings. A straight and uncritical reproduction of such an arrangement, with material for the same year distributed throughout in several places, would have resulted in a confused and disorderly edition. Mrs Horne neatly circumvents the problem by grouping the various entries in their respective categories and assigning to each a consecutive number in heavy type. The reference system is correlated with the foliation in the bound register by a table of identification. Included also are five appendices containing institutions and exchanges of benefices from other sources not recorded in the register; particulars of original documents from the Hallum chancery preserved in the Public Record Office and the British Library; an analysis of the diocesan itinerary complete

with map indicating the episcopal manors and other places; transcripts of various entries in the register illustrating Hallum's literary style; and a calendar of items concerning Hallum's will, itself dated 23 August 1417. The Salisbury portion of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas occurring early in the bound register is omitted, this being transcribed fully in the Oxford B Litt. thesis, submitted by Mrs Horne in 1960, which forms the basis of the present work. Noteworthy is the plate at the beginning of the volume showing the fine memorial brass to Bishop Hallum in Constance cathedral. Its subject is portrayed standing beneath a cusped trefoil arch in conventional attitude of benediction, with crozier, mitre, chasuble and maniple. Around the edge of the brass is the epitaph composed in rhyming couplets of a flat Latinity scarcely worthy of the memory of this great English bishop and cardinal *de près*.

WILLIAM SMITH

Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne 1575–1611, edited by Alison D. Wall. Wiltshire Record Society, vol. 38, 1982. xxxiv + 79 pages.

This thin volume contains transcripts of 68 letters, mostly written by Joan and Maria Thynne, from the archives of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat, together with a short appendix of related documents and an Introduction. The editor's purpose, she states, is to exemplify the role of gentlewomen left to manage their estates while husbands were busy in London and at court. There is a good deal of interesting material on this theme, and the two women concerned certainly show themselves in these pages to have been resourceful managers of the family interests and well versed in matters of leasing, provisioning and repairs. The transcription of the documents, so far as can be judged, is generally sound, though a curious reading sometimes makes one pause. The Countess of Derby, writing to Dorothy Thynne on 3 March 1577, is credited, in a volume which claims to have modernized punctuation throughout, with this awkward sentence : 'you nickname her unto her face, and scorn and mock her behind her back. She saieth; with many other despiteful reproaches which for the vainness thereof I am weary to recite.' Editing in this case seems to have obfuscated rather than clarified the Countess's meaning.

The Introduction provides an adequate account of the family events which are the background to the letters. But it does little to indicate what will surely be the prime interest of this volume for many readers, the light it sheds on family relationships in the Elizabethan period. The letters tell much about the making and progress of two gentry marriages, that between John Thynne and the daughter of the Lord Mayor of London Joan Hayward and that between Maria Audley and John Thynne's son Thomas. The editor's brief comment on the negotiations with Sir Rowland Hayward that 'in Elizabethan upper-class marriage the parents arranged a match' leaves much that can be learnt from some of these letters unsaid. It is clear from a letter of Sir John Thynne's agent in London of July 1575 that there was no question on either side of driving the couple together : 'unless the two parties could the one so like of the other and they themselves to be as joyful as the father there should be no displeasure but to part in great friendship on both sides'. What we see in the long series of letters between Joan and John Thynne between their courtship in 1575 and his death in 1604 is a young girl, at first tentative in her affection, growing into the assurance of her role as a loved and respected partner. She always, even long after their marriage, began formally with 'Good Mr Thynne'. He in reply used his pet name for her 'Pug'. These were conventions of the time, but the concern and passion of the relationship that underlay them is not in doubt. Here is more evidence, if more is needed, that Tudor marriages were not lacking in love.

The sternest test of the marriage between John and Joan Thynne was the estrangement between father and son which followed the extraordinary marriage of the 16-year-old heir to Longleat in 1594 with Maria Audley. Young Thomas Thynne, while a student at Oxford, was persuaded by the deadly enemies of the family, the Marvins of Fonthill to marry Maria, the grand-daughter of the leader of the feud, the very evening he first set eyes upon her at an inn in Beaconsfield. She brought no dowry, yet she and her children inherited Longleat. This was perhaps the most remarkable coup in the whole twisted story of Elizabethan gentry factionalism. It produced months of misery for Joan Thynne, who pleaded endlessly with her husband to forgive his wayward and foolish son. There were clearly times when she feared she would forfeit his goodwill by her unwavering support for Thomas. But she did not do so, nor was the feud with the Marvins ended in John's lifetime.

After John Thynne's death the bereft mother-in-law was left to get on as best she could with the forceful Maria, now mistress of Longleat. In 1601, in a touching bid for favour, Maria had sought Joan Thynne's favour. She affixed the Audley seal with a lock of her dark red hair beneath it to a conciliatory letter. What an emotional gesture! But there would be no peace and in a

letter of about 1605, marked by extreme malice and sustained inventive, Maria poured out her scorn, telling her ageing mother-in-law that she was about to plough up the formal gardens on which Joan had lavished care at Longleat 'and sow all variety of fruit at a fit season'. These letters, in short, repay reading for their authenticity and human drama. The volume is a worthwhile addition to a scarce genre in record society publications.

ANTHONY FLETCHER

John Chandler. Endless Street : A History of Salisbury and its People. Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983. 342 pages, 45 plates, 28 figures.

This book was written with the express intention of bridging 'the gap between the works designed for the professional historian and those designed for the casual tourist'. Certainly no really casual tourist could digest this volume, which costs £15 and contains over 300 pages of text, 36 pages of notes, two appendices and an extensive bibliography, but the professional historian and those non-specialist readers whom the author had in mind when he prepared his text will find plenty to consider within the handsome dustjacket.

It is refreshing to have a general book on Salisbury written about the town as a town, and not as a mere appendage of the Cathedral and Close; these are given their appropriate place but they are not allowed to dominate the story, which is presented as a succession of broad topics, much like an expanded lecture series. This treatment enables the author to concentrate on particular areas or contexts where information and documentation are particularly plentiful rather than to present his material in chronological sequence. There is much more information about relatively recent times than in any other book about Salisbury, thus seeming to bring history down into the present day. Vignettes of modern Salisbury set the scene at the beginning of each section. Quantity, both of primary and of secondary sources, has been a problem, but the mass of material has been reduced to some order by many footnotes, a detailed bibliography, and the extensive use of statistical analysis, accompanied by suitable diagrams and maps, all specially drawn and decorated for this volume.

The professional historian will welcome the appearance in print (in an appendix) of two lists of citizens dating from *c.* 1400 which, together with much other evidence, have been used in a statistical study of the economic life of the city. A re-evaluation of the production and trade in wool and cloth has long been overdue, and some significant changes in emphasis are proposed. Half the citizens are shown to have been involved in that industry in 1400, and over half 75 years later. Although the industry did decline thereafter it did so more slowly, it appears, than we have previously been led to suppose.

Matters of topography are perhaps more debatable. The choice of a site for the new Cathedral may well have been an act of faith, but at first the word 'Myrifield' surely had less to do with the Virgin Mary than with the nature of the ground, which was very wet. There is no real evidence that it was then or ever under cultivation, a factor which may well have been favourable, as it was thus more readily available for development. The Close Ditch was dug to delineate and doubtless to drain the area, and a second deep ditch, the Town Ditch, to drain the central part of the town area, whereas all the other channels, which drew their water supply from above the town mill, were necessarily at a higher level and much shallower. This distinction appears to have eluded the author, although he has absorbed the fact that the necessity for the channels to follow the natural contours closely to maintain an even flow of water conditioned the arrangement of the chequer street plan. Within the chequers, he seems to envisage the ground pegged out initially into tenements of a standard dimension, but the evidence suggests that relatively few plots conformed to this. Indeed, variations in the size of tenements, and consequently of rents, were provided for in the foundation charter of the city, with the 'standard' shilling tenement of 3 by 7 perches acting as a basis for assessment.

Some minor details of topography might be amended, e.g. Cook Row was not in the Market Place (pp. 97 and 109). It was not a 'row' in the usual sense of a consolidated row of market stalls, but a row of narrow tenements just N of the George Inn in High Street. *Duynescorner* (p. 109) was indeed named after an individual owner, Agnes la Duynes who had it in 1327, and its location is not lost – it occupied the NW angle of Antelope Chequer, next to the Red Lion Inn (RCHM, 1980, no. 219).

This book will stimulate many further questions and answers from amongst its readers, for anyone who travels along the road of local history soon discovers that it is indeed an endless street.

H.M. BONNEY

The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England 1793–1810, extracted from the Journals and edited with an Introduction by M.W. Thompson. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983. 288 pages, colour frontispiece, 40 illustrations in the text. £10.95.

On the death of his wife Hester in 1785, Sir Richard Colt Hoare left Stourhead to travel restlessly on the continent, especially in Italy, searching out and sketching the antiquarian ruins and remains. But after 1791 the 'serious disturbances' of the French wars confined him to the British Isles, and his subsequent tours in search of antiquity were restricted generally to Wales and the Welsh Marches, although in 1800 he went to the north of England and in 1806 to Ireland. The journal of his Irish tour was published the following year; manuscripts of the others, sold from the Stourhead library in 1885 and 1887, are now in S Glamorgan library. A brief summary of their style and content was given in Kenneth Woodbridge's *Landscape and Antiquity*; they are now published for the first time, in an edition drastically abridged to a third or a quarter of their original length.

The journals in Wales follow Colt Hoare's particular interests in the Welsh medieval writer Giraldus Cambrensis, of whose *Itinerary* he published a translation, with large annotations, in 1806. His tourist interest turns to antiquities, whether prehistoric circles and cromlechs ('Druidical'), Roman stations and roads, Romanesque ('Saxon') and Gothic churches and abbeys, medieval castles; there is little architecture more recent to have regard for. Notes on the roads and inns, or on the trout-fishing, come in passing, but the overall impression of the journal is, as the editer's introduction admits, of 'interminable description of views and of an indiscriminate use of hyperbole and superlatives to describe them'. Its single-minded concern is the pursuit of the picturesque, that is, of 'such subjects in nature as will form a picture'. (The first journal is for 1793, the year after William Gilpin's picturesque essays set the fashion.) The word itself echoes off every page, and very tiresome it becomes, since the relentless search for the painterly can simply reduce everything that is seen to a plain matter of classification between those groupings that happen to suit a particular academic formula of composition and those that do not. Wooded landscapes, waterfalls, ruins, ivy, the Gothic, are necessarily good; correspondingly, open country, brick buildings (because too regular and unpicturesque in their colouring) and excess of ivy (because it hides ruined, Gothic and picturesque architecture) are necessarily unartistic. Fortunately, Colt Hoare is too observant and well informed to sound always like Dr Syntax in quest of the picturesque, and there are other words like 'grand' available for what is striking without conforming to the canon. Especially strong are his descriptions of the new industries, the copper mines of Amlwch, the salt mines of Northwich, and the iron foundries of south Wales, with their astonishing horse-powered railroads to bring the coal. The countryside is changing fast, and he often notices with regret another Welsh wood fallen to the axe or cathedral suffering Mr Wyatt's brand of restoration.

When it comes to matters in which he is personally knowledgeable – the planting of trees and woodlands to make a decorative landscape, the choice and proper hanging of French and Italian pictures – Colt Hoare is much more lively and original. And when personal feelings come through, as they rarely do, the journal comes alive, whether in his delight to find on the road from Bradford to Halifax '*more pretty faces* than in *all* my preceding tour', or his distress at finding yet another Welsh town under occupation by a fair or (worse) by the Methodists, with their ill-mannered crowds and ranting preachers.

The editor has modernized punctuation and capitalization, but not spelling; there are sufficient literals in the introduction that one wonders if the eccentricities are all Colt Hoare's (did he really write 'goal' always in place of 'gaol'?).

The illustrations are mostly Colt Hoare's own pen drawings, with some pencil sketches and engravings. Since Cole Hoare so emphasized the specific meaning of the picturesque as 'painterly', and so often evaluates a seene's suitability for the artist's pencil or his pen, it is a pity that the chance was not taken to integrate these illustrations, and a discussion of them, more closely into the structure of the book; it would be instructive to see clearly how the visual results actually matched up to picturesque expectations.

The jacket carries a bright watercolour of Conway Castle – but by J.M.W. Turner rather than Colt Hoare. Probably the publishers felt none of Colt Hoare's picturesque compositions, so carefully constructed to the given formula, was striking enough to make a good cover; and probably they were right.

CHRISTOPHER CHIPPINDALE

R.J. Phillips. History of Ramsbury Building Society. Marlborough: Ramsbury Building Society, 1982. 117 pages, illustrations in the text.

Richard Salt. A Good Job Well Done: the Story of Rendell, a West Country Builder. Stocker Hocknell, 1983. iii + 175 pages, numerous illustrations in the text.

Both these histories of active commercial organizations naturally depend on information given by those responsible for the businesses' success. It cannot be expected that either will reveal much that does not add to the subject's good reputation. However, neither have the authors written simple eulogies.

Dr Phillips's approach is the more scholarly. For the first years of the Ramsbury Building Society he is forced to rely almost entirely on the brief early minutes and accounts. This limitation, occasionally lightened by the author's interjections in a pleasantly wry style, makes for somewhat heavy reading for anyone not familiar with accounting terms or the building society movement.

The Rendell volume, in contrast, addresses a different readership, the company's employees and, very important, its present and future clients.

Now that building societies are daily in the newspapers, and their mortgage and interest rates have significance for most of us, it is instructive to read of their obscure beginnings and of the long period when their significance was small. The Provident Union Building & Investment Society, Ramsbury, as it was originally styled, was created by Nonconformist worthies in the middle of the 19th century on a fashionable wave of enthusiasm for sturdy independence of the middle and working classes in the Ramsbury, Marlborough and Hungerford area. Its foundation was followed by a long period of relative stagnation when interest rates were steady, even though the society's assets continued to increase over the years. The limitations of the author's sources mean that the reader's interest in individual personalities and motives is largely unsatisfied. Naturally, the financial aspects of the society's business and its growth are set out in fuller detail, although in the early days even the accounts were less than full. It was not until a number of swindles at the turn of the century (in which the Ramsbury was not involved) brought the building societies into temporary disrepute that the Ramsbury was finally incorporated, in 1892, under the Building Society Act of 1874.

The post-war era has seen the society change to a successful policy of expansion, building a business with assets of over £106 million in 1981 and with branch offices and agencies over a large area of the S of England.

Photographs of early documents and of the directors and premises in later years, including the opening of the new administrative headquarters by HRH Duke of Gloucester in 1982, help to make the book of broader interest. A short bibliography and extensive notes documents Dr Phillips's researches in the Minute Books and Annual Reports of the Society.

The first William Rendell (1817–84) came to Devizes from Tiverton and set himself up as a whitesmith and later as an ironmonger, locksmith and 'general manufacturer' in the town. This was the start of the business of Rendell, which flourishes here to this day. Mr Salt has clearly received every assistance from the present management to present a fully detailed and illustrated description of the company's progress, through joinery, gas-fitting and electrical installation into general construction and the building of large housing estates.

The first half of the book gives a history of the company as a whole; the second looks at each of the company's main activities today, explaining how Rendell meets modern needs without sacrificing the highest standards of craftsmanship, particularly in joinery.

Unlike the Ramsbury Building Society, F. Rendell & Sons, p.l.c. is no longer an independent concern, having joined the Lovell Group in 1978 in a relationship giving Rendell strength without removing its character. After five generations covering 130 years, there has, since 1977, been no member of the Rendell family on the board.

Partnership housing, a system originated by Rendell, provides an interesting contrast with the traditional mortgage method of financing house purchase. The system, begun in cooperation with Swindon council in 1971, involves a partnership between builder and local authority. A group of houses are built, of various sizes and designs to make for a balanced community. A minority are sold privately by the builder. The majority are sold by the council to its selected purchasers at about half the open-market price. Rendell's readiness to enter into such a novel arrangement – with great success – is quoted by the author as a demonstration of Rendell's self-confidence and ability to innovate.

The Rendell history has an excellent index of people and places, which includes all the employees mentioned in the text. The family tree of the Rendells is of interest in itself, showing the founder's own family of 20 children, 10 of whom emigrated to America with their mother on her widowhood in 1884. Throughout the story the same names recur over three or more generations at all levels in the company's activities. The present Rendell chairman's grandfather was employed

Since WAM *has room for only a limited number of reviews, it cannot give comprehensive coverage to new Wiltshire books. Sadly, this means we do not usually mention publications like Graham Watling's* Discovering Lacock: an Illustrated Guide and Personal Tribute *(published by the author at 15 East Street, Lacock, 1982), an admirable survey of the village, its buildings and its atmosphere, handsomely illustrated with his own drawings, like this one of the Churchyard.*

by the firm before the 1914–18 war.

To the reader of *WAM*, who can be assumed to have an interest in the social history of Wiltshire where the Ramsbury Building Society and Rendell have grown up and still flourish, both these publications will be welcome. Most will be familiar with the authors' subjects and will recognize the names and faces of many of those whose activities are described. The photographs of old Devizes scenes are also a worthwhile inclusion.

The Ramsbury history has a Foreword by the Duke of Norfolk. The Rendell story is introduced by the Hon. Charles Morrison, MP.

M. HEATH

Wroughton History Group. Wroughton History, Part 1. Wroughton: Wroughton History Group, 1982. 4 pp., numerous illustrations and maps in the text. £4.95 paperback (obtainable locally and from Devizes Museum).

Frederick Myatt (ed.). The Deverill Valley: the Story of an Upland Valley in South-West Wiltshire. Longbridge Deverill : Deverill Valley History Group, 1982. 158 pages, numerous illustrations and map in the text, paperback (obtainable from John Peddie, 24 The Marsh, Longbridge Deverill).

Here are two very different publications, each making a valuable contribution to the study of local history. The first looks in depth at a single, but large and historically complex parish in the NE of the county, now bordering upon Wiltshire's biggest industrial town. The second takes an upland valley and five comparatively small parishes in the completely rural SW. In appearance also the two differ greatly, the first being nearly foolscap size and produced by a photocopying process, the second is conventional guide-book size and printed.

The Wroughton history opens with a good introduction placing the parish within its geographical and geological setting and explaining its rather complicated settlement pattern. The chapters that follow may be

divided roughly into two kinds: those on subjects to be looked for in any good parish history, such as, the church, education, health and the poor law, and agriculture, and those which may be described as particular to Wroughton, such as the racing stables, the airfield, and the memories of a Wroughton farmer. The value of the first kind of chapter lies in the amount of original research done as, for example, in the chapter on Health and the Poor Law where extensive use has been made of the records in the Wiltshire Record Office, or the chapter on Education where the school log-books have been consulted. Among the second kind of chapter the account of Wroughton's racing stables is especially welcome as bringing together a lot of information which might so easily have been lost.

The many old photographs which illustrate this history add greatly to its value. What a different world those rows of solemn-faced schoolchildren inhabited – and only some 70 years ago. The maps specially drawn for the book are most useful, but the old maps included have unfortunately not reproduced very well. It is to be hoped that when the final part of this history appears it will contain a full index.

The Deverill Valley history shows the hand of a general editor and has been professionally designed and printed. A carefully reasoned chapter discusses the probable location of the two meeting places used by Alfred the Great before the fateful battle of Ethandun in 878. Another chapter deals with the descent of the main manors of the five Deverills – Kingston, Monkton, Brixton, Hill, and Longbridge – chiefly through the families of Ludlow and Thynne. A chapter looks at the history of the parish churches and outlines the spread of nonconformity throughout the region in the later 17th century. We learn later that in 1983 only three of the parish churches were still in use, served by a single incumbent. Chapters on subjects such as agriculture and industry, which lend themselves to treatment on a regional rather than a parochial basis, are particularly successful, and the Group is fortunate in its contributor to the chapter on farming. Here is an authoritative account of farming practices on the chalk downland over the past 100 years. The photographs which accompany it show farm machinery in use just before and during the last war and now looking so remarkably antiquated. The memories of a Wroughton farmer, in the history of that parish, make a fine companion to this chapter: the two providing first-hand accounts of farming in the two contrasting regions – chalk and cheese. The Deverill Valley history closes with a most interesting review of the social changes which have occurred in the region since the war. Among the book's illustrations the frontispiece sets the scene with a photograph of the wide downland through which the valley runs, and there is an interesting air-photograph showing traces of the medieval landscape.

Both books give at the end of every chapter references to sources used and the Deverill Valley Group is to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which this has been done. These references would certainly assist more detailed work in the future. The short biographical notes on the contributors to the Deverill Valley history are also most welcome.

ELIZABETH CRITTALL

Richard Ingrams and John Piper. Piper's Places: John Piper in England & Wales. 184 pages, 144 illustrations, mostly colour, in the text. London: Chatto & Windus/The Hogarth Press, 1983. £14.95.

Woolly-headed thistle, the Avebury avenue and the Devil's Den; Bronze Age barrows and their grave-goods; Oldbury hillfort and the Cherhill White Horse – where are these to be found depicted together? The answer is of course in John Piper's stained glass window in Devizes Museum, the cartoon for which is reproduced in colour in this *Magazine* (vol. 77, 1983); in *Antiquity* (vol. 57, 1983), and again (no. 106) in the book under review. The window epitomizes, and the book demonstrates on a larger scale, Piper's achievement as an archaeological and architectural topographer as well as one of our most significant British painters.

John Piper's extraordinary knowledge of English buildings has long been the wonder and delight of his friends, no less than the memory that enables him to recall a detail of an obscure tomb in a remote church seen half a century before – and usually to lay his hands on a splendid drawing of it in a notebook. He has a long-standing interest in pre-Conquest and Romanesque sculpture, and already in 1936 had written an important study which, with Kendrick's work at the same time, brought about a significant widening of aesthetic sensibility among historians of medieval art.

Richard Ingrams in this lovely book (which the sponsorship of Shell UK Ltd renders absurdly cheap) shows how the artist's topographical passion developed early – 'By the age of fourteen Piper had looked at every church in Surrey'. Soon his 'restless energy when it comes to "church-crawling" is already apparent', with his visiting, noting and drawing a round dozen of churches on a summer's day; an average he has frequently maintained. With 'his sketch-book, and notebook . . . with fair weather and a fine tract of churches before him' he would agree with the young J.M. Neale

in 1843 that he 'is the happiest, and I was going to add . . . the freest of human beings'. The essence of his inspired topography is distilled in this volume: churches and chapels, houses and palaces, rocks and megaliths, sculpture and detail.

Long association with Wiltshire and our Society was reinforced by work for the *Shell Guides* to English counties in the 1930s: a part of the enlightened and civilized sponsorship of young artists by Shell-Mex BP under Jack Beddington's inspiration which produced advertisements the aesthetic standard of which shows all too clearly the disastrous collapse in public taste since that time. Piper (with John Betjeman) wrote guide-books for Murray for Berkshire and Buckinghamshire after the war, and took over the resuscitated Shell series as editor. *Wiltshire* (1935) was written by Robert Byron. In this present volume the county is represented in colour by Stourhead (46, 47), Fonthill (49), Stonehenge (102), Salisbury plain barrows (103), Lacock (104), Devizes (105) and our window (106). For Devizes, look too at *The Cornhill Magazine*, November 1944, and do not forget the line drawing of Mildenhall Church (59). Piper has said of his paintings that 'the basic and unexplainable thing' about them 'is a feeling for places . . . and trying to see what hasn't been seen before'. Through them we too can catch something of the unexpected and unfamiliar with surprised delight.

STUART PIGGOTT

Obituaries

Dr Ivan Geoffrey Moore, who died suddenly on 20 June 1983, had been for many years an active member of the Society in various capacities. For some time after Dick Sandell's death he stood in as Librarian, until a new appointment had been made. He was Chairman of the Amenity and Conservation Committee, and from 1980, of the Industrial Archaeology Committee. He had also been actively concerned with the establishment of the Wiltshire Buildings Record. For many years he had served as a member of the Council, and of the Finance and Executive Committee, as well as of the Wiltshire Record Society.

During the last four years he worked on the compilation of the index for the annual volumes of *WAM*. He frequently offered his services for the Society's excursions abroad, and for the outings, particularly to industrial archaeological sites for which his training as an engineer made him eminently suited. But his interests were by no means restricted, for his deep concern also lay in the seemly use and development of the countryside and its history. He lectured for the National Trust, and was Treasurer of the Friends of Lacock Church.

Geoffrey was born near Leeds, and educated at Oundle and Leeds University, where he read civil engineering. He was a chartered engineer and Fellow, both of the Institute of Civil Engineers and of that of Mechanical Engineers. For some time he was at the Building Research Station at Watford, and then with the Ministry of Works, responsible for the safety of all the underground storage (created from disused stone workings) during the war. Later he became Chief Brake Engineer at Westinghouse, but retired prematurely owing to ill health.

Geoffrey was a quiet and unassuming man, and his modest manner belied the authority which underlay his opinions. These were unstintingly given during the course of the Society's affairs, for which his long business experience made his contribution so valuable. His wise and temperate counsel was available on every occasion, and he greatly enriched the life of the Society in many directions. His gentle character will be deeply missed.

He leaves a widow and two sons, one of whom, David, is a keen member of the Society.

Kenneth Ponting, who died on 13 May 1983 while on holiday in Spain, was well known in west Wiltshire both as a former managing director of Samuel Salter and Co., the Trowbridge cloth-manufacturing firm, and as a local historian. He will also be remembered as an accomplished tennis player in local tournaments. Born in Trowbridge in 1913, he was the son of the late Arthur Ponting, for many years also a managing director of Salters. After attending Trowbridge Boys' High School he joined his father and the brothers Gordon and David Taylor in the firm, and remained as managing director after it was taken over in 1965. When he left in 1970 he was one of the best-known and most-respected figures in the West of England woollen industry.

Ken Ponting's practical involvement in cloth manufacturing had for many years been accompanied by a keen interest in its history. He wrote an article on 'The Fullers of Marlborough' for *WAM*, and in 1957 produced his first major book, *A History of the West of England Cloth Industry*. This was followed by *The Wool Trade Past and Present* (1961) and *Wool Marketing* (1966). In 1968 he became first Director of the Pasold Research Fund, set up by the late Eric Pasold to promote the international study of the history of textiles.

This position was a remarkable one to attain for anyone without a long academic career, and it says much for Ken Ponting's ability as an economic historian that he was able to move into the world of scholarship at the highest level with complete assurance. In 1971 he published a larger work on *The Woollen Industry of South-West England*, and he contributed many articles and reviews to the journal *Textile History*, which he edited on behalf of the Pasold Fund. In 1974 he was awarded an M Litt. by Bristol University for a thesis on

the decline of the local woollen industry. Later books included *Sheep of the World*, *A Dictionary of Dyes and Dyeing*, and *The British Wool Textile Industry 1770–1914*, written jointly with Dr D.T. Jenkins of York University, one of the major books in the field. He was working recently on a history of textile design.

Ken Ponting also retained his local interests, and many readers will know his *Wiltshire Portraits*; *Wool and Water: Bradford-on-Avon and the Frome Valley*; and *Wessex Churches*. Another interest was Victorian politics, and he worked for some years on a biography of Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice of Leigh House, Bradford-on-Avon. He lectured regularly on various aspects of local and industrial history for Bristol University extramural department and the WEA, and was a popular speaker at Urchfont Manor. He was a governor of the old Textile School and subsequently chairman of the governors of Trowbridge College, and he served on the Records Sub-Committee of the County Council.

Ken Ponting lived for many years at Beckett's House, Edington, a lovely old house which pleased him all the more because it was a clothiers' home in the 16th and 17th centuries. More recently he lived at St James's Square, Bath. He leaves a widow Isobel, and three children, David, Jenny, and Anna.

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