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THE WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

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Contributions for the Magazine should be on subjects related to the archaeology, history or natural history of Wiltshire. There is no fixed length. Papers, notes and reviews should be typed on one side of a page only, with good margins and double spacing. The style for footnotes, references and so on should be that found in this issue. The author-date system is preferred for references and footnotes should be avoided unless essential. Contributions of article length should be accompanied by a summary of about 100 words. Two copies, one of which is a top copy, should be sent to the editor at the Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS. A further copy should also be retained by the author. The editor and subject editors will be pleased to advise and discuss with intending contributors at any state during the preparation of their work. They will also supply notes, if requested, which may be helpful in explaining house style and in giving advice on the compilation of references and bibliographies, and the preparation of illustrations.

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Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 1–49

Bower Chalke 1959: Excavations at Great Ditch Banks and Middle Chase Ditch

by PHILIP RAHTZ

with contributions by
MARK CORNEY, SUSAN DAVIES, ANN WOODWARD, BRIAN HARTLEY, DONALD MACKRETH and DAVID PEACOCK

This report describes trenches dug in 1959 through two ploughed-down bank and ditch earthworks near Bower Chalke, Wiltshire. At Middle Chase Ditch, bank layers survived and sealed pre-earthwork evidence of cultivation and settlement. The principal evidence came from the filled-up ditches and from adjacent settlement features. The earthworks were constructed in the Late Iron Age, and occupation continued in the vicinity until the Late Roman period or later, subsequent activity being restricted to pasture and ploughing. Settlement features include post-holes, pits, ditches and roads.

Finds include stone artefacts associated with food preparation and other activity; an iron cleat and a first century Strip brooch; and a comprehensive series of pottery, principally of the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period but including some of later Roman times. There are specialist reports on the pottery, the stone petrology and the copper alloy brooch.

The earthworks are part of a dense settlement pattern in the area recently surveyed by the RCHM and here discussed by Mark Corney in the local context. Ann Woodward considers the whole evidence in the wider Wessex Iron Age context of territorial boundaries and oppida.

Introduction

BACKGROUND AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The two sites examined were both bank and ditch complexes. They are two of a series of six which span the ridge on which is carried the Ox-drove Ridgeway from Salisbury to Shaftesbury. The excavations were arranged because the residues of the banks (which potentially contained the key dating evidence) were fast being totally eroded by ploughing. The date and functions of the earthworks were a matter of particular interest to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England (RCHM hereafter). The work was sponsored by the then Ministry of Works, now the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission. It was directed by Philip Rahtz, but most of the recording and field drawing was done by Margaret Gray. Alison Kain, then an undergraduate at the University of York, made a preliminary analysis of the excavation data for her undergraduate dissertation.

Great Ditch Banks (SU 017211, Scheduled Monument 486) was so named on the Ordnance Survey Map. Middle Chase Ditch (SU 003212, Scheduled Monument 483) lies just north of Middle Chase Farm, and was named Middle Chase Ditch by the writer in 1959. The work on these two took place from 26 October–21 November 1959. The work force was six men, with the writer and Margaret Gray. We are grateful to Mr A.W. Butler of Greystones, Bower Chalke, for his permission to dig at Great Ditch Banks, and to Mr T. Brodie of Middle Chase Farm, for permission to dig at Middle Chase Ditch.

The excavations consisted of trenches across each ditch and the area of its bank (two cuttings in the case of Great Ditch Banks), and smaller trenches to explore particular problems.

We are grateful to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for financing the work of preparing the report for publication; to Collin Bowen for his advice on various aspects of the work; to Susan Davies and Brian Hartley for their reports on the pottery; to David Peacock, for his report on the petrology; and Donald Mackreth for his report on the brooch. We are especially indebted to Mark Corney for his section on the local settlement pattern; and to Ann Woodward, who has read the whole text, made a series of suggestions for its improvement, and contri-

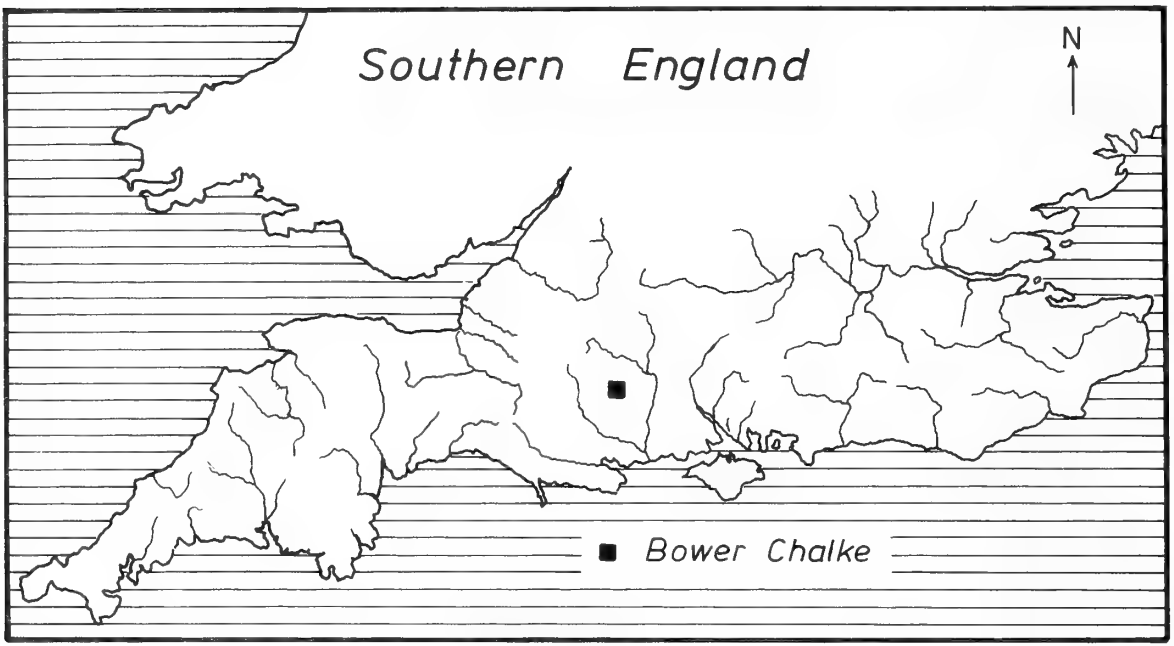

Figure 1. Southern England, showing position of site

buted the conclusion. The finds and archive have been deposited in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury. Detailed descriptions of excavated features and layers, and a list of photographs, are on microfiche held in the NMR archive at Fortress House.

THE AREA (Figure 2)

The chalk ridge on which the earthworks were sited is in the parish of Bower Chalke, in the county of Wiltshire (except perhaps the south end of Great Ditch Banks), and close to the junction of the county boundaries of Wiltshire, Hampshire and Dorset, some 13 km southwest of Salisbury and part of the southern chalk uplands of Wessex. The earthworks under discussion are part of the grounds of the various Chase Farms; they are marked A–F on Figures 2–4. The area is rich in archaeological sites, and has for some years been the subject of intensive study by the RCHM (Salisbury) (see p. 4, below). Apart from 'visible' minor earthworks and barrows, the line of Grim's Ditch passes just to the south of the ridge (with its bank on the north side, i.e. facing south). Further south again is the western arm of Bokerly Dyke, west of Bokerly Junction, so-named by Pitt-Rivers because here met the three components of the Dyke, and the Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester. The General's interpretation of the Dyke was 'realised' and extended by Hawkes in what is now a classic paper (Hawkes 1948). This should be read as part of the background to the evidence from the excavations here being discussed. A further opportunity to consider the Dyke's phasing was afforded by the attempt to straighten the kink in the modern road at Bokerly Junction, a dangerous bend which dated from the construction of the Roman road, whose alignment was clearly constrained by the gap in the Dyke system, and possibly by other factors (Rahtz 1963). The date and phasing of the Dyke has since then been modified by the RCHM (inf. Collin Bowen, 13.12.79). Their interest in the area includes consideration of the land allotment pattern SW and NE of the Dyke, and the existence of possible Neolithic and later 'frontiers'. A tight fabric of linear ditches appears to end on the Bokerly line. The whole *milieu* of the Dyke area is being dealt with in forthcoming RCHM volumes and will clearly be very relevant to the present report.

The other minor earthworks in the area are discussed below by Mark Corney.

The degradation of Great Ditch Banks by ploughing is not recent. Heywood Sumner, writing in the early years of the century (1913, 65) comments: '[the Banks] have been ploughed over and spread by cultivation; so much so that it is now impossible to

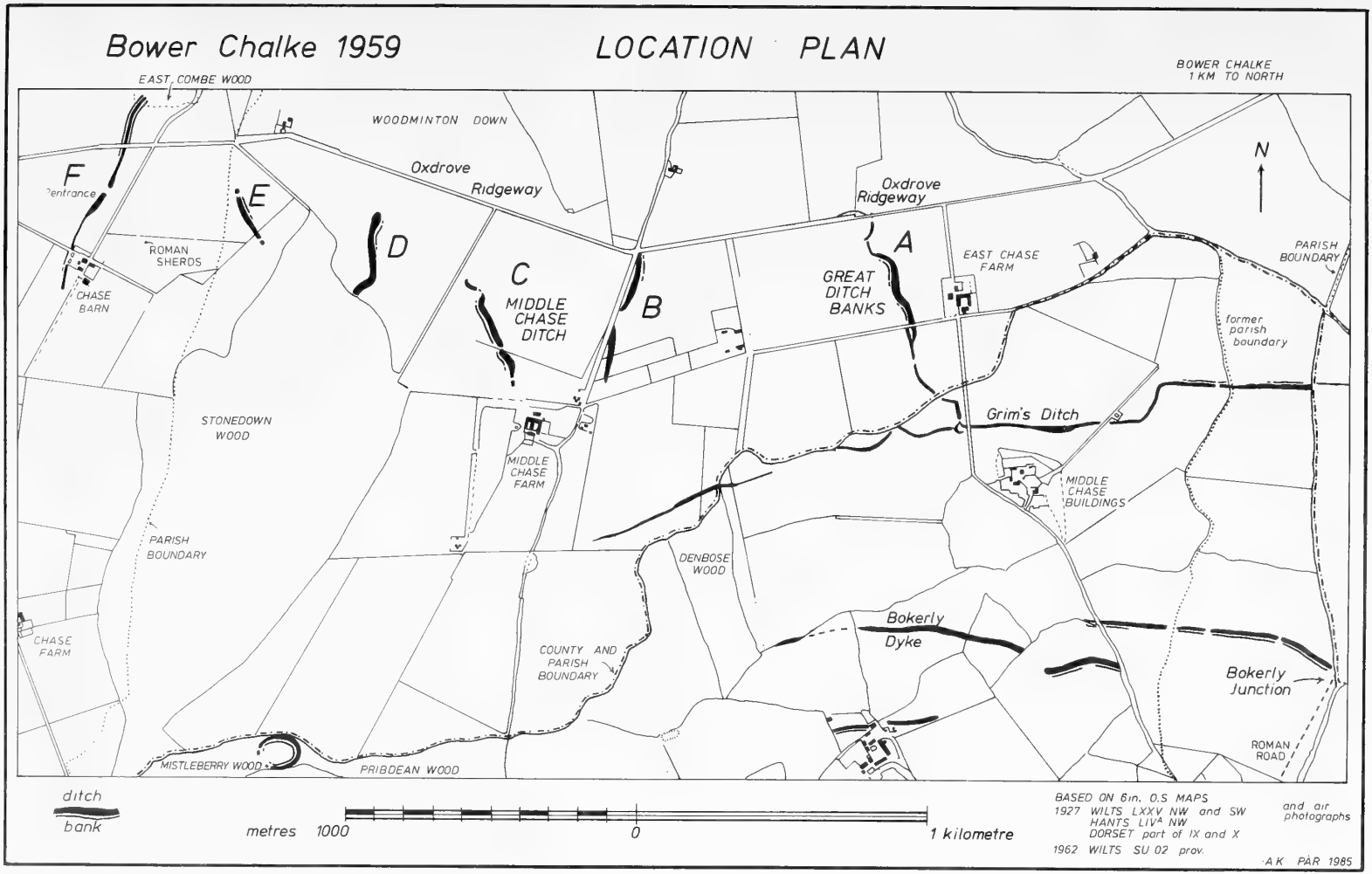

Figure 2. Location plan

define their course; but their name and the undulations that remain on the arable land suggest that this must have been a great earthwork. . . . there are signs of this earthwork crossing the present Oxdrove Ridgeway; beyond this it has been effaced by cultivation'. Sumner also notes (1913, 20) the convergence of earthworks at Middle Chase Farm (and elsewhere). 'It seems possible' he comments, 'that these boundary banks and ditches were needed to turn cattle towards the camps of safety where they were hurriedly driven in times of emergency or that they were needed for purely pastoral usage in peaceful periods, when the camps may have been used as cattle pounds, instead of defences . . .'

MARLEYCOMBE HILL AREA TRANSCRIPTION (Figure 3)

by MARK CORNEY, RCHM, Salisbury

Introduction

The study area lies within the southern Wiltshire parishes of Bower Chalke and Ebbesborne Wake, with the county boundary following, or running just south of Grim's Ditch (RCHM forthcoming). The region is dominated by the steep escarpment of Marleycombe Hill and Woodminton Down. The scarp and dip slope are Upper Chalk, with extensive tracts of clay with flints covering the chalk in Vern-ditch Chase and the region of Middle Chase Farm. The village of Bower Chalke, at the foot of Marley-combe Hill, is on an outcrop of Upper Greensand, which accounts for the dispersed settlement pattern of the village, contrasting with the compact plans of the neighbouring chalk settlements.

Modern land use is primarily arable, with permanent pasture only surviving on the steeper slopes, where cultivation is impossible. This landscape is however a comparatively recent development. The study area is fortunate in having a particularly complete cartographic record stretching back to the early seventeenth century. During this period the entire area south of the Oxdrove Ridgeway formed part of the forest of Cranborne Chase. The earliest map, dated 1618 and attributed to Norden, names this extensive tract of woodland as 'Wiltshire Coppice'. The map is highly detailed, and gives all individual copse names.

The surviving tracts of woodland in the transcript zone can still be identified on the 1618 map: Vern-ditch, appearing as Fernditch; Chettle Head; and Stonedown Wood, named as Stoneden. The area immediately west of the later East Chase Farm is named as 'Greate Ditche', no doubt a reference to the earthworks of Great Ditch Banks. In the vicinity of the enclosure plotted at SU 0125 2120, the earlier map records the copse of 'Little Borrow', a name possibly derived from the round barrow, now levelled, immediately north of the ploughed out enclosure (9).

The region remained wooded, with little change in its limits (see Andrews and Dury 1773) until the mid nineteenth century. On the Bower Chalke tithe award of 1843, one small clearing in the vicinity of the later East Chase Farm marks the first attempt at clearance. By this period the area was part of the Pembroke Estate, based at Wilton House. Clearance of the woodland appears to have been part of a deliberate policy of expansion of the arable within the estate.

On architectural grounds West Chase Farm (just beyond the western limit of the transcript), dates from *c.*1840–50, Middle Chase Farm, *c.*1850–60, and East Chase Farm *c.*1860–70. Thus a clearance from west to east, spread over some three decades, removed a large tract of woodland which had probably stood since the earlier medieval period. It is highly likely that a great many prehistoric earthworks had survived within this woodland until the clearance commenced. If General Pitt-Rivers had inherited Rushmore Park a decade earlier, a more complete record of those remains might well have been available.

Of the small wooded areas which remain today, only Chettle Head Copse has not been subject to replanting with conifers.

Earlier archaeological investigations

Because of the extensive woodland only the eastern edge of the study area was covered by Colt Hoare (1812 (hereafter abbreviated *AW*), Station VIII, Fovant). He noted the complex and well preserved enclosed settlement at Chickengrove Bottom, (recently re-surveyed by RCHM) and recorded traces of 'British habitations' to the north of it (*AW*, area map, Stations IX and VIII). The barrow group on Marleycombe Hill is mentioned (*AW*, 245), but curiously he fails to record the adjacent, and still extant, ditch and bank which skirts the southernmost barrows. Ditches emerging from the edge of the woodland along the Ox Drove are noted, and although the description is a little vague, he is probably referring to ditches B, D and F of this report (*AW*, 247).

The first thorough record of the area after deforestation was made by Heywood Sumner (1913). In this work Marleycombe Hill and Chickengrove Bottom are illustrated, and all the linear ditches south of the scarp slope are recorded.

The first recorded excavations were undertaken by

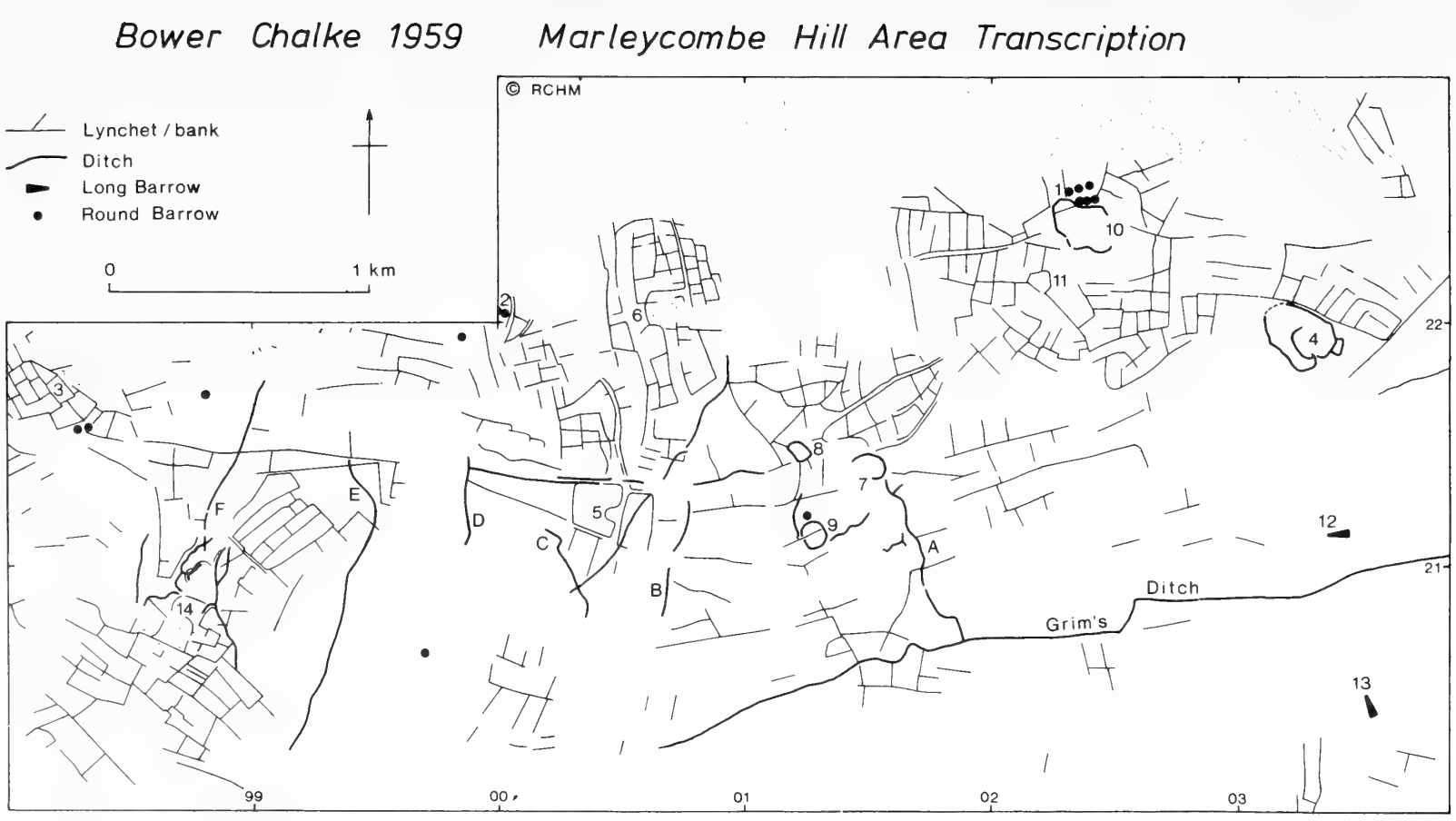

Figure 3. Marleycombe Hill Area Transcription

R.C.C. Clay, in the decade following the First World War. These were concerned with the barrow groups on Marleycombe Hill and Woodminton Down (1 and 2 on transcript). The former consists of two groups of round barrows, each made up of three mounds in linear configuration, aligned east–west.

The northernmost group is likely to be of earlier Bronze Age date, with Beaker material being recorded from the old turf lines below the mounds (Clay, 1927b, 548–51). The southern group is clearly later Bronze Age and contained many cremations in classic 'Deverel-Rimbury' ceramic forms (ibid., 551–56). This latter group is clearly respected by the length of bank and ditch on the hill crest, now known to be part of a large hilltop enclosure of irregular form (see below).

The four barrows on Woodminton Down are immediately to the west of a lynchetted trackway clearly associated with the field system covering the down (2 on plan). This group is again clearly Later Bronze Age in date, with some 27 inurned and unaccompanied cremations having been excavated. Clay's account makes it seem very likely that this group was subject to cultivation by the Romano-British period; if not earlier (Clay 1927a, 313–324).

Stray Finds from the Transcript Area

Manuscript notes held by RCHM in Salisbury record a large amount of Neolithic flintwork from the vicinity of Middle Chase Farm. This includes six flint axes, tools and much debitage. Such a concentration of casual finds may indicate some exploitation of the clay with flints as a source of raw materials. Further evidence of Neolithic activity is manifest in the presence of two long barrows in Vernditch Chase (Figure 3: 12 and 13).

Apart from the round barrows discussed above, the Bronze Age is represented by a bronze axe (type unrecorded) which probably came from a field to the east of Stonedown Wood. The most important Bronze Age find however must be the 'ornament' hoard from the field system on Elcombe Down, Ebbesborne Wake (Shortt 1950, 104–12; 3 on transcript). A possible settlement, visible on air photos held by the RCHM in Salisbury, is situated some 100 m east of the find spot. The small barrow group some 150 m to the SE may, if taken in conjunction with the hoard and air photo features, indicate a Later Bronze Age settlement upon the down.

Iron Age and Romano-British material is recorded from a number of points in the area. A Durotrigian coin, along with Romano-British pottery, is noted by Clay from East Coombe Wood north of Elcombe Down. Pottery, probably of Iron Age date, comes from Woodminton Down East, where air photos indicate an open settlement set within the extensive field system (6). Iron Age and Romano-British material is also recorded from the area within and adjacent to the enclosure of Chickengrove Bottom (4 on plan).

Finally, an enamelled bronze cheek piece, probably La Tène III in date, was reportedly found just south of the Ox Drove, in the vicinity of a large enclosure associated with a track system, possibly marking an earlier course of the Ox Drove (5) (*VCH Wilts* I. i, 43).

The Transcription

A glance at the plan clearly demonstrates the complexity and extent of former land division in the area, with many of the field blocks being associated with enclosed and open settlements. All of the ditches discussed in this report were located, and in some cases further lengths have been added.

Ditch F appears to be associated with an extensive settlement complex centred south of Chase Barn (Figure 3: 14). No datable material is recorded from the complex itself, although a date within the Later Iron Age and Romano-British period is quite feasible on morphological grounds. The southernmost element of the settlement is clearly integrated with the adjacent field system.

The known length of Ditch E has been extended by some 900 metres. The feature survives as an earthwork in Stonedown Wood. The ditch is up to 1.5 m deep in places, with traces of a bank on both sides; that on the east being most prominent, but never exceeding *c*.0.75 m in height. No southern extension of Ditch D was noted within the wood.

In the vicinity of Ditch C (Middle Chase Farm) a number of meandering linear features were plotted. These are best interpreted as former hollow ways marking alternative routes through the woodland from Woodminton to Sixpenny Handley. Discussions with Collin Bowen have led us to suggest that Ditch B may also be a former route rather than a ditch; only excavation could however prove the point.

North of Ditch C a large rectangular enclosure with a wide drove way down its east side was recorded (5). The drove has a large expansion on its west side, close to the find spot of the La Tène III cheek piece. Similar expansions occur elsewhere in South Wiltshire and one excavated example at Winterslow contained Later Iron Age material and Late Roman inhumations (Algar, pers. comm.).

Beyond the Ditch C complex, some 600 m to the north, air photos indicate the presence of a large open

settlement on Woodminton Down East (6). The site is served by a clearly defined track running up the scarp slope, with fields laid out on either side of it.

The greatest concentration of settlement enclosures occurs in the area immediately west and north of Great Ditch Banks (Ditch A).

The ditch itself appears to terminate on the north at an enclosure of oval form which partly survives as an earthwork (7). Iron Age sherds were found here in 1987 during field work. To the west another enclosure, now ploughed out, can be distinguished; hints of pits and other internal details are visible on the aerial cover (8). Both of these sites seem to be served by tracks running up slope from the deep dry coombe cutting into the scarp slope.

600 m west of East Chase Farm is a roughly circular enclosure which has been put forward as a 'banjo' by the OS archaeology division. Close examination of the air cover shows this to be an erroneous identification, the apparent funnel feature being caused by a ploughed out lynchet which appears to *pre-date* the enclosure (9).

Although none of the above group of enclosures has been dated, it is tempting to suggest, given the probable Late Iron Age date of the excavated ditches, that we can see here a settlement and dyke association similar to others in the vicinity (see discussion under next heading below).

Marleycombe Hill is proven to be of considerable interest as a result of the transcription exercise. The long known ditch and bank upon the hill crest is now seen to be part of a large, irregular enclosure (10). Internal detail is visible on the air cover and indicates discrete groups of pits, linear features and *possible* circular structures. The enclosure clearly post-dates the Deverel-Rimbury barrow group as demonstrated by the sharp swing of the ditch and bank to avoid the barrows. The whole hill top is covered by an extensive field system which reaches as far as the Chickengrove Bottom enclosure (4).

A small sub-square enclosure to the east of the Marleycombe enclosure was discovered as a result of fieldwork undertaken for the transcript. It is aligned on a track ascending the hill, which once again had fields laid out from it.

That further settlements may exist in the area is strongly hinted at by the very irregular shapes caused by some field boundaries. A clear example can be seen on Marleycombe Hill (11). It is possible that either of these last two features may be a settlement associated with the Deverel-Rimbury barrow group dug by Clay (1).

Perhaps one of the most intriguing aspects of this work has been the large number of tracks plotted, all of which run down to the escarpment base, clearly demonstrating how biased our information base is from the area beyond the limit of the chalk.

Discussion of the Ditches and Associated Settlement

Ditch A (Great Ditch Banks) runs north from Grim's Ditch, a major linear earthwork complex traced for a distance of 23 km (RCHM forthcoming). Like other linear ditch complexes this system is of a long and complicated development. Iron Age material has been recorded from Grim's Ditch and its associated bank, although an origin in the Later Bronze Age for at least part of the system is considered likely (RCHM forthcoming). The junction of Ditch A with Grim's Ditch suggests that it is either contemporary with or later than Grim's Ditch.

Ditches A, E and F all run south from the north facing scarp of the chalk mass, thus defining blocks of territory on the gentle dip slope. A similar function may have been performed by ditches C and D, although further work is needed to clarify this.

Three of the ditches in this report are clearly associated with settlements (A, C and F), only that adjacent to F being unexcavated.

The excavated settlement activity has origins in the Late Iron Age, and continues into the Roman period. Settlements of this date, associated with ditch systems and complexes, are an increasingly common feature of the late pre-Roman landscape in Southern Wiltshire and NE Dorset. Other examples occur at Gussage Cow Down, Dorset (Corney in press), Hamshill Ditches, Hanging Langford Camp and Ebsbury, all in Wiltshire (RCHM in preparation). The pottery from these sites is distinctly Durotrigian in style (Brailsford 1958). These settlement types are seen to be restricted to an area defined by Cranborne Chase, the River Avon and the River Wylye, and may well constitute a distinctive 'sub-Durotrigian' block on the eastern fringe of the Durotrigian heartland (Corney in press).

Other settlements within this block, such as Gussage Cow Down and Hamshill Ditches, are associated with multiple linear dykes and paired 'banjo' enclosures, which in this region may be indicative of higher status centres (Corney in press).

The lack of multiple ditches and 'banjo' enclosures in the transcript area indicates that we are seeing here a rather different element of this distinctive settlement pattern. As such it may well indicate the complexities of the late prehistoric settlement pattern and land use in the region.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Desmond Bonney for

allowing this paper to be prepared and published in advance of the RCHM volume on South Wiltshire.

I have benefited from discussion of many aspects of the area with RCHM colleagues, in particular Dr Bruce Eagles, David McOmish and Mark Bowden. I do however take full responsibility for all the views expressed.

THE RIDGE (Figure 4)

A major feature of ancient date which still survives is the Oxdrove Ridgeway traversing the ridge from west to east (Figure 4). Its present course through the area is in a series of straight alignments (Figure 2). Although they still keep to the crest of the ridge, dropping here in elevation west–east from *c.*228 m above OD to *c.*185 m, it seems likely that earlier courses were rather more sinuous.

Most of the known extents of the earthworks now under discussion lie to the south of the Oxdrove, but F was certainly cut by it, and so apparently was A. It seems likely that the Oxdrove is later than these linear earthworks.

Earthworks F–A traverse the summit of the ridge but, at least in the extent in which we know them now, did not drop much into the downslopes on the north side, but do extend considerably down the southern ones, A (Great Ditch Banks) dropping away to *c.*165 m above OD.

F, the most westerly, spans the ridge NNE–SSW from the 190.6 m contour in the north, across the highest point at *c.*228 m, and down to the south nearby to the 205.9 m contour. Its north end is lost at the edge of East Coombe Wood at the head of a steep combe. The south end now dies away on ground sloping gently to the south, midway between two deep combes. There are banks on both sides of the ditch at the north end. The northern gap is where the Oxdrove crosses; the gap in the central highest area could be original; the southern one is also due to a modern road. The total length of F at present known is in excess of 700 m (but see Figure 3 for its continuation to the south).

Between F and E enclosures are visible on air photographs (Figure 3) but were in 1959 invisible; Roman sherds were found in the arable here in 1959 (Figure 2) but were not located in 1985. There are extensive settlement areas and field systems to the west, south and east of F (Figure 3).

R extends across the southern edge of the ridge from *c.*217 m above OD down to *c.*205 m from NNW–SSE, its southern end appearing to terminate at the head of a steep and narrow combe. There are traces of a bank on its eastern side. Fieldwork by the RCHM however (see p. 6 above) added a further 900 m to E, down into Stonedown Wood (Figure 3). A polished flint axe was found near its north end (inf. M. Corney).

D crosses the ridge NNE–SSW, from *c.*213 m above OD down to *c.*200 m; its southern end turns westward along the beginning of the western edge of another combe where it is lost in Stonedown Wood. There are traces of a bank on its eastern side. Its total known length is nearly 400 m.

C (Middle Chase Ditch) extends across the ridge from NNW–SSE; towards the north it appears to end on the summit of the ridge at *c.*205 m above OD, and drops away southwards to *c.*186 m above OD, beyond which it cannot be traced, though it is heading for the north end of another combe. There are traces of a bank on its west side, and this was confirmed by excavation (see p. 19 below). The gap is probably modern, but not necessarily so (see p. 19 below). The total length of C is *c.*500 m (see also Figure 12 below). One earlier find is known from this area – a bronze enamelled cheek-piece, of La Tène III style (see p. 6 above), the date of which would fit well with that of the 1959 excavated material. In the vicinity of C are a number of linear and enclosure features (see p. 6 above).

B consists of two segments of a linear feature traversing the southern side of the ridge from NNE to SSW, from *c.*204 m above OD down to *c.*183 m. The two segments appear to diverge outwards towards the west. This is however obscured by a modern road which cuts across the downs from north to south. The north end of the northern segment is lost by a modern road junction, and the southern end of the south segment in the area around Middle Chase Farm; it is however heading for the north end of yet another combe, carrying the present road. There are traces of a possible bank on the east side of the northern segment. The total known length of the complex is *c.* 500 m, made up of the two segments of 200 m+ and the wide gap. Collin Bowen and Mark Corney think that Ditch B may be a former route rather than a ditch, similar to those in the vicinity of Ditch C to the west.

A (Great Ditch Banks) is the largest and longest of the six. It is the only one with a name, which implies (as does the name itself) that it survived as a major earthwork into comparatively recent times (see p. 4 above). It extends across the ridge from NNW to SSE, from *c.*188 m above OD up to the crest of the ridge at *c.*191 m and then drops down southwards steadily to *c.*165 m above OD. The northern end appears to terminate at a small oval enclosure; there appears to be a junction of two members, a major and

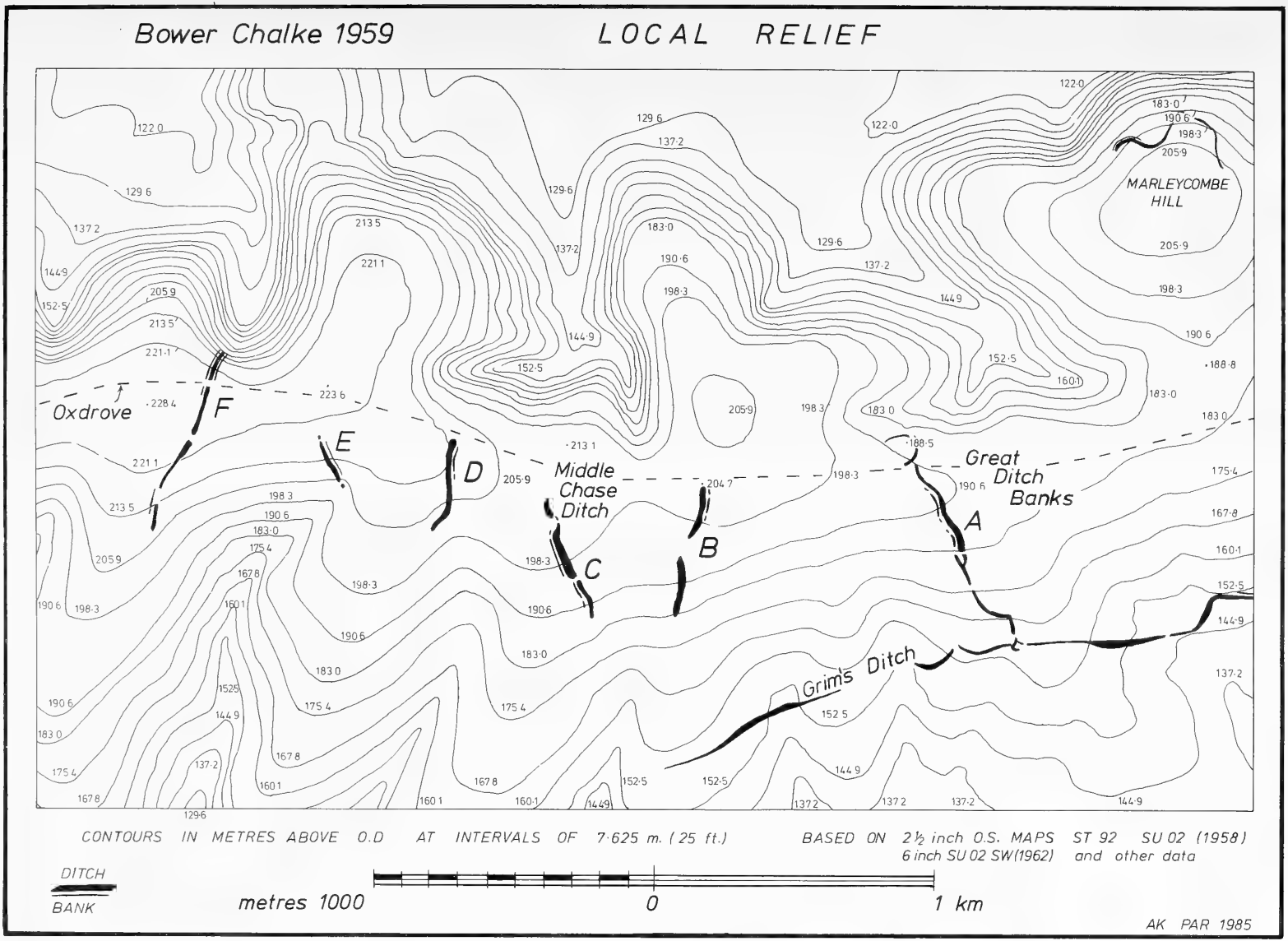

Figure 4. Local relief

minor, near the centre; it is the minor member which goes to a dog-leg on the 167.8 m contour, and then south to Grim's Ditch (see p. 7 above).

The northern end of A, with the enclosure, stops short of the south side of a combe, but the termination of the south end does not seem to be related to any topographical feature other than Grim's Ditch. There are indications of a bank on the west side of the major part of the ditch, and this was confirmed by excavation (see p. 11ff., below). The total known length of the earthwork is in excess of 700 m (see also Figure 6 below).

There are earlier references to this area. Colt Hoare records the ditches emerging from the edge of the woodland along the Ox Drove (p. 4 above) and a 'settlement site' NW of East Chase Farm, but with 'no datable finds' (*sic*) (note in *VCH Wilts* I. i, 43, quoting Colt Hoare, AW, 245–7). Associated settlement features are discussed on page 7 above.

From these descriptions and those by Mark Corney (above) it will be seen that the six earthworks are mainly on the south side of the ridge, and are intimately associated with fields, trackways, and settlements in the area, and with combes indenting the sides of the ridge, especially those on the south side. Their date and function were unknown before 1959, though there had been speculation about their relationship to prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman earthworks and settlements in the area, notably Bokerly Dyke, whose final phases appear to extend well into the post-Roman centuries (Rahtz 1963). One suggestion by L.V. Grinsell (*VCH Wilts* I, 253) was that C (Middle Chase Ditch) was actually a continuation of Grim's Ditch.

It was (and is) not known whether all six earthworks were contemporary, but it was thought possible that they were all part of the same system. Excavation showed, as this report will demonstrate, that two (A and C) were indeed contemporary, and dated to the early part of the first millennium AD, probably in the period immediately preceding the advent of Roman administration of the area in the middle of the first century AD.

Although the writer recommended to the then Ministry of Works in his interim report in 1959 that ditches B and D should be sectioned, to confirm that they were indeed contemporary with A and C, the suggestion was not followed up, since neither earthwork was scheduled.

ENVIRONMENT, SOILS AND METHOD

Both sites investigated were on a basic geological substratum of Upper Chalk. Excavation shows that on the surface of this were extensive patches of, and depressions filled with, clay-with-flints and clayey chalk, deriving from peri-glacial conditions. In places these alternated with chalk to give a characteristic 'striped' effect to the surface of the natural below the archaeological layers. Variations in the material are indicated in the detailed drawings below, as they have a direct bearing on the understanding of the construction layers, and especially on the post-depositional history of the earthworks.

At Middle Chase Ditch enough of the bank survived *in situ* to seal beneath it earlier ground surfaces and possible evidence of pre-earthwork agriculture and settlement. At Great Ditch Banks, the bank residue was destroyed, but had formerly protected the ground beneath it, which is still higher as a result.

The archaeological layers consist of pre-earthwork soils, quarried chalk and clay, chalky-clayey-flinty soils filling ditches and other negative features, organically-darkened 'occupation' soils, secondary soils in the tops of the main ditches, and ploughsoils of more recent times.

Excavation methods consisted of the cutting of trenches of various sizes, by unskilled workers, principally with picks and shovels. The writer and Margaret Gray supervised them, and recorded finds partly by layer and partly by numbered metal tags stuck into the sections; these referred to the location of individual sherds or other finds, or of discrete groups. No record was made of the lateral extent of any layers, only of the extent of negative features as defined principally in the natural subsoils. Interpretation was (and is in this report) principally derived from the

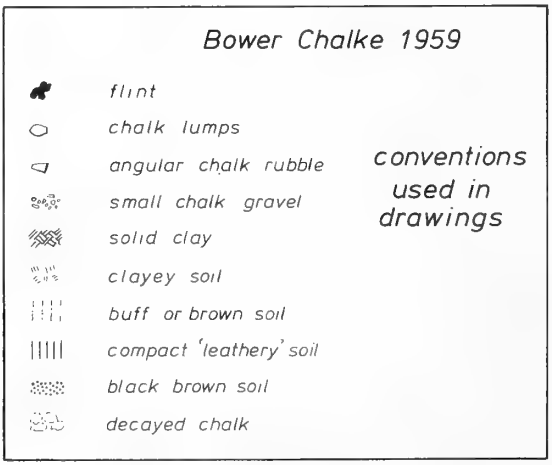

Figure 5. Conventions used in drawings

two-dimensional data recorded on drawn sections, supplemented by written (note-book) records, the disposition of finds, and photographs. The last were principally in monochrome on a 5 x 5 cm format, but a few colour slides were also taken (see lists on microfiche held in NMR archive at Fortress House).

The conventions for section drawing are indicated in Figure 5. Features are numbered F1, F2, etc. with capital lettered sub-divisions: F1A, F1B etc. Layers are lettered in capitals, with either numbered or lower case lettered subdivisions.

Great Ditch Banks (Figures 6–11)

THE SITE (Figure 6)

Great Ditch Banks (hereafter GDB) is so-named in OS maps, and was known as 'Greate Ditche' as early as 1618 (see p. 4 above). Its relationship to the other earthworks on the ridge is discussed above on p. 8. Figure 6 shows GDB in relationship to the earthwork B to its west.

GDB itself is *c.*800 m long; it is somewhat complex at its north end. There was a faint semicircular bank visible in former times on the north side of the ridgeway; what is presumed to be the associated ditch of the east side of the southern part of this enclosure is plotted from a Crawford air-photograph of 13.7.29 (see p. 7 above and Figure 3). There is apparently a gap between this and the northern end of GDB; this is a dog-leg segment, also seen on the same air-photo, linking with the mapped part of the earthwork; from then on bank and ditch are somewhat sinuous; both of the 1959 cuttings (trenches 1 and 2) were made in that area, where the line of the bank was still visible. About midway along GDB, a short length of bank is shown on the OS map running out eastwards to a 'tumulus' (not in Figure 3). Beyond this the earthwork appears to bifurcate into a double dyke, the two members coming together to link with a length of ditch seen on the Crawford air photo. This extends, with three changes of direction, as far as a dip in Grim's Ditch, in a manner suggesting that GDB was 'grafted on' to this earthwork (see p. 7 above).

THE 1959 EXCAVATIONS (Figures 6–11)

Trench 1 (west–east) was 65–70 m long and 1.22 m wide (4 ft). It was supplemented by minor cuttings to the north and south in an attempt to find more of the plan of a subsidiary ditch F3 (cuttings 1a–1e).

Trench 2 (south–north) was 16.4 m long and 1.525 m (5 ft) wide, confined to the area of ditch and bank.

Details of features and layers in Trenches 1 and 2 are on microfiche held by the NMR Record Archive.

DISCUSSION OF EVIDENCE FROM BOTH TRENCHES

Unlike Middle Chase Ditch (discussed below), there are no contexts among those surviving which are certainly earlier than the earthworks. The bank layers and buried soil have been completely removed by ploughing and erosion; only the (higher) bedrock survives where the bank once was.

There were, however, in Trench 2 some burnt flints, dark soil and a stakehole (F8) in the bank area which could be either earlier than the bank, or later than its total obliteration; there were no associated finds, which may hint that this settlement evidence was in fact earlier than the earthwork.

The former extent of the bank is not known, or whether there was a berm; all finds are thus secondary in deposition, though they will obviously contain residual earlier material eroded or ploughed out of earlier levels.

The main ditch F1 was dug to a depth of *c.*3 m below the present highest levels of the natural chalk. To this should be added a further amount for the amount of bedrock that has been ploughed away, including any softer surface material such as 'rotten' chalk or clay with flints (cf. Middle Chase, p. 22 below); and also the former topsoil. The ditch may have been as deep as 3.50 m originally, with a bank on its SW side. If this was of a height roughly equivalent to the depth of the ditch, with a palisade on top, the total would be in excess of 7 m – a formidable barrier, comparable to the defences of lesser hillforts.

The profile of the ditch was probably little different from that seen in excavation in both trenches – a steep V with a *c.*30 cm wide base.

In Trench 1 the main ditch F1 section exhibits a series of silting layers N–K, which look like the result of natural silting, rather than deliberate levelling. There is, of course, the possibility that the ditch had been cleaned out once or more, and that M and later fills are only the final silt after abandonment.

There were few finds in these layers, such as might otherwise indicate refuse dumping. The material is

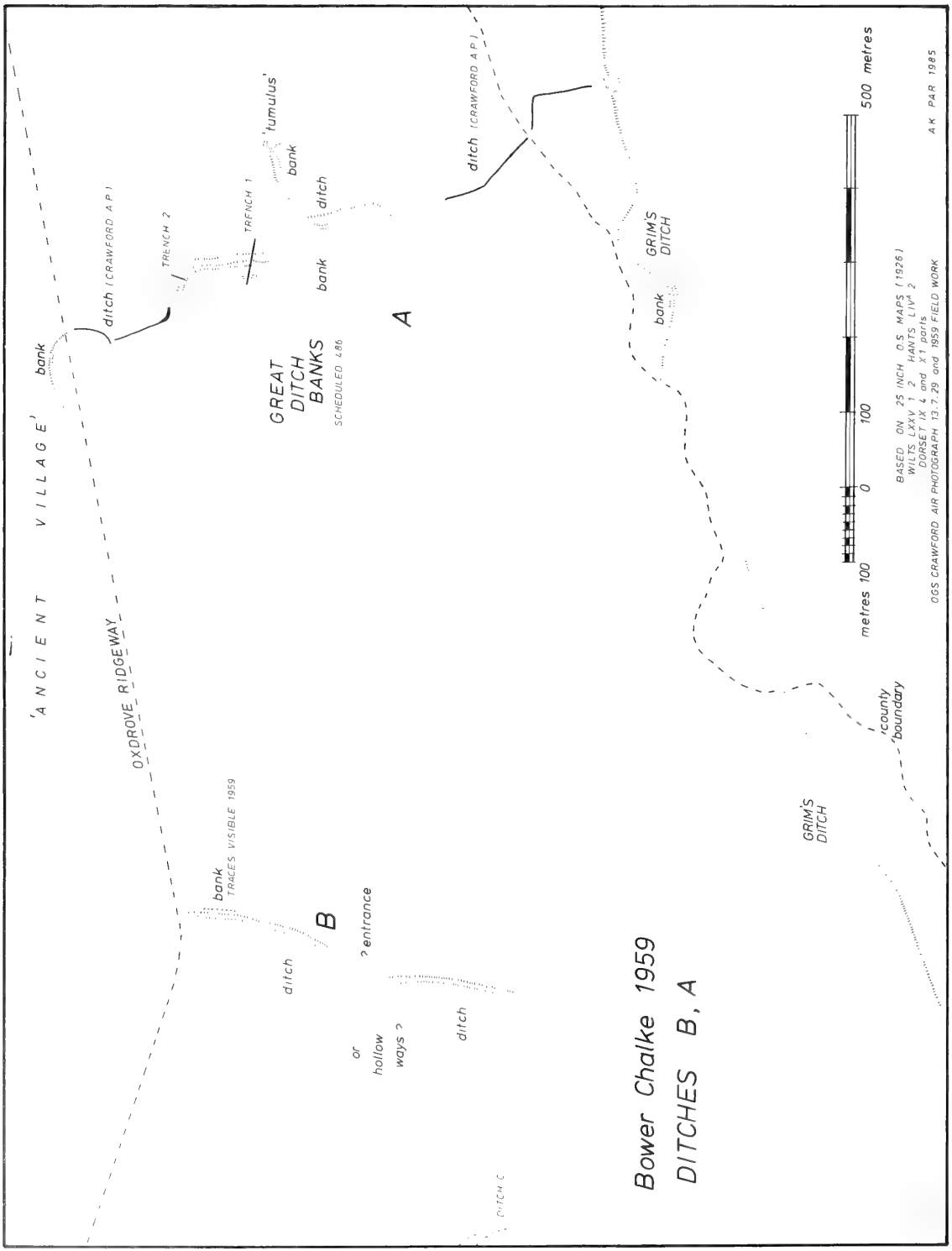

Figure 6. Great Ditch Banks: Ditches B and A

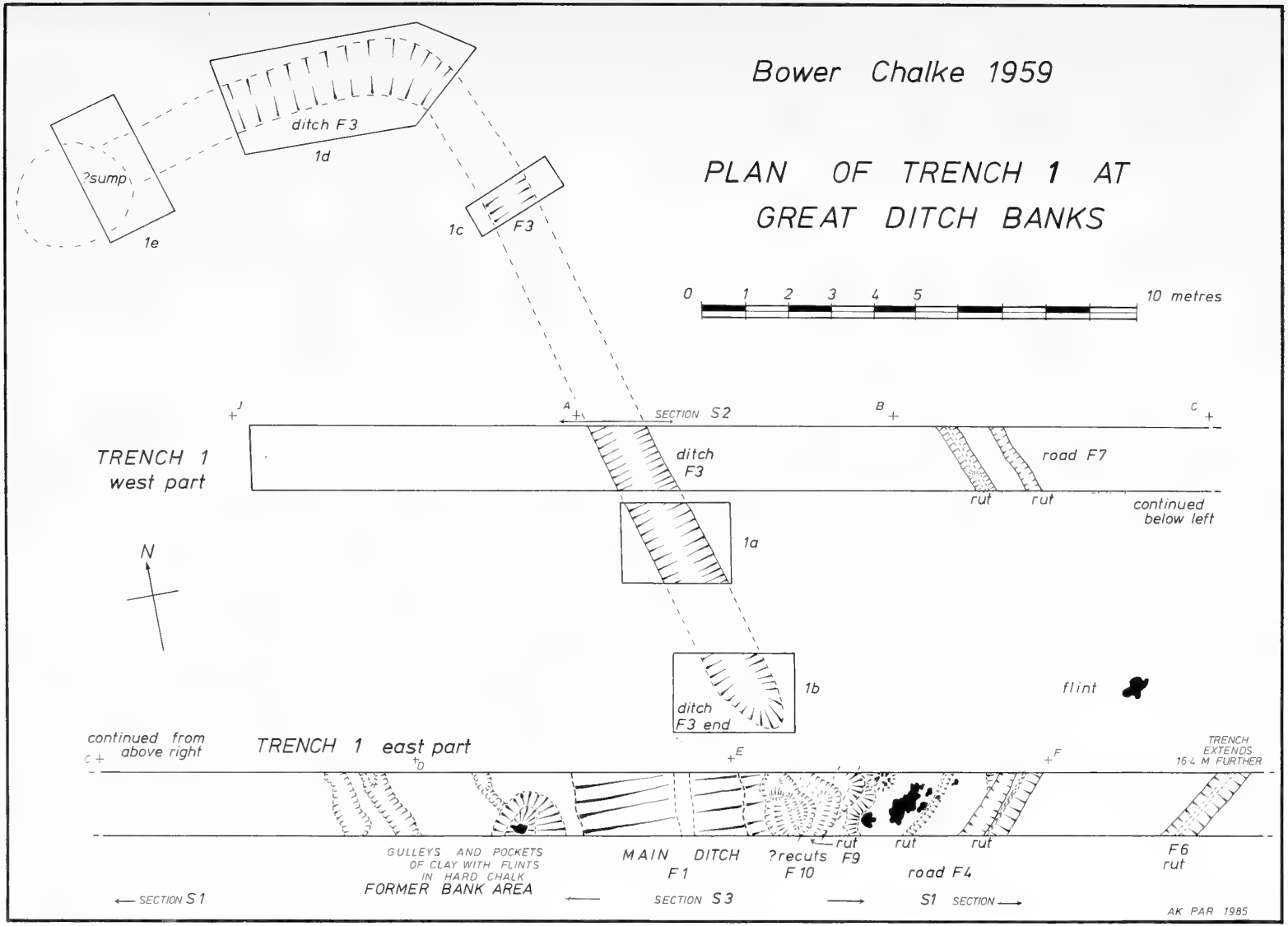

Figure 7. Plan of Trench 1 at Great Ditch Banks

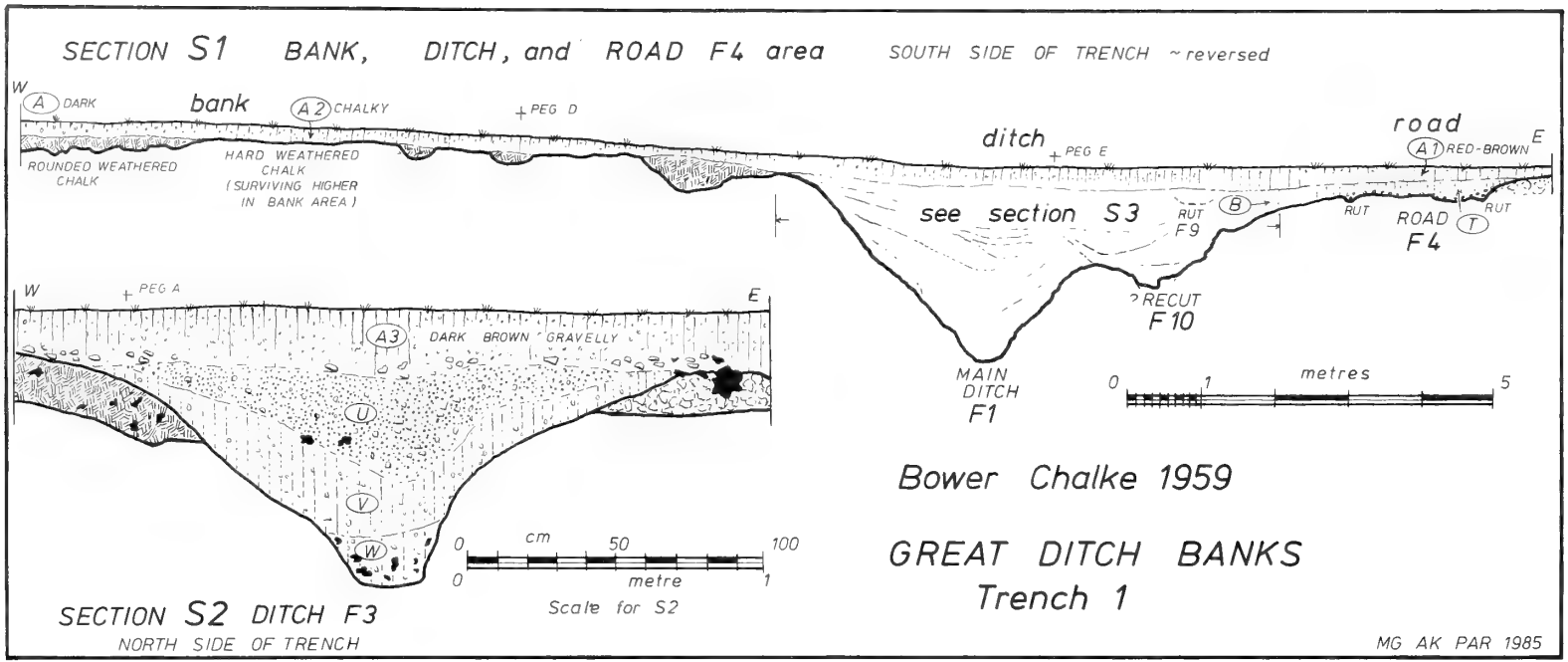

Figure 8. Great Ditch Banks, Trench 1, Sections S1 and S2

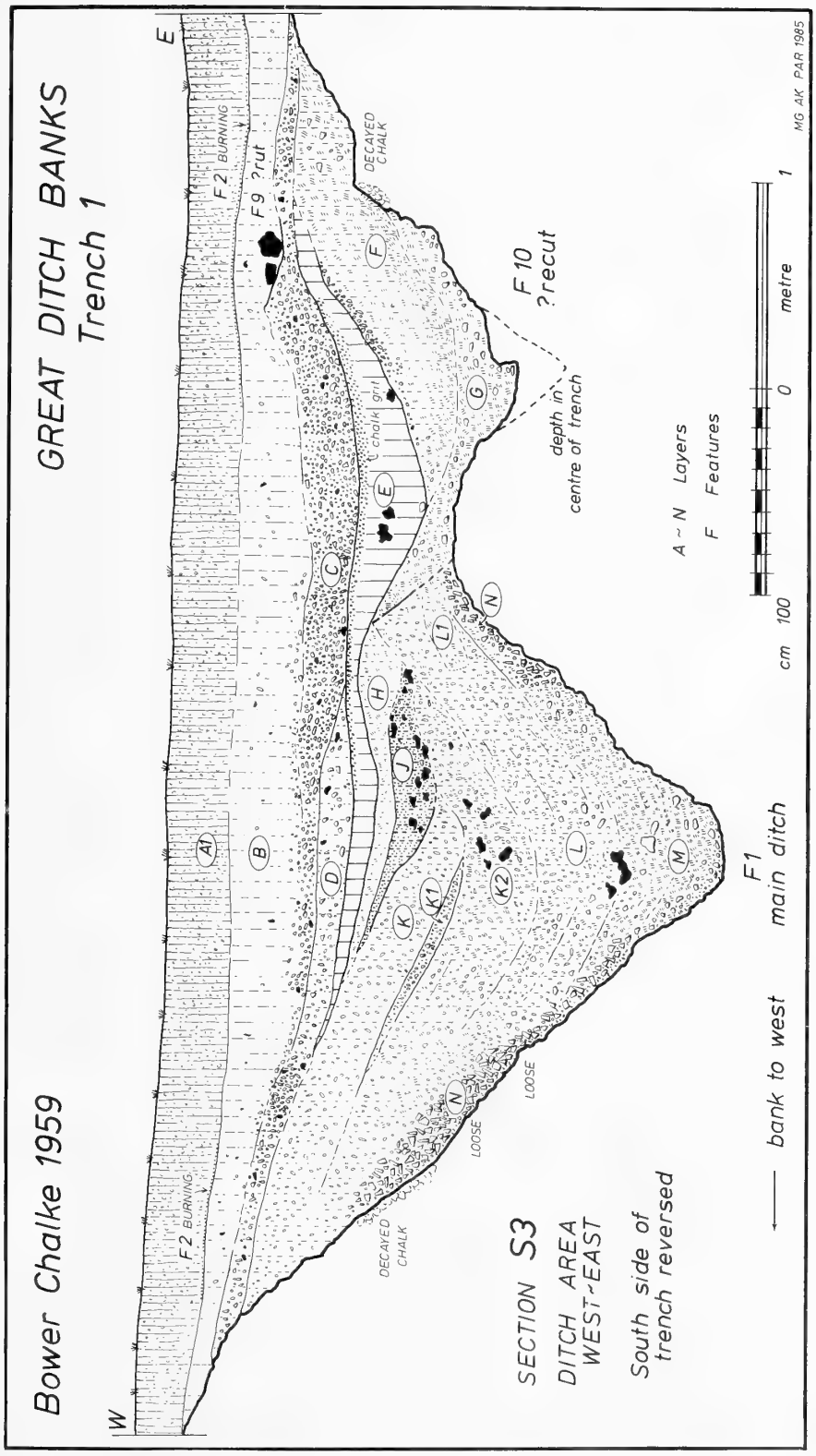

Figure 9. Great Ditch Banks, Trench 1, Section S3

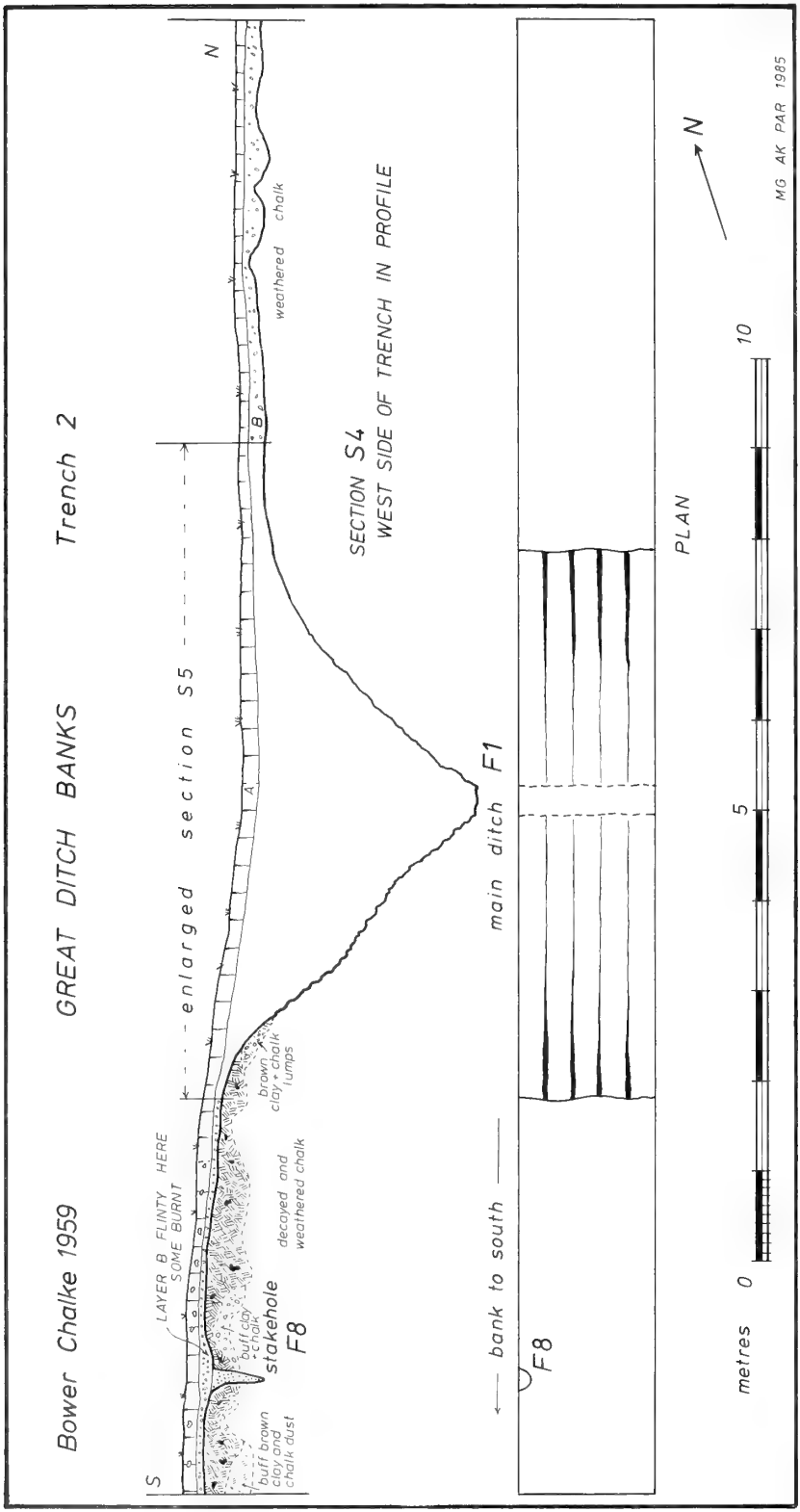

Figure 10. Great Ditch Banks, Trench 2, Plan and Section S4

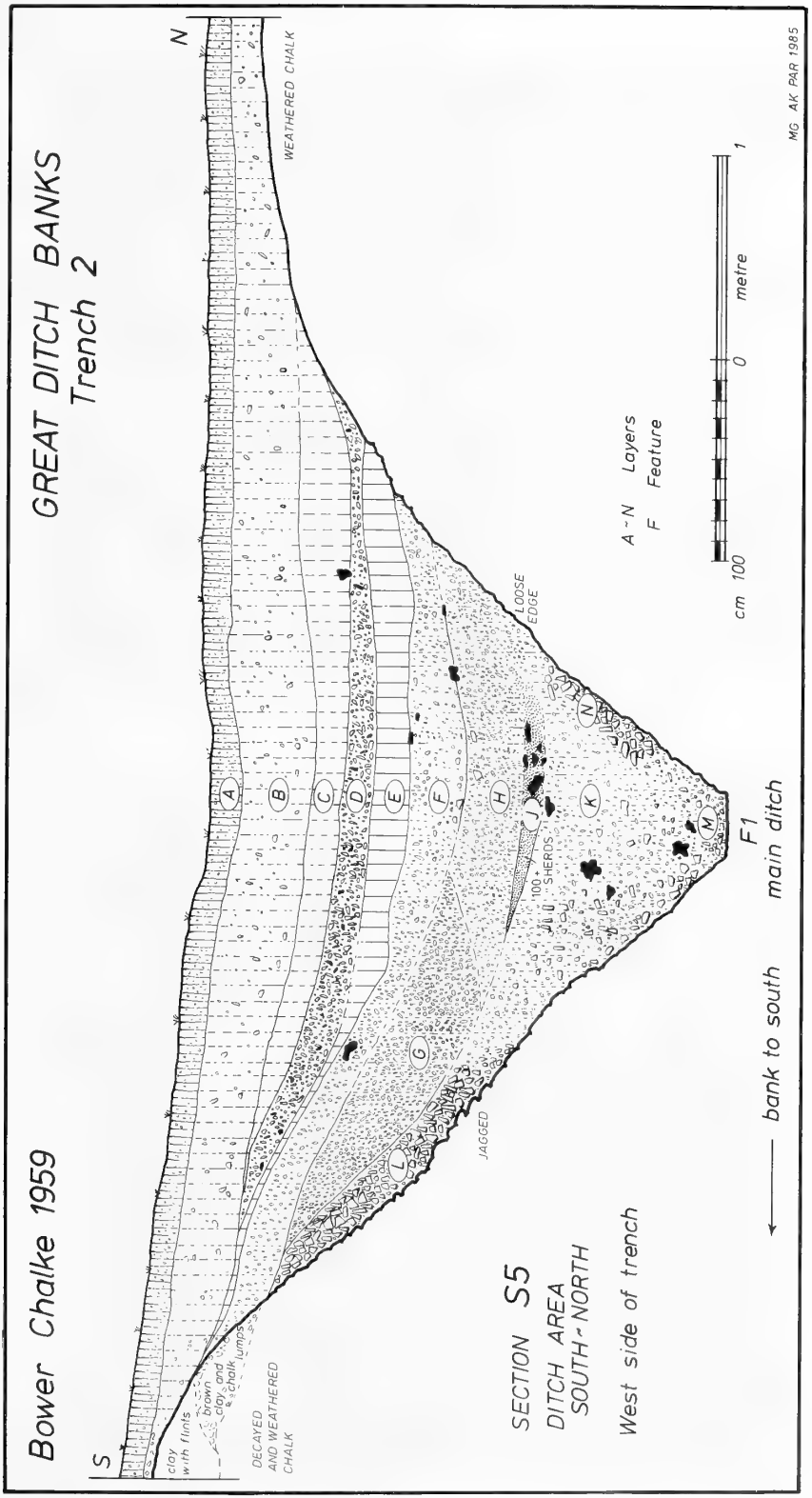

Figure 11. Great Ditch Banks, Trench 2, Section S5

Plate I

Great Ditch Banks: Trench 1, westerly part, looking WNW

Plate II

Great Ditch Banks: Trench 1, looking SW, ditches F1 and F10

presumably derived largely from the bank layers by gradual erosion, with some water-borne clayey material.

J appears to be the first evidence of some stability in silting, colonisation and grassing-over consolidation of exposed soil and chalk surfaces, though some large flints were still rolling down into the deepest part of the hollow.

In Trench 2, the ditch section exhibits a history of filling (or ultimate filling after cleaning) broadly comparable with Trench 1, but with some differences. There was, however, a substantial group of Late Iron Age settlement midden (including diagnostic sherds (DS) 50–61, Table E below) at one point (J) in the ditch fill.

In Trench 1, after further silting (H), the largely filled-up ditch was cut away on its east side by an irregular ditch or quarry F10, which in turn silted up with G and F. Up to this point there were no Romanised sherds. No such possible recut was found in Trench 2.

There followed in Trench 1 a major phase of stasis, with E accumulating as a deep soil in the two hollows left by F1 and F10, though failing to build up on the west side of the ditch below the bank; if there was ploughing at this time, it might have avoided the ditch area, but the relative cleanness of E suggests a period of pastoral use, in Roman or later times.

Above this, layers D, C, B and ultimately A1, represent successive stages of agricultural use; C may well be a ploughsoil, or may be derived from traffic on the road complex to the east. B may be a ploughsoil which has subsequently been turned over to pastoral use, allowing prolonged worm-sorting. On this, scrub appears to have developed, and this was burnt off (F2), in preparation for recent ploughing.

There was no post-Roman material below layer A1, so the dating of the stratification must be largely speculative; below layer E the fills are presumably of the Roman and immediately post-Roman periods; but E and above may well be medieval, in spite of the many Iron Age and Roman sherds.

The sequence of final ploughsoils is different in detail in Trench 2, with fewer artefacts in the upper levels.

Otherwise, the two ditch sections are sufficiently similar in finds, shape and depth to confirm that they were originally the same ditch, in spite of the differences in orientation.

To the west, beyond the bank area (Figures 7 and 8), a road (F7) and a ditch (F3) represent an occupation area behind the earthwork; they are of similar orientation. Both could have originated in the pre-Roman period, and have been contemporary with the main ditch F1; or may date from a period after the abandonment of the earthwork (note Romanised sherds in layers V/U). The narrowness of the rut-width of the road may argue for a pre-Roman origin for this at least.

The other road F4, with outer ruts F9 and F6, to the east of the ditch (Figure 7) is clearly from a period later than the fill of the ditch and its recut F10; this is certainly true of the rut F9, and the ruts in F4 and rut F6 are likely to be of similar date. Their orientation is across that of the earthwork, probably crossing the filled ditch (cf. Middle Chase Ditch road, p. 27 below).

The absence of any definitely post-Conquest pottery in the earlier contexts of the sites suggests that the earthwork was constructed in the pre-Conquest period, in the first half of the first century AD.

Middle Chase Ditch (Figures 12–15)

THE SITE (Figure 12)

Middle Chase Ditch (hereafter MCD) was so-named in 1959 by the writer because of its proximity to Middle Chase Farm. The relationship of the earthwork (C) to others on the ridge is discussed on pp. 4–7 above. Figure 12 shows MCD in relationship to the earthworks D, E and F to the west.

MCD itself is *c.*450 m long, though it probably extended further south formerly. As in the case of GDB, its north end dog-legs, though in the opposite direction, the dog-leg protruding eastwards. The remains of the bank were visible along the west side of most of the main part of the ditch.

There is a gap in the visible bank towards the south end. A track was apparent on the surface in the bank/ditch area; this can be traced eastwards on the air photographs, bifurcating north of earthwork B. To the west it appears to terminate in an ovoid enclosure *c.*130 × 100 m (not, however, included by RCHM in Figure 3).

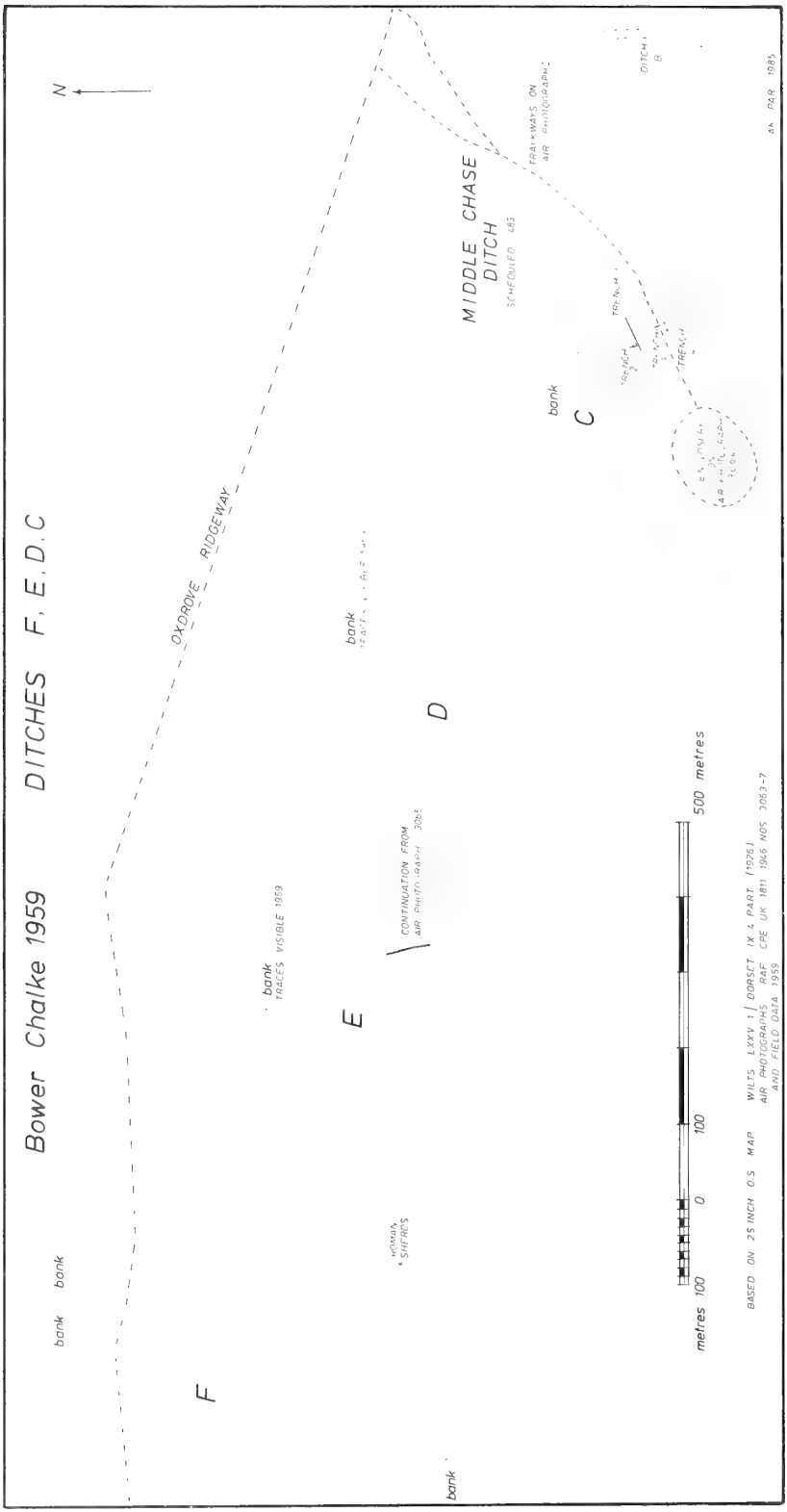

Figure 12. Middle Chase Ditch: Ditches F, E, D and C

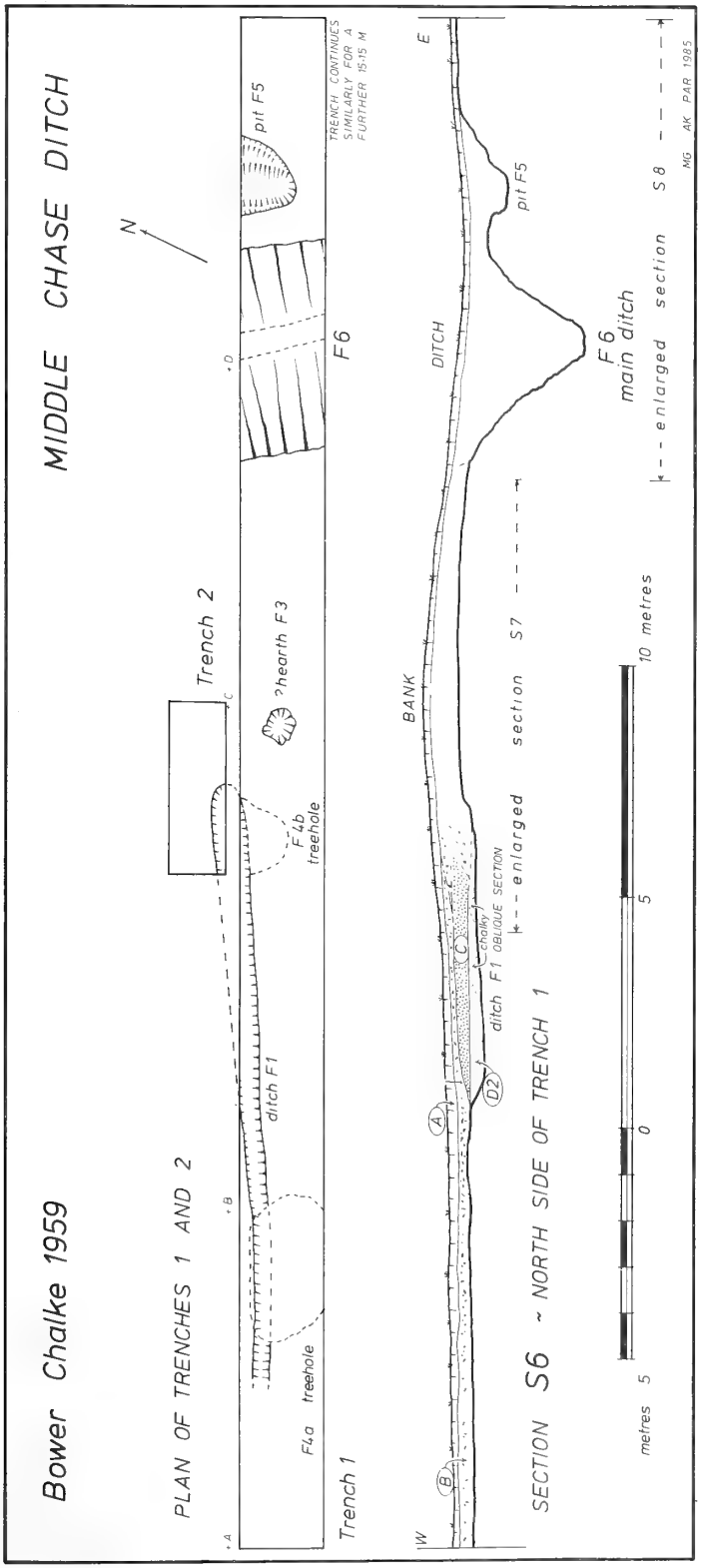

Figure 13. Middle Chase Ditch: plan of Trenches 1 and 2, and Section S6

THE 1959 EXCAVATIONS (Figures 12–15)

Trench 1 (WSW–ENE) (rationalised hereafter to west–east) was 48 m long and 1.83 m (6 ft) wide, at right angles across the earthwork and a zone to either side (see details of features and layers, as well as photographs, on microfiche held by the NMR Record Archive). A supplementary Trench, 2 (3.8 m long × 1.22 m wide), was dug parallel to and to the north of Trench 1, to obtain a better sample of the bank area, and confirm the relationship of the bank to ditch F1 (see microfiche). Trench 3 (7.4 m long and 1.22 m wide) was cut across the track in the bank area from north–south, to find its relationship to the bank, and its date (see discussion below). The fourth cutting was a trench SE of the gap, 0.915 m (3 ft) square, to obtain a further sample of the bank stratification in this area.

DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE FROM TRENCHES 1 AND 2 (Figures 13 and 14)

Pre-earthwork (S7, S8)

The natural layers beneath the earthwork consisted of a mixture of clay and chalk in characteristic regular 'stripes' of periglacial origin. On this developed a soil (G), surviving only where protected by the surviving layers of the bank of the earthwork. The natural chalk and clay are no higher than that to the east of the earthwork, where no bank afforded protection (Figure 13, S6) (*cf* GDB above, pp. 11–19). The subsoil G was, however, thick (up to 35 cm) and it is this which has been eroded elsewhere, by ploughing and possibly other factors.

Layer G was homogeneous except for being darker to the west, where worms may have caused some infiltration of more organic material from layers on the back of the bank (notably D). Its surface may however have been ploughed at a time before the earthwork was constructed. No plough-marks were seen, but there was a concentration of flints in its surface (deeper to the west). The postulated plough-soil may originally have included layer F, perhaps up to 20 cm thick, the upper part of an original soil/subsoil profile of 40 cm+. The present section would then be the result of worm-sorting, in which the flints of the ploughsoil have sunk to the base into G, and the rest has been sorted to a fine, homogeneous, relatively stone-free soil. If this interpretation is correct, then there must have been a gap in time between the cessation of ploughing and the construction of the earthwork. The sherds in F and G are not however obviously any earlier than those from later levels (see pottery report by Susan Davies, below).

An alternative hypothesis is that F is not a pre-earthwork soil at all, but the first stage in the building of the earthwork by stripping the turf from the ditch area and spreading it or piling it in the area to be the bank proper. In this case G would be the only pre-earthwork soil, stony (? ploughed) in its top.

Another feature that could be pre-earthwork is the possible hearth F3 (Figure 13) which yielded a useful group of sherds (including DS 74 in Figure 19). This could be alternatively of the earthwork-building phase, as it cut layer F and was itself capped directly by the quarried chalk C3.

The construction of the earthwork (S7, S8, Figure 14)

Fa and Fb would appear to be the first bank layers after F. They could also be the upper layers from the ditch area. They might alternatively be a primary or marking-out bank, a predecessor to the earthwork proper.

The main ditch F6 was dug to a depth of 2.9 m from the highest position of G as now seen; the contemporary ground surface was probably 3 m or more above the ditch base, especially if F is pre-earthwork. The first bank layers proper are C4 and C3, and clearly derive from a hard chalk level in the ditch. D1 and E1–2 are more mixed, but there is a possibility that there were structures on the back of the bank which have decayed or been removed, resulting in the contrast between C3/C4 and D1/E1–2. All these layers yielded sherds, which should be earlier than or contemporary with the earthwork; they are not however sealed to the same degree as those in the pre-earthwork contexts G above, and (given also the limitations of the excavation) are not so reliable as dating evidence for the construction of the earthwork.

There was apparently a berm of 1.8 m between the east edge of the bank and the west edge of the ditch. The absence of bank layers in this area may however be due to truncation of former bank layers on this side of the ditch. This is discussed below, where the latter alternative is preferred.

To the east of the ditch is another feature, F5, a pit, which could be contemporary, perhaps a post-pit for a major fence in front of the earthwork.

There is here a wide cut-away (*c.*3 m west to east), rather more ill-defined in the rest of the trench than in the drawn section. It appears to have truncated the natural to a depth of 50 cm or more (and possibly truncated F5 pit). It may however be a much later cut, dating from a time when the ditch was filled up: perhaps a secondary recut or refurbishment of the earthwork later than or contemporary with that to be discussed below in the ditch fill itself (layer H, H1, etc.).

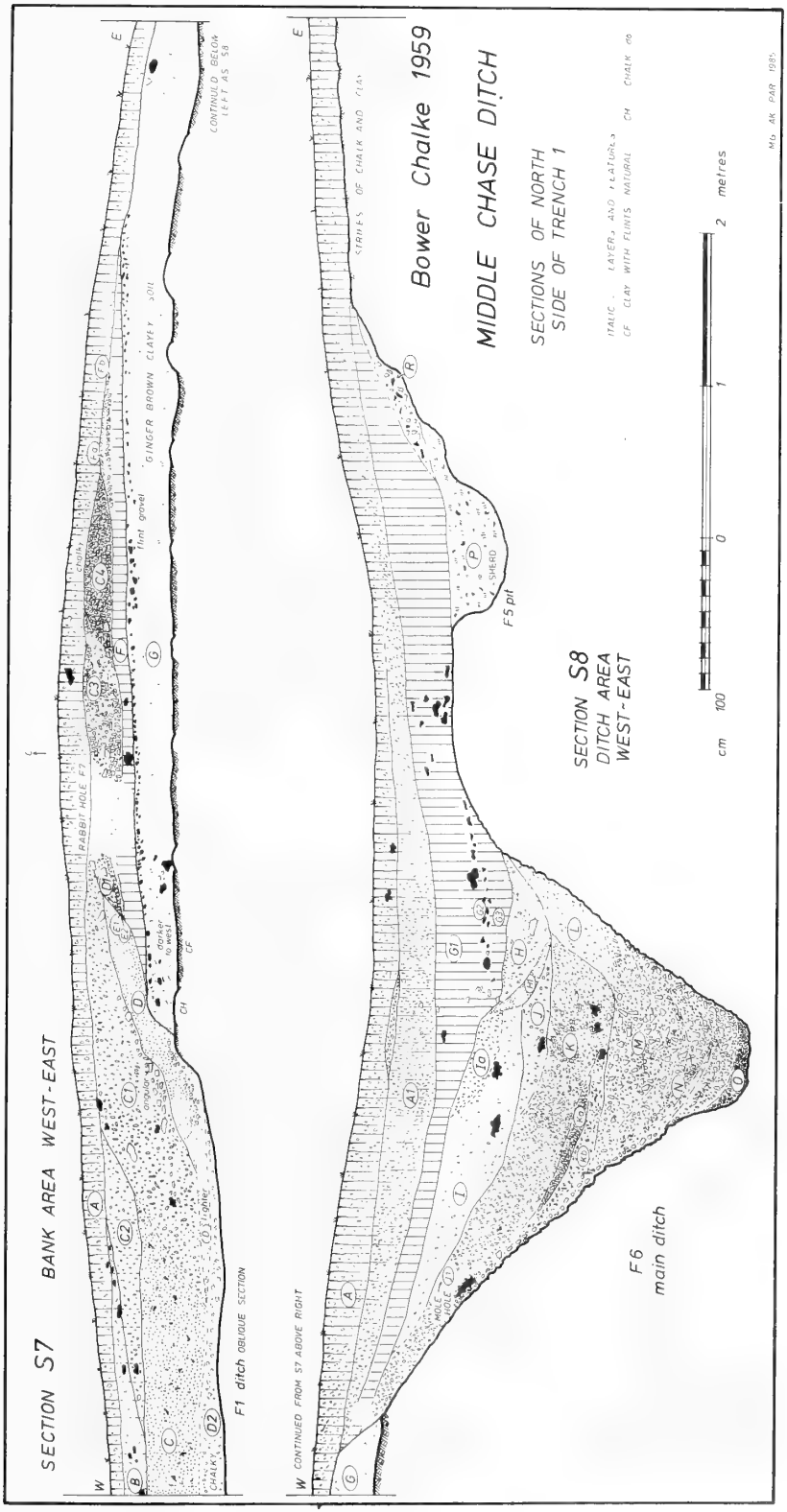

Figure 14. Middle Chase Ditch, Sections S7 and S8

Plate III

Middle Chase Ditch: Trench 1, ditch F6 and pit F5 in background, looking north

Plate IV

Middle Chase Ditch: road F8 in Trench 3 looking NW uphill

On the back of the bank, the evidence is rather obscured by the presence of ditch F1, which terminated in or at the bank layers. All the interface which marks the western edge of D1, E1, E2, F and G could be the edge of this ditch, which would then be *c.*50 cm deep at least, at this end. It is possible however that the ditch extended eastwards no further than the point where it cut the natural or layer G. In this case the layer D, which fills the upper part of ditch F1, and lies against the truncated bank layers, could be associated with a rear (? turf) revetment collapsing into the ditch.

Ditch F1 (S6, S7)
F1 is not necessarily much later than the earthwork. It could indeed be contemporary with it, terminating at the rear of the bank, and associated with some enclosure behind the earthwork. The only find from its lower fill was a first century Strip brooch.

The destruction of the bank (S6, S7, S8)
The bank might originally have been 2–3 m high. Of this less than 30 cm survives. Its degradation might be the result of deliberate levelling or slighting; gradual weathering; and finally ploughing.

It seems likely that much of it has found its way into the ditch (especially layers K and below). This could be the result of deliberate levelling, in view of the apparently wide berm. If it were the result of the collapse of the front of the bank into the ditch, then clearly there never was a substantial berm; and the present appearance of one would in that case be due to the prolonged degradation and truncation of a large area. The survival of F (as a 'tail') and G (substantially) on the 'berm', immediately below the ploughsoil, favours the argument against there having been a berm. The preferred interpretation is that much of the bank has gone back into the adjacent ditch, but the agency must be uncertain.

Similarly, part of the bank is probably represented by C1, weathered or pushed off the rear of the bank. It should be noted however that this part of the bank at least must have survived to a considerable extent during the period when ditch F1 was filling up, and the dark soil D accumulating in the lee of the bank and over the eastern terminal of F1. Only then did C1 extend over the area. This was followed by a further dark layer (C), apparently representing a further period of stasis, before further bank weathering (C2) spread over it. This may be the period of tree-growth in the area, represented by the tree-holes F4a and b. Ploughing has clearly been the final and decisive agent of the degradation of the bank, spreading it out over a wide area. This resulted in the chalky and flinty component in layers B and A to the west, and in A and A1 to the east. Fortunately enough survived by 1959 to seal crucial data.

The filling of the ditch (S8)
The stratification exhibited in S8 could all derive from a time when the ditch was finally abandoned, perhaps after several phases of clearing out: though for this there is no evidence. The original profile is of course uncertain; if the sides were much steeper, as has sometimes been postulated for prehistoric barrow and other ditches, then much of the lower fill (O, N, M) could be derived from frosting and weathering of the ditch sides. If however part or all came from degradation of the bank (see above pp. 22–25), then the ditch profile may be close to its original shape.

Layer L, on the east side, is a primary fill, but less chalky, and probably derived from wash-in from the non-bank side. K, Ka and Kb were distinct from L–O, and look like a major infill layer. If M, N and O were *not* from the bank, then these might well here represent a phase of bank slighting, material tipped in from the west: there are more sherds in K than below (including DS 126–128, Table E below). Layers J and I, and Ia, are slow siltings above the more chalky material below.

The profile of H and H1 looks very much like a recut of the ditch silting, removed at some distance of time from the use of the ditch; the pottery includes Romanised sherds, not present below (including DS 129–133, Figure 20 and Table E).

It is possible that this recutting is contemporary with the broad shallow cut-away of the chalk to the east, possibly, as discussed above, truncating pit F5, and with R as a silt against the east edge; or this wider cut may be later again.

A period of stasis follows both of these cuts; A and A1 are the fills of the smaller one in the ditch, but the wider one accumulated no obvious silt in its centre. G3, G2 and G1 represent a long period of soil development over the abandoned ditch area. The line of flints G2 may hint at some activity during this period. There is no evidence that the area was ploughed at this time.

G1 may originally have extended much higher, before being ploughed. A1 and A together represent the extent of ploughsoil, A being the depth of recent ploughing.

Most layers contained some sherds, derived either from bank layers, or from later activity.

On the evidence of Trenches 1 and 2, the earthwork would appear to be of similar date to GDB, constructed in the first half of the first century AD.

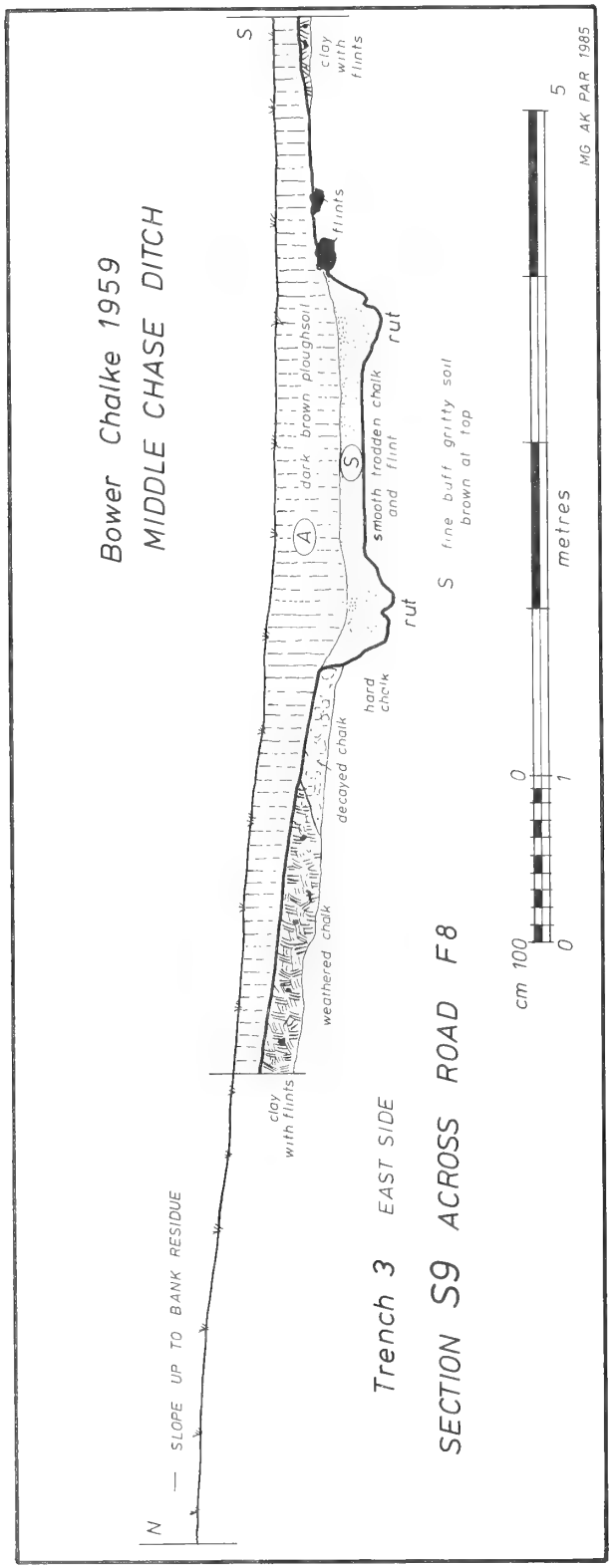

Figure 15. Middle Chase Ditch: Section S9

TRENCH 3 (Figure 15)

This trench did not extend far enough north to encounter the bank layers. If such had formerly existed in the area of Trench 4 (i.e. if road F8 were secondary to the earthwork), they had been totally removed by the track and weathering zones on either side (for the area to south of this trench see below).

The level of the ground in the area of the trackway was *c.*50 cm below the degraded bank surface on either side. Excavations revealed a heavily-worn road F8, eroded down into the underlying clay and chalk layers for up to *c.*50 cm. To either side of this, however, there was an erosion slope extending well beyond the road itself. The total zone of erosion of any former bank would be in the order of 10 m or more.

The road itself was 2.4 m wide, with deep re-cut ruts on either side of a central area of smooth trodden chalk and flint. The latter was *c.*30 cm below the level of the edges of the road, with the ruts up to a further *c.*20 cm below this. The central area was *c.*1.2 m wide (*c.*3 ft 4 in), the average rut width *c.*1.8 m (*c.*5 ft 10 in), but the width of the vehicle wheels is likely to have been nearer 1.65 m (*c.*5 ft 4 in). This is rather wider than the standard 'Roman' width of 4 ft 8½ in (*c.*1.43 m). The latter gauge could fit into the inner edges either side of the central area, but any movement of such a vehicle to either side would have cut into this.

There is no evidence of a central worn hollow, caused by the hoofs of a single traction animal. This is a feature sometimes seen in pre-tractor roads. The central area is however deeply and evenly worn by hoof wear, perhaps of more than one animal.

The road hollow (i.e. the deeply-cut area of 2.4 m wide) was almost entirely filled with layer S, a fine buff, gritty soil, brown at the top. This is not necessarily a secondary fill accumulating after the road had gone out of use. It is more likely to be the leached mud which would always have been present in the road especially in the winter months. The road area was finally covered by ploughsoil A. This could be, in the road area, a soil developed over the abandoned road and then ploughed (in which case the road could be quite ancient); or the accumulation of A could be merely the result of the ploughing carrying soil into the road hollow from either side.

The lack of any other stratification, the total lack of finds, and the wide gauge of the vehicles using the road, suggest strongly that the road is later than the earthwork and probably medieval or later, abandoned only when the whole area came under plough.

It would have been more useful to have sectioned the track in the ditch area, where the presence or absence of a causeway would have been decisive.

TRENCH 4 (location on Figure 12)

This small hole was dug very hurriedly in the bank area just to the south of the trackway on the end of the bank on the south side of the trackway. In this very limited area, below the ploughsoil (Trench 4.2) was a depression filled with black soil (Trench 4.X); below this no bank layer was noted, only a layer interpreted as a buried soil, similar to G in Trench 1 (Trench 4.3). The depths of these were not recorded, though non-Romanised sherds (including DS 135–140) were recorded from all three contexts (see Susan Davies' report, below).

The Finds (Figures 16–20)

STONE (Figure 16)

The petrological identification is by Dr D.P.S. Peacock, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton.

Great Ditch Banks

1. *c.*⅛ of circumference of mortar; cream-coloured shelly limestone with a few oolite grains; certainly Jurassic, possibly from Purbeck. Exterior roughly dressed, interior very smooth. (GDB, Trench 2, Layer H)
2. Reddish-buff flat quartzite pebble, smooth and polished all over, including edges; reddened surface probably results from firing. (GDB, F3G, Layer U)
3. Part of dark grey highly ferruginous sandstone pebble, source unknown; smooth both sides. Dark red ?pigment on one side, thick in groove on drawing, possibly haematite. (GDB, F3 I, Layer U)
4. Fragment of ?lower stone of rotary quern *c.*50 cm diam.; side roughly dressed. Worn slightly convex; buff medium grained sandstone, probably limonitised Upper Greensand. (GDB, F3A, Layer V)

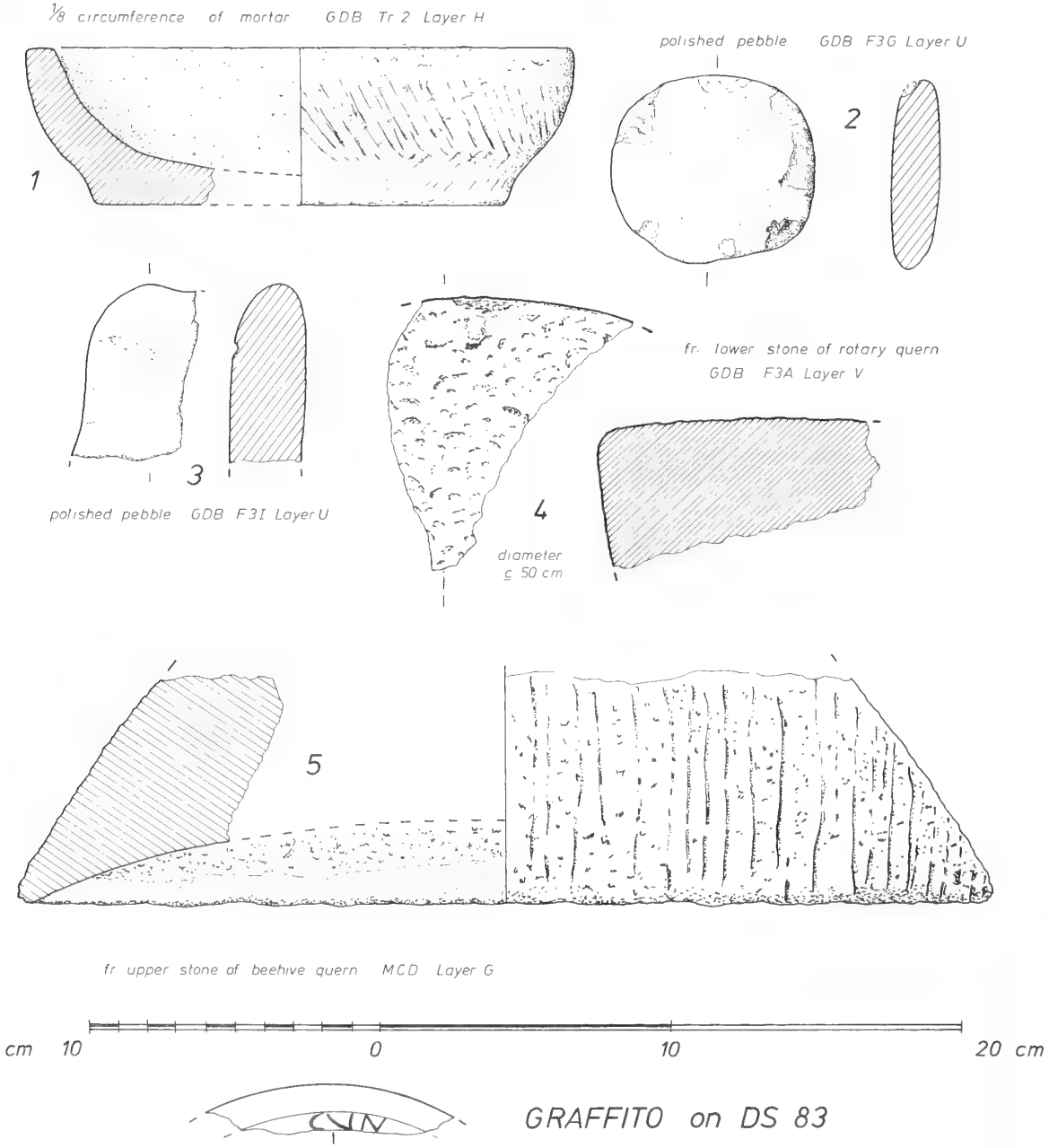

Figure 16. Bower Chalke 1959: finds of stone; and graffito on pottery DS 83

Middle Chase Ditch

5. Fragment of upper stone of beehive quern; exterior roughly vertically dressed; lower (grinding) surface worn, and smooth in zone towards edge; Upper Greensand, possibly from the western edge of the Hampshire Basin. (MCD, buried soil under bank, Layer G)

BURNT CLAY

Great Ditch Banks

Daub was recorded from Trench 1, layer C; and from F3, layers U and V.

Middle Chase Ditch

Three formless fragments of daub were found, in layers C1, C3 and J (recorded finds nos. 46, 102 and J). All are of a flaky reddish-brown clay; 46 is greyish-brown on one surface, and J is dark grey in one area. J has sparse quartz sand tempering, 46 has a few grains of chalk, flint and grog, and 102 appears to have no inclusions.

IRON

Great Ditch Banks

Nails were recorded from Trench 1, layers B and C.

Middle Chase Ditch (Figure 17)

Cleat, square shank and two rectangular-sectioned 'wings', bent down at 45°, apparently made in one piece; more corroded than drawing implies. (F3, depression under bank).

COPPER ALLOY (+ ?iron) BROOCH

Middle Chase Ditch (Figure 17)

Brooch, pin missing, but probably of iron, to judge by apparently ferrous residues in hinge; milled decoration in two zones. Donald Mackreth has kindly supplied a note on this brooch, which is appended below. It is the only find from the site which has a reasonably secure date from external parallels (Ditch F1, *c.*7.5 cm above base, 1.37 m E of Peg B, in layer D2 as on section S6).

The brooch is commonly called a Strip brooch. This is an unsatisfactory term, but the development of the type is not entirely understood. As is apparent from Figure 84 of Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943) there appear to be at least four strands present. No. 17 bears in superficial terms some kinship with the Nauheim brooch itself, which is probably why Wheeler had it mounted immediately after the Derivative form. No. 19, on the other hand, could be a straightforward version of one of the Colchester Derivative designs to be found, in essence, further east at the time this one was made. Nos. 26 and 27 are clearly deliberately based upon either the Aucissa or one of its earlier versions which were being imported into Britain before the Conquest. The present brooch conforms most closely to Nos. 23 and 24. It is an indeterminate design and is either one in its own right or a version of No. 19 (but not Nos. 20 or 21) or a less distinctive form of another Strip brooch which tends to be wider and

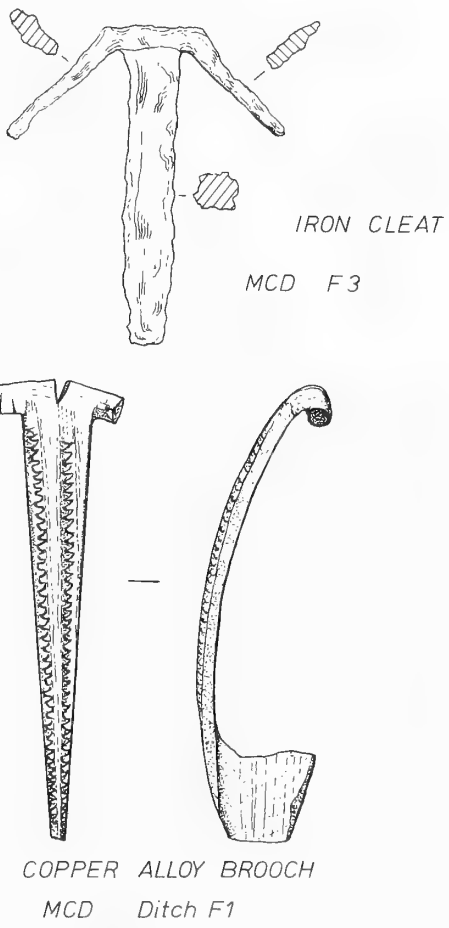

Figure 17. Middle Chase Ditch: finds of metal

reeded down the front of the bow. In this case, it is obvious that it is the Langton Down brooch which supplies the inspiration.

The common name, the Strip brooch, thus hardly covers what is obviously a cluster of designs only related by the manner in which the hinged pin is held to the body of the brooch. The basic relatives outlined above all belong either to the first century BC or the first century AD. I would be inclined, however, to ignore the earliest end of the range and to note that none of these brooches with this clasp form appears to have been identified in a pre-Conquest context. Therefore I would prefer to give them a *floruit* of, say, *c.* AD 45–75: it would require persistent finds in second century deposits along with a commensurate drop in first century ones before I would wish to change the date-range.

POTTERY

by SUSAN DAVIES

Introduction

The pottery was recorded initially in context groups. From these a type-fabric series was built up (initially by Alison Kain, and later by Lorna Watts and Philip Rahtz – see Table A below) by visual inspection. The groups from each context were then sorted into these fabrics and joins and similarities were recorded. 140 diagnostic pieces were drawn. It is on the basis of these that this report was compiled. The undrawn sherds were not examined by the writer, but there is no reason to think that the 140 diagnostic sherds (DS series) are not representative of the whole. From the drawn DS series, 51 were selected by the writer for illustration in the report; these are arranged in Figures 18–20 in associated context groups.

The 140 diagnostic sherds of Late Iron Age and Roman date were re-examined and revisions suggested to the earlier form and fabric series. The correlated data on fabric and form are shown in a series of tables (B to E), rather than as text description.

Apart from undiagnostic sherds of shell-tempered pottery, probably of Late Bronze or Earliest Iron Age date, all the material falls within the first to fourth centuries (or slightly later) AD, most of it dating to the first century. The range of fabric and form is standard for rural sites in central southern England of this date and there are no exotic imports, or sherds which might suggest that the sites in question are anything other than relatively low-status farming communities.

THE FABRICS

The fabrics may be split into four major groups (A–D) based on the predominant inclusion type. Only one, group B, has been further sub-divided, into ten minor groups. Apart from group A (shell-tempered) the material is all of first to fourth century AD date. Group A, represented by a single undiagnostic sherd, probably dates to the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age (*c.* seventh century BC). Shell-tempered fabrics of this type are not uncommonly found on sites throughout Wiltshire, Hampshire and Dorset, occurring for example at Potterne (Elaine Morris pers. comm.), Old Down Farm near Andover (Davies 1981, 91) and Gussage All Saints (Gale 1979, 52).

The other three groups (B–D) represent a range of wares of pre- and post-Conquest date, but only the last (D, samian) is of continental origin. The other fabrics may be of local manufacture or traded over a smaller regional network. The provenance of some of them can be specifically assigned: products of the north Wiltshire, Savernake kilns are present (fabric B4), along with a small number of products from the Late Roman kilns in the New Forest (B8–B10 inclusive). Black Burnished Ware Category 1 (BB1) from the Poole Harbour area is probably also present (fabrics B2–B3), though recent petrological work on material from excavations in Dorchester suggests that not all BB1 was made there (Williams 1987). The non-Poole Harbour fabrics are not easy to distinguish macroscopically from products of that area, and some of the material found at Bower Chalke may well be of more local manufacture. In addition there is a variety of unassignable grey, red and buff sandy wares which are commonly found on sites of first to fourth century AD date, but which cannot be attributed to any particular manufacturing centres as yet. None of the fabrics present at Bower Chalke is of an unusual type for a relatively small assemblage from a rural site in central southern England. There are no wares present which might suggest that either site was of particularly high status.

The correlation of the fabrics described below with the previous work is given in Table A. Table B shows the proportions of fabrics per site (based on diagnostic sherds only). As might be expected, both sites produced very similar assemblages, with fabric B2 (Black Burnished Ware) dominating the collection. The next most common fabrics are the unassigned Romano-British greywares (B5) and the grog-tempered group (C), both types which might be expected to survive well. Both sites also produced a few sherds of New Forest Ware (B8–B10). Only three fabrics are restric-

ted to one or other site, B1 to Middle Chase Ditch and B4 and B6 to Great Ditch Banks. Since only four sherds are involved it is unlikely that this is a significant distribution, though fabric B1 could be indicative of more extensive pre-Roman activity.

THE FABRIC DESCRIPTIONS

Group A: *Shell-tempered*
Abundant fossil shell fragments, 1–3 mm, with a scatter of coarse shell <7 mm+. Occasional pellets of grog <2 mm; sparse iron oxides and rounded fine quartz. Grey-brown and moderately hard. Source for the material (though not necessarily the place of manufacture) probably the Jurassic Ridge, some 20 kilometres away. Late Bronze or Early Iron Age.

Group B: *Sand-tempered*
B1. Very fine rounded quartz common; occasional iron oxides and sparse organic inclusions, possibly grass or chaff. The fabric is dense black with buff margins. A likely source is the Brickearth deposits in the Avon valley. Probably Late Iron Age, though a very similar fabric also occurs in the Early Iron Age with a haematite slip.
B2. Fine to medium translucent rounded quartz, common to abundant; occasional other inclusions of iron, flint, chalk, limestone or organic material. Great variation in detailed composition, usually dark grey to black, but not infrequently orange-red. Generic name Black Burnished Ware Category 1 (BB1). This ware is usually assigned to production areas around Poole Harbour (Williams 1977 *inter alia*), but recent petrological examination of Early Roman material from the Greyhound Yard excavations in Dorchester (Woodward *et al.* 1985) has suggested that there were in fact a number of centres producing BB1 forms which lie away from the Poole Harbour heartland of production. Unfortunately the range of mineral inclusions is not significantly distinctive to be able to suggest specific sources. Petrological analysis reveals only a variety of quartz inclusions which could originate almost anywhere in central southern England (Williams 1987). It is possible that the sherds recovered from Bower Chalke are not all imported from as far away as Poole Harbour, but come from a more local

Davies Range		Kain	Rahtz & Watts	Approx. Date
A	Shell-tempered	R Sh-t B Sh-t	ST	Late Bronze/Early Iron Age (?*c.* 7th Century BC)
B	Sand-tempered			
B1	Fine quartz	BV	OT	? 1st C AD
B2	BB1	BB, RS, RQ	LG, BS, RS	1st–4th C + AD
B3	BB2 (fine)	BB	BB	1st–2nd C AD +
B4	Savernake	GF	GF	1st–2nd C AD
B5	Unassigned Greywares	GS, BS	GS	2nd–4th C AD
B6	Unassigned Redwares	FR	FR	? 1st–2nd C AD
B7	Unassigned Buffwares	FW	FW	? 1st–2nd C AD
B8	New Forest Greyware	(GF?)	(GF?)	*c.* 270–400 AD
B9	New Forest Stoneware	NF	NF	*c.* 270–400 AD
B10	New Forest Parchment Ware	PS	PS	*c.* 270–400 AD
C	Grog-tempered			1st–2nd & 4th C AD
D	Samian	S	Sa	1st–3rd C AD

Table A. Correlation of fabric analyses

production centre as yet unknown. First to fourth century AD, including pre-Conquest.

B3. Fine quartz grains sparse to moderately common; occasional iron inclusions. Dark grey to black. Fine BB1, generally but not exclusively associated with the pre-Conquest or earlier Romano-British period.

B4. Fine to medium quartz moderately common; iron ore inclusions <2 mm common; scattered fine rounded glauconite. Mid-blueish-grey throughout, and wheel-thrown. A product of the Savernake kilns near Marlborough. Widespread distribution in west Hampshire and Wiltshire; late first to second century AD in date.

B5. Fine to medium quartz common; sparse iron oxides and occasional flint or limestone. Usually mid-grey and wheel-thrown. Unassigned Romano-British greywares, from a number of sources, which could include the Alice Holt and New Forest potteries in Hampshire. Second to fourth century AD.

B6. Fine quartz sparse to moderately common; iron oxides moderately common and well-sorted; occasional flecks of mica. Unassigned Romano-British redwares, originating from a number of different sources, possibly including the New Forest potteries. Second to fourth century AD.

B7. Sparse fine to medium rounded quartz; occasional iron oxides, flint or mica. Unassigned buffwares. Likely origin in NW Wiltshire. Second to fourth century AD, but usually more common earlier rather than later.

B8. New Forest Greywares (see Fulford 1975, 85ff., for detailed description). AD 270–400+.

B9. New Forest Stonewares (Fulford 1975, 24–25, fabric 1a). AD 270–400+.

B10. New Forest Parchment Ware (Fulford 1975, 36–37, fabric 2). AD 270–400+.

Group C: *Grog-tempered*

Inclusions of grog <5 mm common to abundant; occasional fine to medium rounded quartz and flecks of mica. Wide colour range from dark pinkish-brown to orange to dark grey. Firing varies from fairly soft to hard. Almost entirely restricted to large storage vessels with everted or rolled, rope rims. The fabric is found relatively commonly in west Hampshire and south Wiltshire in the earlier Romano-British period, as at Winnall Down near Winchester (Fasham 1985) or Old Down Farm, Andover (Davies 1981). It also occurs in Late Roman contexts, however, as at Portchester (Fulford 1976), where its use is again confined to large storage vessels. A much finer grog-tempered fabric also occurs at Portchester in the Late Roman period, but this appears to be a specialised product confined in use to small jars and with a very restricted distribution within Hampshire. Fulford suggests local production for the coarse Portchester vessels, which would not travel well over any distance because of their fragile nature. It seems reasonable to assume that this is also the case for the (probably) earlier products found at Bower Chalke. It would also not be unreasonable to suggest a specialised function for the ware. One sherd of fabric C was found in a sealed bank or pre-bank context at MCD, and should thus be of Late Iron Age date.

Group D: *Samian*

The samian from Great Ditch Banks was examined by Dr Brian Hartley in 1960. The sherd from GDB feature F3U is of South Gaulish origin, of form 27; it could be pre-Flavian, or early Flavian, of *c.* AD 60–85. The three sherds from the topsoil A3 over F3 are all Antonine, two certainly and one probably of form 31; their date is late Antonine rather than early, and they are probably East Gaulish.

Vessel form

The range of forms present is compatible with the standard variety which occurs on many sites in central southern England in the Latest Iron Age and Romano-British period. Coarse cooking vessels, storage vessels and fine table wares are present. Varieties include pre-Conquest bead-rim jar and bowl forms, and the more varied post-Conquest types of jars, bowls, dishes, lids and flagons. The diagnostic material has been divided into ten general forms, each with several sub-divisions. The attribution of a specific form is inevitably fraught with difficulty when the sherds are not particularly large, and many of the attributions are open to debate. The forms present on each site are summarised in Table C, with the correlation of vessel form with fabric shown in Table D. Most of the forms are in fabric B2 (Black Burnished Ware), which is unsurprising as that fabric accounts for over 65 per cent of the pottery recovered. Large storage jars, however, tend to be in the grog-tempered fabric and the two flagon sherds are both in greyware fabrics. The form series refers only to the coarseware forms; where products can be assigned to the New Forest potteries, forms defined by Fulford (1975) have been used.

THE FORM SERIES

Form 1: *Upright or everted rim jars*

1.0 Unassigned.

1.1 Upright or slightly everted neck and rim, the

Fabric	Great Ditch Banks		Middle Chase Ditch	
	No.	%	No.	%
A	–	–	–	–
B1	–	–	2	2.63
B2	43	67.19	50	65.79
B3	2	3.13	4	5.26
B4	1	1.56	–	
B5	7	10.94	6	7.89
B6	1	1.56	–	
B7	–		–	
B8	1	1.56	2	2.63
B9	1	1.56	1	1.32
B10	2	3.13	–	
C	6	9.38	11	14.47
Total	64		76	

Table B. Proportions of fabrics per site (diagnostic sherds only, and exclusive of samian)

latter frequently beaded. Neck diameter is always less than the greatest diameter of the body of the pot. Commonly decorated with a burnished wavy line around the neck. Generally first century AD, both pre- and post-Conquest, but going out of use *c.* AD 100.

1.2 Jar or 'cooking pot' with everted or rolled rim. Commonly decorated in a broad band around the girth of the pot, with a variety of burnished linear decoration such as acute lattice or random cross-hatching. First to third century AD, usually post-Conquest.

1.3 Jar or cooking-pot with heavily flared neck and rim, splayed out from the shoulder junction. In the latest examples the diameter of the rim frequently exceeds the widest diameter of the body of the pot. Commonly decorated in broad band around the girth of the pot with burnished obtuse lattice. Chronological development from type 1.1, generally third to fourth century AD.

Form 2: *Jars with bead-rims*

2.0 Unassigned.

2.1 True bead-rim jar, originating in the Late pre-Roman Iron Age and continuing in use into the second century AD. High-shouldered and fairly globular in shape.

2.2 Jar with bead-rim defined by a groove. First to second century AD.

2.3 Jar with pulled or developed bead-rim. First to second century AD.

2.4 Bead-rim with short, angular shoulder. First century AD.

Form 3: *Jars with countersunk handles*

Classic 'Durotrigian' form, commonly found on pre- and post-Conquest sites, particularly in Dorset and south Wiltshire. First to early second century AD.

Form 4: *Miscellaneous small jars*

Form 5: *Storage jars*

5.0 Unassigned.

5.1 Large storage jar with upright or slightly everted neck and rim. Early Roman.

5.2 Large storage jar with everted or rolled rim. Early Roman.

5.3 Large storage jar with square-cut, everted rim. Early Roman.

5.4 Large storage jar with rolled rope rim. Early Roman.

Form 6: *Bowls*

6.0 Unassigned.

6.1 Carinated bowl, usually with bead-rim and foot-ring base. Pre- and post-Conquest form, carrying on in use until *c.* AD 120.

6.2 Round-bodied bowl with foot-ring base. First century AD, pre-Conquest.

Form	Great Ditch Banks	Middle Chase Ditch	Total
1.0	1	1	2
1.1	13 sh (= 9 vessels)	11	24 (= 20 vessels)
1.2	4	3	7
1.3	2 (= 1 vessel)	2	4 (= 3 vessels)
2.0	1	4	5
2.1	2	6	8
2.2	1	4	5
2.3	–	6 (= 5 vessels)	6 (= 5 vessels)
2.4	–	1	1
3	2	1	3
4	1	1	2
5.0	4	5	9
5.1	3	4	7
5.2	1	1	2
5.3	2	2	4
5.4	–	1	1
6.0	–	2	2
6.1	6	1	7
6.2	2	4	6
6.3	1	–	1
6.4	–	2	2
6.5	1	–	1
6.6	–	1	1
7.1	2	–	2
7.2	–	1	1
8.1	1	–	1
8.2	1	1	2
8.3	2	2	4
9.1	1	1	2
9.2	1	1	2
9.3	1	1	2
10	–	2	2
New Forest (Fulford 1975) Forms			
?	1	–	1
27	1	1	2
104	1	–	1
gr 15	1	–	1
gr 8	–	1	1
Bases	2	–	2
Unassigned	2	2	4
Totals	64	76	140

Table C. Summary of vessel forms present

	Great Ditch Banks											Middle Chase Ditch										
	B1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	C	B1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	C
Form																						
1.0		1											1									
1.1		9											6	1								4
1.2		4											2			1						
1.3					1								2									
2.0		1											4									
2.1		1			1								6									
2.2		1											3			1						
2.3												1	4									
2.4													1									
3		2											1									
4					1								1									
5.0		1									3		3									2
5.1		1			1						1		2									2
5.2					1																	1
5.3											2											2
5.4																				1		
6.0													2									
6.1		5	1										1									
6.2		2											3	1								
6.3		1																				
6.4													2									
6.5		1																				
6.6																1						
7.1		1	1																			
7.2													1									
8.1			1																			
8.2				1											1							
8.3		2											1		1							
9.1		1													1							
9.2		1											1									
9.3		1											1									
10																	2					
Uncertain		2				1				1			2									
Fulford 8																						1
15								1														
27									1													1
104										1												

Table D. Correlation of vessel forms and fabrics

6.3 Inverted pear-shaped bowl with bead-rim, high shoulder and pedestal base. First century AD, more likely to be pre-Conquest.
6.4 Open bowl with upright or slightly everted neck and rim and short shoulder. Pre-Conquest.
6.5 Shallow open bowl (or lid?) with incipient shoulder and steep sides. First century AD.
6.6 Round-bodied bowl with high, short shoulder and almost upright beaded rim. First century AD?

Form 7: *Straight-walled dishes*
7.1 Straight-walled dish with plain rim. Some examples could be oval 'fish-dishes', but with small sherds it is almost impossible to be certain. Late first to fourth century AD.
7.2 Straight-walled dish with bead-rim, sometimes defined by a deep groove. Late first to fourth century AD.

Form 8: *Flanged dishes or bowls*
8.1 Dish with rim-flange. Usually second century AD.
8.2 Dish with rim-flange and shallow concentric groove or depression around the rim, presumably a form of lid-seating. Usually second century AD.
8.3 Dish with dropped flange. Chronological development from types 8.1 and 8.2, with the flange dropping lower down the wall of the vessel through time. Flanges may be broad or stubby and come out from the vessel at a variety of angles. Examples from Greyhound Yard, Dorchester (Woodward *et al.* 1985) indicate that the rim of this type is usually added (in the nature of a coil of clay) after the flange has been formed from the main body of the pot. Late second to third/fourth century AD.

Form 9: *Lids*
9.1 Round-bodied or shouldered lid, with bead-rim. Second to fourth century AD.
9.2 Steep-angled lid with bead-rim. Second to fourth century AD.
9.3 Steep-angled lid with plain rim. Second to fourth century AD.

Form 10: *Flagons*
Only two flagon sherds were identified, and the forms have not been differentiated.

New Forest Forms
Four recognisable New Forest forms are present, along with one storage jar (5.4 above) not defined by Fulford (1975). The forms include Fulford fineware form 27, an indented beaker with tall straight body, the most widely-distributed and well-known New Forest product (date range AD 270–440+); parchment ware form 104, a mortarium (date range AD 300–380); and greyware forms 8 and 15, both open bowls (date range AD 270–400 for the former, post-350 for the latter).

DATING

The dating of such a coarseware assemblage is inevitably fraught with difficulties as many of the forms continue in use over long periods of time, or may have differing periods of use in different geographical areas. In addition, at Bower Chalke there is little external dating in the form of imported wares or other artefact types, although the one brooch (Mackreth this report p. 29) seems to confirm the general trend of the pottery dating for the earlier material. Parallels for dating therefore rely heavily on comparison with other local or more distant sites. All the forms and fabrics at Bower Chalke can be paralleled at such sites, including small-scale rural settlements and large-scale urban assemblages such as those from Dorchester, Dorset.

Three broad chronological groups of pottery are present at Bower Chalke, at both sites. There does not appear to be any difference between the two groups throughout the ceramic phases, and both have assemblages dominated by Late Iron Age or Early Roman pottery. The Late Roman material, which is relatively small in quantity, comes almost entirely from the upper fills of the ditches or from ploughsoil contexts.

The pre-Conquest assemblage
Forms which can be allocated to this period (first century AD) include types 1.1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. Almost all are forms which continue in use into the post-Conquest period, except 2.4, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4, which only appear in earlier first century AD deposits at sites such as Cleavel Point (Woodward 1987) or Poundbury (Green 1987). All the other types continue to be made and used until at least AD 100 or 120, as demonstrated by their occurrence in the Early Roman phases of the excavations at Greyhound Yard, Dorchester (Woodward *et al.* 1985, and in preparation). The material from the primary bank layers of MCD had little to suggest that a post-Conquest date is likely, with the possible exception of sherds 65, 72 and 78 (bank layers G, F, and C3). These, especially 78 with its acute lattice decoration, might be more familiar in post-Conquest contexts, but there is at present no reason to believe they are not Iron Age in the context

of this stratigraphic sequence. The context of 78 is less 'sealed' than the other two.

The pre-Conquest assemblage has a limited range of forms, with a large number of bead-rim jars (form 2), large storage vessels (form 5) and a small number of bowls (form 6). The functions for such vessels are probably primarily related to storage, with a small number of tablewares. A likely source for most of the material is the Poole Harbour area with its extensive potteries, and many of the forms reflect their Durotrigian origins, particularly the countersunk-handled jars (type 3) and the form 1.1 jars with the characteristic wavy-line decoration around the neck, which can be paralleled at many other sites. However, as outlined above, recent work has demonstrated that the picture may not be as clear-cut as has been thought, and there may be many more sites producing the standard range of forms in the Late pre-Roman Iron Age as well as in the post-Conquest eras.

The Early Roman period

The period from *c.*AD 50 to *c.*AD 150 sees an increase in the range of forms in use, in line with the gradual Romanisation of the area. The conservative nature of the pottery industry is well demonstrated by the continuing use of the bead-rim jar and bowl forms, along with the form 1.1 jars. But many of the forms are developments from existing Iron Age types, like the 1.2 jars, and some are new types, like the flagons, dishes and most of the lids. Again, however, at Bower Chalke the range of types is typical for the area, and the assemblage is small. The number of sources for the pottery, as shown by the slightly wider number of fabrics, increases, with the presence of a few early greyware forms and some samian. The collection does not give any indication of particularly high status for the sites from which it derives.

The Later Roman period

Very few later Roman diagnostic sherds were recovered. There are the form 2.3 dishes or bowls which date to the very end of the second century AD, or, more likely, the third century AD; form 1.3 jars of third to fourth century AD date; and the collection of late third to fourth century AD New Forest products, all of which are types commonly found on Late Roman sites of varying status. Most of the material derives from the upper fills of features or from ploughsoil deposits.

DISCUSSION

The ceramic assemblages from Bower Chalke indicate two contemporary sites in use primarily in the early part of the first century AD, but which continue to be occupied, or at least utilised, throughout the Romano-British period. The pottery is generally of coarse type with few fine or tablewares at any stage, but as might be expected on a rural site storage vessels are well represented. The utilitarian wares reflect, presumably, the fairly low status of farming communities occupying the area.

In the earlier, Late Iron Age, phases the cultural or trade affinities of the sites are with the area to the southwest, the heartland of the Durotriges, the pottery finding many parallels at a range of sites in Dorset and south Wiltshire. But the proximity to 'boundary zones' with other areas is evident in the presence of the large grog-tempered storage vessels, which are best paralleled at sites to the east in Hampshire. In the Romano-British period links with the southwest continue as the collections remain dominated by pottery from (probably) the Poole Harbour area, though this may then be a reflection of marketing systems as much as cultural affinities. The increase in supply areas for the pottery, coming from the north of Wiltshire, and the New Forest in the later phases, continues to reflect the changing patterns of economy throughout the Romano-British period.

Conclusion

DATING

The sparse pottery attributed to the Late Bronze or Earliest Iron Age date (from Great Ditch Banks) is presumably from pre-earthwork occupation in that area, perhaps associated with the settlement features discerned by the RCHM, shown in Figure 3 above.

The two earthworks examined both probably originated in the Late Iron Age; there is no reason to think that one is later than the other – the pottery series from each is broadly similar. A date in the first half of the first century AD seems appropriate for the pottery; this is consistent with the date of the Strip brooch from MCD (p. 29 above) which is given a *floruit* of *c.* AD 45–75, and with the samian from GDB

Table E. List of diagnostic sherds (DS series)

DS no.	Context	Form	Fabric	Illustrated sherds starred
		1–12 GDB Trench 1 (Fig. 18)		
1	GDB Tr.1 K2	1.0	B2	
2	GDB Tr.1 K2	3	B2	
3	GDB Tr.1 K	5.1	B2	
4	GDB Tr.1 F	6.1	B2	
5	GDB Tr.1 E	1.3(joins 9)	B5	
6	GDB Tr.1 E	6.2	B2	
7	GDB Tr.1 C	New Forest Type Uncertain	B10	
8	GDB Tr.1 C	5.2	B5	
9	GDB Tr.1 C	1.3(joins 5)	B5	
10	GDB Tr.1 B	1.2?	B2	
11	GDB Tr.1 B	5.1	B5	
12	GDB Tr.1 B	8.2	B5	
		13–38 GDB Ditch F3 (Fig. 18)		
13	GDB Tr.1 F3W	6.3	B2	*
14	GDB Tr.1 F3W	1.1	B2	*
	(same vessel as 16?)			
15	GDB Tr.1 F3W	3	B2	
16	GDB Tr.1 F3W	1.1	B2	
	(same vessel as 14?)			
17	GDB Tr.1 F3V	6.2?	B2	*
18	GDB Tr.1 F3V	4	B5	*
19	GDB Tr.1 F3U	1.1	B2	
20	GDB Tr.1 F3U	1.1	B2	
	(19, 20 same vessel, and as 39)			
21	GDB Tr.1 F3U	1.1	B2	
22	GDB Tr.1 F3U	6.1	B2	*
23	GDB Tr.1 F3U	9.1?	B2	*
24	GDB Tr.1 F3U	9.2	B2	*
25	GDB Tr.1 F3U	6.1	B2	*
26	GDB Tr.1 F3U	6.1?	B2	
27	GDB Tr.1 F3U	1.1	B2	
28	GDB Tr.1 F3U	2.0/1	B5	
29	GDB Tr.1 F3U	2.2	B2	*
30	GDB Tr.1 F3U	6.1	B2	
31	GDB Tr.1 F3U	7.1	B2	*
32	GDB Tr.1 F3U	1.1	B2	
33	GDB Tr.1 F3U	1.1	B2	
	(32–33 same vessel)			
34	GDB Tr.1 F3U	8.1?	B4	
35	GDB Tr.1 F3U	pedestal base	B2	

DS no.	Context	Form	Fabric	Illustrated sherds starred
36	GDB Tr.1 F3U	5.1	C	*
37	GDB Tr.1 F3U	pedestal base	B2	
38	GDB Tr.1 F3U	5.3	C	*
39	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	1.1(joins 19–20)	B2	
40	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	2.1	B2	
41	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	1.2 or 1.3	B2	
42	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	8.3	B2	
43	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	Fulford 1975 type 104 var.	B10	
44	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	Fulford 1975 greyware type	B8	
45	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	5.3	C	
46	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	?	B6	
47	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	Fulford 1975 type 27?	B9	
48	GDB Tr.1 F3A3	8.3	B2	
		49–64 GDB Trench 2 (Fig. 18)		
49	GDB Tr.2 K/M	2 or 6?	B2	
50	GDB Tr.2 J	1.1	B2	
51	GDB Tr.2 J	6.1	B3	*
52	GDB Tr.2 J	1.2	B2	
53	GDB Tr.2 J	1.1 or 2	B2	*
54	GDB Tr.2 J	9.3	B2	*
55	GDB Tr.2 J	–	B2	
56	GDB Tr.2 J	1.0	B2	
57	GDB Tr.2 J	1.0	B2	
58	GDB Tr.2 J	5.0	B2	
59	GDB Tr.2 J	5.0	C	
60	GDB Tr.2 J	5.0	C	
61	GDB Tr.2 J	5.0	C	
62	GDB Tr.2 H	6.5	B2	*
63	GDB Tr.2 F	1.2/3	B2	
64	GDB Tr.2 F	7.1	B3	*
		65–73 MCD Trench 1, bank layers G, F (Fig. 19)		
65	MCD Tr.1 G	1.2	B2	
66	MCD Tr.1 F	2.1	B2	*
67	MCD Tr.1 F	2.2	B2	*
68	MCD Tr.1 F	2.1	B2	*
69	MCD Tr.1 F	1.1	B2	*
70	MCD Tr.1 F	1.1	B2	*
71	MCD Tr.1 F	1.1	C	*
72	MCD Tr.1 F	9.1	B3	*
73	MCD Tr.1 F	?	B2	

DS no.	Context	Form	Fabric	Illustrated sherds starred
		74 MCD Trench 1, bank feature F3 (Fig. 19)		
74	MCD Tr.1 F3	6.2 pre-Conq	B2	*
		75–92 MCD Trench 1, bank area layers D,C (Fig. 19)		
75	MCD Tr.1 C3	5	B2	
76	MCD Tr.1 C3	6.6	B6	*
77	MCD Tr.1 C3	2.3	B1	*
78	MCD Tr.1 C3	5	B2	
79	MCD Tr.1 D	2.1	B2	*
80	MCD Tr.1 D	2.3	B2	
		(same vessel as 88)		
81	MCD Tr.1 D	2.1	B2	
82	MCD Tr.1 D	2.3	B2	*
83	MCD Tr.1 D/C1	8.2	B5 Graffito Fig. 16	*
84	MCD Tr.1 C1	1.3	B2	
85	MCD Tr.1 C1	1.0	B2	
86	MCD Tr.1 F1,C	6.1	B2	
87	MCD Tr.1 F2,C	6.2?	B2	
88	MCD Tr.1 F1,C	2.3	B2	
		(same vessel as 80)		
89	MCD Tr.1 F1,C	9.2	B2	
90	MCD Tr.1 F1,C	1.1	C	
91	MCD Tr.1 F1, C	1.2	B5	
92	MCD Tr.1 C	4	B2	*
		93–101 MCD Trench 1, bank area layer B (Fig. 19)		
93	MCD Tr.1 B	2.3	B2	
94	MCD Tr.1 B	7.2?	B2	
95	MCD Tr.1 B	2.3	B1	
96	MCD Tr.1 B	5.2	B2	
97	MCD Tr.1 B	8.3	B5	*
98	MCD Tr.1 B	8.3	B2	*
99	MCD Tr.1 B	10	B5	*
100	MCD Tr.1 B	5.3	C	*
101	MCD Tr.1 B	5.4	B8(?)	*
		102–107 MCD Trench 1, bank and ditch area layer A (Fig. 20)		
102	MCD Tr.1 A	2.2	B5	
103	MCD Tr.1 A	5.1	C	*
104	MCD Tr.1 A	5.1	C	
105	MCD Tr.1 A	5	C	
106	MCD Tr.1 A	Fulford 1975 greyware type 8 var.	B8	*
107	MCD Tr.1 A	Fulford 1975, type 27	B9	

DS no.	Context	Form	Fabric	Illustrated sherds starred
		108–116 MCD Trench 1, layer M (Fig. 20)		
108	MCD Tr.1 M	6.2	B2	
109	MCD Tr.1 M	6.2	B3	*
110	MCD Tr.1 M	2.0	B2	
111	MCD Tr.1 M	2.0	B2	
112	MCD Tr.1 M	2.0	B2	
113	MCD Tr.1 M	2.1	B2	
114	MCD Tr.1 M	2.4	B2	*
115	MCD Tr.1 M	1.1 var.	B3	
116	MCD Tr.1 M	1.1	B2	*
		117–125 MCD Trench 1, layer L (Fig. 20)		
117	MCD Tr.1 L	2.1	B2	
118	MCD Tr.1 L	2.1	B2	
119	MCD Tr.1 L	2.2	B2	*
120	MCD Tr.1 L	1.1	B2	
121	MCD Tr.1 L	1.1	C	
122	MCD Tr.1 L	1.1	B2	*
123	MCD Tr.1 L	5.2	C	
124	MCD Tr.1 L	5.3	C	*
125	MCD Tr.1 L	5	C	
		126–135 MCD Trench 1, layers K, H and W/S (Fig. 20)		
126	MCD Tr.1 K	5.1	B2	
127	MCD Tr.1 K	1.1	B2	
128	MCD Tr.1 K	3	B2	
129	MCD Tr.1 H	1.2	B2	*
130	MCD Tr.1 H	9.3	B2	
131	MCD Tr.1 H	1.3	B2	
132	MCD Tr.1 H	1.1	C	
133	MCD Tr.1 H	10	B5	*
134	MCD Tr.1 u/s	–	B2	
		135–140 MCD Trench 4 (Fig. 20)		
135	MCD Tr.4 4.3	2	B2	
136	MCD Tr.4 4.3	5	B2	
137	MCD Tr.4 4.3	6.4	B2	*
138	MCD Tr.4 4.3	6.0	B2	
139	MCD Tr.4 4.2	6.4 var.?	B2	*
140	MCD Tr.4 4x	6?	B2	*

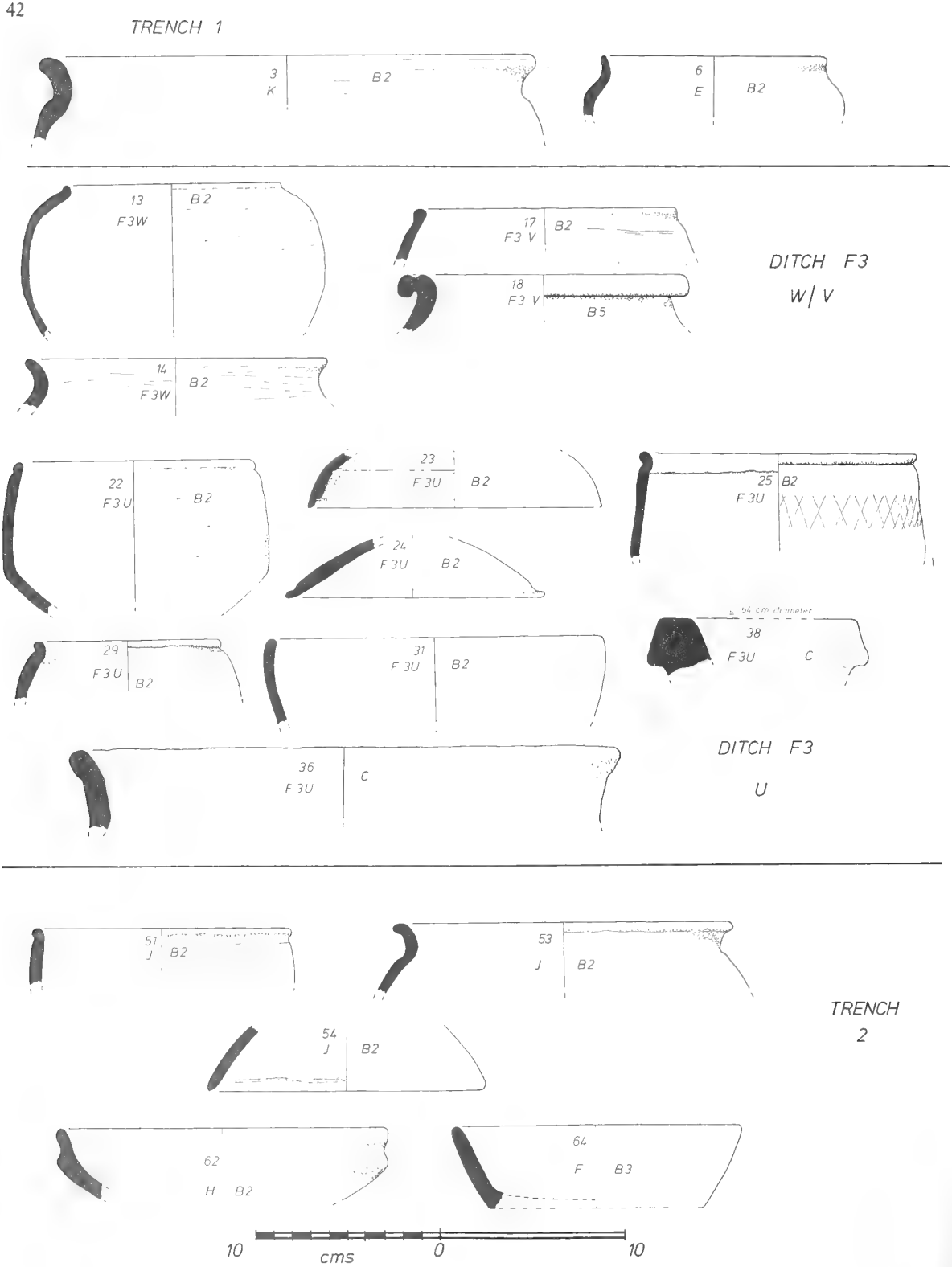

Figure 18. Pottery from Great Ditch Banks

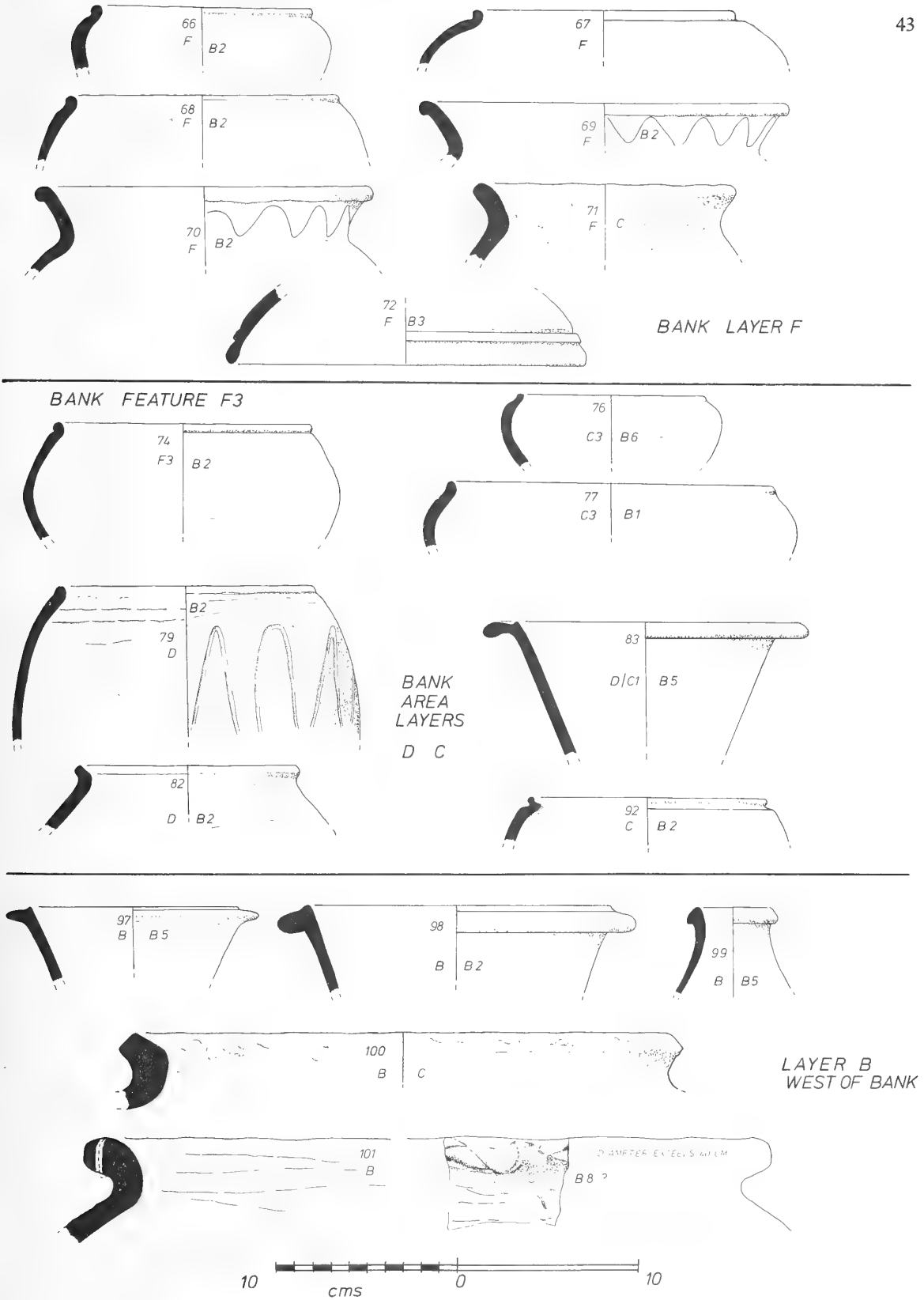

Figure 19. Pottery from Middle Chase Ditch, bank area

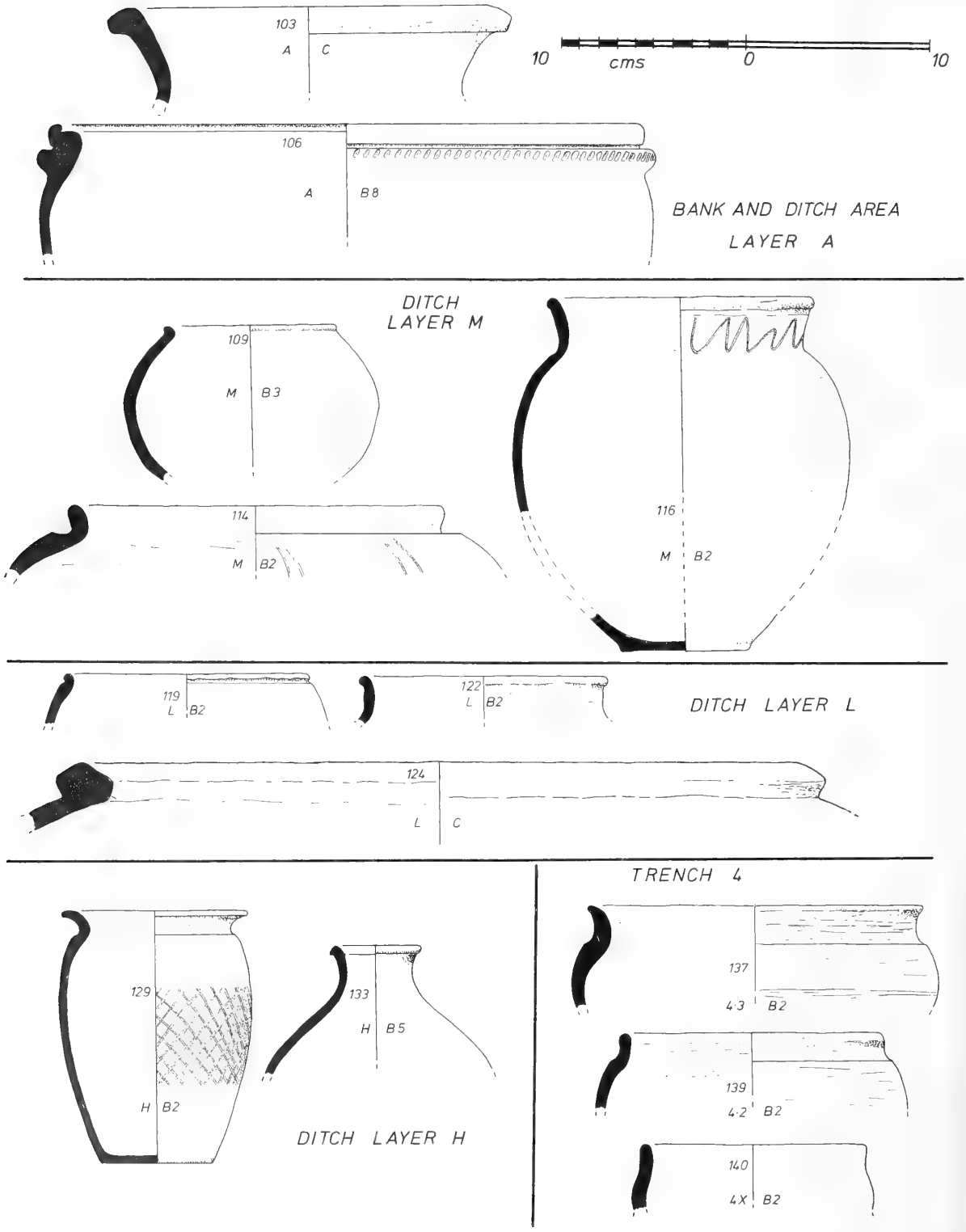

Figure 20. Pottery from Middle Chase Ditch, bank and ditch area and Trench 4

F3U of *c.* AD 60–85, both of which are in secondary contexts.

Occupation in the area of both earthworks continued into the Roman period, through to the fourth century or possibly later.

FUNCTION AND STATUS

The RCHM survey (pp. 4–7 above) indicates the density of settlement in this area from the Neolithic to Roman periods. Both earthworks may be seen as one element in the latest prehistoric phase of this continuum, with occupation continuing as part of the Roman period pattern of upland settlement in the area. The likely function of major dykes such as these in the Iron Age is discussed by Dr Woodward below (p. 47), and it remains here merely to summarise the archaeological evidence from the present excavation, which is itself only a small sample of one aspect of the settlement pattern as seen in Figure 3.

First is the evidence of intensive domestic occupation in two areas widely separated from each other, but of similar if not identical date. The amount of material from a few small trenches is impressive, and there is no reason to suppose that the spots chosen to trench were in any way unrepresentative. If there were as many finds in all parts of the earthwork, there would be many tonnes, even without consideration of the areas between them, and the settlements and fields now defined from aerial photography and fieldwork.

The earthwork did not mark the inception of settlement in the Late Iron Age at MCD; the pottery sealed beneath the bank (DS 65–74) is not significantly different from that in later contexts; here at least the construction of bank and ditch was secondary to some Late Iron Age occupation of the area; the same may be true of GDB; here pre-earthwork levels did not survive; but there is pottery of some centuries earlier, in Iron Age contexts. There is from both sites a restricted range of material culture. Pottery of a considerable variety in form, function, and volume is the principal evidence; bone barely survived and even in its decayed state was recorded from only a few contexts. Daub, from buildings or more probably cooking structures, was found in several places; fragments of burnt 'heathstone' (New Forest sandstone) and burnt flints were probably also from cooking. The few stone artefacts include fragments of both beehive and rotary querns (p. 27 above) and part of a mortar: all associated with food preparation; a smooth polished pebble could be for leather dressing or other purposes; another smooth pebble bore traces of ?pigment, possibly haematite. The only metal objects were an iron cleat in a primary Iron Age context (p. 29 above); nails in recent plough layers; and the Strip brooch (p. 29 above). No worked flint was found. The only evidence of literacy is the *graffito* CVN on pottery DS 83 (Figure 16). This was on a Roman sherd in layer D/C1 on the rear of the bank at MCD (for form, see Figure 19, 83).

While much of the material found could be of local manufacture, some was brought to the site from elsewhere. The 'heathstone' is probably from the New Forest; the mortar of Jurassic limestone is possibly from Purbeck; the Upper Greensand beehive quern is also from some distance away, possibly from the eastern edge of the Hampshire Basin; this last is from a primary, pre-earthwork context at MCD.

The pottery in the Late Iron Age (p. 37 above) comes from areas to the SW, in Dorset/south Wiltshire; and from the area to the east, in Hampshire. In the Roman period the links to the southwest continue, widening to the north of Wiltshire and the New Forest in the later period. Susan Davies comments (p. 37 above) that the range of form and fabric is standard for rural sites in central southern England in this period, with nothing to suggest the presence of anything other than relatively low-status farming communities. The question of status is further considered by Ann Woodward below.

The earthworks (Figure 21) represent a major investment of labour resources in the late pre-Roman period. They may have been maintained in their form as a major bank and ditch for some period; but on both sites the ditches were allowed to silt up to some extent. At GDB one trench cut what may have been a recut of the ditch on its east side; and at MCD there is a possible recut in the upper silting of the ditch on its east side; there is no evidence that either of these was later than the Conquest.

In general it may be observed that there is no archaeological evidence from these excavations for any such dramatic event as the Roman Conquest. The material culture sequence is one of continuity, noticeably in the pottery sequence of 'Durotrigian' style. The dykes could be interpreted as representing a 'stress' situation such as the expectation of Roman military and political incursion, or inter-group problems of earlier decades. They need not however have any defensive or even status roles, but could rather be seen in relation to techniques of land exploitation and territorial definition, or multiple functions; these are discussed in a wider context by Ann Woodward below.

Finally, the post-Roman use of the area is reflected in the stratification of the upper levels of the ditches,

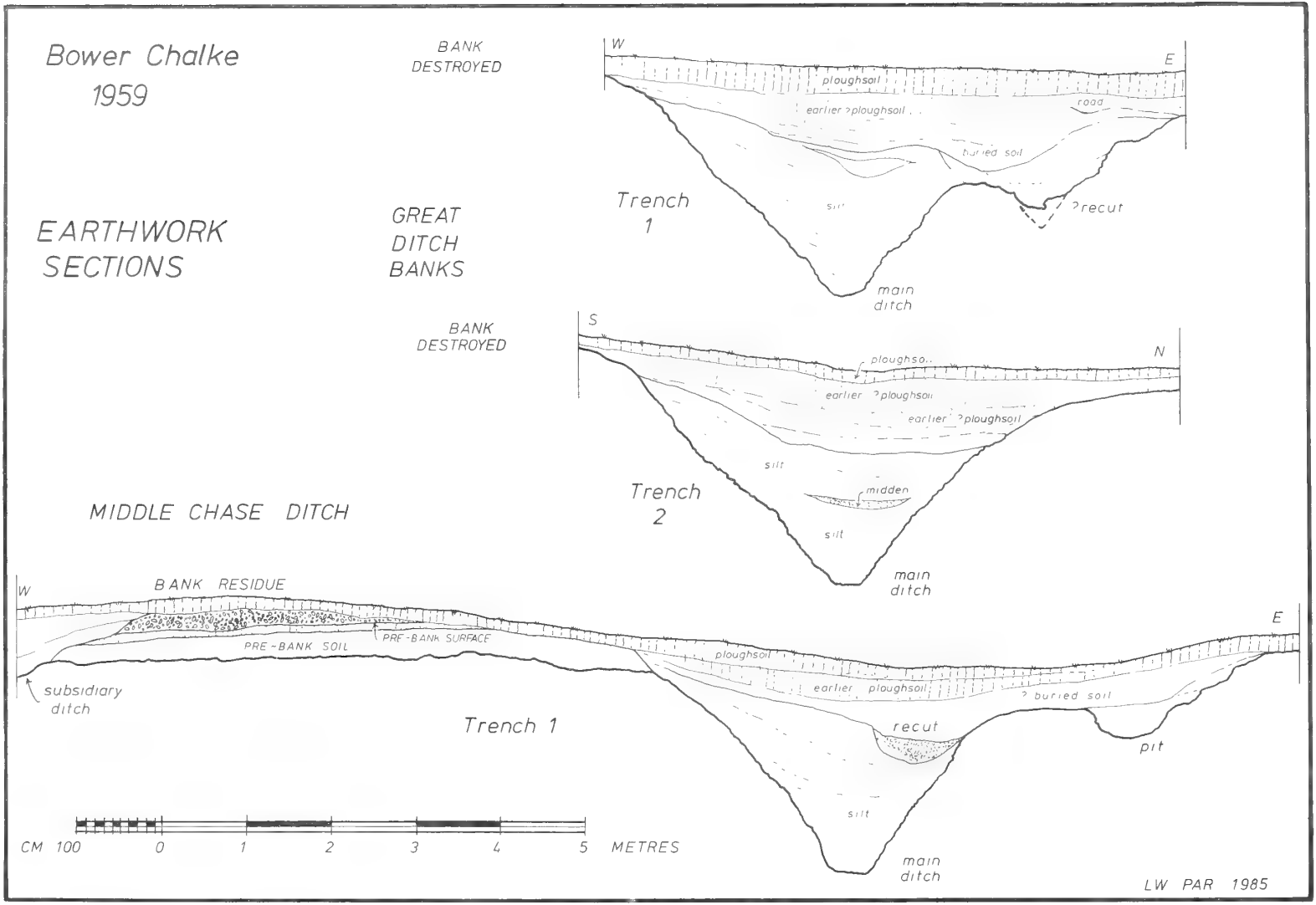

Figure 21. Earthwork sections

accumulations of soil in conditions of either pastoral use or, especially in the recent past, of ploughing. This last has been the principal factor of destruction of the earthworks, both the major ones sampled in this excavation, and the minor ones, preserved only in present woodland (pp. 4–7 above), or discernible from the air.

DISCUSSION OF THE WHOLE COMPLEX
by ANN WOODWARD

The sites examined in the report appear to belong to the group of miscellaneous earthworks commonly known as spur and cross-ridge dykes or, in the earlier literature, by Colt Hoare's antiquarian term 'covered ways'. These were first defined in detail on the South Downs by Curwen (1918 and 1951) while some early accounts of some similar monuments in Wessex were provided by Clay (1927c) and Williams-Freeman (1932). A simplistic interpretation of the dykes as protected droveways has been superseded in more recent years through studies which suggest that they fulfil multiple functions (Fowler 1964; Bradley 1971). In general terms, they may be equated to the ranch boundaries of the chalk plateaulands in central Wessex, but occupying the more dissected landscape zones of Sussex, Hampshire, south Wiltshire and Dorset.

Function

Fowler (1964 and 1965) argued on the basis of detailed fieldwork and some excavation that the cross-ridge dykes of the Ebble-Nadder ridge in Wiltshire were not cattle ways but, with their lack of entrances and deliberate spacing in relation to known Early Iron Age settlements, probably functioned as territorial boundaries. Bradley (1971) further elaborated this hypothesis by emphasising their role in separating arable from pasture. Thus while the spurs and valleys were given over mainly to intensive cropping the outpasture on the higher chalk ridges was divided into discrete blocks by systems of cross dykes. In the later Iron Age, such dykes, or developed multiple systems, were often associated with enclosure complexes and may have been connected with specialised techniques of corralling (Fowler 1983, 192). Thus, multiple functions including the provision of minor territorial divisions and stock control are to be favoured.

Date

Although the series of dykes on Hambledon Hill, Dorset has been dated to the early third millennium BC (Mercer 1980, ch. 3), most others are thought to date from the mid first millennium BC. Isolated examples have been dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Glatting Down, Sussex: Curwen 1918, 62–3) or Early Iron Age (e.g. Winterbourne Dauntsey, Wilts: Stone 1934; Melcombe Horsey, Dorset: Wacher 1957; Buxbury Hill, Wilts: Fowler 1965) but many are closely associated with later Iron Age and Romano-British settlement complexes. There can be little doubt that many ditches continued in use throughout the Iron Age and some considerably beyond.

Morphology

Cross-ridge dykes occur in two major forms, univallate and bivallate with the ditch closely confined by two parallel banks. Both types are present at Bower Chalke and they commonly occur together in other areas; in the present state of knowledge neither functional nor chronological differences between the two types may be perceived. In size the earthworks display a remarkable uniformity, as instanced by the selected dimensions listed below. From these it can be seen that the two examples excavated at Bower Chalk lie within the group on grounds of size, albeit at the larger end of the scale. It has been noted above that a final Iron Age date for such monuments should occasion little surprise, but the considerable amounts of occupation debris recovered from the Bower Chalke ditches are remarkable and cannot be matched in other excavated examples. Although the latter are very few in number, the quantity and quality of the early first century AD finds from the Bower Chalke ditches may be indicative of substantial settlement nearby.

The ditch finds and traces of structure behind the banks led the excavators (in interim reports) to consider the existence of one or more major defended settlements of 'oppidum' type on the ridge. On grounds of morphology and date such settlements might belong to Cunliffe's group of 'territorial *oppida*' (Cunliffe 1976, 151) although these appear to have been conceived on a larger scale.

In this respect it is interesting to note the recent description of a series of major linear earthworks of Later Iron Age or early Roman date in the vicinity of Dorchester, Dorset (Green 1986). They are of very similar dimensions to the Bower Chalke examples (see Table F), and Green views them as possible components of a territorial *oppidum* serving the pre-Conquest Durotriges. However, the Bower Chalke ditch systems cannot be promoted as an eastern counterpart for a Durotrigian sub-group because

Site	*Source*	*Type*	*Overall Width*	*Bank Ht*	*Ditch width Top*	*Base*	*Ditch depth*
Unexcavated (averages for groups)							
Ebble-Nadder	(Fowler 1964)	bivallate	12–15	0.6			0.6
Dorset Central	(RCHM 1970, xl)	mostly univallate	9.15	max 0.9			max 0.9
Dorset North	(RCHM 1972, xxvii)	univallate	9–13.7	max 0.9			*c*.0.9
Excavated							
Ebble-Nadder	(Clay 1927c)	bivallate	12		3	V-profile	1.5
Melcombe Horsey	(Wacher 1957)	univallate	–	1.2	–	V-profile	2.4
W'bourne Dauntsey	(Stone 1934)	?	?		2.4	0.8 flat	1.0
Buxbury Hill	(Fowler 1965)	univallate	9.8	–	5.5	1.2 flat	1.5
Glatting Down	(Curwen 1918)	bivallate	14	0.6	2.6	0.6	0.9
Great Ditch Banks		univallate	15	–	4.9	0.4	2.4
Middle Chase Ditch		univallate	10.8	0.3+	3.6	0.5	2.4
Dorchester area (average of 9)	(Green 1986)	univallate			3–6		1.5–3.0

Table F. Cross-ridge dykes; selected dimensions (in metres)

Corney has argued persuasively that the centre for an eastern 'sub-Durotrigian' block lies further south on Gussage Hill, Dorset (Corney, in press). He has shown that the area of Cranborne Chase is characterised by a distinctive set of archaeological features in the later Iron Age period. These include the occurrence of multiple ditch systems, 'banjo' enclosures which are often paired, distinctive burials, a scattering of imported exotica, a local distribution of a particular group of silver quarter-staters and the absence of major multivallate hillforts. The main centre is located on Gussage Hill, which can be interpreted as the territorial *oppidum* for the eastern Durotriges, with an outlying centre at Hamshill Ditches, Wiltshire.

The Bower Chalke system of ditches and related settlements clearly is not of the same status as that on Gussage Hill, a point which is confirmed by the absence of imported items in the substantial assemblage of pottery (see Davies above). On the other hand, the ditches are rather larger, and certainly deeper, than other simple territorial cross-ridge dyke systems such as those on the Ebble-Nadder ridge or elsewhere in Dorset, Wiltshire and Sussex (Table F). Thus the Bower Chalke system may reflect some intermediate level within the local settlement hierarchy, but only the results of further fieldwork and excavation can serve to refine the social context more precisely.

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Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 50–56

Trowbridge Castle Excavations 1988: An Interim Report

by S.M. DAVIES *and* A.H. GRAHAM

Excavations on the site of Trowbridge Castle have produced evidence of settlement from the Prehistoric, Roman, Saxon, Medieval and later periods. Parts of the Saxo-Norman church and graveyard were located and it seems that they continued in use during the period of the twelfth-century castle, ceasing to function after the defensive works of the castle were levelled in the early thirteenth century.

INTRODUCTION

In January, February and March of 1988, excavations took place on the recently cleared site of the Co-operative Dairy Depot, on the south side of Court Street, close to the centre of modern Trowbridge. This was the final stage in the archaeological investigation of the site of the twelfth-century Trowbridge Castle (Rogers 1984, 12–13), which lies within the limits of 'The Shires' town centre re-development (Figure 1).

Archaeological excavation first carried out by Wiltshire County Council Library and Museum Service in 1977 (Canham *et al.*, in preparation) uncovered the remains of a small Norman church and graveyard, buried beneath a layer of clay thought to have been the bank or motte of the castle. The present series of excavations by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology began in April 1986, with a small trench which established the position of the western side of the castle's outer bailey moat (Smith 1986), and continued on a larger scale from October 1986 to the end of May 1987 (Davies and Graham 1987). These excavations established the nature and position of the castle's defences along the north and west sides of the inner and outer baileys, revealed extensive traces of the earlier manorial settlement (including evidence of Saxon and prehistoric occupation on the site), and uncovered the western limit of the graveyard originally found in 1977.

The 1988 excavations (Davies and Graham 1988) were confined to the area of the inner bailey, expanding the 1987 Trench F and continuing it southwards as Trench G, across the top of the ridge on which the castle was built (Figure 2). Because of the larger area available for excavation, it is possible to make a definitive statement about the development of the church, the graveyard and the castle during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which differs in some details from that presented following the 1987 excavations.

The area excavated included the western wall of the church and the western part of the graveyard; a total of 269 graves was excavated and recorded. The evidence showed that when the castle was built in *c.* 1139, the inner bailey bank covered only the northern part of the graveyard, and the church continued in use within the defences of the castle, the graveyard expanding southwards and westwards, beyond its original boundaries. It was only in the later twelfth or early thirteenth century that the church and graveyard went out of use, being covered with a layer of clay which probably represented the levelling of the castle's defensive banks. Traces of the contemporary settlement were found to the south of the churchyard, and extensive evidence of earlier medieval occupation both beneath and to the south of it. At the base of the excavated sequence, boundaries of the later prehistoric period showed that the site had been part of a wider prehistoric landscape. The descriptions below cover the broad chronological periods into which the site can be divided. These have been illustrated in Figure 3.

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

In the surface of the clayey sub-soil which overlay the cornbrash bedrock, shallow scratches were observed in one part of the trench which may have been the marks of ploughing. These were aligned east–west, parallel to and to the north of the deep palisade slot, which was the earliest feature found. The cluster of four pits to the south of this trench may have been contemporary, and all features contained sherds of similar pottery, dateable to the earlier Iron Age. The four-post structure to the north-west may also be contemporary, and would traditionally be interpreted

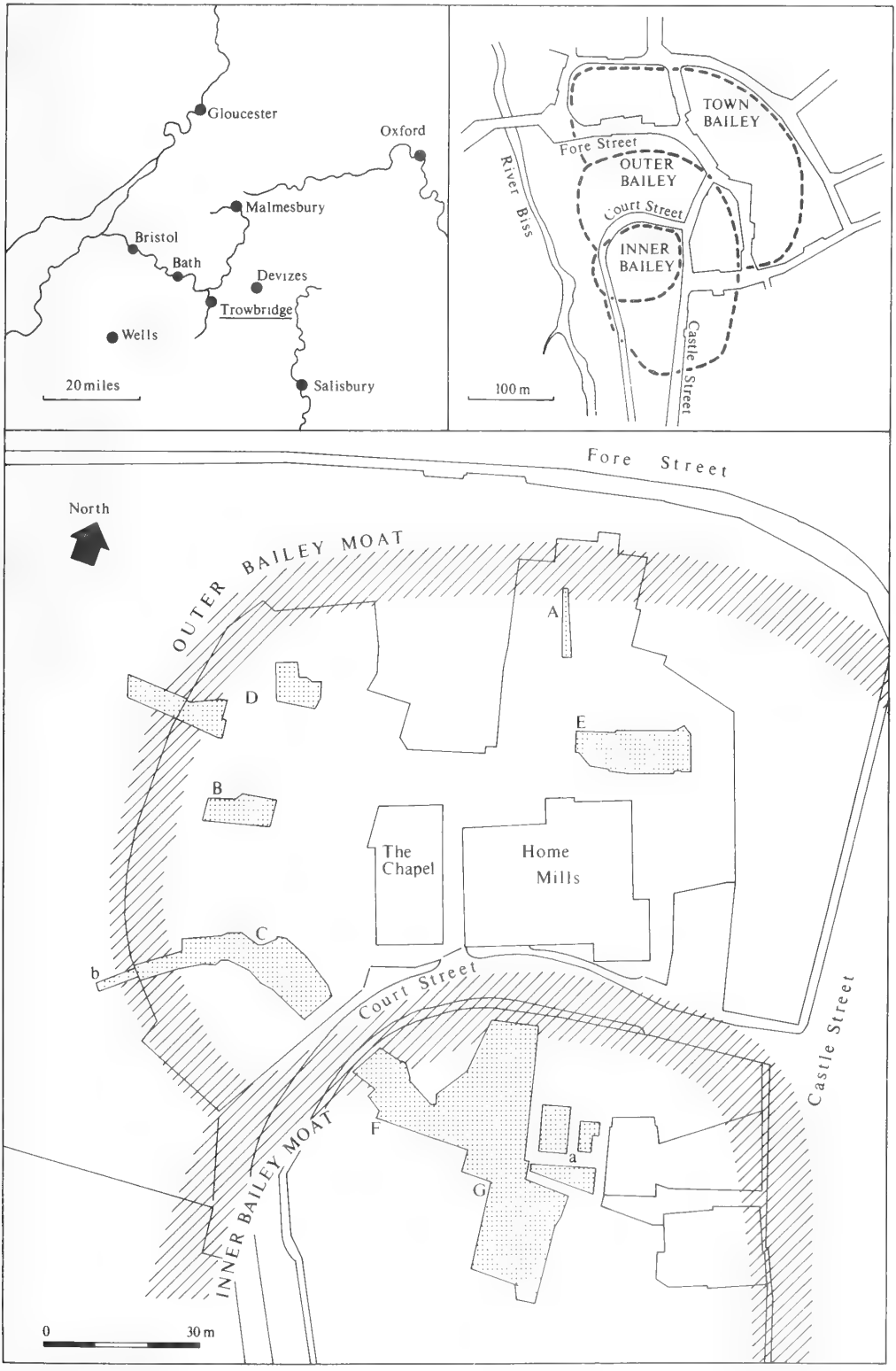

Figure 1. Trowbridge Castle: site location and areas excavated (stippled). Key: a, 1977 Trenches; b, 1986 Trench; A–F, 1987 Trenches; F–G, 1988 Trenches

Figure 2. Trowbridge Castle: general view of the excavations, looking south from the vantage point of the Home Mills' roof. The graveyard during excavation is in the centre with one of the concentrations of skeletons *in situ*. The stone blocks of the west wall of the church can be seen along the east side of the excavation. 2 m scales

as an above-ground grain store. Taken together, these fragments of evidence show that in the later prehistoric period the site was part of an organised rural landscape.

Change in the landscape was however continuous, and a later boundary ditch cut across the line of the infilled palisade slot. Aligned north–south, this was relatively shallow and rounded, and ran across the whole of the area excavated; pottery sherds from its infilling were Late Iron Age or Early Romano-British.

THE SAXON AND EARLIER MEDIEVAL PERIOD (Figure 3)

The evidence for the Saxon settlement of the site comprised a *Grubenhaus* and post-hole building, in the northern part of the trench. East of these structures was a group of small pits, all with a charcoal and ash infill, and to the north, a shallow slot forming three sides of a square or rectangular structure. No other definite structures were found, but it should be stressed that the groups of post-holes in the south of the area excavated may, after detailed analysis, resolve themselves into recognisable structures, perhaps contemporary with those to the north. Fragments of clay loom weights similar to those associated with the *Grubenhaus* were found in the southern part of the trench, in a substantial spread of burnt clay daub, probably from a destroyed building in the vicinity.

Most of the post-holes can be shown to pre-date the enclosure which was the next major feature on the hilltop. This comprised a curving ditch running from the north-west to the south-east, broken by a narrow causeway, to the south of which were two substantial post-holes suggesting a gateway. The ditch was *c.* 2 m wide and *c.* 1.50 m deep, with straight, sloping sides and a narrow, flat base. Its infilling suggested that a bank had stood on its south-western side, running up to the posts of the gateway. It seems to have enclosed the end of the ridge upon which the site lay, but very little of the area within it was excavated. Precisely what it enclosed or defined is therefore uncertain, but perhaps it was the residence of *Brictric*, the owner of the manor of Trowbridge recorded in *Domesday*.

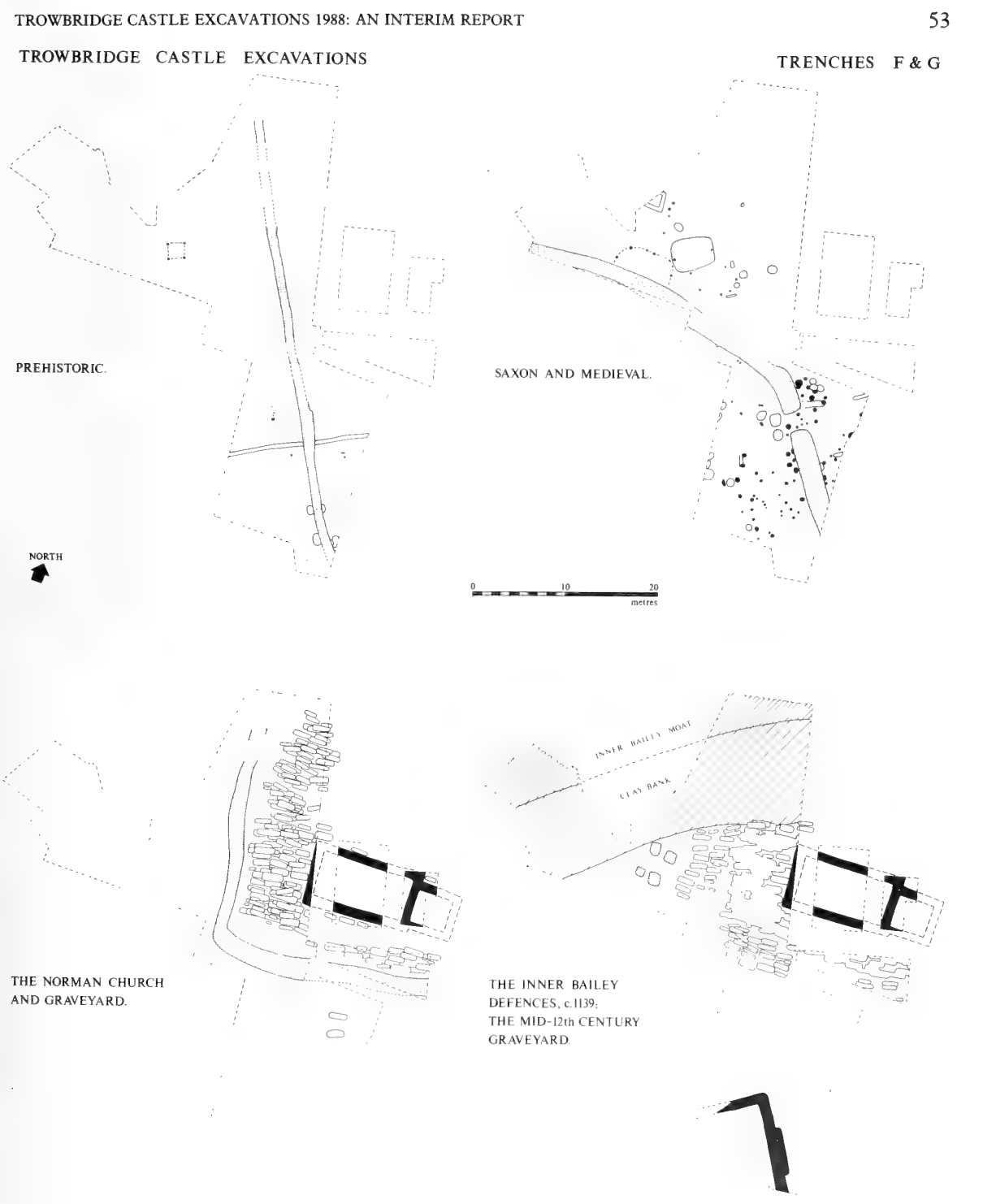

Figure 3. Trowbridge Castle Excavations: the chronological periods

The enclosure ditch may have been a fairly long-lasting feature in the landscape; the more northerly part of it clearly pre-dated the digging of the ditch around the graveyard (Figure 3, top right and bottom left), and its south-eastern butt end was filled with the spoil from digging that ditch. However, a broken pot from the base of the southerly part of the enclosure ditch can be dated to the twelfth century at the earliest, contemporary with the later phases of the graveyard, and it seems that this hilltop enclosure, though modified, may have remained in use until the construction of the castle *c.* 1139.

THE NORMAN CHURCH AND GRAVEYARD

The west wall of the church lay on the edge of the area excavated and consequently little detailed information about it was recovered. The wall itself was built of faced Bath stone blocks set on a footing of stone rubble *c.* 0.40 m deep, and at least 0.90 m wide; its discovery completes the plan of the church recovered in 1977. No evidence of an earlier structure or burials was found. The graves lay close up to the church walls, and on the west and south, the graveyard was enclosed by a ditch up to 2 m wide and 1.20 m deep. The evidence suggested an internal bank along the west and south-west sides of the graveyard, but due south of the church an external bank overlying the butt end of the earlier enclosure ditch.

The immediate impression of the graveyard is one of crowding and jumble, but much of this overcrowding, particularly in those areas of the graveyard to the north-west and south-west of the church, may have taken place after the construction of the castle, when space became limited. If the later graves are removed, two rows become apparent, lying to the west and south-west of the church, with the later graves forming a third row between, and often encroaching on the two earlier rows. Some formality in the layout of the graveyard is therefore clear, and in some instances specific grave plots seem to have been used on more than one occasion. There is every likelihood of family ownership of burial plots, and this may be reflected in some of the concentrations of burials. The northern part of the graveyard (subsequently covered by the castle bank) would have comprised well over half the area of the burial ground. The excavated part of it was similar in its layout to the areas to the south, with overlapping rows of graves, and at least two separate groups of burials.

All the graves contained extended inhumations with the arms generally along the sides of the corpse. The posture of most of the skeletons suggested that they had been tightly shrouded, and in a number of cases the head of the corpse had been supported with stones or, more rarely, the grave partly lined with stone slabs. Only one grave, in the north-west part of the churchyard, produced evidence of a coffin. Traces of planking were found above and at the sides of the skeleton, forming a timber lining to the grave, within which was a packing of stone rubble. Inevitably, the later burials tended to disturb earlier skeletons which were generally returned to the ground, often packed along the sides of the new burial. Skulls and long bones had been reburied in this way, and there were a number of instances of skulls being used in the place of stones to support the head of the corpse (Figure 4).

The period of time over which the burial ground was in use is uncertain, as is the construction date of the church. Specific areas of the graveyard went out of use with the construction of the castle in *c.* 1139, and other areas came into use only after that date. All the burials, however, probably lie within the eleventh and twelfth centuries; a period of no more than two hundred years, and perhaps considerably less. The excavated skeletons are therefore an important sample of the population of the medieval community of that period. Even before a detailed study of the skeletons has been made, the high incidence of rheumatoid arthritis on the bones has been noted. The skeletons also contain a record of specific tragedies in the lives of people otherwise obscure; they include: a woman who died in childbirth; a man whose severely broken thigh bone healed to leave one leg twisted and considerably shorter than the other; and the crook-back buried in the north-western corner of the graveyard.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CASTLE AND THE MID-TWELFTH-CENTURY GRAVEYARD

Documentary sources record that a castle at Trowbridge was besieged by the supporters of King Stephen in 1139, during the Anarchy Period wars. The position and nature of the twelfth-century castle were largely revealed by the 1986–7 season of excavations, and confirmed what had long been inferred from the street plan of the town (Rogers 1984, 13–14): a large motte and bailey castle, with an inner bailey to the south of Court Street and an outer bailey to the north (Figure 1). The position of the motte is still unconfirmed archaeologically.

In 1988 the position of the inner bailey moat was again established, and remnants of the clay of the bank were excavated. It was possible to establish the line of the back of the bank, from the position of a number of graves which had been cut into it, giving a

Figure 4. Trowbridge Castle: superimposed burials to the west of the Church, showing extensive redeposition of human bones; scale 0.30 m. The woman in the centre, with her head supported by three skulls, died in childbirth; the bones of the foetus lie in the pelvis.

width at the base of *c.*10 m. Because of this, the four large post-holes excavated in 1987 can now be seen as lying between the bank and the western limit of the graveyard, and may have been part of the castle defences.

With the loss, beneath the castle bank, of the area of the graveyard which lay to the north of the church, space for burials had become limited. It may have been from this time that the crowding of burials into specific areas of the graveyard took place: immediately behind the castle bank and in the original south-west corner of the graveyard. The graveyard also expanded in two areas, across the original boundary ditches which by this time remained only as shallow hollows: to the west two rows of graves spread southwards from the back of the castle bank; and to the south, the existing rows of graves were continued southwards.

THE LEVELLING OF THE CASTLE AND EVENTUAL DISUSE OF THE CHURCH AND GRAVEYARD

The area of the graveyard was eventually covered with a layer of clay which had originally covered the whole area of the excavation to a distance of *c.*17 m from the back of the castle bank, and seems to represent the levelling of at least the northern part of the inner bailey bank. The exact time of this event is unclear, but a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century date seems possible. The levelling of the castle bank suggests an early disuse of the castle as a defensive structure.

Seven graves were found, however, which cut through this clay. These lay specifically to the south-west of the church, which may therefore have still been in use. The end of the use of the church as such was suggested by changes recorded in the structure of its western wall. Though the evidence was limited, a hearth and chimney breast had apparently been built into the wall suggesting the secularisation of the building. The earliest known fabric of the existing parish church of Trowbridge is believed to be early thirteenth-century, and it was probably at this date that the old church and graveyard were abandoned, to be re-established in the centre of the growing village or town to the north of the site of the castle.

THE LATER MEDIEVAL CASTLE

All the excavated evidence suggests that the castle was not maintained as a defensive structure much beyond the twelfth century. The levelling of its inner bailey bank may have been contemporary with the deliberate infilling of its moats. The site of the castle did however remain to dominate the layout of the medieval town, and it is known to have remained in the possession of men of power and influence.

Leland's description in 1540 of a castle with seven towers is enigmatic, for no archaeological evidence of a stone castle has ever been found. Within the area of the inner bailey parts of only two stone walls were found, representing the north-east corner of a building in the southern part of the trench (Figure 3, bottom right). A medieval date for this building was, however, by no means certain.

Acknowledgements: The 1988 season of excavations was funded by the developers, Hunters Tor Securities Ltd., and English Heritage. The developers also provided office accommodation on the site, and hostel accommodation for the work force. In particular, thanks are due to Glen Simmons of Hunters Tor for all his support and interest, and to Michael Hunt for his practical assistance. Thanks are also due to Pat Toogood of T.R. Demolition Ltd. for the use of their machine for clearing the site. The credit for both the quality and quantity of the archaeological work rests entirely with the excavation team.

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(Copies of interim reports on Trowbridge excavations are obtainable from the TWA.)

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Medieval Timber Buildings in Potterne

by NORMAN DAVEY
with a contribution on the finds by LARRY LUCKETT

In 1964 Norman Davey reported on his excavation of a pre-Conquest church and baptistery at Potterne, a village on the A360 some 3 km south of Devizes. Since 1964 Dr Davey has investigated the area further and in the following account he describes two other buildings – a timber structure, which may have been the priest's house, and a stable – together with his thoughts on the pre-Conquest church. He has deposited the pottery and small finds in Devizes Museum. Drawings (by Diane Robinson) and descriptions of the small finds and a selection of the sherds are appended to his report.

SUMMARY OF EXCAVATIONS (1983)

Since the discovery of the small timber church and baptistery in 1962 (Figure 1:A), and its subsequent excavation (Davey 1964, 116–23), further excavations in the area have continued.

In 1975 the site of a timber stable building was found some 50 ft to the south of and downhill from the church, in the garden of Trymnells (Figure 1:B and Figure 2). This garden was formerly part of the Porch House garden. The presence of a stable suggested that there was likely to have been a habitation up the slope nearer to the church. Subsequent exploration led, in 1980, to the location of a building a few yards to the southeast of the church, beneath the steep bank separating the garden of Trymnells and Porch House and that of Church Hill House – the present vicarage (Figure 1:C and plan, Figure 3). The front wall of the dwelling was on the same alignment as the pre-Conquest church. It had post-holes along its length and slots in the greensand indicating that there had been intervening pads or sills, a method of building similar to that of the early church and, apparently, of contemporary date.

The stratification of the site was similar to that revealed during the excavation of the church site. In the first six inches of earth covering the remains were similar sherds ranging from the late tenth century to the thirteenth century, by which time the buildings appear to have been abandoned. This primary layer was covered by the soil of the bank in which sherds dating to the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century were found. This would indicate that there is the site of another building higher up the hill whence this material came; perhaps the house of the Deans of Salisbury who held the Tithing of Prebend in Potterne between 1091 and 1254.

The Domesday Inquest in 1086 records 'what the priest of the manor holds is worth 40 shillings'. Presumably the priest would have dwelt near the church and it seems quite likely that the footings uncovered a few yards from the priest's door of the church, at the entrance to the baptistery, may be part of his dwelling. Sometime later, probably after the thirteenth century when the church was abandoned, the adjacent uphill site was levelled by terracing, the terrace so formed burying the site of the dwelling now revealed to a depth of 8 ft or more.

Since the report on the early excavations was published in 1964, a number of comments by various authorities relating to the church and baptistery have helped to confirm their date. There were two phases in the construction. In the first the church consisted of a small square nave of 'turriform' or 'four-poster' type with a chancel and baptistery. Hugh Braun (1951) has recorded that this 'turriform' type of structure, of Byzantine origin, was introduced into Western Europe after the end of the ninth century. He also states that before the end of the tenth century most of the Wessex churches would have had their western appendages. This appears to have been so at Potterne. A conjectural reconstruction of the church is shown in Figure 4.

Following the defeat of the Vikings at Ethandune (Edington, 5 miles from Potterne) by Alfred in 878, he and his successors encouraged the growth of Christianity in the Wessex area so that it was well established by the early tenth century. The parochial church system was introduced and field churches with 'secular' priests were erected, and it is to this period that the timber church at Potterne, with its baptistery, is assigned.

It is of significance that, toward the end of the tenth

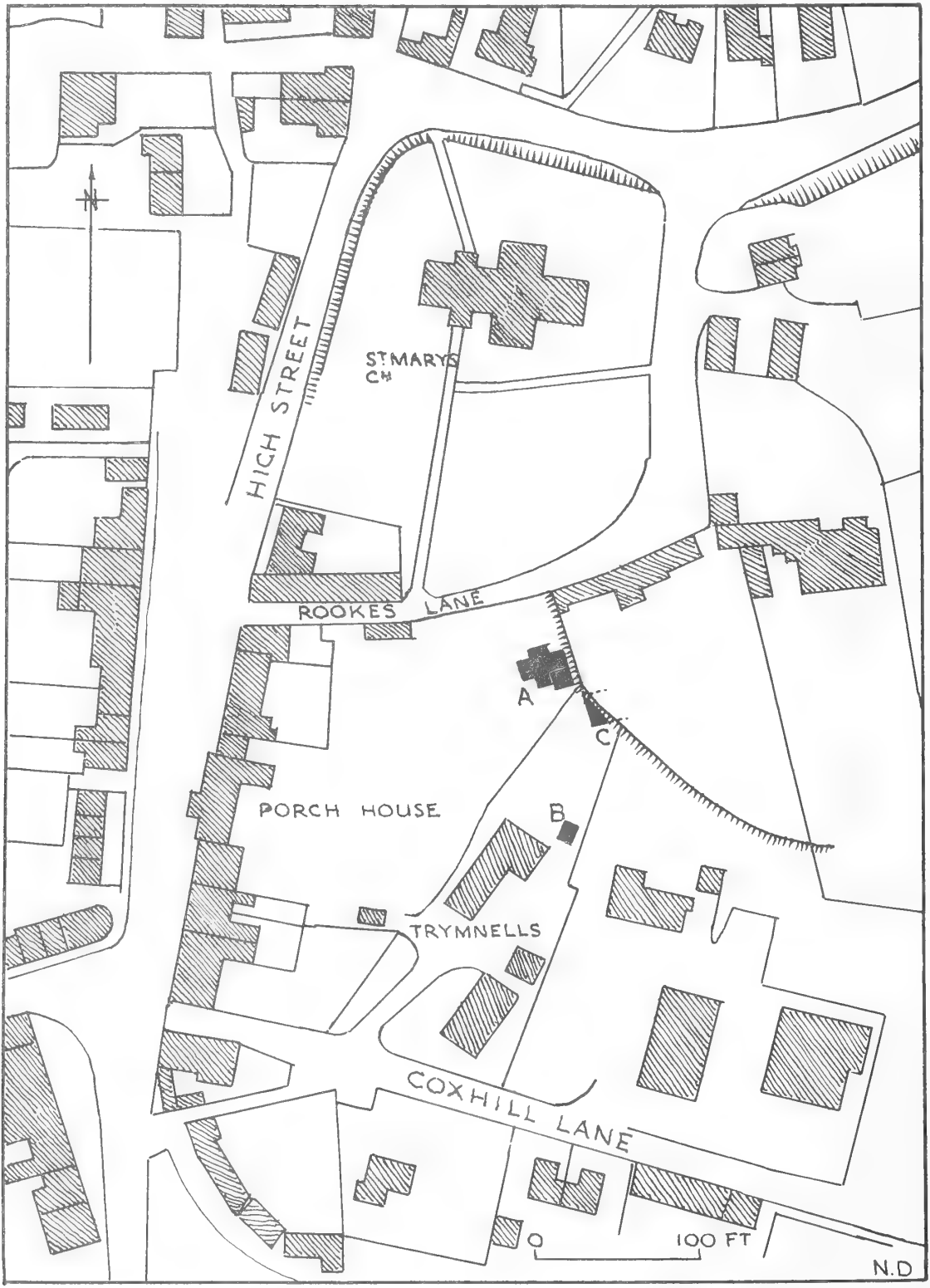

Figure 1. Location of Medieval timber buildings in Potterne; A: church, B: stable, C: ?priest's house

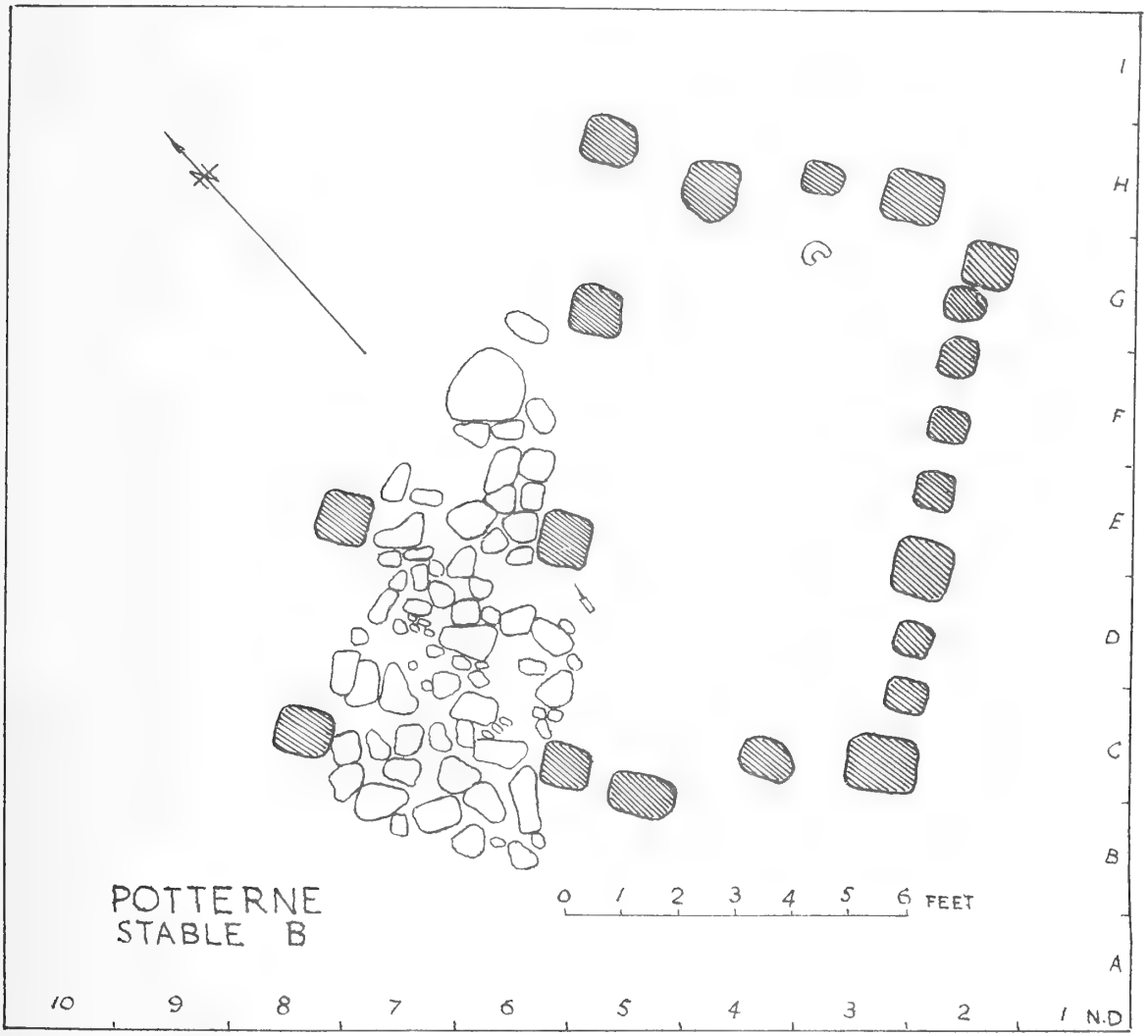

Figure 2. Plan of stable building B at Potterne

century, Aelfric (955–1020), when monk at Sherborne, outlined the procedure to be followed by parish priests in his diocese, which included Potterne, in carrying out baptisms. His instructions would have come to his 'secular' priest at Potterne where there was a baptismal font (Thorpe 1978, 390–393). Taylor (1978) has dealt at some length with the plan of the church and the font. He referred to the importance of the Potterne font which he dated to the tenth century or earlier. He based his dating on the angular form of the letters C and S in the inscription on the rim of the font, and on the fact that the wording of the inscription follows the original Roman text and not the Gallician which is of later date. He also says that Potterne provides a unique example of an Anglo-Saxon font and the baptistery in which it was used.

The position of the pedestal altar near the centre of the chancel away from the east end is significant. Taylor (1973) has written about the position of altars in Anglo-Saxon churches, more particularly the earlier ones, and his studies have shown that the principal altar was not usually placed against the east wall of the chancel. Braun notes in his book, already referred to, that the priest's door giving access to the chancel is almost invariably near the west end of the wall of the chancel. This was so at Potterne.

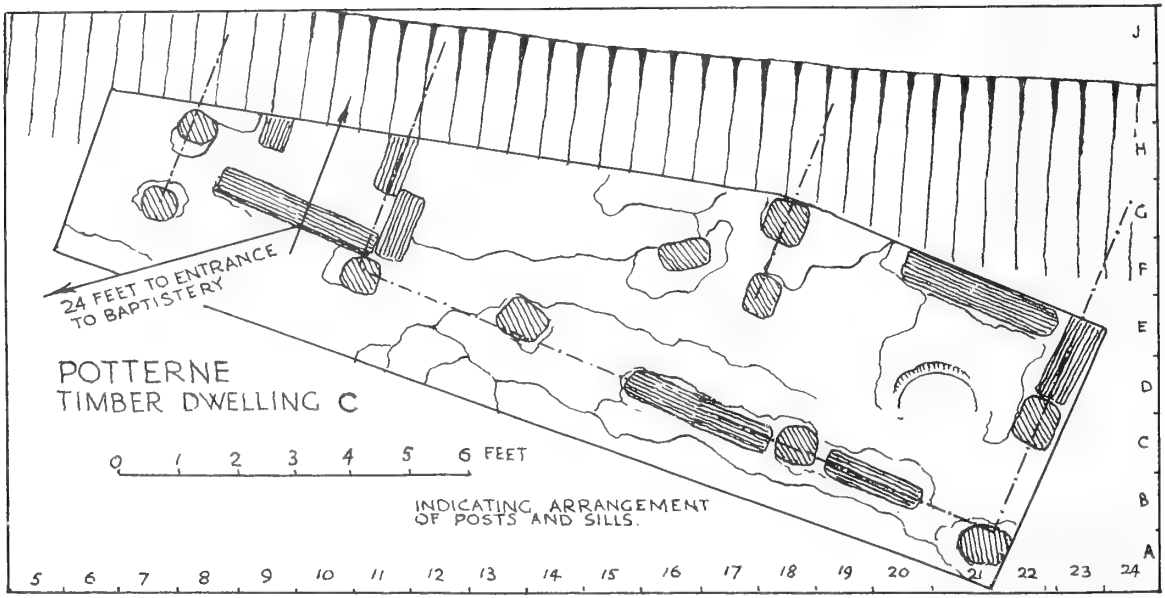

Figure 3. Plan of timber building C at Potterne

The arrangement of the timbers at the southeast corner of the chancel, set down in a pit 3 ft deep, may suggest that this was the position of a 'corner shrine', being the usual location for such.

As might be expected, material found during excavation in immediate contact with the floor of the church was scanty, but of interest was a small bronze mount, 'fishtail' in shape, with two rivet holes and a loose ring (Figure 5:5). Gerald Dunning, of the Ancient Monuments Division, agreed that this might have been one of a set of three mounted originally on the rim of the bowl of an Anglo-Saxon lamp – an appropriate object for a church.

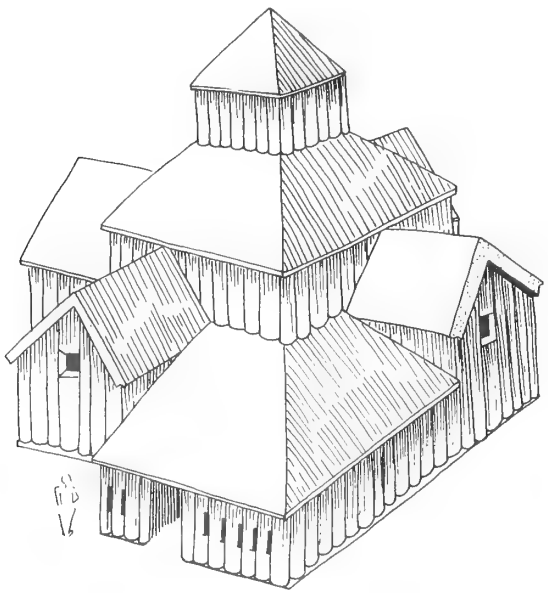

Figure 4. Conjectural reconstruction of the timber church at Potterne

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The earliest reference to Potterne states that it was given, with its appurtenances, to the see of Sherborne in 705. It was in that year that Ealdhelm (Aldhelm), Abbot of Malmesbury, had become Bishop of Sherborne. Potterne remained in the see of Sherborne until 1058 when Herman, Bishop of Ramsbury, united the two sees, Sherborne and Ramsbury, to form the Bishopric of Sarum (Salisbury). A significant date is 1091 when Bishop Osmund set up a prebend supported by rents from properties in the central part of Potterne (McGlashen and Sandell 1974). This became known as the Tithing of Prebend and it remained in the hands of the Dean until 1254. It is within the Tithing of Prebend that the investigations here described have been carried out by the writer.

In 1271 Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, and Adam, Dean of Salisbury, exchanged parcels of land in Potterne. One of these was said to have included the site of the house of the ecclesiastic William of Potterne (ibid.). Could it be that this is the house

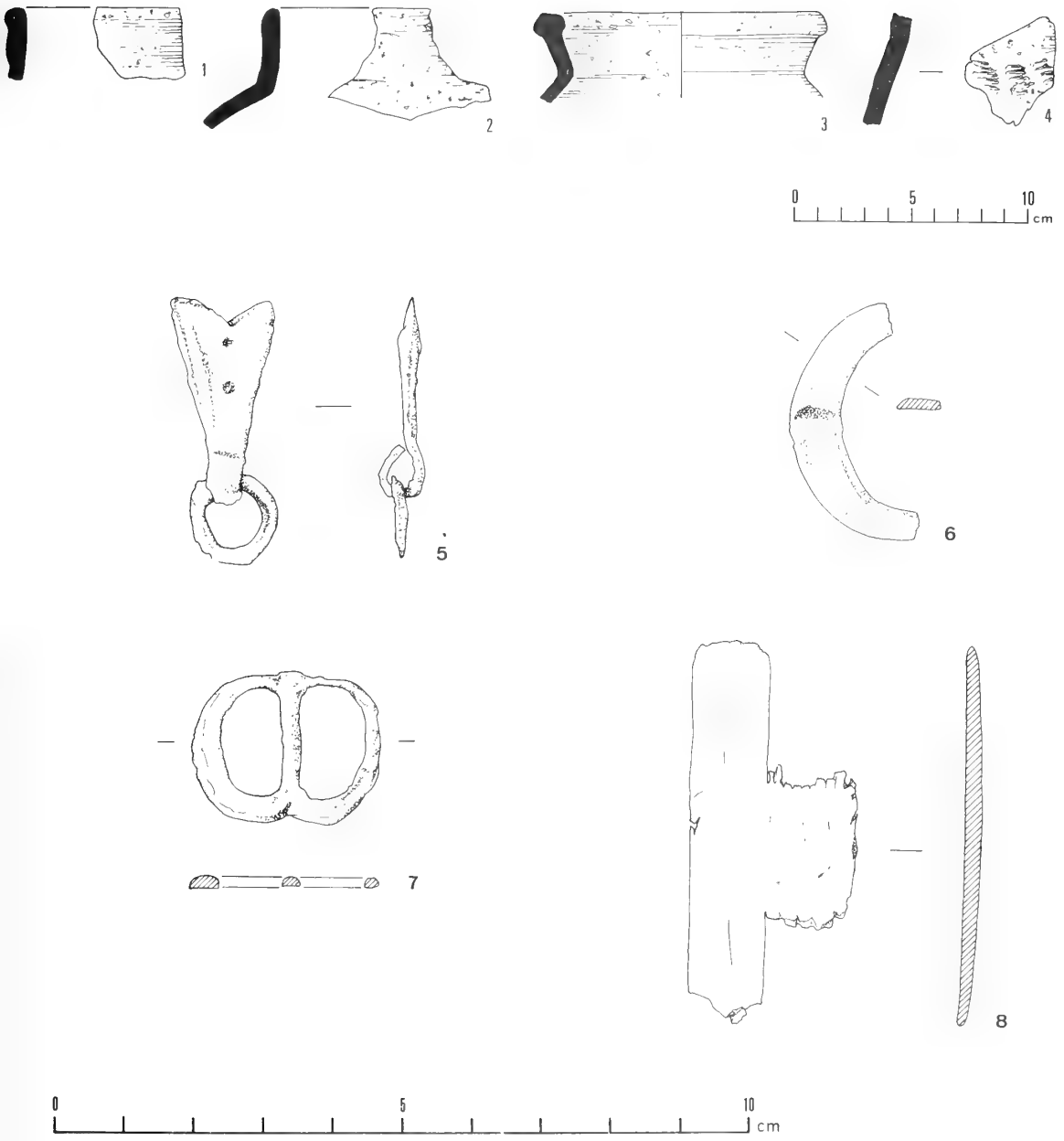

Figure 5. Pottery, bronze and bone from the timber church at Potterne, Layer D

revealed by excavation, and that the terracing which buried the building was carried out not long after that time? The site of the Dean of Salisbury's house has yet to be located but it seems probable that it is on, or nearby, the site of the present Church Hill House some few yards uphill of the site under discussion.

LAYER DESCRIPTIONS AND FINDS
assembled by LARRY LUCKETT

The following descriptions of sherds and other finds have been put together by Larry Luckett, with the assistance of summary notes on some of the sherds, by Alan Vince and John Musty, which were conveyed to Dr Davey in personal memoranda and confirm his suggested datings (see Davey 1964, 123). Copies of these memoranda are deposited, together with the sherds and finds, in Devizes Museum. The layer descriptions have been extracted from Dr Davey's excavation records.

FINDS FROM THE CHURCH (SITE A)

The finds are divided by the excavator into three separate groups. He records four layers (the third of which was sterile), labelled A–D from the top downwards. Descriptions and illustrations start at the bottom layer which was in contact with the church floor.

Layer D This layer, 6 in deep, was immediately above the floor. From it came 31 rim sherds and 6 wall sherds. Three of the rims had finger impressions. In addition there were 6 Roman sherds which included 1 of very abraded Samian and 1 of New Forest ware. Diameters vary from 14 cm to 26 cm. The fabric is generally coarse, with chalk and quartz grits; several have a vesicular appearance, possibly resulting from the use of organic material. The colour varies from dirty buff or light red to almost black; the cores are various shades of grey. The rims are plain and flattened; some are everted; there are several with finger impressions. Two are identified as being of Sarum scratched ware. Apart from the Roman types the remainder are identified by the excavator as of twelfth century date (Davey 1964, 122–3). The other finds from the floor are three pieces of bronze: a fish-tail strap with a ring, probably for a hanging lamp; part of a 'quoit' buckle; and a small buckle without the tongue. There is also a fragment of a bone comb.

The Pottery (Figure 5: 1–4)

1. A plain rim, d. *c.*24 cm; hard fabric, buff on inside, much darkened on outside, with a grey core; slightly vesicular, some chalk inclusions and traces of mica.
2. A plain rim, d. 18 cm; buff ware darkened inside; grey core; vesicular, with many chalk or calcite grits.
3. Flattened rim with a pronounced shoulder, d. 24 cm; light buff with grey core; chalk and quartz grits.
4. A wall sherd of light buff ware; grey core; vesicular with few visible grits. Decorated with sets of five scorings.

Bronze (Figure 5: 5–7)

5. Fish-tail mount, 3 cm long, with two rivets – one rusted in position the other indicated by a hole; attached to a ring 1.2 cm in diameter.
6. Part of a bronze 'quoit' buckle (see Evison 1968).
7. A small bronze buckle with the iron tongue rusted away. Each lobe is 2 cm x 1 cm wide internally.

Bone (Figure 5: 8)

8. A fragment of a bone comb, 5.5 cm wide with teeth 0.2 cm wide on one side and finer teeth, up to 0.1 cm wide, on the other. Thickness at centre: 0.2 cm.

Layer C This layer of loam, 12 in thick, sealed layer D and contained no artefacts.

Layers A and B were together 18 in thick. The finds from them have been separated into those from the lower 6 in (B) and the upper 12 in (A).

Layer B To this layer Dr Davey assigned 35 sherds: 3 wall sherds, 31 bases and 1 rim. The fabrics are mainly buff or dark grey, the core being grey. One decorated wall sherd has a light red exterior; 2 bases are a light buff colour. Several sherds are of a smooth hard ware showing no inclusions; others show quartz or calcite grits and some have a vesicular appearance. One piece has a white interior.

Pottery from Layer B (Figure 6: 1–4)

1. A wall and adjacent base sherd, base d. 18 cm. A thin dark buff fabric with uneven exterior and signs of carbon. A pitted appearance possibly owing to grits having fallen out. The inside shows striations where it was wiped before firing.

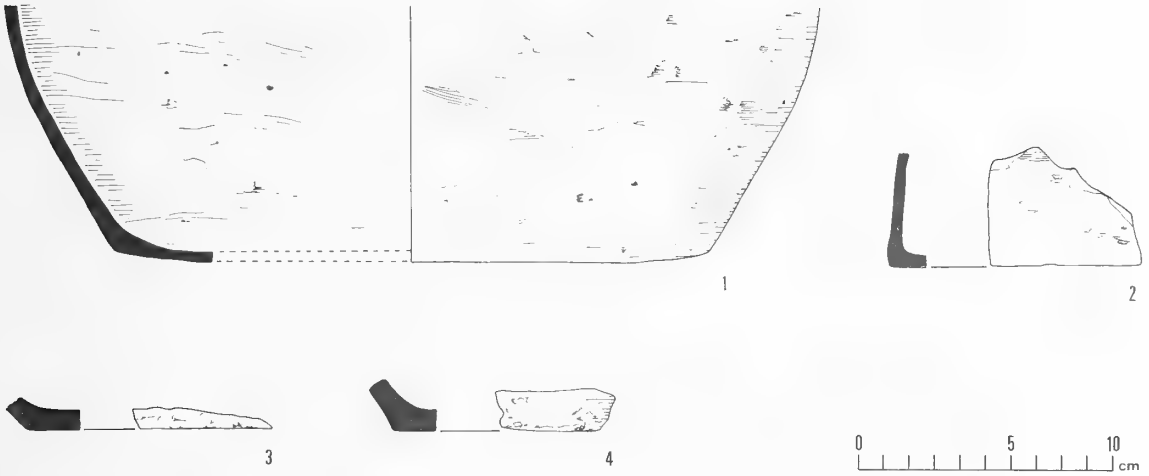

Figure 6. Pottery from the timber church at Potterne, Layer B

2. ?Base sherd, d. 20 cm. A dull, hard, buff ware with no visible grits.
3. ?Base sherd, d. 10 cm. Brownish-buff ware with flecks of red. A coarse fabric, pitted, with chalk and quartz grits.
4. Base sherd, d. 14 cm. A grey core with white interior and dull buff exterior. A hard fabric with some shelly grits.

Layer A This layer contained 160 sherds of glazed and unglazed wares as well as 45 sherds of stoneware which can be sorted into 137 wall sherds, 25 bases, 27 rims and 16 handles. Dr Davey treats these as surface finds, stating that they had been in the soil washed down from higher levels – probably from the site where the thirteenth century Dean of Salisbury's house stood. The stoneware beakers can be assigned to the eighteenth century as some bear the mark indicating the reign in which they were made; one mark is unreadable but there are one for Anne (1702–1714) and two for George (1714–1727).

Pottery from Layer A (Figure 7: 1–17)

1. Wall sherd, d. *c.* 30 cm. A hard grey fabric with reddish-buff coating; shell grits; the inner surface is pitted. There is an incised swag decoration.
2. Rim with handle junction; rim d. (internal) 14 cm. Hard, grey red-coated ware. The handle surface is slashed with 4 deep cuts and there are 2 shallow holes 0.4 cm in diameter and 0.2 cm deep. Probably from a jug or flagon.
3. Handle in buff coated grey ware; rough surface; no sign of grits.
4. Base, d. 3.2 cm. Similar ware to 3, above. ?Fire blackened on inside and part of outside. ?Roman.
5. Part of a handle; red with grey core; white coated, showing signs of green glaze, and cut marks.
6. Part of a handle; red with grey core. A hard fine ware with green–brown glaze showing incised decoration of faint parallel grooves with rings 1 cm in diameter, having central dots *c.* 0.2 cm in diameter.
7. Base, d. 18 cm. Hard grey ware with red exterior finished in green glaze with finger impressions.
8. Flat rim, d. 12 cm, showing remains of handle. Similar glazed ware to no. 7, above.
9. Rim, d. 20 cm. Hard grey fabric with whitish-buff wash; green glaze; showing slashed decoration.
10. Rim, d. 12 cm. Grey ware; green glaze; pinched finger impressions below rim.
11. Rim, d. 20 cm. Grey ware with dark buff finish; some shell grits.
12. Base, d. 10 cm. Stoneware with design of rectangles alternately glazed blue with a blue glazed band below. A similar mug in Devizes Museum (Rural Life Section) is of Westerwald ware of the mid seventeenth century (DM Acc. No. 4–1967).
13. A stoneware sherd with dark and pale blue

Figure 7. Pottery from the timber church, Layer A

decoration, bearing the initial A (for Anne: 1702–14) and dated accordingly. There was a large trade in imported stoneware from Germany (Cologne) prior to the manufacture in England. See mug from Cologne in Devizes Museum Rural Life Case; also: Platt 1975, Nos. 1263; 1265.

14. A stoneware sherd with GR and crown stamp with blue glaze and blue glaze decoration. Dated to George I (1714–27). See No. 13, above.
15. Stoneware rim, d. 18 cm. Dark blue glazed band below rim and purple glaze in pattern below. Probably Westerwald ware: see No. 12, above.
16. Rim, d. 8 cm. Light brown mottled glazed stoneware with stamp GR and crown above. George I.
17. Part medallion from Bellarmine jar showing part of coat of arms with two chevrons and a unicorn below. English or German manufacture of mid seventeenth century.

Note on the dating of sherds from Layers A and B

John Musty, in a personal communication to Dr Davey of December 1968, divided the sherds he saw from this area into two groups: A and B. Group A were of a hard fired sandy ware, and Group B of a lightly gritted fabric. His general conclusion was that B could be as late as the thirteenth century and that A would be of a later date. A fourteenth to fifteenth century date would not be inconsistent for these sherds, and Mr Hurst, who discussed them with him, suggested a late fourteenth to early fifteenth century date would be quite possible. He does not appear to have seen the later stoneware.

In Layer B, Figure 6: 1 and 2 seem to be of Musty's Group A, as do those in Figure 7: 2, 3, 4, 7, from Layer A. The Layer A glazed wares must also belong to Group A.

The base sherd in Figure 6: 4 from Layer B could be of Group B, as also Figure 7: 1 from Layer A.

FINDS FROM THE TIMBER BUILDING

The Timber Building, identified as possibly the priest's house by Dr Davey, produced 189 sherds, one nail and four fragments of flint from the layers immediately above the floor. The finds were divided into three groups according to their findspots: the post holes and slots, the 6 in layer on and above the floor level (A), and the 6 in deep layer lying over A (B). There were an additional 249 sherds in what was described as the overlay ascribed to washdown from a building higher up the slope tentatively identified as the Dean of Salisbury's house (see Dr Davey's remarks at the end of his report).

Pottery from the post holes and slots (Figure 8: 1–2)

Twelve sherds came from the post-holes, including 1 rim in buff ware with calcite grits (Figure 8: 1). The remainder were body sherds of coarse grey ware with a buff interior and baked buff exterior.

From the slots came 1 coarse base (Figure 8: 2), and 2 small red sherds.

Pottery from Layer A (Figure 8: 3–9)

The basic floor layer produced 86 sherds, one nail and four pieces of flint. Three sherds were of green-glazed ware with scratched or brushed decoration as in Figure 8: 8; the other two were much abraded small pieces. Among the 183 sherds were 16 rims, 1 base and 66 wall sherds. They are mostly of a coarse ware with flint and/or calcite grits. One is of a light red ware with a very coarse finish; two fragments have thumb impressions; one thin red sherd bears an incised line and two punched depressions.

3. A sagging base, d. 22 cm. Pale buff fabric with a dark grey core; calcite grits; the interior badly flaking.
4. Rim, d. 16 cm, with thumb impressions. Pale buff core with blackish exterior and reddish-buff internal finish; calcite grits with possible grass backing giving a slightly vesicular appearance; finger wiping on surface.
5. Rim, d. 16 cm, of coarse black ware with a rough surface and heavily gritted with calcite.
6. Rim, d. 16 cm, of hard grey fabric with light buff finish; many grits.
7. Wall sherd of fine buff ware with grey core decorated with impressed stabs and lines.
8. A small body sherd of uniformly red hard ware with scratched, or possibly brushed, decoration; the inside bears similar brushed lines.
9. A green glazed body sherd with a yellow underglaze; lozenge decoration. Beginning of a spout indicated.

Iron Nail from Layer A (Figure 8: 10)

10. The nail has a squarish shank obscured by corrosion; it was probably 1.6 cm sq. in section at the head, tapering in one plane to give a chisel-like section.

Pottery from Layer B (Figure 8: 11–15)

The 6 in layer above the primary floor layer contained 88 sherds of which 6 were of green glazed ware. The

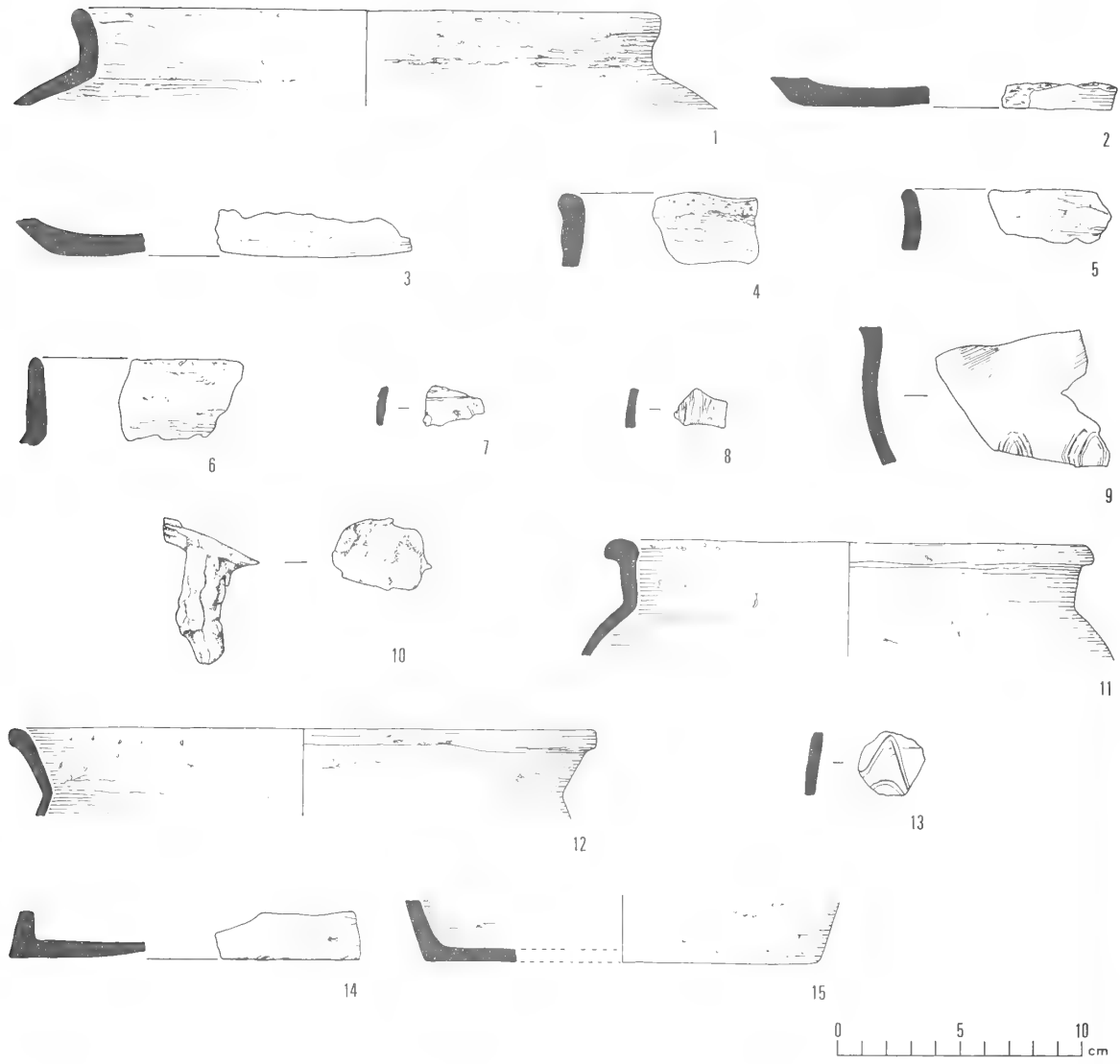

Figure 8. Finds from the timber building (?priest's house) at Potterne

rest were mainly of a light-grey cored ware with a light buff interior and an exterior which varied from a dull buff to dark grey surface. All showed calcite gritting, some very pronounced. In glazed ware were: 1 piece of handle, 1 very abraded base sherd with a thumb impression, and 4 body sherds. Sherds of the other ware type could be divided into 7 rims, 9 bases and 66 body fragments. A selection of these is illustrated in Figure 8: 11–15.

11. Rim, d. 20 cm, of hard ware with light red inside and grey outside; hard grey core; showing flint grits and slightly micaceous in appearance.
12. Rim, d. 24 cm. Buff ware with hard grey core; calcite grits; slightly micaceous.
13. Wall sherd of green-glazed ware with lozenge decoration in dark green.
14. Flat base sherd, d. 30 cm. Hard grey fabric with dull brown/buff finish; calcite grits.
15. Slightly dished base, d. 16 cm. Hard grey ware with sooted exterior; calcite grits; slightly micaceous.

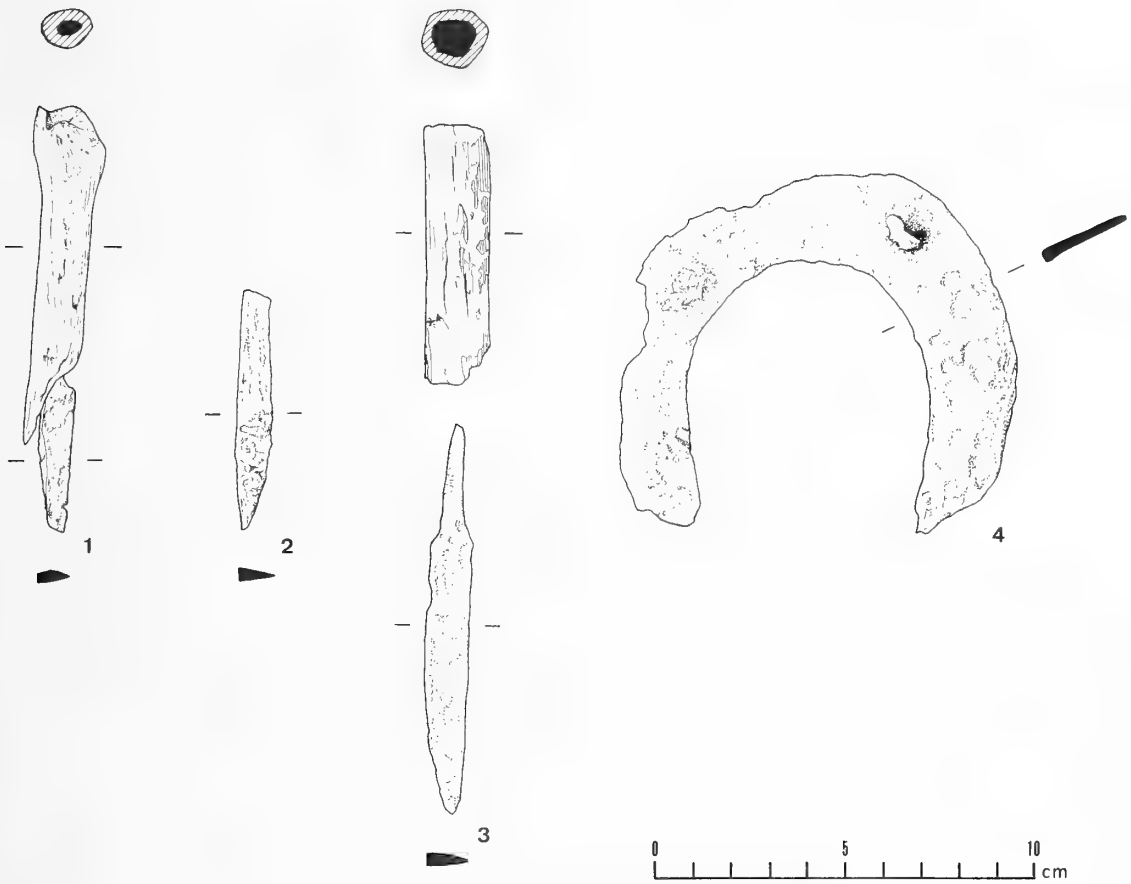

Figure 9. Bone and metalwork from the stable building at Potterne

FINDS FROM THE STABLE BUILDING (SITE B)

As shown in Figure 2, this building, 11 ft x 8 ft with an entrance 5 ft wide, was indicated by post-holes. The entrance had a cobbled paving. On the floor were found two knives with handles, one knife blade and a horseshoe (Figure 9: 1–4).

Bone and Iron from the Stable Building (Figure 9: 1–4; Figure 10)

1. Bone handled knife; handle 8.8 cm long with an average d. 1.8 cm. The iron blade is 3.6 cm long with a 1.0 cm tang; width: 0.9 cm; thickness: 0.2 cm to 0 cm on the edge.
2. Iron knife blade, 6.2 cm long, tang missing. Width: 0.9 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm at the back.
3. Knife with a bone handle (damaged). Length of handle: 6.6 cm; d. 1.3 cm with a hole, d. 0.9 cm, running through it. The iron blade is 7.2 cm long with a 3.0 cm tang. The blade is 0.8 cm wide and 0.3 cm thick at the back.
4. Horseshoe, 10.1 cm across; average width: 2.5 cm. One nail is still in position at an acute angle; there are indications of the positions of other nails but the badly flaked surface and general rusting obscures the pattern. The present thickness of 0.3 cm must be considered as no more than half the original thickness.

Figure 10. Badly rusted iron patten with the upper missing but the round base and three rivets surviving. Assigned to a late medieval date.

The Pottery From the Stable Building (Figure 11)

The pottery from the stable has been examined by Alan Vince who recognised the earliest sherd as being

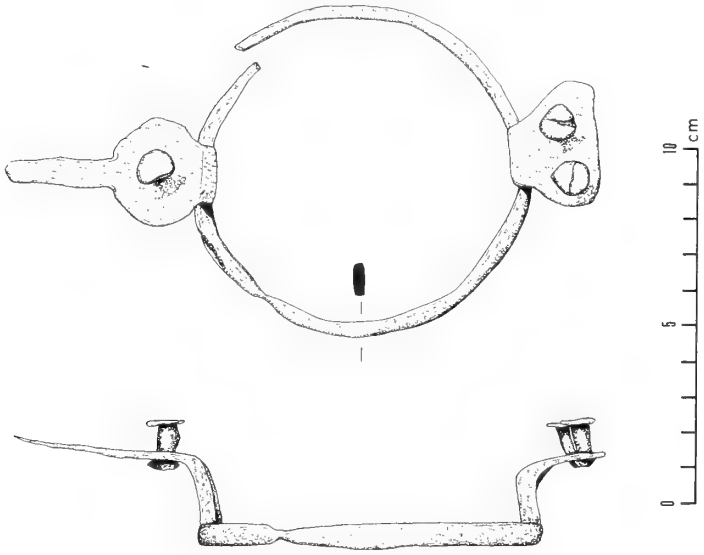

Figure 10. Patten from the stable building at Potterne

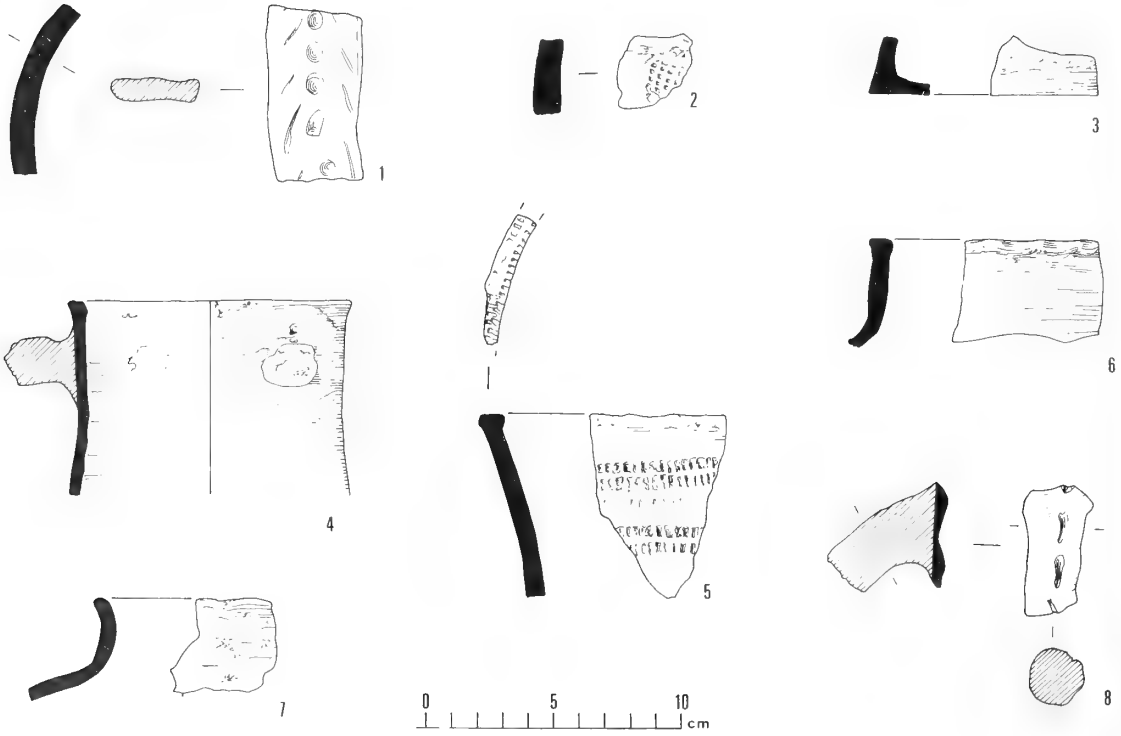

Figure 11. Pottery from the stable building at Potterne

possibly Saxon, with eleventh or twelfth century sherds followed by late thirteenth century to fourteenth or fifteenth century sherds. Firmly dated is a Cheddar E cooking pot which went out of use in the eleventh century. The majority of sherds are of eleventh and twelfth century date; these include: Bath A fabric cooking pots; a West Country vessel and spouted pitcher; a S.E. Wilts tripod pitcher; and limestone and mixed gravel tempered cooking pots. A sherd from a bung-hole cistern is in a type of fabric found at Cheddar. The bung-hole form is late thirteenth century at the earliest and is normally fourteenth to fifteenth century. The descriptions of drawn sherds are by Alan Vince and the appended additional references are made by Larry Luckett.

1. Handle of hard buff ware with pale yellowish glaze, showing silica grits. This is from a Ham Green jug and has a decoration of stab holes and scratches. See Barton 1967, 102, nos. 14, 15.
2. A stamped body sherd of red buff gritty ware with a dark grey core. Vince suggests an eleventh or twelfth century spouted pitcher or, possibly, Early Saxon. Platt (1975) shows stamped or rouletted decoration; his Nos. 37 and 38 have this type of decoration but on amber glazed ware; see also his No. 41. These are all late tenth to eleventh century. Platt's Nos. 339 and 356 are in similar fabric with comb stabbing, dated 1200–1250. See also: Barton 1967, 102, No. 45.
3. Base, d. 26 cm, sherd of a West Country vessel in Bath A fabric (dark buff with prominent grits).
4. Rim, d. 12 cm. from a Naish Hill jug showing upper part of handle (see McCarthy 1971, 181). Fine, hard, grey ware showing light buff inside. Originally very dark green glazed but badly eroded. Flat rim with a shallow depression on either side. There is a stab mark at the junction of handle and wall and another in the handle itself.
5. Rim, d. 18 cm, in hard dark grey fabric, originally glazed dark green, now badly eroded. Flat rim with rouletted decoration which also appears on the wall. From a S.E. Wilts tripod pitcher.
6. Rim sherd, d. 30 cm, from a cooking pot in Bath A fabric. Flat rim with thumb impressions.
7. Rim sherd, d. 20 cm, similar to no. 6 above, but with a rounded rim with thumb impressions.
8. Base of handle in hard grey fabric with light green on orange glaze. There are two deep stab impressions with trace of another. See Barton 1967, 102: 22 and 23.

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The Old Sarum Master: A Twelfth-Century Sculptor in South-West England

by JAMES F. KING

One of the most important sculptors in south-west England in the 1120s and 1130s was responsible for much of the decoration at the cathedral of Old Sarum in Wiltshire, a building which no longer remains though fragments of the sculpture have survived. At least two other churches in the region, however, still retain work in situ *by this sculptor. He also carved a head, the provenance of which is as yet unknown. There are no contemporary references to this artist, but stylistic evidence suggests that he was familiar with contemporary work in France and possibly that of the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy.*

'He built anew the church of Salisbury, and beautified it in such a manner that it yields to none in England, but surpasses many . . .'[1] So wrote William of Malmesbury during the first quarter of the twelfth century about Bishop Roger's new building work at the cathedral of Old Sarum in Wiltshire. Today, the cathedral there no longer exists, but what does remain is an assortment of decorated stones, many of which were carved by a sculptor who may be considered one of the most important and influential artists active in England during the 1120s and 1130s. Although no mention of this sculptor has been found in any contemporary chronicle, he will be referred to here as the 'Old Sarum Master' for it is likely that his first important work, which established his reputation in England, was at Old Sarum. The delicacy and intricacy of carving by this sculptor and his atelier can be detected at a number of sites in the south-west region of England and his influence appears to have spread quickly.

It is not absolutely clear whether the Old Sarum Master was in fact one or two people but there can be no doubt that more than one person must have been responsible for the carved decoration of the ornate east end of Old Sarum Cathedral where crude sculpture, presumably relegated to the less visible upper portions of the church facade, can be found alongside the more sophisticated pieces. Much of the decoration, although likely to have been designed by the Old Sarum Master, was probably executed by a large atelier, necessary to produce the vast quantity of ornate carving which decorated the church. The figural work for the most part, however, seems to have been generally reserved for the master himself. His hand is in evidence on a number of corbels, including one with a woman's head; a head of Christ, possibly from a doorway; a lion's head from an arch; two lions from a gable; and numerous other sculptured fragments (Figures 1–2). Much of his surviving work is damaged, but his highly plastic, more deeply-cut works mark a significant stylistic break from earlier English sculpture of the Romanesque period.

One of the most characteristic features of the Old Sarum Master's work is the carving of the eyes. A carefully rounded protruding eyeball with the centre scooped out (often to show the direction of sight)[2] is usually placed within carved eyelids, the outer edges of the upper lid overlapping the lower lid. Frequently, but not always, an incision accentuates the curve of the eyebrow. Other distinctive features include an indented forehead, an indented area between the nose and mouth, an expressive mouth and delicately carved ears. Noses are also finely carved and have deeply cut nostril holes. Another frequent device, the beaded strip, can be seen on the backs of animals, on the edges of clothing, and on numerous non-figural pieces. Although decorative beading had certainly been used earlier in England, the Old Sarum Master used beading in greater profusion and in new situations.

Recently, one writer has identified work by the Old Sarum Master at the church of Lullington in Somerset near what must have been the main route between Bristol and Old Sarum.[3] This attribution is particu-

1. *The History of the Kings of England and the Modern History of William of Malmesbury*, trans. by the Revd John Sharpe (London, 1815), p. 504.
2. Drills may have been used to create this effect.
3. R. Stalley, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series, 34 (1971), p. 76.

Figures 1a and b. Corbels from Old Sarum Cathedral. (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum)

Figures 2a and b. Old Sarum Cathedral: stone fragment with head of Christ (a), and stone fragment from the top of a gable (b). (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum)

Figure 3. Old Sarum Cathedral: voussoir. (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum)

larly important since the range of carving found there allows a fuller picture of the Old Sarum Master's style.

Among the fragments remaining from Old Sarum Cathedral are a number of stones with decorative roundels. One motif, in particular, shows a curious shape like that of a pie with its four edges folded inward (Figure 3). Although his use of this motif is almost certainly the first time it occurs in England, it is not only found in work by the Old Sarum Master.[4] In one of the Old Sarum examples, there are circular holes carved at the four corners of the pie, a feature which is extremely rare and would appear to exist in England outside Old Sarum only at Lullington, on the north doorway. Situated on this same doorway is a series of beakheads, some of which are of a bird's head grasping a roll in its beak (Figure 4a). At Old Sarum Cathedral, there is one corbel with a bird's head grasping part of a roll (Figure 4b), which is nearly identical to the birds' heads at Lullington, including the same carving of the eyes, carved lower beak and indented forehead. Although the small decorative drilling of the beak at Lullington is not found on the Old Sarum beakhead, such decorative drilling was definitely used by the Old Sarum Master at Old Sarum on geometric pieces like the aforementioned roundel, and a now fragmentary bird being attacked by two quadrupeds. The range of ears on the Lullington beakheads displays a creative variety on the part of the sculptor, but the ear on one lion-like head (Figure 5a) is exactly

4. Besides Old Sarum, the only other examples I am aware of extant in England are at the churches of Great Durnford and Lullington, and among the fragments originating from Lewes Priory, now in the Anne of Cleves Museum, Lewes.

Figure 4a. All Saints Church, Lullington: detail from north doorway

Figure 4b. Old Sarum Cathedral: corbel. (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum)

Figures 5a and b. All Saints Church, Lullington: detail from north doorway (a), and corbel (b)

Figure 6a. Carved stone head.
(The Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection, University of East Anglia)

Figure 6b. All Saints Church, Lullington.
capital of west chancel arch

the same as one which appears on several Old Sarum fragments. It is full and rounded with a small cavity delicately carved away from the inner area.

On the north exterior of the nave at Lullington are several very finely cut corbels, also carved by the Old Sarum Master, among them a king's head whose crown and nose have been damaged, but whose other features have been well-preserved (Figure 5b). Here one finds the finely carved bulging eyes with scooped centres set into carved eyelids, the upper overlapping the lower. On the bottom part of the crown is carved a beaded strip like that found so frequently at Old Sarum. The importance of this head can be seen when it is compared with the now badly weathered head of Christ from Old Sarum Cathedral (Figure 2a). Originally the Christ head must have had the same level of beauty and finesse as that of the head at Lullington. Both heads have long faces with accentuated cheekbones and hollow cheeks. Though extremely worn, enough remains of the eyes on the head of Christ to show that they once displayed the characteristic bulging eyeball with its scooped out centre.

Not all of the twelfth-century work at Lullington can be attributed to the Old Sarum Master, as the crudely carved font testifies, and it is impossible to determine just how many sculptors were employed on this small but ornately decorated church, or even who was responsible for its construction. Domesday Book shows that by the 1080s Lullington was in the hands of the Bishop of Coutances and that before 1066 it had been held by Earl Harold,[5] but documents have not yet come to light to show who was in control of it in the 1120s and 1130s, which is the most likely period during which the church was begun.

One of the best preserved and most beautifully carved works by the Old Sarum Master is a head now owned by the Sainsbury Centre for the Visual Arts in Norwich (Figure 6a). The provenance of this head is unknown and very little has been written about it.[6] Although a range of countries has been suggested for its origin, it is now generally accepted that it is English. Because the stone is not the same as that used at Old Sarum Cathedral it seems unlikely that the head originates from that particular building. A careful analysis of the stone itself has yet to be carried out, but the probability must be that it comes from the south-west region of England, in the area where the Old Sarum Master was active.

The Norwich head is relatively small, similar in size to the corbel heads at Lullington, but whether it once formed part of a corbel or decorated part of a doorway, or whether it was used elsewhere on some other building remains open to speculation. That its position must have been higher than that of the average height of a human seems evident from the carving of the eyes which directs the view downward towards the onlooker. These expressive eyes show exactly the same characteristics as those of other work by the Old Sarum Master. Like the head of Christ and other heads from Old Sarum, the Norwich head also has the carved indentation accentuating the eyebrow. The forehead is also indented and like the Old Sarum Christ and Lullington king, the Norwich head is long, with prominent cheekbones and hollow cheeks. Profiles of the three heads show a similar relationship of eye, nose and mouth together with a similarly carved ear with the lobe turned deeply inward. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Norwich head is the work of the Sarum Master.

At least one other building in south-west England reveals work by the Old Sarum Master still *in situ*. This is the church of St Swithun's at Leonard Stanley (Gloucestershire). Among the carved elements of the church, figural sculpture can be found on two capitals and a tympanum in the chancel, and on a loose capital located above the doorway in the north porch. All of these were carved by the same sculptor. Because the figures on the capitals are smaller than most of the related work from either Old Sarum or Lullington, the sculpture shows a certain degree of simplification. Nonetheless, the same characteristic features can be distinguished. On many of the figural capitals, as at Lullington, the background is cut back in such a way as to create a concave plain backdrop (Figure 6b). These particular capitals are based neither on the cushion-capital type nor on the scalloped-capital form and stand in marked contrast with such work as the capitals from the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral and the capitals from Reading Abbey, on which the backgrounds are either flat or convex. The Old Sarum Master's approach to the carving of a capital can be clearly seen on the Leonard Stanley capital depicting Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ with her hair (Figure 7). On this same capital, the expressive head of Christ, despite its small scale, is so similar to the Old Sarum Christ, Lullington king and Norwich

5. *Domesday Book, Somerset*, ed. G. and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1980), section 5,51.
6. See *Romanesque Art c.1050–1200 from Collections in Great Britain and Eire*, Exh. Cat., Manchester Art Gallery, catalogue by C.M. Kauffmann (Manchester, 1959), p. 32, and *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, Exh. Cat., Hayward Gallery (London, 1984), p. 163.

Figure 7. St Swithun's Church, Leonard Stanley: capital with Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ

head that one is left in no doubt that it is the work of the same sculptor. Like the other three heads, the Leonard Stanley head of Christ is long with prominent cheekbones and hollow cheeks, and the long moustache extends well over the beard, setting off an expressive mouth. The profile of the head shows the same relationship of eye, nose and mouth, and here are the same bulging eyes with scooped, directed centres. The carving of the nimbus behind Christ's head, which includes raised cross-pieces overlapping a raised outer ring, is similar to that of the Old Sarum Christ, as is the hair pulled behind the ear to give it prominence – a feature also found on the Lullington king. The carving of the hair is like that of the Norwich head. The garments are decorated with a series of ridges which separate wider, rounded sections of drapery, the same approach to drapery design more easily seen on a loose fragment with drapery folds from Old Sarum (possibly originally part of the same composition as the Christ head) (Figure 8a) and still seen on the much weathered Christ over the north doorway at Lullington (Figure 8b). Both the Old Sarum Christ and Leonard Stanley Christ, moreover, have raised lapels.

The delicacy with which the Leonard Stanley Christ was carved is not easily seen from the chancel floor, but closer examination reveals much careful attention to detail. Despite the small scale of the figure, the toes are not only bent at the joints, but have small, carved toenails, exactly the same features as those on another fragment from Old Sarum. The small hands have carved joints as well as fingernails, and the drapery has been very finely beaded along its lower edge. On the opposite wall of the chancel is a capital with a Nativity scene, dominated by the figure of a reclining Virgin Mary (Figure 9). This too shows an interest in intricate detail. The surface of the capital is somewhat worn and therefore unreliable, but it is still possible to make out the diminutive beading along the lower edge of the Virgin's blanket.

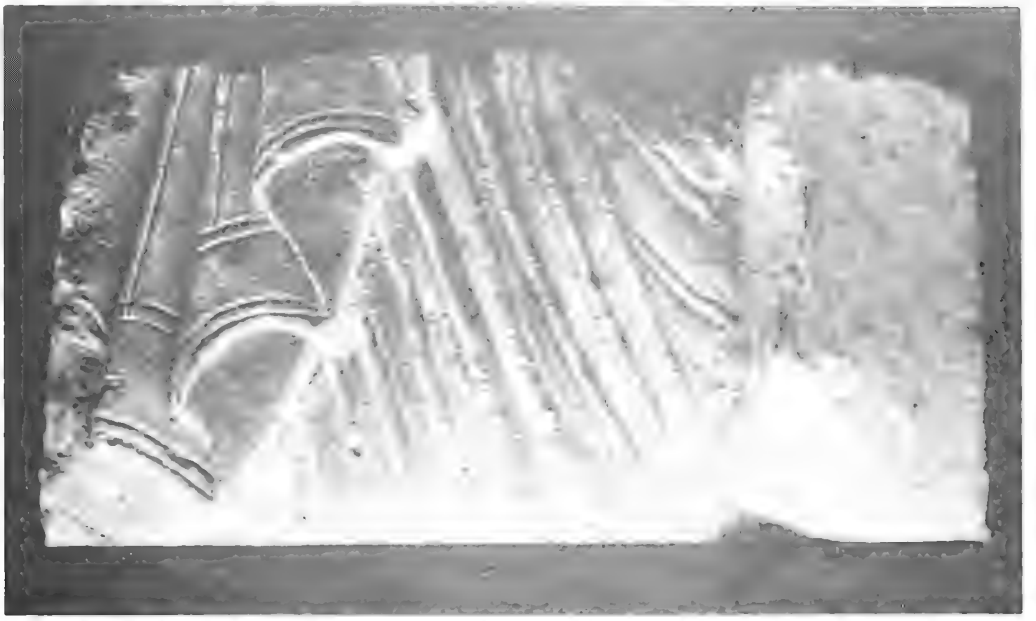


Figure 8a. Old Sarum Cathedral: stone fragment with carved drapery. Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum

Figure 8b. All Saints Church, Lullington: carved drapery from the figure of Christ over north doorway

Figure 9. St Swithun's Church, Leonard Stanley: capital with Nativity scene

Even the tiny capitals on the architectural elements in the scene are so carefully cut that it has proved possible to make comparison with capitals from Avening (Gloucestershire) and elsewhere in this region. This capital type is itself somewhat rare.

On the chancel wall at Leonard Stanley is a very small tympanum carved with two animals, one of which is an ape (Figure 10a). The iconography of this tympanum is unusual. Because the heads are larger than those on the capitals, it is easier to see the characteristic carving of the Old Sarum Master, including the rounded, bulging eyeballs with carved, directed centres, and the indented forehead. The sideward drilling of the eyes on the left figure (found also on the Christ and Mary Magdalene capital) is of particular importance because of its rarity in England. The Old Sarum Master used this same sideward glance at Old Sarum itself on the lions from the top of a gable. Only one other example is known to me in Britain, on a fragment from Reading Abbey showing two lions confronting each other. But the heads of the Reading Abbey figures are flat by comparison and lack the markedly bulging eyeballs found both on the Old Sarum lions and the Leonard Stanley animals. The right-hand figure at Leonard Stanley also displays exactly the same approach to the carving of fur as on the Old Sarum lion, and is distinctly different from that found at Reading Abbey. The ears are delicately carved and those of the ape have the same inward turning lobes so often found in other work by the Old Sarum Master. Although it is now somewhat difficult to see, it would appear that at least the front feet of the left figure had claws, a feature found at Old Sarum (e.g. the gable lions) and at Lullington (e.g. the lions of the chancel arch). The use of similar apes with prominent teeth and puffed chests appears on one of the corbels at Lullington (Figure 10b). The upper and lower teeth of both the Leonard Stanley

Figure 10a. St Swithun's Church, Leonard Stanley: tympanum in chancel

Figure 10b. All Saints Church, Lullington: corbel with apes

Figure 11. All Saints Church, Lullington: corbel with head of old man

ape and the Lullington ape are squared, a feature found also on the lion mask from the apex of an arch from Old Sarum.

The surface of the figures on the Leonard Stanley tympanum is somewhat worn and the stone has begun to deteriorate. Unfortunately, this means that it is not easy to distinguish any overlapping eyelids, but very similar eyes to those on the Leonard Stanley tympanum are found on other work by the Old Sarum Master, such as the head of an old man on a corbel at Lullington (Figure 11). This apparent anomaly is one reason why the carving here may actually be the work of two sculptors. Elsewhere at Leonard Stanley one does, however, find eyelids with the upper one overlapping the lower, seen to advantage on the angel of the Nativity capital (Figure 12a). The downward turn of the mouth on the Nativity angel, also found on several of the other capital figures, is yet another feature frequently used by the Old Sarum Master, as on the harpy figures on a capital at Lullington, on the Old Sarum female corbel head and on the Norwich head (Figures 12b, 1a and 6a).

Further motifs used at Leonard Stanley may be seen on fragments from Old Sarum. Although it is impossible to conclude that all of these were carved by the Master himself, the close connection between the various decorative motifs at Old Sarum and those found elsewhere in the work of the Old Sarum Master strengthens the suggestion that at least some of the work at Leonard Stanley is by him. These motifs include the large beads around the chancel arch, some of which have drilled centres, and the flower at the top of the arch which has scooped petals and a centre bead with a drilled centre. The abacus profile found at Leonard Stanley, a type which is generally rare, is exactly the same as that found on the north side of the eastern arch at Lullington (Figures 13a and b). On one of the chancel arch capitals at Leonard Stanley is a series of overlapping semicircles with decorative beads and simple foliation in the spaces (Figure 13a). It seems virtually certain that capitals with overlapping semicircles were used at Old Sarum in that part of the church where other work by the Old Sarum Master was found because they are used on a

Figure 12a. St Swithun's Church, Leonard Stanley: angel on capital with Nativity scene

Figure 12b. All Saints Church, Lullington: capital of west chancel arch

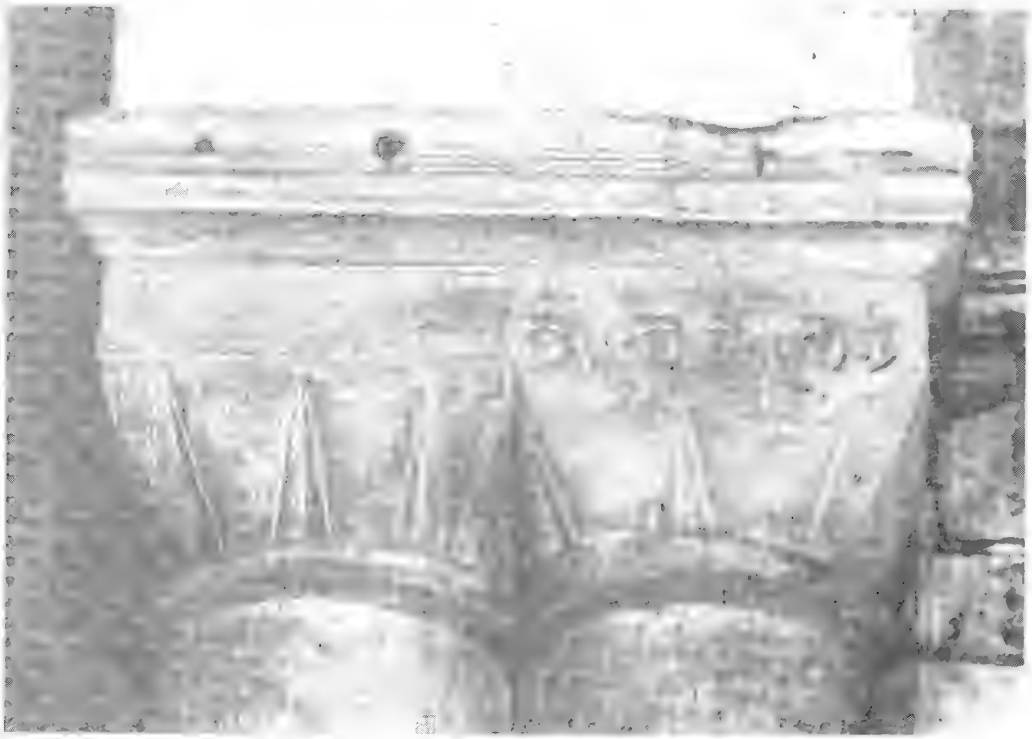


Figure 13a. St Swithun's Church, Leonard Stanley: capitals of crossing arch

Figure 13b. All Saints Church, Lullington: capitals of east chancel arch

capital at the nearby church of Great Durnford where motifs appear to have been directly copied from those of Old Sarum Cathedral, although the work at Great Durnford is generally inferior.[7] The use of decorative beads to fill spaces appears also at Great Durnford, as on the abacus above this same capital, used there within an overlapping ribbon pattern. Not only can a similar ribbon design be found among the Old Sarum fragments, but the profusion of beading carved on these fragments shows that such beading was used in a wide range of contexts, including a simple foliate design analogous to one found on the capital at Leonard Stanley. A similar motif was employed at Lullington on an abacus on the north side of the western arch. On the scalloped capital below this Lullington abacus is a curious rectangular section marked out at the top, a feature which occurs at Leonard Stanley as well, on a scalloped capital next to the capital featuring intersecting semicircles. On the loose capital now in the north porch at Leonard Stanley small, carefully beaded arches are carved above the figures. Large-scale arches with small, closely-spaced beading similar to that of Leonard Stanley were used both at Lullington and at Old Sarum. This form of beading is distinctly different from the previously mentioned large beads which were also used.

In recent years, there has been a tendency to date Old Sarum and its decorative sculpture later than the evidence suggests, which has led to difficulties in tracing the development of Romanesque sculpture in England during the twelfth century.[8] William of Malmesbury's first reference to the ornate new building work at Old Sarum occurs before 1125,[9] yet some authors have insisted on placing the main building activities several years later. That the Old Sarum Master was working there by or around 1125 would appear to be confirmed by the documentation of a number of buildings where related carving can be found. At present no useful documentation for the dating of the church at Lullington or the Norwich head has come to light, but evidence for the construction of the church at Leonard Stanley is more forthcoming.

The church of St Swithun's at Leonard Stanley was originally the priory church of a small Augustinian community. The priory was founded by Roger II of Berkeley some time between 1121 and 1131, and it seems likely that the charter of foundation was granted *c.* 1125.[10] In 1130 the founder was buried in the priory, but it appears that he had already entered into monastic life there before this. Not only did Roger liberally endow this particular priory, but he provided money for the rebuilding of Gloucester Abbey after the disastrous fire in 1122, and it was he who was responsible for the re-building of the castle at Berkeley, where work may have been begun as early as 1117.[11] It is likely, therefore, that Roger also founded the priory church at Leonard Stanley. This suggests that the Old Sarum Master worked at Leonard Stanley by or around 1130.

At Llandaff (South Glamorgan) and at Portchester (Hampshire) there are churches with rectangular east ends, perhaps emulating Old Sarum Cathedral, but more important, they possess a series of carved roundels with flat, beaded rims and inward-turned petals closely related to those found at Lullington (Figure 14). These can be associated with the decorated roundels seemingly from that part of Old Sarum Cathedral where the Master worked. Those at Portchester are especially close to examples at Lullington in their use of a central knob. Both Portchester and Llandaff also have a type of chevron which is notably different from that used in the north of England at this date and was probably first used in England by the Old Sarum Master. This chevron, carved at right angles to the arch rather than following the arch as at Durham, can be found among the Old Sarum fragments, at Lullington and at Leonard Stanley, suggesting that Llandaff and Portchester were copying these motifs directly from work either by or associated with the Old Sarum Master. The dating of these two churches is significant. The work at Llandaff would appear to be of the 1120s,[12] or at the latest

7. See J. King, 'Possible West Country Influences on Twelfth-Century Architecture and Its Decoration in Normandy Before 1150', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 139 (1986), note 14.
8. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has recently published a volume in which it is accepted that the re-building of the east end of Old Sarum Cathedral took place earlier than often stated, suggesting a building period of 1110–1125. The volume goes on to state, incorrectly in my view, that the south porch must therefore be an addition, a conclusion based entirely on an acceptance of the hitherto-given late-dating of the sculpture associated with it. See *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), Vol. 1 (London, 1980).
9. *The History of the Kings of England*, *op. cit.*, in note 1.
10. C. Swynnerton, 'The Priory of St Leonard of Stanley, Co. Gloucester, in the Light of Recent Discoveries Documentary and Structural', *Archaeologia*, 81 (1921), p. 204.
11. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, ed. by the Hon. Vicary Gibbs, II (London, 1912), p. 124.
12. A. Freeman, *Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral*, (London, 1850).

the early 1130s, while Portchester's church was built in the early to mid 1130s, the result of the foundation of a priory in 1133.[13]

Further evidence that the east end of Old Sarum Cathedral was well advanced by 1130, including sculpture carved by the Old Sarum Master decorating its walls, can be found at Cormac's Chapel in Ireland.[14] This small royal chapel, begun in 1127 and consecrated in 1134, follows a ground plan which had been established at Old Sarum. But more important still are certain decorative features there which copy work by the Old Sarum Master. At the top of the north porch arch is a lion's mask styled on the type used at Old Sarum, and one of the arches on this same porch is beaded like that of the north doorway at Lullington and on the diminutive arches of one of the capitals at Leonard Stanley. Fragments of such beading, as already noted, also remain from Old Sarum. Throughout Cormac's Chapel several varieties of chevron are used, a range not dissimilar to the variety of chevron types found amongst the Old Sarum fragments. Among these is a right-angled chevron like that found alongside work by the Old Sarum Master. There are also stringcourses decorated with large beads, similar to those used in connection with work by the Master. On the pediment over the north porch of Cormac's Chapel is a series of large rosettes. These clearly imitate the rosettes which apparently decorated the south porch of Old Sarum Cathedral and which still remain on the pediment of the north doorway at Lullington. That the south porch of the cathedral at Old Sarum was highly decorated may be confirmed by the range of decorative fragments excavated close to it. In fact, the appearance of such decorated porches, and doorways imitating porches by the use of a gable above, was probably one of the innovations brought to England either by the Old Sarum Master himself, or by someone with whom he was working closely. Since the Old Sarum south porch must surely predate the porch entry at Cormac's Chapel, the suggestion that it was built after the main east end is not plausible.[15]

Elsewhere on Cormac's Chapel can be found various heads, sometimes decorating an arch. At this date, the type which embellishes the east interior

Figure 14. All Saints Church, Lullington: roundels above north doorway

wall,[16] for example, is most likely to have been copied from motifs employed at Old Sarum, where such decorative heads were definitely used. Special significance must be given to those with various elements emanating from their mouths. Of the human heads at Cormac's Chapel, several have an elongated face, some have long moustaches and some have large eyes with carved centres. It has been previously proposed that a number of motifs used at Cormac's Chapel were copied from France, but there are so many details such as capital types, rib-vaulting and chevrons which could only be derived from English work that the

13. *Victoria County History, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, III, ed. W. Page (London, 1908), pp. 161–162.
14. For a discussion of Cormac's Chapel see R. Stalley, 'Three Irish Buildings with West Country Origins', *Wells and Glastonbury*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions (1981), pp. 62–5.
15. The most recent suggestion for a late date for the porch was put forward by J. Chapman Campbell, *A Selection of Romanesque Sculptural Fragments from Old Sarum Cathedral* (MA thesis, Univ. of London, 1985), p. 15.
16. Of particular significance is the animal head at the top of the arch, overlapping a roll, which is essentially a beakhead. For a photograph of these heads, see F. Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period, 1020–1170 A.D.* (London, 1970), plate 101.

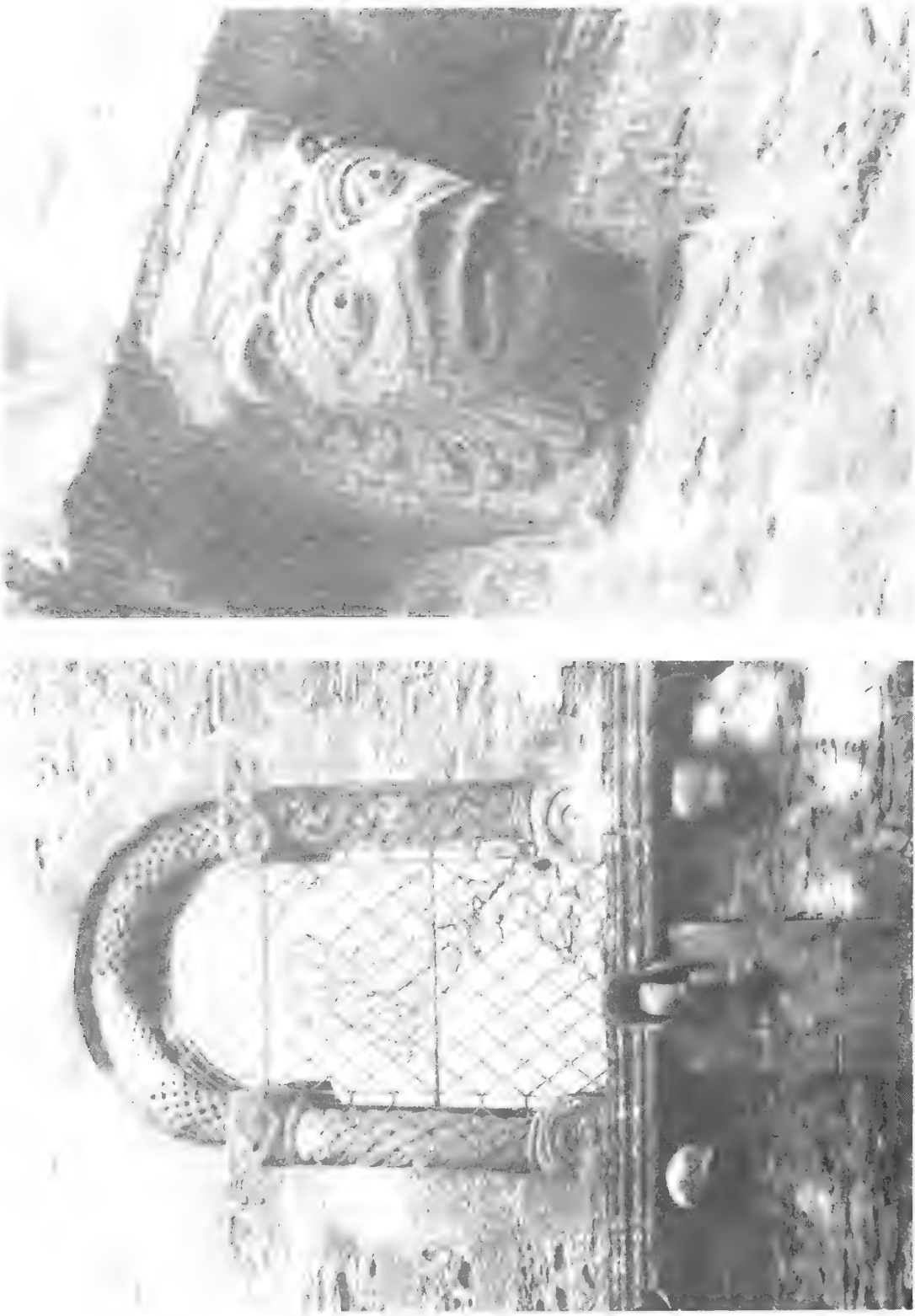
Figure 15. Church of SS Mary and David, Kilpeck: south doorway

relationship of the work to Old Sarum argues for the similarities to French work coming via Old Sarum.

At least one other church, that at Kilpeck in Herefordshire, would appear to have copied first-hand much of its decoration from Old Sarum Cathedral, including work by the Old Sarum Master, though the sculptor at Kilpeck had his own individual style. The church at Kilpeck is frequently cited as following the decorative work found at Shobdon (Herefordshire),[17] but it is far more likely that the Kilpeck sculptor influenced Shobdon and not *vice versa*. On the south doorway at Kilpeck can be found beakhead ornament, including that of a bird's head biting the arch roll (Figure 15). This motif appears never to have been employed by the Shobdon Master, although it was certainly used by the Old Sarum Master, who used a wide range of fantastic creatures, which would appear to explain the variety of animals carved on the doorway at Kilpeck, where there are, moreover, two large dragon heads situated at the bottom of the outer arch. The bulging foreheads and decorative lines are similar to dragon heads on the chancel arch and north doorway at Leonard Stanley. Dragon heads had been used in similar situations in Anglo-Saxon times, but there is no evidence that the practice was continued in England during the Romanesque period until it was revived by the Old Sarum Master.[18] Some of the abaci of the same doorway at Kilpeck also reveal a complex profile, similar to those used at both Lullington and Leonard Stanley.

Among the carved stones from the twelfth-century work from Old Sarum are several sections of one or more attached shafts on which overlapping criss-cross work has been carved. Other fragments there were also apparently part of a larger section of 'woven strands', similar perhaps to the work on the tym-

17. The argument for this was put forward by G. Zarnecki in *Regional Schools of English Sculpture in the Twelfth Century* (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of London, 1950).
18. It has been suggested that its first appearance in the twelfth century was at Old Sarum. See K.J. Galbraith, *The Sculptural Decoration of Malmesbury Abbey* (MA thesis, Univ. of London, 1962), p. 168.



Figures 16a and b. Church of SS Mary and David, Kilpeck: west window (a), and corbel (b)

panum of the south doorway of the church at Great Durnford where a number of carved details indicate a close copying of work from Old Sarum Cathedral. On the west exterior of the church at Kilpeck is a window with its shafts and arch roll decorated in a similar fashion (Figure 16a). Below this window is a stringcourse, the lower part of which is carved in the same way as various fragments from Old Sarum Cathedral. The upper section is carved with a series of small decorative beads. The use of beading on a stringcourse at Old Sarum Cathedral is testified by a surviving section of half shaft with a beaded stringcourse around it. It is in fact possible that a stringcourse decorated with beading was first used in England at Old Sarum in that part of the church where work by the Old Sarum Master existed.

It could be argued that Reading Abbey rather than Old Sarum Cathedral was the source for the various motifs found at Kilpeck. There remain from Reading both birdhead beakheads and a section of carved basketwork, but stylistic comparisons with figural work from Reading suggest that the sculptor or sculptors at Kilpeck were at least familiar with work related to the Old Sarum Master. There is, for example, a series of corbels on the exterior which show essential features found at Old Sarum. Some of the heads have eyes with overlapping eyelids. On several of these heads, the lower part of the cheeks is emphasized by a ridge extending from the top of the nostril. Similar ridges are found on several of the corbel heads remaining from Old Sarum. Also found among the Kilpeck corbels is a ram's head with curling horns. Such a head is found among the corbels at Lullington, although the ram's head at Kilpeck is much cruder. But perhaps the most striking comparison with work from Old Sarum is the lion's head corbel on the apse exterior at Kilpeck, which is particularly close to a lion's head corbel from Old Sarum (Figures 1b and 16b) and includes such features as a bulging eye with a scooped centre, held between upper and lower carved eyelids (although not overlapping); a ridge cut in above the eye; similar fur with curled edges; an expressive open mouth; and ridge lines below the cheeks starting from just above the nostrils. There is, moreover, on the south doorway a type of chevron carved at right angles to the arch, a type found so frequently in those places where the Old Sarum Master worked or where his influence can be detected. Even the decorated roundels found on this same doorway at Kilpeck seem to be emulating the decorative roundels used at Old Sarum Cathedral and elsewhere. The beaded rims in particular make a striking comparison with those at Lullington. Inside the apse, too, there is a scalloped vaulting capital with the upper section recessed back from the cusping. Similar capitals had already been used by the Old Sarum atelier, if not by the Master himself, both at Old Sarum and Lullington although these include decorative beading as well.

Inside the church at Kilpeck are several sculpted figures. The drapery of these figures has been carved with raised-ridge decoration like that used by the Old Sarum Master, with the lower hems almost exactly the same as the hem of the curtains on the Nativity capital at Leonard Stanley (Figures 17a and 12a). The heads of the Kilpeck figures do not all have the same shape, but they all have bulging eyeballs and several have long, drooping moustaches. One head, in particular, has features very similar to the Old Sarum Master's heads: an elongated face with accentuated cheekbones and hollow cheeks (Figure 17b). The hair on this head, with forward carved strands, is like the hair on the angel of the Nativity capital of Leonard Stanley. Although the eyes of the interior figures at Kilpeck do not have carved centres, many of the heads on the exterior certainly do.

The date for the construction of the church at Kilpeck has been strongly debated, but documentation suggests that the church was built not many years after the Old Sarum Master had been active at Old Sarum. Chronicles state that the church of St David at 'Kylpec' along with the chapel of Our Lady within the castle was given to the monks of St Peter's in Gloucester in 1134 by Hugh, son of William, a Norman.[19] Dugdale, in the seventeenth century, states that he can find no earlier mention of a Lord of Kilpeck before Hugh.[20] The evidence would appear to suggest that Hugh was responsible for the building of both the stone castle and church at Kilpeck and that these had been finished in or before 1134. In all likelihood, therefore, Kilpeck's church predates that at Shobdon.[21] This date for Kilpeck would make sense for a sculptor who was influenced by the Old

19. *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, Rolls Series, ed. W.H. Hart (London, 1863), p. 16.
20. W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, Vol. I (London, 1675), p. 597. The date given in this passage is 1124, which would appear to be a printer's error and should read 1134.
21. Documentary evidence for the church at Shobdon suggests that the building of the church was begun during the reign of King Stephen, and therefore no earlier than 1135. See T. Wright, *The History of Ludlow and its Neighbourhood* (Ludlow, 1852), pp. 102–105.

Figures 17a and b. Church of SS Mary and David, Kilpeck: carved figures on chancel arch jambs

Figure 17c. Cluny Abbey: west front figure. (Rhode Island School of Design)

Sarum Master and who might well have seen at first hand the recent work at Old Sarum.

The new type of sculpture initiated in England by the Old Sarum Master does not seem to find many of its forms in earlier English sculpture. Recent writers have suggested a German source for the head-type like that of the Old Sarum Christ,[22] but this seems highly unlikely. Many of the decorative details used either by the Old Sarum Master himself or at least by the group within which he worked seem to point to influence from France. The large protruding eyeballs, carefully carved, with scooped-out centres giving directed sight, was a new concept in England and was first used there by the Master of Old Sarum. But similar work can be found already by this date in France, as at St Sernin in Toulouse on corbels of the Porte Miègeville, where some of the drapery also shows raised ridges between wider curved areas like that found in work by the Old Sarum Master.[23] At Souillac, as well, the figures have similar eyes and the heads, which are elongated, have prominent cheekbones, hollow cheeks and long moustaches. Even the use of arches with radiating heads, a feature rare at this date, can be found in France, particularly in the west.[24] But it is in Burgundy that the strongest parallels with the decoration of Old Sarum and the work associated with the Old Sarum Master can be seen. It has already been pointed out, for example, that the use of decorative roundels is a Burgundian feature.[25] It is likely that the use of such decoration was initiated in Burgundy at the great abbey of Cluny where decorated roundels were used in profusion as one of the principal decorative motifs.

The twelfth-century west front portal from the abbey at Cluny no longer exists in its entirety, but numerous fragments remain from this important composition, including several decorated roundels. One figure, also from this portal, that of St Peter, is now in the museum of the Rhode Island School of Design in America (Figure 17c).[26] Although the head has been damaged, one can still clearly see the prominent cheekbones, hollow cheeks, eyes with sight-directed, carved centres, and the expressive mouth. The same sculptor also carved one of the capitals now in the Musée Farinier at Cluny on which are similar faces with accentuated cheekbones, long moustaches and drilled eyes.[27] The small scale of these figures and the plasticity of their forms makes a striking comparison with the Leonard Stanley Christ, though the differences between the two sculptors is also greatly in evidence. Among the roundels surrounding the west portal are several inhabited by fantastic animals, including that of a 'harpy' similar to those at Lullington (Figure 12b). Foliated roundels were used profusely at Cluny and several of those remaining, especially those surrounded by beading, show a strong likeness to those remaining from Old Sarum. In addition, the west portal at Cluny is known to have been decorated with a series of carved heads.[28] Cusping was extensively used as a decorative feature, among other places above the west portal. This motif was later copied elsewhere in Burgundy and can be found among the Old Sarum fragments. It was also used by the Shobdon Master, in the Reading Abbey cloister and on a number of later churches in Britain.[29] As well as the decoration of the west front, such motifs as the beaded stringcourses which extended over half shafts on the interior of the abbey at Cluny can be paralleled with fragments from Old Sarum Cathedral. In the Musée Farinier, too, there is a capital with part of a shaft carved with an overlapping 'woven' pattern, decorative knobs and beads, with and without drilled centres, all recalling work either by or influenced by the Old Sarum Master. Unfortunately, neither the original position nor the date of this capital and shaft are known, but the basketweave design used on a shaft was certainly used at the cathedral of Autun, which is known to have been greatly influenced by the work at Cluny. At least one drawing of the west front portal at Cluny before its destruction, moreover, shows such shafts in use there.[30] At Cluny, there also remains a 'devouring head' shaft fragment, but again nothing is known about its original position, although a somewhat

22. See, for example, *English Romanesque Art, op. cit.* in note 6 above, p. 160.
23. See M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Oxford, 1981), plate 100.
24. See F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series, 20–21 (1957–8).
25. C. Wilson, 'The Sources of the Late Twelfth-Century Work at Worcester Cathedral' in *Worcester Cathedral*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 1975 (1978), p. 82. Wilson has mistakenly placed the inception of this motif into England at Malmesbury Abbey.
26. This figure was identified as coming from the Cluny Abbey west front in H. Kleinschmidt, 'The Cluny St Peter', *Studies Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, 1947), pp. 19–31.
27. See Hearn, *op. cit.*, plate 82.
28. See F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
29. The appearance of this motif at Portchester is significant, not only because it confirms its use in Britain prior to Shobdon, but also because it is found alongside the motif of a beaded roundel with inward-facing petals associated with the Old Sarum Master, as noted above.
30. See H. Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, figure 4.

Figure 18. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 5071, fol. 172v: figures redrawn by J.F. King

similar capital still exists on one of the west front portals of the cathedral of Autun. In England, the first 'devouring head' almost certainly occurred at Old Sarum, and is most likely to have been designed if not carved by the Old Sarum Master.[31] Another Burgundian decorative motif is the double, overlapping ribbon pattern, a version of which was used at Old Sarum apparently in that part of the building where the Old Sarum Master worked. This appears to have been the first time in England that this design was used as an architectural device.[32]

Further parallels for various decorative motifs employed by the Old Sarum Master can be found at both Vézelay and Autun, where sculptors following on from Cluny were engaged.[33] On the original narthex capitals at Vézelay, for example, the drapery of the figures displays the same use of raised ridges separating wider sections as that used by the Old Sarum Master. But this, in fact, may only be copying work from Cluny, as one early twelfth-century manuscript illustration, apparently from Cluny, shows exactly this approach. It is interesting to note that one drawing in this manuscript bears a remarkable similarity to the Christ with Mary Magdalene capital at Leonard Stanley[34] (Figures 18 and 19). It has already been pointed out above that this feature can be found elsewhere in France, but its existence at Cluny at this date may be significant. It is of some significance, too, that the cult of St Mary Magdalene was given impetus in the twelfth century specifically because of Vézelay.[35] Other work at Vézelay carved by a different sculptor makes use of delicately carved beading along the hems of garments similar to the work at Leonard Stanley. Associated work at Autun exists as well. But the feature most remarkable in its similarity to a motif used by the Old Sarum Master is one which is seemingly used exclusively outside England before 1135 only by the sculptors who worked at Cluny, Vézelay and Autun. This may mean that it was first used at Cluny. The motif in question is the pie-like design.[36] Although only versions of the same concept, the main characteristics remain the same: four edges folded inwards with the occasional use of a central knob. At Autun, in fact, the small circular corners strike a particularly strong comparison with those of the Old Sarum Master (Figures 20a and 3).

One of the Cluny sculptors worked also at Montceaux-l'Étoile where a few original corbels remain *in situ* on the exterior.[37] Among these is an animal head, apparently grasping a section of roll. Such corbels, as evidenced by the surviving bird's head grasping a section of roll, were certainly used by the Sarum Master at Old Sarum. Cluniac associations with Old Sarum are further indicated by the work remaining at the priory of La Charité-sur-Loire, Cluny's main daughter house. In the squinch of the crossing vault is an animal head with a protruding

31. For a discussion of 'devouring head' capitals in England and France see K. Galbraith, *op. cit.* in note 18 above, pp. 177–80.
32. See also J. King, *op. cit.* in note 7 above, p. 26.
33. See D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (London, 1961).
34. This manuscript, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Lat. 5071), contains in it a reference to the author: ' . . . monachus Sancti Pietri Clunacensis scripsi hunc librum pro anima mea . . .'. A suggested date of the first half of the twelfth century has been given. See F. Mercier, *Les Primitifs Français, La Peinture Clunysienne en Bourgogne a l'Époque Romane* (Paris, 1931), p. 138.
35. See V. Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine* (Paris, 1959).
36. Although I have not found this specific motif among the fragments from Cluny, one of the Cluny sculptors seems to have also worked at Montceaux-l'Étoile in Burgundy where a similar motif occurs on the west doorway. The motif was used more frequently after *c.* 1135 to decorate shafts, as for example on the west fronts of St Denis and Chartres.
37. A date of *c.* 1120 has been suggested for the work at Montceaux-l'Étoile. See Hearn, *op. cit.* in note 23 above, p. 164.

Figure 19. St Swithun's Church, Leonard Stanley, capital with Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ

tongue not unlike some of the animal heads from Old Sarum and Lullington. The exterior of this crossing tower is heavily decorated, including not only the large bead motif found earlier at Cluny but also a series of nail-head knobs like those on some of the Old Sarum fragments. On the interior of the east end of La Charité can be found a zig-zag decoration with interspaced beads. Here, too, are arches decorated with a series of smaller beads, arches decorated with large beads, and beaded stringcourses. The use of beads with flattened tops, employed extensively at La Charité, is rare but can be found among the fragments from Old Sarum. Although one might argue that decorative beads had already earlier been used on Anglo-Saxon sculpture, the range of bead types found both in Eastern France and at Old Sarum cannot be paralleled with earlier British work. At La Charité, even certain iconographic details can be compared, including a 'harpy' figure and apes. Another detail which can be related to the Old Sarum Master, or associates, is found on the interior of the original nave clerestory windows at La Charité. It is a foliate motif with simple long petals similar to those found on an abacus of the north side of the west arch at Lullington. Many of these features also appear at Autun and the suggestion must surely be that they were copied from Cluny itself, but unfortunately much from this great abbey has been lost, or at least not yet found. There are, for example, drawings made by Van Riesamburgh of two capitals from Cluny which no longer exist.[38] According to the drawings, at least, the approach to the carving of a capital with a convex background is analogous to that of the Old Sarum Master. A similar approach can be seen on the west front of Autun. Above the capitals at Autun is an abacus type not that dissimilar, in fact, to the type found alongside work by the Old Sarum Master.

There is in England one other Cluniac association with the work from Old Sarum, including the work of the Old Sarum Master. Among the fragments from

38. Photographs of these drawings are preserved in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, University of London.

Figure 20a. Autun Cathedral: detail of capital. (Cathedral Museum)

Figure 20b. Priory of St Pancras, Lewes: capital with lion and griffon. (Kingston Manor, Lewes)

the Cluniac Priory of Lewes are several motifs which could only have inspired or been inspired by the work at Old Sarum. The most significant decorative motif found there is that of the roundel decorated with a pie-shape with inward-turned sides. The rarity of this motif makes a direct connection with the Old Sarum School. Another rare decorative device used at both Old Sarum and Lewes is formed by the alternation of semicircle and triangular sections. There is, moreover, a little-known but important capital with a lion and griffon (Figure 20b). The iconography of this capital certainly recalls that on the tympanum of the north doorway at Lullington. But even more intriguing is the carving of the eye on the head of the griffon (the head on the lion no longer remains) which is strikingly similar to the type used by the Old Sarum Master, though probably not carved by him, as certain other features on the capital, such as the fur of the lion, are not the same as those associated with the Old Sarum Master. Other heads from the Priory of Lewes with eyes similar to those of the Lewes griffon have an incised iris, a detail not found on any of the heads from Old Sarum or other work by the Old Sarum Master. There is a reference to a consecration which took place at the Priory of Lewes between 1142 and 1147,[39] which gives an intriguing suggestion for the date of this capital and may in itself imply that the work at Lewes post-dates that of Old Sarum. Certainly, such a notable motif as that of the beakhead is not found among the Lewes Priory fragments, nor is it found very frequently in that section of the country, and only then at a late date.

The fragments from Reading Abbey, itself Cluniac, bear certain associations with work from Old Sarum, most notably in the use of the beakhead, but the carving on these fragments is generally much cruder, particularly on the figured pieces. The relevant fragments from Reading are associated with the cloister there, but this suggests a later date than the work at Old Sarum and supports the suggestion that Reading was following Old Sarum and not *vice versa*.[40]

Perhaps the most striking association with contemporary ideas about sculpture in France, especially in Burgundy, is the Old Sarum Master's devotion to plasticity of form and intricate detail. His figures brought to England a new sense of space and a fullness of form unparalleled in earlier English Romanesque work. This was to mark a decisive change in style and the importance of this master must not be overlooked. During one of the greatest periods of architecture in England, English sculpture was brought into the main stream from abroad. The work that was to develop later by followers of this great artist acquired a look increasingly less familiar to continental artists, but for a brief period English art was brought to the forefront. Whether the Old Sarum Master was himself of French or English origin may never be known, but he was certainly not a mere copyist and he developed a unique iconographic style whose influence was to be felt beyond the shores of Great Britain for many years to follow. It is hardly surprising that William of Malmesbury gave such praise to the work at Old Sarum Cathedral.

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39. W.H. St John Hope, 'The Architectural History of the Cluniac Priory of St Pancras at Lewes', *The Archaeological Journal* 41 (1884), p. 4.
40. See J. King, *op. cit.* in note 7 above, note 64.

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The Hospital or Priory or Free Chapel of St John the Baptist in Hungerford

by NORMAN HIDDEN

Early documentary evidence refers to the hospital of St John in Hungerford, sited on an island on the borders of Wiltshire and Berkshire. Changes in the usage of this institution and its decline and fall as a self-supporting unit are traced. Consideration is given to the nature of its chaplaincy appointments. The history of its lands and tenements following the dissolution is detailed, with particular reference to the site of the priory itself. Nothing of the original building now remains, but archaeological exploration might reveal more information.

For many centuries the parish of Hungerford in the diocese of Sarum lay partly in Wiltshire and partly in Berkshire. Until 1895 the entire tithing of Charnham Street was in the county of Wiltshire, including the rural manors of South Standen, North Standen, and Hopgrass as well as the thriving urban portion of Charnham Street itself which is today an indistinguishable part of the town of Hungerford. In addition small sections of the southern tithing of Sandon Fee including some land in the vicinity of Bagshot were also in Wiltshire. These areas were transferred to Berkshire in 1895. In the transfer of 1895 Leverton, which had always belonged to the Wiltshire parish of Chilton Foliat, was transferred to the civil parish of Hungerford, but remained in Chilton for ecclesiastical purposes.[1]

In this sprawling and complex parish, spanning the two counties, there were in the Middle Ages a corresponding number of religious places or institutions in addition to the parish church of St Lawrence. These places included two chapels in rural North and South Standen respectively, two chantries within the parish church itself; and on the very northern edge of the town, as the main road led out to turn westwards along Charnham Street in Wiltshire was the hospital of St John the Baptist.

The date of the hospital's foundation is not known, but in May 1232 King Henry III issued letters of protection to 'the house and brethren of the hospital of St John the Baptist in Hungerford'.[2] Six months later two further letters of protection were issued simultaneously by the king, one for Richard 'chaplain of St John' and the other for 'the leprous sisters' of the church of St Lawrence.[3]

During the three centuries or more from its foundation to its dissolution the hospital was variously referred to as hospital, priory, and free chapel. The establishment and organisation of a hospital was one of the functions of medieval religious orders; and because the hospital was run by members of a religious order it became a cell of that order and so entitled a 'priory'. Having an existence independent of the parish church, and thus able to perform such functions as holding divine service within its own buildings or chapel, it was, in the later years of its existence especially, called a free chapel. Correspondingly the priest in charge was variously termed warden or custodian ('custos'), prior, chaplain, and incumbent. As early as 1380 the institution was described as a free chapel[4] and in the documents of various appointments made thereafter we read of hospital and free chapel indiscriminately, likewise of warden and chaplain. The terms prior and priory, however, seem to have dropped out of use except in such backward-looking phrases as 'the free chapel, late the priory of St John' and 'the free chapel of St John the Baptist, called a priory'.[5] Ironically it was the title of priory which survived after the Reformation and which remains in certain local instances today.

The function of the hospital was to provide lodging for 'poor, sick, and infirm persons'.[6] In this sense it represented an important aspect of medieval welfare. King, local manorial lord, and the religious all played their part in providing this service for the folk of the

1. *Victoria County History, Berkshire*, Vol. 4, ed. W. Page and P.H. Ditchfield (London, 1924), pp. 183–4.
2. *Cal. Pat. 1225–32*, p. 475.
3. Ibid.
4. E. Lodge and R. Somerville, *John of Gaunt's Register 1379–83*, I (London, 1937), p. 8.
5. Berks. R.O.: HM5/1; P.R.O.: REQ2/163/38.
6. *Cal. Pat. 1272–81*, p. 436.

vill. The royal letters patent were not only pledges of 'protection' against molestation, damage, or harm to the institution, but they also urged local magnates to contribute generously to the support of the hospital. The greatest local magnate was Simon de Montfort and it is possible that he may have been responsible for the original foundation of the hospital; whether this was so or not, he was its earliest known large benefactor. We know this only in a retrospective way for, after his death, the hundred rolls of 1275/6 record his omission to have obtained from the Crown a licence to alienate to the hospital certain of the lands, viz. half a carucate of land in Sandon, which he held of the king *in capite*.[7] In 1281 Prince Edmund, Simon's successor to the manor of Hungerford, issued a charter ratifying 'the grant in frankalmoin made by Simon de Montfort to the hospital and fraternity of St. John in Hungerford . . . of half a virgate of land formerly held by William le Broddere of him in villeinage in Sandon, with a meadow of his demesne near his stank [= fishpond] on the north side of Hungerford'.[8]

An entry in the Dean of Sarum's register of 1405 states that the hospital ('domus') of St John is established there and its high altar in the chapel was dedicated to St John the Baptist. The warden of the hospital received poor persons going out of town or coming into the town in times of necessity. Mass was said thrice weekly. The hospital had one carucate of glebe land, 2 acres of meadow and 6 cottages which provided a rent of 40 shillings p.a., as well as the oblations on St John the Baptist's day.[9] These oblations were encouraged or supplemented by the issue of occasional indulgences, such as that recorded in Bishop Mitford's register (2 May 1399) which promised 40 days' indulgence to all who contributed of their possessions to the maintenance of poor folk in the hospital of St John the Baptist in Hungerford or to the repair of its chapel.[10]

From the description given in this grant together with more detailed later references it is possible to identify the landholdings in question and also the site of the priory. As to the latter we have various evidences that it was at the entrance to the town, 'standing between the two waters coming from the Queen's mill', that is, between the two arms of the River Dun at the lower end of the present Bridge Street.[11] The northernmost of the two streams is described as 'compassing in the free chapel, late the priory of St. John's'.[12] Thus the hospital stood between the two waters just before their confluence. At that time there was no road bridge over the Dun; indeed the present bridge was built virtually upon the site of the priory itself. Travellers wishing to cross the Dun had to do so by means of the ford at the point of confluence. Going out of town this was from Hungerford into Charnham Street, from Berkshire into Wiltshire.

Thus the hospital was sited on an island of some two acres or so of meadow. Immediately to the south of the hospital, on the town side of the river's arm, was the town mill, where today a building on its site is named The Mill Hatch. Immediately to the north and west, above the northern arm of the stream, was – and still is – the Bear Inn in Charnham Street, then in the manor of Hopgrass and in the county of Wiltshire. Eastward lay Eddington bridge over the River Kennet. It was in this area at the extreme northern end of the town that Simon de Montfort's meadow and fishpond lay, so conveniently for the hospital and its inmates.

Deponents in an inquisition in 1576 stated that there were three tenements belonging to the chapel, each with its own backside and garden, lying 'between the two waters' which came from the Queen's mill and are 'against Charnham Street'. To these tenements were attached three half acres of meadow 'shooting east and west, the Queen's [mill] pound to the south'.[13] One of the tenements had been destroyed by fire and the other two were occupied by Edward Collins, a local clothier, and 'one Whityng'. One deponent in the inquiry referred to the chapel house, and another stated that he could remember the chantry priest saying mass there some fifty years previously. Yet another stated that 'he hath known the said chapel these forty years past' and described it as being in Hungerford and in Charnham Street.[14] It is not clear, however, when the deponents refer to the chapel whether they are referring to a particular building or to the tenements as a whole.

In addition to the three island tenements which certainly by the sixteenth century, and probably a great deal earlier in fact, were being leased to bring in rental income, the chapel had other lands which provided it with income. One valuable piece of land, being water meadow, lay between the Dun and the foot of Eddington bridge.[15] It consisted of 2 acres and

7. *Rotuli Hundredorum* I (Record Commission, 1812), p. 19.
8. *Cal. Pat. 1272–81*, p. 436.
9. T.C.B. Timmins, *The Register of John Chandler, Dean of Salisbury 1404–1417* (Devizes, 1984), p. 83.
10. Wilts. R.O.: D1/2/6 f. 140.
11. P.R.O.: E178/2848.
12. Berks. R.O.: HM5/1.
13. P.R.O.: E178/2848.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.

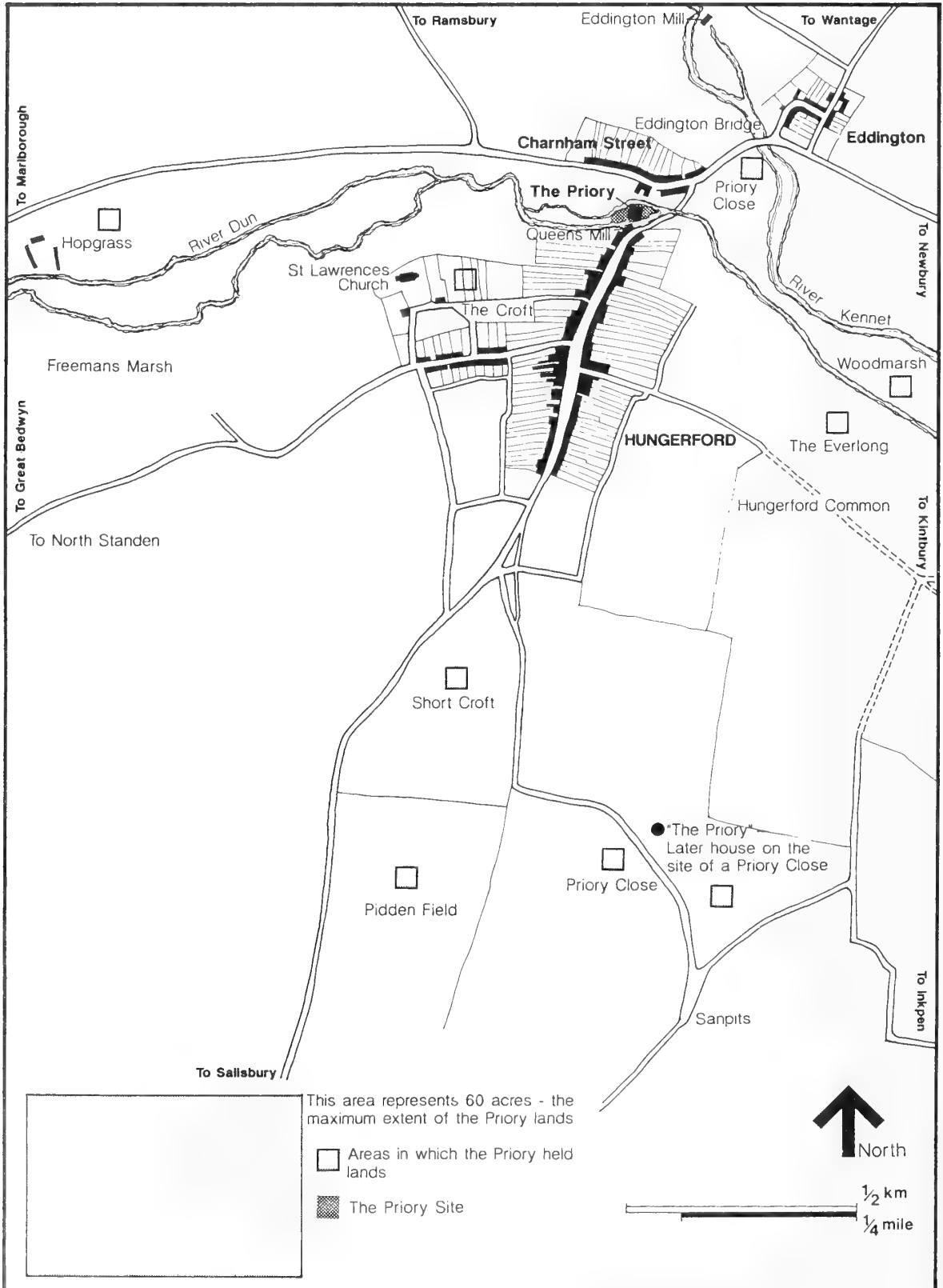


Figure 1. Map of late medieval–18th century Hungerford showing place names mentioned in the text

was described as Priory Close, a name to be found as late as the 1676 town rent roll.[16]

This Priory Close at the northern end of the town, however, is not to be confused with four other priory closes which lay beyond the southern end of the town in Sandon Fee. All deponents in the 1576 inquisition agree that these closes were 'in several'; that is, individually rather than communally farmed, each piece being enclosed rather than in strips. The land was arable and there was a wood alongside the hedgerows of the land. As one witness deposes that these priory closes were 'at Sanpits', it is interesting to note that sand pits are marked on the Enclosure Award map of 1819 at the junction of the Inkpen and Sanham Green roads.[17] On the same map two large enclosures there are marked as St John's Priory lands. Estimates given by four witnesses in 1576 as to the total area of these lands vary from 11 acres to 16 acres.[18]

These priory closes in Sandon Fee are quite clearly all, or part of, the half carucate or half virgate of land in Sandon Fee which Simon de Montfort granted for the hospital's maintenance. From these closes the modern mansion there called The Priory took its name. It is a tribute to the strength of local tradition that lands at opposite ends of the town possessed by the vanished priory should thus retain their name for so many centuries.

The existence of lands or other tenements owned by the priory may also be traced through a series of town rentals and surveys from *c.*1470 onwards. These documents concern themselves only with properties in the town and in Sandon Fee; thus they do not include some priory properties lying outside this area. On the other hand they do indicate burgages and their buildings owned by the priory which lie along the town's main street. The earliest of these rentals (which internal evidence suggests as *c.* 1470) lists the 'prior or warden' of St John's as holding three tenements in the town, consisting in each case of three-quarters of a burgage.[19] Lands of the priory which fall outside the rental or survey are indicated in part by incidental references in a 1513 terrier of the rectory of Hungerford. There are six occasions in this terrier on which priory lands are mentioned as bordering on rectory lands.[20] These priory lands adjacent to rectory lands are to be found in or near Pidden field (two references), Shortcroft, Woodmarsh, the Everlong, Inkpen field, and bounding on some land of William Curr (this latter would seem to be one of the Sandon priory closes).

At the dissolution of chantries and hospitals in 1547 the entire bloc of lands of the chapel of St John was acquired on lease from the Crown by Sir John Thynne.[21] In the 1552 survey of Hungerford, therefore, the former St John's property is listed in his name rather than that of the priory. It consisted of a close by the river containing one rood and tenanted by Robert Brabant, keeper of the Bear Inn; one tenement, with 'le poke' (that is, a pocket of land) next to the mill pound; two market stalls; and a tenement late in the tenure of one Jennings.[22]

Some suspicion must have existed that the full extent of Thynne's property had not been revealed, for in 1576 the Crown appointed a commission to 'inquire into the lands, tenements and hereditaments and their annual value belonging or pertaining to the free chapels of Chalfield and St. John's in Hungerford within the counties of Berks and Wilts, viz. where, how, and in what place or places in particular they are situate, their size and boundaries, and in whose tenure and occupation they are'.[23] Among the various depositions, some of which have already been quoted briefly, that of Richard Curr is the most comprehensive and the most detailed. Aged 70, he declared that he had known the chapel for forty years 'for that [his] father had occupied the same for many years'. From his evidence the lands may be itemised as follows:

i) three tenements (one destroyed by fire) and their gardens, one and a half acres of meadow adjacent to them, these tenements and meadow located within the two arms of the river, as already described; ii) an enclosed meadow plot of about two acres stretching from the Dun to the foot of Eddington bridge; iii) the four 'priory' closes in Sandon Fee; iv) land within Hungerford, viz. 3 acres in the Everlong, ½ acre in Church Croft 'under the parsonage hedge', and three half acres in Woodmarsh; v) land in Charnham Street and Hopgrass; vi) six acres in Inkpen field; vii) lands in Sandon Fee in some six common fields there. Altogether Curr details some 60 acres of land, including arable, pasture, and meadow.

The income from these lands formed the basis of the chaplain's stipend. In 1547 this amounted to £4 8*s.* 0*d.* (the amount had probably remained fixed through the centuries) which after payment of 8 shillings as 'the king's tenth' gave an annual sum of £4

16. Berks. R.O.: H/FR 1.
17. Berks. R.O.: T/M109.
18. P.R.O.: E178/2848.
19. P.R.O.: D43/1/4.
20. St George's, Windsor, MS XV.31.61.
21. P.R.O.: REQ2/163/38.
22. P.R.O.: DL42/108.
23. P.R.O.: E178/2848.

net.[24] From this sum repairs also had to be deducted, a burden which led to complaints about the prior's neglect of the defectiveness of the chapel roof in 1409, a fault clearly not seen to for in 1412 it is reported that the whole chapel was ruinous and the chaplain an absentee.[25]

Bearing in mind that whereas £4 p.a. may have been an adequate income in the mid-thirteenth century, this amount would have been considerably eroded by inflation two centuries later and even more so by the mid-sixteenth century. The question thus arises as to the viability of the chaplaincy and the nature of the appointments to this post. Who appointed the chaplains, and what kind of men were they?

Although Dugdale's *Monasticon* lists the hospital under the Augustinian order,[26] the chapel is known to have been in its early days under the peculiar jurisdiction of the Abbot of Bec in Normandy. This alien Abbey had been granted lands in Hungerford by Robert Earl of Leicester and his son Waleran in the early part of the twelfth century. Its estate included the parish church of St Lawrence, along with the rectory manor, together with chapels in Standen and Shalbourne. All these came under the jurisdiction of the Abbey's proctor who was prior of Ogbourne.[27] As rector the Abbey presented its own nominee to the vicarage of Hungerford, and it is likely that this occurred also with the chapel of St John,[28] subject of course to the rights of its patron.

Indeed one may suspect that the early vicars of Hungerford may also have doubled up as chaplains of the hospital. This may have happened as early as 1232, for the second of the letters of protection refers to Richard 'chaplain of St. John' and we know that there was also a Richard who was vicar of Hungerford during the period 1220–1238.[29] There is also an entry in Latin in the extent of Ogbourne Priory which records income from tenements and land in respect of 'the cantarist in the free chapels viz. Nicholas Gaudin perpetual vicar of Hungerford prior of St. John of Hungerford . . . '.[30] Whether these three posts were held by one person or more may depend, however, on an interpretation of the non-existent punctuation of the entry.

This extent was drafted at the command of the king who, in view of the war with France, wished to take into his control the possessions of all alien priories. From 1294 onwards a series of royal confiscations of alien priories occurred during the Anglo-French wars and the prior of Ogbourne was allowed to retain the Abbey's property only on payment of a large annual farm or rent. At the same time effective communication between the mother house of Bec in Normandy and their proctor in Wiltshire became less and less possible. In these circumstances control of the hospital of St John and its appointments virtually passed from the Abbey's hands and settled in those of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The earliest patron, as we have seen, was Simon de Montfort; and this patronage descended with the manor of Hungerford through the Earls of Leicester to the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1327 the manor of nearby North Standen also became a part of the Duchy.[31] There was a free chapel in North Standen and from this time on the incumbencies of the priory and of the North Standen chapel were frequently held by the same priest. A letter dated 25 June 1372 from John of Gaunt in London to his local steward deals with the chapel of North Standen and is valuable for the light it casts on appointments.[32] The following is a more or less literal translation from the Norman-French in which it was written:

> John by the grace of God etc. to our well-beloved Walter Haywood our steward in the counties of Wilts and Berks greeting. Whereas of our special grace and love we have given to our well-beloved William Goldyng the wardenship (*la garde*) of the chapel or chantry of our manor of Standen, which is vacant and in our gift, and to have the wardenship of the said chapel or chantry with all the rights and appurtenances belonging thereto as in our letters patent is more fully set forth; and *because we do not properly know if the said chapel or chantry be under the jurisdiction of the bishop of these parts or not*, we wish and command that you make enquiries concerning the truth of this; and if you should find that the jurisdiction of the same chapel or chantry as to institution and induction belongs and should so belong to the bishop, that you certify us of this under your seal, returning to us these our letters with the certificate aforesaid; and if you should find that

24. P.R.O.: E301/51.
25. Timmins, op. cit., pp. 247, 377.
26. Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* VI (2) (London, 1830), p. 753.
27. M. Morgan, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1968), p. 139.
28. Ibid.
29. B.L.: Harl. MS 50.I.46.
30. B.L.: Add. MS 6164.
31. *V.C.H. Berks.* IV, 194.
32. Sir A. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt's Register 1372–76* (London, 1911), p. 432.

the right belongs to our officers and servants in these parts and is our gift to put the one who will have the wardenship of the said chapel or chantry in possession thereof, that then the said William be put in full possession of the aforesaid chapel or chantry without further delay; and all this provided always that the chaplain who by the said William will be found shall sing each week on Sundays Tuesdays Fridays and Saturdays in the said chapel of Standen and the remainder of the week in Hungerford. Dated at the Savoy 26 June 1372.

The letter reveals the uncertainty that existed concerning the rights of the Bishop of Salisbury in relation to the chapel (an uncertainty due perhaps to the claims of the Abbey of Bec which held a peculiar jurisdiction as far as both North Standen and Hungerford were concerned). It is of interest too that the roles of warden and chaplain are so clearly revealed. As to the prospective chaplain having to sing in Standen on Sundays, Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays and in Hungerford on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, this seems to indicate that his appointment would include *both* chapels. Certainly this was so in 1380 when William Goldyng resigned as warden of St John's in Hungerford and his successor was appointed by John of Gaunt to act as warden of both the chapels in that same year.[33]

In 1399 in the last months of the reign of Richard II John Frank, who was a king's clerk, was appointed to the chaplaincy of 'the house or hospital of St. John' and in another appointment of the same year as 'parson or warden of the free chapel of Standen'.[34] A king's clerk was a clerk employed by the king in some department of the administration or household, and beneficed by the king. Frank's double appointment was clearly a sinecure. Because Frank had been presented in March 1399 by letters patent of Richard II, Richard's fall in September of that year necessitated ratification of his appointment by letters patent of Henry IV dated 14 October.[35] It is clear, however, from the issue of the patent under the royal seal that Richard had taken over the Duchy's 'right' of presentation. This had been restored to the Duchy by 1408.

In 1408 following the resignation of John Frank, John Orum was presented by the Duchy of Lancaster to the chaplaincy of both the free chapel of St John and that of Standen.[36] John Orum was the archdeacon of Barnstaple who in 1411 received a papal dispensation enabling him to hold various offices including 'the wardenship of the hospital of St. John, Hungerford, and the free chapel of Standen, which are without cure', for seven years.[37] In similar fashion in 1436 John Lane 'who is chaplain and continual member of the household of John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England', received a dispensation to hold several offices, including that of 'the free chapel of Hungerford', for a period of seven years, the value [of the chapel] not to exceed £5 p.a.[38] In 1458 the Chancery Rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster record the grant of the wardenship to John Crecy. That this appointment too was a sinecure is revealed by the Dean's Visitation of 1463 at which 'prior' John Crecy did not appear.[39] It was therefore decreed that he should be cited to appear at Salisbury to show his title and to justify the rents and profits of the hospital in the light of its ineffectiveness and on account of its need for repair. In 1467 Thomas Gray was presented to the chapel of St John by the Duchy.[40] In 1483 John Pennyngton was appointed by Richard III.[41] This latter appointment does not appear in R. Somerville's 'Duchy of Lancaster Presentations 1399–1485'. Somerville, who lists in this period Orum, Crecy, and Gray, makes the point that their presentations were made under the Duchy seal and since they were not strictly speaking Crown presentations, therefore they did not appear on the Crown patent rolls. It would seem, however, that in his presentation of Pennyngton Richard III followed the precedent of his earlier royal namesake.

There is no reference to the hospital or to its chaplain in the Visitations made by Dean John Davidson in 1480 and 1485.[42] It is possible that after 1485 the post was not so much an old fashioned sinecure as something which had become merged with one of the local chantries; this may have been the case with John Sharpe, Holy Trinity chantry chaplain from 1490 to 1544, whom one elderly deponent in 1576 remembered as having said mass in the priory chapel some fifty years earlier.[43]

The decay of the functions of the one-time hospital is well illustrated by a court case which followed the

33. Lodge and Somerville, op. cit., I, pp. 8, 427.
34. *Cal. Pat. 1396–99*, p. 570.
35. *Cal. Pat. 1399–1401*, p. 5.
36. Timmins, op. cit., p. 463.
37. *Cal. Papal Letters 1404–1415*, VI.300.
38. *Cal. Papal Letters 1427–47* VIII.588.
39. Salisbury Cath. Newton Register, f. 149–150.
40. R. Somerville, 'Duchy of Lancaster Presentations 1399–1485', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research* 18 (1940), p. 52.
41. B.L.: Harl. MS 433.
42. Salisbury Cath. MS 189 ff. 46, 97b–f.
43. P.R.O.: E178/2848.

death in 1516 of Edmund Wilkinson, a former rector of Ham in Wiltshire.[44] This was when Joan Sowter instituted a suit in the Court of Requests against Robert Heyward.[45] Sowter was the niece and executrix of the last will and testament of Sir Edmund Wilkinson 'late incumbent of the hospital of St. John's in Hungerford'.[46] In the course of the suit she claims that Wilkinson at some time before his death let the chapel for his own lifetime to Robert Heyward. Heyward had paid the rent for the premises and on Wilkinson's death duly handed them over to Joan Sowter. The question at issue concerned dilapidations, both parties claiming the other to be responsible, the new incumbent having claimed 42 marks for this purpose from widow Sowter, who in turn claimed from Robert Heyward. The claim for reparations included not only the chapel itself but also 'all the houses, barns, stables and other offices' belonging to it.

The suit also appeared in the Court of Chancery where it was stated that the lease had become the property of Robert Hakins, a gentleman of the King's Chapel, and the Dean of the Chapel had claimed the cost of the reparations, which Joan Sowter paid and was now claiming from Robert Heyward.[47] The King's Chapel is presumably that of St George's, Windsor, which had acquired the spiritualities of the Abbey of Bec in 1421.[48] Along with the rectory and tithes of Hungerford, the Dean and Chapel of St George's, Windsor, acquired under their jurisdiction the chapel of St John. Robert Heyward was a local Hungerford merchant[49] and in his acquisition of a lease to the property, including the chapel, we see to what secular uses the chapel was being put, even prior to dissolution. It no longer existed as a hospital; and it no longer had any cell of religious attached to it. Divine service which, as we have seen, by 1372 had been reduced to thrice weekly, in the sixteenth century had dwindled to a token mass once a year on St John the Baptist's day; and even this, we are told, at the time of the dissolution was no longer observed 'by reason that one John Thynne a layman is incumbent there'.[50] Another indication that the chapel was not in use at that date (1547) is the fact reported by the commissioners that it possessed no ornaments or furnishings.[51]

The chapel was accordingly dissolved and its property passed to the Crown. The Crown immediately leased it to Sir John Thynne (who had already had his foot in the door so to speak) for the term of his life, reserving a yearly rent of 12 shillings to the Crown.[52] He granted a sub-lease to Robert Brabant of Charnham Street in 1560 at a rent of £5 p.a. On Brabant's death the sub-lease passed to his widow who married Henry Edes, and after Edes' death in 1577 to William Curteis, all in Thynne's lifetime.[53] On 19 July 1574 there was a grant in fee simple by the Crown to Drew Drewrye and Edmund Downinge of the reversions and rents of a miscellaneous list of properties scattered all over the country, including 'the free chapels of Chalfield and St. John's in Hungerford'.[54] Drewrye and Downinge were London middlemen whose function was to convey various parts of the grant to local purchasers. After further transactions the reversion of the lease of St John's on Thynne's death was acquired by Anthony Hidden of Great Hidden farm in or about 1576.[55]

Thynne died in 1580 and the lease reverted accordingly to Anthony Hidden, who died in 1591. In 1610 Roger Hidden, youngest son of Anthony, was offered £400 for the property,[56] but this sale fell through, to be replaced by one to a London businessman, Thomas Price.[57] In the Hungerford town survey of 1609 there are two entries detailing this property. The first entry states that the free chapel and its lands (50½ acres, viz. 16 acres pasture, 4½ acres meadow, the residue arable) were held in the tenure of Henry Windsor at a quit rent of 22*d*. The second entry states that Henry Windsor held from Robert Roberts two tenements with one acre of meadow in the backside, paying as quit rent for them 4*d*; also 4*d*. for a plot behind the mill; and 2*d*. for 'the marsh'. The first entry is among those on the east side of the town and represents the meadow plot there near Eddington bridge together with the lands in Sandon Fee; the second entry is for property on the west side[58] and represents the tenements on the 'island'. There is a third entry for the remaining tenement south of the island (that which was formerly tenanted by Jennings, see *supra* p. 99) tenanted by Henry Atkins, 'parcel of the priory from Robert Roberts' quit rent 6*d*.' There

44. P.R.O.: SP46/45 f. 71.
45. P.R.O.: REQ2/10/196.
46. P.R.O.: PCC PROB 11/19.
47. P.R.O.: C1/571 f. 38.
48. *Cal. Pat. 1416–22*, 441.
49. P.R.O.: PCC PROB 11/21.
50. P.R.O.: E301/51.
51. Ibid.
52. P.R.O.: E318/2338.
53. P.R.O.: REQ2/163/38.
54. P.R.O.: C66/1111 m. 42; *Cal. Pat. 1572–75*, p. 232.
55. P.R.O.: REQ2/163/38.
56. P.R.O.: C2/142/6.
57. P.R.O.: CP25(2)/272/East 8 Jas I.
58. Berks. R.O.: H/M8.

can be little doubt that all three lots at this time belonged to or were being held in trust for Roger Hidden, whose stepfather Robert Roberts of Salisbury seems to have managed the property for him during his minority.

The authoritative foot of fine in the Roger Hidden–Thomas Price transaction described the property as consisting of three messuages, 42 acres of [arable] land, 6 acres of meadow, and 20 acres of pasture. Although this is larger than in the 1609 survey, it corresponds more or less with the evidence given to the 1576 commission. The reason for the apparent difference is that the town survey does not include items v and vi (see p. 99 *supra*) since these were outside the area covered by the survey.

Price may have been acting on behalf of Dr Thomas Sheaff, rector of Welford and, later, canon of St George's, Windsor. Sheaff played an active part in the affairs of the town and may have had some idea of using the property, or at least a part of it, for the benefit of the townsmen. Certainly he gave to the town the ½ acre of 'priory' land in Church Croft as a site for the building of a school house.[59] It is possible, though not proven, that the two acres of meadow on the east side near Eddington bridge may have been given to the town also, perhaps to provide an income for what became known as Sheaff's charity.

In 1612 Sheaff sold the separate priory tenement (nowadays the site of no. 9 Bridge Street and the Methodist chapel attached to it) to Henry Atkins the sitting tenant, a local glover. From that date on the history of the house may be traced through its existing deeds. Although the major part of an earlier building was demolished to allow for the building of the Methodist chapel in 1864, a portion of the earlier building remains as No. 9 Bridge Street.[60]

The remaining priory tenements, i.e. those which had existed on the island between the two arms of the River Dun, seem to have remained in Sheaff's possession until his death in 1640 when they descended to his son Grindall.[61] There are today three dwelling houses which stand on the probable site of these tenements, nos. 3, 3a, and 4 Bridge Street, where a stone bridge crosses both the island and the two arms of the river. In the eighteenth century nos. 3 and 3a constituted one building, being converted into two dwellings in 1812. The deeds of this building (or these dwellings) go back to 1723 and include an indenture of 1745 which describes the building as 'little' Priory house; and they refer to a house on the building's

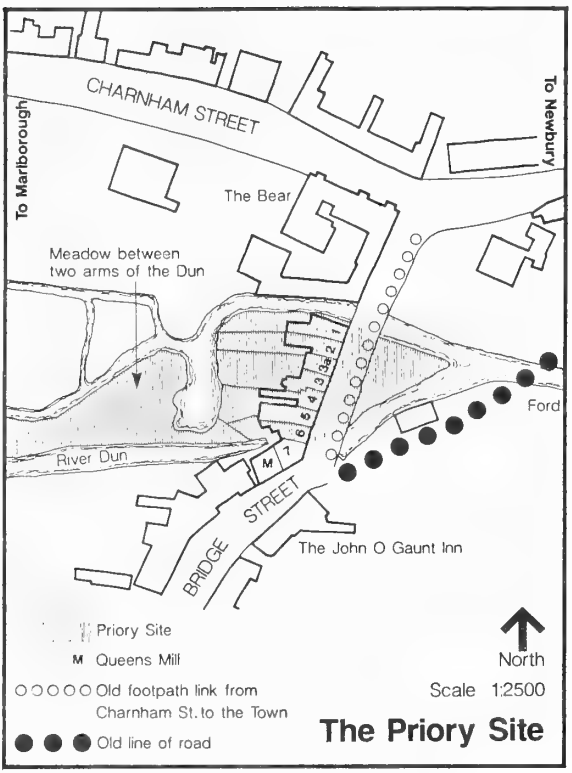


Figure 2

south side (= no. 4), occupied by Thomas Pike, as 'the great Priory house'.[62] The reasons for these appellations are not known. Certainly today no. 4 is smaller in size and structure than the combined nos. 3 and 3a. Nevertheless some special distinction seems to have attached to the house on the site of no. 4, for in the town survey of 1753 it is this house, occupied by Thomas Pike, and not its neighbour, which is called 'the Priory house'.

It is likely that rebuilding occurred early in the eighteenth century, which resulted in the erection of houses today numbered 3, 3a and 4 Bridge Street. Whether the rebuilding included any portion at all of the pre-existing buildings is not known, nor indeed whether they are on the exact site of them. At this period of probable rebuilding there was no stone bridge and no carriage road where Bridge Street now runs; the carriage route in and out of the town swerved eastwards along the southern arm of the Dun to the streams' confluence where carts splashed through the water over a gravel-bottomed ford.

59. Berks. R.O.: H/TQ2.
60. Deeds *pene* Methodist Church, Newbury Circuit.
61. P.R.O.: PCC PROB 11/182.
62. Deeds *pene* owner of 3 & 3a Bridge St, Hungerford.

Nevertheless, it seems most probable that a footpath ran from what is now High Street direct into Charnham Street, crossing the southern stream at or near the mill by means of a wooden bridge and crossing the northern stream at the rear of the Bear. Any such footpath would presumably pass by the Priory tenements. It cannot however be asserted unequivocally either that the footpath ran exactly along the line of the present day Bridge Street or that the early priory tenements stood precisely where nos. 3, 3a, and 4 Bridge Street now stand.

The picture is further confused because at some time in the eighteenth century a stone bridge was built to continue the old High Street across the two streams. This section became known as Lower High Street and later as Bridge Street. W.H. Summers suggests[63] that the stone bridge was built in 1740, basing this on an entry in the Constable's Accounts of £27 3*s*. 3*d*. 'for building a cart bridge next to Charnham Street'. It seems therefore from the reference to 1723 in the deeds of 'little Priory House' that the priory buildings along the line of present day Bridge Street existed before the stone bridge; and that to be on this line there must have been an existing footpath which was served by two footbridges. We therefore may feel reasonably confident that in looking at the houses nos. 3, 3a and 4 on the west frontage of Bridge Street we are looking at the most likely site of the old priory. It is not known whether any priory buildings or activities (other than cultivation) occurred on the small triangle of land on the east side of the bridge where a War Memorial now stands.

As one of Hungerford's most fully documented ancient areas the site of the hospital or chapel or priory of St John might be considered well worth some archaeological exploration.

Acknowledgement: I am indebted to Mr John Brooks for drafting the maps illustrative of the places mentioned in this article.

63. W.H. Summers, *The Story of Hungerford* (London, 1926), p. 150.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 105–117

New Light on Christ of the Trades and Other Medieval Wall-paintings at St Mary's, Purton

by JOHN EDWARDS

While the subjects of the wall-paintings now to be seen in Purton Church are not in themselves novel, it is suggested in this paper – the first to deal with all of them in article form – that some of them offer opportunities for new interpretations. Thus, the Christ of the Trades painting enables a new contribution to be made to the long controversy about the significance of this subject, while the painting comprising a Noli Me Tangere, Angel-musicians, and a Soul-Weighing is so unusual a combination of subjects that their conjunction must have been intentional; a possible explanation is suggested.

THE CHURCH

St Mary's Church, Purton, is a kilometre south of the modern village and dates back to the twelfth century. It has been described in great detail by C.E. Ponting, the then Diocesan Surveyor and Architect (1887, 229–237). The church is notable for having both a western tower and a central one, which latter is surmounted by a spire.

THE WALL-PAINTINGS

General History

In England, wall-paintings of a Christian nature date from the fourth-century examples formerly in the Roman villa at Lullingstone, Kent, and now in the British Museum. Religious wall-paintings mainly flourished from the twelfth to the early sixteenth century, though the development of church architecture during that period left less and less need for the load-bearing walls which provided the spaces for wall-paintings, so that more and more emphasis came to be placed on stained glass. The subjects of the wall-paintings were deemed to be incompatible with the Reformed religion, and the paintings were thereafter for the most part covered with whitewash. Apart from being, by their very concealment, vulnerable to any major alteration of the church fabric, the wall-paintings remained comparatively unscathed under successive coats of whitewash until the great nineteenth-century upsurge of church 'restoration', in which they were liable to be destroyed as an incidental part of the removal of the plaster on which they were painted, in the mistaken belief, propagated by the Camden Society, founded in 1839 (Betjeman 1980, 109), that this restored the walls to their original condition. Where this did not take place, the paintings were at almost as much risk from the ill-effects of misguided conservation techniques, some of which unfortunately persisted into the present century.

The Wall-paintings at Purton

Reference may be made to the Plan for the locations of the various wall-paintings described below.

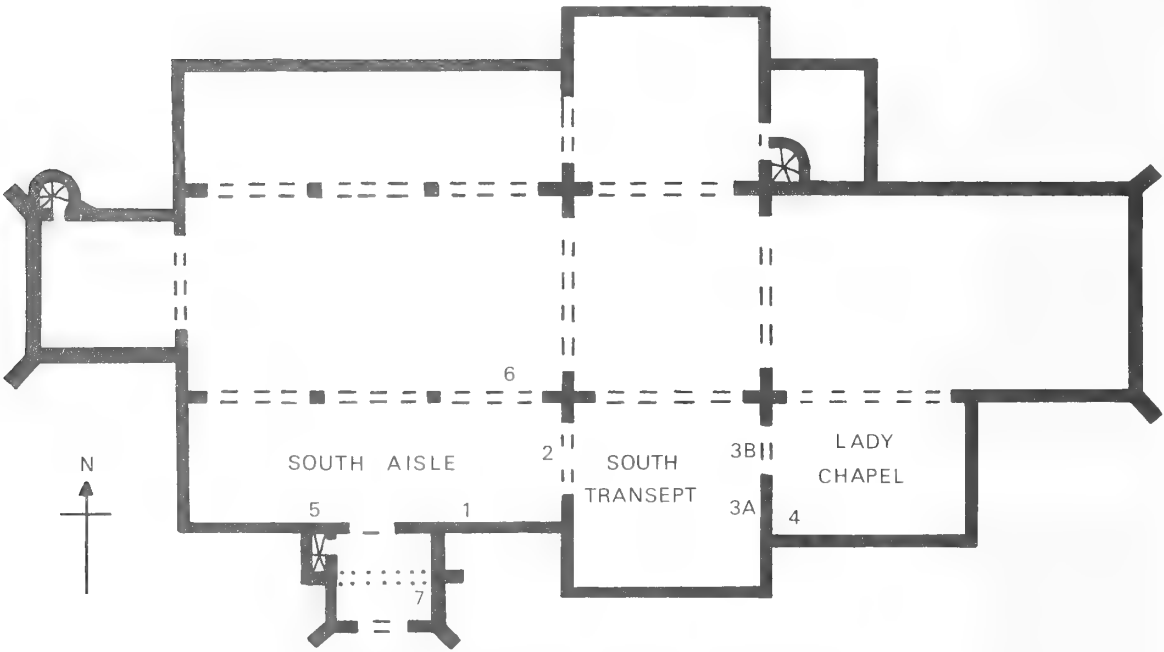
CHRIST OF THE TRADES (Figure 1)

This wall-painting is on the south wall of the south aisle, immediately to the east of the south door. It is a large painting readily identifiable as an example of that strange subject in medieval wall-painting known as Christ of the Trades, or of the Implements. Unfortunately, this one is encroached upon from both sides: to the west, where it is partially covered by an enormous Royal Arms of George III, and to the east, where it has probably suffered from an enlargement at some time of the adjoining window. The subject is by no means uncommon, and examples are to be found locally at Oaksey (Goddard 1935–37, 633–5) and Ampney St Mary, Gloucestershire (Tristram 1917, 135–140 and Baker 1946–48, 365–373). None of these three villages is more than 15 kilometres away from each other.

General Characteristics

The typical elements of a Christ of the Trades painting have been described by Professor E.W. Tristram thus (1955, 121):

> Christ is depicted, not enthroned as in the Doom, but standing, almost always with arms upraised, to display the wounds in the palms of



Plan of St Mary's Church, Purton showing the locations of the various wall-paintings, numbered to correspond with the figure numbers used in the text. (Not to scale)

> the hands, as was usual in a Doom. The wounds in the feet are visible and also that in the side, since the figure is clad only in a loin-cloth. Around the Body are tools of different kinds. They are sometimes arranged as a 'glory' about the head . . . almost invariably they also encircle the entire figure, which they sometimes seem intended to pierce at the edges . . . all surviving English examples of the subject are of a poor type, and so were hastily executed in return for low pay.

Tristram's Interpretation

Before giving a detailed description of the Purton painting it may be as well to try to summarise the controversy as to the general significance of Christ of the Trades paintings. Though Tristram is invariably quoted as the first to deal with the interpretation of this subject, he was in fact preceded by J.C. Wall ([1914], 200, 201) who regarded it as:

> The Consecration of Labour – In medieval times the truth that 'To Labour is to Pray' was fully recognised, and the dedication of manual work to the Saviour, and its consecration by Him, found expression in painting various implements of labour, and implements produced by labour. In many of these paintings these objects are clustered round the wounded Christ and the blood from His pierced hands flows over saws, hammers, and other articles.

Wall then gave descriptions of various examples, and opined that they were 'probably the offerings of guilds'. He also anticipated Tristram by perceiving that such paintings were confined to 'village churches' where little money would be available. Tristram's main advance on Wall was to attempt to link the Christ of the Trades with William Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* (*c.* 1362). Langland dreamt that, as Tristram put it (1917, 135), 'he saw Christ in the person of Piers Plowman, a labourer working and suffering amongst his fellows, and the moral he draws is that in honest work a man shall find his salvation.' In transposing this concept into the terms of a wall-painting Tristram argued that 'clearly the painter has wished to convey the idea of the analogy of Christ's suffering and crucifixion to the life of the labourer . . . this analogy is precisely the theme of "Piers Plowman".' Basing his case largely on the late fourteenth century Christ of the Trades wall-painting at Ampney St Mary, Tristram even relied on the

comparative nearness of that village to the Malvern hills, where Langland's dream took place (1917, 136). He went on to comment on a painting adjoining the Christ of the Trades at Ampney St Mary, which he described as showing that 'the labourers [carrying distaffs] gain the reward of their labour and are received into heaven by St. Peter and a choir of angels', though as to the saint 'a portion of a nimbus and triple crown [is] all there is left to identify him' (1917, 139). Though Tristram gave no authority for his conclusion that the labourers were going to heaven he was by no means unaware of foreign parallels, and had earlier (1917, 135) referred to a 'Last Judgement at Ramersdorf in Germany painted nearly two centuries before Langland wrote his *Vision* [where] an angel unlocks the door of heaven for the blessed, who carry in their hands the tools of their labour (a hammer, hook, scythe, wheel and flail)'. These views Tristram subsequently reiterated in a book written in collaboration with Professor T. Borenius (1927, 29–35). Since then, apart from Goddard on the Oaksey example (1935–37, 632–6) and R. Riggenbach, writing on the example at Ormalingen, in Switzerland, and quoted by Breitenbach and Hillmann (1937, 32), no subsequent writer on the subject has agreed with them.

The Counter-Arguments

This is not the place to attempt to summarise all the learned articles devoted to demolishing Tristram's arguments. Basically, however, they all rely on the discovery of a wall-painting of the early fifteenth century – and thus a little later than that at Ampney St Mary – at the church of San Miniato, in Florence, of a typical Christ of the Trades with the inscription (in the translation of the Revd E. Baker 1946–48, 372) 'He who does not keep Sunday holy and with devotion to Christ, God will consign him to eternal damnation'. This painting is illustrated in Breitenbach and Hillmann (1937, 25). There was also a drawing, with text, in the Casanata Library at Rome in an early fifteenth-century German MS, also illustrated as before (ibid. 29). All writers have since regarded paintings of Christ of the Trades as either:

a) a warning to Sabbath-breakers, who by using the tools of their trade on Sunday were wounding Christ afresh and thus imperilling their own souls; or

b) based on the German text, as an illustration of the concept that man's wickedness constituted on each occasion a fresh crucifixion of Christ, which in turn derives from Hebrews 6:6 (Baker 1946–48, 369, 371–373).

Tristram's Reply

Published posthumously, Tristram's reply appeared in 1955 (121–125) but, strangely, the writers of the only later books on English medieval wall-painting, A. Caiger-Smith (1963, 55–58) and Dr E. Clive Rouse (1980, 42) both continue to interpret Christ of the Trades as either a warning against Sabbath-breaking or an illustration of Christ's perpetual crucifixion, and have ignored Tristram's reply.

In it he claimed that 'in England at least there are no known examples of which it can be said with confidence that the intention was to show the tools cutting into the figure . . . ' (1955, 121). As to the foreign inscriptions on which so much reliance was placed, he quoted an English inscription at Fingringhoe, Essex, '"In omnia opera memento finis" – in all works remember the end – the true end, that is, of man', which seemed to Tristram to confirm 'that the idea emphasised in these paintings is that of labour, and of labour in some relation to Christ' (1955, 121). He was not prepared to concede any more than that some part of a Christ of the Trades might be intended 'to illustrate means whereby He may be wounded, as, for example, through Sabbath-breaking'. To regard Christ of the Trades as being devoted solely to warning against Sabbath-breaking was, however, 'too narrow an interpretation of it' (loc. cit.). Tristram quoted numerous authorities on the respect shown during the Middle Ages to honest labour (ibid., 123) and in particular a passage from *Piers Plowman* which seems to the present writer to come a little closer to equating Piers with 'a good verbal picture of a Christ of the Trades' (ibid., 124) than anything quoted in his original article of 1917, though still incompletely.

Thus Tristram in his reply left the discussion in a state of compromise: that if Christ of the Trades never solely represents a warning against Sabbath-breaking, so there may be cases where it does not solely represent the dignity of labour, nor have special reference to Piers Plowman.

The Purton Christ of the Trades

This painting (Figure 1) was not uncovered until after Tristram's death. It is incomplete in some respects, though not, as will appear, in the essentials to its interpretation. What is still (in 1988) visible of Christ is little more than an outline in red ochre, almost certainly the under-drawing. The rest of the painting is confined to a narrow band following the curve of the window to the east of it, though it has a background of solid red ochre against which the various objects are outlined in darker red or are sometimes coloured yellow. The present bottom edge of the painting cuts

Figure 1. Wall-painting on the south wall of the nave at St Mary's, Purton, of the Christ of the Trades

off the figure of Christ half-way down the thighs, though the original painting probably went down to the floor.

This Christ is by no means the emaciated figure depicted in some of the other paintings of this subject; indeed Breitenbach and Hillmann frequently refer to Him as the 'Man of Sorrows' (*'der Schmerzensmann'*) (1937, 23–36, *passim*). Instead, at Purton He has the torso of an athlete. With one exception, none of the crucifixion wounds can be precisely located, though in any event the curtailment of the painting is such that the left hand and both feet are no longer to be seen. The exception is the wounded right hand, which is thrust foward towards the spectator, the forearm and right hand being drawn in an exaggerated perspective, so that the forearm is elongated and the hand enlarged as if in anticipation of Mannerism, while the wound in the hand covers a much larger proportion of the palm than is normal in paintings of Christ at or after the crucifixion. There is no impression given that the point of the Purton painting is to show new wounds (if any) inflicted on Christ by medieval Sabbath-breakers, but rather one is left with the feeling that Christ Himself is emphasising to the spectator a particular wound caused by the crucifixion itself.

As to other aspects of the Christ, vestiges of a cruciferous nimbus (the prerogative of Members of the Trinity) can be seen to the left of His head. Though one cannot now be certain, there is a strong impression that He was originally portrayed as being beardless. Though no explanation of it is now possible, the fact should be recorded for the sake of completeness that at waist level on Christ's left there is something no doubt accidentally resembling a flattened face, probably originally one of the folds of the loin-cloth.

Not nearly so many tools can be identified as at Oaksey, for example, where Goddard counted 22 (1935–37, 634). Those that can be identified at Purton are, travelling upwards, shears with very long blades laid horizontally below Christ's right hand, while above it are clippers with short, wide, blades. Immediately above them is a wheel with a side which has studs in it, and out of its tyre two objects like mallets project. The axle is concealed by an upright no doubt containing the bearings on which the wheel rotated, and if driven by wind or water-power could have been used for some process needing continuous hammering. It is therefore a machine, rather than a tool, and it may well be that, as such, it is unique in paintings of this subject. The *St Mary, Purton, History and Guide* (Anon. 1982, 21, hereafter called 'the *Church Guide*'), which is, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, the only work in which this painting has hitherto been published, whimsically suggests that it is 'probably a medieval idea of a perpetual motion machine', but at least this confirms it to be a machine. The shaft of what is probably a hammer projects from behind Christ's right shoulder, while above it is an axe or chopper.

Above this level the tools cease, the next identifiable object being quite unexpected, namely, the remains of a pair of bare legs, from mid-thigh downwards. The right foot is clearly visible, and the left can still just be made out. A vestigial second pair of legs are just to the left of the first pair. These are all that can now be defined with any certainty of 'the bodies of men and women floating up' which were still visible when the *Church Guide* was written (1982, 21). Next above the legs are a pair of keys, though nowadays they would be regarded as 'blanks'. Beyond them the painting in its present state terminates in an old man, robed, with bushy hair at the side of his head, and wearing what is certainly a double tiara, if not a triple one, and a halo. He is holding out one of his arms. The affinity with Tristram's St Peter at Ampney St Mary, already mentioned, is irresistable even though, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, these are the only two paintings of Christ of the Trades in which the saint occurs. Moreover, there is much less doubt about the identification here, where he forms an integral part of the painting, whereas at Ampney he is separated from it by the south door of the church, so that the sceptical could claim that at Ampney he is part of an entirely different painting. Yet at Ampney Tristram had no doubt that these were the saved souls of labourers being received into heaven, although they were fully clothed, instead of being shown as nude, in accordance with the usual medieval convention for portraying souls. Moreover, St Peter's remains at Ampney were vestigial. The position is much stronger at Purton, where there are not only the keys, the supreme emblem of St Peter, and the tiara and halo, but also the pairs of bare legs in his presence, which can in this context be more reasonably presumed than at Ampney to belong to saved souls, depicted in the usual medieval convention. And at Ampney, the St Peter is separated from, and on the same level as, the Christ, whereas at Purton he is part of the same painting and is at the top of it, where one would expect heaven to be.

Conclusions

While he is glad to record Tristram's reply, the present writer has been convinced neither by the

analogy between Piers Plowman and Christ nor by the case for these paintings being a warning against Sabbath-breaking. In his view, the flaw in the latter argument is that it was not Christ but the Pharisees who regarded Sabbatarianism as inviolable. When they accused Christ Himself of Sabbath-breaking He did not deny it, but argued that there were circumstances where it was justifiable. Such are the passions aroused by strict Sabbatarianism that it was this reaction on His part which finally convinced the Pharisees that they had to consider 'how they might destroy him' (Matthew 12: 1–14).

Secondly, if, as at Purton, a Christ of the Trades includes, as an integral part of the composition, souls being received by St Peter, what becomes of the theory that it is a warning to Sabbath-breakers or other sinners? The souls at Purton cannot be dissociated from the rest of the painting, but if in fact they were those of sinners, how is it consistent to show them going to heaven? Since the souls are not shown as going to hell (which the medieval artist would have found much more interesting), is this not confirmation that the message of, at any rate, the Purton Christ of the Trades is the 'consecration', as Wall put it ([1914], 200), of honest labour? Moreover, to reach this conclusion it is not necessary to seek to draw analogies between Christ and Piers Plowman.

If these points have any substance, then the Christ of the Trades at Purton is of singular, and hitherto unrecognised, importance.

A NOLI ME TANGERE, ANGEL-MUSICIANS, AND A SOUL-WEIGHING (Figure 2)

This wall-painting is over the western side of the archway leading from the south aisle to the south transept, or St Nicholas chapel (Figure 2). The painting is noteworthy in that three subjects which would usually be treated separately are here, almost certainly uniquely, depicted in such close association that there is actual overlapping. The composition has therefore to be treated as a whole.

The Noli Me Tangere

Reading from the spectator's left, a kneeling woman is bending forward towards the right. Her hair is very long and descends on either side of her body in great waves. Only her right arm is visible and this is held forward as if in supplication. Only dark red ochre remains, probably the under-painting, particularly as her legs are to be seen, which would certainly not be the case in the finished painting. Confronting her is a man wearing a garment of the same red as hers which covers him from the waist downwards, but which leaves most of his chest bare; there is also a suggestion of a beard. He holds out his right arm to her. Between them, in the background, is a stylised tree. The pair of figures conform completely with the usual way of showing Mary Magdalene meeting the risen Christ in the garden, symbolised by the tree, as in the wall-paintings of this incident at Risby, Suffolk, and West Harnham. Confirmation is afforded by Christ's halo having gaps in it where the cross on it would have been originally, so as to form the cruciferous nimbus. The scene always depicts the precise moment when Mary first recognises Christ, Whom she had originally supposed to be the gardener (John 20: 16, 17) and is told 'Touch me not' (*Noli Me Tangere*). Why Christ should have rebuffed her in this way when He was later to command Thomas to do something as intimate as to thrust his hand into Christ's wounded side (John 20: 27) is perhaps strange. Réau thought that it all arose from a misunderstanding in the translation from Greek into Latin, and that the Greek verb meant more than merely to touch and referred to '*un contact prolongé*' (1957, vol. II. 2, 557). This is a rare subject among English medieval wall-paintings; Kendon refers to seven examples only, whereas there are 186 paintings of St Christopher (1923, Apps. II and III).

The Angel-Musicians

Immediately to the right of the *Noli Me Tangere* is a figure who slightly overlaps that of Christ and who is the first of a group of three angels playing musical instruments, all of which are of the plucked-string variety. This angel, who is standing, is playing something which may be of the lute family, perhaps a cittern, mentioned in Chaucer's contemporary *Miller's Tale* (Pollard 1926, 46, line 3333), though there spelt 'giterne'. The second angel, who is either sitting or kneeling – of necessity, because he comes at the highest point of the arch and so is nearest the ceiling – plays a small harp, shaped like a wishbone, possibly a psaltery; the 'gay sautrie', mentioned in the same work (ibid., 44, line 3213). The third angel is playing the same sort of instrument as the first, and is standing. They are all painted against a background of dark green, notwithstanding which their clothes all seem to have been originally painted in the same colour, though the feathers of their wings are white. Just as the first angel partially masks Christ, so the third angel partially overlaps the figure of a man, most of whose body is behind either the angel's wing or his own cloak, though part of a dark red garment can be seen below it. His features can still be seen and the shoulder-length hair is orange-coloured. He has no

Figure 2. Wall-painting over the arch leading from the south aisle to the south transept (reading from left to right) of the *Noli Me Tangere*, Angel-Musicians with a figure now suggested to be the donor, and the Soul-Weighing

wings, and the fact that he is not an angel is emphasised by the fact that he is wearing a hat. It has a brim and a low crown, with perhaps a buckle at the front of the hat-band. His inclusion is so incongruous that it can only be supposed that he is the donor. To the right of him and of the third angel the green background ends abruptly.

It may be of interest to add that the *Church Guide* mentions that 'Work revealed that [the angels] were superimposed on an earlier painting. . . . whoever painted the angels did not bother to make a fresh ground for his painting, but repainted directly on the painting underneath' (1982, 20). The medieval artist would have no qualms about this sort of procedure, and in the present case it may explain the dark background of this section of the composition.

The Soul-Weighing

The leading article on this is by Mary Perry (1912–13, 94–105; 208–218); it deals with the genesis of the concept in the religions of the ancient world, and so far as Christianity is concerned makes it clear that it was originally a process of impartial judgement on the Last Day of the balance of a soul's good and evil deeds, to decide whether it spent eternity in heaven or hell. Though Soul-Weighing may naturally form part of a Doom, as at Stowell, Gloucestershire, it is nowhere else shown in conjunction with a *Noli Me Tangere* and angels.

At Purton the figure of St Michael, one of whose duties was to carry out the weighing of souls at the Last Judgement, is on the extreme right of the painting as a whole. He now looks for the most part to be white in colour, with his white cloak outlined in yellow ochre. Only his upper garment, of which only a small part can be seen over the chest, together with the sleeves, is in dark red. The wings are also white, outlined in yellow, while his hair and the features are also yellow. The scales are, again, in yellow, and are dipped down to the left-hand side. The dark red patch at the bottom of the painting looks more like the earth, with a few spaces in it for some flowers, than another garment. The soul being weighed can now no longer be seen. A small red devil is on the extreme right, standing on its hind legs and pawing at the archangel's skirts like an importunate puppy.

It was only after the appearance of the late thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* that the Virgin Mary began to participate in the process to such effect that her intervention could save souls who, on the basis of strict justice, ought to have been damned. Since the Purton painting must therefore date from after the *Golden Legend*, the figure between the archangel and the right-hand edge of the dark green background to the angel-musicians can only be the Virgin. She is shown crowned, with long yellow hair, though if ever there was a halo – and it is not essential in the iconography of the Virgin – it has now flaked off. A cloak is held at the throat with a great clasp. It is at first something of a surprise to find the Virgin, like the archangel, painted in shades of red and yellow ochre, but, as with other paintings here, these are probably the under-painting. She stretches her right arm towards the scales held by the archangel, pointing at them with one finger, while from the left wrist hangs what must be her rosary. The placing of the latter on the balance-arm of the scales was, in most versions of the miracle in English medieval wall-paintings, an essential feature of her quite uncanonical intervention (Breeze, 1989), but in the present case the *Church Guide* (1982, 20) may well be right in saying that the Virgin proposes literally to 'tip the balance' by placing her finger on it. The archangel is holding the scales in his left hand, but interposes his right hand between them and the Virgin's pointing finger.

An Explanation?

It is this last feature which is the most unusual aspect of this painting. In all other examples of Soul-Weighing of which the present writer is aware, either by actual inspection or in reproduction, St Michael stands by the Virgin, accepting with complete impassivity her frustration of his attempt to administer impartial justice, together with his own reduction in status to that of a mere balance-bearer. To the St Michaels in other Soul-Weighings any attempt to impede the Virgin would be unthinkable. In some cases, as at Catherington, Hampshire, or Swalcliffe, Oxfordshire, this aloofness on the part of the archangel is emphasised by his being portrayed as of giant size, so that he towers over all the other participants. Such a radical departure as at Purton, where to all appearances the archangel is stretching out his right hand as if to ward off the Virgin's attempted intervention, can only have been intentional, particularly when it is added to the unique nature of the conjunction in a medieval wall-painting of a Soul-Weighing with the other two subjects, the *Noli Me Tangere* being in any event, as mentioned above, a very uncommon one.

Can it be that the artist, or, more likely, the donor who commissioned the painting, felt strongly that the Virgin's miraculous saving of souls by intervening in a Soul-Weighing had no scriptural authority, and was an unwarranted interference with the administration

Figure 3. Two wall-paintings on the east wall of the south transept which now resist satisfactory interpretation, though Professor E.W. Tristram suggested the one on the left to be a Crucifixion

of impartial justice? If so, might he not have thought that, in introducing into this Soul-Weighing a warding-off of the Virgin's attempted intervention, there could be no better companion-piece to underline its message than to bring into the same composition a portrayal of Christ warding off Mary Magdalene in the *Noli Me Tangere*?

If this painting was indeed intended to contain a message from the donor, he might have thought that the best way of ensuring he got the credit for it would be to figure personally in the painting. This would add credence to the suggestion made above as to the identity of the man standing behind the third angel. The appearance in English medieval wall-paintings of a portrait of the donor is very rare, though of course a commonplace in contemporary Old Master paintings. Representation in wall-paintings by use of heraldry is more frequent, as at Chalgrave, Bedfordshire. In the early fourteenth-century wall-paintings at South Newington, Oxfordshire, the donor and his wife are represented both by portraits and by their coats of arms, and one of the paintings there was also conveying a message (Caiger-Smith 1963, 93, 94).

It is appreciated that this suggested interpretation of the juxtaposition of the *Noli Me Tangere* and the Soul-Weighing does not account for the group of angel-musicians interposed between them. Angels do occasionally figure in a *Noli Me Tangere*, as where Giotto in the early fourteenth century included both subjects in one of his wall-paintings in the Arena, or Scrovegni, Chapel at Padua (illustrated in Stubblebine 1969, Pl. 52), but these are the two angels specifically mentioned in John 20:12 as sitting at either end of the empty tomb, and are so shown in Giotto's painting. But angels are of course a very acceptable form of decoration in any circumstances and possibly no special explanation for their presence here is necessary.

It should perhaps be added that the absence of any reference to Tristram in relation to this painting arises from the fact that it was not discovered until 1978 (*Church Guide* 1982, 20), some 16 years after his death. Indeed, the only published reference to it which the present writer has been able to trace is in the *Church Guide*.

PAINTINGS IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT (Figure 3)

The east wall of the south transept has two wall-paintings on it. The first to be dealt with is small and oblong and is situated between the archway leading to the Lady Chapel and the south wall of the church (Figure 3, right; 3a on Plan). Ponting thought the painting itself showed an archway, but that the subject was indecipherable (1887, 237). Tristram described it as having 'confused traces, possibly of a large painted niche formerly framing the figure of a Saint' (1955, 239). The present writer finds it still possible to make out at least the left side of Tristram's painted niche, and some of the top, which is arched, as Ponting thought. The remains of painting inside the niche could perhaps originally have been a figure. In the top left-hand corner of the painting, above the niche, is a barley-sugar stick effect in dark red. No suggestions can be made as to the identification of this wall-painting, nor are there any in the *Church Guide* with regard to this painting nor the next one to be dealt with.

On the same wall as the previous painting, but immediately over the archway leading from the south transept into the Lady Chapel, is another wall-painting (Figure 3, left; 3b on Plan), also indecipherable where Ponting was concerned (1887, 237). Tristram saw in it the 'remains of a Crucifixion; in the centre, traces of Christ on the cross, and above, to the right centre, a small Angel; below . . . traces of another figure, apparently . . . a much larger Angel' (1955, 239). It is still possible to think one can make out the cross, with its horizontal arm towards the top of the painting, but the paint appears to have been scratched out where Christ's body would have been. It is also possible that the paintwork in the middle of the lower edge of the painting originally represented the mourners around the foot of the cross, though in that case it is a little odd that there appears to be the remains of a building immediately to their left, since there is no scriptural authority for such a thing. Could it be that this is all that is left of the medieval artist's idea, prompted perhaps by the way in which it might have been represented in contemporary drama, of what Matthew 27: 60 described as Joseph of Arimathea's 'own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock'?

What is still reasonably clear is a figure in the bottom right-hand corner of the painting. He has a halo and his robe is swirling round his legs; he wears a necklet from which there hangs a pendant. Both arms are raised and he seems to be moving rapidly towards the group in the middle. Though no wings are to be seen, there are more scratchings-out where they might have been, so could this figure have been Tristram's 'larger Angel'? In the opposite left-hand bottom corner is a mirror-image of his right arm. What might be architectural detail stretches across the middle of the top of the painting, including, on the right, a building with a door or window in it, and a triangular

Figure 4. Wall-painting on the south wall of the Lady Chapel of the death of the Virgin

turret and tiled roof. Perhaps these details were intended to be a distant view of Jerusalem.

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN (Figure 4)

This wall-painting is on the south wall of the Lady Chapel, and is the one most often mentioned in the existing literature. The first writer to refer to it was Sir S. Glynne, but although his notes did not get into print until 1922–24 (283) they cannot have been written later than 1874, the year of his death (1922–24, 442). He merely said 'there is over the door of this chapel a painting on the wall representing a female saint lying dead'. This was amplified by Ponting (1887, 237) who said that 'the whole of the walls here have traces of colouring'. He suggested that the scene apparently represented the death of the daughter of Jairus, in the presence of Christ and seven attendants. This interpretation was later adopted by Ethel M. Richardson, in her *Story of Purton* (1919, 43, 44). Had this identification been correct, the painting would have been one of the very few surviving paintings to take a subject from Christ's ministry, though there is an existing, much restored, wall-painting of this miracle at Copford, Essex. However, Tristram, though describing the scene in much the same terms as Ponting, identified it as a Death of the Virgin (1955, 239). There is no scriptural description of this, but it is dealt with in great detail in the *Golden Legend*, including the appearance of Christ at the death-bed to take His mother's soul to heaven. Tristram was aware of Ponting's identification, and referred to it in a footnote as 'erroneous'. The *Church Guide* follows Tristram (1982, 17, 19).

The present writer has no doubt that the Death of the Virgin is indeed the subject of this painting. Ponting's 'seven attendants' should have put him on inquiry, since Mark 5: 37 and 40 makes it clear that Christ only allowed five persons to go with Him into the room where the daughter of Jairus lay. Moreover, the recumbent woman at Purton is obviously of mature years, whereas Mark 5: 42 specifies the age of Jairus' daughter as 12. The Death of the Virgin might be thought to be an appropriate subject for a Lady Chapel, particularly if it originally was just one scene in a whole cycle, as is still the case at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire; in this connection, Ponting's reference to 'the whole of the walls here have traces of colour' (1887, 237) may be relevant. As to colouring, the greater part of the painting is in red ochre, which means that what is now to be seen is probably the under-painting; there are, however, also traces of green in the robes of Christ and some of the others. Fortunately the *Church Guide* (1982, 19) points out that 'the little figure, like a baby, represents the soul of the Virgin' since this is by no means obvious now. The soul is being held by Christ in His left arm and could easily be taken for part of His draperies nowadays.

THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SOUTH AISLE (No. 5 on Plan)

The *Church Guide* says that 'on the south wall, partly hidden by the large painted Royal Arms, is a post-Reformation Ten Commandments supported by Moses and Aaron at each side' (1982, 20). This painting had earlier been described, though not identified, by Richardson (1919, 44). It has now been obliterated, though one cannot suppose this is any great loss.

The *Church Guide* goes on to say in the sentence following the one quoted in the previous paragraph that 'to the west is a small square containing a painted head and hand' (1982, 20). The present writer sees this rather as two heads, one small, pale and child-like in the top right-hand corner, while the other is that of an old man with a large, rubicund, bewhiskered face which fills most of the rest of the space. If they were on the north wall, opposite the south door, through which they could be seen by passing travellers, there could be no hesitation in suggesting that these were the heads of St Christopher and the Christ-Child, in such close proximity because the saint is invariably shown as carrying the Christ-Child on one of his shoulders. The position on the north wall is the usual one for this subject (Whaite 1929, 8), but it is not invariable, though it is thought that other locations tend to arise only where the church contains more than one painting of St Christopher; Little Hampton, Buckinghamshire, has no fewer than four. But no such question arises at Purton, so that no positive identification can be suggested.

THE ARCADING (No. 6 on Plan)

'Many of the pillars still retain traces of their ancient colour', states the *Church Guide* (1982, 15), but Ponting said that 'the remarkable colouring of a part of the south arcade is said to be a reproduction of ancient work, traces of which were found by the architect in the late restoration' (1887, 237). In view of the date at which Ponting was writing, this must be a reference to the restoration of 1872 by Butterfield (Pevsner and Cherry, 1975, 375n.), the architect of Keble College, Oxford.

THE PORCH (No. 7 on Plan)

'Traces of early painting in the porch' are mentioned in the *Church Guide* (1982, 14). Medieval wall-paintings in porches are very uncommon in this country, the present writer having only come across one example, at Breamore, Hampshire, and even there the dating did not seem very certain. At Purton there is a stone braced arch, indicated by the dotted line inside the porch in the Plan, with painting at the right-hand end, as seen on entering. All that can now be deciphered is a shield with a dark green ground on which is painted a sword with a cruciform hilt. The sword is vertical and pierces a heart so that the point of the sword projects below it. This symbol represents the central feature of what has been described by M.D. Anderson (Lady Trenchard Cox) as the 'heraldic badge' of the Virgin Mary (1955, 148; illustrated in her Figure 8). She added 'the sword transfixing the heart refers to the prophecy of Simeon, "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also"' (Luke, 2: 35). In the example she illustrated, on a boss in Bristol Cathedral, wings are shown on either side of the sword and heart which Miss Anderson said 'recall the angel of the Annunciation' (1955, 148), and vestiges of wings still survive at Purton. It is, at the very least, a happy accident that the essential features of the heraldic badge of St Mary should survive at a church dedicated to her.

DATING

In its introductory pages the *Church Guide* says that the wall-paintings are 'late 14th and 15th century' (1982, 6), but the section of the *Guide* dealing specifically with them gives no indication of their individual dates (1982, 18–21). When Tristram (1955, 239) and Pevsner and Cherry (1975, 375) are read together, however, the dating of the Death of the Virgin (Figure 4) can be taken to be late fourteenth century.

The present writer, while claiming no special expertise in dating, would expect the Christ of the Trades (Figure 1) to be late fourteenth century at the earliest, and that it could well be early fifteenth. In the case of the painting which includes the Soul-Weighing (Figure 2), it has already been mentioned that the inclusion of the Virgin in it makes it later than the late thirteenth century *Golden Legend*, while the fact that St Michael is not depicted as the 'feathered warrior' shows it to be earlier than the fifteenth century (Perry 1912–13, 103). Again, therefore, the fourteenth century seems to be indicated for this painting, which, for the reasons already given, has to be treated as a whole. The present writer sees no reason why the other paintings in the church should not also be of the fourteenth century, save for the painting on the arcading (No. 6 on Plan), which, as already explained, is a nineteenth-century reconstruction. He does not, however, feel competent to express any opinion as to the dating of St Mary's 'heraldic badge' (No. 7 on Plan) in the south porch.

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The Problem of Urban Patriciates: Office Holders in Fifteenth Century Salisbury

by DAVID R. CARR

The survival of a municipal ledger for Salisbury covering the period 1397 to 1452 makes possible an examination of the pattern of office-holding and the development of local government in the city, as well as the possibility of comparing the civic life of Salisbury in the fifteenth century with other cities. Salisbury can be shown to have been governed by neither a plutocratic nor an oligarchic elite, nor by an aristocracy; but by a powerful, yet constantly changing, group drawn from all those whose personal qualities had enabled them to attain the status of citizen.

During the first two-thirds of this century historians generally held that late medieval cities fell under the control of patriciates. The debate has often centred on the nature of the patriciate rather than on its very existence. A.B. Hibbert provides a working definition of the 'characteristic medieval "patriciate"' as 'an increasingly narrow class which enjoyed social, political and economic control in the town and whose power and influence rested on the control of the wholesale and long-distance trades of the town'.[1] While individual 'patricians' undeniably existed, the model of patriciate control reflects imperfectly the wide range of urban politics and urban society in the late Middle Ages. 'Patricians' dominated some cities, such as the Hansa members, and crushed revolts of the 'lower orders'. In others, such as Cologne, artisan revolutions succeeded in reducing the power of elite groups.[2] Tallying such examples however does not guarantee deeper understanding since the very concept of the 'patriciate' lacks consistency. Augsburg, for instance, excluded active businessmen, the fundamental element of most patriciates, from the higher councils of the municipality.[3] The fifteenth century in particular witnessed the phenomenon of successful merchants buying rural estates – perhaps with titles attached – and marrying into families of the gentry or even the nobility. All of this added to the social confusion of the age and to the interpretational confusion of modern historians.[4]

English medievalists have also puzzled over the

1. A.B. Hibbert, 'The Origin of the Medieval Town Patriciate', *Past and Present* 3 (1953), 15–16.
2. See note 4 below.
3. Erich Maschke, 'Continuité sociale et histoire urbaine médiévale', *Annales: E.S.C.* 15 (1960), 945. See also Jean Schneider, *La ville de Metz aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Nancy, 1950) and Jean Lestocquoy, *Aux origines de la bourgeoisie: les villes de Flandre et d'Italie sous le gouvernement des patriciens XIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 1952) as well as his 'Les origines du patriciate urbain', *Annales: E.S.C.* 1 (1946), 49–63.
4. For a discussion of these problems in defining a 'patriciate', see Ingrid Batori, 'Das Patriziat der deutschen Stadt', *Zeitschrift für Stadtgeschichte, Stadtsoziologie und Denkmalpflege* 2 (1975), 1–30. Batori reviews interpretational conflicts over the concept of patriciates. For her, at least two of the following criteria were necessary for inclusion in the patriciate: political power, wealth, ancestry, and prestige. I am indebted to Rhiman A. Rotz of Indiana University Northwest for calling my attention to this superb article as well as for his own enlightening paper on the Hanseatic patriciate given at the Fourteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, 1979. See also his 'Urban Uprisings in Germany: revolutionary or reformist? The case of Brunswick, 1374', *Viator* 4 (1973), 215–233 and 'The Lubeck Uprising of 1408 and the Decline of the Hanseatic League', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 121 (1977), 1–45. Paul Strait, in *Cologne in the Twelfth Century* (Gainesville, Florida, 1974), pp. 74–81, defines the 'patriciate' politically. Konrad Fritze, in *Die Hansestadt Stralsund* (Schwerin, 1961), finds the economic criterion most significant in Stralsund. Herbert Mitgau, in 'Geschlossener Heiratskreise sozialer Inzucht', in *Deutsches Patriziate, 1430–1740* ed. by Hellmuth Roessler (Limburg, 1968), pp. 1–25, sees the elite social structure of Hansa cities based upon familial ties. Ahasver von Brandt, 'Die gesellschaftliche Struktur des spaetmittelalterlichen Luebeck', in *Untersuchungen zur gesellschaftlichen Struktür der mittelalterlichen Staedte in Europa* (Constance, 1966), pp. 215–239, rejects the existence of a true patriciate.

   See also Erich Maschke, 'Continuité sociale et histoire urbaine médiévale', *Annales: E.S.C.* 15 (1960), 936–948; the works of Lestocquoy cited in note 3 above; Stanley Chojnacki, 'In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century', in *Renaissance Italy*, ed. by J.R. Hale (Totowa, N.J., 1973), pp. 47–90; Wilhelm Rausch, ed., *Die Stadt am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung: Beitrage zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas vol. 3 (Linz/Donau, 1974); A.B. Hibbert, 'The Economic Policies of Towns', in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 207ff. and his earlier study, 'The Origin of the Medieval Town Patriciate', pp. 15–27.

problem of an urban elite.[5] While Colin Platt pointed to the emergence of 'oligarchies' in English towns, pinning this to the economic difficulties of commerce and manufacture in the fifteenth century,[6] just how applicable to English town life is the concept of a patriciate? The word itself and its equivalents cannot be found in my source, and yet individuals possessed superior wealth and held numerous political offices. Clearly, the great merchants – those involved in long-distance, wholesale trade and grouped within an identifiable circle of families – constituted an economic 'elite'. J.W.F. Hill has demonstrated the existence of such a group wielding both economic and political power in medieval Lincoln.[7] R.H. Britnell argues for a 'ruling group' dominating Colchester in the fifteenth century.[8] Robert S. Gottfried finds a 'burghal elite' in late medieval Bury St Edmunds.[9] Substantial urban liberties profited such a class, but wide municipal privileges did not guarantee the emergence of a patriciate in any particular town.

Charles Phythian-Adams found little evidence of an urban patriciate, explaining that the successful burgesses abandoned towns for the 'social promise' of the countryside.[10] Those who remained had little hope of their heirs following them in their vocations. Migration to the countryside was caused not only by attraction, but also by avoidance, specifically the desire to avoid the relatively high taxes and substantial economic demands of civic life. Some burgesses found the demands upon their time and their purses too excessive. The feasts and rituals of these medieval communities drove some potential members of an urban elite to flee the city and to take up residence in the hustings.[11] Interesting as this late medieval urban flight might be, the present focus is upon whether or not a portion of those who remained in Salisbury formed an elite group, a patriciate which controlled the political life of the city.[12]

The bishop created New Sarum or Salisbury, an unusual circumstance even for continental towns controlled by their bishops. Whatever power was exercised in the city had been derived from the bishop. Whatever privileges were enjoyed by the citizens had been bestowed by the bishop. That Salisbury maintained its relative greatness longer than comparable towns was not due to it being an episcopal city, since this was shared with a number of other boroughs which had become desiccated in the fifteenth century.[13] Nor was it because the citizens maintained superior relations with their bishops; rather, prolonged conflict between the bishops and the citizens persisted. Temporarily 'settled' in the early fourteenth century, the conflict between episcopal claims and the wishes of the citizens was marked by repeated hostility and violence during the fifteenth century, most notably the murder, perhaps by a Salisbury butcher, of Bishop William Ayscough in 1450 during Cade's Rebellion.[14] None of this aided the citizens to

5. For an earlier example see Charles W. Colby, 'The Growth of Oligarchy in English Towns', *English Historical Review* 5 (1890), 633–653. Colby discerned a drift from democratic to aristocratic regimes in the later Middle Ages.
6. Colin Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976), pp. 142–150.
7. J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 289–303.
8. R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (Cambridge, 1986). Britnell is less convincing than Hill. For instance, in his discussion of the bailiffs between 1391 and 1400, he describes seven of the twelve individuals as having mercantile interests on the basis of aulnage returns. But see John Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury, 1983), Appendix One, pp. 258–259, on the aulnage returns for Salisbury, which reveal a number of fullers, weavers and other craftsmen with only minor numbers of cloths. See also Table A below. Further, while Britnell finds a *cursus honorum* from bailiffs to auditors, there is an absence of such a system between the other offices (pp. 119–130). The continued immigration into Colchester and the admission that the 'oligarchy' did not close its ranks to more recent immigrants call into question the composition of the group and its duration over time (pp. 193–205, 226–230).
9. Robert S. Gottfried, *Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis: 1290–1539* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 131–166.
10. Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 174–177.
11. For example, any member of the Council of Twenty-four unfortunate enough to have missed the funeral mass of one of their number was to be fined two pounds of wax (I take it, candles) unless reasonable cause prevented the attendance (Salisbury Municipal Corporation Ledger A, Wiltshire Record Office, G23/1/1 (hereinafter cited as Ledger A), f. 147d). At the same time, the recompense from municipal coffers for any ritualistic expenses incurred by the mayor were limited (ibid). For a more general treatment of the increasing burdens of civic life see C. Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England', pp. 174–178. More recently, Jennifer I. Kermode called into question Phythian-Adams' interpretation of the effects of 'flight from office'. See her 'Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 35 (1982), 179–198.
12. I am grateful to both John Chandler and Douglas Crowley for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.
13. J. Chandler, *Endless Street*, pp. 160–161, argues that episcopal lordship did give Salisbury some advantages, particularly in securing additional privileges and in avoiding negotiations with royal officials over the fee-farm. These of course would have also held true for other episcopal towns declining in this same period.
14. For a general history of the city, see Marian K. Dale, 'The City of New Salisbury', in *A History of Wiltshire* (The Victoria History of the Counties of England: hereinafter cited as *VCH Wilts.*), ed. Elizabeth Crittall, VI (London, 1962), 69–194. On the conflict with the bishops, see Fanny Street, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury (New Sarum) between 1225 and 1612', *WAM* 39 (1916), 185–257, 319–367; and on Cade's Rebellion, in particular J.N. Hare, 'The Wiltshire Risings of 1450', *Southern History* 4 (1982), 13–31.

realize their wishes for greater formal independence; they enjoyed few privileges superior to other contemporary episcopal cities.[15]

Repeated confrontations between citizens and their bishops only reaffirmed episcopal domination. Very slowly, however, a substructure of bourgeois municipal administration developed beneath, beside and in conflict with the episcopal structure. The painstaking acquisition of functions, frequently contested by the bishops or their officers, resulted in a municipal administration in the hands of the inhabitants. Whatever political power was wielded by municipal officers was largely *de facto* rather than *de iure*; political autonomy from the bishops was not clearly established in this period. While previous historians have admirably treated this struggle over the control of administration and jurisdiction in the city, little attention has been paid to the question of which citizens exercised the authority, licit or not.

Salisbury provides an interesting and perhaps exceptional case. In fourteenth century England, it was the ninth wealthiest and the sixth largest provincial town.[16] In 1422 the city was the third greatest contributor to a royal loan and maintained its rank throughout the century.[17] Only two provincial cities, Salisbury and Hereford, delayed their decline until the mid-sixteenth century.[18] Despite a slowly emerging economic crisis and political frustration, Salisbury continued to thrive.[19]

A potential explanation for Salisbury's unusual economic fortune resides in the patterns of office holding within the municipality. In other locations, a chronological correlation exists between the increasing domination of English boroughs by an elite and the decline of municipal economies.[20] Such a correlation however does not demonstrate the presence of a causal relationship. While a fully developed argument for the positive economic effects of broader participation in government requires far more substantiation than it would be possible to provide in this study, the importance of the hypothesis is sufficient to justify this investigation.

Significant questions then emerge for the city of Salisbury. Did an elite dominate political power in the city? If so, did the elite accomplish this by controlling the most important positions in the government, or did they exercise their influence more subtly? If the elite controlled the offices and assemblies, was there an evident *cursus honorum*? What was the impact of a political elite upon the economic vitality of the city? Did these individuals manipulate laws and taxes to the advantage of their 'class'?[21] Were the members of the

15. Chief among these was the right to have a 'gild merchant' which was the basis of the municipal corporation. See Article 28 of the settlement of 1306 between the bishop and the citizens, *The Tropenell Cartulary*, ed. J.S. Davies (2 vols., Devizes, 1908), I, 197–198, where this privilege is confirmed. See also Charles Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (2 vols., Oxford, 1890), II, 210. On the issue of medieval English episcopal cities see David R. Carr, 'The Role of The Episcopacy in English Municipal Politics during the Middle Ages: The Example of Ages: The Example of Four Bishoprics,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1971.

16. These assessments according to the taxation of 1334 and 1377 respectively. See W.G. Hoskins, 'Economic History', in *VCH Wilts* IV (London, 1959), 2. John Chandler, *Endless Street*, pp. 41–42, emphasizes the city's status among planted towns: most populous in 1377. See Maurice W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967), table IX.8, p. 267. By 1524, Salisbury ranked behind only London, Norwich, Bristol, Coventry and Exeter in taxable wealth (A.R.H. Baker, 'Changes in the Later Middle Ages', in *A New Historical Geography of England*, ed. H.C. Darby (Cambridge, 1973), p. 243).

17. Mary E. Ransome, 'Economic History before 1612', *VCH Wilts*. VI, 129.

18. Eleanora M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Woollen Industry before 1550', in *VCH Wilts*. IV, 128–129. The other provincial centre in similar circumstances was Hereford. This maintenance of rank did not mean that Salisbury escaped the countrywide difficulties of the cloth industry in the mid-fifteenth century. On these problems, see H.L. Gray, 'English Foreign Trade from 1446 to 1482', in E. Power and M.M. Postan, eds., *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (1933), pp. 1–38, and E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade* (1963), pp. 138–149.

19. Chandler, *Endless Street*, pp. 85–86, suggests Salisbury's fortune was due to the availability of water to drive fulling mills. On the history of the all-important textile industry in the fifteenth century, see Carus-Wilson, 'Woollen Industry before 1550', pp. 115–147 and her *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (London, 1954), pp. 143–182, 204–206, 239–264. See also, George D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (2nd ed., London, 1965); T.H. Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England*, Economic History Review Supplement no. 6 (1973) and his *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977). J.N. Hare, 'The Wiltshire Risings of 1450', p. 16 and *passim*, places the economic prosperity in a broader political context.

    In contrast to this focus upon the textile industry, A.R. Bridbury finds the economic success of Salisbury due to the special circumstances of the city's relationship with the bishop. Rather than pay the increasingly onerous fee farms of the fifteenth century, Salisbury merely paid the bishop a percentage of the receipts of trade. Bridbury concludes, given the continuing hostility of the citizens toward the bishops, that they 'did not know when they were well off'. Bridbury, 'English Provincial Towns in the Later middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 34 (1981), 7–8.

20. Platt, *The English Medieval Town*, pp. 142–150. Certainly there is no simple explanation of this correlation. The rise of economic and political conflict in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been treated recently by Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 181–187, and Bridbury, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 17.

21. This does not seem to be the case since the burden of royal gifts and loans fell upon a limited group within the city. See below, note 36 and Tables D and E.

elite of roughly equal economic and political status or was there a hierarchy within the group itself?

Occupation, wealth, age, kinship ties, social prestige, patterns of residence and immigration are all significant to any full description of the office holders. While an ideal analysis of the elite should take into account this wide variety of facets, the contents of my source provide limited information about these. I will examine only three variables: offices held by individuals, patterns of office holding, and wealth as revealed by taxation and rental data.

The survival of the Salisbury Municipal Corporation Ledger A makes this examination possible. This ledger is the earliest extant ledger of Salisbury and one of the earliest municipal ledgers in England. A disastrous fire in the eighteenth century rendered many portions of the document nearly illegible; deciphering the damaged text has been exceedingly difficult.[22] This source contains valuable and unique information about the administration and the finances of the city of Salisbury from 1397 to 1452.[23] The often formulaic notes recorded the proceedings of the municipal 'community' – the convocation. Each entry begins by dating the meeting according to church festivals and regnal years, although references to month and day increase in later entries. Since this information is most often at the top of the page, it is most likely to have been damaged by the water used to put out the archival fire. Dating therefore is a comparative process, using regnal, mayoral and taxation data.[24] The entry proceeds with a list of officers and other individuals attending the convocation. Then the business of the day is recorded: elections, assessment and collection of taxes, and attempts to deal with problems of trade, hygiene, charity and the assorted difficulties facing the city. There are also odd bits of information, such as verbatim accounts of battles in France, as well as royal and episcopal documents and correspondence.[25]

Ledger A is then a record of the most fundamental element of the municipal government: the meetings of the convocation. Since episcopal cities often lacked municipal councils, Salisbury was exceptional in having meetings of the 'free citizens of the guild merchant', which was known as the Guild of St George in the fifteenth century.[26] The convocation was attended by the freeholders of the city who from *c.* 1422 were penalized 6*d.* if they failed to respond to the summons.[27] While this insistence on attendance calls into question restrictions on political participation, the actual count of participants varies wildly, from ten to forty to ninety-eight.[28] The variation in the number of members of the convocations frustrates the modern historian who assumes and values regularity. Not only did the count fluctuate, but it was often abandoned in favour of a partial list concluded by either '*et pluribus concivibus*' ('and with many fellow-citizens') or 'with others whose names appear on the list' without ever providing the list itself. Perhaps the clerk recording the meeting was simply unable to create a full roll during the course of the meeting.

Some of these variations in numbers resulted in the use of the term 'convocation' for all municipal assemblages. The most frequent meetings, however, were those of the mayor of the city and the smaller councils of the municipality – the upper body of twenty-four

22. Fanny Street, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury (New Sarum) Between 1225 and 1612', *WAM* 39 (1916) (hereinafter cited as Street, 'Relations'), p. 220, considered everything in Ledger A before f.68 illegible, however much may be gleaned from folios before this.
23. The traditional dates for the ledger are 1387 to 1452. The earliest mayor mentioned is Thomas Boreford who was mayor in both 1394 and 1397 according to Benson and Hatcher. Since there are no legible regnal years on f.3 and since the page is heavily damaged it is impossible to tell to which of these years the page refers. The earliest legible date, during the mayoralty of Richard Spence, is 21 Richard II (1397/8) on f.6. The latest date in the ledger proper is 31 Henry VI (1452/3), during the mayoral term of Simon Poy, on f.161d. An inserted slip at this point from the term of John Wyly is dated 34 Henry VI (1455/6), but this is clearly misbound and perhaps should have been included in Ledger B.
24. Certainly the bound order of the ledger is chronologically chaotic, and the greatest care must be taken in ascribing dates to any of the folios. I hope to resolve many of the problems of dating in my forthcoming edition of Ledger A, to be published by the Wiltshire Record Society.
25. For examples of these, see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (hereinafter cited as H.M.C., *Var. Coll.*), IV (1907), 192–201. Care is essential in dealing with this damaged, flawed and therefore incomplete source which is nonetheless the best one available. For instance, only some of the tax payments are included here, and their inclusion is haphazard at best. But even if we had complete lists, Susan Reynolds, following Pound and Dyer, estimates that *c.* one-third of the citizens were not included in the tax rolls due to poverty. While this estimate is based on research in the sixteenth century, Reynolds confidently applies this caveat to the fifteenth century. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*, pp. 161–162.
26. See above, note 15.
27. Ledger A, f. 147d. I am unable to find any record within the ledger itself of such fines having been levied.
28. The convocation of 13 Henry VI during the mayoralty of John White had ninety-eight in attendance. This group was present and perhaps elected the mayor, reeves, aldermen and serjeants of the city (Ledger A, f.101d). Later in the same year a smaller group of 32 elected the collectors and assessors for the year (ibid., f.102). Still later in the year an even smaller group of twelve, which included the mayor, met to discuss the provisioning of food to the poor by the subcustodian of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity (ibid).

and the lower body of forty-eight – whose meetings are also referred to as 'convocations'.[29] A basic group of five to eight individuals is named throughout a mayoral term, although even here the names vary from one convocation to another.[30] While they are not given a collective name, these individuals perhaps constituted an informal, elite inner council, composed of the most important members of the convocation.[31]

Members of the next larger group, the council of Twenty-four, held other offices, but were not necessarily former mayors and did not consistently become mayors later. The full council of the Twenty-four clearly formed a powerful senior group which provided the most important officers: the mayor, the two reeves, the four aldermen, the two serjeants, the assessors, and the members of Parliament. These offices cannot be considered honorific, given the demands for accountability recorded in the ledger. However, such demands were even more common for the officers chosen from the Forty-eight – the constables and sometimes the chamberlains.[32] The convocation apparently performed as the most general assembly of citizens which could elect officers. The convocation held that from the time of Mayor William Waryn (1422–1425) every man should be able to nominate freely mayoral and parliamentary candidates as well as those for other offices.[33] Yet most of the officers were elected during the meetings of the smaller groups – the 'twenty-four' and the 'forty-eight' – rather than by the full convocation.[34] Sporadic attendance, even by officers, may account for some of the variations, but membership in the councils themselves appears to shift from one meeting to the next.

By the fifteenth century, the concerns of the councils and the duties of the officers portray a municipal entity accustomed to both freedom and responsibility. The supervision of royal and episcopal taxes, of city properties, of market, industry and community were matched in the fifteenth century by broader, national concerns: royal loans, the raising of troops and the defence of the city. All of this took place in the convocation, but the centre of activity was the office of mayor.

While the office existed throughout the thirteenth century, the position was not recognized by the crown until the beginning of the fourteenth. From 1306 on, the mayor was the chief opponent of the bishop, standing as the representative of the entire community in a proctorial as well as a propagandistic sense.[35] Despite the abortive nature of Salisbury's revolts against the bishop, mayors continued to press for royal privileges from monarchs desperate for support and money.[36]

29. Substantial questions remain unanswered and conflicts unresolved in deciding the nature of the Twenty-four and the Forty-eight. Street, in 'Relations', p. 220, maintains that the members of the former were chosen from those of the latter. Dale, 'The City of New Salisbury', p. 96, appears to reject this unsubstantiated assessment, but thinks that the Forty-eight did not emerge until 1445 and that the Twenty-four did not gain formal existence until 1412–1414. Her reference to Ledger A, f.50, however, lists more than thirty individuals whose names may be discerned in whole or in part and an unknown number of individuals whose names are too badly damaged to read. Some forty-five individuals are listed attending the convocation in 1421 (Ledger A, f.83d). It would seem the Forty-eight, save for a few absences, existed by this much earlier date. Certainly the bulk of references by name to select councils in the early portions of the ledger are to the Twenty-four.
30. See, for example, variations revealed during the mayoralty of John White, 1434/5: Ledger A, ff. 101d–102d.
31. Hill, in *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 295, describes similar circumstances in thirteenth century Lincoln. While this variation in the composition of the Salisbury list may demonstrate a rotation of responsibilities within the larger group, I have been unable to discern any pattern in it. Some cautions must be given here. Dale, in 'New Salisbury', p. 96, refers to 'twenty-four *probi homines*' and distinguishes this group from the more numerous *concives* who attended the assembly in 1413. There is, however, no use of the term *probi homines* here or elsewhere in the ledger which here employs only the word *concives* when referring to the assembly. Dale may have been attempting to describe the 'concitizens' in more recognizable terms, perhaps diminishing the uniqueness of Salisbury.
32. In 1408–1409, the accounts of the chamberlain were to be supervised by a comptroller, but one was not appointed at that time, and there is no evidence of the office in Ledger A (see Dale, 'New Salisbury', p. 98). In 1417, the mayor 'and others' were auditors of both the chamberlains and the collectors of tallages (Ledger A, f.62). John Bromley was held accountable in 1418 for a sum owed to the city during his tenure as chamberlain the previous year (Ledger A, f.68). This apparently had no negative effect on his political career since Bromley was later mayor of the city. The convocation appointed four auditors to check the chamberlains' account in 1443 and 1444 (Ledger A, ff.136d; 140).
33. Ledger A, f.147d. This practice was probably enunciated at this time because of the problems which had emerged with the election of Robert Beccles, a cleric (see below, note 56). This differs substantially from Street, 'Relations', p. 220, where she describes the process as one of 'co-option' of members and officers from the Twenty-four and the Forty-eight. Limiting *concives* to members of these two councils is not correct and is apparently based on a misreading of Ledger B, f.61. See also H.M.C., *Var. Coll.*, IV, 204.
34. Salisbury does not appear to have had the sort of co-option which was regularized in other municipalities. In Colchester, for instance, the eight auditors chose an additional sixteen burgesses to form the council of twenty-four (Britnell, *Colchester*, p. 120).
35. See Street, 'Relations', p. 198.
36. See for example the sums raised from large but partial bodies of the citizens for the crown in 1420, Ledger A, ff.78a ff., and from an even more select group in 1449, ibid., f.151d. See Tables D and E for levies of 1437. See also Street, 'Relations', p. 222, on the municipality's right to appoint justices of the peace and coroners gained from the crown in 1462.

The dominance of specific individuals over particular offices is nowhere more evident than with the mayoral position. In the period between 1387 and 1452 (the sixty-five years covered by Ledger A) there were forty-eight mayors, twelve of whom held office for more than one term.[37] Five men served three terms,[38] another four,[39] and yet another dominated the city for six terms.[40] At the end of his fifth term, in 1426, the convocation provided that the mayor be 'immune from the office' for five years.[41] Not until 1451 was the mayor positively excluded from successive nomination.[42] Few attempted to escape the responsibilities of this office, but in 1407 three citizens paid fines ranging from £11 to £5 in lieu of service.[43] Perhaps the extraordinarily large fines discouraged avoidance.[44]

While the occupations of many of the mayors cannot be determined from the ledger itself, the taxes paid by these individuals normally were at the highest or second highest level.[45] Robert Warmwell, a draper and perhaps son of William Warmwell who was also a draper and had served as mayor, provided some insight to his wealth through his will. In addition to extensive provisions for charities, the church and his burial, the will contains a full account of his extensive properties, most of which were within the city and suburbs of Salisbury.[46] While Warmwell was clearly a prosperous man, the mayors were not uniformly chosen from among the ranks of the great merchants. Mercers, drapers and grocers predominate in the office, but surprising exceptions exist. John Judde, a carpenter, was mayor in 1417.[47] John Swyft, identified as an ironmonger, held the office for three terms from 1420 to 1423.[48] John Bromle, mayor in 1427,

37. This number expands to fifteen if we go beyond the scope of Ledger A to include information from Ledger B. See Robert Benson and Henry Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury*, (The History of Modern Wiltshire, ed. R.C. Hoare, VI), London, 1843 (hereinafter cited as Benson and Hatcher), 695–696.
38. John Salisbury in 1392/3, 1393/4 and 1403/4 (Ledger A, ff.63d, 20d); Thomas Boreford (de Brutford) in 1394/5, 1395/6 and 1396/7 (Ledger A, f.3 is the only legible instance of Boreford serving as mayor; the other dates are taken from Benson and Hatcher, p. 695); Henry Man in 1419/20, 1431/2 and 1438/9 (Ledger A, ff.72d, 97, 115d); and William Warwyk in 1425/6, 1439/40, and perhaps 1440/1 (Ledger A, ff.89, 118d, 125). If the period covered by Ledger B is included William Swayne is added to this list, holding office in 1444/5, 1454 and 1477 (Ledger A, f.139d; Benson and Hatcher, p. 696).
39. John Hall held office in 1451/2, 1456, 1464 and 1465 (Ledger A, f.155; Benson and Hatcher, p. 696).
40. William Waryn held office over a twenty-eight year period: 1404/5, 1415/6, 1422/3, 1423/4, 1424/5 and 1433/4 (Ledger A, ff.21d, 56, 84, 85d, 86, 88d, 99d). He may also have completed the term of John White in 1435/6 (ibid., f.103). Waryn's tenure was nearly equalled by John Aport whose career must be traced beyond the bounds of Ledger A, holding office six times over a twenty-five year period: 1446, 1458, 1466, 1467, 1468 and 1469 (ibid., f.143d; Benson and Hatcher, p. 696).
41. Ledger A, f.91.
42. Ledger A, f.157d. But see ibid., ff.147d–148 where the item is referred to in a summation of ordinances (1447); H.M.C., *Var. Coll.* IV, 195. The meaning of the provisions of the convocation in both 1426 and 1451 is unclear. Did the citizens excuse the mayor in 1426 as a diplomatic way of ridding themselves of a dominant individual or was it a response to the mayor's request that he not be burdened in the immediate future? The former seems the best bet given the action in 1451, but alternative explanations exist here as well. One is that the assembly of citizens formally rejected the domination of this important office by specific individuals and that it wished to 'democratize' the office. Another possibility is that the elites within the city wanted to distribute power more evenly among the members of a closed group. This however assumes that certain families dominated the office. That, as we shall see, cannot be demonstrated by the evidence in the ledger. A third possibility is that the citizens were demonstrating a willingness to reduce the level of conflict with the bishops. Bishop Beauchamp had just replaced Bishop Ayscough who had been slain during Cade's Rebellion in 1450 by a group perhaps led by a man from Salisbury. See Hare, 'Wiltshire Risings', *passim*; Street, 'Relations', pp. 233–234 and Dale, 'New Salisbury', p. 102. It is clear that the provisions of 1451 were ignored repeatedly for the rest of the fifteenth century. See the list of mayors in Benson and Hatcher, p. 696.
43. A number of individuals were fined in lieu of holding the mayoral office in 1407: John Forest for £11, John Noble for £8, and Stephen Edyyngton for £5 (Ledger A, f.33). The rationale for the varying amounts is unrecorded. See also ibid., ff.122, 132d, 139d, for other instances of fines in lieu of service although not specifically from the duties of mayor.
44. J. Kermode, 'Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', pp. 197–198, concludes that the fines for 'avoidance' were mechanisms which ensured the continuation of oligarchic control. Salisbury in the first half of the fifteenth century however did not experience the economic contraction which assailed York in the second half of that century.
45. The levy of 1437 (see Table E) ranged from a base rate of 12*d.* to the two upper rates of 120*d.* and 160*d.* Of the 187 citizens paying the levy, 17 were in the two highest categories. Of those 17, 13 individuals had been or would become mayors of the city. Thomas Freeman, a mercer who would become the next mayor, paid 160*d.* Richard Walker, another mercer and later an alderman, paid only 20*d.* But Richard Wyse the brewer who would become constable paid 120*d.*, while William Pridy, a weaver who would serve as an assessor, rendered a mere 12*d.* (Ledger A, ff.108ff).
46. The will is contained in Archbishop Stafford's Register of Wills at Lambeth Palace Library, ff.149d–150d, and is reprinted in *The Tropenell Cartulary*, I, 235–239. See also the record of the bequest in Ledger B, f.23, which is also in H.M.C., *Var. Coll.* IV, 203. John Wyly, a fellow draper who would also become mayor in 1455, was the chief beneficiary as well as the executor of the will (Ledger A, f.150).
47. Some possibility exists that John Judde the mayor in 1417, who was also the coroner on several occasions, was not the same John Judde identified as a carpenter in 1436 (Ledger A, f.109). The carpenter may have been the mayor's son; he served as an auditor in 1447 (ibid., f.145d).
48. Ledger A, ff.81–83d. Most likely, John Swyft the ironmonger who was mayor was not the same as the dyer. There are several instances of the same name applying to multiple individuals. For example, John Wyot the mercer is not the same as John Wyot the brewer.

Table A: Mayors in Aulnage Returns (1396/7) and Ward Lists (1399–1400)*

Table A, Part 1: Total number of cloths in aulnage return

City-wide:	6,942	(23.9 average)
Mayors:	553.5	(55.4 average)
Total ward returns:		
City-wide:	10,746*d.*	(10.8*d.* average)
Mayors:	1,404*d.*	(64*d.* average)

* The full aulnage returns, 27 Nov. 1396–27 Nov. 1397 (Public Record Office E/101/345/2) and ward lists, 1399–1400 (Salisbury District Muniments, Wiltshire Record Office G23/1/236) are reprinted in Chandler, *Endless Street*, Appendix One, pp. 257–272.

Table A, Part 2

Key to columns:

Aulnage: number of cloths.
Contrib.: amount of contribution contained in ward lists (amounts expressed in pence to facilitate comparisons).
Ward: F = Forum, M = St Martin's, P = Pratum, N = Novus Vicus.
#: number assigned to individuals in Chandler's ward lists.

Name	Occupation	Aulnage	Contrib.	Ward	#
John Salesbury	weaver		4*d.*	P	730
Thomas Bereford			12*d.*	F	176
Richard Spencer	grocer	17	144*d.*	M	433
John Moner		54	160*d.*	F	297
Adam Teffonte		33	96*d.*	M	625
John Nywman	grocer		96*d.*	N	942
William Walter		87	54*d.*	M	437
John Baker	grocer		160*d.*	N	803
William Waryn			60*d.*	N	955
John Nedlere	[grocer]	51.5	80*d.*	M	420
Nicholas Hardyng		131	60*d.*	M	436
William Busshup'			60*d.*	N	919
Walter Sherle			20*d.*	M	377
William Salle			24*d.*	M	398
William Warmwell	[draper]		120*d.*	F	39
Walter Nandre		120	48*d.*	N	772
William Doudyng	[draper]		40*d.*	N	914
Thomas Mason	[draper]	38	24*d.*	F	246
John Levesham			60*d.*	M	446
John Judde		5.5	36*d.*	F	165
Robert Warmwell	[draper]	16.5	6*d.*	F	47
John Swyft	[ironmonger]		40*d.*	F	18

Table A, Part 3: City-Wide Returns from Ward Lists (1399–1400)

A: Amount paid in bracket
B: Number of individuals in bracket (percentage of total)
C: Number of these individuals who held or would hold offices (percentage of all office-holders named)
D: Percentage of officers among those in bracket
E: Total amount paid by those in bracket (percentage of total)

A	B	C	D	E
4*d.*	429 (43.3%)	9 (14.1%)	2.1%	1,716*d.*
6*d.*	200 (20.2%)	8 (12.5%)	4.0%	1,200*d.*
8*d.*	102 (10.3%)	5 (7.8%)	4.9%	816*d.*
10*d.*	2 (0.2%)	0 (0%)	0%	20*d.*
12*d.*	70 (7.1%)	6 (9.4%)	8.6%	840*d.*
16*d.*	36 (3.6%)	3 (4.7%)	8.3%	576*d.*
18*d.*	3 (0.3%)	0 (0%)	0%	54*d.*
20*d.*	24 (2.4%)	5 (7.8%)	20.8%	480*d.*
24*d.*	33 (3.3%)	6 (9.4%)	18.2%	792*d.*
30*d.*	10 (1.0%)	1 (1.6%)	10.0%	300*d.*
36*d.*	8 (0.8%)	2 (3.1%)	25.0%	288*d.*
40*d.*	21 (2.1%)	4 (6.3%)	19.0%	840*d.*
48*d.*	4 (0.4%)	1 (1.6%)	25.0%	192*d.*
54*d.*	2 (0.2%)	1 (1.6%)	50.0%	108*d.*
60*d.*	10 (1.0%)	4 (6.3%)	40.0%	600*d.*
72*d.*	2 (0.2%)	0 (0%)	0%	144*d.*
80*d.*	5 (0.5%)	3 (4.7%)	60.0%	400*d.*
96*d.*	5 (0.5%)	2 (3.1%)	40.0%	480*d.*
120*d.*	3 (0.3%)	1 (1.6%)	33.3%	360*d.*
144*d.*	1 (0.1%)	1 (1.6%)	100%	144*d.*
160*d.*	2 (0.2%)	2 (3.1%)	100%	320*d.*
?*d.*	19 (19.2%)	0 (0%)	0%	?*d.*
totals	991	64	6.5%	10,746+*d.*

was a baker.[49] John White, a tailor, was mayor from 1434 to 1436.[50] John Salesbury, mayor in 1393/4 and 1403/4, was perhaps a weaver.[51]

The aulnage returns of 1396/7 and ward lists of 1399/1400 reveal something of the range of economic status among the mayors. Table A shows the average number of cloths held by ten individuals who had been or would become mayors to have been 55, but the range is from 5.5 cloths at the bottom to 131 at the top. Similarly the ward lists reveal an average of 64*d.* with a range from 4*d.*, the lowest possible assessment, to 160*d.*, the highest recorded. Both of these averages are substantially above the city-wide averages, especially in the ward lists where the great mass of individuals paid but 4*d.* or 6*d.* But the contention is not that the mayors were insignificant or even average. Rather, it is that the office was held by men with a wide economic range. Since this table is arranged

49. Ledger A, f.91.
50. Ledger A, ff.101d–103d.
51. See Table D. While *The Tropenell Cartulary*, p. 219, identifies him as a grocer, the only John Salesbury in the ward lists is denoted as a weaver. Given the inclusive nature of this source, it is unlikely that a former and future mayor would have been excluded.

according to these individuals' chronological appearance as mayors, the list may also demonstrate the ability of citizens to rise from relatively modest positions to political power over time. For example, William Warmwell and William Doudyng accounted for no cloths in these aulnage returns even though both were drapers. Unfortunately the ledger does not contain later material of similar scope to demonstrate such ascendance.

The aldermen of Salisbury occupied the second most significant urban office.[52] Responsible for the prevention of violence and for the collection of fines and taxes, the aldermen were allowed to name assistants: four from the city at large and four from each of the four wards of the city.[53] In 1415 the convocation provided that the aldermen be elected by the *ministri civitatis*.[54] In 1418 the aldermen were elected by the members of the council of Twenty-four.[55] In the fifteenth century, members of the Forty-eight regularly paid fines to avoid the office. In a writ of 1423, Henry VI annulled the election of John Beccles, who had served on the council of Forty-eight for six years, on the grounds that he was a clerk in holy orders.[56] This was probably a response to a complaint by the bishop, but it may have been a successful gambit by Beccles himself to avoid the duties of an alderman. This singular instance raises questions about how carefully the convocation screened candidates for office and whether aldermen were chosen only from the Twenty-four.

While mayors usually held numerous offices, the aldermen quite often held only a few and were drawn from a broader spectrum of occupations. The butcher William Shupton was the alderman for Forum in 1418 and held no other offices.[57] John Atkyn, a dyer, was an alderman for only one term, and his only other position was that of collector in the previous year.[58] Similarly, John Hode the glover held only the offices of alderman and municipal reeve for one term each.[59] Richard Walker the mercer held the office of alderman for two terms, but for two different quarters of the city. Walker was also a collector on three occasions, a municipal reeve, an auditor, and an assessor.[60] If the instances of John Gasselyn and John Hurst are indicative, long residence in the city was not a requirement for holding the office.[61]

The constables, generally chosen from the Forty-eight, were men on the rise. In the early fifteenth century there were two constables, but by the end of the century their number increased to four.[62] Primarily responsible for keeping watch and ward, they sometimes collected and led levies of men in defence of the realm. Almost all the constables held higher offices later in their careers. Thomas Mason, a draper, was reeve in 1405, constable in 1412 and mayor in the following year. Subsequently, Mason represented Salisbury in the Parliament of 1417.[63] In 1426, a constable was removed from office.[64]

The office of chamberlain emerged in the mid-fourteenth century as receiver and treasurer of the city. The chamberlain slowly acquired complete supervision of collecting and expending the city's income. In 1408–9 two chamberlains were appointed by the convocation.[65] This multiplication of officials was perhaps due to the increasing responsibilities of the office since the city gained the right to acquire mortmain property in 1406. Two officers may also have served to check one another, evidence of declin-

52. The position of aldermen in Salisbury was evidently more important than those of Exeter who functioned merely as 'wardsmen with few powers'. See Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Commercial Dominance of a Medieval Provincial Oligarchy: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 362.
53. See, e.g., Ledger A, ff.133d, 141d where these assistants are identified as assessors and collectors for the individual quarters and are in addition to the assessors and collectors with city-wide responsibilities. On some occasions, e.g. Ledger A, f.116d, only assessors were named. The right to elect aldermen was sanctioned in the agreement of 1306 (*Tropenell Cartulary*, I, 193).
54. Ledger A, f.56.
55. Ledger A, f.68. Here the names of the wards are specified: Novus Vicus (New Street), Forum (Market), St Martin's and Pratum (Meadow). They are designated respectively as N, F, M, P in the ledger.
56. See copy of the writ, Ledger A, f.85a. See also H.M.C., *Var. Coll.* IV, 197. Beccles is identified as a chaplain of Staunton Harecourt in the diocese of Lincoln. The election of the cleric to this position in the first place may demonstrate the openness of office holding in the city. I have been unable to find any early mention of Beccles in the ledger.
57. Ledger A, f.68.
58. Ledger A, ff.107, 110.
59. Ledger A, ff.153, 161d.
60. Ledger A, ff.110, 123, 91d, 106, 130, 115, 141d, 154, respectively. He was alderman for both Pratum and Novus Vicus and was the assessor for St Martin's. Certainly this demonstrates the integration of the quarters of the city.
61. Gasselyn is identified as 'of Bristol', Hurst as 'of Foiryngbridge' (Ledger A, ff.128, 97).
62. The two additional constables appeared in 1461, but rather than exercising police power as had the existing constables, these officers were to collect and head a levy of men contributed by the city in defence of the realm. Clearly these later constables should be differentiated from the earlier ones.
63. Ledger A, ff.46, 50, 60d. See also *Tropenell Cartulary* I, 258–259.
64. The constable was removed for overstepping the bounds of his authority and infringing upon that of the mayor (Ledger A, f.88d). There is no indication prior to this that John Hunt, the individual removed, had been installed in the office. This sort of deficiency is perhaps due to damage to the ledger.
65. Street, 'Relations', p. 223.

ing trust and increasing demands for accountability.[66]

The first mention of specific chamberlains in the ledger occurred in 1413 when William Walter and Robert Warmwell were elected to the office.[67] In 1418 John Swyft and John Parch were named as chamberlains,[68] but their unwillingness or inadequacy to perform the office to the satisfaction of the city resulted in their replacement later in the same year by John Bromley and Richard Gage.[69] Apparently still unsatisfied, the convocation elected four, rather than two, chamberlains later in the same year. Only one of these men, Richard Gage, was carried over from the previous group.[70] The nature of the problem becomes clear when we learn that in 1418 John Bromley was held accountable for a past sum from the legacy of William Doudyng.[71] Gage and one of his associates, John Noble, must have performed their tasks satisfactorily since we find them re-elected to the position in 1421 when the number of chamberlains returned to its customary level.[72] The election of four must have been an extraordinary circumstance, quite possibly due to malfeasance or misfeasance in office. In 1421/2 the convocation stipulated that the chamberlain's office was annual with the possibility of re-election. The nature of selection then was by election, as in 1420/1 when the two chamberlains were 'elected' by the convocation.[73]

Although the convocation purportedly had the right to supervise the work of the chamberlains through a comptroller from 1409 on, Ledger A contains only one later reference to this latter office.[74] Rather the convocation employed auditors for this purpose, having previously appointed four individuals to this office in 1406.[75] In 1417, the mayor 'and others' audited the accounts of both the chamberlains and the collectors of the tallage.[76] The individuals fulfilling this task of auditing as well as those in the office of chamberlain normally would serve or already had served the city repeatedly. For example, of the auditors elected in 1417, Walter Shirle would also hold the offices of mayor, constable, collector and member of Parliament,[77] while Richard Gage would hold those of procurator, collector, chamberlain, assessor and keeper of the mace.[78] In contrast, their associates, William Water and John Puerard, held no other positions in the city.[79]

Toward the end of the period covered by Ledger A, even greater efforts were made to spread the responsibility for the assessment of taxes, if not their collection. In 1445, the mayor, Richard Payne, and two former mayors, John Wyot and William Swayne, supervised the activities of a large body of assessors, composed of five members of the council of Twenty-four and four members of the council of Forty-eight. At the same time, new appointments were made to both councils, perhaps to replace the assessors themselves.[80] The distribution of responsibility throughout the ranks of the convocation was clearly the purpose of these appointments, and this conclusion is borne out by the appointment in 1447 of a group of auditors which included the mayor (John Aport), two members of the council of Twenty-four who were also former mayors (John Wyot and William Hore), and two members of the council of Forty-eight (Auncelinus Hebbyng and John Judde).[81] Clearly, officers of the municipality were then scrutinized by increasingly large groups of fellow citizens.

Although election to office may have signalled the

66. Dale, 'New Salisbury', p. 98. The expansion might also have served to distribute liability among more individuals, as with the bailiffs at Lincoln. See Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp. 254ff.
67. Ledger A, f.47. Dale, 'New Salisbury', p. 98, states that the first chamberlains were elected in 1408, citing Ledger A, f.147d, which perhaps relies on the translation contained in H.M.C., *Var. Coll.* IV, 193–195. This refers to a summation, done *c.* 26–27 Henry VI, of previous practices. These, in turn, refer to ff.34ff where water damage prevents an assessment of the accuracy of the later account. No references to either chamberlains or comptrollers are discerned although references to the debts owed to the city may be found here.
68. Ledger A, f.62d.
69. Ledger A, f.67d.
70. His fellow officers were William Alexander, John Noble and Robert Gilberd (Ledger A, f.68).
71. Ibid. This provides an instance of the problems which R.B. Dobson sees arising from 'government by amateurs'. R.B. Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 26 (1973), 18.
72. Ledger A, f.83d.
73. Ledger A, f.81. The formula repeatedly describing the process is that individuals are nominated in the meeting of the convocation and then elected. Since the selection process is not described more fully in the ledger, 'election' might not be used precisely and may stand for co-option, appointment or other methods of selection.
74. Dale, 'New Salisbury', p. 98, claims the presence of the office of comptroller in 1409, but the pages in Ledger A for this period, ff.34–37, are badly damaged and much has been rendered illegible. I am unable to find any evidence of the office of comptroller in the ledger other than in the latter summation of ordinances at f.147d. This is translated in H.M.C., *Var. Coll.* IV, 193ff.
75. Ledger A, f.30. Dale, 'New Salisbury', p. 98, note 9, cites Ledger A, f.136d (1444) as the first instance of auditors. For other earlier instances see ff.62 (1417), 67 (1418), 81 (1420), 80bd (1422), 104d and 107 (1435).
76. Ledger A, f.62.
77. Ledger A. ff.31, 35, 46, 54d, 60, 62, 67, 77, 81d–86.
78. Ledger A, ff.46, 62, 68, 80b, 82, 83, 94d, 104d, 114, 116d. Gage also served as auditor again (ibid., f.147d) and as reeve (*Tropenell Cartulary* I, 225).
79. Ledger A, f.62.
80. Ledger A, f.142d.
81. Ledger A, f.145d. See above, note 43.

power and perhaps the status of an individual, there were instances of individuals attempting to avoid office-holding. This reluctance was most often exhibited when the person was to represent the city in Parliament.[82] While the bulk of the parliamentary representatives held significant borough offices before and after their terms, having held a borough office of some rank was not necessary to be returned to Parliament.[83] While some sought the prestige of this national responsibility, others seem forced to devote more of their lives to public service. Thomas Freeman, a mercer, and Walter Shirle demonstrate one end of the spectrum, that of frequent representation. Freeman held a variety of offices within the city including that of mayor in 1436, 1437 and 1438, and was the representative to seven different Parliaments between 1431 and 1455. In only two of these, 1431 and 1450, did he sit for Salisbury, however.[84] Shirle, also a frequent office-holder and mayor 1407, 1408, 1416 and 1417, represented the city in nine Parliaments.[85] More common is the case of William Pakyn, mayor in 1428, 1442 and 1443, who was a member of Parliament only once.[86] The vast majority of mayors however never served in Parliament.[87]

Already numerous at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the offices of the city increased during the course of the century.[88] Among the other officers were: reeves, serjeants, assessors, coroners, attorneys, clerks, commissioners, collectors, overseers of wards, justices of the peace of labourers and craftsmen, stewards of the borough court, porters, subcustodians of the almshouse, summoners, tasters of the assize of beer, and provosts. While this would seem to suggest growing independence, the episcopal bailiff could severely limit the power of the municipal officials. While they were elected by the convocation, they were sworn and admitted to office before the bishop's bailiff. His court, held in the guildhall, might displace all others within the city. The bailiff might tallage the citizens, act as constable, justice of the peace and more.[89] Not until 1612 was the city freed from this episcopal dominance. Surprisingly, then, the municipal ledger contains relatively few specific complaints about episcopal authority during the first half of the fifteenth century, and makes no mention of the mid-century violence with Cade's Rebellion. Other sources, however, make it clear that the municipal-episcopal struggle over political authority and economic privilege was active at the time.[90]

With this broad outline in mind, the question of the development and nature of an 'elite' may now be addressed. The city chose its officers primarily from the councils, most often the higher one, the Twenty-four.[91] However, if the councils formed a patriciate it was not monolithic. Some, albeit relatively few, attempted to escape the responsibilities of office even in the face of stiff fines. Others dominated office-holding, but held these offices in no discernible *cursus honorum*.[92] A mayor was likely to be 'reduced' to a lesser office after his mayoralty had been completed. Although William Pakyn held only the office of constable before he became mayor in 1428, afterwards he held the lesser offices of collector, auditor, and assessor for a number of years until he was returned to Parliament for the city in 1436. In 1442 Pakyn was again elected mayor.[93] The career of Thomas Free-

82. See Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay', pp. 47ff, for an example in Salisbury. See Ledger A, f.122, for fines in lieu of service. This assessment is contradicted by the instances of Salisbury citizens serving as members of Parliament for other towns in Wiltshire. See R.B. Pugh, 'The Commons of Wiltshire in Medieval Parliaments', *VCH Wilts.* V (London, 1957), 77–78. See also above, note 43.
83. For example neither Thomas Brynnord (Ledger A, f.141) nor Thomas Camsa (f.144) held any positions beyond that of member of Parliament for Salisbury.
84. Ledger A, ff.97d, 153d. See also Pugh, 'Commons of Wiltshire', p. 78.
85. Ledger A, ff.46, 54d, 56d, 60d, 77d, 80bd, 81d, 83d, 86. See also J.S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422: English Society and Parliamentary Representation under the Lancastrians* (Manchester, 1954), p. 45, who finds Shirle in thirteen Parliaments.
86. Ledger A, f.110d.
87. Of the forty-five individuals who served as mayor in the period covered by Ledger A (1393–1456), only fourteen served as Parliamentary representatives prior to 1456.
88. Bridbury, 'English Provincial Towns', p. 9, follows Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, pp. 254–268, in finding this to be a technique to spread liability in case of default by the municipalities.
89. See the convenient account of episcopal authority in G.A.J. Hodgett, 'Feudal Wiltshire', *VCH Wilts*, V. 60–61. These powers were confirmed by the royal charters of 1394 (*Cal. Chart. R., 1341–1417*, 343–345) and 1462 (*Cal. Chart. R., 1427–1516*, 180). See also the provisions of the settlement of 1306 (*Tropenell Cartulary*, I, 189–199).
90. See Street, 'Relations', pp. 224–233, which depends heavily upon the *Liber Niger* of Bishop Beauchamp.
91. However, the mayoralty of John White, 1434/5, demonstrates the lack of regularity in attendance at the various assemblies. A number of individuals who were apparently members of the 'Council of Forty-eight' (actually 30, 32 and 29) did not attend the meeting of the full convocation (some 98 attendees plus the officers). Similarly most members of the 'Twenty-four' (actually 12) attended only one or two of the other meetings (Ledger A, ff.101d–102d).
92. While late fourteenth-century Colchester also lacked a *cursus honorum*, York possessed a well-developed one in the fifteenth century. (R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester*, pp. 128–130; J. Kermode, 'Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', p. 190).
93. Ledger A, ff.92d, 93, 97, 102d, 104d, 107, 110f, 116d, 120d, 132df, 140.

Table B: Composition, 9 Henry V (1420/1)*

A: Amount paid in bracket
B: Number of individuals in bracket (percentage of total)
C: Number of these individuals who held or would hold offices (percentage of all office-holders named)
D: Percentage of officers among those in bracket
E: Total amount paid by those in bracket (percentage of total)

A	B	C	D	E
2–18*d.*	515 (74.5%)	20 (29.4%)	3.9%	3,426*d.* (26.6%)
20–96*d.*	162 (23.4%)	41 (60.3%)	25.3%	7,186*d.* (55.8%)
120–320*d.*	14 (2.0%)	7 (10.3%)	50.0%	2,272*d.* (17.6%)
total	691	68	9.8%	12,884*d.*

* Salisbury Municipal Corporation Ledger A (WRO, G23/1/1), ff.78a–78e.

Table C: Tenth and Fifteenth, 9 Henry V (1420/1)*

A: Amount paid in bracket
B: Number of individuals in bracket (percentage of total)
C: Number of these individuals who held or would hold offices (percentage of all office-holders named)
D: Percentage of officers among those in bracket
E: Total amount paid by those in bracket (percentage of total)

A	B	C	D	E
0–80*d.*	118 (67.0%)	38 (59.4%)	32.2%	7,320*d.* (52.6%)
120–320*d.*	34 (19.3%)	21 (32.8%)	61.8%	5,640*d.* (40.5%)
illeg.	24 (13.6%)	5 (7.8%)	20.8%	960+*d.* (6.9%)
total	176†	64‡	36.4%	13,920+*d.*

* Salisbury Municipal Corporation Ledger A, WRO, G23/1/1, ff. 79*d*– 81*d*.

† 85 of the 149 individuals whose names are legible do not appear in the tax in Table B levied in the same year. This is partially explained by the absence of the rolls from both Novus Vicus and Pratum for that tax.

‡ 27 individuals' names are illegible in whole or in part; percentages of officers may be higher in all categories.

Table D: Assessment for Royal Levy of 1437*

A: Amount paid in bracket
B: Number of individuals in bracket (percentage of total)
C: Number of these individuals who held or would hold offices (percentage of all office-holders named)
D: Percentage of officers among those in bracket
E: Total amount paid by those in bracket (percentage of total)

A	B	C	D	E
0*d.*	3 (3.5%)	2 (3.6%)	66.7%	0*d.* (0%)
40*d.*	32 (37.2%)	18 (32.7%)	56.2%	1280*d.* (20.8%)
60*d.*	12 (14.0%)	8 (14.5%)	66.7%	720*d.* (11.7%)
80*d.*	22 (25.6%)	15 (27.2%)	68.2%	1760*d.* (28.7%)
100*d.*	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.8%)	100.0%	100*d.* (1.6%)
120*d.*	4 (4.7%)	2 (3.6%)	50.0%	480*d.* (7.8%)
160*d.*	10 (11.6%)	8 (14.5%)	80.0%	1600*d.* (26.1%)
200*d.*	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.8%)	100.0%	200*d.* (3.3%)
illeg.	1 (1.2%)	? (?%)	?%	?*d.* (?%)
total	86	55	64.0%	6140*d.*+ †

* Salisbury Municipal Corporation Ledger A, Wiltshire Record Office, G23/1/1, f. 107*d.*

† The levy was for £25, or 6000*d.* At least an extra 180*d.* was collected, an error of 3% which may have favoured the municipal coffers.

man presents a different pattern. Having served the city as a collector, assessor, constable, auditor, and member of Parliament from 1420 to 1435, Freeman was at last elected mayor in 1436 and held the office for three terms.[94] Most remarkable was Henry Baron who became mayor in 1432 without holding any prior offices. Subsequently, Baron was only an assistant to the assessors in 1438.[95]

Who formed this 'elite'? Vocationally it was a broad group, including retailers and wholesalers, craftsmen and victuallers, that is, merchants and artisans of all stripes. Economic status also varied, if their tax burdens are accurate indications of their wealth. Some correlation between tax loads and office holding exists. Tables B and C, analysing a composition and a levy of a tenth and fifteenth in 1420/21 shows that the richer citizens were far more likely to hold offices. While 50 per cent of those in the upper categories (120–320*d.*) and 23.3 per cent of the middle categories (20–96*d.*) were office holders, a mere 3.9 per cent of the lower categories (2–18*d.*) served the city as officers. Table C containing far fewer and apparently wealthier individuals shows similar disparity: 32.2 per cent of the lower category (0–80*d*), as opposed to 61.8 per cent of the upper group (120–320*d.*), were office holders.

In Tables D and E which analyse royal levies of 1437/8, those paying in the lower categories were less likely to hold office than those in the upper categories. In Table D, 62 per cent in the three lower brackets (40–80*d.*) had held or would hold office, contrasted with 75 per cent of those in the four upper ones (100–200*d.*) The difference increases in the second levy (Table E) which drew on a larger number of citizens. Here only 34 per cent of those in the five lower categories (8–40*d.*) compared with 71 per cent of those in the upper four categories (60–160*d.*), were office holders at some time in their lives.

While it is no surprise that richer citizens were more likely to hold office, lesser sorts were not absent or excluded. Indeed, the lower categories of taxpayers provided respectable if not stunning numbers of

94. Ledger A, ff.80b, 94d, 97d, 104d, 110ff.

95. Ledger A, ff.98df, 116d.

Table E: Levy for Support of Soldiers and Archers, 1437*

A: Amount paid in bracket
B: Number of individuals in bracket (percentage of total)
C: Number of these individuals who held or would hold offices (percentage of all office-holders named)
D: Percentage of officers among those in bracket
E: Total amount paid by those in bracket (percentage of total)

A	B	C	D	E
8*d.*	1 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	0%	8*d.* (0.1%)
12*d.*	68 (36.4%)	13 (17.1%)	19.1%	816*d.* (11.9%)
20*d.*	52 (27.8%)	19 (25.0%)	36.5%	1040*d.* (15.2%)
24*d.*	2 (1.1%)	2 (2.6%)	100.0%	48*d.* (0.7%)
40*d.*	26 (13.9%)	15 (19.7%)	57.7%	1040*d.* (15.2%)
60*d.*	11 (5.9%)	8 (10.5%)	72.7%	660*d.* (9.6%)
80*d.*	10 (5.3%)	5 (6.6%)	50.0%	800*d.* (11.7%)
120*d.*	7 (3.7%)	4 (5.3%)	57.1%	840*d.* (12.3%)
160*d.*	10 (5.3%)	10 (13.2%)	100.0%	1600*d.* (23.4%)
Total	187†	76‡	40.6%	6852*d.*§

* Salisbury Municipal Corporation Ledger A, WRO G23/1/1, ff. 108– 108*d.*

† 26 individuals who paid tax A did not pay tax B. Of these 13, or 50%, had been or would be officers.

‡ 126 individuals who paid tax B did not pay tax A. Of these 33, or 26%, had been or would be officers.

§ Totals recorded in the ledger amount to 6564*d.*, 288*d.* less than was actually collected. This is an error of 4% which may have been kept by the city government.

officers. A slightly different approach to these two levies demonstrates this contention. In Table B, 29.4 per cent of the officers were in the lower category, 60.3 per cent in the middle, and 10.3 per cent in the upper. Similarly in Table C, 59.4 per cent were in the lower category, while 32.8 per cent were in the upper. In Table D, 48 per cent of the officers included in the list were in the lowest brackets (40–60*d.*), 33 per cent from the middle brackets (80–120*d.*), and a modest 17 per cent from the upper ones. In Table E, 45 per cent of the officers were from the lowest (8–24*d.*), 38 per cent from the middle (40–80*d.*), and 18 per cent from the upper (120–160*d.*). The correlation of these tables affirms the reliability of the statistics. However, no significant correlation exists between the taxes paid by members of the Twenty-four and those of the Forty-eight.[96] If this was an elite, it was not determined strictly by economic status.

Table F analyses the list of tenants and their rents compiled in 1455 under the direction of Bishop Beauchamp, revealing that the average rent paid by office holders was 38.3 per cent greater than that of individuals who held no offices (25.75*d.* compared with 18.62*d.*). 68.3 per cent of the office holders had rents of under 20*d.* (compared with 80 per cent of those holding no offices). 24.9 per cent of the officers had rents in the middle categories ranging from 20*d.* to 100*d.* (compared with 16.7 per cent). 4 per cent of

96. For example, office holders during 1436/7 who were members of the small council of six which met more consistently demonstrate substantial differences in the amounts each rendered for the royal loan (Ledger A, f.106d). John Gower paid but 40*d.* as compared with the 120*d.* paid by William Alisaunder and the 200*d.* paid by Thomas Freeman, both of whom appear to have been members of the Forty-eight. In the same instance one of the reeves, William Charlying, paid 40*d.* while the other, William Knoll, paid 60*d.* (Ledger A, ff.110–111d).

Table F: Rent Assessments in 1455*

A: Number of individuals
B: Number of entries
C: Total of rents (*d.*)
D: Average value of entry (*d.*)
E: Average rents per individual (*d.*)

	A	B	C	D	E
City wide:	241	758	6402.25	8.44	26.57
City wide, excluding municipal & ecclesiastical institutions:	227	655	5093.50	7.77	22.43
Municipally controlled:	1	22	289.50	13.15	289.50
Ecclesiastical institutions:	13	81	1019.25	12.58	78.40
Clerics:	15	27	178.00	6.59	11.86
Women:	21	46	431.75	9.38	20.55
Gentlemen, squires, milites, armigers, yeomen:	11	68	703.75	10.34	63.97
Remainder holding no offices:					
Novus Vicus:	28	115	858.75	7.46	30.66
Forum:	48	130	902.25	6.94	18.79
St Martins:	33	64	358.50	5.60	10.86
Pratum:	11	16	115.00	7.18	10.45
City-wide:	120	325	2234.50	6.87	18.62
Office holders:					
Novus Vicus:	16	82	544.25	6.63	34.01
Forum:	18	55	571.50	10.39	31.75
St Martins:	17	41	322.00	7.85	18.94
Pratum:	9	11	107.75	9.79	11.97
City-wide:	60	189	1545.50	8.17	25.75

Value of Rent (d.)	*Office Holders*	*Non-Office Holders*
1– 4.9	12 (20%)	33 (28%)
5– 9.9	17 (28%)	30 (25%)
10–19.9	12 (20%)	33 (28%)
20–29.9	1 (1.7%)	6 (5%)
30–39.9	5 (8.3%)	5 (4%)
40–49.9	2 (3.3%)	3 (2%)
50–59.9	5 (8.3%)	2 (1%)
60–99.9	2 (3.3%)	4 (3%)
100–199	2 (3.3%)	2 (1%)
200 & up	1 (1.7%)	1 (1%)
Total	60	120

* 'Rentale Civitatis Sarum de Assisis', *Liber Niger*, ff.155–168d in Edmund R. Nevill, 'Salisbury in 1455 (*Liber Niger*)', *WAM* 37 (1911), 66–91. List of tenants of the bishop of Salisbury compiled under Bishop Beauchamp by John Congesby (alias John Noble) and Robert Eston, bailiffs of the city, 33 Henry VI.

the office holders had rents of 100*d.* and more (compared with 2.5 per cent). While this table demonstrates significant differences in average wealth between those who were office holders and those who were not, it also shows that the bulk of the officers were drawn from the lower ranks of rent payers.

The significance of these data becomes clearer when compared with the general population statistics for the city. In 1377, 3,226 individuals from the city of Salisbury paid the poll-tax.[97] If the worst case – that relatively little recent migration occurred – is assumed correct, then the population of the city in the first half of the fifteenth century had not recovered from this plague-reduced figure. In the period covered by Ledger A, in which illegible or missing portions reduce the count, 339 individuals held borough offices, and most of these held more than one office.[98] Of these, only fifty-three instances of citizens with the same surnames occur in the Ledger, and in ten of these instances variations in spelling or commonness of the names call into question the possibility of blood relationships. Often these apparent relatives had great variations in their patterns and frequency of office holding. For example, Robert Warmwell, who in addition to being mayor held another nine offices on twenty occasions, far outstripped William Warmwell who held but two positions: mayor and member of Parliament. Walter Shirle held five offices in addition to that of mayor and was returned to Parliament thirteen times, but William Shirle was mentioned only as a member of the convocation. Similar imbalances for possible relatives of other mayors occurred.

Patronymic studies are difficult during this time since long urban residence muddies such investigations. Surnames derived from vocations are untrustworthy indications of employment, e.g. George Botyler (mercer), John Nedler (grocer) and Thomas Mason (draper), since many had become hereditary by the fifteenth century. Place-names are equally unrewarding for the same reason. Tax lists are punctuated by names with rural origins, e.g. Swayn, Plowman and numerous place-names, which might indicate immigration and thereby help to explain the discontinuity within the 'elite'. Several historians of the city, however, suggest that little recent immigration took place after the Black Death, although significant immigration occurred in Salisbury after the plagues of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, social and familial ties are discerned only with difficulty in the ledger. While father–son relations are occasionally found, the general absence of familial continuity is striking. Only a handful of surnames continue throughout the period from 1387 to 1452. Individual office holders were not followed with any regularity by their heirs into similar positions of authority and responsibility. Potential explanations for this may include: the increasingly onerous demands of public office, the unwillingness of the heirs, the failure to produce heirs, or the absence of continued familial prestige or wealth.[99] No matter what the reason, the lack of continuity in surnames in the early fifteenth century may indicate both immigration and the inability of urban populations to sustain themselves during this era.[100]

Broad socio-political issues emerge from this discussion of the 'elite' in fifteenth century Salisbury

97. See M.W. Beresford, 'Poll-Tax Payers of 1377', *VCH Wilts.* IV, 306.

98. If we agree with previous historians of the city of Salisbury that a group of around thirty individuals dominated its political offices in the early fifteenth century (a figure which I think is far too low), then these office holders comprised around one per cent of the heads of tax-paying households within the city, based on the poll tax returns of 1377. (Certainly some adjustment must be made here for both mortality and replacement in the intervening half-century.) This percentage is nonetheless an impressive indication of citizen involvement. In the mid-1980s the city of St Petersburg, Florida, well-known for its citizen involvement, has under one hundred citizens involved in formal offices within the government as members of the council and various commissions. (I purposely exclude paid officials of the city who hold 'professional' positions.) The population of St Petersburg is around 250,000 individuals. If we use the national figure for the average size of families (and this is too high for St Petersburg with its large number of retirees) of 3.5, that yields approximately 71,400 heads of households. For St Petersburg to equal fifteenth century Salisbury's percentage, some 700 citizens would have to be involved in municipal government: an increase which would strike fear in the hearts of the efficient.

99. Rents and other assessments reveal substantial wealth in the hands of widows. See Table F where the average rental of women exceeds that of non-office holders. One potential explanation for this concentration of wealth in the hands of females is the absence of surviving sons. Another is partible inheritance which was increasingly common in the fifteenth century. R.S. Gottfried deals with this at some length for Bury St Edmunds, holding that in 'Bury, London, and indeed virtually every other provincial town 75 per cent of all families failed to produce male heirs for even three successive generations' (*Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis*, pp. 131–166, 248, 284–287). Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor, 1948), p. 205, states that 'Barely two thirds of the aldermen's sons followed their fathers into trade'. This problem was compounded by low birth rates. It might be argued that the general class of oligarchs rather than the particular families of patricians survived in time.

100. This problem has been examined in the case of London by Thrupp, op. cit., pp. 191–233. See also Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay', pp. 159–185. On the implications of immigration, see R.B. Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York', *passim*, who provides ample cautionary statements; he rejects the notion that immigration resulted in more representative government.

and need to be placed in a more general perspective. Roland Mousnier has demonstrated the difficulties involved with Marx's incomplete vision and too limiting a definition of social class.[101] While Marx defined class simply on the basis of the role in the production process, Mousnier looks to differentiation on the basis of 'legal stratification', 'social status', 'economic hierarchy', 'power', and 'ideological stratification'. Fuzzy as some of these categories might be, Mousnier shows the necessity of going beyond 'control of the means of production'. While some description of the group from an economic perspective is necessary, limiting the group to long-distance merchants, after the manner of the Pirenne school of thought, would exclude important facets of Salisbury's burgess population. Local merchants, manufacturers and craftsmen were very evident in the administration of the city.

Remember also that economic status was relative throughout England. An 'oligarch' in Salisbury will seem impoverished by comparison with one of London.[102] The elites were defined differently depending on the locale. In some towns, levels of wealth were the determining criteria. In others, familial connections were most significant. Still others found their distinction in membership of guilds and brotherhoods. These variations were not mutually exclusive and could be brought into play in a variety of combinations.[103]

Continental urban history in the fifteenth century has often revealed the cloaking of political – and economic – domination by closed, relatively small groups of individuals. This urban aristocracy often shielded its face with constitutions that appeared to welcome broad participation. Only in the course of the century did the legal framework begin to reveal the extent of their power.[104] In some instances, as I have pointed out, recent historians have questioned both the presence and the power of patriciates in a number of towns.

This study of office-holders shows both the presence and the absence of an elite in the city of Salisbury. Given the mercantile nature of the city, we might logically assume that the greater merchants controlled the political destiny of the city. But the ability of any group to dictate the fortunes of the larger population assumes either the powerlessness of the greater body or the assent if not the involvement of the whole. Limited interests held by limited social groups are unlikely to withstand the erosion of time unless these interests were held or adopted by a broader population. Political manipulation – perhaps through patronage, perhaps through propagandizing – was possible, but this still assumes that control stems from assent, tacit or explicit.[105]

Perhaps Peter Laslett's explanation of English social structure in the pre-industrial period applies here. Laslett argues that there was but one class in England. He does not suggest by this an egalitarian society; rather he rejects the standard sociological definition of class. In order to qualify as a class, the group must have access to power, especially political power. Hence, the definition of class is closely linked to political activity or the potential for it. Laslett argues that the landless, the impoverished and the disfranchised counted for nothing as a class. Those with economic and political status, while a minority with a great range of differences, formed a single social class.[106]

Applied to Salisbury in the fifteenth century, Laslett's approach clarifies the situation. To be a mere inhabitant of the city meant little; the important facet was citizenship – which amounted to membership in the guild merchant. While this was limiting, citizenship was in some ways more accessible to a broader population in the fifteenth century than it had been

101. Roland Mousnier, *Social hierarchies 1450 to the Present*, trans. P. Evans (New York, 1973), pp. 15–17.
102. For example, in 1523 Robert Jannys, a grocer and alderman of Norwich, was the richest man outside London with the £1,100 figure for tax purposes; in 1524, the richest man in Southampton was the lawyer Richard Lyster who was worth a mere £250 (Platt, *The English Mediaeval Town*, pp. 130–131).
103. In some areas, victuallers and craftsmen might ascend into the ranks of the mighty. Gottfried describes butchers and cordwainers as members of the elite of late fourteenth century Bury St Edmunds (*Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 143–145). In contrast, Jennifer Kermode finds understandable the pleas of cordwainers to be exempted from office in early sixteenth century York by claiming that service would jeopardize their livelihood (Kermode, 'Urban Decline?' p. 184).
104. For example, witness the fifteenth-century Florentines' devotion to the fiction of republicanism in the face of increasing Medici control.
105. See Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval urban history and the history of political thought', *Urban History Yearbook* (1982), 14–23, and David R. Carr, 'Marsilius of Padua and the Role of Law', *Italian Quarterly* 28 (1987), pp. 5–25.
106. Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: England Before the Industrial Age* (3rd ed., New York, 1984), pp. 22–52. Laslett distinguishes a 'class' ('a number of people banded together in the exercise of collective power, political and economic') and a 'status group' (a 'number of people enjoying or enduring the same social status'). Laslett's scheme is more useful in explaining urban circumstances than Lawrence Stone's. Stone proposes a two class system – noble and ignoble – which is defined by landownership and 'mode of life' (Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 49–53).

before. Bristol, for example, specifically abrogated urban residence as the sole qualification for citizenship,[107] and Ledger A reveals at least two instances of apparently recent immigrants who held offices in Salisbury.[108]

Citizenship therefore was a sign of status already held, an indication of one's qualifications for involvement in the political life of the town.[109] Admittedly within this group was a wide variation in wealth, so this was no plutocracy which controlled the government. Nor was it an oligarchy, since the office holders were drawn from a broad group with a constantly shifting membership. And it was not an aristocracy, for birth and heredity played a small, inconsistent role in governmental involvement.

Perhaps the pattern is better perceived in the light of the medieval principle of rule by the *pars maior et sanior*, the greater and wiser portion of the citizens. Governance by an elite group was not alien to the institutions of the Middle Ages, but this principle did not necessarily imply restricted participation. Drawn from ecclesiastical practice, this approach to medieval governance was frequently applied to urban institutions. Within monastic institutions, all members were eligible and involved in the political activities. Some, by virtue of their wisdom and prestige, ascended to office and therefore to the exercise of power.[110] A roughly equivalent situation may have existed in the city of Salisbury in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Salisbury was not dominated by a single 'class' of, say, great merchants involved in long-distance trade. Brewers, weavers and ironmongers are found among the officers as well as mercers, drapers and grocers. Nor were there closed, readily identifiable groups of families. Certainly there were individuals who held office more frequently than others, but not to the exclusion of an extraordinarily large body of citizens who were continuously involved in the governance of the city.[111]

These findings cannot be held as characteristic of all towns in fifteenth century England since they may be due to the unique nature of Salisbury. Recently Chandler attributed Salisbury's prosperity in the fifteenth century to technological advances in the cloth industry. The advent of efficient, water-driven fulling mills was fortuitous for Salisbury which possessed a proximate supply of running water.[112] Whatever the reason for Salisbury's success, Colin Platt's explanation of the rise of oligarchies might then be reversed. A thriving town which had not experienced economic difficulties would maintain a more open political system than a town beset by economic contraction.

Perhaps as a result of a relatively healthy economy, Salisbury merchants were not yet the repressors of the craft guilds. Rather the citizens were united, at least in their common opposition to the lord of the city – the bishop. These were practical men whose strategy varied little over three centuries; the slow accretion of power was their constant goal. They did not form an oligarchy. Nor did they form a traditional class. If common trust is an indication of class solidarity, such trust was increasingly replaced by institutionalized accountability. The auditors, who reviewed the activities of the chamberlains and other officers, show the systematic distrust and the resulting demand for accountability by fellow citizens.[113] The 'elite' of Salisbury was a loose alliance of a broad and constantly changing group of citizens.

107. Bristol, *Little Red Book*, I, 37–38. This of course allowed the involvement of rural individuals in urban government. In Salisbury we find a noble and a 'gentleman' holding the office of alderman (Ledger A, ff.157d, 161d). Certainly such provisions not only allowed the intrusion of the gentry into municipal politics, but also might entice the country or suburban merchant to place himself within the authority of the city. Such techniques were not limited to England. See, e.g., William M. Bowsky, 'Medieval Citizenship: The Individual and the State in the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (1967), 195–243.
108. See above, note 61.
109. What happened to the citizen who descended through poverty to the 'non-class' depths is beyond the scope of this study.
110. On rule by the *pars maior et sanior* and the implications of this phrase for broad political involvement, see Edward Peters, '*Pars, Parte*: Dante and an Urban Contribution to Political Thought', in *The Medieval City*, ed. H.A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy, and A.L. Udovitch (New Haven, 1977), pp. 113–140; Peter N. Riesenberg, 'The Ecclesiastical Theory of Inalienability' in *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Medieval Political Thought* (New York, 1956), pp. 48–80; and Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor pacis* I, xii.
111. See above, note 98. Salisbury differed from late fourteenth century York where merchants, particularly those involved in foreign trade, dominated the 'governing class' (J.N. Bartlett, 'The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 12 (1959), 26).
112. Chandler, *Endless Street*, p. 86. See also note 19 above.
113. Britnell, *Colchester*, pp. 218–221, describes a parallel system in a town which he characterizes as dominated by an elite.

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Wiltshire Members of Parliament and Their Involvement with the South Sea Company

by ISABEL IDE

An account of three related Wiltshire members of Parliament, Francis Eyles, MP for Devizes from 1715 to 1721; Benjamin Haskin Stiles, MP for Devizes from 1721 to 1734; and Sir John Eyles, MP for Chippenham from 1713 to 1727; and their involvement in the South Sea Company, commonly known as 'The South Sea Bubble'.

My interest was drawn to the involvement of three Wiltshire members of Parliament in the South Sea Bubble, as it is commonly known, by its many parallels with recent events. Although the economic misadventure recounted here took place some two hundred and seventy years ago, the greed for instant wealth, the same gullibility, the same involvement of innocent bystanders, and the same demands for retribution and punishment for those who were considered to be guilty of instigating the cataclysm are all comparable.

The three Wiltshire members of Parliament most closely involved all came from the same family: Francis Eyles (1679–1735), MP for Devizes from 1715 to 1721;[1] his cousin Sir John Eyles (1683–1745), MP for Chippenham from 1713 to 1727 and MP for London from 1727 to 1734;[2] and Benjamin Haskin Stiles (1684–1739), MP for Devizes from 1721 until 1734, who was the nephew of Francis Eyles and brother-in-law to Sir John Eyles.[3]

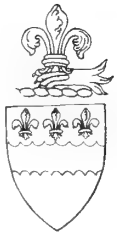
The sources used include contemporary diaries, Parliamentary reports and the report ordered by the House of Commons from the trustees appointed to raise money from the estate of the late directors of the South Sea Company. This report gives in great detail not only Francis Eyles's commercial ventures but a list of all his household furniture at the time of the débâcle.

The early eighteenth century had seen a transfer of a measure of power from the Monarch to Parliament. The Act of Settlement of 1701 limited the Royal Prerogative by stating that the Monarch could neither go to war without the consent of Parliament nor could he dismiss judges or protect his favourites from impeachment.

The House of Commons at the period consisted of 513 members for England and Wales and 45 members for Scotland. Very few of the population were eligible to vote; the number of voters in Devizes was 32, the number in Chippenham was about 130 and those in Calne actually declined in 1724 from 60 to 24 when the vote was limited solely to the Corporation.[4] The system depended upon patronage and jobbery, as J.H. Plumb so succinctly puts it. 'The number of votes a peer or squire could secure either by threats, promises or bribes was the measure of his influence and a man in eighteenth century politics was assessed by his influence'.[5] In this atmosphere, many merchants desired to become politicians to gain prestige and further their business enterprises. These merchants called themselves Whigs; they bought up land, built themselves imposing houses, and ruled an increasingly prosperous country in a spirit of self interest and self aggrandisement.

The Eyles family was typical of this Whig oligarchy. They were descended from John Eyles of Devizes, a seventeenth century woolstapler and mercer. He had two distinguished sons, the elder of whom, Sir John Eyles, was Member of Parliament for Devizes from 1679 to 1681, and Lord Mayor of London for part of the fateful year of 1688 despite never having been a sheriff. The younger son, Francis, was a director of the East India Company, sometime Governor of the Bank of England and Alderman of Bridge Without. He was created Baronet in 1714 and died in 1716.[6] The Wiltshire members of

1. Romney Sedgwick (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715–1754*, Vol. 2 (Belfast 1970), p. 20.
2. Ibid., p. 21.
3. Ibid., p. 116.
4. Ibid., p. 343.
5. J.H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Penguin, London, 1987), p. 38.
6. G.E. Cockayne, *Complete Baronetage*, Vol. V, pp. 22 and 23.



PEDIGREE OF THE EYLES FAMILY

John Eyles (d.1662) of Devizes = Mrs Mary Eyles (d.1684) widow of John the younger

Sir John (d.1703) MP for Devizes Lord Mayor of London = Sarah Cowper

Francis (d.1716) created Bt. 1714 Governor of Bank of England = Elizabeth Ayley (d.1735)

John (d.1752) = Mary Eyles of Chalford

Priscilla (b.1686)

Francis (1679–1735) of Earnshill MP for Devizes 1715–21 Director of S. Sea Co.

Elizabeth = J. Montague of Lackham

Sarah (d.1724) = Joseph Haskin Stiles (d.1714)

Sir Joseph (1690–1740) = Sarah Jefferies of Bishopsgate, London MP for Devizes 1722–27 MP for Southwark 1727–34 MP for Devizes 1734–40

Francis (1704–1750) of Soho Square and Earnshill MP for Devizes 1727–42

Josiah Governor of Fort St David

Edward Rebuilt Southbroom in 1773

Benjamin Haskin Stiles (1684–1739) of Moor Park and Bowden Park MP for Devizes 1721–34 (Returned 1722 for Devizes and Calne but chose to serve for Devizes)

Mary = *Sir John* (1683–1745) of Gidea Hall, Essex MP for Chippenham 1713–27 MP for London 1727–34

Sir Francis Haskin Eyles Stiles = Sibella Egerton (d.1762)

Figure 1. Pedigree of the Eyles family. Names of MPs are in italics

Parliament who were involved with the South Sea Company were descendants of these two men. The Bank of England, of which Sir Francis Eyles was one of the first Governors, had been founded in 1694 by a group of Whig businessmen.

The South Sea Company was founded in 1711 by Robert Harley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to provide a Tory counter-balance to the Whig-orientated Bank of England. The Company was promoted to fund the debt of nine million pounds incurred by the British involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession.[7] The name originated in the trade monopoly to South America which the company hoped to undertake. The King of Spain had secretly agreed to allow Britain to participate in this trade. Previously, trade to Buenos Aires, Caracas, Cartagena, Havana, Portobello and Vera Cruz had been the sole prerogative of the Spanish. Now the British assumed that they would have the opportunity of selling African slaves and manufactured goods in exchange for gold and silver.

The fund holders of the Government's unsecured debt of nine million pounds were to be incorporated as the shareholders of the company formed to undertake this trade. The Government securities were to be compulsorily exchanged at par for shares in the new company which by Act of Parliament was given the right of 'the sole trade and traffick, from the Kingdoms, Lands etc of America, on the East side from the river Aranoca, to the southernmost part through the South Seas to the northernmost part of America'.[8] In addition the Company was guaranteed by statute an annual payment of six per cent on the debt to be secured by indirect taxation. Those with inside knowledge made handy profits from buying the securities before the announcement was made public.

The Charter creating the company was sealed on 10 September 1711. Robert Harley, by now Earl of Oxford and Lord High Treasurer, was made the first Governor. Queen Anne died in 1714, and earlier in the same year the Government had caused considerable indignation by announcing that the Company would reserve 25 per cent of the presupposed profits for the Queen's civil list. Over these years profits had in fact been non-existent owing to the incompetence of the merchants, the appalling death rate on the slave ships and the intransigent tactics of the Spanish customs officials in South America. The sole reason that the shares still stood at par was the belief that the company was capable of making money some time in the future.

In January 1715 a general election took place. Devizes was denied the excitement of a contested seat following the previous disputes which had led to allegations of intimidation and bribery.[9] The two new members were both businessmen. Josiah Diston was a Blackwell Hall factor (all cloth had to be sold through Blackwell Hall in London) who had already represented Devizes from 1706 to 1710. The other member was Francis Eyles, a bachelor of 36, whose father and brother had both previously represented Devizes and whose places of residence were given as Essex Street, London and Earnshill, near Taunton, Somerset.

The shareholders of the South Sea Company took the opportunity of showing their loyalty to the new king, George I, by voting out all the directors with Tory connections who might have had Jacobite sympathies. By 1715 the company dividends were two years in arrears, so the directors decided to increase the issued capital to £10 million, equivalent to half the entire joint stock capital in the whole country, in order to substitute a bonus distribution of shares for the missing dividends.[10]

It was at this juncture that Francis Eyles was invited to become a director of the Company. Members of Parliament on the board were necessary to support the statute through the House of Commons to increase the issued capital. He had all the credentials needed for his position, being a flourishing businessman, a nephew of the Governor of the Bank of England, and a director of the East India Company.

The new king and his son, the future George II, both acquired large holdings in the Company. Indeed the Prince of Wales replaced the Earl of Oxford as Governor when that unfortunate man was impeached and committed to the Tower of London. However, the affairs of the company did not prosper. In 1718 war was declared between Spain and England and all trade with South America was brought to a halt. This impelled the South Sea Company to end any pretence that it was a trading company and henceforth it was purely a financial corporation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, an opportunist Yorkshireman called William Aislabie, proposed the scheme whereby the South Sea Company should take over the National Debt, then standing at about £31 million. The stock

7. This account of the South Sea Bubble is taken from the book of the same name published in London in 1960 by J. Carswell.
8. The patent of the company's foundation is at the British Museum (BM Add. Chart. 16,281).
9. E.H. Bradby, 'A Deadlock in 18th-Century Devizes', *WAM* 81 (1987), p. 105.
10. John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, (London, 1960), p. 70.

of the company stood at 125; the surplus on the conversion was to be sold for the benefit of the shareholders. The only income was dependent on the guarantee of the Government to pay 5 per cent on the debt taken over for a period of seven years. After that the payment was limited to 4 per cent.

In March 1720 the second reading of the South Sea Bill was carried by 201 votes to 131. The injection of new money into the economy led to a rapid rise in the price of property. Every successful investor wished to re-invest his profits in land. Every social climber, including city men and members of Parliament, saw the opportunity of acquiring the status that went with great estates and grand houses. Property within easy reach of London was in particular demand. Francis Eyles was following the general trend when he agreed to buy six properties in Wiltshire, mostly in the parish of Rowde near Devizes.

On 9 June Royal Assent was given to the Bill, the price of the stock rose to 800, and a third money subscription of no less than £50 million was put on the market. Some idea of the money involved can be gauged by the suggested distribution of £120 to the King's mistresses, the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Platen, for every point that the stock rose above 154.[11] On 30 August the company directors announced their intention of recommending a dividend of 30 per cent for the current year and a guaranteed 50 per cent for the next ten years. This brought investors down to earth with a bump. Those who had paid ten times their face value for their shares realized that they would be lucky to get 5 per cent on their money.

In June and July capital gains had been the only consideration. Now the yield from the dividends became increasingly important. As September progressed, gold was exported from England to the Continent and confidence was not helped by the suicide of one of the directors. On 24 September the South Sea Company's bank, The Sword Blade, closed its doors. South Sea Stock plummeted to 180. The situation was aggravated by a devastating outbreak of smallpox on the Continent, originating in a merchant ship, and it was commonly felt that the wrath of God was punishing those who had been in pursuit of mammon.[12]

Every stratum of society was affected by the bursting of the Bubble, from the King (luckily away in Hanover) to the man in the street. Grand houses that were under construction were left unfinished, including that at Bowden Park commissioned by Benjamin Haskin Stiles. Coal dropped in price although it was the onset of winter. Money that had been borrowed against the increase in land prices could not be repaid and many felt real distress that winter. Sir Robert Walpole, who was one of the few ministers not politically involved in the scandal, devised a rescue plan. This was the beginning of a train of events which led to his term of office as England's first and longest serving Prime Minister.

Speculators who saw their paper fortunes disappearing before their eyes demanded scape-goats and it was the directors who were held chiefly responsible for the lost fortunes. By 12 January a Bill had been passed compelling all the directors to list their possessions and not to leave the country under pain of heavy penalties. The doors of the House of Commons were locked and the four directors of the Company who were members were ordered to attend. Theodore Janssen, the son of a Huguenot who had settled in England and Jacob Sawbridge, a banker and stockbroker, who had been a director since the inception of the Company in 1711 duly arrived to face the storm. The investigating committee declared that it had 'discovered a train of the deepest villainy and fraud that Hell ever contrived to ruin a nation' and resolved that the directors were guilty of a notorious breach of trust, whereupon they were expelled from the House and committed to custody. The other two directors, Sir Robert Chaplin, a barrister and financier who had only been appointed in 1718, and Francis Eyles, could not be found. However, five days later, despite Eyles's powerful connections with both the Bank of England and the East India Company, they were found, expelled from the House and committed to custody.

On 31 January a new Governor, sub-Governor and Deputy Governor were appointed. The new sub-Governor was Sir John Eyles, first cousin of Francis Eyles. There had been difficulty in finding new governors and directors who had not themselves already been involved with the South Sea Company. Sir John had inherited the baronetcy in 1716 and had been the Member of Parliament for Chippenham since 1713. Like his father he was a Citizen of the City of London and a Haberdasher. He had been appointed Alderman of the Vintry in 1716 and was Sheriff of London in 1719–20. It was hoped that as Governor of the Bank of England he would utilize some of the bank's capital towards the rescue operation of the South Sea Company, but he firmly refused to do this. Instead it was decided to raise as much

11. Ibid., p. 115.

12. Ibid., p. 200.

money as possible from the estates and revenues of the directors of the Company.

Francis Eyles had to produce a 'True Exact Particular and Inventory of all lands, tenements, hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, Debts and Personal Estate' that were in his possession on the first day of June 1720.[13] The first items were his properties in Rowde, including trees worth £1,000, reversions valued at £1,500 and a demesne valued at £11,180. Unfortunately the other properties in Poulshot and Rowde that he had contracted to buy in June when the Company's fortunes were riding high were now beyond his reach, and he owed £3,400 to the vendors of these estates. In addition he held the lease of Devizes Market Place valued at £380; he sublet it to various tenants for £124. He also held a mortgage on the Devizes turnpike valued at £1,350 and it was probably for this that he owed the Mayor and Burgesses of Devizes £250. He was closely involved with Henry Flower, the Mayor of Devizes and Receiver for Wiltshire. The Receiver was responsible for collecting land taxes on behalf of the central government. Francis Eyles appears to have acted as his intermediary, paying no less than £11,764 into the Exchequer on his behalf in under 10 months. He also participated in several family business matters including 'an old concern between my father Sir John Eyles and my uncle Sir Francis Eyles in partnership which on finishing may produce £200'.[14] As trustee on behalf of his nephew Benjamin Haskin Stiles he held Corsham Court and £4,300 of South Sea Stock. On behalf of his sister Priscilla and his brother John he held another £3,740 of South Sea Stock. His sister Priscilla, then aged 34, never married and lived with John and his family at Bishops Cannings.

As well as his dealings in South Sea Stock, Eyles undertook a great variety of trading enterprises described as 'adventures'. These included goods sent to China on the sailing ships *Carnarvon* and *Sarum* valued at £4,000 and to be exchanged for gold. There was also an old account of trade to Aleppo valued at a mere £100 and consignments on the ships *Onflow, Dolphin* and *Mary Hope* sent to Mr John Chadwick in Smyrna worth £5,785. He had received six bales of silk from Smyrna; they were originally valued at £1,057 but eventually sold for £865. More mundane was the produce of £3,000 of malt talleys. In eighteenth century England the right to collect taxes was farmed out and this would have been his profit from the duty payable on this essential ingredient in the brewing of ale. Francis Eyles also paid Peter Temple £214 4*s*. 7*d*. for Latikam, the contemporary name for tobacco, understandable in the circumstances.

His household goods and chattels were duly listed: eight silver candlesticks; four waiting salvers; four larger salvers; three dozen of knives, forks and spoons; a tea-kettle and lamp; a tea-pot and lamp; a coffee-pot; three castors; four salts; a cruet frame; four sauce cups; three large spoons; some table-linen and sheets; a coach, chariot and harness; a tea-table, china cups, plates and dishes; a scrutore (writing desk); eight horses; with a total value £450.[15] This collection of Georgian silver and personal transport was kept at Francis Eyles's lodgings at Essex Street. Essex Street still runs from the Strand to the Embankment near to Temple Bar.

On 20 April 1721 Francis Eyles petitioned the House of Commons for compassion.[16] His petition has all the desperation of a man anticipating a life of destitution:

> That having the misfortune to be one of the Directors of the South Sea Company he has been expelled his seat in Parliament; that by the bill now depending, the estates of the Directors are to make satisfaction for certain losses therein mentioned. That nevertheless he was no ways concerned in promoting the scheme, nor was ever present at the meeting of the Directors before or after the passing of the Act or privy to the giving or taking in any stock for any Minister of State or member of either House, or the increase or decrease of the money subscriptions; being in fact absent in the country whilst many of the said matters were transacted. That he has made a full discovery of all matters within his knowledge, to the committee of secrecy and of all his own transactions since December 1719. That so far from having derived any advantage from being a Director, he hath diminished his own fortune by subscribing in his annuities, that he hath delivered to the Barons of the Exchequer a true inventory of both his real and personal estate and that he humbly hopes he shall not be equally involved in the future punishments of those who contrived and unjustly executed the scheme.[17]

13. *The Report of the Trustees for Raising Money on the Estates of the late Directors of the South Sea Company and Others*, House of Commons, 3 May 1728, p. 37.
14. Ibid., p. 44.
15. Ibid., p. 45.
16. *Parliamentary History* 7 George I 1721, p. 780.
17. James Waylen, *Chronicles of the Devizes* (Devizes 1839), p. 370.

Figure 2. Contemporary cartoon in which the figure of Lucifer represents the Directors of the South Sea Company riding a row-barge to Hell. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Bristol Museum

Figure 3. Earnshill, the house in Somerset built by Francis Eyles. Photograph reproduced from *West Country Houses and Their Families*, by Eric Delderfield, by kind permission of David & Charles

There are certain ambiguities and inconsistencies in this statement. If he was absent in the country while business was being transacted, why is Essex Street, within the City of London, given as his address? If he lived at the Manor in Rowde, why did he have no furniture and possessions there? His residence is given as Earnshill at the time of his election to Parliament and it was passed on to his nephew at his death but it does not feature at all in the list of real estate, unless it was in the process of being built at this time and appears in the guise of £2,000 being paid to K. Grantham for building materials.

His disclaimer of any knowledge of Company business is nullified by an item in his accounts whereby he paid Robert Knight £9,000. Robert Knight was the chief cashier to the South Sea Company. In this capacity he had transferred non-existent stock to the backers of the Company. They did not have to pay for it but could sell it back to the Company when they chose and receive as 'profit' the increase in market price. When the 'Bubble' burst Knight fled the country and took refuge at Liège. He was imprisoned at Antwerp while extradition proceedings were implemented. These proved long drawn out and in October he disappeared through a hole in the wall of his cell. It was said with some probability that the authorities had been bribed to let him go, for if he had returned to England his evidence could have caused embarassment to the highest in the land.[18]

This suspicion that the Royal Family was connected with the scandal was an open secret. The humour of the time was coarse and earthy. When the Report of the Secret Committee was debated on 6 May 1721, a Mr Shippen diverted the House by naming a Great Lady who had a considerable amount of South Sea Stock given her; and afterwards telling a story of Alice Pearce, a celebrated mistress of King Henry III who, having made a breach between the King and the Black Prince, was twice removed from court by the interposition and solicitation of the then Speaker of the House of Commons.[19] The members of the House were aware that this story referred to the

18. John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, p. 265.

19. *Parl. Hist.* 7 George I 1721, p. 795.

King's mistresses the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Platen who, as previously mentioned, were much involved with the Company. The House was equally aware of the bad blood between the King and the Prince of Wales at this time.

For Francis Eyles the day of reckoning was a more serious matter. The balance of his estate totalled £54,379 6*s*. 3*d*. from which was subtracted the sum he stood indebted of, £20,049 9*s*. 8*d*., leaving a balance of £34,329 16*s*. 7*d*. In a remarkably short time, considering that he had only set forth his petition in April, his case came up for consideration before the House. Perhaps because he was only a minor player in the game or perhaps because of his powerful relations, he was dealt with leniently and allowed to retain £20,000 of capital. He was forbidden to take any further public office, and died in 1735. Having no children of his own he left his house at Earnshill to his nephew Francis, son of his brother John. This Francis Eyles also represented Devizes, from 1727 to 1742.[20]

Sir John Eyles had been given a nightmare task to undertake in the unravelling of the affairs of the Company. Book-keeping was in its infancy and the difficulties were compounded by false ledger entries and fictitious stock which had been surreptitiously advanced to friends. On 3 July 1721, he put forward to the House a clause which would have returned the expropriated estates to their previous owners and, instead of forfeiting their estates, required that they should pay fines. He suggested that it was more advantageous either to fine the owners or to allow them 15 per cent out of their estates if they paid their fines promptly. This suggestion was warmly opposed and rejected by the House without a division.[21]

Walpole then put forward a scheme to transfer South Sea Company stock to the Bank of England and the East India Company. Sir John was opposed to this, fearing that the Bank and the East India Company would be dragged down into the abyss along with the South Sea Company. He also opposed a petition from Richard Hampden, Treasurer of the Navy, to be allowed to compound for his debts. As Richard Hampden had borrowed £25,000 of public money to acquire South Sea Stock and seems to have made a profit of at least £9,000, Eyles's objection appears to have been quite reasonable. On 12 December 1722 Sir John made another attempt to settle the affairs of the Company and presented a petition to the House stating 'That they laboured under an unsupportable Burden, from which they prayed to be relieved by this House, and that they were content to convert Part of their Capital Annuities, redeemable by Parliament, transferable at and payable by the said Company'.[22]

The Prime Minister, Robert Walpole, then intervened to tell the House that the King had been told of the petition and had approved of it. (The King had been re-elected as Governor of the South Sea Company at the re-organization in 1721.) A motion was made to refer the petition for consideration of the whole House and being supported by Sir John, Mr Methuen and Mr Robert Walpole, it was carried without a division. Next a proposal was made for remitting the two million due from the South Sea Company to the Government and for converting into annuities one half of their capital stock. This was strenuously opposed but eventually it was carried by 210 votes. Not only was Sir John dealing with the South Sea Company affairs but he had also been elected to be a commissioner for the sale of the estates forfeited by English Jacobites in the 1715 rebellion; both undertakings were extremely protracted and were still continuing well into the seventeen-thirties.

In 1732 Sir John was reprimanded by the House of Commons for the fraudulent sale of the Derwentwater Estates. Sir James Radcliffe, third Earl of Derwentwater, had been brought up at St Germain as companion to James Edward, son of James II. He was taken prisoner at Preston and with Viscount Kenmure was one of the two noblemen to be executed after the failure of the Jacobite rising. Sir James's youth and manner of death excited general compassion; he left a young widow who had appealed to George I in vain for her husband's life.[23]

Sir John's excuse for his mismanagement of the Derwentwater estate was 'the great weight of business which the disordered affairs of the South Sea Company laid upon him'. Viscount Perceval, commenting in his diary, considered that Sir John was fortunate to escape the fate of his nephew who had suffered expulsion from the House of Commons. However, Sir John was well liked and respected in the City and the vote went in his favour by 175 to 145. By this time Lord Perceval, who was nursing a bad cold, had gone home to bed.[24] In April the same year Sir John had further troubles. He put forward a petition from the South Sea Company to convert three quarters of their

20. Sedgwick, *Hist. of Parl: H. of C. 1715–1754*, Vol. 2, p. 20.
21. *Parl. Hist.* 7 George I 1721, p. 857.
22. House of Commons Sessional Papers Vol. I (pub. 1803), p. 296.
23. *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 1,080.
24. *Egmont Diary* Vol. I, H.M.C. no. 63 (1920), p. 247.

capital into annuities and to leave only a quarter to continue to be subject to the uncertainties of trade. This appeared to be a sensible suggestion but the Tories and some discontented Whigs could not forbear from disagreeing and argued until six o'clock, when they decided to admit the petition but leave it to the judgement of the House whether to postpone consideration of the matter to another year.

Viscount Perceval thought that opposition to the petition was based on dislike of seeing the matter settled to the satisfaction of so many subjects who, seeing their properties secure, would have cause to be grateful to the Government. During the debate a quarrel arose between Edward Vernon and Sir John. Edward Vernon insinuated that the directors of the Company had carried on a private trade which was contrary to their oaths and hurtful to the Company, neglecting to prosecute and punish those they employed. Edward Vernon stared pointedly at Sir John, who was universally considered to be guilty in this respect. This was hardly surprising considering his close family involvement in the Company. Sir John indignantly refuted the charge and said that Captain Vernon had accused him within the House but dared not do so outside. It looked as though a duel was possible but several members interposed and the Speaker enjoined them both to give their word that nothing further should ensue. Neither gentleman was youthful and when they regained their tempers they agreed not to prosecute their resentment.[25]

By January 1733 Sir John had had enough and when presiding over a general meeting of the South Sea Company he announced in a pathetic speech that he 'thanked the Company for the honours they had done him in choosing him four times successively into that post; that his close application to the Company's affairs had impaired his health to that degree, as to determine him not to stand candidate at the next election for the station he was in; and therefore desired them to think of another'.[26]

Sir John lived at Gidea Hall, Essex, where he rebuilt the house in an elegant manner and with plantations of trees, canals and other improvements rendered it one of the most desirable seats in Essex.

From 1727 to 1734 he was member of Parliament for the City of London, and in that year he stood for Chippenham but was defeated. He became father of the City in 1737 but rarely attended corporation meetings. In the same year he was appointed president of St Thomas's Hospital and in 1739 he was made joint postmaster general, retaining both posts until his death at the age of 62 in 1745. Sir John married his cousin Mary, daughter of Joseph Haskin Stiles and Sarah Eyles. They had one son, Francis, who was also heir to his maternal uncle Benjamin Haskin Stiles, the third member of the family associated with the fortunes of the South Sea Company.

Benjamin Haskin Stiles was the great nephew of Robert Stiles of Wantage who emigrated to Amsterdam in 1646 and amassed a fortune of over £150,000.[27] Robert Stiles's heir was his nephew Joseph Haskin Stiles who married Sarah Eyles. They had two daughters, Mary and Sarah, and two sons, Benjamin and Joseph. Benjamin was born about 1684; he married in 1708 and had one son and two daughters who all predeceased him. In 1719 his younger brother Joseph died, having at that time agreed to buy Corsham Court from John Conyers. Benjamin inherited the house on paying the remainder of the purchase money.

Corsham Court was an Elizabethan house completed about 1582 for Thomas Smythe of Corsham who became a Collector of Customs in London. It had been bought in 1706 by Lord Thomas Thynne, nephew and heir of the first Viscount Weymouth, who resold it in 1716. The chief innovations made in Benjamin Haskin Stiles's time are the Baroque entrance gates. The main entrance has a curved pediment, rusticated stonework and oval-shaped scrolls buttressing the piers. The entrance piers of the Southern Avenue have channelled rusticated stonework surmounted by an entablature with ball finials held in place by acanthus leaves. This entrance is visible from the road but is no longer in use.[28]

In 1720, when Haskin Stiles decided to buy Bowden Park, the negotiations were prolonged by the vendors, the Johnson family, being involved in a Chancery trust case. He called in John Wood the younger and started to invest some of his gains from the South Sea Company in a grand new house somewhat to the north of the present one.[29] When the crash came he was unable to complete his plans, but over 20 years later a passer-by noted in his diary: 'Saw Bowden House, the seat of Haskin Stiles Esq. It

25. Ibid., p. 263.
26. *Gent. Mag.* 1733, p. 44.
27. Information from an unpublished Account of the Owners of Bowden Park by Miss Thelma Vernon, by kind permission of Lord Weinstock.
28. Frederick J. Ladd, *Architects at Corsham Court* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1978), p. 21.
29. Canon Goddard's No. 8 Scrapbook, MS in WANHS Library, p. 185.

Figure 4. Moor Park, Hertfordshire, built by Benjamin Haskin Stiles. Reproduced from an engraving (1861) in the Herts Record Office Collection

stands near Laycock at the top of a hill, from whence there is a prodigious prospect, the house is but a shell it having nothing finished about it, the design of it is grand, but it is going to ruin, the park is small and but little land belongs to it'.[30]

However, the misfortune of his cousin Francis was Haskin Stiles's opportunity and he was returned unopposed to represent the Devizes constituency on 8 February 1721. He was returned again on 23 March 1722, together with his uncle Joseph Eyles, Josiah Diston being the losing candidate. At this election he was also returned for Calne together with George Duckett, the defeated candidates being William Clayton and Sir Orlando Bridgeman of Bowood. Haskin Stiles was lessor of the prebend manor of Calne. He decided to represent Devizes probably because his fellow member at Calne had been appointed to a government office and a bye-election was pending.

In 1720 Haskin Stiles bought the Moor Park Estate near Rickmansworth in addition to his houses at Corsham and Bowden Park. This house had an interesting history as it had belonged to the unfortunate James Fitzroy, Duke of Monmouth and son of Charles II. After his execution in 1685, following his defeat at the Battle of Sedgemoor, the house was seized by the Crown but a year later the house was granted to Monmouth's widow and her heirs in perpetuity.

The house had been built forty years earlier but Haskin Stiles decided to bring in Sir James Thornhill to undertake extensive improvements and elaborate interior decorations. Thornhill agreed to decorate the Great Hall 'in the best manner that he was capable of at the best times and when the weather was best for doing such work and with the best and most proper colour and materials'. The fee was to be £3,100, to be

30. 'Diary of an unknown traveller to Bath and Bristol in 1743', Bristol Municipal Library, MSS 222111.

paid in instalments as the work progressed.[31] The decorations included 'a Great Circle in the ceiling and eight great pictures along the side of the hall'.[32] Stiles paid Thornhill £800 during 1726 and 1727 but he was now in financial difficulties and Sir James took him to court to try and extract payment for his work. The decorations involved a lot of gold leaf and Thornhill had had to sell £500 of South Sea Stock to cover his expenses. Stiles contested that the paintings were incomplete and poorly executed. Visitors to Moor Park can judge for themselves; in the Thornhill room is a painting of Aurora and on the Grand Staircase are The Fable of Proserpine; Thetis, Goddess of the Seas; and the Judgement of Paris.[33] Sir James enlarged the house by adding two bays on either side and he also designed the massive portico supported by Corinthian columns no less than 47 feet high. Two wings and colonnades in Tuscan style were added and the whole was encased in Portland stone; the carriage of the stone alone from the London docks cost no less than £14,000.

Stiles's expenditure far outraced his income. I can find no written evidence for the suggestion that he sold his South Sea Company shares at £1,200 for each £1 share. In fact in 1729 Stiles mortgaged his Bremhill estates for £10,000, and he owed £15,000 on his Bishops Cannings estate, but this did not prevent him from acquiring the Canonhold in Melksham in 1733.

He drew up his will on 30 August 1733, leaving his second wife Jane the houses at Moor Park and Lincoln's Inn together with his jewels, carriages, coach horses and saddle horses. His wife was to have an annuity in order that she could live at Moor Park 'in a right and proper manner' with a separate annuity for 'the maintaining, keeping and preserving my gardens, walks and avenues at Moor Park'.[34]

In default of any children of his two marriages the residuary legatee was to be Sir John Eyles's son Francis, who was to take the additional names of Haskin Stiles. He was instructed in the will that he must desist from 'committing any wilful waste, spoil or destruction in felling, cutting down or destroying any young trees likely to be of use as timber'. Stiles's partner, John Jacob, was instructed to sell the other estates to settle any outstanding debts.

Despite the will being five pages long and going into great detail on the disposition of all Benjamin Stiles's property, after his death, on 4 April 1739, the legatees and the debtors took the matter to court. The case came before the Lord Chancellor on 18 July 1741. By this time both Jane Haskin Stiles and John Jacob had died. The legacies were still outstanding, and the estate owed Thomas Gibson and Henry Jacob £41,600 plus unpaid interest.[35] A receiver was appointed to sell the estates and settle the outstanding debts. The Manor of Bishops Cannings was sold to Thomas Browne of the Herald's Office in March 1743.

Sir Francis Haskin Eyles Stiles inherited Corsham Court, Bowden Park and Moor Park. But he was more interested in the scientific papers he produced for the Royal Society than in running his estates. In 1746 he sold Corsham Court to Paul Methuen and in 1751 Bowden Park was sold to Ezekiel Dickinson; at about the same time Lord Anson bought the estate at Moor Park.

Sir Francis died in Naples in 1762. He had been dependent upon a pension of £300 arranged for him by George III through the Duke of Newcastle's secret service grant.[36]

The best summary of the whole episode is made by the contemporary parliamentary commentator:

> Thus, in the space of eight months were seen the rise, progress and fall of that mighty fabric which, being wound up by the mysterious springs to a wonderful height had fixed the eyes and expectations of all Europe, but whose foundation being fraud, illusion, credulity and infatuation fell to the ground, as soon as the artful management of the projectors were discovered. The ebb of this swollen fluctuating credit returned with greater violence than it flowed and carried everything before with that precipitation, that the application of the ministers of state and the directors of the great companies jointly and separately to stop it, were ineffectual.[37]

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31. Chancery Proceedings PRO C11 74/14.
32. *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971) p. 658.
33. *Visitors' Guide to Moor Park Mansion* (Rickmansworth, n.d.). Moor Park is owned by Three Rivers DC but leased to Moor Park Golf Club and is open for public viewing.
34. W.R.O. 248/27.
35. W.R.O. 248/27. The court case covers 30 closely written pages and I have only given a brief summary of the proceedings.
36. Sir L. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edn. (London, 1957), p. 232.
37. *Parliamentary History* George I 1720, p. 675.

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Royal Justice and Folk Justice: Conflict Arising over a Skimmington in Potterne in 1857

by PAUL ROBINSON

In 1857 the police intervened in an unsuccessful attempt to put a stop to a skimmington which was taking place at Potterne. The main participants were subsequently brought to trial, and the publicity the case received has resulted in what may be one of the best documented examples of a skimmington in Wiltshire. The event is discussed in the context of other Wiltshire skimmingtons, particularly those also associated with Potterne.

> The Country Parson is a lover of old customs, if they be good and harmless; and the rather because country people are much addicted to them, so that to favour them therein is to win their hearts, and to oppose them therein is to deject them. If there be any evil in the custom, that may be severed from the good, he pares the apple and gives them the clean to feed on.
>
> George Herbert, *The Country Parson* (1632)

Recent historians have discussed how folk justice (or 'popular justice') could be employed in the past in cities, towns and particularly rural areas as a way of punishing offenders (Kent 1983; Ingram 1981). Although folk justice was not used for serious offences, such as felonies, villagers or townspeople might take it upon themselves to censure and punish those who had defied accepted social conventions or had committed moral offences, even when these were proscribed by law and subject to trial in the courts. It is apparent that on some occasions the justices of the peace, constable or leading members of the community were not only fully aware of the application of the folk justice, but even condoned the extra-legal punishment. However, folk justice as well as being extra-legal was often brutal and this could lead to the prosecution of the instigators or leaders by the aggrieved victim. An instance of this arose following the skimmington that took place at Quemerford, near Calne, in 1618 (Cunnington 1930; 1932, 498–9). In 1857 a skimmington also took place at Potterne and resulted in the prosecution of the chief participants by the Wiltshire Police at the subsequent Petty Sessions in Devizes. This appears to be the only instance of such a prosecution in Wiltshire in the nineteenth century although the police are said to have intervened in a skimmington which took place in Ramsbury in, it is said, 1868 or 1869 (Pole 1944). Because of the publicity the Potterne case received, much more information survives than is usually found about the origin, organization and progress of a skimmington in Wiltshire, and the contemporary responses to it outside the immediate community involved. The case also illustrates the difficulty felt by the administrators of Royal Justice in keeping in check the excesses of folk justice.

The custom known as 'the skimmington', 'the skimmington ride', 'riding the stang' or 'the charivari' is found throughout Europe and is recorded from early times until the present century. It might combine two contrasting elements: on the one hand there might be a mood of good humour on the side of the participants; more often, however, the event was planned as a public humiliation of those who had stepped outside the bounds of accepted standards of behaviour; for example: adulterers, wife or child beaters, hen-pecked husbands and their domineering wives, those who had contracted a marriage of which the community disapproved (perhaps because of the disparate ages of the partners or when the marriage followed too soon after the death of a previous partner of one of the parties), and so on. Details of the form taken by the skimmington varied from village to village but the basic elements were the same. The offenders were serenaded by 'rough music' – cacophonous noise created by the beating of pots and pans, the ringing of bells, the blowing of animals' horns, the firing of guns and ribald or angry shouting. Effigies of the offenders, persons dressed up to symbolise them or even the offenders themselves might be paraded through the village or town streets in coarse, humiliating or ridiculous postures to the accompaniment of the 'rough music'. In England the best known example of this is the fictional account of the skim-

mington directed against Michael Henchard and Lucetta Farfrae in Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*; while a representation of a West Country skimmington taking place may be seen in the early seventeenth century plasterwork frieze in the Great Hall at Montacute House in Somerset.

In Wiltshire there are several recorded instances of skimmingtons dating from the early seventeenth century: from Malmesbury in 1615 (Ingram 1984, 91), Catcomb in 1616 (Ingram 1985, 170), Quemerford in 1618 (Cunnington 1930; 1932, 498–9), Burbage and Wilton in 1625 (Ingram 1985, 174–5) and at Marden in 1626 (Cunnington 1932, 79–80). There are no recorded examples from the eighteenth century, but several from the nineteenth century. These were at Burbage in 1835 and Ogbourne St George in *c.* 1840 (Carrington 1854, 88–9); Potterne in 1857 (this paper) and at an unspecified date in the latter half of the century (Smith n.d., 27); Ramsbury in 1868 or 1869 (Pole 1944, 278–80); Trowbridge in 1873 (*Trowbridge Advertiser* 21 June 1873) and in the early 1890s (inf. K.H. Rogers); Westbury in 1878 (*Trowbridge Advertiser* 27 July 1878); Little Bedwyn in 1895 and Shalbourne in about 1895 (Pole 1944, 278–80). The latest recorded occurrences that I have been able to trace were at Bromham in *c.* 1900 (*North Wilts Herald* 12 January 1934); Trowbridge at the time of the First World War (inf. K.H. Rogers); and at All Cannings at an uncertain time about the beginning of this century (Gandy 1929, 41–3). To these should be added the skimmington described by the dialect poet, Will Meade, which may well record an actual occurrence at Potterne where he was born and which he may have witnessed (Meade 1935, 21–3). We must accept that a very great number must have gone unrecorded for the custom to have survived independently in many villages and towns. As a custom it is clearly related to the official punishment, where on the mayor's judgement, immoral couples might be paraded around the town 'with basins', i.e. a simplified rough music, and then ordered to quit the town, which was found in Devizes in Elizabethan times (Cunnington 1925, 3 and 25 citing the Borough Minute Book, W.R.O. G20/1/16 and 11).

Potterne, which is only two miles from Devizes, had in 1857 nearly 1300 inhabitants and most of the working population were agricultural labourers employed on local farms. Traditionally the village had a particular reputation for violence and hooliganism. The inhabitants were known as 'Potterne ba-a-s' or 'Potterne lambs' because they were anything but lamb-like but were said 'to excell in work, drinking and fighting' (Smith n.d.). For how long the reputation existed is difficult to determine. In 1832 it was said that 'the Parish of Potterne is filled with a very discontented and turbulent race' (Poor Law Commission Reports H L 7A (1832) iii (1)). However, the lengthy newspaper accounts of the spate of animal mutilations, that occurred in the village in 1816 and 1817, which are summarised in the *Wiltshire Gazette* 24 December 1931, do not make any allusion to a reputation that the village might have had at that time for violence and hooliganism. On the other hand, in 1876 it was categorically stated that the village's reputation for violence was very much a thing of the past (Jones 1876, 274), and by the present century the nick-name has come to be regarded as an insult to a native-born inhabitant of the village. The phase of particular violence may then have been a short lived one, lasting perhaps between thirty and fifty years only. It is possible, too, that the nick-name arose as a play upon the name of Superintendent Wolfe of the Wiltshire Police and came about as a result of rivalry between him and the rowdy element of the village.

Examples of hooliganism giving the village its bad reputation are not difficult to find. A newspaper report refers to 'a regular fight that took place on Sunday afternoon in Potterne, just after divine service' (*Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 19 February 1857), while 'Potterne Law' by tradition was based upon

> The good old rule, the simple plan
> That he should take who has the power
> And he should keep who can.
> (*Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*
> 12 February 1857)

The chief sources for the skimmington which took place at Potterne on three evenings from 10–12 February 1857 are two accounts which appeared in the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, which are reproduced in full in Appendices 1 and 2 below. The first of these appeared on 19 February, shortly after the event itself. The second account, on 12 March, describes the prosecution by the police at the Petty Sessions at Devizes on 9 March of ten of the participants. Six of them: Alfred Wilkins, Robert Underwood, James Cooksey, Robert Marshman, George Hampton and James Burt, were charged with indecent exhibition, while four others: James Marshman, James Willis, James Bond and George Rooke, were charged with aiding and abetting them. In the second account the names of the defendants are given incorrectly but may be corrected from the Petty Sessions record, now in the County Record Office at Trowbridge. This, however, provides no additional details either of the event itself or of the trial.

The cause of the skimmington is not clear. The first newspaper account (Appendix 1) states that 'it may be true, or not, that certain individuals in the village have been guilty of a *faux-pas*'. This with the defendants' plea that 'breaches of morality in . . . Potterne' were 'celebrated' in this way and the employment of two indecent male and female effigies, suggest that the villagers were accusing two of their members of some form of sexual misbehaviour. Whether, however, it was a protest against an adulterous relationship or against a re-marriage too soon after the death of a previous partner, which are the most common causes for skimmingtons in Wiltshire in the nineteenth century, cannot be determined. It is also uncertain who the victims were. The culmination of the event, the burning of an effigy outside the shop of William Warman, suggests that either he or a member of his family was one of the intended victims, for Will Meade's poem about a skimmington describes the burning of the effigies outside the home of one of the adulterers as the conclusion of the event. However, in the skimmington at Potterne which degenerated into a riot after the intervention of the police in an attempt to stop it, the burning of the effigy may have been associated rather with an attempt to coerce William Warman into giving free drink to the participants. William Warman did not leave the village after the event, which is one of the underlying intentions of a skimmington, again suggesting that he or a member of his family may not have been the target.

In summary, the skimmington at Potterne began in the evening of Tuesday 10 February 1857, when a great crowd of men, women and children, said to number two or three hundred altogether, were seen coming from the house of James Marshman in Coxhill Lane. Two of them, James Cooksey and Robert Marshman, each carried a large effigy on a pole. The larger one was six feet in height and represented a man; the other representing a female figure was slightly smaller. In the newspaper report the figures were described as 'disgusting' and 'unfit for publication'. They were paraded up and down the village High Street to the accompaniment of rough music – the firing of guns, the beating of pots and kettles and 'all sorts of discordant noise'. Police Superintendent Wolfe attempted to seize the two figures but was unsuccessful. The skimmington then continued for a further hour or so until 8.30 or 9 p.m. when the effigies were taken back to Marshman's house. During this time the High Street was blocked so that no-one could walk safely through it and wheeled vehicles had to by-pass the area.

On the second evening the same procession took place. James Burt and (although he was not specifically named) Robert Underwood carried the two figures and the police made no attempt to intervene, possibly as they had not realised that the skimmington would last for more than one night.

On the third and final evening, when the two effigies were brought out of the house, carried this time by Alfred Wilkins and George Hampton amid the usual 'great crowd of people', the police were better prepared, having assembled in greater numbers. They succeeded in seizing the two figures which they then carried to the village police house, and clearly expected that at this the crowd would disperse and the event come to an end. However, George Rooke incited the crowd to begin the skimmington again. A bell was rung and passed from hand to hand. Tolling the passing bell in mockery was a well established practice of derision. Strictly speaking this was not a true part of the ritual of the Potterne skimmington, but was a means by which the crowd was incited to resume it. The leaders of the skimmington went to a nearby yard and made a substitute rough and ready effigy out of straw which was paraded up and down for about two hours under the leadership of James Bond. The skimmington seems now to have degenerated into a riot specifically directed against the police, and possibly Superintendent Wolfe personally. Every time the procession passed the police house in the village a large stone was hurled against the door. Stones were also thrown at horses ridden through the street. Finally the effigy was taken to the front of William Warman's house in Duck Street and set on fire. At some stage during the evening James Bond, leading the mob, threatened to smash in the door and window of Warman's shop unless he brought them out some drink.

At the Devizes Petty Sessions, the six accused of 'disgusting exhibition' admitted the charge, justifying it by claiming that 'breaches of morality in the immaculate village of Potterne . . . had from time immemorial been celebrated in this way; it was a Potterne custom, as old as the church itself'. They considered, they said, that the police interference was an infringement of the ancient rights of the village, rather than that they themselves had been breaking the law, and they asserted that they could bring several respectable farmers to confirm the antiquity of the custom and that no attempt had been made in the past to put a stop to any similar event.

The bench temporised and bound them over in a bond of £10 each to keep the peace for twelve months, threatening to prosecute them under the Vagrant Act if they did not consent.

That the skimmington was a Potterne custom even if the bench and the *Devizes Gazette* were ignorant of it, is shown by other references to it. Tom Smith records (n.d., 52ff.):

> Any breach of rectitude on the part of married people was made the occasion of a demonstration. This was not so much as from the love of virtue as from the love of excitement. Ragtime bands (tin cans and hideous whistles) paraded in the vicinity of the culprits' homes and the hubbub must have impressed the sinners with a sense of their wrong doing. The demonstration was known as a skimmington and was not so much for moral correction as it were a sort of public lynching. Whatever the professed object it was an excuse for an outburst of mischief and rowdyism. The pious in the village of course put their fingers in their ears and assumed a shocked demeanour, but I imagine that they felt an inward satisfaction because of the emphasis put on the text 'The way of the transgressors is hard', though it was done in such an unseemly manner. No doubt the demonstration did act as a deterrent and in some degree prevented open-faced sinning. One wonders which is better for the community, the rag-time protest or the present day tolerance and silence.

The form of the skimmington described by the Potterne born poet, Will Meade, is broadly similar to that which occurred in the village in 1857, suggesting that Meade may well have been describing a local event which he had either witnessed himself or heard about from a participant. Two images were made representing the guilty parties, the farmer's young wife and her lover; a rough band was formed: 'kettles tin buckets an' vrying pans too'; the two images were tied tightly together, oil and tar were poured onto them and they were set alight outside the farmer's home. The couple, however, had fled before the procession arrived (Meade 1935, 21–3).

There is, finally, no reason why the skimmington should not have been an ancient custom in the village as the defendants maintained. It is possible that the commotion briefly recorded as having taken place in the village in 1542 was in fact a skimmington: '1542. Paid to William Hunt the 4th June with letters to London to my Lord concerning the Rising and Uproar at Potterne in Wiltshire the space of three days, four shillings.' (Jones 1876, 267, quoting a MS at Longleat.) If this is so, this is the earliest reference to one taking place in Wiltshire as yet recorded.

With regard to the organisation of the Potterne skimmington and the backgrounds of the people involved in it, the newspaper account may be supplemented by the evidence of the 1861 Census Returns for the village. At the Petty Sessions, the six men and youths who carried the effigies on the three evenings were regarded as the principals in the affair and the four others as merely having aided and abetted them. This is certainly a simplistic view. Some at least of the latter four were certainly more central to the event than either the trial account or the press reports infer.

It is clear that it was the six men who carried the effigies on the three days who were those charged with indecent exhibition. These were:

First day James Cooksey, an agricultural labourer aged 35 living in Lower Churchyard.
Robert Marshman, probably the agricultural labourer aged 32 living in Potterne Wick rather than his father with the same name and address.

Second day James Burt, a 'scholar', the son of Ann Burt, a butcheress in the High Street. He was aged 17 and was born in Devizes.
Robert Underwood – an agricultural labourer aged 14 (just) living at Wick Cottages in Potterne Wick.

Third day Alfred Wilkins, an agricultural labourer aged 21 living in Rookes Lane.
George Hampton, probably the agricultural labourer aged 17 living in the Grocer's shop, Coxey (i.e. Coxhill) Lane, rather than his father aged 42 with the same name and address.

The other four men were charged for different reasons with aiding and abetting. One, James Willis, was possibly not centrally involved at all with the skimmington. It is recorded only that he had made verbal observations about the police interference on the first day. He probably was not an inhabitant of the village as no-one with this name is recorded in the 1861 Census Return as living in Potterne. He may tentatively be identified as the miller of this name aged 32 living in the nearby village of Great Cheverell, and was possibly merely drawn to the village as an onlooker.

The remaining three men come significantly from the same street in the village, Coxey (i.e. Coxhill) Lane, and were probably as closely involved in the organisation of the skimmington as the six above. George Rooke, who had urged the villagers to resume the skimmington on the third day, after the police had succeeded in seizing the two effigies, was aged 31 at this time. He was a person of some social standing in

Potterne. In the 1861 Census Return he was described as a 'land proprietor'. His father, William Rooke, had been described alternatively as a farmer or a gentleman. Whether he was also the employer of any of the agricultural workers who participated in the skimmington is impossible to tell, but it remains a possibility. At other skimmingtons it is apparent that a person with some local status or authority lay in the background. For example, at Marden in 1626, the participants in the skimmington there pleaded 'that William Bayley, the farmer of their towne and many others had encouraged them soe to doe'. On the other hand, Rooke's position as a landowner may be irrelevant in this instance. At least one other Potterne farmer and landowner at this time had a particular reputation as a trouble-maker. This was John Glass, who committed suicide in 1869 (*Marlborough Times* 14 August 1869).

The two other participants prosecuted were James Marshman, who was aged 35 and an agricultural labourer like his brother Robert; he was clearly central to the event in having allowed his house to be used for preparing the two effigies; and James Bond, aged 25 and also an agricultural labourer. Bond was particularly active on the final day as the leader of the procession and so may well have played a leading role in general in the skimmington.

The participants in the skimmington were either young or middle-aged as far as can be determined. Most, not surprisingly, were agricultural labourers, and although several came from Coxhill Lane, the others were spread throughout the village, including its outlying hamlet at Potterne Wick. If the newspaper account is fair in describing them as 'about as rough a lot of fellows as one could wish to see together' then they clearly will have represented the rowdier element of the village, even if one of them could describe himself as a 'land proprietor'.

There remain finally two questions to consider. Why was there an unsympathetic response to the skimmington in Potterne by the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* and why did the Wiltshire police intervene in an attempt to suppress a traditional custom of this sort? With regard to the first, whereas accounts of other skimmingtons in Wiltshire in other Wiltshire newspapers are often fairly dispassionate, it was clearly the excesses of the event at Potterne combined with the reputation that the village had at this time for rowdiness and hooliganism, which explains the newspaper's condemnation of it. The indecency of the two effigies would have invited condemnation at this time, possibly more so than in preceding centuries. It is apparent too that the newspaper reporter (as well as the local magistrates) did not realise that this was a traditional rural custom that had taken place. But even if he had known or suspected it, it is clear from other accounts at this time in the town-based newspapers that, in general, traditional customs which had survived in the countryside were viewed neither objectively nor with any sympathy. The prevailing attitude was that they were an indication of the ignorance, credulity or backwardness of people living in the country.

Whether or not the Wiltshire police appreciated that the skimmington taking place at Potterne was a traditional rural custom is uncertain but is in any case irrelevant. By the end of the seventeenth century it had been decided by the Court of the King's Bench that skimmington riding constituted a riot. The police were then quite justified in attempting to stop it. Moreover, the early and mid nineteenth century was a time when there was a particular fear of unrest and disturbance in the countryside. It is quite understandable that the police would intervene in what did appear to be a serious disturbance, with a large crowd having gathered together making a loud noise, marching up and down the main street in the village, firing guns and blocking the road. The police are said to have similarly intervened in the skimmington at Ramsbury in *c.* 1868–69 (Pole 1944, 278–80) as well as at that at Leckhampton in Gloucestershire in 1860 (Alford 1959, 510–1). At other Wiltshire skimmingtons in the nineteenth and present centuries, however, there appears to have been no attempt by the police to intervene, although at some of them the organisers clearly acted furtively, conscious perhaps of the illegal nature of what they were doing. Other skimmingtons appear to have passed off in a general mood of good will. Had the police not intervened at Potterne on the final night, then there would not have been the violent confrontation that resulted; that night would have passed as quietly as the first two and the skimmington would probably have reached neither the newspaper nor the courts. Certainly the prosecution did not serve to suppress the custom in the village. T. Smith's record, probably supported by Will Meade's poem, confirms that skimmingtons continued in the village after 1857.

The newspaper accounts of the skimmington at Potterne in 1857 provide one of the most detailed records that we have of the custom for Wiltshire and enable its form to be compared with those of skimmingtons recorded in other Wiltshire towns and villages. Effigies representing the victim or victims were paraded with rough music at both Bromham and Trowbridge in the 1890s. At Bromham, where the

victim had supported the Boer cause, figures of the Boer leaders were also made and paraded. It is not stated, however, whether or not they were burnt at the end of the skimmington, but they may well have been (*North Wilts Herald*, 12 January 1934). At a skimmington which took place in Trowbridge in the early 1890s, an effigy was made representing a man who was accused by the community of adultery. This was burnt at the conclusion of the event (inf. K. Rogers). It is uncertain whether or not there was also an effigy of his partner.

The skimmington at Westbury in 1878, protesting at the immoral behaviour of a local preacher, provides the only instance as yet recorded in Wiltshire in the nineteenth century of dressing up a person who was then paraded with accompanying rough music.

WESTBURY

Skimmerton Riding

> Several times this week this pastime has been indulged in by crowds of both young and old. The cause of their orgies is the alleged fact that a well-known local preacher was discovered one evening in a barley field with a 'factory belle' in an improper situation.
>
> The circumstances soon becoming known, some parties who are always fond of a 'spree' determined to have one. The 'cryer' was engaged to announce the facts publicly and . . . on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings considerable excitement and amusement were created by the town being paraded by a large crowd, accompanied by rough music, who used their lungs to the utmost of their power and annoyed the respectable inhabitants.
>
> In the procession was the town sweep who, mounted in a donkey cart and dressed in a fantastic suit, with his brows decked with a wreath of barley, caused much mirth.
>
> For several hours each evening the town has been enlivened by this hooting, yelling and tin-pot playing, but no acts of violence have taken place.
>
> (*Trowbridge Advertiser*, 27 July 1878)

At the skimmingtons at Burbage, Ogbourne St George, Ramsbury and Little Bedwyn, an effigy was used which did not specifically represent the victim or victims, but was surmounted by the skull of a horse, which in one instance at least, at either Burbage or Ogbourne St George, was further embellished with deer's horns (Carrington 1854; Pole 1944). The custom could last for one evening only or much longer. If the record is correct those at Burbage and Ogbourne St George lasted in effect for fifteen evenings, on and off. That that at Potterne should have lasted for three consecutive evenings is not therefore exceptional and is probably paralleled by that at Westbury in 1878 which lasted for 'several nights'.

The newspaper accounts of the skimmington at Potterne in 1857 show that the form of the custom as it existed in Potterne differed, as would be expected, from that in other villages in the county. They suggest too that the custom was already in decline. In the town of Devizes, only two miles away, it was both misunderstood and severely criticised. Nevertheless the custom did continue for many years after, both in Potterne and in other villages close to Devizes, such as Bromham and Bishops Cannings. There is a notable contrast too between Devizes and the nearby towns of Westbury and Trowbridge where skimmingtons took place in the later nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. This attitude reflects the changing standards of life in the towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and helps us to appreciate that there were notable differences between town and village life and also between different individual towns.

Acknowledgement: I am grateful for the assistance given by Mr K.H. Rogers and Dr J.H. Chandler in the preparation of this paper.

APPENDIX 1

From *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 19 February 1857, p. 3, col. 3

Such a series of exhibitions as for three consecutive nights last week were permitted in the streets of the village of Potterne, would not, we should think, be tolerated in any other part of England. With the circumstances which were made the excuse of these exhibitions we have nothing to do – it may be true, or not, that certain individuals in the village have been guilty of a *faux-pas* – but that *anything* should be allowed to be made the pretext for such outrage against every feeling of decency as was committed with impunity on the evenings of Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday last is beyond conception. For three or four hours on each evening, disgusting figures were openly carried through the streets, accompanied by a mob of 2 or 300 rabble amidst the firing of guns, the beating of pots and kettles and every sort of discordant noise; – and all without any effective hindrance being offered. The police it is true

did on the second night, make an attempt to put the thing down, for which they received an intimation that if they did not desist more should follow, and to prove that what was said was meant, the door and window of the station house were broken. Surely such proceedings will not go unnoticed by those whose duty it is to preserve the peace. If they are, goodbye to Potterne. It was but a few weeks ago that a regular fight took place on Sunday afternoon in the churchyard, just after Divine service – of which no notice was taken.

APPENDIX 2

From *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 12 March 1857, p. 3, col. 5

A POTTERNE LOT

Ten of about as rough a lot of fellows as one would wish to see together were next placed before the Bench, charged with having been concerned with exhibiting disgusting effigies in the streets of the notable village of Potterne on the evenings of the 10th, 11th and 12th of February last. Their names were Alfred Wilkins, Robert Cooksey, Robert Marshman, George Hampton, and James Burt, who were charged with having been principals in the affair: and James Marshman, James Willis, James Bond and George Rooke charged with aiding and abetting it.

On being asked whether they admitted the charge, the six principals at once replied in the affirmative and justified the act on the ground that breaches of immorality in the immaculate village of Potterne – which the present exhibition was intended to illustrate – had from time immemorial been 'celebrated' in this way. It was in fact they affirmed 'a Potterne custom' as old as the church itself and that they had been interfered with in continuing it was rather in their view an infringement of the ancient rights of the place, than an offence against the law.

The defendants who were charged with aiding and abetting the exhibition however, denied having taken the part imputed to them: and the evidence of the police was therefore necessary to bring the charges home to them.

John Major (a police constable) said he was on duty on Tuesday evening the 10th of February in Potterne street when he saw a great crowd of men and women come from the direction of James Marshman's house. James Cooksey and Robert Marshman were carrying the large effigies representing a male and a female, hoisted on long poles. The male figure was six feet high, the female rather smaller. (The constable here gave a description of the figures which is unfit for publication.) The figures were carried up and down Potterne street accompanied by the firing of guns, the beating of pots and kettles and all sorts of discordant noises. Mr Superintendent Wolfe happened to be in the village at that time and attempted to take them away, but James and Robert Marshman and Cooksey resisted his doing so and the figures continued to be carried about for an hour or more afterwards – James Willis making a very indecent observation on Mr Wolfe's interference. While the disturbance was going on, no person could pass safely through the street: three vehicles coming towards Devizes were obliged to go round the lane by Mr Lye's, turning in opposite 'The George' and coming out at the Butts, near the vicarage. It was half past 8 or 9 o'clock before the effigies were withdrawn; they were taken back to Marshman's. The same exhibition was repeated on the next night – James Burt carrying one of the figures; and on the third night the figures were again being brought out by Alfred Wilkins and George Hampton, amidst a crowd of people, when the police (who had now assembled a larger force) succeeded in taking them away, and carried them to the police station. The crowd (Major said) would, he believed, then have dispersed quietly had not George Rooke urged them to begin again – at the same time using the most foul language towards the police. They then began ringing a bell – passing it from one to the other. Major went among them to endeavour to take it away, and had just caught James Bond who had it in his hand by the collar when he received two blows in the back, and stones began to fly about in all directions. One hit his hat, and another went through the round house window. After this the leaders of the party went to Lawrence Belcher's yard, got some more straw which they wrapped in a bundle, to represent as well as they could a figure and paraded the streets with it for about two hours – the principal leader being James Bond. Every time they passed the policeman's house, a large stone came against the door, till the door was beaten in holes; and stones were also flung at horses which passed through the street; one horse being driven in a gig by two gentlemen, was struck in the head and went off at a full gallop. The mail cart also was stop'd, and the driver was obliged to get out and lead his horse through the village. (A large basket of stones which had been thrown at the police station was produced before the bench.) The whole affair ended with the straw effigy being taken in front of the house of a shop keeper named Warman and there set on fire.

Other members of the police force gave similar evidence, implicating one or other of the defendants, as having taken part either in aiding or abetting or in promoting the disgusting exhibition.

The defendants again asserted that they could bring several respectable farmers to speak of the antiquity of the custom, and to the fact that no attempt had ever before been made to put a stop to a similar demonstration.

Mr Seagram said the bench was quite of the opinion that all of them were guilty of the offence charged against them; but they did not want to be too severe as this was the first occasion of a complaint of the sort being publicly made. If the defendants therefore would consent to be bound in a bond of £10 each to keep the peace for the next 12 months they might go. If not, the bench would proceed with the case under the Vagrant Act and if convicted, all of them would go to prison – as they undoubtedly would if they were ever again brought up on a similar charge.

Two or three of the foremost of the gang at first refused to be bound especially when informed that the process would entail an immediate payment of 10*s*. each; but after a little persuasion the money was forthcoming and the whole of them left the office with an air of triumph; – 'b-a-h-ing' in imitation of 'lambs' and making all sorts of observations upon 'the wolf' (as they designated Superintendent Wolfe) who had attempted to disturb their innocent fold.

On the return of the party to Potterne a general carousal took place, and a subscription was entered into among the pot-companions of the defendants to defray their expenses.

A second charge was made against one of the defendants (James Bond) of damaging a door and other articles to the amount of 10*s*., the property of Wm Warman, on the last night of the 'celebration!' Complainant stated that a great mob came to his house on the night of the 12th headed by Bond who threatened to smash the doors and windows in, if he Warman did not bring them out some drink; Bond at the same time dealing some heavy blows upon the doors and shutters, whereby a quantity of glass was broken and other injury done to the amount stated.

A third charge was also made about Bond for assaulting Henry Warman (son of the previous complainant) on the same night, and would appear to have arisen out of the same transaction – The Bench however did not consider this latter case proved, but they ordered the defendant to pay 20*s*. (including damage and costs) in the previous case.

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A Mummers' Play from Limpley Stoke

by FELICITY GILMOUR

The origins of what have become known as mummers' plays are usually traced back to primitive rituals marking the death of the Old Year and the rebirth of the New, and promoting the fertility of the earth, many of which have been described in detail by Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (Frazer 1911–15). Alex Helm (1981, 6) defines the plays as a 'seasonal ritual intended to promote fertility, expressed basically in terms of an action of revitalisation, in which the performers must be disguised to prevent recognition'. Gradually, the purpose of the ceremony became obscured and words were imposed on what had probably originally been a mimed performance. These were added in an attempt to make sense of a ritual whose real purpose had been forgotten. The seasonal appearance of the play, and the need for the performers to be disguised, were the only elements to survive intact.

In the most common form of the play, a presenter introduces the players and clears a space for the performance. The action takes the form of a fight between combatants which ends in the death of one of them, who is subsequently restored to life by a doctor. A new character draws the play to a close with a collection of money from the audience which is sometimes followed by singing and dancing.

Similarities in the texts of many of the plays have led to the search for a common literary source, and E.K. Chambers suggests the Elizabethan writer Richard Johnson's *Famous Historie of the Seaven Champions of Christendom* (1596–97) as a probable inspiration (Chambers 1933, 174–85). Chapbook versions of this story certainly achieved a wide circulation in the eighteenth century (Ashton 1969; Shepherd 1973), but it is difficult to trace much connection, apart, perhaps, from some of the characters, between the rather formal and literary style of Johnson's work and the very simple but lively texts of many of the plays collected by later folklorists. Plays which seem to have a more obvious origin in chapbook sources tend to be confined to the north-west of England and have a style of language which is more literary and less lively than the traditional forms common elsewhere. Chapbooks presumably helped to sustain a tradition which industrialisation and the attendant changes in social patterns were destroying.

The plays, passed orally from generation to generation, became increasingly corrupted and nonsensical. While failing to make sense out of a lot of their words, the performers felt the importance of repeating them exactly as they had heard them, while at the same time they were not averse to slipping in local or topical references, and giving the characters names of their favourite heroes or enemies. In the Limpley Stoke play the 'hero' is not the more usual St George or King George but the Prince of Wales, and one of his antagonists is Bold Frenchman, probably a memory of the Napoleonic Wars.

The First World War is generally blamed for the decline in the traditional performances of the play but it is clear that the tradition had already died out in many areas. R.J.E. Tiddy made an extensive study of the ceremony and his unfinished research together with thirty-three versions of the play which he had collected, were published posthumously. The Ovingdean, Sussex, version was said to have been performed there in 1870 (Tiddy 1923, 203), while the Minehead, Somerset play was collected in 1895 when it had not been performed for over fifteen years (Helm 1981, 73).

Tiddy suggests that the texts suffered increased corruption as they declined in social prestige and comments: 'It is now performed by young lads, sometimes by the schoolboys of a village; while for the last fifty years it has been unusual for married men to take part. Farmers, for instance, never perform in the South or Midlands. Nor have I any evidence that it was at any time performed by the more well-to-do' (Tiddy 1923, 89). Monetary gain could also have been a reason for continuing the tradition in poorer areas, rather like carol-singing or 'trick-or-treat' today. Whitlock (1976, 74) says 'They gave the hungry poor, in times of austerity and deprivation . . . a legitimate opportunity for seeking charity from the rich. They survived not because of an innate interest in folklore or old customs but simply because they were useful. . . . All reminiscences about them speak of the Mummers doing their rounds of the big houses in the neighbourhood.'

Wiltshire evidence also points to this decline in

standards. A report in the *Trowbridge & North Wilts Advertiser* for 23 December 1865 describes an incident which occurred in Melksham under the heading 'A battle amongst the Christmas Mummers':

> . . . The following incident will show that the mummers who visited our town on Saturday evening last – (rather early to usher in Christmas) – received a welcome they did not look for. . . . It has been the custom here, and in the neighbouring village of [South] Wraxall, at this time of year, for youths of the plebeian class to array themselves in the ragged remnants of some paperhanger's workshop, equip themselves with wooden swords – sorry representatives of the mummers of the 'good old times' – and perambulate the locality in search of all they can get in the shape of eating or drinking – a decided preference being shown for the latter – in reality, taking advantage of the time-honoured custom they attempt to represent – to beg. Some two years ago, a party of these ragged relicts of a byegone custom, went from our town to Wraxall, but the Ragged Wraxall Regiment objected to this intrusion . . . and the consequence was that the intruders were unceremoniously ejected the village, and were compelled to return home beerless. This year, the Ragged Regiment of Wraxall returned the visit, with as much pomp as their paper tatters and wooden scimitars would allow them. The Unicorn public house was the headquarters they honoured with a visit, and the news of their arrival having been noised abroad among the ejected ones of 1863, the muster-roll was called to repel the advance of the invaders on the preserves of the Melksham Mummers. Boniface was only too glad, on 'sniffing the battle from afar', to get rid of the bedizened Wraxall warriors who were holding a council of war in his taproom; and so they were turned *sans ceremonie* into the Queen's highway, there to face the wrathful rejected of 1863, who might have mustered at the Lion to stimulate themselves for the fray. . . . For a time it was difficult to tell on which side the chances of war laid, as nought could be seen but the wretched rags of the Wraxall Regiment flying in all directions; – they found their paper armour no protection from the fury of their assailants; but they sold their rags as dearly as possible, by a vigorous use of their wooden swords, with which they effected some ugly cuts on the faces of their enemies. The battle extended to the town bridge . . . and the bridge was quickly strewn – not with corpses – but with remnants of Wraxall paperhangings . . . as the Wraxall Regiment was in full retreat, with scarcely a rag to cover them, and as their pursuers had been sorely punished with the wooden swords, and as moreover none of the good 'citizens' of Melksham had been annoyed beyond the mere hubbub which this novel encounter had for the moment created, Saturday night 'moved on' the 'even tenour of its way' without any necessity for filling the police cells with fugitives from the fray, the result of which, we presume, has established and set at rest the question of territorial rights of both parties for ever.

It seems that in some cases at least, the cover of a disguise could give some gangs of youths the opportunity to indulge in some rural violence, not too unlike our so-called 'lager-louts' of today. Thomas Pettitt, in an interesting article, looks at the evidence for detecting elements of traditional seasonal customs in rural rebellion and social unrest. The Swing rioters, for example,

> used house-to-house visits as a means of pressing their demands. Bands of men would visit the local farms . . . and demand redress for their grievances. The whole business had the air of a festive performance. An eye-witness account speaks of the men as being well dressed . . . and there are frequent references to disguised or blackened faces, huzzaing, shouting, and blowing of horns. Each visit . . . concluded with a *quête*, a demand for a cash donation from the farmer: a traditional feature conveniently misinterpreted by the authorities as extortion. (Pettitt 1984, 12.)

The *Trowbridge Advertiser* extract is almost contemporary with the probable date of the Limpley Stoke play. The original copy of the text was found by Mrs M. Young of Limpley Stoke among her husband's papers after his death. It was subsequently performed by Limpley Stoke W.I. at their Christmas meeting (reported in the *Parish Newsletter, Limpley Stoke*, January 1981) and later at a Saxon Group Meeting in Bradford-on-Avon. The text is neatly written in ink on six pages of lined paper, the front page of which has the title, list of characters, the name Frank New in the bottom left-hand corner, and the date 'about 1858–60' underneath the title. This last has been added later in a different colour ink, but it seems to be written over a fainter, possibly pencil, date.

The text is reproduced in full here, exactly as in the original:

THE 'CHRISTMAS DRILL' USED AT LIMPLEY STOKE

CHARACTERS REPRESENTED:

FATHER CHRISTMAS: – A large knobby stick –
PRINCE OF WALES: – Half moon hat – sword and spear –
PRUDENCE: – Crown – short sword –
VALIANT SOLDIER: – 3 'stearts' to his hat – sword –
FRENCHMAN BOLD: – 5 'stearts' . . . – sword –
LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR: – cocked hat – a little bottle –
TWING-TWANG: – 'hooter' hat – small knobby stick –

FATHER CHRISTMAS: Here comes I poor old Father Christmas
Come welcome or welcome not
I hope poor old Father Christmas
Will never be forgot
Christmas comes but once a year
And when he comes he brings very good cheer
Such as roast beef plum pudding mince pies
Who likes it better than Old Dad and I?
A jug of your merry Christmas ale
Will make us all merry dance & sing
And a little money in our pocket
Is a very good thing.
A room, a room, brave gallant room, a room it is I say
And let the Prince of Wales walk in this way.

ENTER THE PRINCE OF WALES

PRINCE OF WALES: Here comes I Prince of Wales, Prince of England
With my sword & spear by my side.
There is one that I do intend –
PRUDENCE: (from behind) Who do you intend?
PRINCE OF WALES: Thee, Prudence, I do intend
Thou'st brought this nation to starvation
Thou would'st not let the *reformial* pass
But must and will and shall at last
FATHER CHRISTMAS: A room, a room, brave gallant room, a room it is I say
Let Prudence walk in this way.

ENTER PRUDENCE

PRUDENCE: Here comes I Prudence, Prudence Queen of Spain
With this glittering sword in my hand
I am come to cut and slay
PRINCE OF WALES: Who are you come to fight?
PRUDENCE: Thee, Prince of Wales I think 'tis my right.
Thee fight me, and I'll fight thee
As long as both can stand.
And then if I am left alive
I'll return at thy command.
I am a bold and a British female
And that my parents know
And I'll stand before thee Prince of Wales.
Which is called the Valiant Knight.

PRINCE OF WALES: That coward came and challenged me
And wanted me *excused*
But by Job I am an Englishman
And will not be abused.

PRUDENCE: (to Valiant Soldier) Second, art thou ready?

VALIANT SOLDIER: No! Neither will I take thy part
And if thou say two words to me
I'll stab thee to the heart.

PRUDENCE: (to Audience) Now ladies and gentlemens
You see I've got no one to take my part
And yet I'll go through this battle with all my heart.

PRINCE OF WALES: Now thee and I this battle will try
To see which first on the ground shall lie.

(THEY FIGHT: and after a few passes, she falls on one knee:)

PRUDENCE: On my bended knees I fall
And pardon to increase
To ask thee Prince of Wales to let me rise
And I'll be thy mortal slave.

PRINCE OF WALES: Rise up thou Prudence, thee I'll forgive
Thou'll promise not to challenge me more whil'st thou'll live

FATHER CHRISTMAS: A room, a room, brave gallant room, a room it is I say
Let the Valiant Soldier walk in this way.

ENTER VALIANT SOLDIER

VALIANT SOLDIER: Here comes I Valiant Soldier
Bold Slasher is my name
With my sword and buckle by my side
And hopes to win this game
It is me and seven more w*oun*ded & killed
Eleven score all French Irish gallant men
And many a battle have I been in
To fight for Queen Victoria our most gracious Queen.

FATHER CHRISTMAS: A room, a room, brave gallant room, a room it is I say
Let the Frenchman Bold walk in this way.

ENTER FRENCHMAN BOLD

FRENCHMAN BOLD: Here comes I Frenchman Bold
I swear by all fair means I'll never be controlled
I am come this day to plant my tree
All on the land of Sweet Liberty.

VALIANT SOLDIER and FRENCHMAN BOLD fight

VALIANT SOLDIER: O thou Frenchman Bold draw out thy sword & fight
Draw out thy purse and pay
And give us satisfaction this night
Before thou'st go away

FRENCHMAN BOLD: No satisfaction will I give thee
No money will I pay thee
Both whether I live or die

I'll have this battle out with thee
Both manfully before I goes away

VALIANT SOLDIER: (to Prince of Wales) Second art thou ready?

PRINCE OF WALES: Yes I am ready and willing to take thy part
And if that Frenchman Bold do cut thee down
I'll quickly stab him to his heart.

VALIANT SOLDIER: Now ladies and gentlemens, you see I've got some one to take my part
And I'll go through this battle with all my heart.

FRENCHMAN BOLD: Now thee and I this battle will try
To see which first on the ground shall lie.

FRENCHMAN BOLD cuts VALIANT SOLDIER down.
PRINCE OF WALES attacks FRENCHMAN BOLD.

PRINCE OF WALES: O thou Frenchman Bold what hast thou done
Thou hast cut down one of my brave comrades to the ground
And now I am able and willing & free
And now I means to quickly conquer thee

PRINCE OF WALES cuts FRENCHMAN BOLD down.

PRINCE OF WALES: Pray is there ere a Doctor to be found?

LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR: (from without) Yes there is a Doctor to be found
Hopes to cure that man that's dead & deeply wound.

FATHER CHRISTMAS: A room, a room, brave gallant room, a room it is I say
Let the Little Spanish Doctor walk in this way

ENTER the LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR

LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR: Here comes I the Little Spanish Doctor
Lately come from R*oo*me, Frome, France & Spain
With this little bottle in my hand
Which I call the Virgin flame
I been to Darmino, Darmenego, Indimindigo
South Sandigo, and all parts of the countryo
And now I'm just come back to Old England again
I can cure the humps, the dumps, the brown humps
The peppery gall, the lock-a-my-jaw
All pains within, all pains without
Hitch, stitch, the palsy and the gout
I can take a young woman up to ninety-nine
I can wrap her up in a box of my turpentine
And that's what I call the hokum, smokum, elecampane
Fetch the dead to life again.

(He goes to Frenchman Bold) Here's a drop on thee crown, a drop on thee heart
Rise up thou Frenchman Bold to fight thy part.

(FRENCHMAN BOLD revives, rises to a kneeling posture, & says to PRINCE OF WALES)

FRENCHMAN BOLD: On my bended knees I fall
And pardon to increase
To ask thee, Prince of Wales to let me rise
And I'll be thy mortal slave.

PRINCE OF WALES: Rise up thou Frenchman Bold

Go over to thy own country
Tell thy Father & Mother what miracles I have done
Cut down ten thousand to thy one.

(SPANISH DOCTOR raises FRENCHMAN BOLD and assists him on one side)

LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR: Now ladies & gentlemens you see the same little bottle
Has rose the Frenchman Bold on his knees to bend
To rise the Valiant Soldier (approaching that prostrate warrior)
(To Valiant Soldier) A drop on thee crown, a drop on thee heart
Rise up thou Valiant Soldier & fight thy part

(VALIANT SOLDIER revives, rises to his knees, & says to FRENCHMAN BOLD)

VALIANT SOLDIER: On my bended knees I fall
And pardon to increase
To ask thee Frenchman Bold to let me rise
And I'll be thy mortal slave.
FRENCHMAN BOLD: Rise up thou Valiant Soldier
Go over into thy own country
Fight the French & Spaniards too
And if thou comest here I'll make thee rue

(VALIANT SOLDIER is helped to the side by LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR)

LITTLE SPANISH DOCTOR: Now ladies & gentlemens you see what miracles this little bottle has done
Cured the sick and healed the wound
And rose the bleeding from the ground

(EXIT DOCTOR)

FATHER CHRISTMAS: A room, a room, brave gallant room, a room it is I say
Let Little Twing Twang walk in this way

ENTER LITTLE TWING TWANG

TWING TWANG: Here comes I Little Twing-Twang
I thinks myself the cleverest man among all you press-gang
I come to press all humbugs; likewise magistrates, I'm Jolly Jack
'Pon my word I'm very sprack, wife & family at my back
Out of eight aint got but five
All the rest is starved alive
Some on the parish & some at home
Where I do go the rest do come
Now for a jug of your merry Christmas ale
For *saa*-cy Jack to have a soop
Prince of Wales very sorry to see an empty cup
Now I take off Old Dad's hat
To see how much money I can get
Now all you ladies and gentlemens who's got a crown or a pound to spare
Shave Old Dad and cut his hair
His hair so long and his beard to grey
He want a passol of money to send him away.

THE HAT IS SENT ROUND : AND CAROLS ARE USUALLY SUNG AFTERWARDS.

Father Christmas's opening speech is a fairly standard one and he also introduces subsequent characters with a standard phrase. He clears a space wielding his 'knobby stick', which possibly had an additional purpose: 'the conventional figure of Father Christmas, with his gigantic club, an older man, who accompanied the band as general protector in long night journeys from parish to parish, and was bearer of the purse' (Hardy 1878, 130).

Three fights and two cures form the 'action', before Little Twing Twang ends the performance with a collection.

The most unusual feature of the play is the presence of a female combatant, for although female characters, nearly always played by men, occasionally appear in mummers' plays, I can find no other example of a female taking part in the fights on equal terms with the male characters. Alex Helm (1981, 34–36) gives the full text of the play from Broadway, Worcestershire, last performed in the 1870s, in which two 'female' characters, English Lady and Sweet Moll, attempt to woo St George, and both in turn are killed, and then cured by the Doctor. Neither lady, unlike Prudence, challenges the hero with more than verbal taunts.

A play from Castle Cary, Somerset, had a character called Queen Anne while one from Keynsham, Somerset (now Avon), had a Shepherdess. Both these roles were played by women, but the fragmentary nature of the surviving texts provides little idea of the part these women played in the action. At Lydiard Millicent, Cricklade and Highworth in Wiltshire the fight and cure are followed by an undeveloped wooing theme (Williams 1926, 3, col. c–e; Helm 1981, 34). These examples seem to indicate a regional variation but in all of them the 'female' character is not taking part in the main action. Prudence seems to be a local innovation, her own identity being garbled and nonsensical: 'Queen of Spain' and 'a bold and a British female'. The Prince of Wales accuses her 'Thou'st brought this nation to starvation / Thou would'st not let the *reformial* pass / But must and will and shall at last'. This may be a memory of the Reform Bill passed, after a long struggle, in 1832. The other alternative is that this character's name is a corruption of another name. Prince of Paradise, Paradine or Paladine appears as a combatant for example in the plays from Alderley, Cheshire and Heptonstall, Yorkshire (Helm 1971, 17; Tiddy 1923, 236).

From the point of view of the original ceremony, only one death and cure is necessary but later plays, like the Limpley Stoke version, frequently extend the action to include multiple fights and cures. This allowed the participation of more performers and was no doubt designed to add to the entertainment. In this play the other characters are familiar figures commonly found in other versions. Valiant Soldier and Bold Frenchman are distinguished by their hats which have different numbers of 'stearts' attached to them. In Wiltshire dialect a steart is the tang that fastens anything and an obsolete usage meaning is a tail (from Old English *steort*). It was quite common for mummers to decorate their hats with ribbons hanging down to disguise their faces, as at Shrewton, Wiltshire and Otterbourne, Hampshire, but this does not seem to be the intention here. Twing Twang's 'hooter' hat is more easily explained, as a hooter was a word used in the West Midlands for a cone-shaped tin vessel used for heating beer. Conical hats were also common headwear among mummers and presumably the different hats specified in this play helped to distinguish the characters who were otherwise dressed alike. They may have worn costumes decorated with strips of newspaper or wallpaper like the Melksham and Wraxall mummers and like those worn by the Marshfield Paper Boys, but the use of strips of coloured material was also common. At Horningsham, Wiltshire, 'their dress consisted of gaily-coloured suits of clothes (coloured braid being used for trimming), and cockade hats made of cardboard and paper streamers' (Olivier and Edwards 1932, 60).

The Doctor delivers a standard speech for that character, though slips in a local allusion (to Frome), and performs two cures. Little Twing Twang is another character particularly common in plays from Sussex and Hampshire where he often replaces the character Little Johnny Jack who is usually found in Wiltshire examples of the play. Avebury, Horningsham, Quidhampton, Potterne, Shrewton and Woodford plays all had the Johnny Jack character speaking words very similar to those given to Twing Twang in the Limpley Stoke play. This character also calls himself Jolly Jack and saucy Jack and as in the other examples, he has his 'wife and family at my back', usually represented by a string of dolls carried on his back. He then passes round the hat for contributions and the entertainment ends with carols.

The Limpley Stoke play is not listed in the geographical index compiled by Cawte, Helm and Peacock (1967, 61–62) which lists thirty-one places in Wiltshire where there is evidence of the existence of a mummers' play. Many fewer complete texts have been preserved and it is unusual to find an example which was apparently written down by a nineteenth century performer. Frank New was fourteen at the time of the 1861 census, when he was described as an

agricultural labourer; by the time he married in 1870, he was a mason, and had bought land and built houses in the village. The play appears to be in his handwriting but its confident and flowing style suggests it was written later than the 1858–60 date added to the title page of the play. Frank New would have been 11 to 13 at this date, not an unlikely age for a schoolboy participant or spectator, and he may have written it out later to revive or preserve a tradition which was dying out. It can be assumed that the play was performed 'about 1858–60' but the usual way of passing on the plays to the next generation of performers was by oral transmission. Edith Olivier, describing the Quidhampton play, said that each man only learnt his own part, reciting it exactly as it had been taught to him (Olivier and Edwards 1932, 98), but the simplicity of the text makes it quite likely that a regular performer would be familiar with the complete text. Whatever the circumstances, the fact that the Limpley Stoke play has been preserved provides students of folk drama with an interesting and unusual addition to the material available.

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Angela O'Shaughnessy for information about the performance of the play by Limpley Stoke W.I., and to Molly Young for information about the New family.

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The Collections and Life History of Etheldred Benett (1776–1845)

by SARAH E. NASH

An enquiry from the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia regarding a Greensand fossil from Wiltshire prompted research into the life history and collections of an important nineteenth century Wiltshire geologist, Miss Etheldred Benett. The paper presents available information on the acquisition of Benett fossils by the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and on those which may have remained in Devizes Museum.

INTRODUCTION

In early August 1987 Devizes Museum curators received a letter from Earle Spamer, of the Department of Malacology at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, United States of America, stating that the Academy had in its collections a unique specimen of a fossil collected in Wiltshire before 1831 by Etheldred Benett and named by her *Drepanites striatus*. They also possessed a copy of *A Catalogue of the Organic Remains of the County of Wiltshire* (Benett 1831). It was known that the specimen was from the Greensand and had been found at Chute Farm, near Longleat, in a field called Brimsgrove.

The specimen was to be the subject of two research papers by the Academy, but before the papers could be published it was necessary to establish an exact grid reference for the field in which the fossil had been found. Professor Arthur Cain of Liverpool University had recently visited Philadelphia and had suggested to Mr Spamer that the staff at Devizes Museum might be able to provide the required information.

Knowing that the location was Chute Farm, near Longleat, it was a simple matter to study the relevant Ordnance Survey map, no. 183, in the 1:50,000 series, and to find the farm, which had undergone a minor name change from Chute to Shute, at ST 843411. However, this was not a sufficiently large scale to show individual fields, and it was therefore necessary to consult the Wiltshire County Record Office.

Tithe maps of the area did not show a field with the name Brimsgrove, only an area nearby at ST 826391 called Brims Down. Earlier maps may have shown the field, but these were in the Longleat House archives.

Mr Spamer's initial enquiry had been answered, but it had caused the staff at Devizes Museum to speculate on how this Wiltshire specimen had been incorporated into the Philadelphia collections, and on what might have become of the remainder of Miss Benett's fossils. There was a copy of her *Catalogue* (Benett 1831) in the Devizes Museum library, and she was mentioned in early volumes of *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* (*WAM*), so was clearly a geologist of some importance. Thus the seemingly simple enquiry from Mr Spamer opened up several possible lines of research.

It is often as important to know the historical background of collectors as it is to have details about their collections, since investigation of their life histories can show whether they were amateurs or whether they collected in a systematic or scientific manner. Study of correspondence can indicate the significance of their collections and publications among contemporaries. Research into these aspects of Miss Benett's work was therefore necessary.

Clearly Miss Benett was a highly esteemed geologist in the early nineteenth century (Torrens 1985), and on into the latter half of that century when Jackson (1882), writing on 'The Eminent Ladies of Wiltshire History', stated that she

> studied geology in its early days before it had been taken up and reached the important position which it occupies now. She formed a very large and fine collection of the fossil organic remains of that neighbourhood [Norton Bavant, near Warminster], especially of what is called the Green Sand formation.

The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society library contains a large amount of information, both published and in manuscript, about early collectors. Although Miss Benett died before the founding of the Society, it is still of great importance

to retain information concerning the collections and life history of such an eminent scientist. In addition, Earle Spamer stated that he would be most interested to learn more about her background.

Several authors have begun research into the whereabouts of Etheldred Benett's collections (Cleevely 1983; Delair and Dean 1985; Torrens 1985) and it appears that they have become widely scattered. However, information is here confined to the way in which specimens were obtained by the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. By increasing knowledge about Miss Benett's collections it is hoped that curators in charge of them will realize the importance of the specimens and ensure their care in the future.

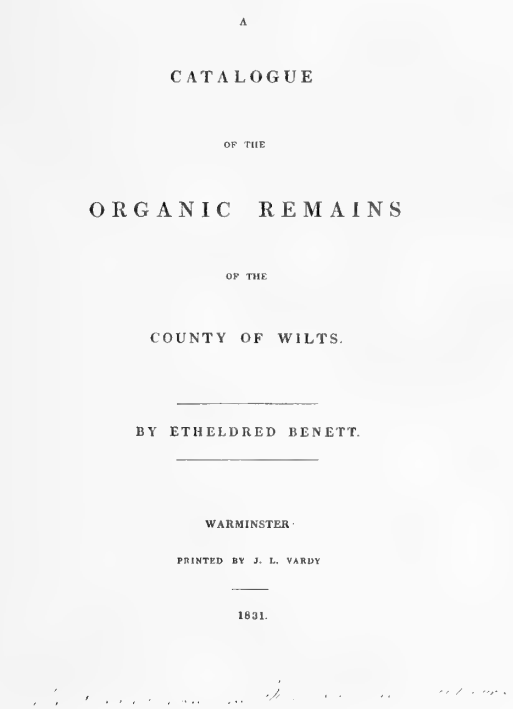
A BRIEF LIFE HISTORY OF MISS BENETT

Etheldred Benett was born in 1776, the second daughter of Thomas Benett, a Wiltshire squire of Pyt House near Tisbury. Her unusual christian name first occurred in the Benett family two generations earlier (Hoare 1831). She had one sister, Anna Maria, and three brothers, Thomas (who died aged 17), John (who became a Member of Parliament), and William (Hoare 1831). She lived for much of her life at the Benett family home, Norton House, Norton Bavant, near Warminster, which was purchased by the family in the mid-sixteenth century (J. Benett-Stanford, undated manuscript notes in WANHS library). The house is shown in Figure 1. Etheldred did not marry, and she had the financial means to pursue the then new study of fossils.

Undoubtedly the countryside around Miss Benett's home provided a strong stimulus for her enthusiasm as a collector of geological specimens. Judging by the range of sites from which she was able to collect (Benett 1831) there were far more geological exposures in Wiltshire during the nineteenth century than exist now; quarries have since been infilled, exposures are overgrown, or collecting is no longer possible because the sites have been designated as Sites of Special Scientific Interest.

One of the most important factors governing her development as a scientist was the influence of her brother-in-law, Aylmer Bourke Lambert. A.B. Lam-

Figure 1. Norton House, north-east elevation



A

CATALOGUE

OF THE

ORGANIC REMAINS

OF THE

COUNTY OF WILTS.

BY ETHELDRED BENETT.

WARMINSTER:

PRINTED BY J. L. VARDY

1831.

Figure 2. Title page of Miss Benett's *Catalogue*

bert was a keen botanist and antiquary, and a founder Fellow of the Linnean Society. He was also an enthusiastic collector of fossils who contributed to *Mineral Conchology* (Sowerby 1822), and was elected a Member of the Geological Society in 1808.

Miss Benett had begun to study fossils by 1810, and by 1813 her collection was reputed to be extensive (Torrens 1985). At this time she was corresponding with several eminent contemporary geologists such as William Smith, William Cunnington, Gideon Mantell, and James Sowerby. Her collections and studies were of such scientific merit as to warrant publication in Sowerby's *Mineral Conchology* (1822). The only major publication by Miss Benett was *A Catalogue of the Organic Remains of the County of Wiltshire* (1831), the title page of which is shown in Figure 2. The *Catalogue* had been planned since 1818, but in fact was not published until 1831, when it formed part of *The History of Modern Wiltshire* (Colt Hoare 1831). It was revised and reissued later that year, with the addition of 18 lithographic plates drawn by Etheldred Benett; an example of the plates is the fossil sponge shown in Figure 3.

Etheldred Benett died on 11 January 1845 at Norton House and was buried at Boyton Church (Torrens 1985). Her will, dated 8 April 1840 (Benett 1840), a copy of which is in the County Record Office, Trowbridge, shows donations of money to friends and family, and books from her library, such as the gift of Rees' *Cyclopaedia* to the Geological Society of London. Her sister, Anna Maria, was the sole executrix of the will, but there is no information in the document concerning the fate of her geological collections. The specimens were dispersed before her death, having been presented to 'any individual or public museum when the advancement of science would thereby be promoted' (Torrens 1985).

Miss Benett, whose silhouette is shown in Figure 4, was Wiltshire's earliest female collector of fossils (Delair and Dean 1985). She was a geologist of great importance not only because of her own achievements but because of the enthusiasm for the subject which she seems to have generated in other contemporary geologists. She also made a modest collection of archaeological items (Goddard 1922), the whereabouts of which is at present unknown.

MISS BENETT'S GEOLOGICAL COLLECTION

A map of the county of Wiltshire showing sites where Miss Benett collected specimens, compiled from information contained in *A Catalogue of the Organic Remains of the County of Wiltshire* (Benett 1831), is shown in Figure 5. Most of her collecting was done in south west Wiltshire, concentrating on sites within a radius of approximately 10 miles of her home in Norton Bavant; the larger collecting site marks on the map represent concentrations of finds in this area.

Shute Farm, the site where the specimen of particular interest to the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia was found, was visited and photographed. The present owner of the farm thought that the site where the fossil was found was likely to be in an area now called the Picket Field, where there is a slight hollow of 'blue-grey clay' which still yields many fossils, though not of the quality which prevailed in the nineteenth century.

Miss Benett collected fossils from many of the geological strata in Wiltshire, as tabled below (Benett 1831):

Geological Periods	*Strata*
Eocene	London Clay
Upper Cretaceous	Upper Chalk
	Lower Chalk
	Chalk Marl
Lower Cretaceous	Green Sand
	Gault

Polypothecia undulata.

Figure 3. An illustration of a fossil sponge in Miss Benett's *Catalogue*

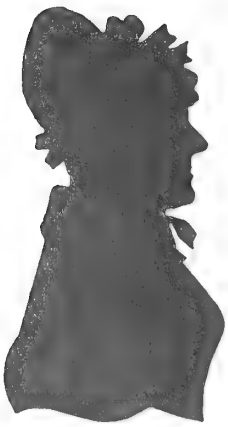


Figure 4. Silhouette of Etheldred Benett, taken in 1837

Geological Periods	*Strata*
Upper Jurassic	Purbeck Beds
	Portland Beds
	Kimmeridge Clay
	Coral Rag
Middle Jurassic	Kellaways Beds
	Cornbrash
	Forest Marble
	Great Oolite

She did not, however, collect from the oldest Wiltshire rocks, the Lias outcrops of the Lower Jurassic (about 200 million years old), or from the youngest rocks in the county, the Bagshot Sands (about 55 million years old) which are found in south east Wiltshire; her specimens were all from intermediate levels. She herself admitted in the introduction to her *Catalogue* that she was not sufficiently acquainted with the division of the Greensand for-

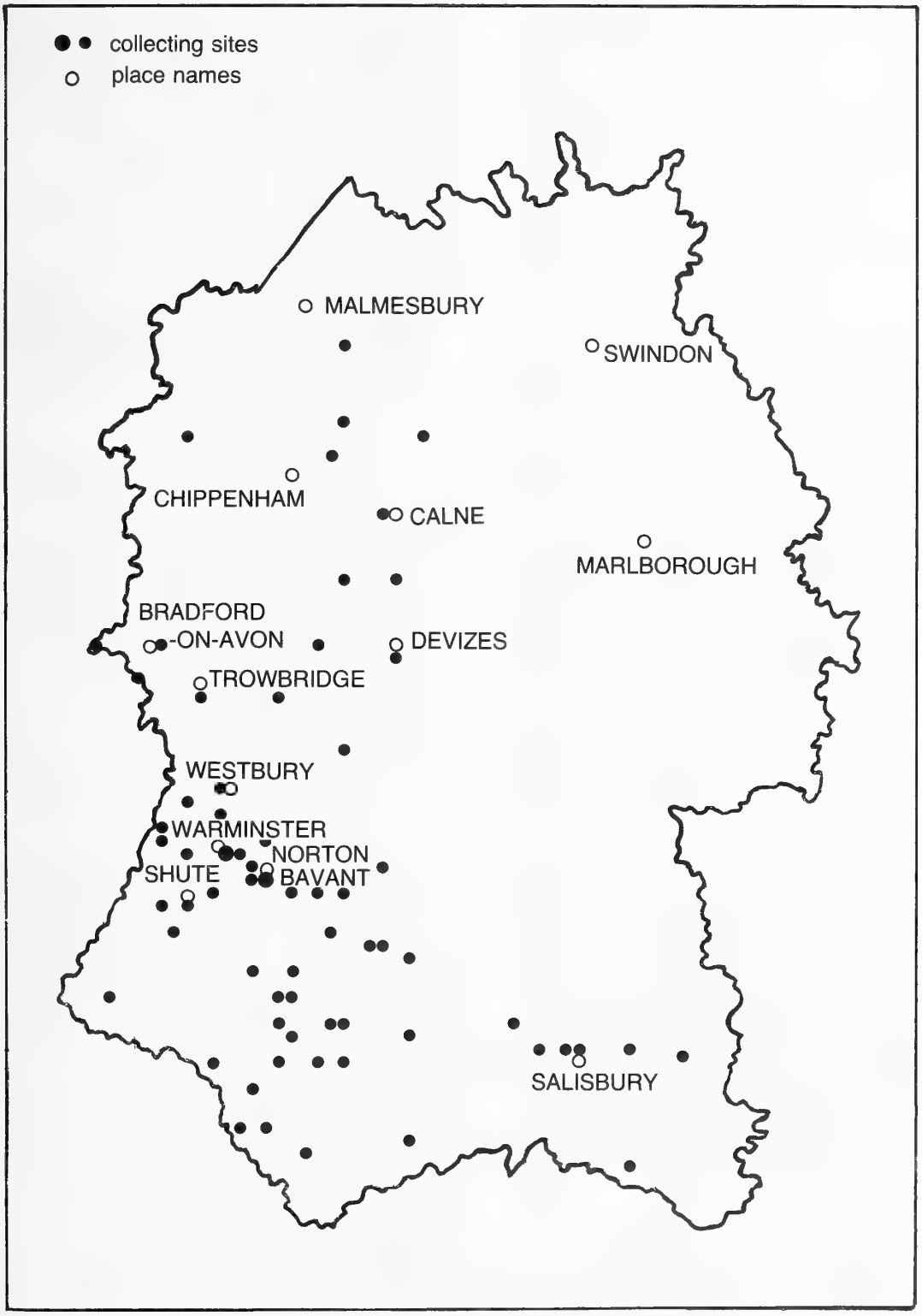


Figure 5. Miss Benett's collecting sites in Wiltshire

mation into Upper and Lower Greensand. There is still a great deal of information to be extracted from an up-to-date analysis of her collections.

An extract from Cleevely's *World Palaeontological Collections* (1983) summarizes what was known about the Benett collections at the time of publication:

BENETT, (Miss) Etheldred
(1776–11 Jan. 1845)
Regarded as the first woman geologist. Lived at Tisbury, Wiltshire. Responsible for discovering many of the Cretaceous fossils from the Vale of Wardour and the Warminster district. Published *Catalogue of Organic Remains of the County of Wiltshire* (1831).

Lond. Geol. Jl., No. 1, 1846: 40; No. 2, (Feb.) 1847: inside cover.

Bristol, City Museum. 149 Upper Greensand fossils from Warminster presented in 1831. (M. Crane).
Folkestone, Museum. Some fossils. (A. Morter).
Leeds Museum. Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society purchased material at sale in 1845, including Porifera fossils figured in (1831); some also presented 1846. (H.S. Torrens).
London, BM(NH). Received Wiltshire Cretaceous fossils (Mollusca, Echinodermata) between 1816–30, and again in 1831 and 1841. Eocene Mollusca collected in France presented by a relative in 1893.
London, IGS. Extensive series of specimens (ranging from Carboniferous to Pliocene) from British localities presented originally to the Geological Society between 1822–43.
Philadelphia. Academy of Natural Sciences. Only three Benett specimens could be identified in 1968, although A.S. Woodward (1904: 266) stated that her most valuable specimens were purchased by Thomas Wilson of Newark, Delaware and formed part of his founding collection.
Warwick, County Museum. Some fossils. (H.S. Torrens).
York, Yorkshire Museum. Donated a 'large series' of Mesozoic fossils from Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset in 1831. (B. Pyrah).

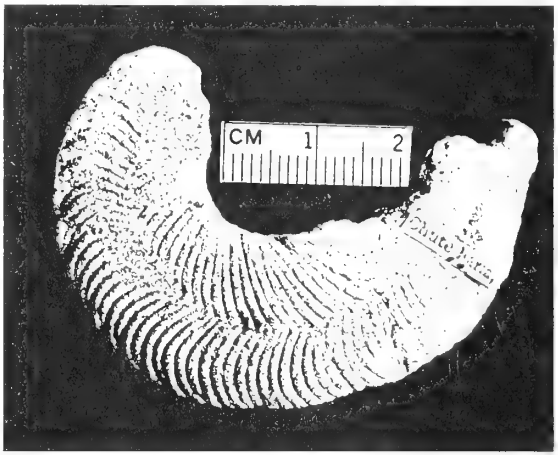


Figure 7. Recent photograph of the specimen of '*Drepanites*'

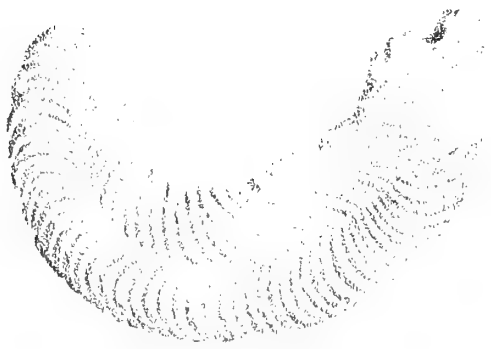


Figure 6. The specimen of '*Drepanites*', from the drawing in Miss Benett's *Catalogue*

Recently, much more information has come to light, particularly due to the research carried out by Hugh Torrens. The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, possesses a large number of Miss Benett's fossils, acquired in 1847 by Thomas B. Wilson. Although some specimens have suffered neglect over the years, others are in good condition and are currently being catalogued. Many specimens collected by Miss Benett are, however, still to be located and re-identified.

THE SPECIMEN OF *DREPANITES STRIATUS* FROM SHUTE FARM

A specimen from Shute Farm was recognized as a new genus and species by Miss Benett and she gave it the name *Drepanites striatus*. Her drawing of *D. striatus* is reproduced in Figure 6. However, when researching the name to ascertain its present validity, Earle

Spamer discovered that it referred to a genus of bivalves. The specimen itself, when examined, was clearly not a bivalve but part of a whorl of an ammonite, as shown in a recent photograph (Figure 7). Unfortunately the name *Drepanites* was used again in 1893 for a genus of cephalopod, and the name is still thus used; its use as originally intended by Miss Benett has not been applied since 1831.

According to the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature, *Drepanites benett* 1831 should have priority over *Drepanites mojsisovics* 1893. The problem facing the staff at the Academy was that they had in their collections a unique specimen, the holotype of its species, which had been misplaced systematically by its author, and there was nothing with which to compare it.

It was felt that the name *Drepanites benett* should be suppressed and a new name applied to the specimen, since it appeared to be unlike any other known fossil (Spamer pers. comm.). For this reason the Academy intends to submit a paper to the International Commission of Zoological Nomenclature recommending the suppression of Etheldred Benett's name for the genus. The paper would provide a formal description of the fossil and a new name, *Hyphoplites striata* (Spamer, Bogan and Torrens in prep.). It was therefore of great importance to the Academy to know as much as possible about the Benett collections, in case other specimens similar to '*Drepanites*' may exist, or her correspondence with other geologists might yield references to this fossil.

SIGNIFICANCE TO DEVIZES MUSEUM

Devizes Museum does not possess any specimens from Etheldred Benett's collections, which is a great pity in view of their quality and of her importance as one of the first geologists in Wiltshire. Perhaps if the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society had been in existence during her lifetime she would have donated her entire collection to it, instead of selling or donating specimens in a piecemeal fashion as she did.

The Museum's natural history gallery shows the geological features and habitats found in Wiltshire, and the collecting policy of the Museum reflects this county-wide approach. It is also the only museum in the county to have a Curator of Natural Sciences. Thus it is the principal repository for natural science material in Wiltshire.

Devizes Museum has obligations not only to present day collections and collectors, but also to the study of the historical aspects of collecting in Wiltshire. The information regarding Miss Benett's life history and collections has been of considerable help to the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia in their research into the specimen of '*Drepanites*' from Wiltshire.

Etheldred Benett was, and still is, a well recognized geologist who made a valuable contribution to the study of Cretaceous fossils. Much work remains to be done in tracing the fossils which she collected and in identifying them accurately. The correspondence between her and other geologists has become widely scattered and research into this aspect of her life and work could yield much more information.

Acknowledgements: The author would like to thank Earle Spamer of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, for all the information he has provided, and for his prompt replies to questions; Sir John Jardine Paterson for permission to photograph Norton House; I.P. Woodcock of Shute Farm for his assistance in locating the field where the specimen of '*Drepanites*' was found, and for his kind donation of specimens to Devizes Museum; Hugh Torrens of Keele University and Justin Delair for information about Miss Benett; and the staff of Devizes Museum for their help and encouragement.

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A Wiltshire Pioneer in Geology and his Legacy – Henry Shorto III (1778–1864), Cutler and Fossil Collector of Salisbury

by H.S. TORRENS

Wiltshire has long helped to advance the science of palaeontology. This paper describes the career and scientific contributions of Henry Shorto the third, who was born in Salisbury in 1778 and, following his father, became a cutler there in the last decade of the eighteenth century. He suddenly took up the study of palaeontology in 1811, becoming inspired by the materials and fossils of the local Chalk near his home to make large collections of flints and fossils from the area and from other geological horizons further afield. His work on flints, then as now cryptic in origin, was never published although highly original and Shorto finally became forgotten when his fine collections disappeared after his death in 1864.

INTRODUCTION

Historical records for some human activities are much more complete than for others. Those of authors who published are good, if only because their writings are usually available in print. Those of mechanics and artisans on the contrary are not, for, as Samuel Smiles so correctly observed long ago, they were 'for the most part . . . self-educated; neither caring to put on record what was worthy to be preserved, nor competent to record it' (Smiles 1858, 411). History has also been unkind to the records of collecting (Torrens 1988) and this is especially true where a particular collection has disappeared and its collector was active in scientific fields, such as geology, outside the arts. Such collections have lacked the long-term support of the investment value of 'arts' objects, which has helped to stimulate their survival; and they may have suffered the episodic zenith and nadir of fashion and vogue with consequent price fluctuations, as shown in the case of fossils by Rolfe et al. (1988).

Henry Shorto III, whose work is considered here, has suffered in both respects: as a tradesman, however successful, whose trade, cutlery, has left little record; and as a major collector of fossils, especially from Wiltshire. For he published nothing and died in 1864 just as the attention previously given to such objects as fossils was on the wane, having been replaced by a wider interest in matters and objects archaeological (Piggott 1976, 171–95). As a result Shorto's collection is not listed by Cleevely (1983).

Shorto Ancestry

The Shorto family, in the seventeenth century, came from Dorset; the family tree is illustrated in Figure 1.

The first Shorto who concerns us is James Shorto (1687–1741), baptized at All Saints Church, Dorchester, who became an innholder in the town. On 19 August 1712 he married, at Stinsford Church, Mary daughter of James Fildew of Dorchester, a fellow innholder and maltster. Their four surviving children, three girls and Henry Shorto I, the only son born in 1713, were all baptized at All Saints. James Shorto's first wife died in 1720 and in May 1734 he married as his second wife Elisabeth Hulet, but they had no further issue. His will, dated 3 December 1734, was proved on 12 June 1741 (Archdeaconry Court of Dorset, Dorset Record Office, hereafter DRO). Henry Shorto I (1713–1764), his son, continued as a victualler and his licence dated September 1763 for the King's Arms in Puddletown, 4 miles northeast of Dorchester, survives (Licensing of Victuallers records, DRO). In July 1738 Henry's sister Margery (1716–?) married Thomas Coombes of Cerne Abbas and in November of the same year Henry Shorto I married Thomas' sister Elisabeth Coombes (1717–1810) at nearby Minterne (Hutchins 1870, 507). The Coombes family were millers and brewers (Symonds 1916, 90) and may also have been innholders. The close family connections between these groups were further cemented when another of Henry's sisters, Elisabeth (1715–1765), married, in January 1740/41, another maltster and innholder, Edmund Bower of Dorchester (Bower 1929, 19).

The marriage of Henry I and Elisabeth Shorto produced at least two sons, both of whom are mentioned in his will dated 9 August 1762 and proved 14 July 1764 (DRO, DA 55/W/1764). This left lands at

PEDIGREE OF THE SHORTO FAMILY

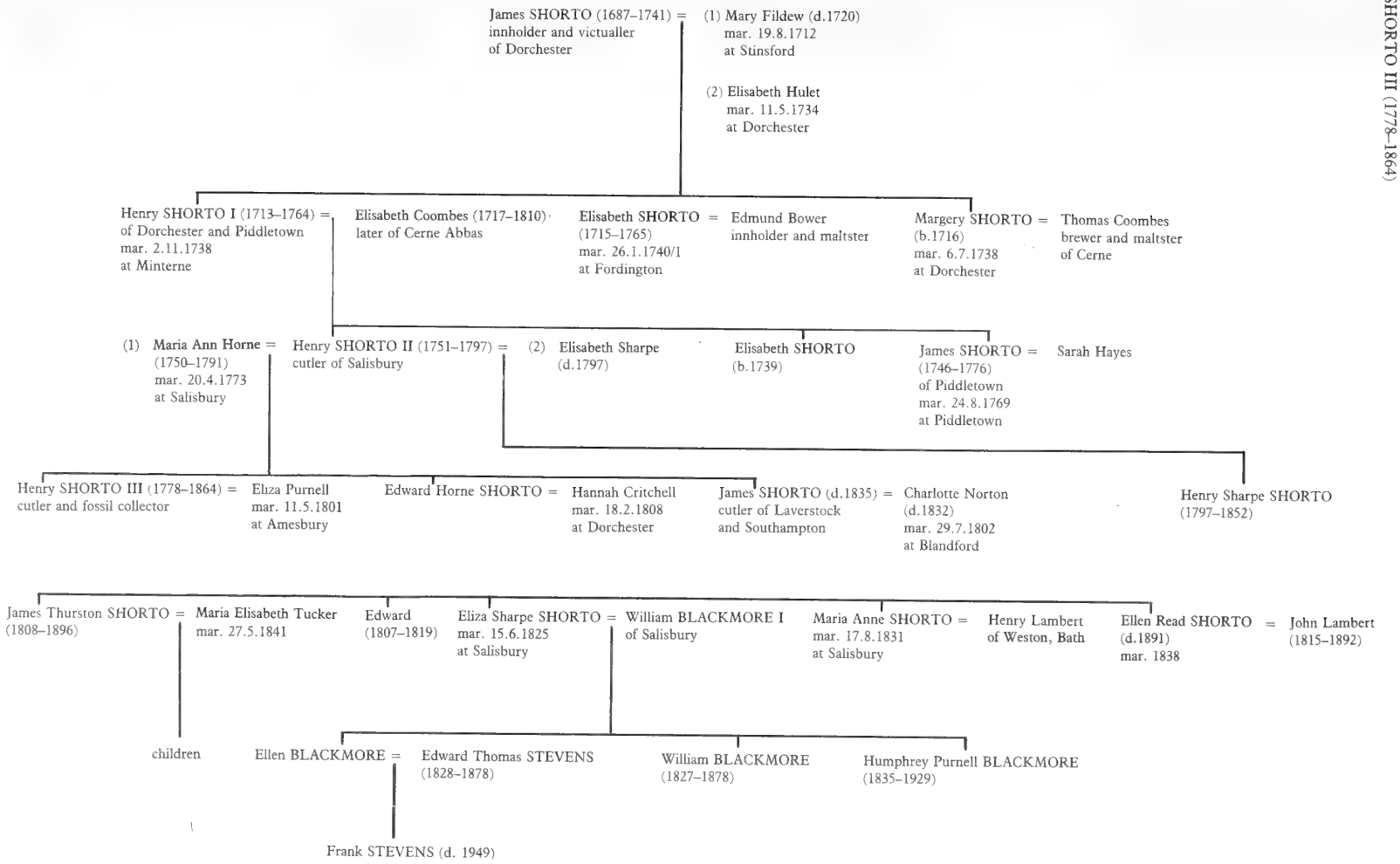

Figure 1. Pedigree of the Shorto Family

This Shorto Pedigree has been constructed from a wide variety of sources, notably the *International Genealogical Index*, a file of Shorto papers and notes preserved in the library of the Society of Genealogists in London, together with parish and other registers at the Wiltshire and Dorset Record Offices and at St Catherine's House in London.

Broad Mayne Farm, southeast of Dorchester, to his eldest son James (1746–1776), who continued in the family business (his licence of September 1770 as a victualler of Puddletown, for an unnamed inn also survives (Licensing of Victuallers records, DRO)). To his youngest son Henry II (1751–1797), Henry Shorto left his messuage in All Saints parish, Dorchester, with £100 and a gold watch as soon as he was 21, which would have been in 1772. His daughter Elisabeth was left his lease-hold estate at Puddletown. The will was proved by his widow, who was left the remainder of his estates and their rents until James was 23 in 1769.

The Shortos move to Salisbury

Henry Shorto II, the younger son, soon decided to branch out and had moved to Salisbury in Wiltshire, no doubt using his father's recent legacy, by 1773 when, on 20 April, he married Maria Ann Horne at St Edmunds, Salisbury (Registers of Sarum St Edmunds, Wiltshire Record Office, hereafter WRO). He established himself as a cutler in Queen Street, first appearing in trade directories in 1783 (Bailey 1783, 320). Salisbury was then the 'Sheffield of England'. A later claim in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* (hereafter *SWJ*), of 31 December 1864, page 5, by his son-in-law J[ohn] L[ambert] that Henry Shorto I had already engaged in cutlery manufacture at Salisbury seems unfounded.

Salisbury had long been famous for the quality of its cutlery products (*Victoria County History*, hereafter *VCH*, Wiltshire, vol. 6, 1962, 130). By the late eighteenth century Henry Shorto was running one of at least six cutlery businesses then in Salisbury (*Universal British Directory*, vol. 4, 1798, 559–63), when that industry was at its height there. Shorto had taken over an existing cutlery business established by John Page in Queen Street and recorded there between at least 1755–57 (Moore 1973). Page then seems to have moved back to Dorset, since a cutler and silversmith of this name is listed in Blandford from 1793 (Rate Books at DRO, and *Universal British Directory*, vol. 1, 1793). Page continued to pay rates on the Dorset property until 1797–98. John Page senior of Salisbury married Ann Allanbridge at Langton Long, Blandford, in 1754. Members of her family were the previous silversmithing occupants of the Page property in Blandford, and this may explain how the Shorto family had come to move into the Salisbury cutlery trade from Blandford. Several Salisbury trade cards of the late eighteenth century naming Shorto as 'successor to the late Mr Page', and Shorto's letter head survive (Goddard scrapbook, Salisbury Museum, Acc. 24/1968). A map showing Shorto's cutlery premises in about 1790 (now 6–7 Queen Street) has also been published (Royal Commission 1980, 82 and pl. 8).

Early in July 1791 Henry Shorto II's wife Ann died (*SWJ* 11 July 1791) and was buried in St Edmunds churchyard (Reeves 1975, 69). Their marriage had been difficult because of the high infant mortality prevalent in Salisbury, then one of the most unhealthy towns in England. No less than five of their children died in infancy. Henry Shorto married again after the death of his first wife but his new wife, Elisabeth Sharpe, also soon died, in Bath on 19 March 1797 just after the birth of a son and 'in the prime of life' (*Monthly Magazine*, hereafter *MM*, 3, 332, April 1797 and *Gentleman's Magazine*, hereafter *GM*, 67 (1), 354, April 1797). The very next day Henry Shorto II died at the age of 40. His obituary notice recorded that he was an eminent silversmith and cutler, having been an assistant on the Salisbury Corporation from 1789 (*SWJ* 27 March 1797; see also W.G. Maton MSS Collectanea f.31).

Henry Shorto II had four surviving sons, three of whom are mentioned in his will, dated 24 December 1796 and proved on 27 May 1797 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury records, Public Record Office). His dwelling house, newly erected shop in Queen Street, the cutlery workshops in Butcher Row and the Coal Market, Salisbury, and stock-in-trade, tools and furniture, were all placed in trust and the business was to be carried on by his trustees until his eldest son, Henry III, was 23 in 1801 when all would pass to him. £800 was to be given to each of his other sons, James, Edward and another son born after his will was made. Henry Shorto III was born on 6 April 1778 in Salisbury and baptized on 20 May 1778 (Registers of Sarum St Edmunds, WRO). James, his brother, first became a cutler at Laverstock east of Salisbury and later, in 1801, opened a shop for the sale of his cutlery at 157 High Street, Southampton (*SWJ* 9 November 1801). James married Charlotte Norton (died 1832) of Blandford on 29 July 1802 at Blandford (*SWJ* 2 April 1802); he had died intestate by 6 April 1836, when the administration of his small estate was granted to his brother Henry. The third brother, Edward Horne Shorto, seems to have returned to Dorset, where he married Hannah Critchell at St Peter's, Dorchester on 18 February 1808.

The same newspaper that carried the news of the sudden deaths of both his parents also carried an advertisement by 18-year-old Henry Shorto III, 'Cutler and Silversmith of Queens Street, Market Place, Salisbury', informing the public that he would

carry on his father's business for the benefit of the family (*SWJ* 27 March 1797) which included at least one small orphan. Henry promised that 'punctuality in the execution of orders, and excellence of workmanship, which have heretofore distinguished the House' would continue. But threats to the Sarum cutlery trade other than from bad workmanship and slow delivery were already emerging. This becomes clear from Henry's later advertisement dated 7 July 1801 (*SWJ* 20 July 1801) thanking those who had patronised his establishment, which 'manufactures Salisbury cutlery of the best quality' and adding that his journeymen (or craft workers) had 'entered into a resolution to expose the imposition of Sheffield . . . goods as being of Salisbury make'.

A further advertisement for his Salisbury cutlery dated 17 July 1801 again mentioned its superiority over that from Sheffield (*SWJ* 3 August 1801). Clearly Henry Shorto and the other Salisbury cutlers were trying hard to maintain the famed quality of Salisbury-made goods over those now competing from Sheffield. For a while Salisbury clearly continued to hold a lead. One of Henry Shorto's 'improvers' or assistants in Queen Street, Thomas Neesham (*c.* 1785–1865) (Reeves 1975, 54), had originally come from Sheffield to work for Henry Shorto and in 1817 set up his own cutlery business in New Canal. He is recorded there and in Oatmeal Row until 1855 (Moore 1973). The threat from Sheffield was largely due to the early mechanisation, and consequent mass-production, of the cutlery trade there, and to transport improvements which made the River Don navigable to within three miles of the town in 1751 (Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, article Sheffield, vol. 32, part 64, 1816). In the 1780s the first steam engine-driven grinding-wheels allowed processes there to be both cheaper and quicker, posing dual threats to the still unmechanised craft-trade of Salisbury (Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, article Cutlery, vol. 10, part 20, 1808).

In 1801 Henry Shorto III married Miss Eliza Purnell of Amesbury (*SWJ* 18 May 1801). They had at least two sons, including the younger Edward (*c.* 1807–1819) (*SWJ* 14 June 1819), and three daughters: Eliza Sharpe, Maria Anne and Ellen Read, all of whom re-appear in the Shorto story.

Henry Shorto issued an elaborate advertising letter-sheet in about 1809, of which a sample survives (Goddard scrapbook); it is reproduced here as Figure 2. The original has an 1808 watermark and bears a date of April 1812 in manuscript. It has been wrongly described by Moore (1973, 13) as a trade card and as circa 1790 in date.

The sheet gives a clear indication of the scale and range of Henry Shorto's business activities by 1810, whether as cutler, jeweller or silversmith.

HENRY SHORTO AND THE STUDY OF PALAEONTOLOGY

In about 1811 Henry Shorto III suddenly and rapidly took up the scientific study of fossils. In a letter written in October 1813 he notes that 'about 2 years ago I accidentally met with Mr Parkinson's valuable work on organic remains which highly interested me'. This is the three-volume work *Organic Remains of a former World* by surgeon James Parkinson (1755–1824), published in 1804, 1808 and 1811 (Thackray 1976) which has been described as 'the outstanding event in the history of our scientific knowledge of British fossils' (Challinor 1948, 47). It was the publication of the third volume of this work, in about September 1811, which seems to have stimulated Henry Shorto to become a fossil collector and a palaeontologist. Since Parkinson's declared aim (1804, vol. 1, vii) was to attract new students to the neglected science of fossils, Henry Shorto's case proves his success in one instance at least. By 1812 Henry Shorto III was in correspondence with another early scientific English palaeontologist of importance, James Sowerby (1757–1822). In surviving letters to him of December 1812 Henry describes his new geological work and aspirations in some detail. Shorto's first letter to Sowerby (Eyles collection, University of Bristol Library) is dated 9 December 1812 and reports that he had by then 'examined with minute attention and persevering industry, the different appearances of the flinty nodules in our chalk and gravel pits and [had], by these researches, formed an hypothesis with regard to them'. Shorto wished to communicate his 'observations to some scientific person with a view to their publication, my business not allowing me to take such a task upon myself'.

Shorto does not say how he had first come into contact with Sowerby. The latter is known to have visited Wiltshire in search of fossils on a number of occasions (Cleevely 1974, 425), but his visits all seem to have predated Shorto's interest in fossils. The most likely explanation is that Shorto learned of Sowerby's activities as a natural history publisher, and in particular of palaeontology, after June 1812 (when the first part of Sowerby's *Mineral Conchology* was issued) from a mutual scientific acquaintance.

Shorto's letter asked if Sowerby would consider publishing for him an illustrated study of his researches on Wiltshire Chalk fossils and flints, as Shorto's

HENRY SHORTO,

CUTLER, JEWELLER, AND SILVERSMITH,

QUEEN-STREET,

Salisbury

MANUFACTURES

TABLE, DESSERT, AND CARVING KNIVES AND FORKS;

Pen, Pocket, and Pruning Knives and Saws; Ladies' polished and plain Scissars; Razors, Lancets, and Fleams; Horse and Taylors' Scissars, Oyster Knives, Steels, &c. &c.

KEEPS A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

JEWELRY;

Gold Rings, Ear Rings, Necklaces, Lockets, Broaches, Clasps, Seals, Keys, Toothpick Cases, Vinegarets, Pencil Cases, Purse Sliders, Thimbles, Silver Snuff Boxes, Mourning Ornaments, &c. &c.

ALSO A FASHIONABLE VARIETY OF

SILVER AND PLATED ARTICLES.

SILVER.	SILVER.	SILVER.	SILVER.	SILVER.
Tea Pots.	Soup Ladles.	Gravy Spoons.	Wine Funnels.	Butter Knives.
Sugar Basons.	Sauce ditto.	Caddy Shells.	Pap Boats.	Fruit Knives.
Cream Ewers.	Salt ditto.	Marrow Spoons.	Children's Corals.	Tea Spoons.
Sugar Tongs.	Fish Knives.	Cheese Knives.	Ditto Cups.	Table ditto.
Toast Racks.	Skewers.	Muffineers.	Ditto Knives & Forks.	Coffee ditto
				Dessert ditto.

SILVER FOUR-PRONG TABLE FORKS.

PLATED.	PLATED.	PLATED.	PLATED.	PLATED.
Cruet Frames.	Salts.	Coffee Pots.	Wine Funnels.	Tea Spoons.
Fish ditto.	Bread Baskets.	Tea ditto.	Candlesticks.	Snuffers.
Spirit ditto.	Cake Baskets.	Sugar Basons.	Card ditto.	Tea Urns.
Egg ditto.	Four-prong Table Forks.	Cream Ewers.	Chamber ditto.	
Mustard Pots.	Skewers.	Dish Rings.	Table Spoons.	
Branches.	Cheese Knives.	Stewing Dishes.	Dessert ditto.	

EPERGNES, TRIFLE DISHES, BRANCHES, &c.

JAPANNED GOODS: Tea Trays, Waiters, Bread Baskets, Knife and Snuffer Trays, Chamber Candlesticks, Plate Warmers, and

LONDON TEA AND COFFEE URNS.

SWORDS, BELTS, AND MILITARY ACCOUTREMENTS.

Gun Flints, Turn Screws, Powder Flasks, Dog Whistles, Game Bags, Dog Collars, Fishing Rods, ditto Hooks, ditto Flies, ditto Lines, Reels, Gut, Landing Nets, Powder Magazines, Leather Bottles, Bottles with plated coverings, Spurs, Walking Sticks and Canes, Shot Belts, Shot Chargers, Boot Hooks, Cork Screws, Button Hooks.

Articles in the above Branches repaired, or made to Order.—Mourning Rings and Ornaments on short Notice. Old Gold and Silver bought, or taken in Exchange.

Brodie, Dowding, and Luxford, Printers, Sarum.

Figure 2. Henry Shorto's advertising letter sheet of about 1809. Reproduced by permission of the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum

'specimens would furnish many important objects for the illustration of the study as plates'. He then invited Sowerby down to Salisbury to discuss the proposal. Sowerby's draft reply survives and shows that Sowerby's 'present pressing avocations' caused him to decline this invitation. Sowerby was then 'about the fossil shells of Gt. Britain [a clear reference to his recently commenced project on *Mineral Conchology*], and already had a collection sufficient for a length of time', particularly from Highgate, near London, where a subterraneous arched tunnel was being excavated in June 1811 (Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, article Highgate, vol. 18, part 35); its progress was described by James Gillman who listed the fossils found there up to mid 1811 (*MM* 31 (1811), 535–5). The palaeontological treasures brought to light in these excavations aroused great interest both in London and farther afield. The first fossil to be illustrated in Sowerby's *Mineral Conchology* came from Highgate and is of great significance in the history of palaeontology in Britain. Sowerby's preoccupation with it at the time of Shorto's approach is probably the major reason why this approach was not more fruitful. Sowerby did, however, offer to exchange duplicates and to illustrate some of Shorto's specimens of fossil shells in the future parts of *Mineral Conchology*.

Shorto's reply to Sowerby is dated 16 December 1812, from Sarum (Sowerby Correspondence, vol. 50, British Museum (Natural History) Library, London). In it Shorto looked forward to the possibility of their future collaboration, with Sowerby preparing the plates and superintending the printing of Shorto's text. He reported that he had so far no duplicate shells in flint, 'indeed they are not very numerous'. In any case Shorto intended to list all the fossils he had so far found embedded in flint in the planned publication, but added that he was not 'conversant in conchology or I would give you their names'. No more is heard of this hoped-for collaboration and Henry Shorto's name does not appear in available lists of collectors mentioned in Sowerby's works on Fossil Shells or Mineralogy (Sherborn 1935, and an annotated MS list also covering Sowerby's works on Mineralogy of 1804–17 kindly made available by Justin Delair). Presumably Sowerby considered the market for such a specific publication, on the Chalk fossils and flints of Wiltshire only, as too limited at this very early date in the history of British palaeontology. In any case James Sowerby was not yet specially interested in the fossil sponges and corals Shorto had found, as his current work was on fossil shells.

In his first letter to Sowerby, Shorto also noted that his new explanation of the origin of flints had proved 'highly satisfactory' to a number of others interested in such pursuits and he specifically named four. These can be identified as:

1. The Revd Joseph Townsend (1739–1816) of Pewsey in Wiltshire, and Bath (Morris 1969); a founder Honorary Member (1807) of the Geological Society of London (Woodward 1907); and an early friend and disciple of William Smith (1769–1839), the early advocate of the usefulness of fossils in the characterization of strata.
2. Dr Charles Hunnings Wilkinson (1763/4–1850) of Bath (Thornton 1967; Torrens 1975, 106–7). He was proprietor of the Kingston Bath and a medical and scientific lecturer as well as another fossil collector and fellow disciple of Smith. He was elected an Ordinary Member of the Geological Society of London in 1813.
3. Dr Nicholas Nugent (*c.* 1781–1843) of Hill, near Southampton, and of Antigua, for which island he was latterly agent (*GM* (NS) 20 (1843), 552). The Millbrook Parish Registers record the birth and baptism there of his daughter in 1813, whilst he was a physician based in Hill. He had been elected an Honorary Member of the Geological Society in 1808 and wrote a number of articles on West Indian geology in volumes one (1811) and five (1821) of their *Transactions*.
4. Dr Richard Fowler (1765–1863), of Salisbury from 1796 to 1863; a Fellow of the Royal Society 1802, and another enthusiastic fossil collector (*Dictionary of National Biography*, hereafter *DNB*, and *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 13, iii–v, 1864).

It is a remarkable tribute to the effectiveness of the geological networks which soon developed throughout the provinces after the foundation of the Geological Society of London in 1807 that Shorto was able to make such acquaintances within little more than one year, within a provincial context, in this new science.

Shorto next wrote his paper dated October 1813, on the origin of flints, as a letter to be read to the Geological Society of London (not the Royal Society as claimed by his obituarist (*SWJ* 31 December 1864)). This letter gives these further details of Shorto's earliest studies of fossils: 'my pursuits had hitherto [pre-1811] been of quite a different tendency; in fact business was my principal one, the avocations of which left me but little leisure for any other'. Parkinson's book had excited his curiosity about the fossils of the Chalk and the origins of flints, 'here scattered in the greatest abundance'. He resolved to study and collect them, although still in 1811 'insulated from persons to whom this subject was interest-

ing and possessing no books to which I could refer for information on the subject excepting the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*' (the 4th edition of which, in 1810, had briefly discussed the origins of flint (vol. 14, part 1, 166–7)). The significance of Shorto's paper on the origin of flints will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Parkinson's book *Organic Remains of a Former World*, which first drew Shorto to the study of fossils, also devoted several pages to chalk flints associated with fossil *Alcyonites* (sponges) (1808, vol. 2, 128–133). Some of these were from Wiltshire, and Parkinson had had his own attention drawn to them by the Revd Joseph Townsend, with whom Shorto was soon in contact. Parkinson had a special interest in the origins of fossils and the processes by which they had been petrified. So anyone drawn to the study of Parkinson's book would also have been drawn to the study of the ways in which fossils had originated, especially in material of such a cryptic origin as flint.

After the Shorto–Sowerby project to publish had foundered, Henry Shorto prepared a seven-page paper giving his views on the origin of chalk flints. It was transmitted by a letter to the Geological Society of London dated 7 October 1813 from Salisbury. It survives in the Geological Society archives (QP Misc. 76). The letter was first addressed to yet another of Shorto's growing provincial circle of scientific acquaintances, Dr [William George] Maton (1774–1835), the Salisbury-born contemporary whom Shorto had already met both in Salisbury and in London. Maton also had long had a passionate interest in all branches of natural history, but particularly in botany and conchology, and in antiquities (Paris 1838). Maton's published description of his undergraduate tours to the Western Counties of England in 1794 and 1796 (Maton 1797), with his friends the Revd Thomas Rackett (1757–1841) and Charles Hatchett (1766–1847) (Raistrick 1967) gives a clear indication of his early attachment to geology and mineralogy. Maton's book was accompanied by one of the first geological maps published in Britain (Butcher 1968). From the 1790s Maton had started to gather materials on the natural history of his native county Wiltshire. The only part to be published (Maton 1843) excludes geology, but other surviving fragments in manuscript contain dated material between at least 1793 and 1833. These include interesting comments on Henry Shorto.

Maton lists eleven 'Persons who are conversant with the Natural History of Wiltshire' (Maton MSS Collections, 1793–1833, f.3). This list includes, as no. 8, 'Mr Shorto – Salisbury (Flint and Fossils)'. No. 9 adds the botanist 'Dr Smith – Salisbury (dead)'. This gives a latest date for Shorto's inclusion in the list as April 1817, by which time Dr Henry Smith (*c.* 1775–1817), a Fellow of the Linnean Society from 1816, had died (*GM* 87 (1) (1817), 379). The same MS includes an additional note against the last to be listed, no. 11: 'Miss Benett (sister of Mr. Benett of Pyt-House) possesses a large collection of fossils [for whom see Spamer *et al.* 1990] many of them found in this county. But the most interesting collection which I have seen is that formed by Mr. Shorto (cutler) of Salisbury with a view to illustrate the mode in which flint is formed and which therefore consists chiefly of such fossils as are found in Chalk pits' (Maton MSS Collections, 1793–1833, ff. 52–3).

This gives an indication of the scale of the clearly impressive collection Henry Shorto had been able to bring together by 1817. Other members of Maton's list recorded as conversant with geological matters include: 'no. 1 Rev. Joseph Townsend, Rector of Pewsey' already noted as an early acquaintance of Shorto's, and 'no. 10 Dr. Richard Fowler', who Maton also records 'has made a large and instructive collection of fossils chiefly of *Spongites* [chalk sponges] and has been a very diligent observer'. Fowler was also noted as having in his collection, apparently before January 1798, 'teeth of an elephant in clay beds near Fisherton'. This, and the inclusion of 'no. 7 Mr. Williams of Fisherton' in Maton's list, as yet another conversant natural historian, gives evidence of an interest in the Pleistocene fossils of Fisherton well before the first record of such finds was published in 1827 (Delair and Shackley 1978). It also provides a clue to one of Henry Shorto's later interests, namely the Quaternary vertebrates of his native county Dorset, which will be discussed below.

But Maton, despite his great interests in geology, was not a member of the Geological Society of London, an eventuality for which Shorto's letter had allowed, and so he sent Shorto's paper on as requested to an acquaintance who was a member. The words 'To Dr Maton' are crossed out and 'Extract of a letter to Mr Meade' have been written instead. This is Thomas Meade (1753–1845) (see Meade 1956), a keen fossil collector of Chatley, near Norton St Philip, south of Bath. He had been elected one of the Society's first Honorary Members in 1807 (Woodward 1907, 269) and so was able to transmit Shorto's letter to the Society.

EARLY BRITISH WORK ON THE ORIGIN OF FLINTS

I am glad to hear that you have taken up the

> subject of flints, I think it is a very fertile one in Geology and almost the only branch of that science that can be practically pursued in the neighbourhood of London.
>
> Letter from Sir James Hall to G.B. Greenough in 1811 (Cambridge University Library, Add. 7918).

Material of so cryptic an appearance as flint had long attracted attention, not least in Wiltshire where such material is of common occurrence. John Aubrey (1626–1697) recorded that as long ago as 1655 he had asked William Harvey (1578–1657), discoverer of the circulation of the blood, for his opinion on their origin (Britton 1847, 43).

The 1810 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article, to which Shorto had access, sums up the three prevailing groups of theories then current for the origin of flints, noting, with some Scottish realism, that all such 'theories like theories of the earth in general, offer nothing more than the silliest and most groundless conjectures'. The first set of theories, the encyclopaedist caustically explained, owed the origin of flint to its having been formerly in a state of fusion, from which it had cooled. This was the 'Huttonian' view, due largely to the work of James Hutton (1726–1797), the Edinburgh-based earth theorist, who discussed the origin of flints and argued that the siliceous matter of which flint was made must have been introduced into the strata in which flints now occur in 'a fluid state by injection from some other place'(Hutton 1788, 232–3). He argued this from the supposed total insolubility of such siliceous matter in water and from the occurrence of flints as discrete bodies, which he thought proved that they could not have originated from a dissolution event involving water. The same points were repeated in his *Theory of the Earth* (Hutton 1795, 53–60).

Such Huttonian views of the consolidation of sediments were soon seen as a major stumbling block to his *Theory* (Gerstner 1971 and Laudan 1978), since he thought all such sediments had been consolidated only by heat and pressure. But it is also important to recognize that 'any eighteenth-century mineralogist would have agreed that their glassy texture [i.e. of flints] was evidence that they had cooled from a melt' (Laudan 1987, 119). So Hutton's attempts to explain the origin of flints were clearly crucial to the whole development of his theory of consolidation (see also Donovan 1978).

It might be imagined in view of Hutton's Scottish vantage point and supposed lack of travel, as claimed by Ospovat (1979, 169), that he would have been rather unfamiliar with the field occurrences of flints and other such siliceous nodules in rocks. This suspicion might have gained further support from Hutton's own urging in print that those who would enquire more minutely into the origin of such bodies should do so in the Chalk countries of France and England. But there is clear evidence that Hutton himself had travelled very widely. He specifically records seeing both [Triassic] cherty limestones in Sutherland and flints all along the Chalk ridge in Dorset, which he had travelled on foot almost from Corfe Castle to Weymouth before 1774 (Hutton 1795, 102; Eyles 1951, 323–4).

By the end of the eighteenth century, Hutton's prompting that others should investigate properly the origin of flints had borne fruit in England. Thomas Beddoes (1760–1808), Bristol-based chemist and physician, read his paper 'On the Flints of Chalk Beds' to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1793 (Beddoes 1796). This, quoting Hutton's work, was based on observations Beddoes had made on Chalk flints near Oxford some years before. Beddoes admitted he had been 'totally unable to frame any hypothesis, such as would comprehend all [their] phaenomena'. He noted the stratified occurrence of flints, however irregular, and that their outer coats were often decayed, many being also hollow. The glassy texture and fracture of flints was, he thought, their crucial feature and led him to believe, like Hutton with whom he shared a mineralogical approach to the problem, that at some stage 'they have been fused', like glass. But he could not see, from their field relationships, how such fused materials had then been injected upwards from below as Hutton suggested.

Thus Hutton's view of the crucial agency of heat in the formation of flints was by no means then unique. Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), friend of both Hutton and Beddoes, also discussed the origin of 'Nodules of Flint in Chalk Beds' (Darwin 1795, Additional Note XIX, 45–6). He considered them to have gained 'their form as well as their dark colour from the flesh of the shell-fish from which they had their origin', but that these had then been so completely 'fused by heat, or heat and water, as to obliterate all vestiges of the shell'. Darwin with his usual extraordinary perception had correctly observed the common occurrence of fossils in flints but thought the greater degrees of fusion they had then undergone had progressively destroyed those shells which would have revealed their molluscan origins.

Darwin was led to this composite hypothesis of a part 'internal' origin for flint because 'no strings or

pipes of siliceous matter' connecting one nodule to another were found. Darwin concluded that if their origin had been only an 'external' one, by injection from elsewhere 'according to the idea of Dr. Hutton', this would have been found. Here Darwin was agreeing with Beddoes that the field occurrences of flints posed the major obstacle to the origin postulated by Hutton.

Another alternative for the origin of flints, noted in 1810 by the Edinburgh encyclopaedist, was that they had arisen by some later infiltration of flinty matter into cavities in the chalk, having been held in aqueous solution. These cavities were due to air holes produced earlier by evaporation of water. This origin revolved round two matters of dispute: firstly, whether such cavities would have been produced in this way and, secondly, whether such flinty matter was in fact soluble. This possible aqueous origin for flints derived from the work of the German Abraham Werner (1750–1817) of the 'Wernerian' School, as it had become categorized by the beginning of the nineteenth century. A good example of this school's views was provided by Shorto's contemporary, the Swiss J.F. Berger (1779–1833) in 1811 (Berger 1811, 94–7). James Parkinson, who inspired Shorto's work on fossils, was of a clear 'Wernerian' persuasion as to the origin of flints (Parkinson 1811b, 349–52) and many other English geologists were then similarly convinced they had had an aqueous origin by subsequent infiltration, for example J.J. Conybeare (1779–1824) in an unpublished MS (1812). These views placed the crucial issue between the igneous 'Huttonians' and the chemical 'Wernerians' dependent upon the solubility of silica. As Newcomb (1986) has recently pointed out, contemporary experimental work made on this to test the two hypotheses, by Richard Kirwan (1733–1812) and others, had favoured the 'Wernerian' view and had helped to argue for an essentially cool and chemical origin for flints.

The early nineteenth century had seen continued interest in the problem in England. In 1800 and 1801 Henry C. Englefield (1752–1822) read papers 'On the strata of flint in an Isle of Wight chalk pit' to the Linnean Society (Englefield 1802a and b). John Farey (1766–1826), thinking these papers of sufficient interest, asked for them to be more widely reprinted (Farey 1804), as they were in 1804. Englefield found his flints to be regularly bedded in steeply dipping Chalk strata and so wondered whether these shattered flints had been formed much later when the beds were disturbed from the horizontal (Englefield 1804). He was by no means alone in considering flints to have originated well *after* the Chalk in which they were now found. The Frenchman Balthasar Hacquet or Haquet (1740–1815) produced an influential memoir, while based at Krakow in Poland, in this same period which again argued that flints were of 'very recent' formation since they 'occur only in calcareous mountains of secondary formation and near the surface . . . indeed the deeper we go the smaller and more distant from each other' were the flints (Haquet 1807a and b).

A third, less influential, school of thought for the origin of flint was also mentioned by the Edinburgh encyclopaedist in 1810. This view, which had originated from the dissatisfaction felt by many with both the 'Huttonian' and 'Wernerian' theories, explained flints as in some way due to the marine animals, contemporary with the flints, whose remains were also found in the enclosing Chalk. This formed part of the theory which had been put forward by Erasmus Darwin; that to which Henry Shorto was to make a significant contribution.

HENRY SHORTO'S WORK ON FLINTS

> The origin of flints, their arrangement, the peculiarities which they occasionally exhibit, and the fossils they occasionally include, are subjects that entirely baffle all theory. (Brande 1829, 84.)

It is possible that the widely distributed *Monthly Magazine* stimulated Henry Shorto to take up work on flints and seek out Parkinson's newly published work. The *Monthly Magazine* carried, in issues from April 1809 to August 1809, an enthusiastic debate on the chemical formation of flint between one A.B.R. or A.B.C., who had 'resided some years in a flinty part of Buckinghamshire' (A.B.R./A.B.C. 1809) and Joseph Hume (1809) of Long Acre, London, with a subsequent comment by one J.S. (1810) who supposed chalk was, in Bedfordshire at least, still in the process of transformation into flint. This was achieved, J.S. claimed, by some chemical property chalk had, aided by the atmosphere. A further anonymous correspondent from London then wrote, in June (X.Y.Z. 1810), that A.B.R. and others' chemical explanations of 'a modification of calcareous earth by water' for the origin of flint needed to take account of the fact that fossil sea-shells were also found composed of flint. X.Y.Z. correctly pointed out that 'the study of extraneous fossils is becoming everyday more attended to'. This was largely through the influence of the English land and mineral surveyor William Smith (1769–1839) whose views on the significance of fossils were being widely disseminated at this period.

Thus this debate, involving a connected origin for flints and fossils, in a widely distributed non-specialist magazine (of which Shorto will be shown to have been a reader), could well have been a stimulus to Henry Shorto's new interest in both subjects. Another certain stimulus was James Parkinson's three volume work *Organic Remains of a former World*. The first volume (1804, 303–14) discussed extant theories for the related origin of petrified wood. Parkinson here took particular issue with the 'Huttonian' theory that such silicified fossil wood had ever been injected with silica by any 'simple fusion by fire'. Parkinson (op. cit., 319–31) also much preferred an aqueous origin for flints, which, he noted, frequently showed signs of a close connection with fossils. Thus he too felt these had originated from solution of silex in a fluid medium. In volume two (1808, 284–6) Parkinson devotes a final section to a short consideration of the process of petrification.

Another student of flints who may well have also stimulated Shorto was the Pewsey-based cleric and friend of both Smith and Parkinson, Joseph Townsend, already mentioned. He had studied the flints of Wiltshire and their origin since at least 1806 (De Luc 1811, vol. 3. 455–6). In his *magnum opus* Townsend later recorded when discussing Chalk Fossils and Flints that fossils 'appear universally to have formed the nucleus of . . . flints' (Townsend 1813, 258–9), a view which may have owed something to discussions with Shorto.

How much Shorto was aware of either the historic or the contemporary debate on flints in 1810 is not certain, but he was clearly *not* well informed. This may have been to his advantage in reducing his possible preconceptions. He was clearly at an advantage in seeing the origin of flint as a biological problem as much as a chemical one. The long history of interest in flints, and the intense debate about their origins, still continue today. A popular modern account of flint by Shepherd (1972) includes a summary of theories of its origin. Clayton gives a more up-to-date account of its chemical-segregation origin from biogenic silica in Sieveking and Hart (1986, 43–54). But Shepherd's claim in his book to give 'the history of serious research on flint in some detail' is nonsense, as he takes all serious research to be only that of modern times. Theories of the origin of flint would make a fascinating topic for serious historical research.

Having failed with plans to publish, Shorto wished to put his flint hypothesis to 'the test of public opinion'. His 1813 paper was read to the Geological Society of London on 4 March 1814, according to the annotation on the original MS by Arthur Aikin (1773–1854), the then Secretary, and to an entry in the Society's Minute Book for the Ordinary Meeting on that day. The latter noted that 'a communication on the origin of flint had been received from Mr. Shorto' and that after its reading thanks were voted. But only a short summary of his hypothesis was entered in the Minutes, which noted that 'because certain of the flint nodules exhibit unquestionable marks of animal organisation . . . all flint has originated from sponges, alcyonia and the spongeous zoophites, converted by some unknown process into siliceous earth'. This minute was published (Anon 1815) but the author's name was given as Mr Henry Sports. The shortness of this minute might be due to the Society's contemporary attitude to theorizing. Laudan (1977) has argued that it then encouraged only strictly inductive methods, but Miller (1986) in a compelling alternative suggestion claims that this is too simplistic a view.

Shorto's paper started his scientific discussion of flints by describing their field occurrence. He noted that they usually lay horizontally or nearly horizontally but were also found obliquely or perpendicularly, stratified always within Chalk beds '2 or 3 times in a space of about 20 or 30 feet'. The latter displacement from the horizontal was, he rightly argued, clearly always *subsequent* to the flints' formation, thus disposing of observations like Englefield's, if he knew of them. Shorto also noted that, after he had started his studies of chalk and flints, he had 'met with one of Monsieur De Luc's works from whence I learned the idea that chalk was a deposit from water'. De Luc's book of 1809 is the most likely source here. In this De Luc, one of many who believed in an aqueous origin for flints, argued that all mineral strata were formed, through chemical precipitation, at the bottom of a liquid (1809, 41–44) or ancient sea (ibid., 215) including Chalk strata containing flints (ibid., 345). This same origin for flints was later repeated by De Luc (1811, vol. 2, 127 and 169–70).

Since chalk had been deposited on the floor of a sea, the animals living on it at that time, Shorto argued, would be variably adapted to such conditions. Apart from the fish swimming above the floor, Shorto distinguished in the bottom-dwelling faunas 'animals possessing a confined locomotion from those possessing none and spread everywhere at the bottom'. Within the calcareous deposition of falling chalk, the stratigraphic record would then show alternations of beds rich in 'zoophytes' (the animals which possessed no locomotive power) with some shells and fragments in the Chalk. Zoophytes belonged to an 'Order'

placed by Carl Linnaeus in his 'Class' of worms. They included 'composite animals holding a medium between animals and vegetables', like sponges and corals which both sprang from 'a vegetable stem' (see Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, article Zoophyton, vol. 39, part 77, 1818; Turton 1806, 614–92). Shorto believed it was these zoophytes, under such conditions, which had become intermittently transmuted into flint. He found flint to show a 'very common occurrence of organic appearance'. Shorto believed such transmutations could have happened in two ways: either the 'spongeous zoophyte' (sponge) possessed a 'quality of itself when entombed' of becoming flint, or it did so in combination with another 'quality', derived from the matrix in which it was buried. Of these explanations Shorto preferred the former. He believed specifically that it was the sponges or 'spongeous zoophytes' only which were converted into flint, and that all the flint nodules found in chalk had originated in this way from such organic material.

The evidence on which Shorto based his theory was then reviewed. He thought pear-shaped or half dumb-bell-shaped flints showed the organic internal structure, from the originating 'spongeous zoophyte', best of all. As he noted in his first letter to Sowerby, Shorto had been able, from the very numerous specimens he had himself collected, to 'trace a very singular animal structure' in many such flints. Clearly his personal collection had been of great significance to his work. Shorto also noted that 'Mr Sowerby had two fine specimens of this kind' in his collection, suggesting that he had been able to visit Sowerby's collection in person at Lambeth, after they were last known to have been in contact in 1812. Flints of a round form also showed a 'nucleus of a spongeous appearance' but in these the organic structure was often nearly lost. Of these last Shorto again made some perceptive observations, showing how carefully he had observed the material concerned: 'Flints of this and a great variety of other forms are often found hollow containing a calcareous powder – minute siliceous particles and sometimes a coherent siliceous spongeous mass. . . . when these matters are wanting the cavities are lined with chalcedony blistered, mammalated [sic] etc or else with beautiful crystalizations [sic] and it deserves remark that *calcareous* matter is sometimes found adhering to the crystalizations or seated between them.' This very early reference to the flint meal commonly found inside flints is very accurate, especially in noting the calcareous nature of some of the meal, in which calcareous and siliceous preservations are *both* found (Hart in Sieveking and Hart 1986, 89–97).

In view of the uncertain knowledge of chemistry available at this time, Shorto was undoubtedly at a disadvantage in trying to explain how the sponge's siliceous matter had been 'transported'. He observed however that modern sponges held moisture surrounded by a moist gelatinous covering and he thought that this water content might have been involved and asked whether the siliceous material of the sponge might not have passed thereby to the surrounding matrix of the sponge. Whatever his difficulties in explaining the migration of the silica, Shorto deserves credit for recognising a potential *internal* source for the silica of which flint is composed, namely the siliceous component of the sponges. This he observed was variably diffused in hollow or complete flints, in some of which any organic internal structure had been completely obliterated.

Shorto's hypothesis ends with a note about his own priority. Having been unable to find any existing theory which could adequately account for an origin of flints from fossils, he started to form his own hypothesis that they had originated from zoophytes. As he proceeded he 'frequently imparted his views to Dr [Richard] Fowler of this place' [Salisbury], to whom he communicated his final version. Some time after this Richard Fowler called to inform him that a Monsieur Patrin had also previously written on the subject and had produced a theory resembling Shorto's in many particulars, which Fowler had found in Rees' *Cyclopaedia* (article on flint, vol. 14, part 28, 1810). The article noted that few theories of the origin of flints had been broached which would at all stand the test of close investigation. One hypothesis, which is similar to Shorto's, was that 'all flint . . . originates from the flesh of a stratum of marine gelatinous animals'. This theory which the author of the Rees article 'allowed to have as much plausibility' as any of the others was due to M. Patrin. Patrin's idea that flint was due to the 'decomposition of different marine bodies' had been first published in French in 1803 (Patrin 1803, 129–52); but no specific role for the siliceous sponges was then mentioned and it is this which is clearly *the* contribution due to Henry Shorto in these two similar, but otherwise independent, contributions. It should be noted however that Shorto was not the only researcher in England to have noted the common occurrence of sponges with flints. On 21 December 1812 John Kidd (1775–1851) of Oxford sent a box of Chalk flints to John Playfair (1748–1819), a supporter of the 'Huttonian' position in Edinburgh, together with a covering list and letter (Royal Society of Edinburgh archives). In these Kidd notes that his and some friends' repeated observations

have shown that the 'flint nodules of the English chalk have been formed by a deposition of silex round various species of marine bodies, but particularly sponge' which had determined the shape of the flint nodules, of which he sent samples which do not seem to have survived.

The fact that Shorto's work was never published, and that the large collections he made to illustrate it have all disappeared, has meant that his contribution has been entirely forgotten. The current view is that the silica of flint is wholly biogenic in origin (see Hancock 1975, 523). The role of siliceous sponges in its formation is, however, traditionally ascribed (e.g. by Shepherd 1972, 80), at least in England, as first due to Professor W.J. Sollas (1905, 133–165).

SHORTO'S OTHER GEOLOGICAL WORK

The study of Chalk flints and fossils, though clearly for good local considerations the main thrust of Shorto's first collecting and study, was not its only focus. Excavations in the summer of 1813, in what were later recognised to be Quaternary sands, yielded fossil vertebrates at Dewlish, north-east of Dorchester in the Shorto family's county of origin. The discovery was announced by the Ansty brewer and maltster Charles 'Philosopher' Hall I (1752–1831) (*Dorset County Chronicle*, 18 August 1831; James 1977), who in his later life took a serious interest in many scientific, argicultural and antiquarian matters. He had a particular interest in geology (see his contribution on the geology of Ansty in Dorset to Hutchins 1815, vol. 4, 191) and he made several contributions to the *Monthly Magazine*.

In March 1814 Hall announced the Dewlish discovery, again in the *Monthly Magazine*, on the basis of pieces of by then very fragmentary supposed 'wood', and some jaws of the 'fossil animal' which had been found there the previous summer (Hall 1814a). Carreck has stated (1955, 171) that this is the first record of such Dewlish discoveries, but the 'portion of an elephant's tusk found near Dorchester, Leverian, fine' which was in the museum of Sir Ashton Lever (1729–1788) and was sold in 1806, constitutes an earlier record, at least from this area. Lever's vast Museum was sold at auction in London between May and July 1806. The sale catalogue does not sufficiently localize individual lots to allow the identification of this item, which might however be Lot 2856, 'part of an elephant's tusk, fossilised', which was purchased by Edward Donovan (1768–1837) for four shillings (*Catalogue of the Leverian Museum* 1806, 121). This specimen was then sold once more as Lot 210 on the dispersal of Donovan's museum in 1818, as from Dorchester (Donovan 1818, 14; Pocock 1925). Its present whereabouts is unknown.

Henry Shorto soon became involved with the Dewlish discovery and communicated a much more scientific appraisal of it than Charles Hall had been able to make, in a letter written to Charles Hall from Salisbury dated 21 July 1814. This unfortunately again seems to have remained in manuscript, until 1870 when it was published by Dr H.P. Blackmore (in Stevens 1870b, 20–1). Hall and Shorto are highly likely to have come into contact before this, in view of their common backgrounds; both were in brewing and from the Dorchester area. There was a closer connection, as Charles Hall had married Hannah Coombes at Holwell near Sherborne in 1777, and she must have belonged to the same family as that of nearby Cerne Abbas into which Henry Shorto I *and* his sister had married in 1738 (see the Shorto pedigree, Figure 1).

Henry Shorto III had first visited Dewlish in mid July 1814 when he had gathered some of the specimens still to be found there and, with some acumen, he could now correctly identify them as 'the bones, grinders and tusks of the elephant', perhaps because he had previously seen Fowler's material from Fisherton (see p. 176). Shorto pointed out that the decomposed 'wood', which Hall had reported, in fact comprised fragments of such tusks. Shorto ended his letter to Hall by expressing the hope that Hall would further pursue his researches at Dewlish. This Hall did, and in a second letter to the *Monthly Magazine*, clearly inspired by Shorto's letter to him and dated 15 August 1814 (Hall 1814b), he gave further details and confirmed Shorto's determination by announcing the Dewlish discovery as having been of 'the bones, teeth and tusks of the elephant or mammoth'. Cuvier's significant, if mistitled, *Essay on the Theory of the Earth* had first been published in English in 1813. Since it contained good illustrations of the teeth of the three known 'species' of elephant (Cuvier 1813, 231–5 and pl. 1), Hall (and clearly Shorto before him) were able to compare their material with that of the then only known fossil species, the mammoth. This showed that the mammoth had been found at Dewlish and it was confirmed by Hall in a third letter published in June 1817 (Hall 1817).

It must be noted that this was by no means the first mammoth material to have been correctly identified, even from Dorset. The discovery of fine specimens near Bridport in September 1809, which were sent for

identification to the Royal College of Surgeons Museum in London by H.B. Way, had been widely announced earlier, in the *European Magazine* (vol. *62*, 288) of October 1812 and the *Liverpool Mercury* of 20 November 1812. Hall was certainly aware of this at least by 1817 (Hall 1817; and see *Bridport Times*, 23 February 1877).

Of the 'Dewlish elephant' material which was then incorporated into the Shorto collection, at least one lower and a part of an upper molar later passed into the collections of the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, where they are recorded in 1864 (Stevens 1864, 105), 1870 (Stevens 1870b, 28), 1888 (Fisher 1888) and 1889 (Mansel-Pleydell 1889, 12–13). Mansel-Pleydell mistakenly calls Shorto 'Dr Shorto'.

Manuscript letters between three of the later Victorian protagonists in this Dewlish 'elephant bed' saga, Osmond Fisher, H.P. Blackmore and J.C. Mansel-Pleydell, survive in the Dorset County Museum (hereafter DCM, GMS 135–154). One from H.P. Blackmore (GMS 137) is dated 5 October 1887 and confirms that these two Dewlish teeth, then at Salisbury Museum, 'were obtained by my Grandfather Mr Shorto so long ago as 1813' (*recte* 1814). In May 1951 these two Salisbury-based specimens were passed to the Dorset County Museum to join the other material from Dewlish already there (Carreck 1955, 171). An undated but early manuscript 'Description of discovery of Mammoth at Dulish, found in 1814' on paper bearing a watermark of 1813, and now in the same County Museum collections, also relates to the Hall and Shorto discoveries (DCM GMS 82), but it is *not* in Shorto's hand. It was donated on 18 August 1906 by Major John H.C. Michel (1843–1925) of Dewlish House, owner of the estate on which the original discoveries were made. It was clearly written *after* Shorto and Hall had first recognized that 'the fossil elephant' or mammoth occurred at Dewlish.

LATER HISTORY OF THE SHORTO COLLECTION

Notices of the Shorto collection continued after 1814. In 1815 the Revd Henry Steinhauer (1782–1818), yet another of the early Bath-based circle of fossil collectors and stratigraphers inspired by the activities there of William Smith, emigrated to America as a Moravian missionary. He took his English fossil collection and its manuscript catalogue with him. Both had passed, by 1826, to the American J.P. Wetherill who deposited them in the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia and, although much of the information the catalogue contains is likely to have been lost on an American audience, it contains further notices of Shorto's collection, proving that Steinhauer and Shorto had also been in personal contact before the former's departure from England in 1815. The catalogue notes that Shorto's collection contained a Greensand ammonite from Blackdown in Devon 'with the last chamber and mouth perfect' (Steinhauer 1815, 126) and then added (ibid., 134) that 'a very extensive and instructive collection of Flint fossils in illustration of their origin from *Spongiae* and *Alcyonia* of different species has been formed by Mr Shorto of Salisbury, chiefly from the Chalk beds in that neighbourhood'.

After 1820, with the ever growing national interest in fossils (Allen 1976, 68), the Shorto collection seems to have gained further prestige. In June 1821 the entomologist the Revd William Kirby (1759–1850) described a tour he was then making to the southern counties, in a letter to botanist the Revd Dr Charles Sutton (1756–1846). On board the Brentford to Salisbury coach Kirby had found himself in the company of another botanist, William Rashleigh (1777–1855), Member of Parliament and Fellow of the Linnean Society. He was a nephew of Philip Rashleigh (1729–1811), the famous Cornish mineralogist (Russell 1952), and he recommended that Kirby should call to see Rashleigh's 'brother-in-law', the antiquary, and then mineral collector, the Revd Edward Duke (1779–1852) who lived at Lake near Wilsford, north of Salisbury (*GM* 193, (1852), 643–4). Duke and Rashleigh were not in fact brothers-in-law, but each had an uncle and aunt who had inter-married (Burke 1921, 533–4; Townend 1965, 598–600). Rashleigh in addition desired Kirby and his companion 'to call upon Mr Shorto, a cutler at Salisbury, who has a very fine collection of fossils'. When they reached Salisbury, Kirby reported that they could only see 'part of Mr Shorto's collection of fossils, which consisted chiefly of zoophytes as far as we saw it, for we had not time to go through the whole, and [it] contained many extremely curious specimens. In his shop were several very large and fine ammonites; one more perfect than any I ever saw . . .' (Freeman 1852, 394–5).

In 1824 the Welsh naturalist Lewis Weston Dillwyn (1778–1855) (see *DNB*) also made a special visit to see 'Mr Shorts's [sic] collection of Flint fossils' while he was in Salisbury on 26 February (Randall and Rees 1963, 55). The international celebrity of the collection was established when the German *Taschenbuch für die gesammte Mineralogie* included the 'Sammlung der Kreide-Versteinerungen bei Hrn. Shorto zu Salisbury' in its July 1829 issue. This listed the most significant 'geognostic' (i.e. geological and mineralogical) collections then available in England

(Daubeny 1829). Much the same list, edited by Robert Jameson (1774–1854) with additions and some omissions, also appeared in his widely read *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* (Jameson 1829). This listed 'Geological and Mineralogical Collections in Great Britain' in its April–June 1829 issue. Both lists contained references for the two Wiltshire collections: 'at Salisbury Mr Shorte [sic] – chalk fossils especially alcyonia [sponges] from flint' and at Warminster 'Miss Benett – fossils from the chalk and greensand' (see p. 176). Further recognition came in 1836 when a larger, international 'Catalogue des principales collections géologiques, minéralogiques et paléontologiques' appeared in a *Guide for the Travelling Geologist*, in both French and Belgian editions (Boué 1836a, vol. 2, 554–71; and b, vol. 2, 386–98). These again listed the same two Wiltshire collections, including 'Monsieur Shorto à Salisbury – Fossiles de la Craie'.

Little further is heard of the Shorto fossil collection. Henry Shorto III continued in business as a Salisbury cutler until 1832 (Moore 1973, 11). He was recorded as having retired nearly '30 years ago' in 1864 (*SWJ* 31 December 1864, 5) so had probably given up the unequal struggle of competing with the cheaper mass-produced cutlery products of Sheffield and Birmingham about 1835. The decade 1830–40 certainly saw *the* major decline in the Salisbury cutlery trade (Shortt 1957, 100; Moore 1973). On Shorto's death in 1864 his obituarist recorded that when

> Salisbury was the Sheffield of England Mr Shorto's father . . . [was] extensively engaged in the manufacture of cutlery, especially of articles of a superior quality and their establishment acquired much more than a provincial reputation. Large foreign orders were executed and Salisbury razors, knives and scissors were sent in considerable quantities to India and the American colonies . . . many of our readers will still recollect the excellent taste and ingenuity displayed by [Henry Shorto III] in the manufacture in which he was concerned.

Henry Shorto III's later years were also involved 'in water colour sketching . . . of natural objects' and in the composition of poetry, some of which was published in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* (*SWJ* 31 December 1864, 5). The Salisbury Local History Library possesses a manuscript volume of over 115 pages of Shorto's poetry from these later years, containing seven printed pamphlets, some dated between 1858–62 and some signed H.S. After retirement from business, Shorto lived at his house in Rollestone Street, Salisbury. Here he died on 24 December 1864 (*SWJ* 31 December 1864, 8), and was buried on 30 December 1864 at St Edmunds (Registers of Sarum St Edmunds, WRO). His obituarist certainly paid eloquent tribute to his earlier geological work 'to which he devoted a very large share of his attention'. It recorded that 'he was one of the first to direct special attention to the treasures of the Chalk formation' and correctly noted that his real contributions to the march of science were 'his researches . . . chiefly directed to establish the spongeous origin of the flint deposit generally and [that] the extensive and unique collection of specimens formed by him proved the assiduity and discriminating power with which his investigations were conducted'. But of the fate of his unique collection not one word!

Henry Shorto III's will (Principal Probate Registry, London) bequeathed the residue of his estate to his son James Thurston Shorto and to his son-in-law John Lambert on trust. He merely directed these trustees to sell his real estate and unspecified belongings by public auction or private contract, whenever seemed best, and to invest the proceeds for his wife Eliza, and after her death for his children Eliza Sharpe, James Thurston and Ellen Read. His other child Maria Anne Lambert had died, before the will was made, on 28 November 1861. His will was proved on 30 January 1865, but again it makes no mention of the formerly famous fossil collection, which completely disappeared from record.

POSSIBLE FATES OF THE SHORTO COLLECTION AND THE SHORTO LEGACY

The depth of the mystery surrounding the fate of the Shorto geological collection shows how unfair history has been to a man who assiduously collected natural history material from Wiltshire, but who did not publish work on it. If he had only been able to publish his results he would undoubtedly have secured some notice from posterity. But the crucial advances in scientific communication brought by cheap printing technologies came only after he had done his geological work. The subsequent disappearance of his fine geological collection has merely compounded the neglect he has suffered.

There are three possible fates for his collection. One is its acquisition by a descendant and its subsequent incorporation into that descendant's collection; Dr H.P. Blackmore is the most likely candidate. The second is its sale by auction, as requested for his other property in his will of 1861; but no such sale has been traced, and none is listed by Chalmers-Hunt (1976).

The third possibility deserves brief exploration first. This is that the Shorto collection might have been incorporated into some 'permanent, public' collection *before* his death. The Shorto collection is last recorded in his personal possession in June 1821 (see p. 182). Later references are to its being merely 'in Salisbury'. It has been claimed (Shortt 1957, 114) that 'no attempt was made [in Salisbury] to form a local [Museum] collection, available to the public, until the middle of the nineteenth century'. But a museum movement certainly existed in Salisbury before this. In 1819 the Salisbury and South Wilts Library and Reading Society was founded by, and for, a group of Salisbury citizens on the site of the former Blue Boar Inn (Haskins 1912, 314). Its activities are not well documented but late in 1820 a newspaper notice reported that the success 'beyond the most sanguine expectations' of this Salisbury and Wiltshire Library and Society, had highlighted that 'the county of Wilts, so rich in fossil remains, has no appointed place for the reception of specimens, where they would be open for the inspection of the curious'. At a special meeting in December 1820 the members resolved to open an apartment 'for the reception and arrangement of such specimens as can . . . illustrate the geological history of the county. . .. The groundwork of a Public Museum will thus be laid'.

This, then, might have formed a home for the Shorto collection. For this Museum was certainly opened, at least for donations. Hoare (1843, 564) reports that Dr John Fisher (1748–1825), who was Bishop of Salisbury from 1807 to 1825, was the Society's first President, and Shorto's friend Dr Richard Fowler was its first Vice-President. Such was the country-wide interest in fossils and geology at this time that geological material seems to have been all that was ever donated during the short life of the Museum. The Bishop's wife (he married in 1787 (*GM* 57 (1787), 836) Dorothea, née Scrivener (who died in 1831 (Pine 1952, 2272)), gave a 'choice collection of Wiltshire fossils, which she has for some time past been diligently and ably increasing' (*SWJ* 25 December 1820). The Fishers were certainly interested in fossils by August 1802 when they arranged to visit the collection of fossils belonging to William Cunnington (1754–1810) at Heytesbury (see Revd W. Coxe's letter to Cunnington 31 August 1802, WANHS library). Coxe then noted that 'Mrs Fisher in particular is a great collector of fossils'. The 1820 notice added that 'Richard Fowler, Mr R. Jeffery and Mr Peniston have also offered some specimens. Mr Henry Coates, who sends in a valuable series of minerals, has kindly offered his assistance in arranging the articles which might be received' at Salisbury (*SWJ* 25 December 1820, p. 4; and *MM* 51 (1 February 1821), 102).

Jeffery was almost certainly related to Henry Jeffery (*c.*1767–1819), the chemist and druggist in Salisbury (*SWJ* 5 April 1819) who had gone bankrupt late in 1812 (*Staffs Advertiser* 21 November 1812). Henry Jeffery had been involved in abortive attempts to find coal in the 1790s, in both Dorset and Hampshire (Torrens 1979, 229), and thus was very likely to have collected geological material. All his personal collections of birds, bird's eggs, insects, shells, minerals and other curiosities were for sale in Salisbury in December 1812 after his bankruptcy, but it is unclear how much was then sold. James Sowerby had been told by Henry Shorto that the collections were for sale (Henry Shorto to James Sowerby, letter, 9 December 1812 with Sowerby's draft reply, Eyles collection, University of Bristol). But he replied that he had already seen the collections and did 'not remember that I coveted much' of them, presumably a comment here only on its geological content. The Library and Reading Society continued in existence until at least 1857 (*VCH* Wiltshire, vol. 6, 143, 1962) but its later history and the content of its Museum are unclear. But it is possible that the Shorto collection could have been added to it.

The most likely fate for the Shorto collection remains that it passed to one of Henry III's descendants. Henry Shorto had at least five children, of whom only three were alive when he made his will in 1861. Of these his son James Thurston Shorto and his eldest daughter Eliza Sharpe were, in particular, to carry on the Shorto interest in scholarship, and the Shorto collection is most likely to have passed through the hands of one or other of them. Henry had at least two sons, of whom Edmund, the second, died at the age of only twelve, and three daughters. They are all shown in the family tree. Of the daughters the middle one, Maria Anne, married Henry Lambert of Bath on 17 August 1831 at St Edmunds, Salisbury (*SWJ* 22 August 1831) while the youngest, Ellen Read, who died in 1891, married in 1838 John Lambert (1815–1892), later knighted in 1879 for his work as a civil servant and administrator (see *DNB*).

The reason why Ellen was also baptized Read is uncertain but it opens up one further possible lead on the Shorto collection. The Salisbury Museum now contains the remains of a large fossil collection made some time between 1865 and about 1890 by Charles John Read (*c.*1821–1891) of Salisbury, who may have had some connection with the Shorto family. The announcement of his death on 26 June 1891 at

Salisbury (*SWJ* 4 July 1891) however makes no mention of Read's fossil and antiquities collecting, but records only his musical activities as a member of the Royal Academy of Music and as an Associate of the London Philharmonic Society.

In 1854 John Lambert was elected Mayor of Salisbury while his father-in-law was still alive, so becoming the first Roman Catholic mayor appointed to a cathedral city since the Reformation (Williams 1968, 190–1 and 319). Later, because of his earlier association with the Town Council, he was also chosen to propose the vote of thanks to the then Mayor and Corporation of Salisbury at the formal opening there of the private Blackmore Museum in 1868 (Anon 1868, 82–3). In his address Lambert paid tribute to the founder of the Museum, William Blackmore II, the son of his wife's sister Eliza Sharpe Shorto, and in particular to his father-in-law, cutler Henry Shorto III who, with Blackmore's mother, had first 'infused a thirst for scientific and archaeological pursuits into the mind' of the Museum's founder.

The Blackmore Museum was established by William Blackmore II (1827–1878). Its creation, under three trustees who were all either married to, or were the grandchildren of, Henry Shorto III, was only the first of the remarkable connections the later Shorto family had with the world of museums and collecting. This legacy is certainly Henry Shorto's best memorial from that generation. Blackmore was born in Salisbury in 1827, the eldest son of William Blackmore I who was to be Mayor of Salisbury in 1841. William senior had married Eliza Sharpe Shorto, Henry Shorto's eldest daughter, in 1825 (*SWJ* 20 June 1825). Their eldest son William Blackmore II was admitted a solicitor in 1849 and practised first in Liverpool from 1856 to 1869, during which time, in 1863, he visited the United States, before moving to London (Boase 1965, 298–9). But his formative years in Salisbury, until the age of about 29, under the influence of his grandfather and mother, were clearly crucial to the development of his interests in prehistoric archaeology, to which the Blackmore Museum collections testified. These comprised 'mainly stone hatchets and other minor monuments of the early period, now known as the Stone Age' from the Americas, and especially Mexico.

In the *Guide to the Blackmore Museum* published in 1870 by Edward Thomas Stevens (1828–1878), a second Trustee of the Blackmore Museum and its first Honorary Curator, and a brother-in-law of William Blackmore II (Smith 1879, 133–4), is a list of Donors to the Museum and Library (Stevens 1870a, xi–xiv; Stevens 1870b, xxi–xxiv). Henry Shorto III, who had by then been dead six years, is not listed. But the Shorto geological collection seems most likely to have passed to one of his Blackmore grandchildren, William Blackmore II or his younger brother Dr H.P. Blackmore, the third Trustee. Certainly the two Pleistocene elephant molars from Dewlish in Dorset which had been in the Shorto collection since 1814, have been shown to have passed to the Blackmore Museum. Dr Humphrey Purnell Blackmore (1835–1929) was born in Salisbury and lived there almost all his life, for many years in practice as a surgeon and physician. He was elected a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1857 and was on the staff of the Salisbury Infirmary (Anon. 1929; Gregory 1929). He was a man with a wide range of interests, not just in archaeology. He was the authority on the Chalk Fossils of Salisbury, as his grandfather had been before him, and had been collecting from the Chalk quarries within 5 to 6 miles of Salisbury 'for many years' in 1901 (Reid 1903, preface, 51 and 60). Blackmore was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society in 1890.

H.P. Blackmore had also been one of the founders of the other Salisbury Museum, the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum, founded in 1860, which was amalgamated with the nearby Blackmore Museum in 1878. The stimulus for the initiation of another Museum had been the purchase of a collection of antiquities, by then popular, made in the Salisbury area by Edward W. Brodie. This was bought in 1860 and a permanent home for it also purchased in 1863 by Henry Shorto's old friend Dr Richard Fowler. Shorto's grand-daughter's husband, E.T. Stevens, was its first secretary and treasurer (Willoughby 1960, 314). So the three main instigators of the second Salisbury Museum were also all closely connected with Shorto, who died in the same year that the Museum found its first permanent home in St Ann Street.

It therefore seems likely that the major part of the Shorto geological collection passed either to the Blackmores, or to the Salisbury Museums direct, after the death of Henry Shorto in 1864, but no record of this has been found. These combined Museums did contain from their outset a collection of Pleistocene mammalian fossils, contributed by H.P. Blackmore, who succeeded Stevens as Curator and Director in 1878. Stevens' son then succeeded H.P. Blackmore in 1913 as the Museum's first professional curator. Certainly H.P. Blackmore's own fossil collections passed to Salisbury Museum, whence the great majority of Type and Figured specimens only were transferred to the British Museum (Natural History) in

1935 (Cleevely 1983, 59). The remaining Blackmore Chalk fossil specimens, many perhaps derived ultimately from Henry Shorto and thus of considerable historic significance, still survive at Salisbury, but without any record of a Shorto connection.

Henry Shorto's only surviving son also had an interesting connection with the world of museums, though in his case in Dorset. James Thurston Shorto was born at Bemerton near Salisbury in about 1808 (*Census returns* for 1841 and 1851 for High West and South Streets, Dorchester, Dorset). He is next heard of in Exeter where he married Maria Elizabeth Tucker of Ashburton, Devon, in May 1841 but is still described as 'of The Close, Salisbury' (*SWJ* 31 May 1841; and *GM* 16 (NS) (August 1841), 199). By 1843, when his second son Charles Coard Shorto (*c.* 1843–1886) was born at Dorchester (from *Census returns* and from the age given on the latter's *Death certificate*, St Catherine's House, London), he had moved back to his grandfather's place of birth. Here he became manager, from about 1844 to 1871, of the Dorchester branch of the Wiltshire and Dorset Bank in Cornhill (Hunt & Co. 1851; and Kelly & Co. 1855), living in South Street, Dorchester. He soon became actively involved with the new Dorset County Museum and Library, founded in 1846, becoming a member of its Reading Room Committee in April 1851. He was elected to the Council of the Museum, by then sited in Trinity Street, Dorchester, in January 1853 and in September 1859 he became a joint Honorary Secretary of the Museum (see *MS Minutes of the Dorset County Museum and Library* 1846–1890 at DCM). This Museum had by 1874 'a good collection of fossils' (Sykes 1942, 86). Once again there is the faint possibility that this might have included some of Henry Shorto's collection but no proof of this has been found, since the donations book is blank from 1860 to 1881 (Torrens 1978). Three of J.T. Shorto's manuscript notebooks of records made during his years in Dorset in the 1860s survive at the Dorset County Museum; they relate to natural history and weather observations there but were donated to the Museum by Frank Stevens, F.S.A., after J.T. Shorto's death (they are now in DCM archives).

Late in 1873 J.T. Shorto left Dorchester to move to Weymouth and his resignation as Honorary Secretary of the County Museum was announced. He had filled this position for over 13 years (*Dorset County Chronicle* 8 January 1874). At some later stage he returned to his birthplace from Exeter, whence he had moved from Weymouth, and he died in May 1896 at Manor Road, Salisbury (*SWJ* 16 May 1896; *Dorset County Chronicle* 21 May 1896).

CONCLUSIONS

There is sadly no doubt that Henry Shorto's geological work had little long term influence except for its major effect upon the many visitors to his collection and upon later members of his own family. These last influences were of some considerable importance. There are two main reasons for Shorto's lack of influence on the world of geology. First, he never succeeded in publishing *any* of his results, whether on the origin of flints or on his proficient analysis of the Dewlish elephant bed. The findings on both remained in manuscript or unwritten: clearly, problems of his provincial background and of publishing at such a time in the development of British geology together proved impossible obstacles. Second, his obviously major geological collection has since disappeared without trace, and so its contents and significance cannot be properly explored. The whole history of the care of geological collections in Britain is a horrific one (Doughty 1979). The main ultimate cause for this is the dramatic cyclicity of fashion for the formation, content and care of museum collections. This is a lesson which needs to be relearned in these days of greatly restricted provision for 'Public' Museums.

Henry Shorto's fossil collecting was first inspired by the major upturn and widespread national interest in fossils which is notable from about 1810 onwards. This inspired other Wiltshire-connected collectors, like Gideon Mantell (1790–1852) (Delair and Dean 1985) and Etheldred Benett (1776–1845). But the zenith of this 'Golden Age for Palaeontology' soon followed in the 1820s and 1830s (Allen 1976, 121, 191–2; Taylor and Torrens 1987). Thereafter, from the 1840s, provincial geology failed to maintain its lead and the social pre-eminence and its 'ecological' niche soon passed to archaeology. As David Allen has noted, the sense of the past which geology had previously fostered so well was now 'usurped by the rise of a more humanistic archaeology'. This usurpation has been examined by Piggott (1976), who considers that geology had become too separate and too professional a discipline by the 1840s to maintain its interest for the general public.

As a result the 1840s saw the rise of the archaeological societies: first, the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain, founded in 1844, followed by a host of county-based provincial societies, including the Wiltshire Archaeological Society of 1853. As interests were re-directed, so local Wiltshire collectors gravitated more to archaeological objects, an understandable process in such an archaeologically rich county. The subsequent neglect of the county's earlier heri-

tage of geological collections, and the disappearance of the Shorto collection, are mute testimony to the power of this change. Shorto's case provides a salutary reminder that, because of his total absence from Wiltshire consciousness for over 150 years, posterity does give proportionately too little attention to those who published over those whose scholarship took other forms, like collecting. But it should also be a reminder of the sheer vitality of provincial 'research schools' in the early years of geology like that in Wiltshire, of which Shorto was a significant member nearly 180 years ago.

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Rodents in Wiltshire: Brown (Common) Rat

by MARION BROWNE

The paper surveys the occurrence of the Brown rat in Wiltshire using data from early records and from systematic survey over the years 1975–89. Methods of data collection are described, the records are set out, and various aspects of distribution, biology and behaviour are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The Brown rat *R. norvegicus* has become widespread by association with man and, because of its commensal habit, it is well known and easily recognized. Thought to have originated in China and Siberia, *R. norvegicus* has spread outside Asia within the last 250 years or so and is now widely distributed about the world, where it has adapted to most climatic conditions. It arrived in Britain in the early part of the eighteenth century and was supposed to have been transported in ships from the Baltic; the specific name *norvegicus* related to the idea that it came in timber shipments from Norway, although there seems to be no evidence to support this theory. It is a large rat, up to about 260 mm in total length. The tail is scaly and almost hairless, a bit less than half the combined length of head and body. The fur is brown above, paler on the under parts. It is the only representative of the genus *Rattus* now to be found in Wiltshire, the Black or Ship rat *R. rattus* not having been recorded since August 1974 and assumed to be now extinct in the county. A historical perspective of the occurrence of both species in the county is given in Dillon (1990).

Distribution maps published by the Mammal Society (Corbet 1971) showed *R. norvegicus* to be widely distributed in Britain, particularly in the south of England; and the distribution map in the *Provisional Atlas of the Mammals of the British Isles* (Arnold 1978) showed near complete coverage, on a 10 km basis, of the whole of Britain. In Wiltshire, prior to 1975, distribution of *R. norvegicus* reflected the national situation in that the species was shown to be widely distributed on a 10 km basis, but there were notable gaps in recording on a 1 km scale and coverage of the county was by no means comprehensive. This paper, one of a series dealing with the distribution and status of mammals in Wiltshire (Dillon and Browne 1975; Browne 1983; Dillon and Browne 1984; Browne 1985; Browne 1986; Browne 1987; Browne 1988), summarizes known incidence and distribution of *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire up to early 1989 and presents available information on aspects of its biology and behaviour.

METHOD

A provisional distribution map was established from information extracted from the national Biological Records Centre and from known local sources (Dillon and Noad 1980; Dillon 1984) up to 1976. Information was limited and the provisional distribution map, although broadly reflecting the national situation, showed far from complete coverage of Wiltshire. Records were therefore sought throughout the county from members of natural history and conservation societies and from other organizations; skeletal remains were studied and identified; people were questioned during conversations from which transcripts were made and records extracted; and from 1986 to 1988 requests for records were circulated to recorders with a special appeal for information from certain under-recorded areas of the county.

Evidence was sought on the presence of *R. norvegicus* from sightings and field signs, and information was recorded on location, map reference, habitat, date, diet, breeding, mortality and predation.

Physical characteristics for the purpose of identification presented few problems. The large size and relatively thick scaly tail distinguish *R. norvegicus* from the mice and the smaller voles; and the shape of the muzzle, relatively pointed, the small but conspicuous ears, and the length of the tail distinguish it from the Water vole *Arvicola terrestris*. The eyes are fairly large and conspicuous. The ears are lightly furred. The tail, sparsely haired, is usually bicoloured, darker above than beneath. The pelage is brown above, paler beneath, relatively smooth compared with the voles but not as sleek as the mice. Albinos and melanics may occur occasionally (Taylor 1977).

Figure 1. *R. norvegicus*: foot and toe pads, approximately 1:1

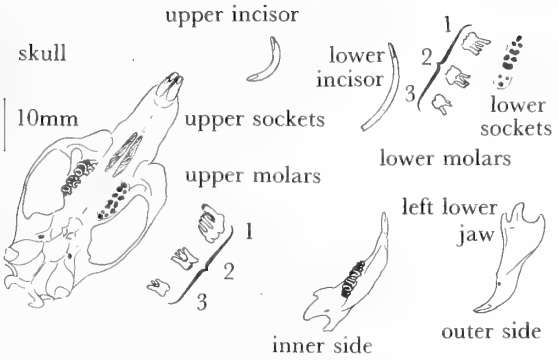

Figure 2. *R. norvegicus*: dentition, approximately 1:1

Acceptable evidence of the presence of *R. norvegicus* is provided by live sightings and dead animals, by field signs such as droppings, tracks and burrows, and by skeletal material.

The droppings of *R. norvegicus* are typically about 12 mm long and about 5 mm in diameter, usually with rounded ends. They are light brown in colour and usually deposited in heaps. They provide reliable evidence of the presence of the species.

The feet of rats have been studied, and details of the number and pattern of toe and foot pads are shown in Figure 1. Although clear prints may occasionally be found in soft mud, footprints are generally lightly imprinted, exceptionally accompanied by tail drag, and do not provide reliable evidence unless supported by other signs, but the feet are distinctive and may contribute to the identification of dead animals or skeletal remains.

Burrows are approximately 80 mm in diameter, often in the banks of rivers, canals, lakes and ponds, where they are indistinguishable from the burrows of *A. terrestris*; these, and trails and pathways, which can be confused with the trails of other species, are not acceptable signs without the support of other more conclusive evidence.

Skeletal material may be encountered in the field and isolated from the castings of predatory birds. 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 2. The tooth roots are hollow and there is a diastema, or gap, between the incisors and the molars.

RESULTS

By early 1989, 453 records were received. The minimum number of individual rats deduced from the evidence was 1596.

All records were added to the existing distribution map. Known distribution of *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire on 28 February 1989 is shown in Figure 3. The map is plotted on a 1 km grid with, for clarity, only a 10 km grid shown, and superimposed upon a map of the main river systems, canals, and larger lakes of the county. Basic details of the records were published in annual Mammal Reports (Browne 1977–88).

Almost 50 per cent of the records were of live rats. Of these, about half were seen singly. The largest number quantified was *c.* 300 in Trowbridge (*Daily Express* 1982). For the purpose of comparative quantification when exact numbers were not stated, 'several' were deemed to be five, 'numerous' and 'many' to be 10, 'colony' to be 50, and 'plague' to be 100. These quantifications represent minimum numbers of rats. Most live sightings were chance occasions and the activities of the rats were not always noted, but 10 were seen swimming in rivers and canals, 27 were scavenging on river, canal and lake banks for food and bait discarded by fishermen, 33 were scavenging on rubbish tips, grain dumps, chaff piles, compost heaps and in hen runs, and 20 were feeding on grain, bread and other food put out for wild birds in gardens, grain put out for pheasants in woodland, and food provided for water fowl on pond and lake banks.

There were no records of unusually coloured animals.

Nearly half the records were of dead rats. When exact numbers were not stated, the records were quantified as for live sightings. In some cases it was reported that rats were numerous enough to warrant calling in a rat catcher, although no further details were given; this was taken to mean that there was a resident colony and quantified as 50; it was also taken to mean that poison was the method chosen for extermination. As the corpses of poisoned rats are not recovered, this quantification is arbitrary and represents a minimum number of rats killed. Some of the

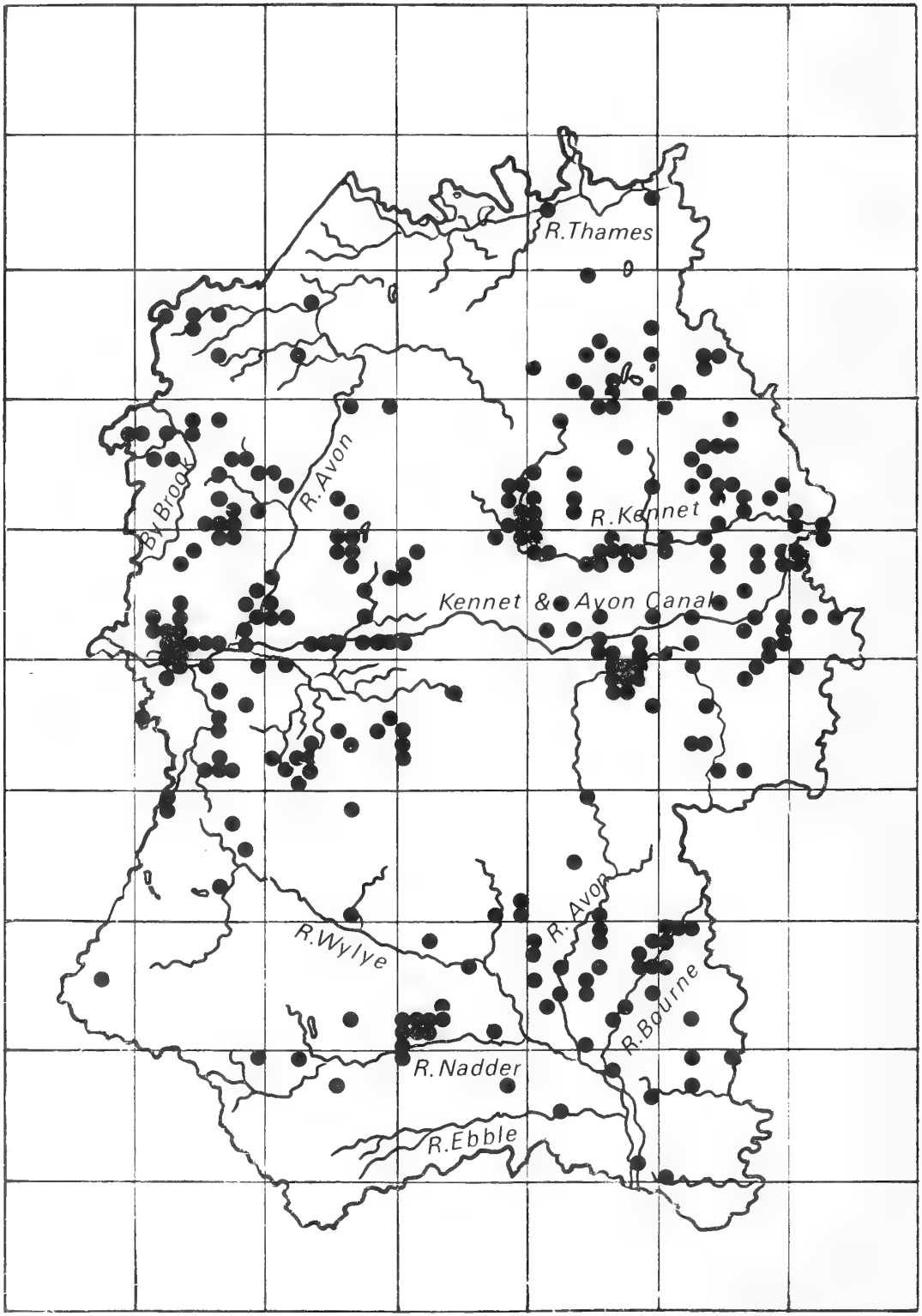

Figure 3. *R. norvegicus*: known distribution in Wiltshire

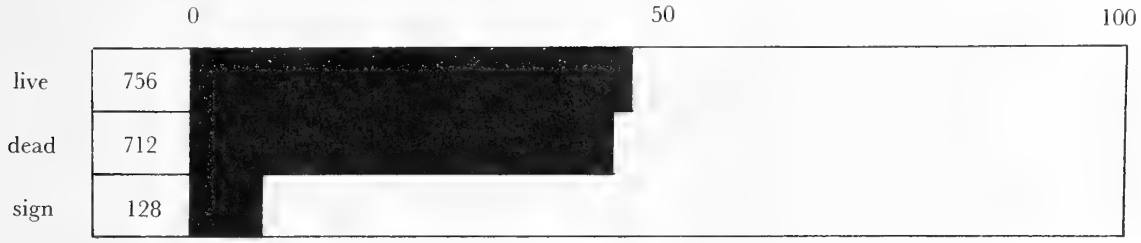

Figure 4. *R. norvegicus*: nature of record: number and percentage representation

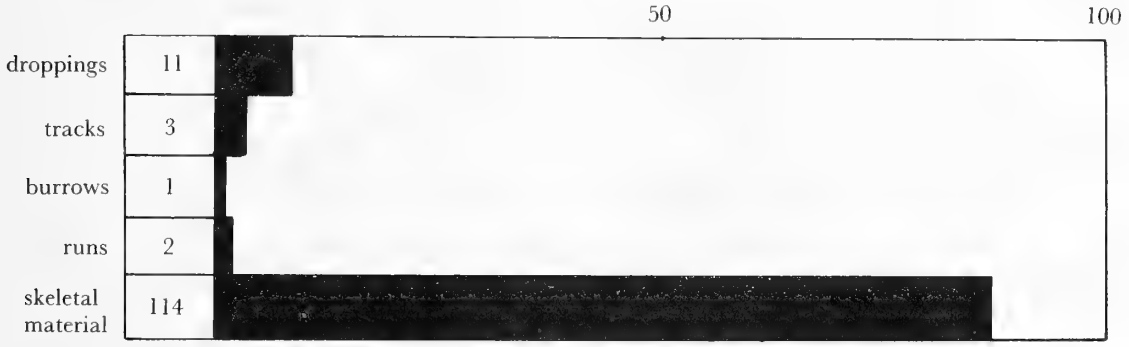

Figure 5. *R. norvegicus*: field sign records: number and percentage representation

records were chance finds of dead rats, the cause of death being unknown; nearly one third were road casualties; two were drowned, one in a pumping station sluice and one in a water tank; approximately one third were exterminated by traps and poison; and nearly one third were killed by predators.

Eight per cent of the records were of field signs. The nature of record is shown in Figure 4.

The majority of field sign records were of droppings. There were two records of tracks, both in snow, and three records of skeletal material. There were also two records of runs and one of holes, both in support of other more conclusive evidence. The number and proportion of field sign records are shown in Figure 5.

Many contributors included habitat data. Where habitat information was not detailed, grid references were checked against the 1:50,000 Ordnance Survey maps of the county where possible and each record was assigned to the habitat type in which it fell. Thus habitat data were available for 1480 records.

Habitats fell into four main categories in terms of cover; these were 'open', 'marginal', 'closed' and 'artificial and commensal'. There were also three types of wetland habitat: the banks of rivers, canals, and lakes and ponds which fell within the main category 'marginal'. The descriptive terminology used by contributors was diverse and has been standardized, but the main categories are nevertheless clearly defined.

Of the 'open' habitats, 'farmland' includes all types of pasture and arable; 'downland' denotes uncultivated, though often grazed, grassland. 'Pond and lake', 'river' and 'canal' denote the banks of these marginal habitats, including reed beds bordering lakes.

The 'closed' category 'woodland' includes all types of woodland, mainly deciduous, mixed and coppiced.

In the 'artificial and commensal' category 'estate' denotes housing estates, and 'institution' denotes the buildings and grounds of hospitals and Ministry of Defence establishments. 'Town' and 'village' are self-explanatory.

'Buildings' in 'farmland', 'town' and 'village' categories include barns, chicken houses, granaries, aviaries, sheds of all kinds including woodsheds and fruit stores, garages, and houses, where rats were found usually in the attics, occasionally in thatch. 'Garden' is self-explanatory. Habitat data are presented in Figure 6.

From 1339 records which were dated accurately to a month it was possible to gain some information on seasonal activity. Where precise months were not stated, spring was taken to mean March to May,

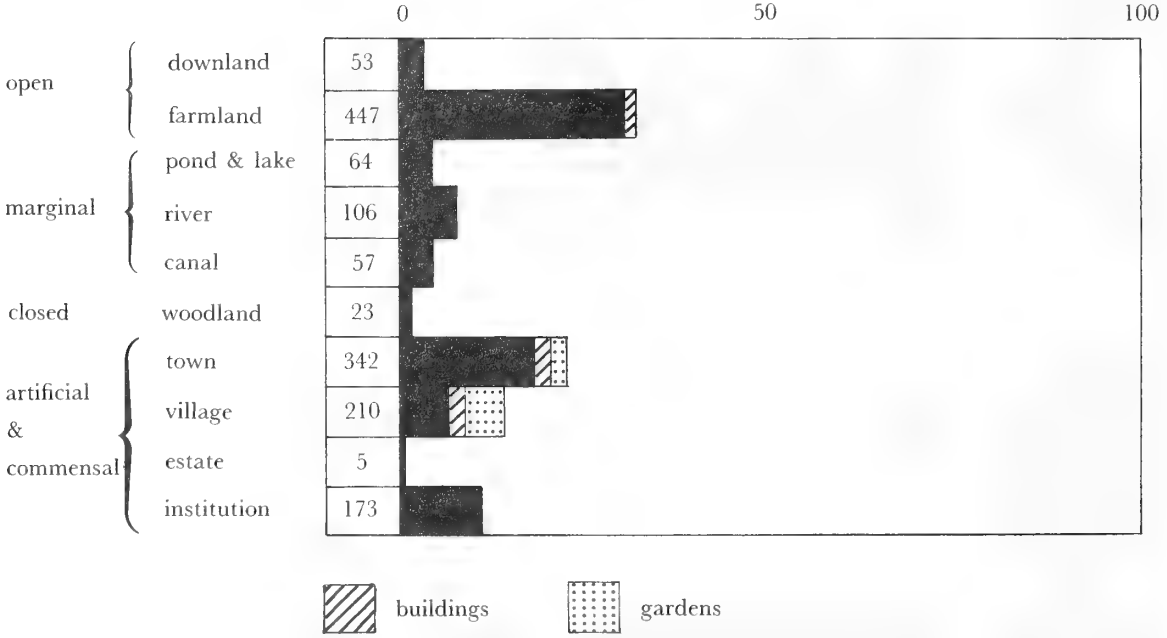

Figure 6. *R. norvegicus*: habitat: number of records and percentage representation

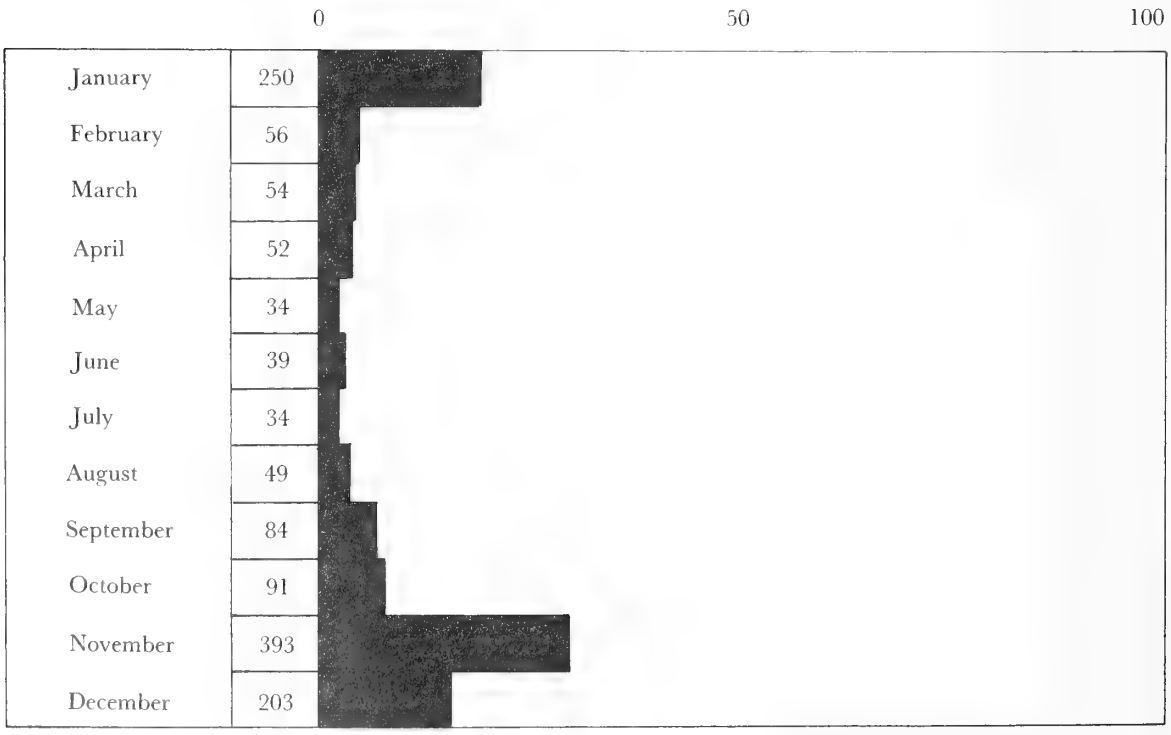

Figure 7. *R. norvegicus*: seasonal activity: number of records and percentage representation

summer to mean June to August, autumn to mean September to November, and winter to mean December to February, all inclusive. These data, based on records of live and dead rats, are presented in Figure 7. The number of records varied so much from year to year that it would be unrealistic to attempt to analyse seasonal activity on an annual basis, and the monthly totals in Figure 7 are therefore aggregates for all years.

Only 47 records, all of live sightings, provided evidence of the circadian rhythm of *R. norvegicus*. In 19 cases precise times were given, and in 11 cases dawn or dusk were specified. In the remaining 17 cases nocturnal or diurnal activity could be inferred from the wording of the records; for example, 'in car headlights' was taken to mean that the sighting was nocturnal. Records of dead rats, including chance finds, rats killed on roads, drowned, and trapped or poisoned, provided no indication of the time of death. Similarly the field sign records, which formed nine per cent of the total record, provided no evidence to show when the rats had been active. Domestic cats are active intermittently and their prey may be killed nocturnally or diurnally. Only five rats were known to have been killed by domestic dogs, too small a sample even if it was known when the rats were killed. The heron *Ardea cinerea* is a diurnal hunter and there are two records of it killing rats in Wiltshire, but again this is too small a sample. In the cases involving domestic chickens, the rats were disturbed by humans before they were killed by the chickens and there was therefore no indication of true activity time. Only the three owls, the Barn owl *Tyto alba*, the Tawny owl *Strix aluco*, and the Long-eared owl *Asio otus*, which together accounted for 110 rats, provided possible evidence of nocturnal activity in *R. norvegicus*. However, these owls, although primarily nocturnal hunters, are known to hunt diurnally in certain circumstances; further, all three have been shown, in Wiltshire, to prey significantly on the Bank vole *Clethrionomys glareolus*, a predominantly diurnal vole (Dillon and Browne 1984). Predation by these owls cannot therefore be taken as conclusive evidence of the nocturnal activity of *R. norvegicus*. Available circadian rhythm data are presented in Figure 8.

There were 19 records of rats seen feeding, although not all contained details of the food taken. Eight were of rats feeding on grain put out for pheasants, water fowl, and wild birds, and on cereal-based fishing bait. Records of vegetable matter eaten, apart from cereals, included one of hawthorn *Crataegus monogyna* fruit, one of sycamore *Acer pseudoplatanus* keys, and one of apples in a store room. One rat was seen eating bread from a bird table, and one eating sandwiches discarded by fishermen. There were also eight records of *R. norvegicus* on grain dumps, chaff piles, pheasant food, and in granaries; and three feeding on compost heaps and three on refuse tips, although there was no note of what precisely was eaten. There were two records of rats eating snails, and one of a rat eating slugs; the only other animal food seen to be taken was fish which had been discarded by fishermen and was twice observed being eaten by rats.

There were 101 records of rats in the vicinity of water. Of these, 21 were on the banks of rivers and streams, five swimming and one speared by a heron; nine were on canal banks, and three were swimming in canals; 40 were on lake banks or in reed beds bordering lakes, several scavenging discarded food, bait and fish; 21 were seen on pond banks, eight of them drinking; and one juvenile was drowned in a water tank, from which it was presumably unable to escape. Many more records, when checked against the 1:50,000 Ordnance Survey maps of Wiltshire, showed that in fact they were very close to various types of water body; this is borne out by the distribution map (Figure 3), which is superimposed on a map of the main river and canal systems and the larger lakes of the county, and suggests a close correlation with water habitats.

Only three records of 34 individuals provided any

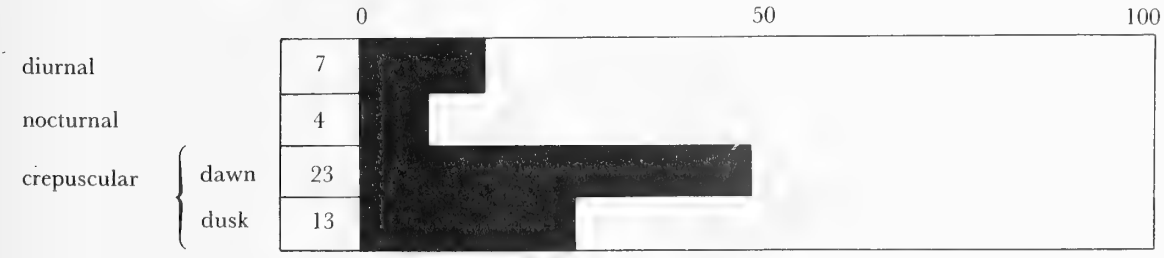

Figure 8. *R. norvegicus*: circadian rhythm: number of records and percentage representation

month	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
nestlings	10		5									
juveniles				1		2		1	6		4	5

Figure 9. *R. norvegicus*: breeding: number of records

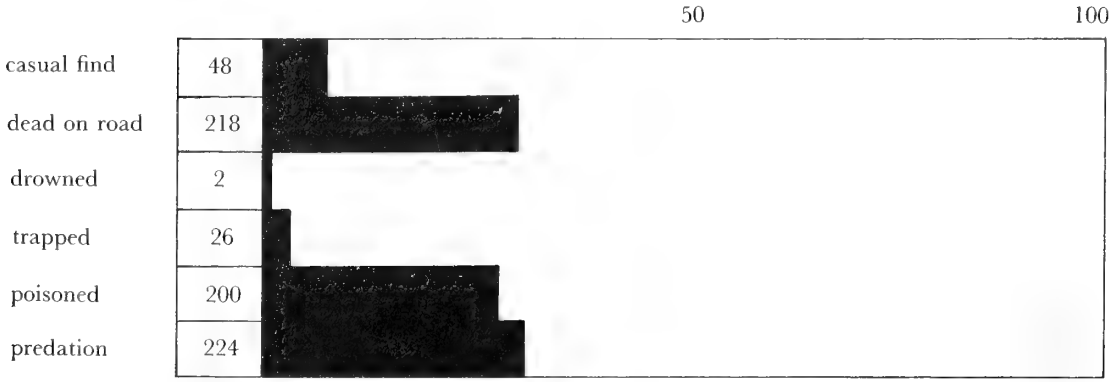

Figure 10. *R. norvegicus*: mortality: number of records and percentage representation

evidence of breeding dates. These referred to 'nestlings' and 'juveniles'. The term 'nestling' is here defined as being a young rat still in the nest, unweaned and therefore dependent on its mother, and less than three weeks old. The term 'juvenile' is here defined as being a young rat which is weaned, leaving the nest to forage, but not necessarily fully independent. There were two records of nests containing nestlings, and one of nestlings eaten by chickens; six records of juveniles with adults; one litter of four juveniles under a hen house; one juvenile killed by chickens; three singleton juveniles found dead, one on a road, one in a garden, one drowned; and some juveniles (quantified as five) found dead in an attic. These data are presented in Figure 9.

718 rats were found dead. Some were chance finds, the cause of death unknown; nearly one third were killed on roads; two were drowned; nearly one third were killed by poison or traps; and approximately 27 per cent were killed by predators. The incidence of mortality is shown in Figure 10.

There were 224 records of predation. Predators known to have taken *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire are the Grey heron *A. cinerea*, the Red kite *Milvus milvus*, the Barn owl *T. alba*, the Tawny owl *S. aluco*, the Long-eared owl *A. otus*, the weasel *Mustela nivalis*, the domestic cat, the domestic dog, and domestic chickens. One rat speared by a heron was a chance sighting near Sherston; there was also a record of *R. norvegicus* fur isolated from *A. cinerea* pellets collected at a heronry in east Wiltshire (Dillon and Portal 1986): this record was not quantified and is represented as one record in the data. The kite *M. milvus* was wintering near Chute and was seen in February 1989 catching rats near hayricks and eating them on the wing (Castle pers. comm.); the number killed was not stated and has been quantified as five. Owl pellets have been collected systematically, and analyses and data were available for the following: 114 individual *T. alba* pellets from various roosts in the county and a large fertilizer bag full of broken pellet material from a hollow elm tree, later felled, at Milton Lilbourne (Dillon 1977 and 1983; Turner pers. comm.; Stevenson pers. comm.; Pettit pers. comm.; Dillon, Browne and Junghaans in prep.); nine *S. aluco* pellets from three localities (Dillon 1983; Turner 1984); 104 *A. otus* pellets from two localities (Turner 1988). Two rats were seen being killed by a weasel at Heddington in 1976. The killings by domestic cats, dogs and chickens were all seen by chance, usually by the owners of the animals concerned, on various dates and at different localities. The incidence of predation is shown in Figure 11.

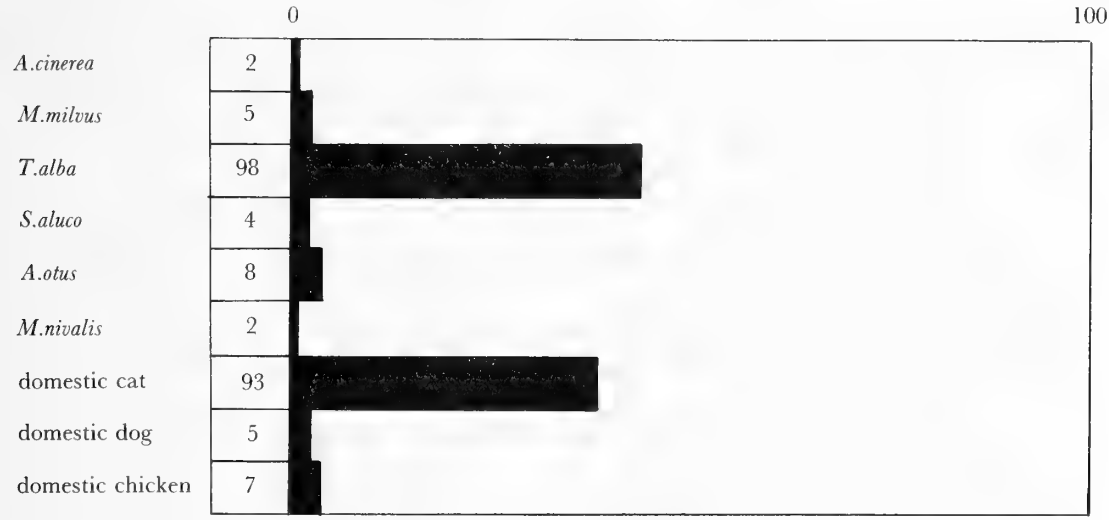

Figure 11. *R. norvegicus*: predation: number of records and percentage representation

DISCUSSION

R. norvegicus is found to be well distributed in Wiltshire. On a 10 km basis, distribution is almost complete, with records in all but two of the 10 km squares which lie wholly within the county. The 1 km distribution shows the species to be widespread except in certain under-represented areas in the north and the south west. The distribution map (Figure 3) shows a correlation between *R. norvegicus* and the river, canal and lake systems of the county; it seems likely therefore that the under-represented areas may reflect local shortages of recorders rather than actual absence of rats, since the river systems extend well into these areas.

Almost half the records were of live sightings. This result is not surprising considering the commensal nature of the species and its habit of scavenging food wherever humans discard waste or put out grain and bread for wild and domestic birds. Several contributors commented on the human habit of feeding wild birds, putting forward the view that it encourages rats and can lead to problems, particularly in sensitive places like hospital grounds.

No specimens of unusual appearance were recorded, but colour variation is rare throughout the extensive geographical range of the species (Taylor 1977).

Nearly half the records were of dead rats. Again, this is not a surprising result, given the commensal habit of *R. norvegicus*, its reputation as a disease carrier, and the amount of hostility consequently shown towards it by human beings. *R. norvegicus* is classified as a pest on three counts, of transmitting disease to man and to domestic animals, of eating crops, and of damaging buildings, and it is therefore diligently exterminated. In view of the extensive use of poisons against rats, and of non-recovery of the corpses, actual mortality may be greatly in excess of that recorded during the Wiltshire survey.

Field sign records comprised only eight per cent of the total record. Tracks, runs and holes need supporting evidence and can seldom be taken as conclusive. *R. norvegicus* is a species which is frequently seen, both alive and dead, and relatively easy to record by sightings; the skills required to find and identify field signs are therefore, on the whole, unnecessary.

The data show that *R. norvegicus* is an adaptable species, able to colonize almost any type of habitat, but showing a marked ability to co-exist with, and to exploit, man for shelter and food; Figure 6 shows that a very large proportion of the records were from farmland and from the four artificial and commensal habitat types, although to some extent this must be offset by the relative ease of recording in commensal situations. Twigg (1975) describes it as a highly successful species, capable of leading a feral existence while capitalizing on man-made environments, and showing a versatility which few mammalian species can match.

Records from the marginal habitats, river, canal, lake and pond banks, comprised about 20 per cent of all habitat records, and the distribution map (Figure

3) reveals a correlation with the main water bodies of the county. Combined with the relative paucity of records from woodland and from open downland – there were, for example, few records from the rough grass uplands of the Ministry of Defence ranges on Salisbury Plain (the area south of the Kennet and Avon Canal, and almost centrally in the county, shown in Figure 3 to be virtually unrecorded) – the data suggest that *R. norvegicus* has a dependence on water greater than hitherto realized. There were observations of the species drinking, and they were often noted swimming in rivers and canals; they swim efficiently, although Twigg (1975) notes that they are not specialized for aquatic life. The banks of these water habitats also provide conditions where burrowing is comparatively easy, and the damp soils harbour insect and other foods.

Figure 7 shows a marked increase in records during late autumn and winter which, since *R. norvegicus* breeds almost throughout the year, seems unlikely to be related to an actual increase in numbers. Taylor (1977) records no clearly defined annual rhythm in urban areas, but in rural surroundings there is increasing movement into farm buildings during autumn, which may be prompted by increased disturbance due to agricultural operations during harvest time, causing rats to move and bringing them into commensal areas where they are more noticeable and easy to record; this is reflected in Figure 7.

The data in Figure 8 show *R. norvegicus* to be predominantly crepuscular in Wiltshire, and the nocturnal and crepuscular records taken together form the greatest part of *R. norvegicus* activity (Figure 8). Taylor (1977) finds *R. norvegicus* mainly nocturnal, with peak activity at onset of dark (dusk) and again from about 03.00 hours until dawn; this corresponds with the activity shown in Figure 8, where the dusk and dawn hours have been described as crepuscular. Nevertheless about 10 per cent of the records were diurnal; this may be accounted for by the social structures of individual rats and of colonies, where high ranking rats and high ranking colonies take the best positions close to food sources, and feed at night, while low rankers are forced to feed in daylight when the dominant ones are inactive (Taylor 1977).

Observations of the diet of *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire included a variety of cereal foods, such as grain and bread, and cereal-based fishing bait; hawthorn fruit, sycamore keys, and apples; snails and slugs; and dead fish. Many contributors described them scavenging on various tips and dumps, compost heaps and chaff piles, which suggests that a much wider variety of food was actually taken. A preference for protein-rich or starch-rich foods, typically cereals, is stated by Taylor (1977), adding root crops, weed seeds, invertebrates, crustaceans and sandhoppers, the food being carried to a safe place to be eaten. Twigg (1975) says that wild rats eat an astonishing variety of food including frogs, reptiles and birds, and that they have been observed plunging into a stream to catch eels.

Although *R. norvegicus* is well known to colonize river and stream banks, ponds, and lakes with reed beds, the attraction is usually thought to be the abundance of birds, bird nestlings and eggs, as well as fish and other animals, all contributing to a rich and varied diet, and no mention has been found of a need for drinking water. However, eight rats were observed drinking during the Wiltshire survey, and proximity to a source of drinking water may be a contributory factor in the apparent link between *R. norvegicus* distribution and the water bodies of the county.

Breeding is said to be continuous throughout the year in unchanging environments with good food sources, although in less favourable circumstances it may take place mainly in summer and autumn (Taylor 1977). According to Twigg (1975) there is usually an anoestrus period, when breeding ceases, during the winter in latitudes such as Britain's, with a new breeding season starting the following spring. Only 10 records of nestlings and juveniles provide any evidence of breeding dates in Wiltshire, much too small a sample for a meaningful analysis. Available data, as shown in Figure 9, suggest breeding in late summer and in autumn, reaching a peak in January; there is no indication of a winter anoestrous period. But, on the sparse information available for Wiltshire, these results cannot be taken as conclusive.

A high proportion of all the records, nearly 50 per cent, were of dead rats. The predation data in Figure 10 show the importance of wild and domestic predators in the control of rat populations; these are overshadowed by the effect of humans, however. In three categories of Figure 10 death may be attributed directly to man: 'dead on road' (even if accidental), 'trapped' and 'poisoned'; taken together, these three categories account for more than 60 per cent of mortality, some measure of man's effect on and attitude towards *R. norvegicus*.

Of the wild avian predators on *R. norvegicus*, the Barn owl *T. alba* emerges as the most significant (Figure 11). *T. alba*'s mainly nocturnal habit coincides with the nocturnal and crepuscular activity of the rat, and the owl's hunting range over open grasslands brings it on to farmland, which is shown to be favoured *R. norvegicus* habitat (Figure 6). In ear-

lier times *T. alba* was actively encouraged by farmers, who recognized its value as a rodent controller, and farm buildings with owl windows and wide wall ledges provided shelter and nest sites. Many of the old barns are now being ruthlessly, and often pointlessly, destroyed and replaced with metal structures which are not hospitable to Barn owls, although artificial ledges and nest boxes can be provided. In recent years *T. alba* has declined seriously in numbers, due to various factors including climatic influences over which man has no control, and to changes in farming practice and other human activities which result in loss of habitat and nesting sites (Shawyer 1987). The decline of *T. alba* runs parallel with the increasing resistance of *R. norvegicus* to some poisons, particularly the anti-coagulants, to which resistance is inherited from one generation to the next (Twigg 1975), a situation in which the value of the owl as a predator may be of increased importance. The domestic cat is shown to be second only to *T. alba* in importance as a predator on *R. norvegicus*, and the cat's importance is being recognized; some recorders noted that there was an increase in the use of cats on farms as it becomes more difficult to control rats by other means. Whilst an increase in cat numbers is easy to bring about, it is unfortunately much more difficult to reverse, or even arrest, the decline of *T. alba*. The other two owls known to prey on rats, *S. aluco* and *A. otus*, are predominantly woodland hunters and therefore less significant rat controllers, since *R. norvegicus* has not been widely recorded in woodland (Figure 6). Domestic dogs used to be widely used as ratters and it was the practice to go rat catching on farms, with ferrets to bolt the rats and terriers to kill them, as well as men with sticks; this method seems to be unused nowadays, partly due to the modern use of combined cutter threshers instead of the old system of building ricks which were threshed later, a system still in use until the end of the Second World War; partly to the greatly reduced number of men needed to work a modern farm; and perhaps partly because the use of poison seems so much easier that there has grown a tendency to rely on it. Children used to be encouraged to kill rodents as well, and one contributor recalled that, during her childhood in the 1930s, she was offered by her father a bounty of one shilling for a rat (threepence for a house mouse, one penny for a garden mouse).

Despite the occasional mention of 'plagues' of rats, a subjective term which might mean anything above about a dozen individuals according to the attitude of the observer, it was extremely difficult to obtain enough records of *R. norvegicus* to make an objective analysis. This seems to be due, at least in part, to an apparent resistance to recording any animal of 'pest' status, as if a stigma of some sort was attached to seeing one. In spite of this difficulty, there is evidence to show that *R. norvegicus* numbers at the present time are in fact minimal compared with numbers at the beginning of the twentieth century, when gamekeepers were employed throughout the country. Gamekeepers have traditionally waged war on rats because of their depredation of game chicks, although in a short-sighted way they waged war on many of the rat's predators as well, thus forcing on themselves an even greater rat kill. Twigg (1975) quotes an estate in East Anglia (there is no reason to suppose that things were much different in other parts of England) where 14,662 Brown rats were killed in 1903, over 10,000 in 1926, and 1,500 annually between 1926 and 1942 although pressure by keepers remained constant. In 1942 the number of gamekeepers was reduced and some of the land was ploughed or taken over for airfields, but the number of rats killed remained at the 1942 level until 1954, when myxomatosis wiped out a large number of rabbits. After this, the rat kill decreased even further, with the inference that foxes and other predators, which had previously killed large numbers of rabbits, were forced to turn to alternative prey and took to killing greater numbers of rats. This suggests the importance of natural predation, and the necessity of encouraging and protecting natural predators.

The most unusual cases of predation were those involving chickens, which are known to have killed seven rats in Wiltshire. Some of the rats were nestlings and juveniles, but at least one adult was killed after becoming caught between the slats of a hen house, when it was seen being killed by pecks to the back of the head. Others were killed by pecks to the liver and lung regions of the body. The nestlings and juveniles were eaten by the chickens.

Other known predators are the fox *Vulpes vulpes*, the stoat *M. erminea*, and the feral mink *M. vison*, but the only recorded instances of predation in Wiltshire were by the nine species listed in Figure 11.

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Notes

A Sherd of Nene Valley Ware from Cunetio

by GRAHAM WEBSTER

This sherd (Figure 1) was found near Cunetio but outside the walled enclosure (SU 20076950). It is a typical cream Nene Valley fabric with a 'milk chocolate' colour-coat and a figure *en barbotine*. It is from the upper part of a beaker of the early third century. The figure is that of a *bestiarius* taking part in a *venatio* or hunt scene. The hunt rituals were part of the celebrations of the seasonal festivals and took place in a suitable arena, not necessarily in a large civic amphitheatre. The figure is rather crudely fashioned with an ovoid head, the only distinctive features of which are the hair, a large circular eye and dots, representing a beard. Only the upper part of the body survives and this is unclothed; he is holding with both hands a long hunting spear, of which only a trace remains. The *bestiarius* was an assistant to the *venator* who was often equipped with a whip and sleeve buckler. The distinction between the two figures is well shown on the Colchester Vase,[1] where the *bestiarius* clad only in a small loin-cloth holds a club in each hand; and similarly in the remarkable scene with the *cucullati*.[2] A *venator* with a hunting spear in a similar stance appears on a sherd found at Bedford Purlieus near Peterborough, published by Roach Smith.[3] He is strangely dressed in a spangled tunic and tights, akin to a modern circus performer.

Nene Valley ware sherd from Cunetio. Actual size

1. M.R. Hull, 1963, *The Roman Potters' Kilns of Colchester*, Soc. Antiqs. Res. Rep. No. 21, Fig. 51, No. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, Figure 53, No. 8.
3. *Collectanea Antiqua* IV, 1857, Pl. XXII.

Additional Coins to the Aldbourne Hoard

by T.S.N. MOORHEAD

The Aldbourne Hoard of *c.*4780 third century Roman coins[1] was found by Mr E.R.A. Sewell on Boxing Day in 1980. It was analysed by Edward Besly at the British Museum, and published in detail in a British Museum Occasional Paper[2] and in an abridged form in *WAM* 77 (1982).[3] Since publication, a further 297 coins from the hoard have been found in the vicinity of the findspot. This short article intends to assess the significance of these new additions. The coins are to be published in full in a forthcoming volume in the

1. See note 5.
2. E. Besly, 'The Aldbourne, Wilts., Hoard', *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain* (hereafter abbreviated *CHRB*), vol. IV, no. XI, British Museum Occasional Papers, no. 43 (1984), pp. 63–102.
3. E. Besly, 'The Third Century Hoard from Aldbourne', *WAM* 77 (1982), pp. 61–6.

Table 1: Composition of the Additional Group

CENTRAL EMPIRE	Date (AD)	Rome	Milan	Siscia	Total	%
Gallienus & Salonina	260–8	9	2*	1	12	4.0
Claudius II	268–70	7	–	1	8	2.7
Divus Claudius II	*c.* 270	1	–	–	1	0.3
Totals		17	2	2	21	7.0
GALLIC EMPIRE		Mint I	Mint II	Uncertain	Total	
Victorinus	269–71	40	25	–	65	21.9
Tetricus I & II	271–4	134	46	2	182	61.3
Uncertain				1	1	0.3
Totals		174	71	3	248	83.5
IRREGULAR†						
Struck Forgeries (all types)					26	8.8
Cast forgeries (all types)					1	0.3
Totals					27	9.1
Uncertain					1	0.3
				GRAND TOTAL	297	

* One Milan attribution tentative.
† There are 7+ coins in the list of regular coins that might be irregular.

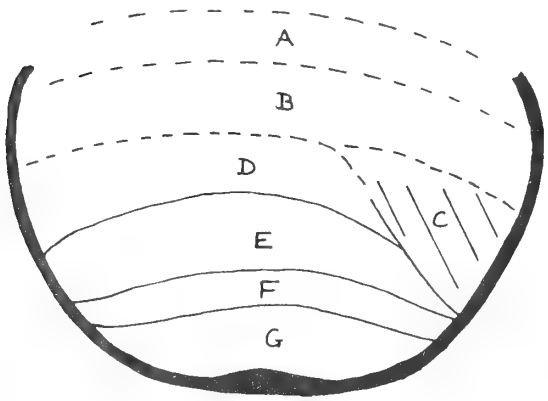

Figure 1. Relationship within the pot of the coin samples described in Table 3. Illustration from *CHRB IV*, p. 66 (schematic)

Coin Hoards from Roman Britain series.[4]

Between 1982 and 1987, Mr G. Palmer searched the area around the hoard's findspot with the aid of a metal-detector. Five groups of coins have been deposited in the Devizes Museum: Group A (21 coins), Group B (34), Group C (89), Group D (53) and Group E (100). The total of 297 coins represents 5.8% of the new total for the complete hoard (5,077 coins). It seems reasonable to consider the five groups as a whole in this article, although the forthcoming catalogue will record from which group each coin came.

Upon initial inspection of Tables 1 and 2, it is apparent that the Additional Group has proportionally fewer coins of the Central Empire (7% versus 25.2%) and proportionally more pieces of the Gallic Empire (83.5% versus 69.8%) and of irregular issues (8.8% versus 5%). If one examines Besly's analysis of the original hoard, these figures become more explicable. This is because much of the hoard was recovered in its original pottery container, enabling Besly to analyse the compositions of the various strata in the pot.[6] He identified 7 groups of coins, A to G, as illustrated in Figure 1. The Additional Group would correspond most closely to Sample A ('581 coins recovered from the plough soil surrounding the

Table 2: Composition of the Main Hoard, with totals from the Additional Group after the oblique line (/). See footnote[5]

CENTRAL EMPIRE	Date (AD)	Gaul	Rome	Milan	Siscia	'Sirmium'	Antioch	Uncertain	TOTALS
Trebonianus Gallus	251–3	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	3
Valerian and Family	253–60	11	57	1	–	–	1	–	70
Gallienus & Salonina	260–8	–	482/9	82/2*	46/1	1	3	–	614/12
Claudius II	268–70	–	360/7	59	22/1	–	–	–	441/8
Divus Claudius II	*c.* 270	–	19/1	1	–	–	–	–	20/1
Quintillus	270	–	47	4	1	–	–	–	52
Aurelian	270–5	–	2	1	1	–	–	–	4
Macrianus	261–2	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Totals		11	967/17	148/2	70/2	1	8	–	1205/21

GALLIC EMPIRE		Mint I	Mint II	Cologne	Milan	Uncertain	TOTALS
Postumus	*c.*260–9	221	–	9	25	–	255
Laelian	269	–	2	–	–	–	2
Marius	269	5	8	–	–	–	13
Victorinus	269–71	902/40	459/25	–	–	–	1361/65
Tetricus I & II	271–4	1260/134	428/46	–	–	16/2	1704/182
Uncertain						1/1	1/1
Totals		2388/174	897/71	9	25	17/3	3336/248

IRREGULAR†	
Struck forgeries (all types)	230/26
Cast forgeries (all types)	9/1
Totals	239/27
Uncertain	–/1
TOTALS:	4780/297
NEW GRAND TOTAL:	5077

* One Milan attribution tentative.
† There are 7+ coins in the list of regular coins that might be irregular.

4. Catalogue forthcoming in *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain*, vol. IX (British Museum Publications). This article and the catalogue are written in the light of recent research concerning the Tetrici: see R. Bland and A. Burnett, *The Normanby Hoard and other Roman Coin Hoards* (*CHRB* VIII, British Museum Publications, 1988), pp. 114–215.
5. Besly records a total of 4780 coins in both of his reports. When stored in the Devizes Museum, it appeared that there were 4783 coins. Also, several sub-totals were slightly different. However, to maintain consistency, Besly's totals have been adhered to in this article.

   The table is adapted from those that appear in *CHRB* IV, p. 64 and *WAM* 77 (1982), p. 62. Note that in the light of recent research, the mint totals for the Tetrici have been revised – see note 4.
6. *CHRB* IV, pp. 63–7.

Table 3: Composition of the seven coin samples from the Main Hoard, compared with the composition of the Additional Group, expressed as percentages. From *CHRB* IV, p. 66

	Add.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Gallus		0.3			0.1	0.2		
Valerian & family		0.5	0.2	0.6	2.5	2.4	1.1	2.5
Gallienus & Salonina	4.0	11.7	12.4	13.3	10.7	16.5	16.1	13.3
Claudius II	2.7	6.5	8.3	9.4	10.6	11.7	7.7	10.0
Divus Claudius	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.8	
Quintillus			0.9	0.6	1.6	1.1	1.5	1.7
Aurelian		0.2	0.1			0.3		
Macrianus								0.1
Postumus		0.9	2.3	5.6	6.7	9.5	8.4	7.7
Laelian/Marius		0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.3
Victorinus	21.9	17.6	22.6	25.6	34.7	35.1	40.2	30.9
Tetricus I & II	61.3	54.9	46.3	39.2	28.9	18.4	19.9	29.1
Victorinus or Tetricus I	0.3							
Irregular	9.1	6.9	6.0	5.3	3.4	4.3	3.4	4.3
Uncertain	0.3							

pot'),[7] but it is probably fair to assume that the additional coins were mostly from higher up in the pot than Sample A, hence their apparent spread further from the findspot.

The composition of the samples, expressed as percentages, can be compared with the composition of the Additional Group, as displayed in Table 3. Compared with Sample A, the Additional Group displays a notable drop in the number of Central Empire coins (19.4% to 7%) and a significant increase in the Gallic Empire issues of Victorinus and the Tetrici (71.4% to 83.5%). The increase in the number of Victorinus's coins (17.6% to 21.9%) reverses the trend of decline since Sample F. It should be noted that there are no high quality silver coins of the Central Empire or Postumus in the Additional Group. This is not surprising because they were 'virtually absent from the top' of the pot when the main hoard was analysed. If this hoard was a 'savings' hoard collected over a period of several months, or possibly years, in the latter part of the Tetrici's reign (271–4), then the absence of these good quality silver coins from the Additional Group would further support the claim that such pieces were withdrawn from circulation by the middle of the reign. This would leave in circulation the baser issues of both the Central and Gallic Empire, and unofficial or irregular coins. The Additional Group also shows a rise in the proportion of irregular coins (6.9% to 9.1%) which might reflect the increase in counterfeiting in the reign of the Tetrici and afterwards.[8] Therefore, the Additional Group further reflects an overall deterioration in the circulating currency of the mid-270s.[9]

The latest coins in the Additional Group (Tetricus I, Mint I: SALVS AVGG; Tetricus II, Mint I: SPES AVGG) are well represented in the main hoard. Therefore, there is no need to revise Besly's dating of the hoard's concealment to AD 274–6, or later.[10]

Except for the irregular pieces, the coins themselves offer little new material for research. There is one unpublished piece of Gallienus (AD 253–268) from Rome (catalogue no. 8) which exhibits a die-engraver's error (APOLLI CONS AVG instead of APOLLINI CONS AVG):

> Obv. IMP GALLIEN[VS AVG]; Radiate head right.
> Rev. APOLLI CONS[AVG]; Griffin standing left. In exergue: △
> (cf. *RIC*, Vol. V, Part 1, p. 145, no. 165)[11]

There is also a PVAX AVG piece of Tetricus I, from Mint I (catalogue no. 58), of which there are no

7. *CHRB* IV, p. 63.
8. Note that there are 7+ coins in the regular list that might be irregular, so this increase might be greater.
9. For a general discussion of the main hoard's composition, see *CHRB* IV, pp. 63–7, and *WAM* 77 (1982), pp. 64–5.
10. *CHRB* IV, p. 67, and *WAM* 77 (1982), pp. 65–6.
11. H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* Vol. V, Part I by P. Webb (London 1927).

specimens in the main hoard and only one example in the larger, 54,591 coin, Cunetio Hoard, found near Marlborough in 1978.[12]

To conclude, the Aldbourne Hoard remains in a large class of third century hoards dating from the 270s. It is particularly informative because many of the coins were recovered in the pot. Furthermore, the recent finds, made as a result of Palmer's diligence, have further increased our understanding of the hoard and the circulating currency of the 270s. It still remains to be seen if the last coins from the Aldbourne Hoard have been uncovered.

12. E. Besly and R. Bland, *The Cunetio Treasure* (British Museum Publications, 1983), p. 152, no. 2605. Several other specimens have been found in other hoards.

Acknowledgements: Table 3 and Figure 1 are reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum.
Special thanks must go to Paul Robinson for being so helpful with the supplying and cleaning of the various groups of coins. Andrew Burnett, Rogert Bland and Edward Besly have all supplied invaluable information. Without the work of Andrew Sewell and Graham Palmer, we would have none of the coins. Finally, I will always be deeply indebted to the late Christopher Blunt who gave support on numerous occasions.

A 'Porcupine' Sceat from Market Lavington, with a list of other Sceattas from Wiltshire

by D.M. METCALF

A silver coin found recently near Market Lavington, about 7 km south of Devizes and at the northern edge of Salisbury Plain (SU 026540), is a so-called 'sceat', minted at a date around AD 710–20. The spiky design of its obverse (Figure 1) is very stylized, and of uncertain significance; the modern name of 'porcupine' for this coin type (Series E, *BMC* Type 5) is not meant to be taken seriously. The reverse shows a square standard (badly off-centre and double-struck) with a pattern of four dots, in the corners of the square, and a central annulet. A zig-zag border is visible on two sides of the square.

Hundreds of sceattas have been found singly, i.e. as stray losses, all over the south and east of England, but they thin out westwards, because the impetus to their circulation came mainly from cross-channel trade and from the commerce of the Frisians. The list of find-spots from Wiltshire is limited so far to fourteen. Because sceattas were of many different types, struck at various mint-places both in England and on the Continent, and because they can be located chronologically within the total duration of the issue of sceattas (*c.*670–*c.*760), it is possible to analyse the assemblage of finds from Wiltshire against a wider background. The list of finds at present stands as follows:

Axford, Ramsbury, before 1892	Type unrecorded
Devizes, a few miles south of, *c.*1988	Series X
Ford, near Salisbury, 1987	Series L, Type 12

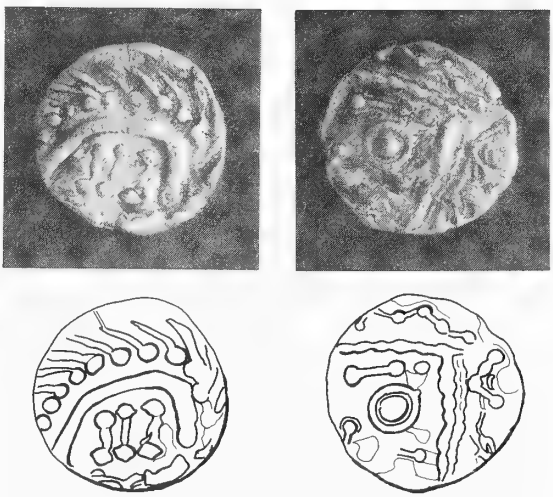

Figure 1. 'Porcupine' sceat from Market Lavington: photographs (above) and line drawings (below). Actual size

Ford, near Salisbury, 1988	Series L, Type 16
Hinton Parva, 1987	Series L, Type 22 ('Victory' type)
Kingston Deverill, *c.*1986	Series H, Type 49
Market Lavington, 1988	Series E
Marlborough, 188S (*sic*)	Series H, Type 49
Ogbourne St Andrew, 1988	Series E
Old Sarum, before 1771	(?) Series N, Type 41b
Sevenhampton, 1983 or earlier	Type unrecorded, ? Series S
Shalbourne, 1989	Series E
Wanborough, *c.*1987	Series E?
Wootton Bassett, *c.*1850	Series K, Type 42

Figure 2. 'Porcupine' sceat from Ogbourne St Andrew. Actual size

Setting aside the two finds of which the types are unrecorded, those of Series H, K, L, and N belong to the secondary phase of the sceatta currency, *c.*715–*c.*760.

One of the coins of Series E (Ogbourne St Andrew) is of variety D, a variety that was represented in the Aston Rowant hoard, from *c.*710, and is thus quite possibly the earliest of the Wiltshire finds. Like some other specimens of the variety, it has a peculiarly bungled legend around the reverse square, including what appear to be the letters Q V in a style reminiscent of coins of Pepin from Quentovic (Figure 2). No details are available of the Wanborough find.

The Shalbourne find is a porcupine of the secondary phase, with an obverse imitating certain features of the primary variety G, and with a reverse based on the 'VICO' variety, again a porcupine of primary date. The Shalbourne coin is certainly later in date than the Aston Rowant hoard, deposited *c.*710 (which included both those prototypes). Similarly, the Market Lavington find, as will be argued in detail below, is unlikely to be earlier than *c.*710.

From the same general area, the coin of Series X is a typical specimen, from dies similar to several in the Hallum hoard. It is of variety g (which has an L-shaped secret-mark under the monster's head). This variety cannot yet be dated very exactly, but taking into account the stylistic treatment of the beard (simplified) one would guess that it was struck *c.*710–*c.*730. The coin shows definite signs of wear, and its loss may therefore have been a good decade later than its issue. In short, it seems that the use of sceattas did not spread as far west as Wiltshire *on any scale* until forty or more years after their first appearance in east Kent. Even from Hamwic (modern Southampton) there are extremely few sceattas from earlier than *c.*700. This is in accordance with our general understanding of the monetary history of the first half of the eighth century.

Series H was minted at Hamwic and Type 49 is the later of the two types produced there. Series K, L, and N were struck probably at London or Canterbury. At Hamwic itself, as the excavations have revealed, Series H dominated the local currency, and Series K, L, and N were only very modestly represented among the finds. In Wiltshire, by contrast, the two groupings are closer to parity.

Series E is continental, from the area of the Rhine mouths (probably Dorestad). And Series X is certainly continental, arguably from Jutland. It looks, therefore, as if the first sceattas to reach Wiltshire were mainly continental (we ought not to put it more strongly than that on the strength of such a small sample); and that in the secondary phase, English coinage was entering the county from two general directions – the south and the east. We can see that in that phase money was being carried northwards from Hamwic into its West Saxon hinterland, certainly (and likewise into Berkshire); and also from Kent or London up the Thames valley and so into northern Wessex. If the Series E coins were essentially the only coins of the earlier phase to arrive, there is a logical presumption that they came via the south coast of Wessex rather than up the Thames valley. Another porcupine of the same quite scarce variety as that from Ogbourne St Andrew is recorded from Dorchester, Dorset; these two are hardly enough to suggest that porcupines were being imitated at Quentovic and then were finding their way across the Channel to Dorset and Wiltshire. One needs to stay level-headed when discussing distribution patterns consisting of only two or three coins; but that is not the same as closing one's mind to intriguing possibilities. There is in fact another specimen of this variety from the Pas-de-Calais, found at Ardres, a few miles southeast of Calais. It might be thought to tip the odds substantially in favour of a westerly origin, when taken in connection with the unusual Q V . . . legend. One will watch with interest to see how the distribution-pattern for Variety D develops as new finds continue to come to light. One should not lose sight of the gold tremissis of Rouen, from the later seventh century, found near Knighton, some 10 km east of Swindon, which is very probably a direct cross-Channel import, and another illustration of the north–south route. For the sake of completeness one may add a mention of the London-style tremissis found near Warminster before 1879. Between the gold currency of the seventh century, and the spread of sceattas into Wiltshire, there was a monetary recession.

We have identified two geographical trends in the numismatic evidence: an earlier inflow from the south coast, initially on a small scale, before *c.*710, and then, in addition, a westwards drift from Kent and the lower Thames valley, where so many sceatta types

Figure 3. Sceattas from Ford, 1987 (above) and 1988 (below). Actual size

were minted from an early date. The absence in Wiltshire of specimens from before *c.*710 from south-eastern mints is the reason for thinking that the few, equally early, continental porcupines found in the county came by another route, i.e. from the south. We turn now to a third, and quite different, geographical grouping, from a very late phase in the sceatta currency: London coins in the so-called 'Hwiccian' style. The relatively few sceatta finds from the Cotswolds and the Severn valley include an unusually high proportion of varieties of base silver sceattas of Series K and L in that style. Although ostensibly from the London mint, the distribution map strongly suggests that these coins belong, in some sense, to the territory of the Hwicce, a sub-kingdom of Mercia. It is intrinsically unlikely that they were minted there, but the regional association is clear.

Two coins recently found at Ford, near Old Sarum, are not much to look at, but are of lively historical interest, because they are both in 'Hwiccian' style (Figure 3). They came from the same field, and apparently from within a metre or two of each other, although a year apart in date of finding. It must seem probable that the two coins were lost or concealed on the same occasion (perhaps a mini-hoard) but careful searching of the area has failed to yield any further specimens. Ford, by the River Bourne, is on the line of the A30 continued westwards towards Old Sarum, and it would be a natural conjecture to suppose that the two coins were lost by a traveller passing to or from Old Sarum.

Coins in 'Hwiccian' style have been found in the Thames at London, and two or three have come from elsewhere, e.g. Middle Anglia. But they are not found between London and Hwiccia. In terms of a regression analysis, their profile is not one of decreasing availability with distance from London (such as one would expect on the hypothesis of 'drift'), but of dispersion mainly over a long distance, in connection no doubt with trade e.g. from the Cotswolds to the ports of the south-east. A long-distance trade in wool is the explanation that comes to mind as their general context. A ninth-century analogy is available, involving coins of which the mint-attribution is not in doubt. The various ninth-century mints have different regression profiles, and Rochester coins, for example, seem to have been used for long-distance trade into Wessex. Wiltshire finds include pennies from Swindon, Collingbourne Ducis, and Bishops Cannings: again, close enough to downland pastures for trade in wool to be a likely explanation. The Ford finds may reflect a trade route from London analogous to that which took so many late sceattas to Hwiccia.

We must now return to our starting-point of the Market Lavington find, and look at it more closely.

The broader pattern has until now been that porcupines are often found around the southern and eastern coasts of England, as if Frisian merchants were making landfall and trading where they could. Porcupines make up a higher proportion of the finds from south Wessex (excluding Hamwic itself, which is a special case) than from north Wessex. One can plausibly see the Market Lavington find as fitting into that general pattern, although of course one cannot argue back from the generalization to the circumstances in which one particular coin reached Wiltshire. That is something which is unknowable.

Series E is the most prolific of all sceatta types. Many hundreds of specimens survive to the present day and, except for some hoard material, die-duplicates are not often encountered. It is safe to say that thousands of dies were originally used to strike the porcupines. Amid their endless variety, it is difficult to match the Market Lavington specimen closely. The bold central element, the so-called 'spine' of the porcupine, which is almost always a smooth curve, generally comma-shaped, is here angular and lumpish. On the reverse, the design is very clumsily executed. It imitates a relatively early variety of porcupine (variety G), which is present in the Aston Rowant hoard of *c.*710. But the standard pattern of dots and annulets which belongs to that variety has been distorted and blundered. Moreover, each regular variety of early porcupine has a characteristic border pattern, which in this case ought to have been either a dot or a cross centrally in each of the four border

panels. Instead we have an erratic zig-zag, with very little symmetry or repetition about it. Borders ornamented with Λ V Λ V are not uncommon among the secondary phase porcupines of the Kloster Barte hoard, but they are tidier than this, and they are not associated with the design of variety G.

In short, the Market Lavington coin is in all probability an unofficial imitation. Its weight, at 0.83–0.84 g, is much lower than the average for porcupines. One can point to other imitative coins from the western periphery of the circulation area, and this gives some small encouragement to imagine that it might be an insular, even a fairly local, imitation. But there is in principle no way of determining the place of origin of imitative coins, except from a distribution map recording a good number of specimens. The Market Lavington find may have to wait for decades, or even longer, for a fuller evaluation; but one day, coins from the same dies or from the same hand will turn up, and a comparison of provenances, weights, and alloys will take on a new interest.

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Mr B. Cavill, who kindly conveyed details of a number of recent finds of sceattas in the county; to Dr P.H. Robinson, who invited me to place the Market Lavington find on record; to Mr Graham Palmer, who entrusted the Shalbourne find to me for study; to Miss C. Conybeare, who supplied details about the Ford coins; and to Mr M.J. Bonser, who generously allowed me to see a photograph of the find of Series X in advance of its publication.

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An up-to-date survey of the coinage will be found in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, edited by D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf, Oxford, 1984. The list of single finds published in that volume has been supplemented by more recent discoveries, most of which are published in the *British Numismatic Journal*. The Hinton Parva and Kingston Deverill finds are now in the Ashmolean Museum. The Wootton Bassett coin is now in the Devizes Museum; it was formerly stated, incorrectly, to have been found near Oxford (see *British Num. Jl.* 46 (1976), 8 and *WAM* 78 (1983), 133). The Ford 1987 coin is now in Salisbury Museum. The Hwiccian series is discussed in *Num. Chronicle* 7.16 (1976), 64–74. The porcupine of variety D from Ardres is published and illustrated in *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 1983, p. 345.

Two Medieval Coin Brooches from Wiltshire

by PAUL ROBINSON

Saxon and later Medieval brooches made from coins or which copy coins are far from common; they have been discussed most recently by Dolley (1971). Two examples have lately been found in Wiltshire and merit publication here.

The first of them (Figure 1) was found in 1981 at Edington by Mr A. Aldridge and was subsequently acquired by Devizes Museum (accession no. 20. 1981). It was made from a penny of the *pyramids* type of Edward the Confessor, dated to *c.*1065–1066, which was struck at the mint of Salisbury by the moneyer Saebode. It is a particularly rare coin. The two coins of this type by Saebode in the British Museum (BMC 1195 and 1196) are both from different dies, while the coin comprising Lot 701 in the sale of the collection of Anglo-Saxon coins formed by F. Elmore-Jones (Glendining, 12 and 13 May 1971) is from almost identical but in fact different dies. The legends of the Edington coin read:

obv E A D P A R D R E X A
rev S I E B O D E O N S E R B

Figure 1. Coin brooch from Edington, obverse and reverse sides. Actual size

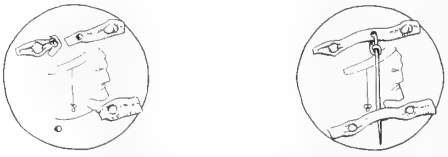

Figure 2. Edington brooch: broken fastening and reconstruction. Actual size

The coin has been adapted as a brooch in the following manner. Two pairs of holes were drilled on opposing sides of the coin. On the obverse two twin strips of silver were attached to these with silver rivets, without the use of solder. One of these is

incomplete; the other has a central perforation from which a wire pin, now also missing, would have been attached as on the drawing below.

Finally, the reverse side was gilded employing, as analysis by X-ray fluorescence kindly undertaken by the Research Laboratory for Archaeology at Oxford has determined, the mercury-gilding process. This was the regular method for gilding silver and bronze in the Anglo-Saxon period and is described by Oddy (1980). It was more often than not that the reverse side of the coin was chosen as the one displayed. This is because it was normally based on a cross motif and this was clearly considered more suitable, or desirable, to show than the King's head appearing on the obverse. The devotional aspect of Anglo-Saxon coin jewellery is shown on a brooch in the Ashmolean Museum on which NOMINE DOMINI has been substituted for the original legend of the prototype coin (Hinton 1974, No. 6).

Over twenty Medieval brooches made either from coins or in a design imitating a coin are known at the present time. The coins or prototype coins range in date from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. Of these, there is a cluster of brooches made from coins which were struck within a short period of time in the middle of the eleventh century. In chronological order these are:

1. from Alfriston, Sussex; made from a penny of Edward the Confessor of the *expanding cross* type, struck at Gloucester by the moneyer Leofnoth (Rudling, 1988). Date of original coin: 1050–1053 (?).
2. from Hose, Leicester; made from a penny of Edward the Confessor of the *pointed helmet* type, struck at Winchester by the moneyer Godwine (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, No. 31). Date of original coin: 1053–56 (?).
3. from Edington, Wiltshire; the subject of this note. Date of original coin: 1056–66 (?).
4. from Billingsgate, London; made from a penny of William I of the *profile/cross fleury* type, struck at London by the moneyer Wulgar (Farrow, 1985). Date of original coin: 1066–68 (?).
5. from Chichester; made from a penny of William I of the *bonnet* type, struck at Oxford (Down, 1978). Date of original coin: 1068–70 (?).

It is thus evident that there was a particular fashion for coin brooches in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and that the coins were contemporary or almost so, not already 'antique', when they were converted into brooches. There are in fact very few Medieval coin brooches which must be dated later than these, while the dating of the other, almost certainly earlier, coin brooches does not concern us here.

It is particularly interesting that the Edington brooch was made from a coin originally struck at Salisbury. The inference is that the brooch was made by a goldsmith working in south Wiltshire and possibly either at Salisbury itself or at Wilton. An interesting parallel to the Edington coin brooch is a penny of Edward the Confessor of the *expanding cross* type, which has been gilded and pierced to be made into a pendant, probably on a larger piece of jewellery (Blackburn and Bonser 1986, No. 1). It was found in 1983 at Aldbourne and, as the original coin was struck at Malmesbury, it is reasonable to see this as a piece of eleventh century jewellery, probably made by a goldsmith working in *north* Wiltshire or nearby.

The cap-badge or brooch below (Figure 3) was found by Mr S. Strong at Corsham in 1987 and generously presented to Devizes Museum (accession no. 187.112.1). It is one of the very few recorded cap-badges/brooches to have been made from a jeton, in this instance an English jeton with a design of a short cross moline bordered with pellets on each side. Following the classification by Berry (1974), this is Type 14 of the jetons of Edward II. A similar example made from a jeton of the period of Edward II of type Berry 17 var. has been found at York (Pirie 1986, no. 154). To one face of the Corsham jeton was attached, apparently by solder, a strip of metal 5 mm wide, one end of which was curled round to make a simple loop while the other end was turned back on itself and brought to a point half way along the strip. As it survives the fastening device appears to be complete. The pointed end was presumably inserted into the fabric and then squeezed tight to hold the jeton in place. The looped end clearly cannot function as a catchplate and was presumably intended to make the jeton stand proud of the cloth to which it was attached. There is no suggestion that the surface was tinned or gilded. The York jeton appears to have been adapted in an identical way.

The jeton will have been chosen as a cap-badge or brooch because it displayed a cross. In this instance the use of the cross moline motif was probably intended as a religious symbol but could alternatively be regarded as a heraldic device.

The cap-badge or brooch finds a parallel in one made from a copy of a long-cross type penny of Henry III of the London mint found in London and now in the Museum of London. This also has the fastening

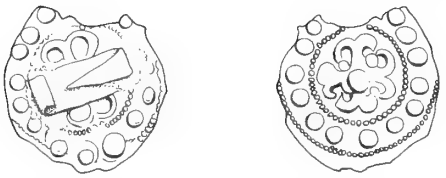

Figure 3. Corsham cap-badge or brooch. Actual size

mechanism intact, comprising a short, pointed catching device at one side of the coin and a projecting loop at the opposite side. This form of attachment contrasts with the fastening device on the earlier coin brooches listed above where the pin, when it survives, always extends to the catch-plate. The two could well be contemporary and a date in the fourteenth century, perhaps in the middle of that century, is reasonable. The short length of the pin and the method of attachment suggest that they were not intended to be put on and taken off frequently, and consequently it is possible that they may well have been worn as cap-badges rather than brooches. This in turn raises the possibility that jetons which are frequently found pierced towards the edge may also have been sewn onto caps as simple, inexpensive cap-badges.

Note: A further coin-brooch has been found at Trowbridge. It was made from a penny of Edward the Confessor of the *expanding cross* (heavy series) type, struck at London (1050–53) by the moneyer Epi.

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The Roman Origin of Two Sections of the Sarum Lectionary

by WILLIAM SMITH

The Christmas prophetical lessons

In the four masses of Christmas the Sarum rite, in common with York, Hereford and other medieval uses, preserved the ancient Roman practice of reading the prophetical lesson before the epistle. The prophetical lesson is omitted here from the Roman missal, but a vestige of this custom may be seen on the ferial days in Advent and Lent, and on the ember days where the Old Testament lesson, generally from the prophets, was recited as the epistle.[1] In the Sarum rite this lesson was known as the epistle *de prophetia*,[2] and at Liège the custom of styling the reader of the prophetical lesson *propheta* persisted as late as the eighteenth century.[3]

Originally there were three lections at mass, the first from the prophets, the second from the epistles or a book of the Old Testament, and a third from the gospels. The prophetical lesson was suppressed in the Roman and Byzantine rites probably during the fifth century,[4] though the Armenian liturgy, which was an older form of the Byzantine, continued to retain it.[5] In general, however, two lections, the epistle and the gospel, became the preferred number and order in the later Byzantine rite.

In the earliest known epistle lectionary representative of the Roman rite, the eighth-century Würzburg *comes* described by Morin,[6] the prophetical lessons are still assigned to Christmas,[7] and they continued to appear sporadically in the lectionaries up until the

1. On Saturdays *Quatuor temporum*, however, the epistle was read in addition to the prophetical lessons.
2. W.H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum* I (Cambridge, 1898), 140.
3. *Rubricae generales . . . ecclesiae Leodiniensis* (Leodii, 1769), 7.
4. *Dictionnaire d'Archaeologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 9, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1930), pt. 1, col. 344.
5. Ibid.
6. 'Le plus ancien *comes* ou lectionnaire de l'église romaine', *Revue Bénédictine* XXVII (1910), 41–74.
7. Ibid., 46.

Middle Ages.[8] The prophetical lessons from the four Christmas masses are as follows:

Propter Sion	Isaiah 62: 1–4
Populus gentium	Isaiah 9: 2, 6–7
Spiritus Domini	Isaiah 61: 1–3; 62: 11–12
Propter hoc	Isaiah 52: 6–10

In the Würzburg *comes* the lesson for the vigil, *Propter Sion*, occurs at the end of the list,[9] thereby terminating the liturgical year that commences with the epistle for this observance.[10] A disruption of the set is found in the Benedictine uses of Abingdon and Tewkesbury where *Spiritus Domini* was read at the vigil instead of *Propter Sion*.[11] Since theologically all four lessons are complementary, this order is as likely to be due to the preference of the compiler as to any other reason. In each the event of Christmas is anticipated by the common theme of *Erlösung* as a *praeparatio evangelica*, the disappearance of which from the Roman rite has devotionally impoverished this part of it.

The gospels for the Thursdays in Lent

The gospels for the first five complete weeks of Lent in the Sarum and York rites are taken wholly from St John. For the fifth and last Thursday in the set Hereford has *Rogabat Jesum quidam* (Luke 7: 36–50), which is found in the Roman rite for this day. On the preceding Thursdays all three English rites adopt the same Johannine set apart from Hereford on the third Thursday where the lection begins earlier at *Cum cognovisset* (John 6: 15) instead of *Operamini* (John 6: 27). This variant occurs also in two eleventh-century gospel-books described by Frere,[12] both of which contain a Johannine set for the Lenten Thursdays with the exception of the fifth Thursday in one (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS 272) where the Lucan *Rogabat Jesum quidam* appears.[13]

In the early Roman rite the Thursdays in the full weeks of Lent were not classed as liturgical days until the pontificate of Gregory II (715–31), who appointed them as stational days with proper masses.[14] The gospels for these new days were taken initially from the capitularies of the so-called Earlier type,[15] which originated in the Roman list of the seventh century.[16] This set, however, was not to endure for it was superseded by another from the so-called Standard type which became widespread during the dissemination of the Roman rite that took place throughout the Frankish Empire in Carolingian times. The Standard set for the Lenten Thursdays, drawn mainly from St Luke, is as follows:[17]

Egressus inde Jesus	Matthew 15: 21–8
Homo quidam	Luke 16: 19–31
Surgens Jesus	Luke 4: 38–44
Ibat Jesus	Luke 7: 11–16
Rogabat Jesum quidam	Luke 7: 36–50

This set continued in Roman use and was followed also in its entirety by the Paris rite and in part by the Dominican and Carthusian rites.[18] As has been noted, the last gospel in the set, *Rogabat Jesum quidam*, survived at Hereford as an ancient feature of the liturgy of that church.

Through its continuation in the Standard lectionaries this set emerged as widespread and generally dominant. There had also evolved another set, however, the Johannine gospels, which 'presently became a keen competitor',[19] and which was increasingly adopted in preference to the Standard set. The most commonly occurring form of the Johannine set and that found in the Sarum, York and (with the exception of the third and fifth Thursdays) Hereford rites is as follows:[20]

Si vos manseritis	John 8: 31–47
Non possum	John 5: 30–47
Operamini	John 6: 27–35
Pater meus	John 5: 17–29
Cum audissent	John 7: 40–53

Acknowledgement: My thanks are due to the Benedictines of Downside whose generous hospitality enabled me to write this paper.

8. Cf. the tenth-century Leningrad *comes* described by Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, III, *The Roman epistle-lectionary*, Alcuin Club Collections, no. 32 (Oxford, 1935), 1–2 and 92–3.
9. *Rev. Bén.* XXVII, 65, and Frere, *Rom. epist. lect.*, 29.
10. See Morin's note to lection CLXXV, *Rev. Bén.* XXVII, 65.
11. J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, pt. 3, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 12 (1897), 1450.
12. Both lections end at verse 27 and not verse 35 as in the Hereford reading, Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, II, *The Roman gospel-lectionary*, Alcuin Club Collections no. 30 (Oxford, 1934), 135–6.
13. Ibid., 136. The Johannine alternative, however, is entered in the margin of this manuscript, ibid.
14. Frere, *Rom. gosp. lect.*, 61–2.
15. Ibid., 65.
16. Ibid., 61–2.
17. Ibid., 65.
18. Legg, *Missale Westmon.*, pt. 3, 1460, 1462–3 and 1465–6.
19. Frere, *Rom. gosp. lect.*, 141.
20. Ibid., 141–2.

A Bristol Bottle from Bratton

by LARRY LUCKETT

When clearing a blockage in the stream at the bottom of his garden (at ST 91665270) Mr Zygmunt Wisniewski met a hard lump. When he eventually got this lump out he discovered it to be a dark glass bottle (Figure 1).

The bottle, which remains in the finder's possession, stands 14.5 cm high, is 15 cm in diameter and has a capacity of 0.85 litres. It has been identified as a Bristol Bottle, of which type the Museum has several specimens. This one is particularly interesting as it bears the seal of Thos. Coward and the date 1709.

The parish registers of the nearby village of Edington state, under marriages:

> 1709 – Thomas Coward Esq., of Spurgrove Somerset to Mrs Mary Greenhill of North Bradley.

So this bottle would appear to have been used in connection with their marriage.

The Bristol Bottle from Bratton bearing the seal of Thomas Coward (enlarged below)

An Eighteenth Century Tombstone from Bratton

by LARRY LUCKETT

When the dilapidated privy at Scotts Farm, Bratton (ST 91255245) was demolished, and the corner tidied up, the tiled area in front of the seat was retained, the hole behind filled in and the area covered with concrete thus making a pleasant sunny spot for sitting in. Some years later the tiled area began to crack and subside so the tiles were removed to discover the reason for it. This turned out to be an old land drain passing nearby which had caused the earth supporting the tiles to be washed away. The tiles themselves were found to be bedded on a thin layer of mortar which rested on pieces of Bath stone, some of them quite large. When these were turned over they were discovered to be fragments of a table tombstone: parts of the end and a side panel broken into several pieces, as well as several other bits of worked stone.

The side panel (Figure 1) bore a large sculpted oval, the raised parts of which were picked out in red paint, bordered by two-winged cherubs' heads in the upper corners and floral motifs in the lower corners. The cherubs' heads were picked out in yellow ochre with what seemed to be a gold leaf covering. The lower motifs also bore traces of red and gold; and there was evidence of red and blue paint on the other odd pieces of stone.

An inscription on the incomplete end panel (Figure 2), the letters filled with black, recorded the death of Jemima Nevill on 20 June 1769. The inscription was copied immediately it was uncovered. It is shown below with some of the missing details filled in from the records.

In Memor[y Of]
JEMIM[A LONG]
Daughter of [JAMES and]
REBEKAH [NEVILL]
Who Died Ju[ne 20]
1769
Aged 22 yea[rs]
Who by Confumption was gr[——]
And daily wa[rn'd] to fee[—]
By wasting of her vital fram[e]
She Border[——]h Eternity

Figure 1. Jemima Nevill's tomb: detail from side panel

Figure 2 Jemima Nevill's tomb, end panel with inscription 12 inch scale

Research into the Longleat Papers which were temporarily in the County Record Office showed that the tenant of Scotts Farm in 1769 (at that time known as Nevilles) was James Neville. We know from the Bratton Parish Registers that James and his wife Rebecca had one son and eight daughters: Hannah, Mary, Priscilla, Jemima (married John Long), John, Unity, Mabel, Jane and Rebecca.

The Steeple Ashton Banns Register records banns called on 30 June and 7 and 14 July 1765 for 'John Long, Steeple Ashton, Widower and Jemima Nevel of Bratton, Spinster'. The Bratton Marriage Register for 1765 records: '20th August – John Long Wdr., Steeple Ashton to Jemima Nevill, Bratton, Spinster'. And nearly four years later we find in the Bratton Burial Register: '1769 Jemima Long, Widow – June 20th'.

Why was Jemima's tombstone under the privy floor? Presumably, as Jemima was a Nevill, Neville or Nevel (the spelling varied), her family took possession of her tomb when it was broken up. Perhaps it was never erected: the inscription does not mention her husband or any children. We may guess that Jemima had married an older man who hoped for a son to continue the tenancy of his land after he died. If the tombstone *had* been erected in 1769, it might have been removed in 1860, when the Bishop of Salisbury gave a licence to restore the Church of St James at Bratton which states, *inter alia*, 'all the old tombstones to be used up where directed'. At that time the tenant of Scotts Farm was David Snellgrove, a descendant of Jane Neville, sister of Jemima. Despite the deterioration of its surface since it was recovered, the tomb can be seen to have been quite an elaborate one – which makes the reason for its destruction all the more puzzling.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Margaret Roberts, of the Conservation Laboratory of the Wiltshire County Council Library and Museum Service, who took coloured slides of the side panel; and John Smith who prepared the black and white print from them, and took the photograph of the end panel.

An Historical Perspective on the Occurrence of *Rattus rattus* and *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire

by PATRICK J. DILLON

With the publication in this issue of *WAM* of the latest of the county mammal surveys, dealing with the Brown rat *R. norvegicus* (Browne 1990), it is opportune to review the history of the occurrence of both the Black rat *R. rattus* and the Brown rat *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire, particularly as both species have been of economic and pathological significance in the past.

Neither species is indigenous to the British Isles. The generally held view that *R. rattus* was introduced in the eleventh century (Taylor 1977) has been challenged recently following the discovery of two skulls in York dated AD 110 (Rackham 1979). In Wiltshire a record of the flora and fauna from archaeological excavations is currently being collated (Robinson pers. comm.) and at present the only available record concerns the remains of a Black rat found in the skull of William Longespee when his tomb was disturbed during alterations at Salisbury Cathedral in 1791; it is not possible to say whether the rat dates from the interment in 1226 or whether it is a later intrusion (Conybeare pers. comm.).

By the fourteenth century *R. rattus* was widespread and was implicated in the spread of the great plague pandemic, known as the Black Death, from central Asia across Europe to Britain in 1348. The plague bacillus *Yersinia pestis* (formerly *Pasteurella pestis*) was thought to have been transmitted from the circulatory system of *R. rattus* to the human population via fleas (Twigg 1980). The progress of plague through Britain has been summarized by Ziegler (1969), whose research suggests that central southern England was hit particularly hard – in the diocese of Winchester 48.8 per cent of all beneficed clergy died, a figure not exceeded elsewhere. The social and economic conse-

quences must have been considerable.

It was not until the sixteenth century that a legislative framework was established for the control of animals injurious to the interests of the human population. The motive was an economic one arising from a growing concern about losses to agricultural crops and produce, and allied sectors of the rural economy. Successive Acts of Parliament required parishes and townships to make arrangements for the control of 'vermin'. This generally took the form of bounty payments from parish funds, with the details entered in churchwardens' accounts. The Act of 1565–6 authorized sums to be paid for various categories of vermin, including one penny for every three rats. This was the same as the bounty paid for members of the crow family, whose pest status is reviewed by Jones (1972), and it is therefore reasonable to infer that both were deemed to have the same nuisance value. No early records of churchwarden payments for rats in Wiltshire have been noted, although a systematic search of the sources has yet to be made. In Devon, research currently in progress on the vermin records suggests that rats and crows were seldom taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though this may reflect a concentration of effort on the larger species such as fox, badger, polecat and the raptors, for which much more lucrative bounty payments were offered. An interim report on the Devon research has been published by Dillon and Jones (1986).

Montagu provides the first description of the *Rattus* genus in Wiltshire. His manuscript 'Natural History of Wiltshire', written more as a general zoological treatise than as a county natural history, contains sections on the 'rat' and the 'Norway rat' (Montagu *c.*1785). Of the former, *R. rattus*, he noted that it was found in 'great abundance' until about the middle of the eighteenth century. Thereafter it declined rapidly and a Warminster diarist noted in 1756 that it was confined to the higher parts of houses, wainscotting, eaves, thatch and the like (Daniell 1879). Montagu attributed the demise of *R. rattus* to the introduction of *R. norvegicus* in the early eighteenth century, but he was unable to offer a view on the status of either species in the 1780s. There is no Wiltshire information for *R. rattus* for the nineteenth century, but by 1915 it was thought to be 'completely exterminated' (Hony 1917), and in 1923 it was declared extinct (Peirson 1923). This was not however to be the close of the Black rat story in Wiltshire; a population in farm buildings at West Kington was known until 1974, when the last sighting of a young individual was made (Browne pers. comm.). This may have been a relict population or it may have been the result of translocation from an extant population elsewhere. There has been no subsequent record of the species in Wiltshire.

R. norvegicus meanwhile spread rapidly and proliferated around dwellings and farmyards. In common with other eighteenth and nineteenth century commentators on natural history and agriculture, Montagu (*c.*1785) viewed *R. norvegicus* purely in terms of a pest species. In 1825 'rats' were being paid for at a rate of one penny each in Corsham (Brushfield 1897). The farming practices of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with crops in store awaiting processing for several months of the year, undoubtedly favoured the species (Twigg 1975). The abundance of food encouraged prolific breeding and the absence of effective pest control measures meant that local populations frequently reached saturation density. At such times the species might be blamed for a variety of farmyard crimes; E.H. Goddard, for example, writing in 1874, noted that half of his 26 chickens were killed by rats during the summer (Dillon 1977). There had been a long tradition of employing ratcatchers in urban areas, and in rural areas some estates employed full time vermin destroyers, while some gave the job to gamekeepers. In 1871 in Wiltshire 304 gamekeepers and 13 vermin destroyers were employed (Rew 1894). *R. norvegicus* was said to be 'common in houses, rickyards etc' in 1896 (Meyrick 1896), 'generally distributed' in 1915 (Hony 1917), and 'common' in 1923 (Peirson 1923). It continued to be a problem in ricked crops in the Salisbury area until the 1960s and is still subject to periodic population surges, reported by the Salisbury and District Natural History Society in Bulletins and Annual Reports from 1950 to 1975. This Society also reported a high incidence of melanism in the Salisbury area, including records of albino, black, and red variants. The only detailed observations over a period of several months of a colony of *R. norvegicus* in Wiltshire were made by Hawksley (1978).

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Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire 1988

Avebury: South Car Park (SU 099696); Saxon, Post-Medieval
Investigations were carried out by the Wiltshire Rescue Archaeology Project (WRAP) unit, during extensions to the southwest corner of the car park. Previous excavations in the area had uncovered evidence of Saxon settlement.

The topsoil over *c.*200 sq m was removed by machine, revealing a dark friable loam over a lighter chalky layer of hillwash. Six post holes in a north–south alignment and two post holes aligned west–east were encountered, together with a series of plough marks. Remains of a Saxon *grubenhaus*, measuring 4 m × 3 m and just under ½ m deep, contained animal bone and grass tempered pottery.

Avebury: Windmill Hill (SU 086713); Neolithic
Research excavations at the Neolithic enclosure on Windmill Hill were undertaken in the summer of 1988 by Dr Alasdair Whittle of the School of History and Archaeology, University of Wales College of Cardiff, as part of a continuing programme of investigation into the Neolithic sequence and context of the Avebury area. Permission for excavation was granted by the National Trust and the Secretary of State for the Environment. The key aims were to recover samples for radiocarbon dating and for environmental reconstruction, especially through molluscan analysis. Other information on the use of the enclosure was also sought. Six cuttings were made: three on the outer circuit; two on the middle circuit; and one on the inner circuit. Four were immediately adjacent to cuttings made by Isobel Smith in 1957–58; one on the outer and one on the middle circuit were in parts not previously investigated. The inner ditch cutting was 1 m wide, the others were 2 m wide.

Abundant animal bone was recovered throughout the cuttings and a suite of bone samples from primary and secondary contexts have been submitted for radiocarbon dating to the laboratories at the British Museum and the Oxford Accelerator Unit. The site was very rich in molluscs, and several columns were taken for analysis by Mark Fishpool and John Evans in Cardiff. Animal bone is being studied by Dr Caroline Grigson and charcoals by Dr Caroline Cartwright. Charred plant remains were recovered by flotation, including very small quantities of cereals. These are being studied in the Institute of Archaeology in London. A buried soil under the outer bank was examined by Dr Richard Macphail, and an unsuccessful search for pollen in it was made by Dr Mike Walker. The basic aims of the excavation were therefore successfully met, and full results will emerge from post-excavation analysis.

Other insights into the use of the site were gained. Occupation traces were recorded under the bank of the outer circuit. These included the grave, in an oval chalk-cut pit, of an adult man. The skeleton and associated small mammal bones are being studied by Dr Don Brothwell. While the outer circuit includes a bank, there is no certain proof that there were banks on the middle and inner circuits. Most of the ditch silting appears to be natural, and there is little sign of recutting. One segment of the outer ditch, however, may have been scoured out at least once. Pottery of the Earlier Neolithic was found throughout the fill of the middle and inner ditches, whereas in one outer ditch cutting Earlier Neolithic pottery was succeeded by Ebbsfleet pottery and in turn by Later Neolithic styles. A hypothesis to be tested is that the outer circuit was a slightly later addition to a primary monument defined by the middle and inner ditches, which lacked formal banks. Much of the animal bone appeared to have been deliberately deposited in dumps or spreads in the primary silting and at the bottom of the secondary silting. Fragmented bone in the upper part of the outer ditch provides a strong contrast to the dominant pattern. The cranium of a child was found at the top of the primary silting in one outer ditch cutting, along with a butchered ox skull and other animal bones. Several different aspects of Neolithic life are thus represented in the special arena of the ditch system.

Ashton Keynes: Cleveland Farm (SU 070948); Iron Age/Roman
Work by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology (TWA Project No. 32232) commenced during 1988 on the recording of the extensive complex of late prehistoric and Roman earthworks at Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes. During this financial year the project, supported by English China Clays and HBMCE, has involved a detailed analytical survey of the surviving earthworks carried out by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, followed by a watching brief and excavation work. The watching

brief involved the recording prior to gravel extraction of elements of trackways and major boundary earthworks. Excavation initially concentrated on an irregular ditched enclosure *c.*35 m across, with a single entrance on the eastern side. Internal features include a large drip gulley round house, pits, and a feature containing iron slag and a complete saucepan pot. The ditch has proved to contain organic deposits including wood and well-preserved bone together with an exceptional range of environmental data. Evidence available so far suggests a date in the 1st century BC/1st century AD.

The current watching brief and excavations are examining a further Iron Age enclosure and an area of unenclosed Iron Age settlement. The remains of at least five round houses together with numerous pits have been recovered. Some larger features again contain waterlogged deposits.

The project will commence work on elements of the Roman settlement during the summer of 1989.

Badbury Wick: Coate Water Geophysical Survey (SU 18168240); ?Prehistoric

A geophysical survey was carried out on three separate but neighbouring sites on behalf of the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit by A.D.H. Bartlett, funded by Coate Water Parks Ltd, along Day House Lane, Badbury Wick. The sites were first recorded by A.D. Passmore in *WAM* 27 (1893–94), pp. 171–4, and now lie within the area of the proposed business park currently the subject of a public enquiry. The furthest north of these, a possible burial mound, gave a distinct resistivity response, but proved to be irregular in shape and without any sign of a surrounding ditch. The stone circle so carefully surveyed by Passmore gave results to match his original work, but no further firm conclusions could be drawn due to later disturbances and a 'noisy natural background'.

More interesting was the area of magnetic survey. Here was found a network of ditched enclosures, and possible occupation sites. These responded clearly to the magnetometer despite later disturbances, although outlying ditches could have remained undetected due to a rapid fall in response away from the settlement.

Chippenham: between Bowden and Rowden Reservoir; Prehistoric, Medieval

A watching brief by the WRAP unit, along the water pipeline, produced evidence of 4 sites with the following finds: ST 932703 and ST 934701: ?Mesolithic flint tools and waste flakes; ST 927714: a sherd of Naish Hill fabric pottery (late medieval); and ST 923718: a flint scraper; possibly Neolithic.

Chitterne: Fighting in Built-up Areas (FIBUA) Village, Salisbury Plain; Prehistoric

Excavation was undertaken by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology (TWA Project No. 31762), funded by the PSA, in advance of construction of the FIBUA village. Two areas of archaeological potential located during evaluation excavation were examined. A substantial early Neolithic feature, suggested as being part of a ditch, possibly an enclosure, was found to be a large isolated pit. A suggested settlement area was further examined and a scatter of prehistoric artefacts associated with ephemeral subsoil features was recorded. A linear ditch of later prehistoric date located during the associated watching brief was also sampled. Post-excavation work has concentrated on the examination of the environmental (molluscan) evidence from dateable features and the preparation of the report.

Coate: Great Moor Leaze (SU 19618305); Romano-British

A small evaluation by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit took place for Thames Water on the line of a proposed replacement pipe. Several 2 m square trial trenches were excavated to the natural substratum at 50 m intervals, parallel to the area where Romano-British occupation debris had been recorded during the original laying of the pipe. No features were located in the trenches and only one fragment of a body sherd of Romano-British date was recorded.

Figheldean/Netheravon: Larkhill EOT sites (SU 105465); Prehistoric

Excavation by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology (TWA Project No. 32462), funded by HBMCE, was carried out in advance of the construction of a radar installation and service road immediately north of the causewayed enclosure of Robin Hood's Ball. The area to be disturbed was close to where surface collection had indicated settlement evidence from early Neolithic to late Bronze Age date, and was largely within an area of apparently undisturbed grassland.

The line of the road was employed as a sample transect, along which a series of 2 m squares were hand excavated. The remaining topsoil was subsequently removed by machine, revealing scattered and not positively dated subsoil features, including ditches and a negative lynchet.

Latton: Bypass (SU 083958); Romano-British

The Department of Transport requested and financed an evaluation by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit of the proposed route of the Latton Bypass. A

magnetometer survey combined with fieldwalking and selective excavation clearly revealed the extent of a Romano-British farmstead complex that comprises Scheduled Ancient Monument No. 899. The geophysical survey produced an excellent plan of the subsurface features on the line of the road, the limits of the main settlement area being closely defined. Surface collection of artefacts matched closely with the geophysical survey. Removal of the topsoil revealed the features that the geophysical survey had picked up. Features were excavated away from the main settlement site to establish their archaeological importance. It was then possible to recommend that the area be preserved intact under the terram construction method (a matting laid over the topsoil that will support the road above).

Malmesbury: Old Bell Inn (ST 93218737); Medieval, Post-Medieval
Excavations by the WRAP unit in the grounds of the Old Bell Inn, northwest of the Abbey, were sited near the west gate of the town defences.

Two trenches, measuring 6 m × 2 m, were dug. Trench A, in the upper terrace of the garden, revealed the presence of a crude wall, without foundations, lying beneath layers of (probably) seventeenth century and modern rubble.

Trench B, laid at right angles to the town wall, produced another layer of rubble beneath which lay a stone-capped culvert, running NW–SE, containing small bones, medieval pottery and a ?medieval coin. Elsewhere in the trench, a large stone slab, *c.*1 m square, covered what may have been a soak-away area, cut into the natural substratum.

Malmesbury: Old Bell Inn (ST 874932); Saxon, Medieval
Investigations were conducted by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit to the rear of an hotel annexe, prior to the construction of a car park. A small trench revealed a stone wall belonging to a building demolished in the middle of the sixteenth century. The building produced no evidence as to its origin or use, other than a stone drain which ran under the building and evidently predated its construction.

Below the building a dark humic soil containing much charcoal produced a number of Saxon pottery sherds. Only a very small area of this soil was excavated and it remains intact below the car park.

Naish Hill (ST 940889); ?Early Medieval
Investigations were carried out by the WRAP unit in advance of water pipeline laying. An area measuring *c.* 10 m × 5 m was surface-cleaned after the removal of the topsoil by machine.

Two possibly early medieval bowl furnaces were identified which, together with 3 medieval sherds, a large amount of tap slag, cinder and burnt stone, provides firm evidence of iron smelting.

Purton: Northview Hospital (SU 08558740); Romano-British
Rescue work by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit continued on the Romano-British cemetery at Purton after its initial discovery in December 1987. In all, seven burials were recorded, four of them simple inhumations with no accompanying finds. The first stone coffin proved to have an oval wall around it, with a diameter of *c.*10 m. The wall was narrow and therefore presumably low-standing, marking the burial at its centre. To the south of this a more substantial foundation marked the southern wall of the cemetery. A cobbled surface to the south of the wall was littered with pottery fragments and *opus signinum*, suggesting occupation close by. Some post holes were discovered north of the wall, but too few to draw any firm conclusions as to their use.

A stone coffin was found at the west end of the new hospital: the only opportunity to excavate a sealed burial. The contemporary ground surface proved to be a coarse pebble surface over the grave cut, in the fill of which was scattered a broken black burnished bowl. The stone coffin contained no lead liner and no grave goods, apart from a coin originally placed in the mouth of the occupant. The skeleton itself was that of a young woman who possessed an abnormally small pelvis and six fingers on the left hand.

Salisbury: Old Sarum (SP 138327); Medieval
Recording and observation, by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology (TWA Project No. 31852), were carried out on behalf of HBMCE in advance of re-consolidation work on the postern tower and the curtain wall. The removal of areas of flint and mortar employed to consolidate wall cores revealed by Col Hawley's excavations in the early 1900s offered the opportunity to record detail of the wall cores. It was also possible to explore the hypothesis that Col Hawley had employed differing arrangements of flint in mortar to represent a variety of core types. Examination of the curtain wall showed no indication of an outer ashlar face and the 'buttresses' indicated by previous presentation methods were shown to be less structured than previously supposed and appeared to post-date the main wall construction.

Salisbury: various locations; Medieval and Post-Medieval

Brown Street (Trinity Chequer) (SU 14652980)
During the summer of 1988 further excavations (TWA Project No. 31552) took place within the area formerly occupied by the Gigant Street Car Park, supported by the Manpower Service Commission, Wiltshire County Council, Salisbury District Council and English Heritage. The excavation concentrated on the frontage of Brown Street, adjacent to trench W129A of the earlier evaluation, and extended across three properties, formerly nos. 47, 49 and 51 Brown Street, and their associated backland areas.

Limited resources led to selective excavation within the area, the full sequence being recorded only from no. 51, the best preserved property.

A constructional sequence from the early fourteenth century through to modern times was recovered, including a series of well-preserved stone and mortar walls, chalk floors and hearths. Comparable sequences were sampled on the other two properties.

The backland area comprised various deposits of garden soil, too sterile to have been midden material, with episodes of metalling to form yard surfaces and, in later (early post-medieval) levels, evidence for small-scale smithing. The plans of late medieval and early post-medieval outhouses were also recorded. Seventeenth century pits containing horn cores may be indirect evidence for tanning, and a trough constructed of chalk blocks provisionally dated to the fifteenth century may have been associated with fulling.

The backs of the three properties were defined by the course of the town ditch, the latest (eighteenth century) phases of which were recorded. For reasons of safety and access it proved impossible to investigate the earlier levels of this feature.

Winchester Street/Rollestone Street (SU 14553009)
The site occupies an area of Swans Chequer including frontages to Winchester Street and Rollestone Street, and was excavated in advance of redevelopment (TWA Project No. 32172), the investigations being supported by McDonald's UK Ltd, Stonechester DM Ltd, and Monpesson Developments. Restrictions imposed by developers' engineers' requirements and by available resources limited the scope of work, but continuous sections from both street frontages to the centre of the site were observed, and selective excavation of both frontages and areas of the backland was undertaken.

Winchester Street frontage
The poorly preserved remains of a building on the street frontage were located beneath the foundations of the demolished, modern structure. A north–south wall through the centre of the trench is interpreted as a property boundary forming the dividing wall between two adjoining buildings and extending into the backland area. Floor levels within the buildings were not well preserved, being damaged by concrete strip foundations and further reduced by service trenches. The shallow depth of stratigraphy (less than 1 m) suggests that occupation of the site was less long-lived than elsewhere in the city (e.g. Trinity Chequer), and a preliminary scan of the finds indicates that the building may not have been in use before the beginning of the fifteenth century. The land to the rear of the frontage building contained a chalk-lined well and a series of yard surfaces, all likely to be of medieval or early post-medieval date.

Rollestone Street Frontage
The earliest evidence, pre-dating the first structure, comprised a layer of coarse, crushed and compacted chalk and gravel. This layer is tentatively interpreted as an early alignment of Rollestone Street, its composition being quite dissimilar to internal or external surfaces excavated elsewhere. By the early fifteenth century this road surface had been overlain by buildings fronting the present road line, and it is possible that the original alignment, laid out in the early years of the city's development, was modified before settlement began in that area.

Large areas of disturbance made it impossible to ascertain the plan and development of the late medieval building in any detail, or to trace layers through into the interior of the plot. The excavated evidence from the interior reinforces the evidence from both frontages suggesting that occupation began at a comparatively late date in the area.

Belle Vue House (SU 14423041)
Excavation on the assumed line of the northern city defences (TWA Project No. 32582), financed by the developer, Friends' Provident, produced no evidence for earthworks. It is concluded that a continuation of the alignment between Endless Street and Castle Street as suggested by the Ordnance Survey and RCHM is not correct although, beyond the Castle Street gate, the site is encompassed by a sharp northerly swing in the parish and ward boundaries, suggesting that this area was considered administratively to be part of the city.

A series of fourteenth century rubbish pits occu-

pying the site are assumed to have belonged to properties fronting Castle Street.

Salisbury, Southampton Road (SU 156293); Theoretically Prehistoric and Early Medieval
An intermittent watching brief was carried out by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology (TWA Project No. 32651), during earthmoving for the construction of the Tesco Supermarket, Southampton Road, Salisbury. Finds in the late 1960s and early 1970s suggested that an Anglo-Saxon settlement was located in the vicinity; and the site lies close to a fifth- to sixth-century Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Petersfinger. No archaeological features of any date were observed during the watching-brief, however.

The observation was carried out by A.V.C. Jenkins. The work was financed by the Developers, Tesco Ltd and Rush and Tompkins.

Sherston: Villa; Romano-British
The Thamesdown Archaeological Society is using the previously unrecorded Romano-British villa at Sherston as a training excavation, whilst at the same time retrieving valuable information about different structural phases before its destruction under the advanced agricultural technique of sub-soiling.

The villa covers something like an acre (0.4 hectares). Five building or rebuilding phases, together with evidence of post-villa occupation, have been discovered to date.

Some walls are still three courses high, and the later floor surfaces exist in patches. Building rubble covers much of the site, apparently the result of random collapse and decay, contrasting with evidence for the more violent end of several villas along the upper Avon. Coin and pottery finds suggest a late third century origin for the villa, with continuous occupation until the late fourth/early fifth centuries. There are sufficient samian sherds and mid second century coins to suggest an earlier Romano-British presence.

At least one of the rooms had painted wall plaster, as did the corridor on the west side.

Indications of industries associated with the villa are seen in the finding of a spindle whorl, large amounts of iron ore clinker, a quern stone and several sharp pins and needles of bone and bronze.

Excavation will continue until the end of August 1989, when the site will return to agricultural use.

Swindon: Old Town (SU 15548360); Medieval
Evaluation by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit continued until June in the 'Core Development Area' of the Old Town. The most interesting results came from a trench that was placed in a plot opening onto Devizes Road, immediately south of Britannia Place. The foundations of a stone wall, probably a property boundary, running east to west were found. The wall may have represented the predecessor to the boundary on the south side of Britannia Place. Parallel to this an orange clay band was found associated with a rough surface scattered with pebbles and pottery sherds. The most plausible explanation for this feature would be a sill beam trench lined with clay to protect the wood of a timber structure from decay. The pottery was of *c.* fourteenth century date. At the west end of the clay a return was found, but the east end seems to have been open.

These discoveries raise several questions concerning medieval Old Town. Devizes Road was known as 'Short Hedge' into the nineteenth century and was completely undeveloped. Was this always the case, or do recent excavations suggest some medieval development along the road which could not sustain itself after the initial expansion of the market town?

West Swindon: Multi Screen Cinema Site (SU 116847); Roman
A geophysical survey was carried out on behalf of the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit to evaluate this development site. The response was difficult to interpret due to the small amount of variation in the response of the natural substratum to the topsoil, and the scatter of metallic litter often found on urban sites. Several areas of interest emerged, as well as one well pronounced ditch. These are to be investigated during the spring of 1989.

West Swindon: Wick Farm (SU 110849); Romano-British, Medieval, Post-Medieval
From September excavations were carried out by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit, on the earthworks around the Wick Farm complex, ahead of development on the site by Thamesdown Borough Council. The aim was to establish a date and a function for the platforms that had been surveyed in phases between 1984 and 1987. Most of the platforms did not support structures but were probably constructed to provide drier areas for stock or poultry during the winter, when the fields around the farm become saturated. Pottery sherds in the make-up suggest a fourteenth century date for their construction. One small rectangular stone building was excavated, but no function was ascertainable. Some of the platforms had been used in the post-medieval period to support buildings, especially those close to the existing farm complex, but there was no evidence that these had replaced

earlier buildings on the same sites. Some evidence of Romano-British occupation close by was found in the form of a gully on the hillside to the west of the farm, as well as in the considerable number of sherds of that (and medieval) date in the earth platforms.

It would seem that the medieval farm buildings must have existed on much the same sites as the present ones, the farm centre having remained next to Wick Lane, the medieval track.

Trowbridge: Bethesda Chapel (ST 855579); Post-Medieval

Following the excavations on the site of Trowbridge Castle, a watching-brief (TWA Project No. 32361) is being carried out during the construction of the extensive shopping precinct. In the vicinity of the Bethesda Chapel, Court Street, a number of burials were found. The chapel came into existence in 1821, when members of the Baptist Back Street (Emmanuel) church seceded, but the building went out of use as a church in the 1840s.

Immediately west of the chapel, a group of six graves was located, during machining for construction. All graves contained several burials in oak coffins, but generally only the foot end of each was disturbed. To the south of the chapel were three brick vaults containing one lead and several wooden coffins. Burials were only removed when necessary for the construction to proceed; the bones were deposited with the Coroner's Officer for reburial.

In addition to monitoring the construction work around the chapel, observation was made, during the excavation by contractors, across Court Street itself. This revealed the position and dimensions of the inner bailey moat of the twelfth-century castle which lay, as expected, directly under Court Street, on its south side. The moat was *c.* 3 m deep and 10 m wide.

The watching-brief was carried out by D.E. Farwell, A.H. Graham and A.V.C. Jenkins. The work was financed by the Developers.

Trowbridge: Trowbridge Castle (ST 855579); Bronze Age, Iron Age, Romano-British, Early Medieval, Medieval, Post-Medieval

An interim report on the excavations is published on pp. 50–56 of this volume.

Trowbridge: Paxcroft Mead, Hilperton (ST 875585); Prehistoric, Medieval and Post-Medieval

A multi-stage evaluation (TWA Project No. 32671) is currently being carried out on land proposed for residential development etc., covering some 85 hectares between Trowbridge and the village of Hilperton to the east. There is one cropmark on the site itself, not interpretable with any certainty, and a large cropmark enclosure some 300 m to the north of the site.

The first stage of the evaluation has been completed. Three transects across the topography (from the cornbrash ridge, down across sloping Oxford Clays into the river valley) have been field-walked, to establish whether more comprehensive surface collection would be useful. The field-walking produced only low-density scatters, primarily of post-medieval material but with a thin scatter of twelfth/thirteenth century pottery (as might be expected from a location adjacent to a village with documented medieval origins), and two struck flint flakes.

The next proposed stage of evaluation is a series of machine- and hand-excavated trenches to determine whether there are any associated features and to investigate areas under pasture and arable which have not yet been assessed in any way.

The fieldwork was directed by C.A. Farwell; and the project financed by the Developer, Gallaghers Ltd.

Wroughton: Westleaze Deserted Medieval Village (SU 13708294); Romano-British, Medieval

Three trenches were excavated, by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit, close to the two ponds that are sited in what was the main street of the medieval village of Westlecot, in order to locate any drainage features associated with them. The aim was to provide information to facilitate a management agreement with the farmer and the Farming and Wildlife Advisory Group in respect of the two ponds lying on the line of the village high street.

No road surface was located in any of the trenches. To the north of the larger pond a stone-lined drain was excavated and found to contain a medieval pot sherd in the silted up interior. This drain was very similar to those discovered at the deserted medieval village of Mannington, now known as Toothill, and it was designed to drain the street. To the south of the larger pond a shallow field drain existed, but it was not deep enough to cut into the subsoil. In the same trench a small section of the earth bank to the west of the street was cut. No features were located but a considerable number of sherds were recovered, of which a substantial number were of Romano-British date. The medieval settlement would seem to be hiding a Romano-British predecessor.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 224–235

Wiltshire Archaeological Registers for 1987 and 1988

The Registers for 1987 and 1988 are arranged in chronological order and by parishes. In order to save space '87' and '88' do not precede the serially numbered entries in the text, but this prefix should be used to identify individual items in future cross references.

The Registers have again been compiled on a selective basis. Records of small groups of unassociated flintwork and of pottery, when of uncertain date or of common Romano-British or medieval types, have been omitted, as well as a number of uninformative stray finds. Also not included are certain groups of finds from sites which are due to be published in detail in the near future, such as Bronze Age finds from burials in Blackberry Lane cemetery, Potterne; and finds from sites which might be particularly vulnerable to the depredations of 'treasure-hunters'. 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 of material as possible.

Accessions to museums are noted by the short name of the museum (Devizes or Salisbury) followed by the accession number. For objects remaining in private possession, the sources of information noted are museum records or individual informants, not necessarily the owners. Particulars of attribution and provenance are as supplied by the museum, societies and individuals named. Where there is a reason to doubt the accuracy of the find record, this *caveat* is given in the text.

The illustrations have been provided by N. Griffiths and Helen Jeffrey.

Abbreviations

C	century as in C2, second century
DMDB	Devizes Museum Day Book
PP	In private possession
TMAR	Thamesdown Museums Archaeological Records
WAM	*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*

1987

PALAEOLITHIC

1 **Chiseldon/Wroughton** boundary, Burderop Farm. SU 16427988. Part of Acheulian flint hand-axe (butt missing). PP. TMAR.

2 **Winterbourne Bassett**, 'Field 86'. No n.g.r. Sarsen hand-axe. Devizes 1987.22 (ex Avebury Museum).

3 **Winterbourne Bassett**, 'Field 110'. No n.g.r. Hand-axe (found 1915). Devizes 1987.23 (ex Avebury Museum).

4 **Winterbourne Monkton**, foot of spur on Winterbourne Monkton Down. SU 113724. Sarsen hand-axe. Devizes 1987.21 (ex Avebury Museum). See D. Roe, *Gazetteer of British Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Sites*, p. 312.

MESOLITHIC

5 **Aldbourne**, Drove Pond. Around SU 212769. Assemblage comprising cores, core-rejuvenating flakes, burin and utilised flakes. PP. DMDB 126.

6 **Bromham**, Mother Anthony's Well. *c.* ST 997643. Retouched blade and two blade flakes. Devizes 1987.183.

7 **Kington Langley**, Watling Street. ST 93157655. Assemblage comprising: 5 cores, 23 trimming flakes, 27 micro blades and fragments, 42 waste flakes, 3 retouched blades, fabricator, hollow blade, truncated blade, long trimming flake, core rejuvenator, 3 utilised flakes, pointed arrowhead, burin and hammer. Devizes 1987.51.

8 **Roundway**, Home Covert. SU 009632. Assemblage comprising: 4 cores, core trimming flake, obliquely worked flake, 3 worked or utilised blade-flakes, flake worked as an end scraper, 3 sub-circular scrapers, thick end scraper, 2 hammer stones, 2 burnt fragments, 3 flakes with retouch and 30 waste flakes. Devizes 1987.184.

NEOLITHIC

9 **Aldbourne**, Woodsend. SU 22007544. Axe rough-out, 4 scrapers, fabricator and 14 waste flakes, some with retouch. PP. DMDB. 1268.

10 **Aldbourne**, Giants Grave. SU 242762. 2 cores. PP. DMDB 1357.

11 **Aldbourne**, Laines. SU 230744. 2 cores. PP. DMDB 1358.

12 **Avebury**, Beckhampton Gallops. SU 073685.

Polished stone axe-head; group VI. Devizes 1987.337.

13 **Baydon**, Membury Hillfort. SU 301753. Group of flakes including some with possible retouch. Devizes 1987.154.

14 **Bremhill**, Spirt Hill. ST 997758. Transverse arrow head, 2 small circular scrapers, small side scraper and fabricator. Devizes 1987.31.

15 **Bromham**, Mother Anthony's Well. Around ST 997643. Small assemblage including: 2 blade flakes, hammerstone, chert knife, 3 flakes with retouch, 12 waste flakes and 2 burnt fragments. Devizes 1987.183.

16 **Chippenham**, Fowlswick Lane. ST 888764. Fragment of sandstone rubber, 9 waste flakes, core, 2 utilised pieces, 2 retouched flakes and small circular scraper. Devizes 1987.48.

17 **Chiseldon**, Hodson. SU 172808. Part of a flint knife from flintworking site. PP. TMAR.

18 **Kington Langley**, Potbridge Field. ST 92257825. Barbed and tanged arrowhead, 3 retouched blades or flakes, 339 waste flakes and fragments, core and 5 burnt pieces. Devizes 1987.50.

19 **Knook**, near long barrow. SU 95604462. Incomplete polished stone shaft-hole implement. Salisbury 171.1987.

20 **Langley Burrell**, Kellaways Farm. ST 948750. 2 retouched flakes, 2 waste flakes and small round scraper. Devizes 1987.46.

21 **Little Bedwyn**, Knowle Farm. SU 256675. Polished flint axe-head. Devizes 1987.20.

22 **Ogbourne St George**, Whitefield. SU 212758. Fabricator and 3 waste flakes. PP. DMDB 1270.

23 **Ogbourne St George**, W of Barbury Castle. SU 144762. 3 waste flakes and backed flake-tool. Devizes 1987.49.

24 **Stanton St Bernard**, Milk Hill. No n.g.r. Small assemblage comprising: 2 cores, fabricator, pointed retouched flake, leaf shaped arrowhead, 2 retouched flakes, scraper and 13 waste flakes. Devizes 1987.360.

BEAKER

25 **Cherhill**, Barrow G4. SU 056698. 2 sherds found in a rabbit hole in the barrow in 1949. Devizes 1987.30.

26 **Ramsbury**. SU 26127280. Small circular scraper. PP. DMDB 1311.

27 **Winterbourne Monkton**. SU 093721. Sherd with impressed decoration. Devizes 1987.25.

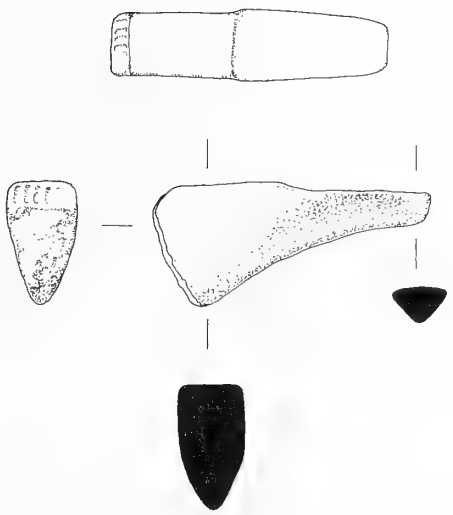


Figure 1. No. 28. Bronze anvil from Alton; 2/3 actual size

BRONZE AGE

28 **Alton**, Walker's Hill. SU 11356365. Bronze anvil (Figure 1). PP. DMDB 1279.

29 **Avebury**, '500 metres from West Kennet Long Barrow'. No n.g.r. Group of implements: socketed hammer, graver/scriber, broken socketed gauge. Devizes 1987.45.

30 **Avebury**, Avebury Down. SU 12267145. Bronze violin-bow fibula, one piece type with flattened bow. Devizes 1987.18 (See M.R. Hull and C.F.C. Hawkes, *Corpus of Ancient Brooches in Britain* (B.A.R. 168, 1987), p. 12).

31 **Bishops Cannings**, Barrow G26, found when posts were set up around the barrow. SU 06716801. Sherds from an urn and part of a cremation. Devizes 1987.27.

32 **Bishops Cannings**, Bishops Cannings Down. SU 062667. Miniature bronze spearhead. PP. DMDB 1250.

33 **Bratton**, Birchanger Farm. ST 89455185. Two large LBA sherds. Devizes 1987.258.

34 **Calstone**, Spray's Farm, 'Black Furlong'. *c.* SU 018685. Possible fragment of socketed axe and two LBA sherds. PP. DMDB 1266 and 1987.68.

35 **Kingston Deverill**, Manor Farm. SU 860350. Spirally twisted torc with hooked terminals (Figure 2). Salisbury (loan) 136.1987.

36 **Ramsbury**. SU 291729. Plated gold 'ring money'. PP. DMDB 1325.

Figure 2. No. 35. Spirally twisted bronze torc from Kingston Deverill; ½ actual size

37 **Steeple Ashton**. *c*. ST 89755730. 2 sherds of Oolite grit ware. Devizes 1987.69.

38 **Steeple Langford**. SU 042373. Tanged chisel. Salisbury 181.1987.

IRON AGE

39 **Aldbourne**, Woodsend. SU 22647572. Gold stater, type Mack 27a (= Gallo-Belgic E series). DMDB 1360.

40 **Bishopstone**, Hinton Down. SU 25268040. Gold quarter stater, type Mack 74 (variety). Devizes 1987.179.

41 **Bishopstone**, Hinton Down. SU 25268040. Penannular brooch with fold over terminals; worked bone with two holes. PP. DMDB 1303.

42 **Calne**, Calstone, Spray's Farm. SU 018685. Two La Tène I bronze brooches. PP. DMDB 1289 and 1307 (Figure 3).

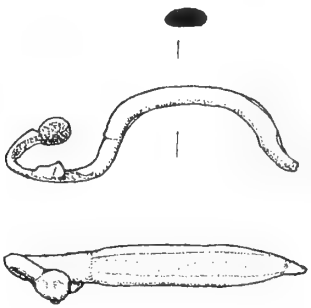


Figure 3. No. 42. La Tène I bronze brooch from Calne; actual size

43 **Laverstock**. SU 172316. Bronze mount (Figure 4). Salisbury 73.1987. *cf*. E.M. Clifford, *Bagendon: A Belgic Oppidum* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 182, 59a and figure 36.4. Another example was found at Cold Kitchen Hill.

44 **Ogbourne St Andrew**, Barbury Castle. SU

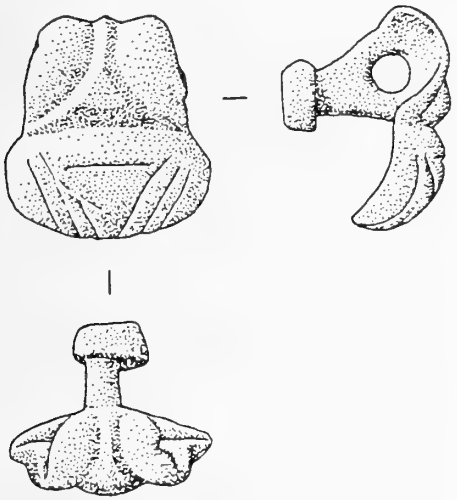


Figure 4. No. 43. Iron Age bronze mount from Laverstock; actual size

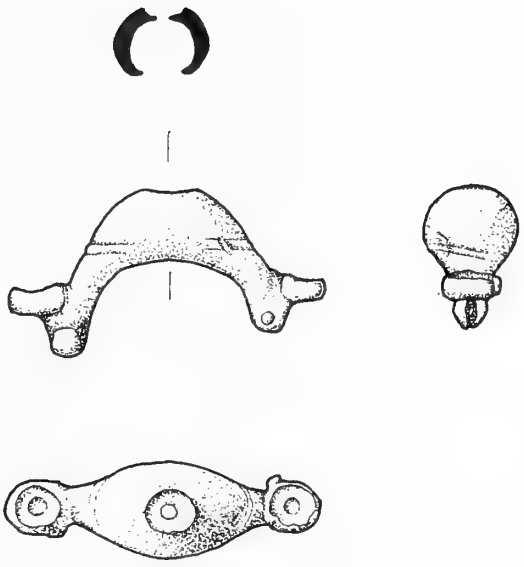


Figure 5. No. 48. Iron Age brooch from Upavon; actual size

150763. 5 small sherds from the inner bank (found 1961), sling stone and flint flake from below damaged end of inner bank at E entrance. Devizes 1987.29.

45 **Ramsbury**, Woodlands Farm, Whittonditch. SU 290727. Fragment of bronze bracelet. Devizes 1987.121; gold quarter stater of Cunobelin, type Mack 209. PP. DMDB 1283.

46 **Ramsbury**, Membury Hillfort. SU 301753. Collection of sherds found 1977 and 1980. Devizes 1987.152 and 153.

47 **Ramsbury**, Membury Hillfort. SU 30207524. Collection of sherds, found 1987. Devizes 1987.155.

48 **Upavon**. SU 13435489. Equal-ended fibula (Figure 5) and fragment of twisted wire/earring. Devizes 1987.106. The former published in R.A. Hattatt, *Brooches of Antiquity* (1987), p. 391 no. 1440.

49 **Upavon**. SU 14205465. Bronze ox-head, a mount from a Late Iron Age/Romano-British bucket (Figure 6). Devizes 1987.138.

50 **Upavon**. SU 13555470. La Tène I brooch with disc terminal. Devizes 1987.350.

ROMAN

51 **Aldbourne**, Glebe. SU 22687512. Group of early sherds; broken sling bullet. PP. DMDB 1269.

52 **Alderbury**. SU 176261. Follis of Constantine I, AD 305–306, struck at Ticinum. Salisbury 137.1987.

53 **All Cannings**, All Cannings Cross Farm. SU 077629. Two C3 barbarous radiates; Æ 4 Constantinopolis/wolf and twins of Triers. PP. DMDB 1305.

54 **Alton**. No n.g.r. Decorative pin inscribed LVCIANVS. PP. DMDB 1356.

55 **Avebury**, east of Silbury Hill. SU 102686. Fragment of flat quern stone.(Quern survey no. 156). Devizes 1987.54.

56 **Avebury**, Beckhampton. No n.g.r. Small brooch (perhaps either a miniature or votive), type M. PP. DMDB 1291.

57 **Bremhill**, East Tytherton. No n.g.r. Postumus, antoninianus, rev. type PROVIDENTIA. Devizes 1987.122.

58 **Calne**, S of Cuffs Corner. ST 972686. Tinned bronze fantail brooch; antoninianus of Claudius Gothicus; follis of Constantine I; follis of Decentius; siliqua of Arcadius. PP. DMDB 1263.

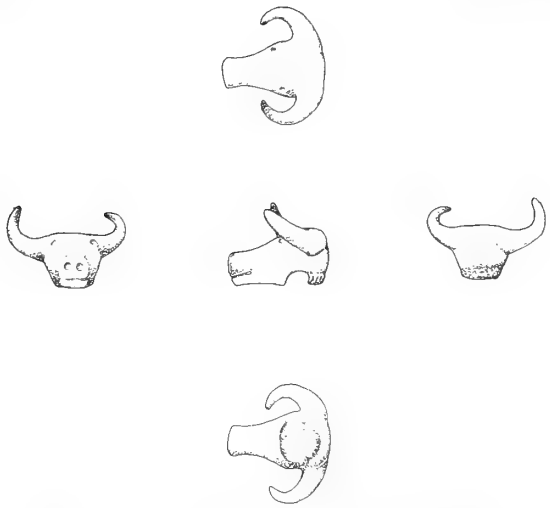


Figure 6. No. 49. Bronze bucket mount from Upavon; ½ actual size

59 **Calne**, Calstone, Spray's Farm. SU 018685. Miniature socketed axe; dolphin brooch; 2 C3–4 Æ coins; Fel. Temp. Rep. imitation coin. PP. DMDB 1307.

60 **Calne**, Spray's Farm. SU 01766900. Group of stacked pottery and pewter vessels: large platter or dish, Oxford colour-coated ware; mortarium, Oxford colour-coated ware; two flat bottomed bowls, Alice Holt kilns; jar, Alice Holt kilns; beaker, New Forest; beaker, Rhenish; pewter dish; pewter dish (fragmentary); fragment of pewter bowl. Devizes 1987.271.

61 **Calne**, Bremhill, NW of Lower Whitley. ST 98617292. Three C3–4 coins. Devizes 1987.174.

62 **Chute**. SU 28905440. Copper alloy disc brooch, pin missing. PP. Salisbury.

63 **Chute**. SU 28525710. Fragment of bracelet with incised decoration. PP. Salisbury.

64 **Codford St Mary**, Manor Farm. ST 974426. Four C4 coins, fragment of head-stud brooch. PP. DMDB 1332.

65 **Collingbourne Kingston**. SU 24355526. Finial in the form of the head of an eagle. Devizes 1987.293.

66 **Collingbourne Kingston**. SU 23505700. Fragment of bracelet. Devizes 1987.295.

67 **Collingbourne Kingston**. SU 23915441. Fragment of plate brooch. Devizes 1987.296.

68 **Coombe Bissett**, Cranborne Farm. No n.g.r. Copper alloy trumpet fibula. Collingwood Group R (iii). PP. Salisbury.

69 **Coombe Bissett**, Cranborne Farm. No n.g.r. Copper alloy dolphin fibula. Collingwood Group H. PP. Salisbury.

70 **Corsham**, Boyd's Farm. No n.g.r. 18 fibulae, C3 and C4 coins. PP. DMDB 1345; pottery assemblage. Devizes 1987.275.

71 **Kington St Michael**, Quarry Field. ST 904784. Small Samian rim. Devizes 1987.275.

72 **Liddington**, Manor Farm. SU 22057990. C1 Claudian copy As, 3 C3 coins, casting fragment. PP. DMDB 1265.

73 **Lydiard Tregoze**, Community Centre, Upper Shaw Farm. SU 118850, Whitehall Farm type coarse sherds. TMAR.

74 **Mildenhall**. SU 20136925. Ring with glass intaglio. PP. DMDB 1287.

75 **Netheravon**, Manor Farm. Centred on SU 147472. Scatter of Roman material including pottery, metalwork (Figure 7), coins and mortar. Salisbury 83–88.1987.

76 **Netheravon**, N of Blackball Firs. SU 098478. Hadrian sestertius rev. Nilus. PP. DMDB 1362.

77 **Norton Bavant**. ST 901433. Gallienus antoninianus, Constantinian Æ4 'Gloria Exercitus' type. PP. DMDB 1333.

78 **Ogbourne St Andrew**, Smeathes Ridge. SU 182747. Coarse sherds. TMAR.

79 **Roundway**, Home Covert. SU 009632. Collection of sherds. Devizes 1987.184.

80 **Rowde**, Marsh Lane. No n.g.r. Gallienus, antoninianus. Devizes 1987.132.

81 **Salisbury**, 'said to have been found in Salisbury'. Crude figurine in copper alloy of Cupid. Possibly C2 or C3. (Recently transferred from Exeter Museum where it was accessioned in 1946.) Salisbury 64.1987.

82 **Steeple Ashton**. ST 89755730. Fragment of strip bow brooch; 3 C3–4 coins and collection of sherds. Devizes 1987.69.

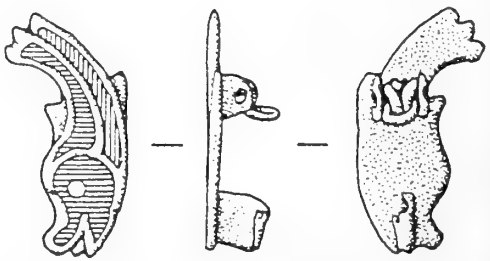


Figure 7. No. 75. Roman enamelled plate brooch, in the form of a dolphin, from Netheravon; actual size

83 **Steeple Ashton**. ST 89355720. 3 C3–4 coins. PP. DMDB 1330.

84 **Steeple Ashton**. ST 909556. Large hinged dolphin brooch; copper alloy head of an eagle with food pellet in mouth; Carausius antoninianus rev. type Pax; 2 C4 coins. PP. DMDB 1350.

85 **Stratford-Sub-Castle**. SU 13453182. Antoninianus of Carausius, struck at London. *RIC* 20.1C. PP. Salisbury.

86 **Swindon**, Dammas Lane, Old Town. SU 15918367. Bronze Æ 3 or 4 of Constantine II AD 337–40. TMAR.

87 **Teffont Magna**, Upper Holt. ST 986321. Six Roman C3 and C4 coins said to have been found on the Villa/Shrine. Salisbury 95.1987.

88 **Upavon**. SU 137548. Plated counterfeit siliqua of Valens of the Triers mint. Devizes 1987.213.

89 **Wanborough**, Honybone Walk, Covingham. SU 19318527. Burial in centre of extramural cemetery of Wanborough-Durocornovium. Female skeleton with C4 bronze coin and chalcedony intaglio. TMAR.

90 **Wanborough**, Lotmead Farm. SU 195852. 9 bronze coins, four iron and lead fragments from fieldwalking. Donation. TMAR.

91 **Wanborough**, Kite Hill. SU 208830. Æ 4 of Constantine I. PP. TMAR.

92 **Wanborough**, NE of Half Moon Copse. SU 242791. 5 very worn antoniniani of the late C3. Devizes 1987.309.

93 **West Overton**, Ridgeway. SU 127712. Bronze stylus. Devizes 1987.311.

94 **Wroughton**, Snapps Close.SU 14958009. Four bronze coins of C1–4. Wroughton History Group. TMAR.

95 **Wroughton**, Hackpen Farm. Centred on SU 144772. Late C3 barbarous radiate; pottery sherds. TMAR.

SAXON

96 **All Cannings**, All Cannings Cross Farm. SU 077629. Disc brooch. PP. DMDB 1305.

97 **Chippenham**, by river. ST 919732. C9–10 Anglo-Danish or Scandinavian decorated iron spearhead. Devizes 1987.104. Publication forthcoming.

98 **Figheldean**, Knighton Farm, edge of motte. SU 15454552. Late Saxon book(?) mount bearing an incised design. (Figure 8) Salisbury 75.1987.

99 **Ford**, Castleford Farm. SU 159329. Sceatta, type BMC 12/15a. Salisbury 53.1987.

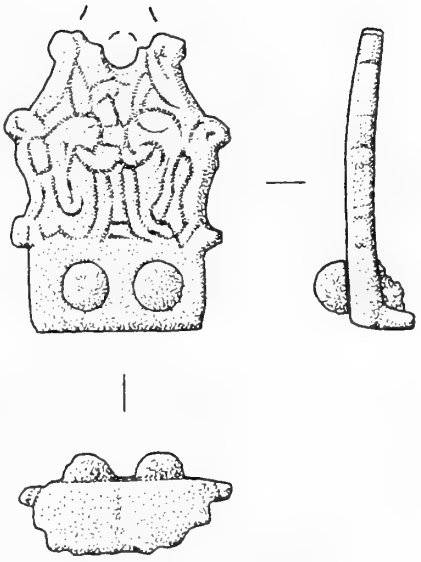


Figure 8. No. 98. Late Saxon ?book mount from Figheldean; actual size

100 **Ford**. SU 14553280. Copper alloy reliquary vessel fragment of zoomorphic form, Urnes style. C11. Salisbury 74.1987.

101 **Ford**, SU 15903315. Copper alloy square-headed brooch fragment. Aberg group 2. Salisbury 76.1987.

102 **Kington St Michael**, Quarry Field. ST 904784. 6 grass tempered sherds. Devizes 1987.85.

103 **Ogbourne St Andrew**, 100 Acre Field, Hackpen Farm. SU 14497623. Saxon stamped sherd and fragment of human mandible (lost). TMAR.

104 **Pewsey**, footpath off Brunkard's Yard. SU 16656040. C7 gold pendant with filigree decoration. Devizes 1987.62.

105 **Steeple Langford**. SU 04353718. Gilded silver disc brooch, incomplete, with settings of (?)paste and garnet or glass remaining (Figure 9). Salisbury (loan) 187.1987.

106 **Winterbourne Gunner**. SU 18083537. Æthelred II penny, first hand type of the Winchester mint. PP. Salisbury.

MEDIEVAL

107 **Aldbourne**. SU 28757412. King John penny, London mint. PP. DMDB 1284.

108 **All Cannings**, All Cannings Cross Farm. SU

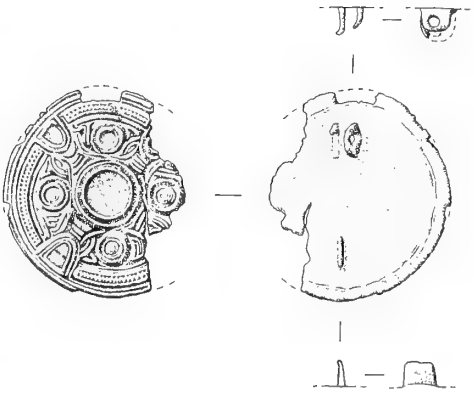


Figure 9. No. 105. Saxon disc brooch from Steeple Langford; ½ actual size

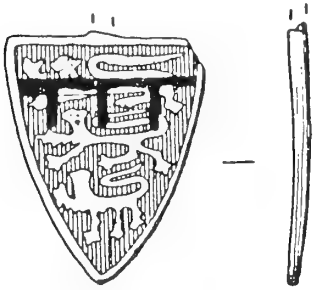


Figure 10. No. 113. Medieval harness pendant from Chute; actual size

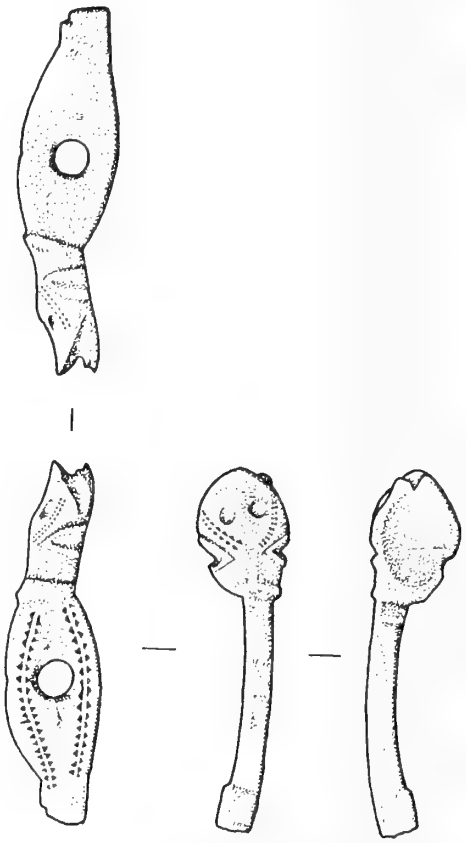


Figure 11. No. 125. Medieval copper alloy object from Netherhampton; actual size

071628. John or Henry III short cross penny; London mint; pot sherds. PP. DMDB 1306.

109 **Allington**, Tan Hill. *c.* SU 083647. Dagger chape and ½ noble weight. PP. DMDB 1264 and 1313.

110 **Bradford On Avon**, Budbury. No n.g.r. Silvered bronze mount in the form of two fleurs de lys, base to base; bronze strap end. Devizes 1987.316.

111 **Brinkworth**. SU 00808540. Bronze buckle. PP. DMDB 1260.

112 **Calstone**, Spray's Farm, 'Black Furlong'. SU 02056900. Henry III long cross penny, GILBERT ON CAN; oval buckle. PP. DMDB 1267.

113 **Chute**. SU 29105428. Copper alloy shield-shaped harness pendant with the arms of England (Figure 10). Salisbury. Loan 82b.1987.

114 **Clyffe Pypard**. SU 077771. Edward I–III halfpenny. PP. DMDB 1331.

115 **Collingbourne Kingston**. SU 24285521. Lead ampulla with design of crown and shield with chevron. Devizes 1987.294.

116 **Corsham**, Boyd's Farm. ST 881677. Bronze brooch or cap-badge made from a jeton of temp. Edward II (see below p. 208); two iron keys. Devizes 1987.112.

117 **Corsham**. No n.g.r. Sterling of William of Namur (1337– 91). PP. DMDB 1342.

118 **Devizes**, 12 Cornwall Terrace. Henry V halfpenny, London mint. PP. DMDB 1294.

119 **Kingston Deverill**. ST 852374. Sterling of William of Hainault, Bishop of Cambrai (1285–96). Devizes 1987.19.

120 **Kington St Michael**, Quarry Field. ST 904784. Group of sherds. Devizes 1987.85.

121 **Langley Burrell**. ST 92707565. Coin weight for ½ angel. Devizes 1987.134; strap end with ring and dot decoration. PP. DMDB 1252.

122 **Langley Burrell**. ST 92707559. C12–13 buckle. PP. DMDB 1253.

123 **Langley Burrell**. ST 93307535. Lead seal matrix

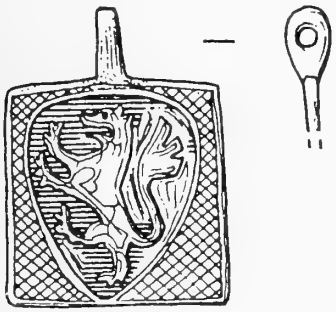


Figure 12. No. 126. Medieval harness pendant from Old Sarum; actual size

reading S WILL ELISADRE (seal of William Alexander). PP. DMDB 1257. C15 French jeton AVE MARIA GRACIA P[LENA] type. DMDB 1257 and 8.

124 **Netherhampton**. SU 11152938. Copper alloy zoomorphic object with the head of a snake, with incised decoration and central perforation (Figure 11). Salisbury 77.1987.

125 **Salisbury**, close to Old Sarum. SU 14103242. Square copper alloy harness pendant with design: lion rampant on rounded shield (Figure 12). Salisbury 78.1987.

126 **Salisbury**, river bed of the Avon. No n.g.r. Many pilgrim badges, secular badges, ampullae and other similar pieces of Medieval metalwork and a stone mould. Salisbury 90–94.1987, 96–108.1987, 190–225.1987.

127 **Salisbury**, the Old Deanery. 12 encaustic floor tiles, found in pipe trench, 2 m from the building. Salisbury 131.1987.

128 **Steeple Ashton**. ST 89355720. Gilt bronze strap end. PP. DMDB 1330.

129 **Steeple Langford**, site of DMV, to NE of church. SU 048367. Small assemblage of pottery fragments. Devizes 1987.75.

130 **Upavon**. No n.g.r. Small bronze ring brooch with settings for 4 jewels now missing; lead or pewter round bezel from a ring or brooch depicting a bird; buckle and a stud of gilt bronze in the form of a fleur de lys. Devizes 1987.128.

131 **Upavon**. SU 132542. Counterfeit William I 'bonnet' type penny. Devizes 1987.151. Publication forthcoming.

132 **Upton Lovell**, Knook Castle. No n.g.r. Henry I penny type I. PP. DMDB 1320.

133 **Wanborough**, Kite Hill. SU 208830. Bronze thimble, buckles and finger ring. PP. TMAR.

134 **Westbury**. ST 872520. Six buckles; gilt silver annular brooch; lead ampulla with design of T over crowned heart; copper alloy seal with inscription ECCE AGNUS DEI; lead seal with inscription S'. TOMEI-LEI.MOBIR (?); coins of Henry III, Richard I, Edward I–III; pin head with janiform head design. PP. DMDB 1322.

135 **Westbury**. ST 862507. Gilt silver ring – incomplete. PP. DMDB 1321.

UNCERTAIN

136 **Ramsbury**, Membury Fort. No n.g.r. (Upper) quern stone of greensand with V-shaped pivot hole and turning slot. PP. DMDB 1292.

1988

PALAEOLITHIC

1 **Odstock**, near Clearbury Ring. SU 14502424. Acheulean hand-axe. Salisbury 68.1988.

MESOLITHIC

2 **Aldbourne**, N of Leigh Farm. SU 21607648. Assemblage comprising: 11 core trimming flakes, 12 retouched or used flakes and blades, 16 waste blades and flakes, 25 waste pieces and 13 cores. PP. DMDB 1374.

3 **Aldbourne**, 3 Acres Field. SU 216776. Small assemblage including hammerstone, 4 cores, scrapers and waste material. PP. DMDB 1401.

4 **Aldbourne**. *c.* SU 26027390. Core, core trimming flake and 2 blade flakes. PP. DMDB 1402.

5 **Aldbourne**, Poors Allotment Enclosure. SU 26147398. 2 flakes with retouch. PP. DMDB 1405.

6 **Cherhill**, Knoll Down. *c.* SU 071696. Blade core, flake with notched end, 2 utilised flakes and 10 waste pieces. Devizes 1988.178.

7 **Ogbourne St George**, Round Hill. SU 215755. Assemblage comprising 2 cores, notched flake, 18 waste flakes, small circular scraper, 8 blade flakes and 4 broken blade flakes. PP. DMDB 1379.

8 **Ramsbury**, Whittonditch, SU 28907208. Small assemblage comprising 2 cores, core trimming flake, blade, utilised flake, waste and burnt flints. PP. DMDB 1468.

NEOLITHIC

9 **Aldbourne**, Woodsend Settlement site. SU 226757. Polished flint-axe, broken and resharpened; fragment of stone hammer. PP. DMDB 1364.

10 **Aldbourne**, Whitefield Hill. SU 21067652. Half of a flat stone disc, with central hour-glass perforation. PP. DMDB 1392. Publication forthcoming.

11 **Aldbourne**, Whitefield Hill, Pond Area. SU 210767. Scraper, small knife, leaf shaped arrowhead/pointed implement and 2 waste pieces. PP. DMDB 1380.

12 **Bishops Cannings**, Roughridge Hill. Around SU 053656. Flint assemblage. Devizes 1988.238.

13 **Bishops Cannings**, Easton Down. Around SU 061655. Flint assemblage. Devizes 1988.239.

14 **Bishops Cannings**, Easton Down. Around SU 065658. Flint assemblage. Devizes 1988.240.

15 **Bishops Cannings**, Easton Down. Around SU 057659. Flint assemblage. Devizes 1988.241.

16 **Bishopstone**, Little Hinton, Fox Hill. *c.* SU 235815. Core, discoidal knife, 2 fabricators, flake worked as knife and flake. Devizes 1988.188.

17 **Boscombe**. SU 16754115. Greenstone axe. PP. Salisbury.

18 **Chilton Foliat**. SU 31687060. Fabricator. DMDB 1447.

19 **Corsley**, Cley Hill Farm. ST 835459. Flint axe-head. Devizes 1988.102.

20 **Lydiard Tregoze**, Upper Studley Farm. SU 1082. Polished flint axe, found among packing stones around trough. TMAR.

21 **Wylye**, Bathampton. No n.g.r. Chipped and partly polished flint axe, found 1953. Salisbury 66.1988.

BEAKER

22 **Chippenham Without**. ST 902725. Tanged and barbed arrowhead; other flints noted. PP. DMDB 1414.

BRONZE AGE

23 **Aldbourne**, Poors Allotment Enclosure. SU 26147398. Collection of sherds. PP. DMDB 1405.

24 **Aldbourne**, Aldbourne Gorse. SU 252740. 3 sherds. PP. DMDB 1403.

25 **Aldbourne**, edge of Aldbourne Gorse. *c.* SU 26027390. 5 body sherds. PP. 1402.

26 **Aldbourne**, village centre. SU 26317559. 3 M/LBA sherds. PP. DMDB 1450.

27 **Beechingstoke**, Marden, 'Ancient Village'. Around SU 088578. 2 MBA flint gritted sherds; LBA oolite gritted sherd; broken perforated whetstone; 2 Sarsen 'keeled mullers'; broken spindle whorl; 80 sherds LBA/EIA pottery, including four rims. Devizes 1988.12.

28 **Boyton**, Corton, by side of ditch. ST 939409. Fragment of broad butted flat axe. PP. DMDB 1387.

29 **Heywood**, The Ham. *c.* ST 863524. 15 sherds of shell gritted ware. Devizes 1988.56.

30 **Horningsham**, Longleat. ST 820423. Unlooped Palstave. Birchington type. Devizes 1988.180.

31 **Liddington**, S. of Liddington Castle. SU 21267890. Collection of about 50 sherds of coarse flint gritted pottery; small number of waste flint flakes, Sarsen flakes and fragments. PP. DMDB 1370.

32 **Liddington**, S. of Liddington Castle. SU 21227880. Rim and shoulder sherd from a LBA wide mouth bowl. PP. DMDB 1372.

33 **Liddington**, S. of Liddington Castle. SU 211788. 13 coarse flint-gritted sherds; flint flake. DMDB 1371.

34 **Upavon**, by river. SU 13605456. Bronze ring; sherds of LBA pottery. Devizes 1988.30.

IRON AGE

35 **Bishopstone**, Bishopstone Downs. SU 2586-8040. Fragment of scabbard chape; small bronze terret; small figurine in the form of a Barbary sheep or moufflon. PP. DMDB 1364. Devizes 1988.100.

36 **Aldbourne**, Woodsend. SU 22647572. Coin-stater, type Mack 27a (= Gallo-Belgic E series). PP. DMDB 1360.

37 **Corsham**, Boyd's Farm. ST 878679. Dobunnic type A silver coin. PP. DMDB 1465.

38 **Corsham**, Boyd's Farm. ST 875679 Dobunnic type G silver coin. PP. DMDB 1466.

39 **Marlborough**. No n.g.r. Silver coin of the Irregular Dobunnic series, type Mack 377. PP. DMDB 1397.

40 **Rushall**, SW of Scales Bridge. SU 13205575. Bronze coin of Tasciovanus of the Catuvellani, type Mack 171. Devizes 1988.159.

41 **Upavon**, W bank of Avon. SU 13455460. Plated silver coin of Epaticcus, type Mack 236a. Devizes 1988.42.

ROMAN

42 **Aldbourne**, edge of Aldbourne Gorse. *c.* SU 26027390. 11 sherds. PP. DMDB 1402.

43 **Aldbourne**, Dudley Cottage. SU 26327561. 4 sherds. PP. DMDB 1448.

44 **Aldbourne**, Dudmore. *c.* SU 232754. 2 Hod Hill type brooches; dolphin brooch; military pendant (Figure 13); 12 coins including a Republican denarius of uncertain type; a local copy of an as of Claudius I and C2–4 coins. PP. DMDB 1364.

45 **All Cannings**, S of Wansdyke. SU 079653. Miniature bag-shaped socketed axe-head; miniature, socketed axe-head with drooping blade; C4 coin; iron key. PP. DMDB 1435.

46 **All Cannings**, All Cannings Cross Farm. SU 075629. Pierced and worn denarius of Augustus, type C 70; Marcus Aurelius, denarius. PP. DMDB 1434.

47 **Alton**, Knap Hill. SU 11256339. Denarius of Augustus type C 43. PP. DMDB 1474.

48 **Amesbury**. SU 163412. Fragment of disc brooch. PP. Salisbury.

49 **Beechingstoke**, Marden, 'Ancient Village'. *c.* SU 088578. Collection of 80 sherds, including: Savernake, Samian, Oxford colour-coated wares. Devizes 1988.12.

50 **Calne Within**, Studley, ST 96857150. 2 barbarous radiates; Æ 4 coins of Constantine I or 2, of 'Gloria Exercitus'/1 standard type (AD 335–337); uncertain C3 or C4 coin; 3 bronze fragments. PP. DMDB 1389.

51 **Calne Without**, Mill Field. SU 01656900. 3 illegible C4 coins. PP. DMDB 1436.

52 **Chute**, Dean Farm. SU 28905440. Plate brooch. PP. DMDB 1421.

53 **Manningford**, Woodbridge Inn. SU 13305735. One-piece bow brooch; dolphin type brooch. Devizes 1988.99.

54 **Market Lavington**. SU 018545. Fibula. PP. DMDB 1420.

55 **Marlborough**, garden of 42 Borough Close. No n.g.r. Valentinian I coin. Æ 3 type Securitas Reipublicae. PP. DMDB 1453.

56 **Mildenhall**, 'Southern view'. SU 20076950. Castor ware 'Hunt Cup' sherd showing a bestiarius. PP. DMDB 1423. See above p.201.

57 **Ogbourne St Andrew**, W of Barbury Castle, next to Ridgeway. SU 14307635. Copper alloy horse harness mount: two horses back to back, their legs making the loop for the strap. PP. TMAR.

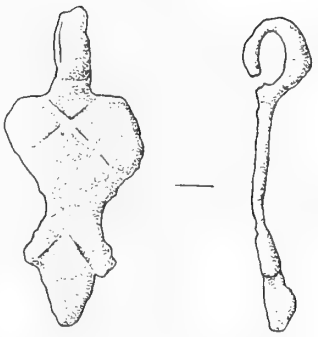


Figure 13. No. 44. Roman military pendant from Aldbourne; actual size

58 **Potterne**, 69 Devizes Road. No n.g.r. Coin of Magnentius or Decentius. PP. DMDB 1440.

59 **Ramsbury**, NW of Membury Fort. Hoard of Republican and C1 denarii. PP. DMDB 1415. Publication forthcoming.

60 **Ramsbury**, Upper Whittaditch Farm. SU 29057290. Plate brooch. PP. DMDB 1475.

61 **Rushall**, SW of Scales Bridge. SU 130558. Fibula: dolphin brooch type. Devizes 1988.160.

62 **Swindon**, Mannington. SU 129837 (approx). As of Antoninus Pius (AD 136–161). PP. TMAR.

63 **Swindon**, Downsview Road. SU 16678263. C2 coarseware sherds, including Whitehill Farm ware. PP. TMAR.

64 **Upavon**, by river. *c.* SU 136546. Fragment of late Roman buckle plate (Figure 14), *cf. Medieval Archaeology* 5, figure 15 (opp. p. 47), no. q. Devizes 1988.17.

65 **Wanborough**, Nythe Farm. SU 191857 (estimated). Two Æ 4 coins of Constantius II (AD 337–346), found 1965. PP. TMAR.

66 **Westbury**, Shepherd's Rest, Wellhead Drove. No n.g.r. Antoninus Pius denarius, Consecratio issue. PP. PMDB 1476.

67 **Winterbourne Monkton**. SU 098729. Fragment of tapering bow brooch (type M). Devizes 1988.109.

68 **Wroughton**, Upper Salthrop Farm. Centred on SU 11907970. Scatter of 72 copper alloy coins, including C3 barbarous radiates, and some C4 coins found by metal detector users. Later on, field walking revealed evidence of building debris consisting of plaster and semi-dressed stone. PP. TMAR and Thamesdown Archaeological Unit.

Figure 14. No. 64. Fragment of Late Roman buckle plate from Upavon; actual size

Figure 15. No. 73. Fragment of Saxon great square headed brooch from Manningford; actual size

SAXON

69 **Aldbourne**, Round Hill Down. SU 21587568. 17 chaff tempered sherds. PP. DMDB 1378.

70 **Ashton Keynes**, Church Farm. SU 040943. Bronze cover in bell-like form. Decorated. C8 AD. PP. DMDB.

71 **Corsham**, Gastard, No n.g.r. Gold finger ring with 6 sided barred edges. C8–9? Devizes 1988.165.

72 **Little Langford**, S of the church on site of DMV. Grass tempered sherd. Devizes 1988.273.

73 **Manningford**, Lower Farm. SU 143584. Fragment of great square headed brooch (Figure 15). Devizes 1988.111.

74 **Market Lavington**. SU 026540. Sceatta of the 'Porcupine type' (series E), struck in the lower Rhineland. AD 700–710. Devizes 1988.213.

75 **Ogbourne St Andrew**. SU 186720. Sceatta of the 'Porcupine type' (Series E) PP. DMDB 1475.

76 **Ogbourne St Andrew**, SU 186720. Harthacnut penny, jewel-cross type with r. facing bust; of the Oxford mint. PP. DMDB 1363.

77 **Ramsbury**, Ridgelands. SU 287718. Saucer brooch. Devizes 1988.214.

MEDIEVAL

78 **Aldbourne**, village centre. SU 26317559. 27 sherds C12–13. PP. DMDB 1450.

79 **Aldbourne**, Dudmore. *c.* SU 232754. Fragment of plaque in the form of a fish; bronze handle in Romanesque style. Devizes 1988.124 and 264.

80 **Beechingstoke**, Marden, 'Ancient Village'. Around SU 088578. 150 sherds. Devizes 1988.12.

81 **Bishops Cannings**. SU 041644. Fragment of encaustic tile, Naish Hill type 8. Devizes 1988.187.

82 **Boyton**, Corton, Sundial Farm. ST 936412. Purse frame. PP. DMDB 1386.

83 **Boyton**, Corton, ST 937411. Ampulla with design, obv. four petal pattern, rev. shield with ? sword in 2nd quarter. PP. DMDB 1388.

84 **Corsham**, Gastard, Boyd's Farm. Around ST 878679. Assemblage of finds including enamelled harness pendant (Figure 16), silver finger ring and iron reaping hook. PP. and Devizes Museum 1988.43, 37 and 215.

85 **Eastcott**, Eastcroft Farm. No n.g.r. Round seal die bearing head of ecclesiastic: S/PHELIPI-CLICI. PP. DMDB 1470. Gilt bronze plaque in the form of an angel, possibly an evangelist's symbol. Devizes 1988.263.

86 **Heytesbury**, garden of Heytesbury House. ST 92854270. Seal matrix * SCE BERTHOLOMET with design of a female fig. to r. holding bow. PP. DMDB 1385.

87 **Manningford**, Manningford Bohune. SU 133574. Edward I penny. London mint. Devizes 1988.69.

88 **Ogbourne St Andrew**. *c.* SU 187714. Ring brooch with raised glass paste jewels. PP. DMDB 1454.

89 **Salisbury**, mill stream of the Avon. Badge of a greyhound. Salisbury 43/1988.

90 **Salisbury**, bed of the River Avon. Small gold

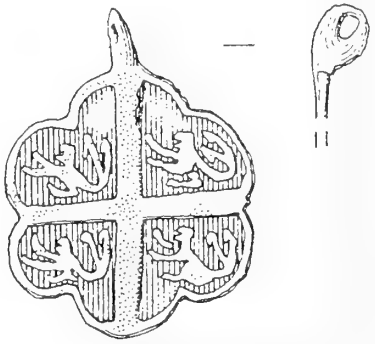


Figure 16. No. 84. Medieval harness pendant from Corsham; actual size

pendant with cloisonné enamel inlay. C11–early C12. Salisbury 22.1988.

91 **Salisbury**, bed of the River Avon, 11 pewter badges and fragments of badges and one ampulla. Salisbury 10 and 11/1988.

92 **Upavon**, SU 128558. 'Annular' brooch in hexafoil form; harness attachment in quatrefoil form; 5 buckles; suspension loop and ring. Devizes 1988.185.

93 **Winterbourne Monkton**. SU 098729. Edward I penny; Alexander III of Scotland cut ½d, Mint Roxburgh, moneyer ANDR(EW). Devizes 1988. 109.

94 **Wootton Bassett**. SU 044810, Dagger: iron blade substantially complete, with large downturned quillions with knobs, broken off at handle. Devizes 1988.3.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 236–238

Mid-Wessex History of More than Local Interest: The Hatcher Review Reviewed

a review article by JOHN MUSTY

The Hatcher Review. Two issues per year. Obtainable from A.C. Dale, 283 Castle Road, Salisbury, Wilts, SP1 3SB. Subscription £4 p.a. Also **Essays on Salisbury's Past: The City and the Plain**. Hatcher Review Reprints No. 2., 1988. £2.

Henry Hatcher, the distinguished Salisbury historian, was born some two hundred years ago. During his lifetime his writings brought him less fame than they should have done as not only was some of his work published anonymously, but also he sometimes assisted other writers. Thus, William Dodsworth's *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Sarum or Salisbury* (1814), was written by Hatcher, not Dodsworth, who briefly acknowledges Hatcher's help at the end of the preface. Twenty years later Hatcher produced a small 170 page *Historical and Descriptive Account of New Sarum* but did so anonymously. Also, his initial hesitancy over committing himself to write the Salisbury volume for Colt Hoare's *History of Modern Wilts* (1843) ultimately led him into difficulties over the acknowledgement of joint authorship with Benson. He claimed it was almost entirely his own work and this handsome volume can be found with two different title pages – one showing Robert Benson and Henry Hatcher as joint authors, the other showing Hatcher alone.

In these circumstances it was perhaps an act of unconscious justice which led the Salisbury-based Hatcher Society and *The Hatcher Review* to take Henry Hatcher's name as their own, thus possibly helping to make it more widely known now than during his lifetime. In addition a face is added to the name by his portrait which is reproduced on the *Review's* front cover (see figure opp.).

The Hatcher Review was launched in 1976 and its 25th issue appeared in Spring 1988: co-incidentally, the launch was within a year of the bicentenary of Henry Hatcher's birth. At first its readership was drawn mainly from Hatcher Society members as the *Review* was founded under its auspices. However, in 1981 the management of the *Review* was altered by separating it from the Hatcher Society and establishing the Hatcher Review Trust (a registered charity). This led to a widening in the scope of the *Review* so that articles were no longer mainly concerned with the history and literature of Salisbury but could take in the surrounding area as well. Five years ago 'Wessex' appeared in the sub-title for the first time and this now reads 'Mid-Wessex History of More than Local Interest'.

It is perhaps appropriate to check this claim by examining the contributions in the 25th issue. It is 51 pages long and contains six articles. The first, by Michael Cowan, deals with the Wardour Castles and their landscape. Twelve features are listed ranging from a model dairy (which Pevsner called a temple!) to a grotto. Many of these features we learn were by Richard Woods and not 'Capability' Brown who Cowan suggests took over from Woods in the mid-1770s. Apparently, one of the features designed by Woods, a gothic temple, was removed for reconstruction in Essex in April 1985 (I think perhaps we could have been told where in Essex), it having largely collapsed by then.

The next article is by the veteran broadcaster Desmond Hawkins who writes on 'Keepers and Poachers in Cranborne Chase'. In particular, we learn of the poaching on the manor of Ashmore from correspondence between its London-based owner, John Eliot, and his gamekeeper and his Ashmore tenant. Apparently, local parsons and gentry were as much a threat to Eliot's game as were poachers!

For the next two articles there is a change of county. Alec Samuels contributes a 'legal note' on St Cross Hospital, Winchester, which is one of the oldest surviving almshouse charities with origins in the twelfth century. The other article also relates to the Winchester area as Pamela Johnston provides a biographical essay on the rector of Kings Worthy, 1826–34, Thomas Vowler Short, an Oxford don whose most illustrious pupil was Edward Pusey, leader of the Oxford Movement.

The final two articles are also about interesting characters. Thus, W.H. Hudson's biographer, Denis Shrubsall, sketches Hudson's life in relation to his travels around Wiltshire and Hampshire. The other

Henry Hatcher. Engraving by G.F. Storm, after W. Gray, 1847

article, by Anthony Wilson, deals with the Honourable Edward Pleydell Bouverie, M.P. and his building of Lavington Manor, completed in 1867 and now part of Dauntsey's School. Much of this article is concerned with the interpretation of some of the decorative motifs in the house as masonic symbols. One is also entertained by anecdotes like the one that tells us that Bouverie would not even eat off First Class china when travelling by train but took his own 'train set' of white china with EPB monogram in gold!

As for earlier issues, the Trust has reprinted the most sought after articles from them in *Salisbury Spectrum*, 1984, and *Essays on Salisbury's Past*, 1988. Three articles caught my eye in the latter publication. Christopher de Hamel, writing of the books in medieval Salisbury, says that one former Old Sarum manuscript came up for sale at Sotheby's as recently as 1970 and was bought for Salisbury Cathedral Library. Christopher Chippindale discusses four hundred years of excursions to Stonehenge and we learn that the first full account of an excursion there was written by a young Swiss student, Herman Folkerzheimer, in 1562 after being taken there by the then Bishop of Salisbury. Finally, Major Vines recounts 'How the Army came to Salisbury Plain' and opens with a quote from *The Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* (28 January 1897) which briefly announced that the Government had purchased 40,000 acres on Salisbury Plain for military purposes. The local population approved, presumably because of the serious agri-

cultural depression, but would doubtless react differently today!

In conclusion, one needs to consider what the precise function of an independent, regionally based local history magazine is, how it should relate to the county archaeological magazines and what readership it should be aimed at. Evidently, it is necessary to maintain regional balance and variety so as to satisfy as large a readership as possible in order to survive. Possibly its articles need to be written with a slightly lighter touch than the county archaeological magazine papers. Thus one sees a magazine like the *Hatcher Review* as complementary to the county archaeological periodicals although it has to stand or fall on its merits – since it has subscribers, not a membership.

So how does the *Hatcher Review* measure up? As we have seen, it contains a lot of interesting articles which exhibit the requisite balance and variety and I warmly recommend *WAM* readers who have not sampled the *Review* to do so. My only quibble is that any photographic illustrations are inclined sometimes to be a little on the dark side.

JOHN MUSTY

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 239–254

Reviews

John Bold with John Reeves. Wilton House and English Palladianism. Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, H.M.S.O., 1988; 168 pages, 216 illustrations. £15.00. ISBN 0 113000 22 7.

The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England used not to concern itself much with country houses. Its predominantly archaeological expertise was directed primarily towards prehistoric and medieval structures and its investigators tended to be more at home with purlins and solars than with porticos and saloons. Confronted with a classical facade they were apt to enumerate its features as if they were items in an architectural catalogue rather than component parts of a coherent design. Now that its Warrant allows it to address itself to 'monuments' of virtually any date, its expertise has moved forward chronologically, and this is its first volume to be devoted entirely to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings. In the accuracy of its observation and the elegant precision of its drawings the Commission has the ability to make an important contribution to country house studies, especially in the case of a house like Wilton, which, despite its celebrity, has never before been made the subject of an accurate architectural survey. This alone would justify the present volume, but Amesbury, Wilbury, and some other later neo-Palladian mansions are included for good measure. Although the omission of Alderman Beckford's Fonthill and John Benett's Pythouse may be regretted, the publication of a volume devoted to Palladianism in Wiltshire will be welcomed by architectural historians both national and local. The well-informed introductory chapter will also make the book serviceable to the general reader or even perhaps to the inquiring tourist.

So far as Wilton is concerned this is rather more than just a study of the house in the context of English Palladianism, as it is a general architectural history which includes the surviving fragments of the Tudor house, notably the 'Holbein Porch', the eighteenth-century alterations and the nineteenth-century garden buildings by Lord Herbert and Roger Morris, Sir William Chambers and Richard Westmacott. Here a general plan of the grounds would have been a useful supplement to the excellent development plans and elevations of the house itself. It is, however, the study of Wilton as a pioneer Palladian house that will be most closely scrutinised by architectural historians. Since the writer of this review published a previously unknown design for the south front by Isaac de Caus in 1954 a good deal has been done to add precision to the story then outlined, and Mr Bold and his colleague have not only brought all this together in one volume but have carried out important investigations above the coved ceilings of the Single and Double Cube Rooms, which are now seen to have had flat ceilings before the fire of 1647. The puzzling irregularities in the dimensions and decorative features of the Double Cube Room are attributed to the adjustments required by the curtailment of de Caus' original 400 foot facade, though precisely how they arose remains unclear. The furnishing of the state rooms is not discussed, but in a recent article in *Country Life* (15 September 1988) John Harris has demonstrated that in the middle of the eighteenth century none of the existing 'Kent' furniture was in the Double Cube Room, which was then quite simply furnished. Harris's evidence is a pair of drawings made by George Vertue in the 1730s and now at Yale. These are of considerable interest as independent evidence for the state of this famous room only 15 or 20 years after Colen Campbell's engravings. Now duplicates (perhaps indeed the originals) of Vertue's drawings are in the Bodleian Library in a manuscript (MS. Gough Drawings a.1) cited in the Commission's publication (p. 141, n. 70) in another connection. Why are they neither mentioned nor reproduced? The testimony of the well-informed Vertue as to the identities of some of the craftsmen employed at Wilton (e.g. Nicholas Stone, Zachary Taylor the carver and Matthew Goodricke the painter) is also ignored, despite half a column of references to Wilton in the index to the Walpole Society's edition of his Note Books. This is therefore not quite the last word on Wilton, but it is a scholarly and authoritative account which will form the basis for all future work.

The careful descriptions of John Webb's demolished Amesbury Abbey and of William Benson's much altered Wilbury are also useful additions to the literature of English Palladian architecture. The general accuracy of the elevation of Wilbury as engraved by Campbell (and followed on p. 190 of this volume) is attested by an eighteenth-century drawing in a private collection not accessible to the Commission. The more summary accounts of Stourhead, Tot-

tenham Park and Lydiard Tregoze are appropriate appendages, but the few words on the last house do not add anything to the booklet published some years ago by the Corporation of Swindon and based largely on the Commission's researches.

HOWARD COLVIN

Martyn Brown. Australia Bound! The Story of West Country Connections 1688–1888. Ex Libris Press, Bradford on Avon, 1988; 208 pages, index. £6.50, paperback. SBN 0 948578 08 4.

The early history of Australia is not all of a piece. Quite apart from the unrecorded doings of the aborigines in the dim and distant past, it involves a great variety of incidents and different kinds of connections with the United Kingdom. It is the west country connections which Martyn Brown sets out to explore in this book; for, as he shows, a remarkable number of the early settlers and convicts, and some of the soldiers and governors appointed to look after them, came from the West of England.

HRH The Duke of Kent, as President of the Britain-Australia Bicentennial Committee, has contributed a foreword to the book, in which he refers to it as 'this absorbing and entertaining account'. Martyn Brown has been fortunate to have this introduction. His account starts with William Dampier of East Coker near Yeovil – the same village after which T.S. Eliot named one of the Quartets – setting foot on Australian soil in 1688 and making the daring forecast that it was 'a country likely to contain gold'. A century later came the First Fleet with Captain Arthur Phillip and the first batch of convicts. Altogether convicts tend to hog the limelight in the first half of the book, which is not surprising; and they certainly liven up the story. The free settlers come next, and then the gold rush. Among the most interesting items in this part of the book are accounts of the voyage out, in sailing ships, and the appalling discomforts which emigrants had to endure. Last comes an account of early attempts to explore the Australian continent by Sir Charles Sturt, and then by the expedition of Burke and Wills which ended so disastrously at Cooper's Creek.

The growth of the Australian colonies and the adventures of early explorers have of course been much more fully described in detailed studies such as Alan Moorehead's *Cooper's Creek* and Geoffrey Serle's *The Golden Age*. That Martyn Brown has succeeded in conveying so much of the early history of Australia in just over 200 pages is a tribute to his literary skill and the thoroughness of his research. Allowance has to be made for some pecularities of spelling and punctuation which readers may find irritating at first; but they need not spoil anyone's enjoyment of the book. Besides, it is not all solid text. There are plenty of illustrations, taken from a great variety of sources, and they are all, thank goodness, in black and white, so that they will not fade or change colour.

One of the book's chief merits is its plentiful supply of extracts from original sources – diaries, letters, verses, songs, family papers, manuscript notes – as well as papers in county record offices and articles in the local press. The author has ranged far and wide in his search for material. Some of the letters are deeply moving – for instance, the explorer Wills' last letter to his father and the convict Withers' letter to his wife. (Can the latter, one wonders, though the evidence strongly suggests it, really be the same Withers who pulled Mr Oliver Codrington off his horse and knocked him unconscious with a sledge-hammer in one of the Swing riots?) Some of the convicts, it must be admitted, were very rough diamonds; others were most respectable men, like the Tolpuddle Martyrs, whose story is here fully told.

In one respect it would be good to know more than the author tells us, if the evidence is available, as perhaps it is not. Very little is said about the part played by women in the settlement of Australia and that, after all, must have been very considerable. So many of the early settlers showed such great courage and enterprise that we tend to forget about their wives. And the greatest encourager and organiser of emigration from Britain to Australia was a woman – Caroline Chisholm – who is not mentioned in the book. True, she had little to do with migrants from the West of England, but that in itself is interesting; and she did correspond about emigration with Sidney Herbert at Wilton House.

A copy of *Australia Bound!* costs less than a bottle of whisky, and that makes it good value for money. Nor need it be of interest only to west country people who have relatives in Australia; for it is, to quote the Duke of Kent again, 'an extremely readable account of the founding of a continent'.

MARK BAKER

C.J. Chandler, H.S.N. Digby and L.A. Marshman. 'Off the Map of History'? The Development of North-East Wiltshire to 1600. Published by the Museums Division, Arts & Recreation, Borough of Thamesdown, 1989; 63 pp., 25 figs. £2.95. ISBN 1 871853 00 1.

This booklet provides a splendid summary of the early

history and archaeology of north-east Wiltshire and it makes available to the non-specialist a great deal of historical information in a simple and accessible form. Its clear layout and handy A5 format suit its style, which is both informal and informative. In four chronological chapters, the historical facts and archaeological evidence are neatly blended. Drawing largely on published sources, the text is usefully supplemented by the results of very recent research and observation. All the main sites are mentioned, usually with just sufficient background information to place them in context.

Beginning with the discovery of a palaeolithic handaxe at Liddington Castle, the reader is guided through prehistory by way of such sites as the Beaker burials found at Okus Quarry, Swindon, the Late Bronze Age settlement at Burderop Down, and Barbury Castle hillfort. The aspects of Roman Thamesdown described include Ermine Street, the town at Wanborough, Badbury villa, unhappily bisected by the M4, and the walled cemetery found in 1987 at Purton. The slender evidence for early Saxon settlement comprises a few single burials and cemeteries at Lydiard Tregoze, Purton and Wanborough. The important traces of Saxon activity discovered in the mid 1970s at Old Town, Swindon, including a hut containing more than a hundred loom-weights, are also featured. Domesday provides much evidence for medieval development in Thamesdown, identifying place-names and the siting of forests and churches. The importance of Cricklade and the later emergence of market centres at Highworth, Wootton Bassett and Swindon draw the story to its close at the end of the sixteenth century.

There is a variety of good illustrations accompanying the text including maps, plans, photographs and engravings and, most important for a general handbook, two reconstruction drawings. It is a shame, perhaps, that sources of the two engravings used are not given, and indeed many of the captions could have been more detailed, but these are not serious shortcomings. The aim of this booklet appears to be to present an easily readable synthesis of a great deal of evidence. In this it is successful and as a well-written, attractive and inexpensive publication it deserves a wide readership.

CLARE CONYBEARE

Sara Churchfield. Shrews of the British Isles. Shire Natural History Series number 30, Aylesbury, 1988; 24 pages; colour and black and white photographs, and line drawings. £1.95, paperback. ISBN 0 85263 951 1.

A concise account of the five species of shrews which inhabit Britain, including the three which are found in Wiltshire – the seldom seen but very handsome black and white Water shrew, and the smaller Common and Pygmy shrews. Shrews are among the smallest mammals in Britain, seldom seen alive, often brought in by the family cat, dead but not eaten.

The author is a Lecturer in Biology at King's College, London. She has published numerous scientific papers about shrews and is currently Honorary Secretary of the Mammal Society. She writes of the private lives of shrews, of their history, life styles, distribution, choice of habitats, population densities and feeding habits, and of their social organization, breeding, and the birth and care of young. These tiny mammals lead short, action packed lives and, engaging though they are, they are also fierce little predators which play an important role in countryside ecology.

MARION BROWNE

Michael Easterbrook. Butterflies of the British Isles: The Lycaenidae. Shire Natural History Series, number 24, Aylesbury, 1988; 24 pages; colour photographs. £1.95, paperback. ISBN 0 85263 945 7.

With so many books published recently on British butterflies it might be reasonable to question the need for yet another. However this little book, the second on butterfly families (the first, number 19 in the series, dealt with the Nymphalidae), has many attractions and will no doubt prove to be popular as well as useful.

The aim of the series is to fill the gap between brief guides of general interest and full length books for the specialist, and this it achieves. The book is clear and concise, with an up-to-date text on the life history of each species, though not in scientific order, with notes on distribution, supported by good quality colour photographs of the beautiful butterflies in this small group.

The Lycaenidae, more commonly known as the blues, hairstreaks, and coppers, are some of the most difficult to identify in the field but this booklet (large pocket size) should greatly assist both beginners and more experienced observers in correct identification. There are brief notes on rare migrants, breeding, and conservation, references for further reading, and a list of organizations concerned with butterflies.

Of the 16 species dealt with in detail, 12 have been recorded in Wiltshire. Indeed for some, such as the Adonis and the Small Blue, the county is now their

stronghold in Britain; they are very local or rare elsewhere, and locally extinct in many areas.

This booklet will be a useful and inexpensive addition to the bookshelf of anyone who wishes to observe and study this butterfly family.

MICHAEL FULLER

Harold Fassnidge. Bradford on Avon Past and Present. Ex Libris Press, Bradford on Avon, 1988; 136 pages. £5.95, paperback. ISBN 0 948578 09 2.

'This is the first thorough history of Bradford on Avon to appear since Canon Jones published his in 1859.' So says the publisher – but what about the long chapter in *V.C.H.* vol. 7? That is certainly less good than later town histories in the same series, but immeasurably better than Canon Jones's scrappy effort, which only gets a moderate rating even by the modest standards of the mid-nineteenth century.

Of the present volume, the author tells us that his intention has been 'to present an accurate up-to-date picture of this attractive small town and its past mainly for the general reader. But I hope', he goes on, 'that the dedicated local historian will also find something of value.' This is an exact and modest statement which the book amply justifies.

It falls short of a formal history of the town in that some aspects of Bradford's past are hardly mentioned. These include the agrarian background (where were the common fields?), and local government. The relief of the poor, exceptionally well documented in Bradford, also fails to find a place. These omissions are not mentioned as criticisms, but rather to define the nature of what is a very successful blend of guide book and history.

Harold Fassnidge has, from his experience in taking visitors round Bradford, become acutely aware of what they wish to know, and presents the salient facts about the history and buildings of the town with skill and charm. Churches and chapels, schools, almshouses, and many fine houses each have a short history packed with information. Much of this was gathered from a wide range of printed sources; the 1905 article in the *Architectural Review* which throws light on Gainsborough's portrait of the Bradford parish clerk, Edward Orpin, must have been a satisfying one to discover.

The illustrations are mainly present-day photographs of excellent quality taken by Adam Tegetmeier, varied with portraits of past Bradfordians including an eighteenth century clothier and his wife and General Shrapnel, the inventor of the shell. The colour photograph of Tory on the cover is magnificent.

It would be interesting to know if there is any firm evidence for a snuff mill in Bradford (p. 40). The round building at Bearfield (p. 43) was not a handle house but a wool drying stove, and the young Wesleyan preacher (p. 61) was not Samuel but Adam Clarke. These are the only two slips noted in what is an excellent, well-produced and welcome book.

K.H. ROGERS

The Commonplace Book of Sir Edward Bayntun of Bromham, edited by Jane Freeman, for the Wiltshire Record Society, Volume 43, 1988, xxii + 80 pages. ISBN 0 901333 20 4. Obtainable from the Hon. Treasurer, Mr M.J. Lansdown, 53 Clarendon Road, Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Price to members £10 and to non-members £15, postage extra.

With this slim volume, the Wiltshire Record Society continues its useful work of making readily available to the public the contents of interesting manuscripts which would otherwise be accessible only to scholars. By entrusting the editing of the Bayntun Commonplace Book to Dr Jane Freeman, already well known for her contributions to recent volumes of the *Victoria History of Wiltshire*, the Society ensured that the high standard of scholarship and presentation set by previous volumes would be fully maintained.

The present volume has a special interest for readers of *WAM*, for the Bayntun Commonplace Book was presented to the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society by one of its founders and benefactors, William Cunnington (1814–1906), and it is now one of the treasures of its collection, deposited, with most of its other manuscript material, with the Wiltshire Record Office (WRO. 1553/22). The name of Bayntun at once suggests a wider appeal to anyone interested in Wiltshire history, for – as Dr Freeman explains in her lucid introduction – the Bayntuns of Bromham were one of the leading county families in the seventeenth century, and both Sir Edward Bayntun (d.1679), the compiler of the Commonplace Book, and his father of the same name, whom he succeeded in 1657, were men of influence, not only locally (as large landowners, county sheriffs, and JPs) but nationally, as Members of Parliament during the stormy times before, during, and after the Civil War.

Dr Freeman gives us the relevant facts of their careers, though she does not bring out their full significance in relation to the history of the times. Sir

Edward Bayntun senior emerges as arrogant, impulsive, and strongly puritan, commanding a parliamentary force in the early days of the Civil War, quarrelling with Sir Edward Hungerford, representing the county or one of the Wiltshire boroughs in most of Charles I's parliaments, and remaining as a member of the Rump parliament which sent Charles to the scaffold. His son, while he also served in the parliamentary army, was more moderate in his views about the monarchy and the religious issues dividing extreme protestants from moderate presbyterians: he was expelled from parliament, with other moderates, after Pride's Purge in 1648; and although he served as M.P. again under the Protectorate, he made no bones about accepting a K.B. in 1661 and attending Charles II's coronation. Some entries in the commonplace book show, as Dr Freeman points out, that he was later critical of what he saw as tyrannical tendencies in the Court and its ministers, and favoured tolerance for dissenters. One has the picture of an upright, conscientious landowner, shunning extreme views, and ready to trim his sails to the prevailing winds in the interests of peace and security.

As might be expected from such a character, the book sheds little light on national events and trends, and it is particularly disappointing that Bayntun made no entries concerning affairs of state during his years as M.P. It can, however, prove a valuable quarry for the social and local history of the period. In the long term, probably the most valuable material is that which for the general reader is the dullest – the estate records, including long lists of rentals from the manors of Bromham and neighbouring parishes. These are collected, calendared and indexed in such a way as to make the details they contain easily available to researchers, while the amateur dabbler can let his imagination play on field-names like Hookes Park, Bushy Lease, Goldnies Pew, Picts, and Peverills, or tenants called Gabriel Playsteed or Theophilus King. Family historians will be interested in the relationships with the Thynnes of Longleat and the Osbornes of Northamptonshire; and social historians will revel in the 'mantle and surcoat of red taffeta edged with white taffeta or sarsanet', forming part of the elaborate wardrobe which Baytun had to acquire as a Knight of the Bath.

A more general by-product of any original document is the insight that it gives into the world of an earlier time and how it appeared to the writer. The Bayntun collection gives us occasional glimpses – notably the letter to the Countess of Danby (no. 53), ostensibly to accompany a gift of lampreys, but actually angling for the betrothal of his son to her daughter. But as a rule the editorial method which is so useful for the statistical historian is an obstacle for the general reader who wants to catch a whiff of the atmosphere. The policy adopted in this, as in previous W.R.S. volumes, is that which is set out fully in R.F. Hunnisett's monograph *Editing Records for Publication* (British Records Association, 1977); but it may be questioned whether this method, so apt for calendars of legal documents, is suitable for a miscellany of this kind, described by Dr Freeman as a mixture of *aide-memoire*, precedent book, and record of events of personal significance. For instance, it involves omitting or summarising the compiler's own headings to the different entries, and using modern spelling and punctuation throughout: while this helps the researcher to get quickly at details of rental values, field-names and the like, it deprives the general reader of passages such as this (from the preamble to the statutes for the College of the Poor, forming item 1 in the book):

> touching and concerning the Colledge or Hospitall of the poore in Bromham aforesaid and the election, ordering, governing, direction, & expulsion of the poore of the said Colledge, and concerning their stipends and sallaries &c

– which seems to bring us closer to old Sir Edward and his place in the society of his day. Again, it could be argued that small but significant details are lost when, for the sake of brevity, 'The King's speech in the Lords house of parliament' appears as 'The King's speech in the House of Lords' (no. 36), or when 'his Highnesse Richard Lord Protector of the Common wealth of England &c' is shortened to 'Richard [Cromwell] lord protector' (no. 6).

Whether or not the question raised above is justified, no criticism attaches to Dr Freeman's editing, which follows precedents and is admirably clear and consistent. While comparing one of the passages printed as 'text given in full' with the original, in order to get the flavour of Bayntun's writing, my eye was caught by the omission of a couple of lines: in the orders of Wiltshire JPs about preventing the spread of plague in 1666 (no. 32), the transcriber's eye has slipped from one mention of Southampton to another, a few lines lower, resulting in the omission of the words 'especially woollen, linnen, or silke wares' as suspect goods from plague-infected towns. Such slips are inevitable, and I mention it only because it shows how easy it is, in transcribing, to omit some detail which may be significant, in this case the reference to the cloth trade as a possible spreader of infection.

Dr Freeman's introduction, as well as guiding the

reader through the varied contents of the volume, makes a valuable contribution by picking out the most interesting items and by linking them with material from a variety of other sources, especially the National Archives. Altogether, she is to be congratulated in making the most of this miscellaneous collection of the papers of a Wiltshire man who played a not insignificant part in the life of his times, but who was not a particularly colourful personality.

EDWARD BRADBY

Frederick W.T. Fuller. The Railway Works and Church in New Swindon. Redbrick Publishing, 1987; 60 pages. £5.95, paperback. ISBN 0 948263 04 0. **Frederick W.T. Fuller. St Luke's Church in Broad Street, Swindon**. Redbrick Publishing, 1987; 40 pages. £3.50, paperback. ISBN 0 948263 05 9.

The Railway Works and Church in New Swindon shows the link between St Mark's Church, 'the Railway Church', and the development of New Swindon. The church, built partly from a bequest by G.H. Gibbs, a director of the GWR, was consecrated in April 1845. Since then it has played a major role, firstly in the railway community, but in recent years in the community at large in Swindon.

The history of St Mark's is traced back to its early origins, and Dr Fuller gives an extremely detailed account of its development, its vicars and other personalities who played their part in making St Mark's an integral part of Swindon's development. In so doing, Dr Fuller draws from primary sources such as parish records, parish magazines and contemporary newspaper reports, as well as a wide range of secondary sources.

However, it should be stressed that this is far more than an account of the history of St Mark's, for the book shows the links between the church and other benefactions of the GWR to their employees. These included an elementary school some 25 years before the Education Act of 1870 permitted the creation of school boards; a Medical Fund Society which provided medical care for the workers and their families; a park in which to relax; and a library and Mechanics' Institute.

The book concludes with a description of the events that led to the closure of the railway works at Swindon and looks to the future for both St Mark's and the ever-growing town of Swindon. It is well illustrated with both contemporary and modern photographs and provides a valuable addition to the body of knowledge concerning the early development of New Swindon and its railway works.

Dr Fuller's volume on St Luke's Church is in many ways linked to his work on St Mark's, as St Luke's was one of four churches built in New Swindon to cope with the expanding population in the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. It is obviously a subject close to his heart (he has in fact served as a priest at St Luke's) and his enthusiasm for the church is very clear in his writing. It is extremely detailed and well researched, drawing from documents in Swindon Reference Library and the Wiltshire Record Office as well as diocesan and parish records. He has supported his research with personal interviews with members of the congregation.

However, because of its specialised nature, the book has possibly less general appeal than his volume on St Mark's. It gives an in-depth insight into the history of St Luke's Church and in so doing gives information on an area of Swindon which has seen drastic population and indeed cultural changes during the last century. This area has often been ignored by local historians and thus Dr Fuller's volume is a valuable work.

WILLIAM SILTO

[Robin Garton.] Robin Tanner, The Etchings. Garton & Co., London, 1988; 154 pages. Obtainable post free, from Garton & Co., 39–42 New Bond Street, London, W1Y 9HB; £55. ISBN 0 906030 21 8.

Neither John Constable within the Stour valley nor Samuel Palmer at Shoreham were in any way restricted by the locality that so profoundly inspired them. Robin Tanner, also, was a local artist, but he was faithful to one particular locality all his life. Born in Bristol in 1904, he was brought up in Chippenham. As a child he often walked from Chippenham to the village of Kington Langley to spend weekends in his grandmother's cottage, and from 1931 until his death in 1988 Robin was to live in Kington Langley at Old Chapel Field. He was happy to write: 'All that I wanted to say on copper – indeed, all that I still want to say – is contained in a few square miles of N.W. Wiltshire – a land of Cotswold stone, but a countryside that is Cotswold with a Wiltshire difference: warmer and more lush than Gloucestershire: pastoral dairy country with small meadows and high hedges. And there is an ancient church every three miles or so in any direction.'

Wiltshire is fortunate to have had such a passionate and sympathetic interpreter. His etchings are not

mere records, however. Like his fellow students at the Goldsmiths' School of Art, Paul Drury, Edward Bouverie Hoyton and Graham Sutherland, he was profoundly influenced by Samuel Palmer. Palmer's Shoreham-period drawings and paintings are visions of an ideal pastoral England, as well as being true to the appearance and character of a particular part of the English countryside. So too are Robin Tanner's etchings. They are not nostalgic remembrances of his beloved north-west Wiltshire but enduring records of facts gathered from various sources into a 'vision of the ideal world that could be ours, had we but the will and courage to work for it'.

The great strength of Robin Garton's book is that we can now see how the records – the drawings and photographs taken on the spot – were transformed into the vision, the etchings. The book is a *catalogue raisonné* of the etchings and this task is most usefully completed, but it is the conjunction of the etchings and their preparatory drawings that will most excite readers. Very few of these drawings have been published before and many have not been seen in exhibitions. Fifty-one etchings are carefully catalogued, their different states recorded, but there are nearly two hundred illustrations.

Opposite the excellent illustration of *Autumn* of 1932, one of Robin's larger etchings, are four drawings. They are called '*Studies for Autumn*' and indeed Robin inscribed two of them accordingly, but they can be enjoyed as independent masterpieces of botanical drawing. Each is an act of homage, of deep affection and understanding, whether expressing the crisp solidity of a plump ear of wheat or the soft swirling patterns of the grey feathery seed heads of wild clematis. With delicate but confident line and quiet tones, these drawings convey the sense of wonder so movingly expressed in Robin's account of this etching in both *The Etcher's Craft* and *Double Harness*. I suspect that these drawings and the bold, even triumphant image of 'Autumn' itself celebrate not only Robin's favourite season, but his marriage to Heather in April, 1931, and their new and settled life together in the countryside they both knew so well.

Such conjecture is absent from Robin Garton's brief notes to the plates, but the salient facts are there. We are even told the name of the thatcher working in the distance in *Autumn* and two of Robin's photographs of this craftsman at work are illustrated. Robin was the first to admit that he was not at ease with the human figure, nor anything mechanical, especially bicycles, and one can see that he wisely took the pose of the thatcher from the photographs rather than from his own pencil study. The identity of the thatcher and the inclusion of photographs (both Robin's modest records and the more ambitious compositions of Dietrich Hanff, Robin and Heather's foster son) give immediate emphasis to the reality upon which the etchings are so firmly based.

The drawings that accompany some of the other etchings are often studio drawings concerned with overall composition rather than detail. The final finished study was usually in black ink, brown wash and white body colour, close in technique to Samuel Palmer. Since Robin employed a mirror when transferring the image to the plate, none of the studies is reversed, making it much easier to trace the evolution of the composition. *June*, of 1946, is an example. Here, as well as two compositional studies and the finished study, there is a fine on-the-spot drawing of the superb stone stile at Westrop made in 1929 and to which the artist now turned many years later. Also illustrated are two pen-and-ink drawings of stiles published in *Wiltshire Village*, and it can be seen that it is upon the composition of one of them that the final solution depended. But this simple pen-and-ink illustration is transformed in the etching. It is now a blustery June day. Rain, sunshine and wind move across a landscape that is evidently enduring and fruitful. Still more so than most, this etching is a statement of faith: 'After the war, my first and deepest longing was to make some assertion that goodness must be reclaimed, some celebration of the beauty of the natural world. I longed to stamp out the base squalor of war and pursue my vision of the ideal world that could be ours had we but the will and courage to work for it. My sky should be cleared of aeroplanes and my landscape of pylons: my meadows should be filled with flowers again.'

The book opens with biographical notes helpfully developed from those in the catalogue to the large exhibition of Robin Tanner's work held at Bristol Museum and Art Gallery and the Ashmolean Museum in 1980/1. We are reminded of how extraordinarily productive was the last decade of Robin's life. The success of *Robin Tanner, The Etchings*, with its great wealth of illustrations, that go far beyond the etchings, is that it so whets the appetite for more. And there are many, many more drawings, superlative botanical studies, sketchbooks and more good photographs by Dietrich Hanff; and what of Robin's diaries and Robin and Heather's commonplace books? There is the hope that the balance of text and illustrations (and Heather is as outstanding a master of her medium as Robin was of his) that so distinguished the Tanners' joint productions will be seen again, and all to a standard of production and design that will recall

Collins's first edition of *Wiltshire Village* published fifty years ago.

FRANCIS GREENACRE

Andrew Houghton. Before the Warminster Bypass: The Story of our Local Roads. Warminster History Society, 1988; 96 pages. £5, paperback.

Andrew Houghton begins his story of local routes in the Bronze Age, and ends it with the opening of the bypass. His account of pre-turnpike days is necessarily fairly brief, though well put together and informative. The major part of the book is a history of the turnpike roads and the traffic on them, and, considering that none of the trusts' own records are known to survive, is an excellent example of how a coherent story can be built up from a wide range of scattered references. Mr Houghton is equally at home with the topography and the physical remains of the turnpike era, and the book is a credit to him and to the Warminster History Society. It is hoped that other local societies will try to emulate it.

K.H. ROGERS

Martin Ingram. Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640. Cambridge University Press, 1988; xiii + 412 pages. £35.00, hardback. ISBN 0 521 23285 6.

Paul Slack. Povery and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England. Longman, 1988; viii + 229 pages. £6.95, paperback. ISBN 0 582 48965 2.

S.J. Wright (ed.). Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350–1750. Hutchinson, 1988; x + 242 pages. £25.00, hardback. ISBN 0 09 173144 5.

To particularize, as William Blake once said, and William Hoskins reminded us, is the alone distinction of merit; and it is a hallmark of good social history that, although of general application, it should be soundly based in specific locations. So it is that three books published in 1988, whilst not revealing as much in their titles, all draw in different ways on evidence from Wiltshire, and from seventeenth century Wiltshire in particular.

Susan Wright's compilation is included in this review not for her own essay on young post-Reformation worshippers, although she is no stranger to Wiltshire sources, but for the contribution by Donald Spaeth, 'Common prayer? Popular observance of the Anglican liturgy in Restoration Wiltshire', which occupies pages 125–151. This, it is promised, will also appear in a forthcoming book, *Parsons and Parishioners in Restoration Wiltshire*, derived from a doctoral thesis completed in 1985. Received opinion, that the Church of England after the Restoration was in the doldrums, and that the more religious members of a community found their solace in dissent or semi-christianized superstition, cannot of course be the whole story. Most people continued to attend the established church Sunday by Sunday, and what went on there (or did not go on) frequently aroused passions and led to official complaints to the ecclesiastical authorities. Dr Spaeth uses such litigation, as well as presentments, lists of communicants and other diocesan and parish records, to examine popular attitudes towards churchgoing, communion, the Prayer Book, and the role of the priest. Inevitably the deeper questions – what did conforming congregations actually believe, and how did they conduct their private devotions? – must be left unanswered. After weighing his evidence Dr Spaeth has to conclude that 'they conformed and yet did not conform . . . we may agree with the clergy that the laity were irreligious and ignorant . . . [or] we may decide that villagers were actually quite pious'. But, whatever else, it seems that they retained a modicum of independence and were not mere passive conformists, dozing in their pews as the orthodox church dozed around them.

Dr Slack's book is one of a series of student texts, 'Themes in British Social History', and as such should reach a wide readership, as it deserves. Its author, the leading authority on urban poverty in the early modern period, is well known in Wiltshire for his work on Salisbury in the seventeenth century, which resulted in several important articles and a Wiltshire Record Society volume, *Poverty in Early Stuart Salisbury*. Salisbury makes an important contribution to this book, too, especially in three places: the censuses of the poor, which are here compared with similar documents from elsewhere, especially Norwich; the treatment of vagrancy, as described by the passports register resulting from the 1598 Vagrancy Act; and the civic response to poverty, in the form of the municipal workhouse, storehouse and brewhouse. Just as the Salisbury evidence enriches the national picture, so the comparisons from elsewhere place local events in their context. The problem of increasing urban poverty afflicted not only Salisbury and similar county and regional centres; it could be seen equally in a small country

town such as Ealing, or in an expanding industrial focus such as Huddersfield. But whereas towns might strive under Elizabethan legislation to take care of their own poor, the shiftless immigrants who flocked in from the countryside were another matter. Dr Slack shows that the term 'vagrant' was used to label a class which, if not actually criminal, was at least suspected or potentially so, and was treated accordingly. As the old poor law became an established part of English society, so various experiments to augment it in the name of Puritan Christian charity were tried. Salisbury's reforming councillors, led by Henry Sherfield and John Ivie, for all their ingenuity had counterparts in many another town; all their schemes were shortlived, and most were motivated as much by politics as by philanthropy. Dr Slack's book, as well as offering a rounded discussion of a complex subject, and gobbets of considerable local interest, is also spiced with picturesque and apposite quotation. Jane Jacquet of Maidstone, for example, gave birth 'in a little straw under a tree in the common highway on a cold night . . . after a cruel and savage manner, contrary to Christianity, nature and humanity'.

Her plight, and that of many like her, is also one of the themes of Dr Ingram's book. He marshalls the voluminous evidence of the Salisbury diocesan courts for Wiltshire to develop the thesis that the Church's involvement (today we should call it interference) in matters of personal morality in Elizabethan and early Stuart times was neither anachronistic nor in general resented; in fact its role in discouraging promiscuity and illegitimacy was welcomed by most members of society (mindful of their poor rates), and may indeed have been effective in reducing what was seen as anti-social and potentially divisive behaviour. The book is organised in three parts, the first placing the so-called 'bawdy courts' in their legal and social context. Here are to be found valuable discussions of the working of diocesan administration and justice; the attitudes of laymen towards religion (which complements Spaeth's work from 1640 onwards); and the hotly-debated question of popular sexual morality: Dr Ingram comes down on the side of Laslett and Wrightson's 'personal discipline' view, against Quaife and Stone's 'wanton wenches / wayward wives'. The second, and largest, part of the book is taken up with a detailed examination of the various sexual irregularities which came before the courts (marital breakdown and broken pledges, extra-marital sex, prostitution, cuckoldry and sexual slander), which offers an intimate and sometimes moving picture of ill-starred lovers in a world where divorce was all but impossible and contraception almost unknown. Finally, the book's third part assesses the performance of the church courts and concludes that under the circumstances they worked very well.

Dr Ingram is a particularly thorough researcher, who backs up cogent reasoning with a battery of statistics (which must have been very time-consuming to collect), and produces a well-argued and convincing thesis. The meat of his book is the evidence from Salisbury diocesan archives, but he has both broadened his research, by comparing Wiltshire with three other counties – Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire and West Sussex – and with published sources from elsewhere; and narrowed it by focussing on two specific Wiltshire communities, Keevil and Wylye, for which he has examined evidence from many other classes of record. In the course of this more detailed attention we are treated to an excellent brief social history of the two parishes (pages 78–82) as well as frequent glimpses of the perennial soap opera of village life, with all its gossip and scandal, feuding and passion. In 1620, for example, the new rector of Wylye, a Puritan, began a purge of all manner of what to him was lax behaviour. His regime, not unnaturally, provoked bitterness and defiance. Susan Kent, for one, did not take to him: 'When once he . . . takes his green book in hand we shall have such a deal of bibble-babble that I am weary to hear it, and I can then sit down in my seat and take a good nap'. Later, having described him as 'the great devil in his den' she went off to a dancing match in the next village (page 121).

Taking the three books together – and in certain areas, such as the authority of the Church and its clergy, and poverty caused by rising population, they dovetail into each other – we gain a considerable insight into the attitudes and *mores* of early modern society. And as a bonus to those of us reading them from the perspective of local history, so many of the people whose problems and misfortunes come under the microscope were Wiltshiremen and women from our own towns and villages. Dr Ingram (pages 21–2) outlines the reasons – size, location, variety, survival of records – why Wiltshire is an appropriate subject for social historians' attention. It is perhaps too much to expect that three books of this depth and quality will appear every year, but when they do they enrich not only the perspectives of social historians in general, but also contribute to Wiltshire historians' understanding of their own county.

JOHN CHANDLER

P.A. Morris. The Hedgehog. Shire Natural History Series number 32, Aylesbury, 1988; 24 pages; colour photographs and line drawings. £1.95, paperback. ISBN 0 85263 958 9.

An excellent, brief account of the life history of the hedgehog by Britain's leading hedgehog expert. Dr Pat Morris has been studying hedgehog ecology, with a succession of his University of London students, since 1963. He is the author of many scientific papers and magazine articles, and several books. He is a leading member of the Mammal Society and he is also involved with conservation organizations.

This book is in the usual Shire format, to fit a haversack or a large pocket. Subjects include behaviour, home range and movements, diet, hibernation and yearly cycle, breeding, survival and predation, parasites and disease. It also deals with the hedgehog's relations with man, from an 'Acte' of Queen Elizabeth I, which included hedgehogs among 'noxious birds and vermin' with bounties on their heads, to their present state of being most people's favourite wild animal although, as Dr Morris says, they are less cuddlesome than almost anything else. In spite of their popularity, hedgehogs are killed in large numbers on our roads, they are endangered by modern farming practices, and they are also at risk in gardens, where potentially dangerous and persistent chemicals are used as pesticides. Practical advice on helping hedgehogs is included in this very attractive and informative small book.

MARION BROWNE

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Churches of South-East Wiltshire. H.M.S.O., 1987; 278 pages, illustrations. £19.95, paperback. ISBN 0 11 700995 4.

We have come to expect a high standard of scholarship in the publications of the Royal Commission and the present volume, although somewhat different in form from the usual, admirably maintains the tradition. Salisbury itself is omitted but the surrounding Anglican churches from Landford northwards to Cholderton and Tilshead southwards to Stratford Toney form the basis of the work.

The area includes a wide variety of landscape and geology and thus local building materials and the effects of these are noted as are the relationships to the various monastic houses and noble families. There is an interesting discussion on the difficulties faced in accurately dating some of the medieval fabrics due to relatively minor repairs and restorations in the last century – a warning for all involved with churches or historic structures today.

One of the new features is a section on the general historical development of the churches from the Conquest to the present day. The text is complemented by a series of clear photographs with similar elements grouped together for easy comparison. Many show churches before restoration in the last century and these are augmented not only by the usual John Buckler paintings but also those of less familiar interiors by Robert Kemm in the 1860s. Appropriate simple line drawings are also provided so that no aspect is left simply to words – visual evidence is always presented. There are some interesting insights into the use made by strong minded clients of their architects, while a series of tables itemise dedications, patrons and architects. Medieval fonts, arcades, piscinae and wall paintings are also separately listed. There follows a detailed description of each church in the customary manner. While faculties provide valuable information which has been extensively used in other publications, a welcome addition in the present instance is the inclusion of both faculty drawings and small scale diagrammatic plans showing stages in the development of the churches.

Finally there are appendices on Amesbury Priory, Cholderton roof and the internationally important stained glass at Wilton, now the subject of a major conservation programme.

It will be seen from the above that there is really something for everyone who has any interest in churches. It would have been a bonus if the size of the book had enabled it to be slipped into a pocket for it will certainly encourage readers to visit or re-visit the places described. Nevertheless it is a book which can be dipped into with pleasure and reward; the new format is successful and one can only look forward to future publications with happy anticipation.

KENNETH F. WILTSHIRE

William Silto. Of Stone and Steam: The Story of Swindon Railway Village. Barracuda Books, 1989; 100 pages. £15.00. ISBN 0 86023 436 3.

T.W. Cockbill. Finest Thing Out: A Chronicle of Swindon's Torchlit Days: The Story of the Mechanics' Institute at New Swindon, Part 1: 1843–1873. Quill Press, 1988; x + 223 pages. £7.50, paperback. ISBN 1 871029 00 7.

Two books on Swindon New Town's early history. *Of*

Stone and Steam is mainly about Swindon's historic Railway Village, built for the first railway workers – a conglomeration of people from all parts of the British Isles who came to work in the 'largest railway works in the world'. It partly tells how those inhabitants lived during their short lives. The author supports the popular idea that the Great Western Company directors and officials were paternalistic. A school, a church, and later a Mechanics' Institute and a Hospital were built, as well as various public baths since the houses had no bathrooms. A Medical Fund was set up with doctors, and a large dispensary was established.

There is not a great deal of new information in this book, but it is useful to have all the topics between one set of covers. There are however some unfortunate misrepresentations, especially regarding St Mark's Church, consecrated in 1845, not by the Bishop of Bristol but by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. The Bishopric of Bristol was not restored until 1897. It was not the Parish of St Mark's which expanded with the Works, for when it was established the parish went as far as Drove Road, Kingshill Road and even parts of Rodbourne; it was houses and people which multiplied. It is stated that the first Assistant Curate came in 1880 soon after the Revd Maurice Ponsonby had been appointed; but the first Vicar, the Revd Joseph Mansfield, had three assistants and the third Vicar, the Revd George Campbell, had twelve in his long incumbency. The Maxwell Street Schools were built as a Church Day School, not only for Sunday School use, and did not close as a result of the decline of the Sunday School Movement but because they could not compete financially or otherwise with the Local Authority Schools.

The author when writing about the Medical Fund says that when the first Medical surgeon, Keith Stuart Rea (wrongly spelt Rae) left he was replaced by a Mr Hind. Keith Rea died in office in 1848; D.C.W. Hind was not appointed until 1853. During the years between those dates, the duties were carried out by Rea's former assistant, Edward Rogers.

The author writes that Colonel Villett presented the Park to be used for the benefit of the railway employees. This oft quoted myth was shown to be wrong in a letter to the *Swindon Advertiser* in 1911 in which C.J. Churchward, the Locomotive Manager, wrote ' . . . the land known as the Swindon G.W.R. Park is the absolute property of the Great Western Railway Company, by purchase'.

The Sands was never a 'rural path leading to the quarries', but was the present Bath Road in Old Swindon, over which the traffic from Swindon to Wootton Bassett and Bath traversed. The name is shown thus on the map of 1883 on page 35.

Most of these inaccuracies appear in print in previously published books on the history of early New Swindon. Nevertheless, even with these blemishes, the book gives an account of the general development of life in the railway village, and shows how those early railway folk helped to fashion Swindon.

There is an account of the ill-fated 'Barracks' built for single workmen and later occupied by families from Wales, which then became a Wesleyan Chapel and are now the Railway Museum. It tells how the Medical Fund became partly a pattern for the National Health Scheme. There is a useful description of the various styles of architecture of the houses, and additional information such as, for example, that none of the houses has T.V. aerials in sight!

The book touches on the closure of the Works, and shows how excellently the Borough of Thamesdown is trying to preserve this part of Swindon's railway heritage.

The many illustrations, almost a hundred of them, are as instructive as the narrative. Included are old photographs of Old Swindon, and of New Swindon apart from the Railway Village. There are not too many photographs of the Works and of engines. There are some unusual views: the tiny Cambria Baptist Chapel and a view of Cambria Place, while the modern photographs include one of the Queen as Princess Elizabeth on the footplate of the engine bearing her name. Other modern photographs show the excellent restoration that has been carried out.

This book is more about stone than steam, but that is perhaps as it should be: the stone is there to be seen; it is the soul of the railway village, which the book is all about.

The work is beautifully produced, hard covered and well printed on good quality paper, but the price of £15 for a comparatively slim volume of only 100 pages must put it beyond the means of pensioners and students on inadequate grants.

The other book, *Finest Thing Out*, is quite different. It purports to be the first volume of a history of the Swindon Mechanics' Institute up to 1873, but this only forms the basis or skeleton of what is written. The narrative, ranging over 220 pages, touches on the history of the railway village and its inhabitants. The early trade union equivalents, the local elections, the early co-operative movement, the struggle in the G.W.R. concerning the broad and standard gauges, the local workhouse, the medical fund and the expansion of New Swindon are all included, with local events and gossip, and some hints of scandal!

The present left wing views of the author are evident throughout the book. He claims that the facts contradict that the G.W.R. directors and officials were benevolent paternalists, and his lengthy quotes seem to support this view. It is pointed out that the village houses having been built, the villagers from all over Britain were set down in a swampy field by the side of the railway, without drinking water and proper sanitation, with no school, no made-up roads and the church and shops some two miles distant, across fields and up a steep hill. The author clearly shows that it was the workmen themselves who got things moving.

He goes to great trouble to explain that the Mechanics' Institute was not a G.W.R. endowment or foundation: it was known as the 'New Swindon Mechanics' Institute' for the first 40 years, and the title 'Great Western Railway' did not appear until the 1880s. It is also pointed out that the Medical Fund was financed by the workmen's contributions. Long quotes are used to verify these views. The Swindon writer, Richard Jefferies, is not considered to be an historian, but at best a sort of political party writer. Daniel Gooch, although acknowledged to be a good administrator, does not appear as a founder of the Mechanics' Institute. There is a hint that Gooch was able to buy, quite early, an expensive farm at Wanborough, and, since his salary was modest, there is a suggestion that he was taking a commission from the people selling land to the company. There is also a suggestion that Gooch was not very discreet in his improper relationship with a former colleague's widow. It is also pointed out that it was eight months after being elected before Gooch took his seat in Parliament, and that although he was there for twenty years he never made a speech.

There are many pen portraits of early workmen and their individual stories are picked up from time to time. So we meet David Watson who walked from Aberdeen to work in Swindon; Robert Hanks from Bristol via Manchester, who was evidently killed by a wagon in the Works; William Laverick, the Primitive Methodist stalwart who originated from Gooch's birthplace, and who gained a place in cricketing history by causing the great W.G. Grace to have no runs in two innings; Jim Hurst, the young engine driver who had known Gooch when the latter was a pupil of George Stephenson, and many others. Amongst the managerial staff we meet the Stanier family, originally from Gateshead and Wolverhampton; the patriarch of the family became an Alderman and Mayor of the Borough of Swindon.

The story of the Revd George Campbell's trip to the Crimean battlefield is well documented and he is kindly treated generally, other writers having usually stressed his arrogance.

These vivid descriptions make fascinating reading, conveying to us what the early New Swindonians did and how they thought, and it is a valuable contribution to the history of that period. Readers will look forward to the next volume on New Swindon and the Mechanics' Institute, in which it is promised there will be an index which will cover this first volume. It is sadly needed.

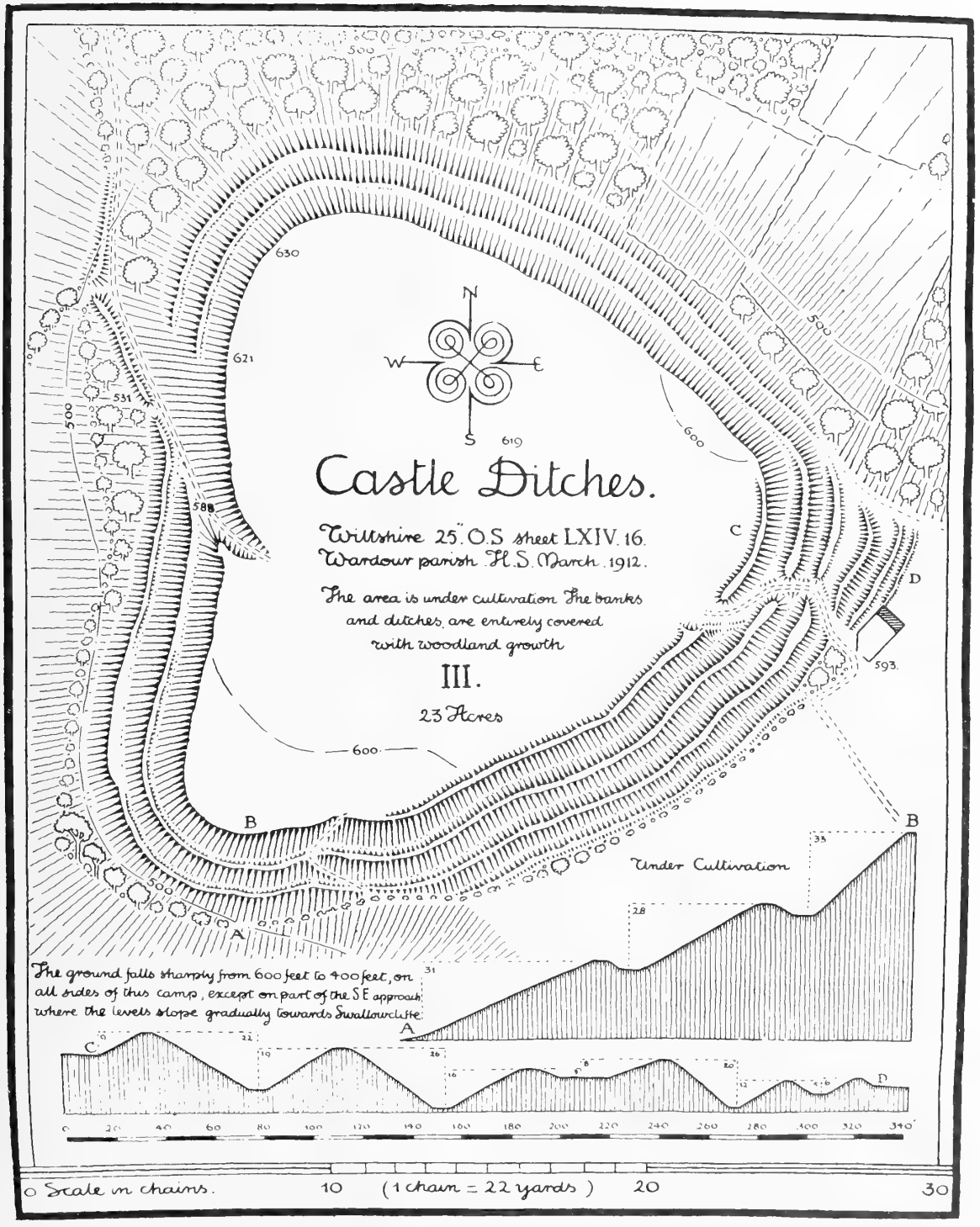
In their different ways, these two books will be useful additions to bookshelves in Swindon and elsewhere.

F.W.T. FULLER

Heywood Sumner. The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase. Alan Sutton in collaboration with Wiltshire County Council, Library & Museum Service, 1988 [first published 1913]; xviii + 82 pages, folding plans. £9.95, paperback. ISBN 0 86299 536 1.

In considering the reprint of a classic such as *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* the reviewer is dealing primarily with the publisher, printer and introduction writer rather than the author. Nevertheless a few words must be said about Heywood Sumner's original work.

Sumner's text is lucid and still very readable after 75 years. It is also accurate with the exception of a few minor slips (e.g. 'Crockett' for 'Crocker', p. 4) and full of useful information. Ideas have changed enormously since 1913 and the modern reader has to bear with Sumner's references to pit-dwellings and swampy prehistoric valleys while perhaps being impressed by his more advanced thoughts. An example of the latter is his interpretation of the features which Pitt Rivers called 'hypocausts' as ovens for 'corn drying, malting and cooking' (p. 38). The glory of the book lies in the illustrations. There are 46 black and white plans drawn by Sumner with clarity and charm (see illustrated example). Some of the plans are accompanied by small perspective sketches which not only add greatly to the beauty of the illustrations but also have a real value in giving the reader an idea of the actual appearance of the site in its setting, something which no hachured plan can do, even when accompanied by contour lines and earthwork profiles as most of Sumner's are. The traditional topographical approach to earthworks and other sites has been sadly neglected by modern archaeologists, despite our avowed concern for 'landscape archaeology'. Sumner based his plans largely on published Ordnance Survey maps and executed them at small



Reproduction of Plate III (Castle Ditches) from the original edition of *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* by Heywood Sumner

scale so that they lack some of the detail depicted on more recent surveys. The accuracy of Sumner's drawings is not in question, however.

Much praise is due to the publishers and printers of this edition. The book is published in a smaller format than the original but without reduction in the size of the illustrations. There is some slight fading on the folding plans along the foldlines of the originals but this does not result in the loss of any detail. Only the map of the Chase inside the back cover, hand coloured in the original, has suffered at all in the translation. Double page spread plans are always a problem. In the original this was overcome by some clever binding but in the new edition it is difficult to see the whole plan of Badbury Rings, for instance, without endangering the spine of the book.

The Introduction by Barry Cunliffe is informative though brief. However, two points must be challenged. Cunliffe thinks that 'we are unlikely ever to know' the reasons behind Sumner's decision to leave London and settle in the depths of rural Hampshire. The answer to this must lie in Sumner's involvement with the Arts and Crafts movement; nearly all the members of this group moved from London to rural locations in mid-career in order to pursue their work in fresher surroundings. Seen in this light Sumner's migration was certainly not a case of 'turning his back on success', as Cunliffe would have it. Rather it was a case of taking his success to a new environment with broader horizons. More important, it would be hard to accept Cunliffe's statement that 'the years immediately before the First World War saw the birth of field archaeology in Britain'. There were a number of very fine field archaeologists, such as Henry MacLauchlan and C.W. Dymond as well as Sumner's own hero General Pitt Rivers, working in Britain throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It is a question whether, despite the efforts of the Committee on Ancient Earthworks, there was not actually a decline in the standards of field archaeology in the first years of the twentieth century, which makes the achievement of Sumner and his colleagues J.P. Williams-Freeman and H.S. Toms all the more remarkable. In the final analysis, however, one has to agree with Cunliffe's assessment of *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* as a masterpiece, and with his remarks on the 'new importance' of the book in recording sites now vanished or substantially reduced.

This handsome reprint is very reasonably priced and is strongly recommended to everyone with an interest in the archaeology and topography of Cranborne Chase.

MARK BOWDEN

Salisbury Local History Group. Caring: A History of Salisbury City Charities. Salisbury City Almshouse and Welfare Charities, 1987; vii + 99 pages. £4.99, paperback. ISBN 0 9512498 0 0.

This book is that rare thing – a group effort that works! Written by 17 members of the Salisbury Local History Group and published by the Salisbury City Almshouse and Welfare Charities, the book is an excellent example of how the study of local history can widen and add detail to general historical knowledge.

In the book we are shown the provision for the poor of Salisbury made by individuals down the ages. The book does not attempt to quantify the problems of poverty, unemployment and disease which made such charity necessary; indeed this is an almost impossible task, although an estimate by Paul Slack suggests that in the 1630s about 4.6 per cent of the population, 315 people, were resident in almshouses. (P. Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597–1666' in Clark and Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700*.) Excellent examples are given of how a charitable donation by an individual can last for centuries and still be of use today. In 1570 Joan Popley, a widow, bequeathed her property in London to relieve the poor of Salisbury by its rents. In the mid 1950s the property was sold for £90,000 and in the 1980s the money is still being used. However, the book also highlights some of the main problems of charitable bequests – the likelihood of embezzlement, non-payment, diversion or depreciation of funds and of deviation from the intentions of benefactors. For every Joan Popley's Charity there were tens of benefactors whose charitable intentions and provisions were altered or never carried out. In 1599 a Chancery inquisition revealed that capital to the value of £938 left to benefit the poor of Salisbury was not being used for its intended purposes. Even the charities of the rich were not exempt from this fate. By his will of 1676 John Seymour, 4th Duke of Somerset, left £3,000 to be invested in land, the rent of which was to provide an apprenticing charity. Despite appointing Sir Thomas Mompesson and Sir Richard Howe as trustees, the charity quickly became administered solely by the corporation, by whose poor management the rent of the property so decreased that in the early nineteenth century the rent was less than that stipulated by the Duke in 1676.

The nature of charitable provision through time also shows how the concerns of society were changing. The book shows how in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concern about the decline of established industries was reflected in the increase of apprenticing

charities. The effect of the Dissolution of the Monasteries is also felt in the growth of almshouse and educational provision, although the latter had been increasing slowly before the Dissolution. The growth of almshouse and apprenticing charities also indicates the subtler pressures of the rising wariness of the mobile poor and the division of the poor into the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor in a society whose response to escalating economic and physical dearth was to tighten the hold on traditional hierarchical values.

Well produced and carefully illustrated by Michael Charlton, the book is a witness to the time and energies of the authors. The fact that the collective authorship of the book is only apparent from the foreword and acknowledgements is a tribute to the skills of the co-ordinator and editors.

SARAH O'DONNELL

Pamela M. Slocombe (editor). Wiltshire Farmhouses and Cottages, 1500–1850. Devizes Books Press, 1988; 72 pages; 106 photographs; 25 figures. £4.50, paperback. ISBN 0 9509099 5 5.

Until now, Wiltshire has been *terra incognita* to students of minor domestic architecture. Mrs Slocombe and the members of the Wiltshire Buildings Record have started to rectify this in the first of a projected series of monographs.

To produce 106 small but clear photographs in 72 pages arranged under 17 sub-headings is a remarkable achievement. Anyone with a general interest in old Wiltshire farmhouses needs read no further: you must buy a copy, perhaps more than one to satisfy those friends and visitors who will want to borrow your copy.

However, extensive illustration in 72 pages leaves very little space for written description and analysis. What will the enthusiast find here?

We learn that behind the highly localised differences in building materials, there were two regional building traditions in Wiltshire. Eastern houses have 'upper end' stacks or 'lobby-entries' against a central stack; ridgeless roofs; and clasped purlins. Western houses have central stacks backing onto cross-passages; 'threaded' ridges; and tenoned purlins. We are told that cross-passages are rare. What other entry arrangements are found in west Wiltshire? The Dorset alternative is the 'unheated central room' plan: one Wiltshire example is illustrated as No. 15 (p. 19) but the plan referred to in the caption appears to have been omitted.

Those who are unfamiliar with the jargon that is necessary to appreciate these distinctions will find adequate guidance on plan types but will have to work a little harder to understand the section on roofs. Unfortunately this is the only section that tackles the thorny problems of dating. The drawings on p. 66 illustrate the complexities. One wonders what are the criteria for the dates assigned to different apex types – and whether the captions for figures 6 and 8 have not been transposed?

Some distribution maps might have clarified the text. Only geology and building materials are illustrated in this way. But geology can be the starting point for much else. Kerridge and Underdown have drawn our attention to the economic and social distinctions wrought by Wiltshire's 'chalk and cheese' regions.[1] The sections on plans, roofs, dairies and datestones might all have benefitted from maps showing a relationship between these historical interpretations and surviving houses. Even if they raised great interpretational problems, they would have clarified the concepts of eastern and western Wiltshire building traditions.

I am not convinced that I have been shown how 'the social standing of the inhabitants influenced house design'. Houses of manorial or equivalent status are identified by size and quality of fittings; indeed, the section on staircases deals only with houses of this status. But of the remainder, which are to be assigned to yeomen and which to husbandmen? How is the major re-organisation of holdings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected in surviving houses? And how many eighteenth century houses of quality, such as No. 21 (p. 22), were built by pseudo-gentry? Nor am I convinced that two of the ground floor room plans were of 'Hall and Parlour' rather than 'Hall plus services'. Whilst many seventeenth century ground floor parlours were very small, where did the occupiers of these two-roomed houses put their service rooms? A study of room-naming probate inventories could solve this question.

But together with all students of the subject, I am grateful for a host of insights that are valuable for understanding minor houses in Wiltshire and which raise some interesting issues for the adjacent areas.

All specialists ought to have a copy on their shelves, whilst those who have no interest in the matters raised above, will thoroughly enjoy the first of what we all hope will be a sequence of monographs.

R. MACHIN

1. E. Kerridge, 'Agriculture *c.*1500–*c.*1793', *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* Vol. 4, pp. 43–64; and D. Underdown, *Revel Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1987).

Lucy Sanderson Taylor. College in the Close: Sarum St Michael 1841–1978. Published privately, 1988, vi + 238 pages. Obtainable from Miss Joan Hughes, 19 Westbourne Close, Milford, Salisbury; £10 + £2 postage.

On 22 June 1978, a tradition of teacher training in Salisbury spanning 137 years ended with the closure of the College of Sarum St Michael. The appearance, just ten years later, of a detailed history of the College written by a former member of staff is, therefore, to be welcomed. The book is a well-researched account of the College and its staff and students, and has clearly been a labour of love for the author. This affection for Sarum St Michael is a sentiment echoed in many of the reminiscences of former students which are featured.

The shortage of suitably qualified teachers to staff the growing number of Church schools, together with the perception voiced by Bishop Edward Dennison in 1839 of 'the Church's duty to pass on the faith to her children' prompted the establishment of the Salisbury Diocesan Training College in 1841. It was one of the first such colleges for women and complemented the similar Training College for men set up a year previously by the Winchester Diocese. The strong Christian tradition so apparent in the early years was to endure throughout the lifetime of the College, with the influence of the Cathedral and, after 1899, the Chapel of the Holy Angels providing a strong focus of student life. The young teachers who qualified after two years took up posts in infant schools throughout the country, with a significant minority opting for missionary work in remote parts of the world. The work of one former student, Clara Grant (1886–1888), among the poor of Bromley-by-Bow in East London, earned her national renown and the active encouragement of Queen Mary. The College also had a literary association with Thomas Hardy, providing the fictional location for the college from which Sue Bridehead escapes in his novel *Jude the Obscure*. Hardy's sisters Mary and Katherine both trained in Salisbury.

In the twentieth century, the College experienced steady growth, both in size and reputation, interrupted only during war-time and in the 1930s, when the number of applicants dropped sharply and the threat of closure was felt for the first time. The hardships and financial stringency of war-time are described by former students who recall wrapping the blankets from their beds round their legs in class against the cold, and the dull diet necessitated by rationing. Training was also affected, with teaching practice being restricted only to local schools.

The expansion of Sarum St Michael during the 1950s and 60s, with the addition of B.Ed. courses, more staff and many new buildings indicated a bright future. This was not to be, however, and the small size of the College and failure of merger plans with other institutions meant that it became a victim of government policy for the re-organisation of Higher Education in the non-university sector and the reduction in teacher training places. The closure in 1978 is described with a dignity that befits a college whose motto was 'In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength'.

As a work of reference, the *College in the Close* is not easy to use as it lacks both an index and footnotes giving referenced sources. In places it is also excessively detailed, and peppered with printing errors. Its great strength lies, however, in the picture that it paints of student life over almost a century and a half. For this reason it is a valuable source for those involved with the history of education.

CLARE CONYBEARE

A.A. Wardhaugh. Bats of the British Isles. Shire Natural History Series number 15, Aylesbury, 1988; 24 pages; colour and black and white photographs, and line drawings. £1.95, paperback. ISBN 0 85263 856 6.

Bats are nocturnal mammals whose elusive behaviour and unusual life styles have caused them to be surrounded by superstition and sometimes dislike or fear. In reality, British bats are small, inoffensive, intelligent and useful, so any book which helps to dispel irrational fears is to be welcomed.

Dr Wardhaugh, zoologist, conservationist, and founder of the Cleveland Bat Group, writes clearly and concisely of the 15 species resident in Britain (13 of these have been recorded in Wiltshire) and describes their evolution, structure, flight, echo location, diet and life cycle. There are detailed descriptions of each species, with good colour photographs, but this is not a guide to the identification of bats and, for the serious bat worker, a key will be needed as well. The decline in bat populations in recent years is discussed, and there are suggestions for studies and for conservation work. There is also a useful, though not comprehensive, list of books for further reading.

MARION BROWNE

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, vol. 83 (1990), pp. 255–257

Obituaries

George Drew died in November 1988 at his home in Juggler's Lane, Yatesbury, a house with a magnificent view of Oldbury Castle hillfort, Cherhill White Horse and the Cherhill Monument.

After a number of years abroad with the Royal Air Force, George began his archaeological experience in 1960, working under Denis Grant-King at Bury Wood Camp, and for a long time was Honorary Secretary of the Bury Wood Camp Excavation Club. He was an enthusiastic and fully committed volunteer, helping with both short term excavations and longer research projects with Dr Peter Fowler at Fyfield Down, and Denis Grant-King at Lanhill Long Barrow, and on other nearby sites at Avebury Trusloe and Cherhill. His meticulous and painstaking care were greatly appreciated in the Society's excavations at the Saxon cemetery at Blacknall Field, Pewsey, under the direction of Ken Annable, as well as at Chris Gingell's excavations of the Saxon cemetery at Collingbourne Ducis and, most recently, the Bronze Age site at Potterne.

George was an enthusiastic observer and recorder before and during the construction of the M4 in Wiltshire. We shall never know the number of miles he walked surveying Roman roads and field-walking in the centre and north of the county, in the course of which he helped to find and identify the very important Mesolithic and early Neolithic site at Cherhill which was subsequently excavated by Dr I.F. Smith and J.G. Evans (published in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 49 (1983), pp. 43–117). Many of his casual finds from field-walking have been presented to the Society's Museum.

In later years he assisted at the Museum as a volunteer, helping in particular with the Saxon collections. He was so enthusiastic that he took – and passed with flying colours – the A level examination in Archaeology at the age of 66. Without such enthusiasts our Society could not function as well as it does.

Robin Tanner died in May 1988, and with his death the Society has lost one of its most generous benefactors and one of its oldest members. Born on Easter Sunday 1904, the son of a Wiltshire joiner, Robin showed signs of an incipient artistic talent at an early age, especially when it came to drawing flowers, trees and other natural objects. After attending school in Chippenham, he went to Goldsmith's College in London where he spent several years in training to be a teacher, a vocation for which he had a natural talent. At Goldsmith's Robin discovered the theories of the Austrian Professor Cizek on the teaching of art to children. He was soon able to put these theories into practice in his beloved Wiltshire, for his first teaching post was at the Ivy School in Chippenham, where he taught academic subjects in the morning and arts and crafts in the afternoon. Anyone who has been fortunate enough to see the collection of paintings, block printing, and books produced by the pupils of this Chippenham school in the 1930s, now deposited with the Wiltshire Library and Museum Service and recently in the exhibition *Robin Tanner Remembered* at the Holburne of Menstrie Museum in Bath, may regret Robin's subsequent decision to give up teaching to join the Schools Inspectorate, which he did in 1935. Robin's art teaching was much in advance of his time. When he took examples of his children's work to a teachers' conference at Sheffield in 1936, he was jeered by almost all his audience who refused to believe that they could be the work of children. In time his ideas were adopted by a new generation of primary school teachers under his gentle and enthusiastic guidance.

Heather and Robin, for by now he had married his childhood sweetheart Heather Spackman, were all this time overseeing the building and furnishing of their house at Kington Langley, Old Chapel Field. Side by side with Robin's teaching was his etching, until he became an H.M.I. when he had to give it up. With Heather he produced the now classic book *A Wiltshire Village*, the first of several books on which they collaborated. At a time when all the world was demanding pictures in colour, Robin showed in his etchings how superfluous this was, how an infinite range of tones from shining white to deepest black could convey an equal effect. As in his art, so in his life Robin remained firm in his ideals. Pacifist, Quaker, Unilateralist, Conservationist, and Socialist of the school of William Morris; quiet, warm and passionate, a lifelong idealist in a world increasingly cynical of such ideals; Robin lived to see the world beat a path to his door, to learn from him lessons which were in danger of being forgotten.

On his retirement as H.M.I., Robin returned to his

art, to his etching. He was a founder trustee and great supporter of the Craft Study Centre in Bath, an institution which brought together almost all his artistic interests.

Robin was an idealist with both feet firmly on the ground, and a fitting end to his obituary is an extract from a lecture he gave at Dartington in 1964.

> Art is no 'subject' on the school time-table: it is an attitude of mind to the visual world; a way of living and communicating: an international language: a way of saying the unsayable. Happiness is inherent in the scheme of things – the world is ours to love and enjoy. Through Art we are shaped, enlarged, changed. By what Shakespeare called heavenly alchemy it turns the ordinary life into the memorable. For children, as for us, it is the overflow of deeply felt experiences; when we reach up to our 'divine normal', and are 'on our most immortal behaviour'.

That is not a bad epitaph for a great Wiltshireman.

Robin Tanner's chief published works are:
Children's Work in Block Printing, 1936
Illustrations to the King Penguin *Flowers of the Meadow* by Geoffrey Grigson, 1948
Drawings for the catalogues of Scott's Nurseries, 1953–62
The Etcher's Craft, 1980
Illustrations to *Gray's Elegy*, 1981
Double Harness, an Autobiography, 1987
In collaboration with his wife Heather, he illustrated:
A Wiltshire Village, 1939
Woodland Plants, 1981
A Country Alphabet, 1984
Country Book of Days, 1986

Kenneth Woodbridge (1910–1988), artist, teacher, scholar and writer, lived at Freshford near Bath and his death is keenly felt in Wiltshire, to whose studies he made a major contribution. 'When I seriously decided to write for publication I chose to study Henry Hoare, the creator of the eighteenth century landscape garden at Stourhead. I was fascinated by the temples and wanted to find out why he had built them; were they just fashionable ornaments or was there some deeper meaning?' he recorded in an autobiographical note. *Henry Hoare's Paradise* was published in *The Art Bulletin* vol. 47 in March 1965 following a careful study of the documents at Stourhead, Trowbridge, Savernake and Hoare's Bank. This was revised as the first part of *Landscape and Antiquity* in 1970 which went on to describe the life and work of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, his travels, his 'rape of the barrows', his patronage of artists and his histories of *Ancient* and *Modern Wiltshire*. Without the encouragement of Dick Sandell, the Society's librarian at Devizes, he says, he might never have embarked upon the story of Colt Hoare.

In 1971 the National Trust published Kenneth Woodbridge's *The Stourhead Landscape*, which he revised in 1982, the indispensible handbook to the garden, the temples and the tree-planting records. He was also the author of a guidebook to the house that year, which was both enlightening about the paintings and illustrated with his own photographs. He wrote the chapter on the Hoare family history for the present extended booklet. For some twenty years he advised the Trust on the planting and management at Stourhead, constantly illuminating the scene with his historical discoveries and rigorous scholarship combined with the eye of a painter – advice always delivered with characteristic forthrightness. This contribution is embodied in the management plan published by Bath University Press for the Trust in 1978 as *The Conservation of the Garden at Stourhead*, the work of a committee in which Kenneth's voice as a leading garden historian is heard, and heeded, in the formulation of practical long-term management principles for the finest man-made landscape in the county, which should now be designated a World Heritage Site.

From 1972 Kenneth worked on the French formal garden and published *Princely Gardens* in 1986, a magisterial, almost definitive account of the origins and development of the style of garden which culminated with Le Nôtre. He re-examined the documentary sources and he looked on the ground like an archaeologist. He earned the undying respect as well as the close friendship of French historians and this important book has been very well received in France, though not yet translated into French. It is, he wrote, the memorial to his wife Joan, his constant companion in all his travels and research, whose competence, calm and charming originality made up the extremely successful husband and wife team. The *Oxford Companion to Gardens*, 1986, includes Kenneth's entries for France and his masterly summary of French garden art. When he died he was working on television programmes which would bring this subject to a wider audience.

Garden history has developed and flourished in the last twenty five years and Kenneth Woodbridge was a leader in the field who achieved international status. But it was Stourhead which he pursued with the

greatest passion. He was about to begin a new book on Henry Hoare based on the letters which reveal so much of the man. Those who enjoyed his lecture for the NA-CF in Devizes in 1986, 'Richard Colt Hoare: Artist and Patron', will understand how we in Wiltshire are the poorer for his sudden departure.

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NOTE: Wiltshire places are indexed under civil parishes.