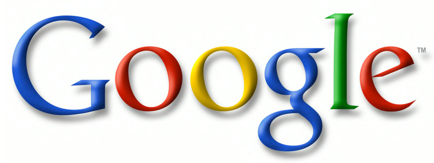

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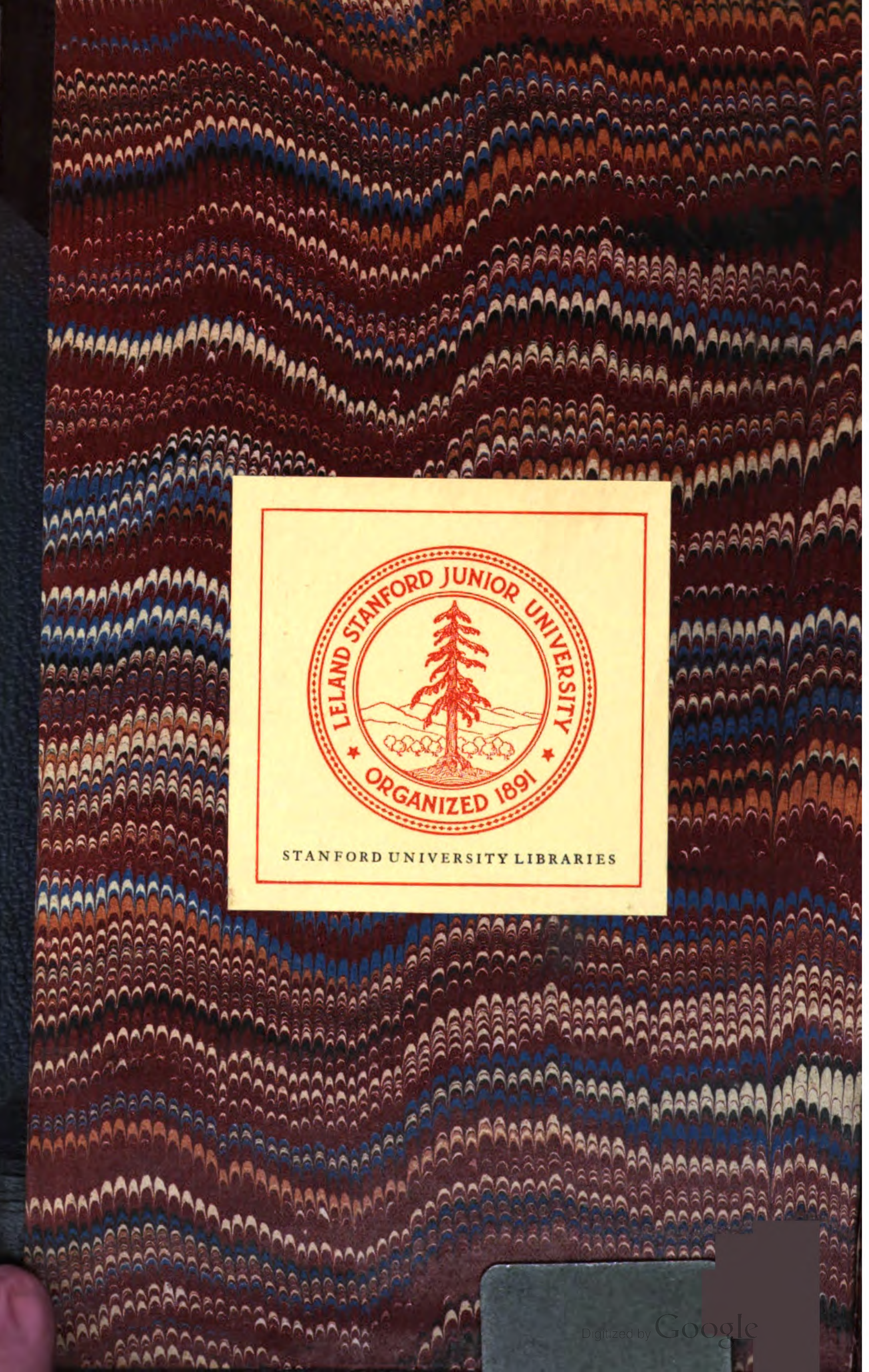
# The Wiltshire archaeological and natural history magazine

Edward Hungerford Goddard,
Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society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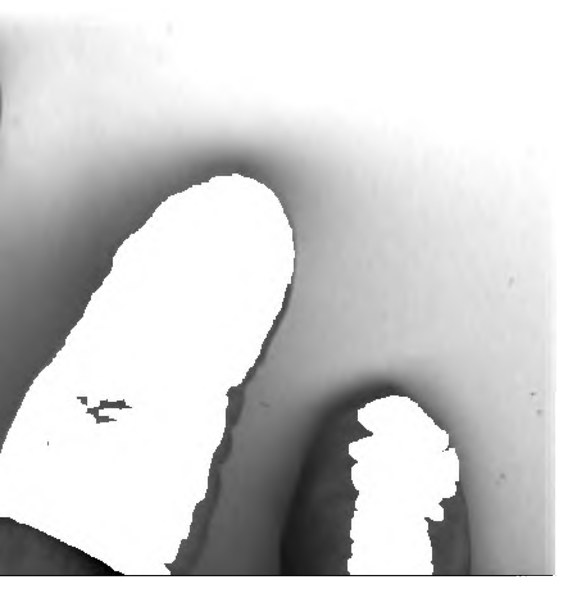

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# Stonehenge and its Barrows.

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THE

# WILTSHIRE

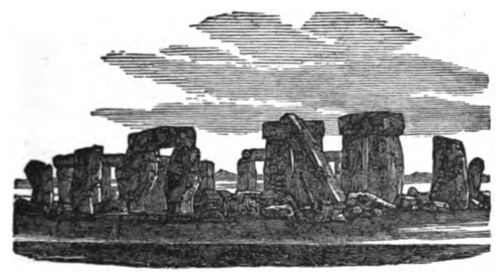
# Archæological and Natural History

# MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

VOL. XVI.



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# CONTENTS OF VOL. XVI.

---

## Nos. XLVI.—VII.


**Introduction** ........ ........................................ 1

**Historical and other Notices of Stonehenge from Henry of Huntingdon, to the date of the Publication of Sir R. C. Hoare's "Ancient Wilts, i., (1812.)** ............... ........................ 6

PART II.

**Description of Stonehenge** ..... ................................ 54

**Geological Character of the Stonehenge Stones** ................... 68

**Destruction of the Stones of Stonehenge** ............ ....... .. 75

**The Fall of the Trilithon, in 1797** ............................ 79

**Flint Flakes found within the Area of Stonehenge** ............. 82

**Diggings within the Precincts of Stonehenge, and their results**.... 82

**The Avenues and Cursus** . ..................................... 89

PART III.

**By whom were these Stones set up?** ............................ 94

**How were these Stones brought and set up?**........ ........... 110

**For what purpose were these Stones set up?**...... ... ....... 122

PART IV.

**Salisbury Plain and the Stonehenge Barrows** ............. ....... [illegible]

**Appearance of Stonehenge from the Plain** ..................... [illegible]

**The Barrows surrounding Stonehenge and the general results of their Examination** .. ........ ......................... [illegible]

**The Camp at Amesbury, commonly called Vespasian's Cam**[illegible]

**Progress of Down-Cultivation around Stonehenge** ....... [illegible]

PART V.

**Poetical Notices of Stonehenge** ................... [illegible]

**Conclusion** ........................... ....... [illegible]

---

**Appendix, (containing a detailed account of the Inves**[illegible] **Barrows around Stonehenge)** ................ [illegible]

**Addenda and Notes** ................. .... [illegible]

**Index of Names**..... ......................... [illegible]


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## No. XLVIII.

Potterne: By the Rev. Canon W. H. JONES, M.A., F.S.A. ........ 245
On the Old Porch House at Potterne: By the Rev. A. C. SMITH, M.A. 287
On Some Curiosities and Statistics of Parish Registers: By the Rev. W. C. PLENDERLEATH ........ 301
"Wiltshire Nonjurors," &c........ 337
Letter to the Editor ........ 339
Memoir of Mr. Sotheron Estcourt and Mr. Poulett Scrope ........ 340
Trust-Deed of the Saxon Church of St. Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon: By the Rev. Canon JONES........ 345
On an Agreement for Building a Chapel at Lacock: By C. H. TALBOT, Esq. ........ 350
General Index to the Wiltshire Magazine, Vols. IX. to XVI. ........ i.
Rules of the Society, &c........

---

## Illustrations.

Map of Stonehenge and its Environs, from Sir R. C. Hoare's "Ancient Wiltshire, Vol. i., *to face Title*. *Fac-simile* of Aubrey's "Ioknographie of Stoneheng" from his "Monumenta Britannica," 32. Sketches from the "Monumenta Britannica," 36. Copy of the oldest engraving of Stonehenge, dated 1575, from that made for Gough's edition of Camden's Britannica," 45. Copy of the rude draught of Stonehenge in a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, (from that in Gough's "Camden,") 46. Chromolithographic Plans of Stonehenge in its original, and in its present state (see page 233), 54. Ground Plan of Stonehenge, from "Ancient Wilts," 54. Stonehenge from "Ancient Wilts," 58. Copy of sketch of the "Slaughtering Stone," made by Mr. Cunnington, F.S.A., in 1802, 93. Copy of Mr. H. Browne's print, showing the manner in which the transverse stones of Stonehenge were connected together, 93. Map to illustrate the Belgic Inroads in the South of Britain (from Dr. Guest's map in "Arch. Journal," viii.), 104. Long Barrow, from Hoare's "Tumuli Wiltunenses," 149. Bowl-shaped Barrow, 149. Bell-shaped Barrow, 149. Disc-shaped Barrow, 149. Section of Disc-shaped Barrow, at Winterbourne Stoke, 149. Urn, with overhanging rim, 16 inches high, 11 in diameter, (Hoare's "Ancient Wilts," i., 237 and title page,") 168. The "Stonehenge Urn," 169. Incense Cups, 1. "A very beautiful and perfect grape cup" (Sir R. Hoare "Ancient Wilts," p. 199) from Barrow No. 133. 2. Of the "Contracted" form from Woodyates. (See on this cup Thurnam's British Barrows, "Archæologia," xliii., 373) 169. Drinking Cup, from Barrow No. 93, half-size, 171. Ivory Armlet, from Winterbourne Stoke, 179. Amber Necklace, from Lake, 181. Plates for an Amber Collar, from Lake, 181. Collar of Amber, as restored, from Lake, 181. Gold Beads from Wilts and Norfolk, 183. Gold Plate from Bush Barrow (two-thirds of full size), 183. The Bustard (vignette), 240.

Pedigree of the Longs of Semington, 269. The Market Cross, Devizes, 273. Photograph of Potterne Church, 274. Ancient Font at Potterne, 281. Photograph of the Old Porch House at Potterne, 292.

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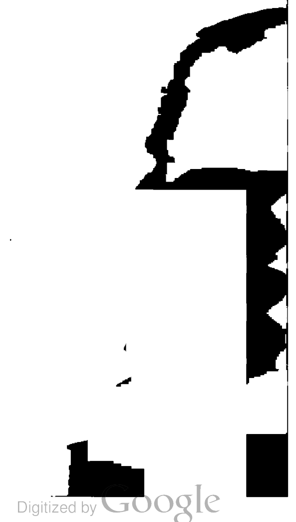

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THE

# WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

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

## Stonehenge and its Barrows.

By Wm. Long, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

UPON the mind of the thoughtful visitor of Stonehenge,[1] two considerations can hardly fail to press, and with considerable force, as he recovers from his first astonishment; the one being the very sacred character of the place to those who had selected this spot,

[1] Spelt "Stanenges," "Stanhenges," by Henry of Huntingdon; "Senhange," "Stahengues," "Estanges," "Estanhangues," by Wace; "Stanhenge," by Layamon; "Stanhenges," by Higden; "Stonhenge," in the "Eulogium Historiarum;" "Stonege," by Borde; "Stone Hengles," by Hardyng; "Stonage," by Bolton; the author of the "Fool's Bolt;" "Stoneheng," by Webb; Charlton; and Aubrey; "Stonendge," by Drayton.

The Rev. Prebendary Earle, the well-known Saxon scholar, to whom the writer submitted the foregoing list of spellings, writes of them as follows: "In all these forms I only seem to see two states of mind, and these the two I have indicated. I. 'Stanenges,' 'Estanges,' 'Stonege,' 'Stonage,' 'Stonendge,' all seem to me essentially adjectival, epithetical, only in a large and collective way, as if one were to imagine a Greek *λίθωμα*, a mass of stones, after the pattern of *στεφάνωμα πύργων*, a diadem of towers. II. All the others seem to me breathe the idea of 'hanging,' and the structure of the word is that of two substantives in compound state, whereof the former plays the adjective to the latter, as in Stonewall. So this seems to be Stonehanging, and then the only question is how is the 'hanging' to be understood? The more architectural and elegant view will readily occur to you, and I suppose I touched on it before; but there is one idea, not graceful certainly, which might have been present to the crude mind of our rough ancestors, and that is this, 'Stone-Gallows;' for, I say it with reluctance, the Saxon word for Gallows was 'hengen.' But then on the other hand they used the word gracefully in 'henge-clif,' *rupes dependens*, or hanging cliff." Most Saxon scholars, as far as the writer is aware, look with disfavour upon the popular rendering of "Stonehenge" into "hanging stones," like Wace's "pierres pendues," and consider that the



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and raised upon it this remarkable structure; the other the (probably) long period during which it must have served as a "*locus consecratus*" to the surrounding people. What may have led to the choice of this particular site is not apparent; but we need no modern Merlin to tell us that the work which was here carried out was one which must have required much labour, and must have been the result of a very deep religious feeling. It could have been no light fancy nor passing impulse which operated as the motive power for the transport and setting up of these huge stones, and the conveyance hither of others from a great distance; but an earnest and deep-seated conviction on the part of the builders that it was their duty in this way, and at any cost of time and effort, to construct a fitting temple for the worship of their God. The same sanctity appears to have extended to the plain and hills around. Every elevation within a circuit of a mile-and-a-half is crowned with the grave-mounds of the distinguished dead, who would naturally wish to be buried near to the sacred precincts of this, their holy shrine. The building and its surroundings are in perfect harmony. They are as closely connected as a churchyard is with its church; and no traces exist, as far

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Saxons meant by it "stone hanging-places," or "stone-gallows," from the resemblance of the trilithons to such an instrument of punishment or torture. Mr. Herbert, who says that "hanging-stones" would have been expressed by the word "Hengestanas," believes that the word is properly "Stanhengest" as it is called by Simon of Abingdon, in his chronicle of the Abbots of that place, (Ussher's Brit. Eccles., p. 228, ed. ii.; Dugdale cit. Gibson's Camden, i., 207, Gough's i., 150,) and that it was so designated, not because Duke Hengest "there performed a desperate act, and was engaged in the bloody scuffles consequent upon it; but because he there ended his days, and was solemnly immolated to the vengeance of the successors of the Druids." Cyclop. Chris., p. 175. In this view, however, he would stand very much alone. Dr. Guest, (Philological Society's Transactions, vi., 1853,) combats Herbert's "stone of Hengest," and considers Simon of Abingdon's "Stone-Hengest" to be a clerical blunder for Stonehenges. He says "We find in many of the Gothic languages a word closely resembling *henge*, and signifying something suspended." "In th[illegible] compound [illegible], the *henge* signifies the impost which is suspended [illegible] John Lubbock, (Prehis. Res., p. 114,) would "derive [illegible] Anglo-Saxon word "ing," a field; [illegible] the field of stone coffins."

The writer, in his younger days, [illegible] named Stonage, of Bishops Walth[illegible] which he has met with any form of [illegible]

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as the writer is aware, of any early human settlements nearer to this great necropolis, than High-Down or Durrington. Here must have been the Westminster Abbey, and possibly the Westminster Hall, of the people of that day, who occupied the vast down tracts of Southern Wilts. Here, at certain sacred seasons, must have been solemn gatherings for worship, for debate, and probably for amusement in the remarkable circus, which bounds Stonehenge to the north. And it would be difficult to believe that this place had not been so made use of for a considerable time. Years must have been spent in bringing hither and setting up the many and great stones of which it was composed, and it must have been a considerable period during which were being gathered around it the magnificent tumuli, which have been formed with so much care and labour. One might fairly fancy that, for two or three hundred years, at least, there may have been the peaceful use and enjoyment of this holy place. But upon these points men are not agreed. There is no "consensus" of Antiquaries about them. Every kind of theory has been proposed, and as regularly combated. And so it will be to the end of time. Each generation considers itself wiser than the preceding, and better able to explain those matters which to their fathers and grandfathers only appeared more difficult of explanation as they advanced in their enquiries. And thus it has come to pass that more books have been printed about the much-frequented Stonehenge than about all the other megalithic structures, collectively, which the world contains; and that the literature of this, the best known of them all, would fill the shelves of a small library. To the enquirer about Stonehenge it would be a work of time and trouble to seek out, in different places, and from many volumes, what he would be glad to know about it; and the present compilation[1] is

[1] The work which the writer, at the request of his Wiltshire Archæological friends, has taken in hand, would have been carried out, had he lived, by one, who, from long study of megalithic structures and tumuli, was eminently fitted for such a task. For many years Dr. Thurnam had contemplated a description of Stonehenge; and as he read, he jotted down references and made short extracts, which might be of use when he was in a position to undertake it. These memoranda, together with cuttings from newspapers, were most kindly given to the writer by Mrs. Thurnam, and they have been of material



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an attempt to bring together for the benefit of the members of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society the more important notices, which are descriptive of the structure and its adjuncts, and of the views and theories which have been propounded respecting it. To one who has made Stonehenge his study it will possibly tell nothing with which he is not already familiar; but to others it may be convenient and useful to have in as concise a form as possible, a *resumé* of what the best authorities on this and on similar structures have written respecting it. A series of extracts, it is true, is not particularly pleasant reading; but a man's words are the dress of his thoughts, and no one can clothe the ideas of another in so suitable a drapery as the author himself, if only those ideas are clearly apprehended, and as clearly expressed.

While the much larger and much older megalithic structure at Abury has been in the shade, and comparatively disregarded, Stonehenge has been, for the last 700 years, written about, talked

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service to him in the compilation of this paper. The subject in Dr. Thurnam's hands, could not fail of receiving a complete and masterly treatment; but it was not to be his work. He just lived to complete his valuable contribution to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, viz: his exhaustive account of "British Barrows, especially those of Wiltshire and the adjoining counties;" a work, which must henceforth be the text-book on the subject, and which exhibits in every line the scrupulous care and earnest striving after accuracy of statement which characterise all that Dr. Thurnam wrote. The writer cannot but think that the very great amount of research and close attention which this work required and received must have contributed, in no slight degree, to the sad and sudden termination of his valuable life. He told the writer shortly before his decease, that he would never have put his hand to it, had he, been aware of the immense amount of labour which it would entail upon him. By Dr. Thurnam's death, the writer lost a much-valued friend and correspondent of many years standing; who had given him important assistance in the preparation of his paper on Abury; and whose pleasant intercourse never left aught but agreeable recollections behind it. The work above mentioned, and his portion of the "Crania Britannica," are valuable and important contributions to archæological literature; while his scientific reports on the treatment of his insane patients in Yorkshire and Wiltshire are highly esteemed by his brethren of the medical profession. He will always live in the affectionate remembrance of the writer, who would fain place this stone upon the tomb of his departed friend:

"His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere."

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about, and visited. Poets have sung about its mysterious character and origin, and historians have rehearsed from generation to generation the fabulous narrative set afloat by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Stonehenge has been much indebted to its situation for its celebrity and popularity. Unlike Abury, and Stanton Drew, which are in decidedly out-of-the-way places, Stonehenge has had the advantage of being within a short distance of a cathedral-and-county-town, and it has thus acquired an amount of notoriety,[1] which, by comparison with its seniors, is not altogether deserved.

It is easier to describe Stonehenge than Abury; for Stonehenge, although a ruin, is a compact one; whereas Abury is not only of much greater area and circumference, but it was approached by a long stone avenue of more than a mile in length. Although Stonehenge has been much despoiled, it has not been, to anything like the same extent as Abury, regarded as the convenient quarry for the materials of neighbouring buildings. "There is as much of it undemolished," says Stukeley, "as enables us sufficiently to recover its form, when it was in its most perfect state; there is enough of every part to preserve the idea of the whole." At Abury, on the other hand, the stones comprising the circles and avenue have been continually broken up, even when not wanted for building-purposes, because they encumbered the pastures, or obstructed the plough. Fortunately the village Vandals omitted to fill up the holes in which the stones had stood, so that we are still able to assure ourselves that there were circles within the large outer one, as described by Aubrey and Stukeley. It is also certain from Aubrey's plan; from the stones which remain; and from the stones of whose removal we have reliable mention; that there was a continuous avenue from the large circle to the top of Kennet Hill. There must always, however, be uncertainty about the (so-called) Beckhampton avenue. Good Dr. Stukeley, to whom we owe so much, became unfortunately possessed with the ophite theory, and there is too much

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[1] Stukeley (p. 10, reprint) speaks of the "infinite number of coaches and horses, that thro' so many centuries have been visiting the place every day."

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reason to believe that but a few stones on that side of Abury were available for the vertebræ of his serpent's tail.[1]

Before proceeding to describe the plan of Stonehenge (for which, as Sir Richard Hoare says, the pen must call in the assistance of the pencil, for without a reference to plans and views, no perfect knowledge can be gained respecting this "Wonder of the West"), it will be best to give a somewhat detailed account of the different notices of Stonehenge in mediæval and later times.

Some persons are of opinion that Hecatæus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and of Ptolemy, made allusion

[1] From a letter of Lord Winchelsea's, printed in "Nichols' Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th century," ii., p. 771, and dated July 12th, 1723, it is evident that Stukeley had, at that early period, made up his mind about this Beckampton avenue. In his common-place book, folio 1717—48, lately in the possession of Sir William Tite, at page 73, is "a rude general sketch of the wonderful relique of Aubury, Wiltshire, as it appeared to us May 19, 1719," and then follow Stukeley's *first* impressions of it, containing nothing noteworthy except the conclusion, viz: "I believe there was originally but one entrance to it." There is the plan of the Kennet avenue, but no indication of any other. It is perfectly clear that Stukeley was conversant with all that Aubrey had written before him, although, like many other archæologists, he would not acknowledge the obligations he was under to his predecessor. Thomas Hearne, who must have been a crusty man, speaks very disparagingly of Stukeley as an antiquary. At page 485 of the "Reliquiæ Hearnianæ," (Bliss' edition,) is the following entry: "1722. Oct. 9. Dr. Stukley, fellow of the Royal Society, is making searches about the Roman ways. He is a very fancifull man, and the things he hath published are built upon fancy. He is looked upon as a man of no great authority, and his reputation dwindles every day as I have learnt from very good hands." And again, "1724. Sep. 10, Yesterday in the afternoon called upon me, William Stukeley, doctor of physick, whom I had never seen before. He told me he is about printing a little folio about curiosities. It is to be entitled 'Itinerarium Curiosum' . . . This Dr. Stukeley is a mighty conceited man, and 'tis observed by all that I have talked with that what he does hath no manner of likeness to the original. He does all by fancy." Hearne mentions Aubrey twice, but says nothing against him. Bishop Warburton considered Stukeley to have in him "a mixture of simplicity, drollery, absurdity, ingenuity, superstition, and antiquarianism." Malone says of Aubrey, that "his character for veracity has never been impeached, and as a very diligent antiquarian his testimony is worthy of attention." Toland says "that he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact." That he was very credulous we shall find from the ready hearing which he gave to Mrs. Trotman's gossip at Stonehenge.

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to Stonehenge in his "History of the Hyperboreans." In this work he described them as inhabiting an island as large as Sicily, lying towards the north, over against the country of the Celts, fertile and varied in its productions, possessed of a beautiful climate and enjoying two harvests a year. In this island was a round temple which was dedicated to Apollo. If Stonehenge were erected within the three hundred years which preceded the Christian era, it would not have been in existence when Hecatæus wrote. At all events, we shall never, from this vague statement, be able to emerge from the region of cloudland, and to take our stand upon "terra-firma." Mr. Herbert, in his "Cyclops Christianus" has devoted a large portion of Section I. to the proof that by this island Britain could not possibly have been meant.

No Roman historian makes mention of Stonehenge.

Neither Gildas, Nennius,[1] nor Bede, make mention of Stonehenge.

The Saxon Chronicle makes no mention of Stonehenge.

Nearly 1200 years of the Christian era roll away before the curtain is raised at all, and we get a peep at Stonehenge under the following brief notice of it by Henry of Huntingdon, who died after 1154. He is enumerating the four wonders of England, and he makes Stonehenge the second of them—"Secundum est apud Stanenges; ubi lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum portarum, elevati sunt, ita ut portæ portis superpositæ videantur: nec potest aliquis excogitare qua arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati sunt

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[1] Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden's Britannia, published in the year 1695. says that Stonehenge is mentioned in some manuscript of Nennius. This appears to be an error, as no mention is made of Stonehenge in his "De mirabilibus Britanniæ Insulæ," or in any other part of his "Historia Britonum." Some gloss in some edition must have misled the Bishop. Nennius does however give an account in the 48th and 49th chapters of his history of the slaughter of the Britons. It ends as follows: "Et conventum adduxerunt, et in unum convenerunt. Saxones autem amicabiliter locuti sunt, et mente interim vulpino more agebant, et vir juxta virum socialiter sederunt. Et Hengistus, sicut dixerat vociferatus est. Et omnes seniores, ccc., Guortigerni regis sunt jugulati, ipseque solus captus et catenatus est; ac regiones plurimas pro redemptione animæ suæ tribuit illis, id est Eastsexe, Suthsexe, Midelsexe, ut ab illicita conjunctione se separaret."

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vel quare ibi constructi sunt."[1] "The second is at Stanenges (Stonehenge), where stones of a wonderful size have been erected after the manner of doorways, so that doorway appears to have been raised upon doorway, nor can any one conceive by what art such great stones have been so raised aloft, or why they were there constructed." At a later period, when the Archdeacon of Huntingdon was on his way to Rome with Theobald, the newly-consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, he met with the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, and abridged it. He appears to have adopted Geoffrey's story about Stonehenge, as in a letter to Warinus Brito he says, "Uterpendragon, id est Caput Draconis, juvenis præstantissimus filius [*sic*] scilicet Aurelii Ambrosii, choream gigantum attulit ab Hiberniâ, quæ nunc vocatur Stanhenges."[2]

Before the year 1139, the work of the great British-Mythologist, Geoffrey of Monmouth, had been given to the world. His "Historia Britonum is the fountain-head of legendary British history, and poetry, and the source of—

> 'what resounds
> In fable or romance of Uther's son,
> Begirt with British and Armoric Knights,'

as well as the original to which we are indebted for the writings of Wace, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester (the rhyming historian), Robert of Brunne, and many more,—not to mention its influence on the historical literature of England up to the seventeenth century."[3]

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[1] The other three things, "quæ mira videntur in Anglia," are "primum quidem est quod ventus egreditur de cavernis terræ in monte qui vocatur Pec, tanto vigore ut vestes injectas repellat, et in altum elevatas procul ejiciat. Tertium est apud Chederhole; ubi cavitas est sub terrâ quam cum multi sæpe ingressi sint, et ibi magna spatia terræ et flumina pertransierint, nunquam tamen ad finem evenire potuerunt. Quartum est, quod in quibusdam partibus pluvia videtur elevari de montibus, et sine morâ per campos diffundi."

[2] Ep. H. Hunt · ad calcem Guiberti Novigent. ed. Dacherii p. 739, cited by Herbert, C.C., p. 161.

[3] Sir Frederick Madden, on "The Historia Britonum of Geoffrey of Monmouth." Arch. Journ., vol. xv., p. 299. Geoffrey died in 1154, having been made Bishop of St. Asaph, 1152.

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Dr. Guest speaks of it as "Jeffrey's romance, that unhappy work which is everywhere found darkening the pure light of our early history;"[1] and elsewhere[2] he says of it, "The history of Jeffrey of Monmouth appeared in the middle of the twelfth century, and was denounced by the ablest men of the day as an impudent imposture. But it was patronized by the Earl of Gloucester, whose vanity it ministered to, and the influence of this powerful noble gave it a popularity which soon spread throughout Europe. Few of our later historians dare to question the truth of Jeffrey's statements; but his history is only a larger collection of the legends to which Nennius introduced us,[3] added to and 'embellished' without scruple, partly from his own imagination, and partly, no doubt, from foreign sources, and impudently obtruded upon the reader as a translation of a Breton original."[4]

The following is Geoffrey's account, which is given in the words of Thompson's translation, printed by Sir R. Hoare: "Aurelius, wishing to commemorate those who had fallen in battle,[5] and who

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[1] "Welsh and English Rule in Somersetshire after the capture of Bath, A.D. 577." Arch. Journal, vol. xvi., p. 123.

[2] "Early English settlements in South Britain." Salisbury Vol. of Arch. Institute, 1849, p. 37.

[3] Mr. Ellis, in the introduction to his "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances" discusses the question of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, and comes to the conclusion, that upon the whole there seems to be no good reason for supposing that this strange chronicle was a sudden fabrication, or the work of any one man's invention. It rather resembles a superstructure gradually and progressively raised on the foundation of the history attributed to Nennius.
With reference to the story of Merlin and the removal of the stones to England, "if," Mr. Ellis says, (p. 56 of the Introd.) "as Llwd and some other learned men have conjectured, a Gaelic colony preceded the Cymri in the possession of Britain, it is not impossible that Stonehenge, and other similar monuments, may have been erected by these early settlers, and that the foolish story in the text may have been grafted on some mutilated tradition of that event."

[4] To the great popularity of Geoffrey's History, Alfred of Beverley, whose work was compiled about 1150, bears testimony: "Ferebantur *tunc temporis* per ora multorum narrationes de Historia Britonum, notamque rusticitatis incurrebat, qui talium narrationum scientiam non habebat."

[5] The British nobles whom Hengist the Saxon is alleged to have treacherously murdered at or near Ambresbury.

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were buried in the convent at Ambresbury,[1] thought fit to send for Merlin, the prophet, a man of the brightest genius, either in predicting future events, or in mechanical contrivances, to consult him on the proper monument to be erected to the memory of the slain. On being interrogated, the prophet replied, 'If you are desirous to honour the burying-place of these men with an everlasting monument, send for the Giant's Dance, which is in Killaraus [Kildare], a mountain in Ireland. For there is a structure of stones there, which none of this age could raise without a profound knowledge of the mechanical arts. They are stones of a vast magnitude, and wonderful quality; and if they can be placed here, as they are there, quite round this spot of ground, they will stand for ever.' At these words Aurelius burst out into laughter, and said, 'How is it possible to remove such large stones from so distant a country, as if Britain was not furnished with stones fit for the work?' Merlin having replied, that they were mystical stones, and of a medicinal virtue, the Britons resolved to send for the stones, and to make war upon the people of Ireland, if they should offer to detain them. Uther Pendragon, attended by 15,000 men, was made choice of as the leader, and the direction of the whole affair was to be managed by Merlin. On their landing in Ireland, the removal of the stones was violently opposed by one Gillomanius, a youth of wonderful valour, who, at the head of a vast army exclaimed, 'To arms, soldiers, and defend your country; while I have life, they shall not take from us the least stone of the Giant's Dance.' A battle ensued, and victory having decided in favour of the Britons, they proceeded to the mountain of Killaraus, and arrived at the structure of stones, the sight of which filled them with both joy and admiration. And while they were all standing round them, Merlin came up to them and said, 'Now try your forces, young men, and see whether strength or art

[1] Sir R. C. Hoare notices that Geoffrey of Monmouth "contradicts himself as to the placing of these stones; for he first says that Aurelius intended them as a memorial to those of his subjects who had been slain in the battle with Hengist, and who had been buried in the convent at Amesbury; and afterwards tells us, they were set up round the sepulchre on the mount of Ambrius, which place (where Stonehenge now stands) is two miles distant from the supposed site of the convent."

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can do more towards the taking down these stones.' At this word they all set to their engines with one accord, and attempted the removal of the Giant's Dance. Some prepared cables, others small ropes, others ladders for the work; but all to no purpose. Merlin laughed at their vain efforts, and then began his own contrivances. At last, when he had placed in order the engines that were necessary, he took down the stones with an incredible facility, and withal gave directions for carrying them to the ships, and placing them therein.

"This done, they with joy set sail again to return to Britain, where they arrived with a fair gale, and repaired to the burial-place with the stones. When Aurelius had notice of it, he sent out messengers to all the parts of Britain, to summon the clergy and people together to the mount of Ambrius, in order to celebrate with joy and honour the erecting of the monument. A great solemnity was held for three successive days; after which Aurelius ordered Merlin to set up the stones brought over from Ireland, about the sepulchre, which he accordingly did, and placed them in the same manner as they had been in the Mount of Killaraus, and thereby gave a manifest proof of the prevalence of art above strength."

On the death of Aurelius, his body was, according to Geoffrey (British History, book viii.), buried by the bishops of the country, near the convent of Ambrius, within the Giant's Dance, which in his lifetime he had commanded to be made. Uther Pendragon also, on his death, was carried by the bishops and clergy of the kingdom, to the convent of Ambrius, where they buried him with regal solemnity, close by Aurelius Ambrosius, within the Giant's Dance.

This story held its ground for 500 years.

Dr. Guest writes about it[1] as follows, in the paper before alluded to, "Amesbury signified the burgh of Ambres or Ambrosius. According to the Welsh triads, it was once the seat of a great monastery. The three chief perpetual choirs of the isle of Britain: the choir of

[1] Stillingfleet, and Hume after him, considered this story of the massacre of the British as an invention of the Welsh to palliate their own weak resistance and the rapid progress of the Saxons. Sir F. Palgrave and Lappenberg regarded the entire history of Hengest as a fable.

Llan Iltud Vawr, in Glamorganshire; the choir of Ambrosius, in Ambresbury; and the choir of Glastonbury. In each of these three choirs there were 2400 saints; that is, there were 100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation, perpetuating the praise of God without rest or intermission." (Probert Triad, 84.) He continues, "In the older Welsh poems we sometimes find allusions to a conflict which appears to have taken place about some *nawt*, or sanctuary. It has been keenly contested that these allusions refer to the massacre of the British nobles by Hengest, and that the *nawt* was the heathen sanctuary of Stonehenge. One of the poems which are supposed to allude to this subject is attributed to Cukelyn the Bald, who according to Owen Pugh, flourished in the sixth, and according to the compilers of the Archæology, in the eighth century. It represents Eitol 'excelling in wisdom,' as the chief of this mysterious locality; and the structure itself is described as

> ' . . . . mur Ior
> Maus Pedir pedror
> Mawr cor cyvoeth.'

> ' . . . . the wall of the Eternal,
> The quadrangular delight of Peter,
> The great Choir of the dominion.'

I would venture to suggest that this celebrated *nawt* may have been the Christian monastery instead of the heathen temple, and that the legend which makes Stonehenge the work of Ambrosius (Gwaith Emrys) may have arisen from his having built or re-edified one of the 'Choirs of Britain' in its immediate neighbourhood. An attempt on the part of the invaders to surprise this monastery—probably during one of its great festivals—may have given rise to the charge of a treacherous massacre; and Hengest would naturally figure in the tale, as being the Saxon chief best known to Welsh fable. The story seems to have been a favorite fiction in the sixth and seventh centuries, for it is also told of the Saxons who invaded Thuringia. . . . There is reason to believe that the choir of Glastonbury arose after that of Amesbury was destroyed. The choir of Ambrosius was probably *the* monastery of Britain—the centre from which flowed the blessings of Christianity and civilization.

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Around Amesbury the Briton was fighting for all that was dearest to him; and thus may we account for the desperate resistance which enabled him to maintain a weak frontier for nearly sixty years within little more than twenty miles of Winchester."

If the massacre at Amesbury was a massacre of Christians, Stonehenge was hardly the kind of monument which would have been erected to commemorate their dead by Christian survivors and successors.[1]

Giraldus Cambrensis (born 1146—died 1223), in his "Topogaphia Hiberniæ," which was completed in 1187, speaking of some large stones in the plain of Kildare of a similar character to those now to be seen at Stonehenge, relates how the latter had been originally brought by giants from the remotest parts of Africa, and set up in Ireland, where they were called "Chorea Gigantum," but that according to British history they had been at the instigation of Ambrosius brought over by Merlin, to Britain, and set up where the flower of Britain had been treacherously slain by the Saxons.

The writer thinks that we may fairly say, with Leland, "Fabulosa fere omnia de lapidibus ex Hiberniâ adductis."

Wace, who died after 1171, in his Anglo-Norman translation of the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, under the title of Li Romans de Brut, thus speaks of Merlin and Stonehenge (line 8381, Rouen ed., 1836) :—

"Et Merlins les pieres dreça
Encor ordre et les aloa.
Breton les solent en Bretans
Apeler Karole as gaians; — Cercle des geans
Senhange ont non en englois, — Stonehenge
Pieres pendules en françois."

In "Analyse du Roman de Brut" by Le Roux de Liney, the

[1] On the British Church during the Roman period (A.D. 200—450), and on the British Church during the period of Saxon Conquest (A.D. 450—681), see Haddan and Stubb's "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i., 1869." The Appendix C. to the first portion, entitled "Monumental Remains of the British Church during the Roman Period," and Appendix F. to the second, entitled "Sepulchral Inscriptions in (Celtic) Britain, A.D. 450—700," are particularly interesting.

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editor of Wace, at page 78, he says "Elles furent conduites dans la plaine de Salisbury où, on les voit encore. Elles sont appelées Stonehenge en Anglais, et Pierres levées en Français."

The lines 17154—17513 in Layamon's[1] Brut or Chronicle of England (Madden's edition, vol. ii., p. 295—310, 1847), contain an amplified version of the part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history which relates to Hengist, Ambrosius, Merlin and Stonehenge.

Neckham,[2] in his "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ," lines 723—746, ed. 1863, p. 457, thus describes Stonehenge. The two previous lines are descriptive of the baths of Bath:—

"Admiranda tibi præbet spectacula tellus
Bruti; summatim tangere pauca libet.

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Balnea Bathoniæ ferventia tempore quovis
Ægris festina sæpe medentur ope.

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Nobilis est lapidum structura chorea Gigantum,
  Ars experta suum posse peregit opus,
Quod ne prodiret in lucem segnius artem
  Se viresque suas consuluisse reor.
Hoc opus ascribit Merlino garrula fama,
  Filia figmenti fabula vana refert.
Dicta congerie fertur decorata fuisse
  Tellus quæ nutrit tot Palamedis aves.

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[1] Layamon was a priest, and lived at Ernley (Lower Arley otherwise Arley Regis), three-and-a-half miles south-east from Bewdley in Worcestershire. The sources from which he compiled his work are stated by himself to be three in number, viz., a book in English, made by St. Bede, another in Latin, made by St. Albin and Austin, and a third made by a French Clerk named Wace, who presented it to Queen Eleanor (consort of Henry the Second). To the third, viz., the Anglo-Norman metrical Chronicle of the Brut, translated from the well-known Historia Britonum of Geoffrey of Monmouth by Wace, and completed in the year 1155, which embraces the History of Britain, fabulous or true, from the destruction of Troy, and subsequent arrival of Brutus, to the death of King Cadwallader, in A.D. 689. Wace's Brut is comprised in 15,300 lines, whilst the poem of the English versifier extends to nearly 32,250. Sir F. Madden (the editor of "Layamon's Brut," published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1847), thinks it most probable that it was written or completed at the beginning of the thirteenth century. His language belongs to that transition period in which the ground-work of Anglo-Saxon phraseology and grammar still existed, although gradually yielding to the influence of the popular forms of speech.

[2] Neckham, born 1157, was elected Abbot of Cirencester in 1213, and he died at Kempsey, near Worcester, in 1217, and it is said that by direction of his friend the bishop, he was buried in Worcester Cathedral.

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Dehinc tantum munus suscepit Hibernia gaudens,
Nam virtus lapidum cuilibet ampla subest.
Nam respersus aquis magnam transfudit in illas
Vim, qua curari sæpius æger eget.
Uter pendragon hanc molem transvexit ad Ambri
Fines, devicto victor ab hoste means.
O quot nobilium, quot corpora sancta virorum,
Illic Hengistæ proditione jacent!
Intercepta fuit gens inclita, gens generosa,
Intercepta, nimis credula, cauta minus.
Sed tunc enituit præclari consulis Eldol
Virtus, qui leto septuaginta dedit."

The history of Geoffrey of Monmouth was versified by Robert of Gloucester, who wrote after 1278. These are the last four lines of his account of the transfer of the stones from Ireland.—

"Uter the Kynges brother, that Ambrose hette also
In another maner name ychose was therto
And fifteene thousant men, this dede for to do,
And Merlyn, for his quoyntise, thider went also."

In vol. ii. of the Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden,[1] Monachi Cestrensis, p. 23, ed. 1869, is the following, "The secunde (meruaille) is at Stanhenges, nye to Salisbury, where stones of a grete magnitude be exaltede in to the maner of gates, that thei seme as gates putte on gates, where hit can not be clerely perceyvede how and wherefore the stones were sette there."

In the Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis), Chronicon ab Orbe Condito usque ad annum Domini MCCCLXVI., a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum,[2] ed. 1860, vol. ii., p. 141, we find the following account of Stonehenge, "Sunt in Britanniâ fontes calidi morbis mortalium medicinales. Sunt in ea plura mirabilia; sunt enim apud le Stonhenge lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum portarum elevati, nec liquide perpenditur qualiter aut quomodo sunt ibi constructi." Then we have the old story (p. 280) "how the

[1] Higden was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century, somewhere in the west of England. He took monastic vows about 1299, and died in March, 1363, and was buried in the Abbey of Chester.

[2] Written in the year 1372.

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Britones nullum falsum cogitantes, constituerunt diem amoris in civitate Ambri, ubi nunc est le Stonehenge ;" how they were treacherously slain, and how Aurelius Ambrosius (pp. 302, 303) volens honorare sepulturæ locum ubi proceres Britonum Engystus[1] dolo ceciderat, misit propter choream Gigantum in Hiberniam qui eam per artem Merlini attulit, et circa sepulchrum nobilium occisorum statuit choream predictam, quæ nunc vocatur Lapis pendens

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[1] Dr. Rolleston, in a paper on "The modes of sepulture observable in late Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon times in this country," points out, from the fact that Anglo-Saxon urns, indicating cremation, had been found in as many as fifteen counties in England, and that this practice could only have been prevalent during the 150 years intervening between the comings of Hengist and of St. Augustine, that we have here a clear proof that the Anglo-Saxons came over in great numbers. He says, "It is the fashion to consider Hengist a mythical person, and to disregard alike the story of his landing in Kent, and of his being executed at Conisborough, in South Yorkshire. But these urns show that men, such as Hengist was, did spread themselves over the very area which he is said to have overrun ; possibly not in so short a period as the forty years assigned for his exploits, but, what is of greater consequence, without giving up the manners and customs and creed of the country whence they came, and in which at the present day (see Kemble'sHoræ Ferales, pl. xxx. et passim) we find similar relics to those of which we have been here speaking." Dr. Rolleston also argues from this prevalence of Anglo-Saxon urn burial over such an area and for such a period that the influence of the clergy, and of the Christian religion, which has always resolutely fought against cremation, must have been destroyed. As there is a disposition in some quarters to look favorably upon the revival of cremation, it may be as well to give the following references quoted by Dr. Rolleston, "Tertullian, A.D. 197, cit. Grimm, Berlin, Abhand, 1849, p. 207, 'Christianus cui cremare not licuit'; see also History of Esthonians, as lately as 1210, A.D.; Grimm, ibid, p. 247 ; Pusey, Minor Prophets, Amos, vi., 10, ibique citata ; Kemble 'Horæ Ferales,' p. 95, 'Wherever Christianity set foot, cremation was to cease.'" The results of the Teutonic invasion of Britain upon its Christianity are forcibly set forth by Dean Milman, in his "Latin Christianity" Book, iv., c. 3, "Britain was the only country in which the conquest by the Northern barbarians had been followed by the extinction of Christianity." . . . "The Saxons and the Anglians, in their religion unreclaimed idolaters, knew nothing of Christianity but as the religion of that abject people whom they were driving before them into their mountains and fastnesses. Their conquest was not the settlement of armed conquerors amidst a subject people, but the gradual expulsion—it might almost seem, at length, the total extirpation—of the British and Roman-British inhabitants. Christianity receded with the conquered Britons into the mountains of Wales, or towards the borders of Scotland, or took refuge among the peaceful and flourishing monasteries of Ireland."

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et Anglice Stonehenges. Post hæc periit rex veneno apud Wyntoniam, anno xliiii regni sui. Sepultus est in cæmeterio quod ipse præparaverat, scilicet, infra choream Gigantum.

Mortuo Aurelio coronatus est Uther frater ejus. Tempore tamen Aurelii regis per artem Merlini de Hibernia ducti sunt lapides illæ (sic) magnæ quæ nunc apud le Stonhenge sitæ sunt. In Hiberniâ vocatæ fuerunt Gigantum Choreæ. Merlinus autem cum primo regi de lapidibus tetigerat rex solutus est in risum, dicens an lapides Britanniæ tanti valoris essent et tanti pulchritudinis sicut Hiberniæ? Cui respondit Merlinus: Ne moveas rex vanum risum, quia hæc absque vanitate profero. Mysticæ sunt lapides illæ et ad diversa medicamina salubres; nam olim gigantes illos asportaverunt ex ultimis finibus Africæ, et posuerunt in Hiberniam dum ibi habitarent; erat autem hæc causa: cum aliquis illorum infirmabatur vel vulnerabatur, statim infra lapides confecerunt balneum de herbis et de lotione lapidum quia tanti fuerunt medicaminis quod, lapidibus lotis et aqua potata vel in balneum missa, ægroti vel vulnerati statim sanitatem reficiunt. Non enim est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat, steterunt autem in monte Killarno. De lapidibus satis est.

Andrew Borde, of Phisicke Doctor, who called himself Andreas *Perforatus*, and whom others called Merry Andrew, "in his fyrst Boke of the Introduction of knowledge" (1542), reckons among the wonders of England, "the hot waters of Bath," and tells us that "in winter the poore people doth go into the water to kepe themself warm, and to get them a heate;" the salt-springs "of the whych waters salt is made;"—the "Stonege" on Salisbury Plain, "certayne great stones so placed that no gemetricion can set them as they do hang;" "fossil wood, there is wood which doth turne into stone;" and the royal touch, which "doth make men whole of a syckness called the Kynge's evyll." See Retrospective Review, vol. i., 1853, N.S.

John Hardyng was an investigator of our national antiquities and history, and at length clothed his researches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to King Edward the Fourth, and with the title of "The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of King

Edward the Fourth in verse" (London, 1543). He thus sings of the obsequies of Aurelius Ambrosius :—

> "Within the Giantes Carole, that so then hight,
> The Stone Hengles, that nowe so named bene,
> Where prelates and dukes, erles and lords of might,
> His sepulture to worship there were sene.
> Thus this worthy Kyng was buryed by dene,
> That reygned had that tyme but thirten yere
> When he was dedde and laide so on bere."

And Constantine was :—

> "Buryed at Caroll ne lesse,
> Besyde Uterpendragon full expresse
> Arthures fader, of great worthynesse;
> Which called is the Stone Hengles certayne,
> Besyde Salysbury upon the playne."

He had previously thus written of the erection of Stonehenge, as a monument to the Britons :—

> "The Kyng then made a worthy sepulture,
> With ye Stone hengles, by Merlins' whole aduise,
> For all the lordes Brytons hye nature,
> That there were slain in false and cruell wise,
> By false Engest, and his feloes vnwise;
> In remembraunce of his forcasten treason,
> Without cause, or any els encheson."

Leland died in 1552, leaving behind him, amongst other writings, "Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britanicis." In this work (vol. i., p. 42—48) is an account of Ambrosius Merlin. The following is an extract from a translation of it, made by Canon Jackson for Dr. Thurnam: "After the death of Vortigern, the Britons plucked up fresh courage under a new leader; so much so, that in a short time they slaughtered and despatched to the regions below the greater part of the Saxons with their chieftain, Hengist; the rest were dismissed to slavery and a precarious existence. Then it was that Ambrosius began to study the glory of Britain, to restore cities and castles, and once more to elevate religion also to its former dignity. Amongst other things he was seized with the most generous desire of perpetuating the illustrious memory of the British nobles, who, whether through the fraud or the valor of Hengist and his party, I cannot say—fell on Salisbury Plain." Merlin was sent for, and "began by searching for a bed of stone in large masses, such as

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abound in Salisbury Plain, and having found one which was both near the site fixed upon and was also remarkable for the enormous size of its blocks, he immediately collected a number of 'navvies,' giving them orders to set to work hard and lay the ground open, wide and deep. The men got their tools together, and set to work. But when they came to raise to the surface the largest of the blocks out of its native bed, the 'navvies' were utterly at a *non-plus* what to do. Then Merlin by his art and skill lent that aid which the men's strength could not supply. By wonderful ingenuity that seemed altmost inspired, he constructed machines similar to, and certainly not less cleverly contrived than those which in his Tenth Book on Architecture, Vitruvius attributes to Ctesiphon and Metagenes. So superior in difficult undertakings is the mind to the body. And now the engines were set up, the work glowed, every one being intent upon his own special business. To be brief, at least 50 slabs [*tabulæ*], of immense size and weight were brought to the spot where a large number of the British nobility had been put to death. Recourse was again had to genius and machinery, for Merlin, having marked out a round place, ordered the stone-quarriers to set up those enormous blocks, which were much greater in height than in breadth, and to place them in circular form at equal intervening distances. His next order was to unite the summits of these stones by placing enormous blocks over the vacant intervals, so as to form a crown. Besides these, other stones also were set up in the same, or very similar manner, only within the area of the outer circle, of which some have fallen through the injury of time. The same has also happened to some of the coronary stones of the first circle."[1]

[1] "About the fetching of them from Ireland, it is all fabulous. For every person even of common information must know that these stones, so large as not even to be moved by any mechanism in our unscientific days, were brought by Merlin with marvellous skill and the help of ingenious machinery from some neighbouring quarry to the place where they are now the admiration of travellers. It would, indeed, have puzzled him to bring them by sea to Amesbury, for there is no sea coast within 20 miles of it." From the Latin in Collectanea, ii., by Canon Jackson (*Wilts Mag.* i., 176), who says, "It is remarkable that though so close to Stonehenge (which, no doubt, he saw), Leland has left no description of that place or Avebury."



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In Polydore Vergil's[1] English History (edited by Sir Henry Ellis for the Camden Society, 1846), is the following: "The Englishmenne after this [defeat of the Saxons and death of Ambrosius, King of the Britons] hadd quietnes, nothinge againste their wills, within vj. monethes having vj. hundred discommoditees; the Britons, nevertheles, intentive to nothinge, and the lesse readie to annoye them throwghe there death of there kinge, for whome, in the meane time, in that hee hadde well deserved of the common wealthe, thei erected a rioll sepulcher in the fashion of a crowne of great square stones, even in that place wheare in skirmished hee receaved his fatall stroke. The tumbe is as yet extante in the diocesse of Sarisburie, neare to the village, called Aumsburie."

"Polydori Vergilii Anglicæ historiæ libri xxvii. fol. Basileæ, 1557. Angli secundum hæc, non inviti quievere, sexcentis intra paucos menses affecti incommodis, Britanno presertim nihil moliente, et ob mortem sui ducis, minus in malis parato, qui interea duci suo Ambrosio de Republica bene merito magnificum posuit sepulchrum, factum ad formam coronæ, ex magnis quadratis lapidibus, eo loci, ubi pugnando ceciderat, ut tanti ducis virtus ne oblivione eorum, qui tunc erant, aut reticentia posterorum insepulta esset. Extat etiam nunc id monimentum in diœcesi Sarisberiensi prope pagum, quam Amisberiam vocant."

In the first edition of Camden's[2] "Britannia" (1586), is the following account of Stonehenge: "Septentriones versus ad vi. plus

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[1] Polydore Vergil, described by H. Wharton, in his "Anglia Sacra," as "vir undequaque doctissimus, et Anglicanæ Historiæ peritissimus," was born at Urbino in Italy, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and died 1555. He was Archdeacon of Wells in 1508, and was employed by Henry VII. to write a history of England. "His attainments went far beyond the common learning of his age. The earlier part of his history interfered with the prejudices of the English. He discarded Brute as an unreal personage; and considered Geoffrey of Monmouth's history an heterogeneous mixture of fact and fable, furnishing comparatively little which could be safely relied upon as history" (Sir H. Ellis). Hence the abuse of Vergil by Leland, Sir H. Savile, Paulus Jovius, Humphrey Lluyd, Caius, and others, as a disparager of the British Antiquities, a destroyer of manuscripts, &c.

[2] Camden was born in London in 1551, and died in 1623. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

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minus a Sarisburiâ milliari, in illâ planitie, insana (ut Ciceronis verbo utar) conspicitur constructio.[1] Intra fossam enim ingentia et rudia saxa, quorum nonnulla xxviii. pedes attitudine, vii. latitudine, colligunt, coronæ in modo triplici serie eriguntur, quibus alia quasi transversaria sic innituntur, ut pensile videatur opus; unde Stonehenge nobis nuncupatur, uti antiquis historicis Chorea Gigantum à magnitudine. Hoc in miraculorum numero referunt nostrates, unde verò ejusmodi saxa allata fuerint, cum totâ regione finitimâ vix structiles lapides inveniantur, et quânam ratione subrecta, demirantur. De his non mihi subtilius disputandum, sed dolentius deplorandum obliteratos esse tanti monumenti authores. Attamen sunt qui existimant saxa illa non viva esse, id est, naturalia et excissa sed facticia ex arenâ purâ, et unctuoso aliquo coagmentata. Fama obtinet Ambrosium Aurelianum, sive Utherum ejus fratrem, in Britonum memoriam, qui ibi Saxonum dolo, in colloquio ceciderunt, illa Merlini mathematici operâ posuisse. Alii produnt Britannos hoc quasi magnificum sepulchrum eidem Ambrosio substruxisse eo loci, ubi hostili gladio ille periit, ut publicis operibus contectus esset, eâque extructione, quæ sit ad æternitatis memoriam, quasi virtutis ara."

In "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine," by John Speed,[2] 1627, is a map of Wiltshire, with an engraving of Stonehenge in one corner. Ten transom stones are represented in it as in their places. The following description is engraved beneath it: "This ancient monument was erected by Aurelius surnamed Ambrosius, King of the Brittaines, whose nobility in raigne of Vortiger (his countryes scourge) about ye yere of Christ 475 by treachery of ye Saxons, on a daye of parley were there slaughtered and their bodyes

[1] Cicero pro Milone, 20. "Ante fundum Clodii, quo in fundo, propter insanas illas substructiones, facile mille hominum versabatur valentium. Edito adversarii atque excelso loco superiorem se fore putabat Milo, et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissimum elegerat?"

[2] John Speed, born at Farrington, in Cheshire, about 1555, brought up to the business of a tailor, was enabled by the liberality of Sir Fulk Greville to devote himself to the study of English history and antiquities. "According to Tyrrel and Bishop Nicholson, he was the first who, slighting Geoffrey of Monmouth and other legendaries, commenced at once with solid and rational matter." He died in 1629. His history of Great Britain was published in 1614.

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there interred. In memory whereof this king Aurel caused this Trophye to be set up. Admirable to posterityes both in forme and quantitye. The matter thereof are stones of great bignes, conteynyng twenty eighte foot and more in length and tenn in breadth, these are set in ye ground by towe and a thrid laide gatewise over thwart fastned with tenons and mortaises wrought in the same wch. seeme very dangerous to all that passe thereunder. The forme is rounde, and as it semeth hath been circulated with three rankes of these stones, many whereof are now fallen downe and the uttermost standing contayneth in compass three hundred foot by measure of assize. They all are roughe and of a graye colour, standing within a trench that hath bene much deeper. In this place this forsayd King Aurelius with 2 more of ye Britishe Kings his successours have beene buryed with many more of their nobilitye and in this place under little bankes to this daye are founde by digging bones of mighty men and armoure of large and ancient fashion. Not farr hence is sene the ruines of an ould fortresse thought by some to be built there by the Romaines when this kingdom was possessed by the Emperours."

Speed's "History of Britain," second edition, 1672, p. 267, says, "Unto this Aurelius Ambrosius is ascribed the erection of that rare and admirable monument, now called Stonehenge, in the same place where the Britaines had been treacherously slaughtered and interred, whose manner and forme in our draught of Wiltshire wee have inserted. The matter being stones of a great and huge bignesse, so that some of them containe twelve tonne in waight and twenty eight foote or more in length, their breadth seven and compasse sixteene. These are set in the ground of a good depth, and standing a round circle by two and two, having a third stone somewhat of lesse quantity laid gate-wise over thwarte on their toppes fastened with tenons and mortaises, the one into the other, which to some seeme so dangerous as they may not safely be passed under, the rather for that many of them are fallen downe and the rest suspected of no sure foundation. Notwithstanding at my being there, I neither saw cause of such feare, nor uncertaintie in accounting their numbers, as it is said to be. The stones are gray, but n

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marbled, wherein great holes are beaten even by force of weather, that serve for ravens and other birds to build in and bring forth their young. The ground plot containeth about three hundred foot in compasse, in plan almost round, or rather like unto a horse-shoe, with an entrance in the east side. Three rowes of stones seeme formerly to have been pitched, the largest outwards and the least inwards, many whereof are now fallen downe, but those that stande shew so faire an aspect, and that so farre off, that they seeme to the beholders to be some fortresse or strong castle. A trench also is about them, which hath beene much deeper, and upon the plaines adjoyning many round topped hilles without any . . . trench (as it were cast up out of the earth) stand like great Hay Cockes in a plaine meadow. In these and thereabouts by digging have been found pieces of ancient fashioned armour with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus covered with earth that was brought thither by their well-willers and friends even in their head-peeces; a token of love that then was used, as some imagine. This trophy Aurelius Ambrosius (in memorial of the Bs. massacre) created and is worthily accounted one of the wonders of this island, and one in the verses of Alexr. Necham called the Giant's Dance, wherein this Ambrosius, &c., &c., as in Geoffrey."

According to Antony a Wood (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i., p. 631; Bliss' ed. ii., p. 659), John Speed, M.A., M.D., born c. 1595, son of the above, an eminent physician, wrote "Stonehenge," a pastoral which was acted before Dr. Richard Bailie, the President, and Fellows, of St. John's College, Oxford, in their common refectory, at what time the said Doctor was returned from Salisbury after he was installed Dean thereof, 1635. "The said pastoral is not printed but goes about in MS. from hand to hand."

Among Dr. Thurnam's memoranda for his intended paper on Stonehenge is the following: "Nero Cæsar, 1624, by the translator of Lucius-Florus (Bolton MS. on title) dedicated with leave to the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Admiral. [Stukeley and Aubrey had their Twining, Inigo Jones his Bolton.—*J.T.*] Page 181, § 32: "Of the place of Boadicea's buriall . . . Admirable monument of the stones upon Salisburie plaine . . . the dumbness of it

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speakes that it was not the work of the Romans, for they were wont to make stones vocall by inscriptions . . . That Stonage was a work of the Britaines the rudeness itself persuades . . . plate of metal, etc. appertaine to Stonehenge, or as it is more commonly named Stonage . . . quotes Geoffrey of Monmouth to criticise . . . Ambrosius' story alluded to. The ruine of the old fortress, which survives not far from Stonage also thought by some whomsoever to have been a Roman Work, afford no cypher for spelling out the founders of this stonie marvell . . . The bones of men digged up at times neere this place under little bankes, convince it to have been sepulchral, but armours of a large and antique fashion, upon which the spade and pickaxe are sometimes said to hit doe clear the owners of having been in the number of those Britains whom pagan Hengist wickedly slew, for they came weaponless. . . . My jealousie touching the cause of Stonage, concludes not others freedom to censure what they please."

In "Annales, or, a generall Chronicle of England," begun by John Stow,[1] continued by Edmond Howes (folio, London, 1631), we find the following: "Of this Ambrosius, William Malmesbury writeth thus: Surely, even then (saith he) the Brytaines had gone to wracke, if Ambrosius, who onely and alone of all the Romanes, remained in Brytaine, and was Monarch of the Realme after Vortiger, had not kept vnder the proud Barbarians, with the notable travaile of the warriour Arthur. Now it followeth in Geffrey, that this Ambrosius caused Churches to be repaired, which had been spoiled by the Saxons: he caused also the great stones to bee set on the Plaine of Salisbury, which is called Stonehenge, in remembrance of

[1] John Stow, born in London, about 1525, was brought up by his father as a tailor, but took to antiquarian researches. His "Summarie of the Englyshe Chronicle" was compiled at the instance of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and was published in 1565, and afterwards continued by Edmond Howes. His "Survey of London" appeared in 1598. "From his papers Edmond Howes published a folio volume, entitled 'Stow's Chronicle,' which does not however contain the whole of that 'far larger work,' which he had left in his study, transcribed for the press, and which is said to have fallen into the possession of Sir Symnods D'Ewes. He died, afflicted by poverty and disease, in 1605, at the age of eighty. He was a correct and zealous antiquary, and a sincere lover of truth, who never would be satisfied without a recourse to original documents."

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the Brytaines that were slaine and buried there, in the raigne of Vortiger, at the banquet and communication of Hengist with the Saxons. This ancient Monument is yet to be seen, and is a number of stones, rough, and of a gray colour, 25 foote in length, and about 10 foot in breadth, they are ioyned by two and two together, and every couple sustaineth a third stone lying overthwart, gatewise, which is fastened by the meanes of tenons that enter into mortaises of those stones not closed with any cement. It appeareth that there hath beene 3 ranks going round as circles one within another: whereof the vttermost and largest containeth in compasse 300 foote, but the other ranks are decayed, and therefore hard to reckon how many stones there be.

"The Chronicles of the Britaines doe testifie, that whereas the Saxons, about the yeere of our Lord 450, had slaine 480 of the Britaines Nobility by treason, and vnder colour of a treaty, Aurelius Ambrose now King of the Britaines desirous to continue their memory with some worthy monument, caused these stones to be set vp in a place of their murther and buriall, the which stones had beene first brought from Affrik into Ireland, and placed on mount Killare, and from thence by the industrious meanes of Merlin, were convayed to this place to the aforesaid end. There are about this place certaine little hils, or banks, vnder the which are found sometimes bones of big men, and pieces of armour: also not far from thence, remaine old ruines of the manner of a fortresse, which the Romanes (as it is not vnlike) did build there in times past. . . . . . . Aurelius Ambrose being poysoned, dyed, when hee had raigned 35 yeeres, and was buried at Stonehenge, then called Chorea Gigantum."

Thomas Fuller,[1] in chapter 26 of the first book of the "Church History of Britain" (1656), gives the following account of Stonehenge: "It is contrived in form of a crown, consisting of three circles of stones set up gate-wise; some called 'corse-stones,' of 12 tons, others called 'cronets,' of 7 tons' weight (those haply for

[1] Dr. Thomas Fuller, the eminent historian and divine, died in 1661. He was the author of "the Worthies," "the Church History of England," "History of the Holy War," etc. He was a man of "quaint conceit," and had such a memory that he could recite a sermon verbatim after he had heard it once.

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greater, and these for inferior officers); and one stone at a distance seems to stand sentinel for the rest. It seems equally impossible, that they were bred here, or brought hither; seeing (no navigable water near) such voluminous bulks are unmanageable in cart or waggon. As for the the tale of Merlin's conjuring them by magic out of Ireland, and bringing them aloft in the skies (what, in Charles's Wain?) it is too ridiculous to be confuted. This hath put learned men on necessity to conceive them artificial stones, consolidated of sand. Stand they there, in defiance of wind and weather (which hath discomposed the method of them), which, if made of any precious matter (a bait to tempt avarice), no doubt long since had been indicted of superstition; whereas, now they are protected by their own weight and worthlessness."

King James I. visited Stonehenge in 1620, and was so much interested in it that he desired Inigo Jones, the celebrated architect, "to produce out of his own practice in architecture, and experience in antiquities abroad, what he could discover concerning this of Stonehenge."

The enquiring and somewhat sceptical spirit of the seventeenth century would not be satisfied with the British myths[1] about

[1] Lady Verney well says in her paper on the "Old Welsh Legends and Poetry" in the "Contemporary Review," for February, 1876: "The chief drawback to the study of Welsh legend has been that, as a German author observes, 'most old Cambrian writers have been utterly destitute of all capacity for historical criticism.' In the pre-scientfic ages of literature they went even beyond the limits of decent self-glorification in which all nations thought it patriotic to indulge. 'Welsh was the language in which Adam made love to Eve.' 'If two children were shut up so that they never heard any language spoken whatever, they would be found to speak Welsh.' Their early histories are not satisfied with Brut, who confronts us in all our early English accounts, but go back to Annun of Troy, 'a second son,' 'a hero,' who 'was the first king of Cambria.' 'his identity with Eneas cannot be doubted.' . . . Although the Welsh pedigree is probably fabulous which mentions casually some time after its opening, that 'about this time the creation of the world took place,' yet Noah was only one of the long line of ancestry which headed the trees of families, with any respect for themselves or their descent, while Arthur, Vortigern, and Madoc were showered in *ad libitum*." . . . "The antiquity of Welsh poetry and legend has been, no doubt, greatly exaggerated, and if the time and trouble spent in absurd speculations concerning the Druids, attempts to evolve all the

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Stonehenge, and we accordingly find Inigo Jones breaking away from them in the direction of the Romans, Charlton in that of the Danes, and Aubrey in that of the Druids;[1] and Samuel Daniel, the poet, (1579—1619) writing thus impa-

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gods and goddesses of Greece out of rude hints concerning Hu and Ceridwen, or in trying to prove the affinity between Hebrew and Welsh, had been used in sifting the historical evidence, and the allusions contained in the poems, some order would by this time have been worked out of the chaos of words. These have often been put together, says Zeuss, from older poems, without understanding them, or they have been written down from oral recitation without connection or meaning. It has already been seen what light can be thrown upon them by Mr. Nash, though in rather a merciless spirit for the feeling of legendary lore. Their interest is often great, as traces of extremely early manners and customs are to be found in the stories, triads, and the histories of saints. Their present form dates from MSS. of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but many of the materials from which they have been compiled, even if the exact words have not survived, have clearly come down from very rude ages."

[1] As many persons still talk glibly about Druids, and others, (like the Director General of the Ordnance Survey), write about their connection with Stonehenge, as if it were "a matter of course," the writer would venture to commend to consideration the following words of one of the most distinguished modern writers on race and language: "Druids are never mentioned before Cæsar. Few writers, if any, before him were able to distinguish between Celts and Germans, but spoke of the barbarians of Gaul and Germany as the Greeks spoke of Scythians, or as we ourselves speak of the negroes of Africa, without distinguishing between races so different from each other as Hottentots and Kafirs. Cæsar was one of the first writers who knew of an ethnological distinction between Celtic and Teutonic barbarians, and we may therefore trust him when he says that the Celts had Druids, and the Germans had none. But his further statements about these Celtic priests and sages are hardly more trustworthy than the account which an ordinary Indian officer at the present day might give us of the Buddhist priests and the Buddhist religion of Ceylon. Cæsar's statement that the Druids worshipped Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, is of the same base metal as the statements of more modern writers,—that the Buddhists worship the Trinity, and that they take Buddha for the Son of God. Cæsar most likely never conversed with a Druid, nor was he able to control, if he was able to understand, the statements made to him about the ancient priesthood, the religion and literature of Gaul. Besides, Cæsar himself tells us very little about the priests of Gaul and Britain; and the thrilling accounts of the white robes and the golden sickles belong to Pliny's 'Natural History' (xvi., c. 44), by no means a safe authority in such matters. We must be satisfied, indeed, to know very little about the mode of life, the forms of worship, or the mysterious wisdom of the Druids and their flocks."—Max Muller's "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. iii., p. 250.

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tiently about the legendary tales which had till then prevailed:—

> "And whereto serves that wondrous trophy now,
> That on the goodly plain near Wilton stands?
> That huge dumb heap, that cannot tell us how,
> Nor what, nor whence it is, nor with whose hands,
> Nor for whose glory it was set to show,
> How much our pride mocks that of other lands.
>
> Whereon when as the gazing passenger
> Hath greedy look'd with admiration,
> And fain would know its birth, and what it were,
> How there erected, and how long agone;
> Inquires and asks his fellow-traveller,
> What he hath heard, and his opinion!
>
> Then ignorance, with fabulous discourse,
> Robbing fair art and cunning of their right,
> Tells how those stones were by the devil's force,
> From Africk brought, to Ireland in a night:
> And thence to Britannie, by magick course,
> From giant's hands redeem'd by Merlin's sleight:
>
> And then near Ambry plac'd in memory
> Of all those noble Britons murder'd there,
> By Hengist and his Saxon treachery,
> Coming to parle in peace at unaware.
> With this old legend then, credulity
> Holds her content, and closes up her care."

Before further mention of Inigo Jones' work, which was published from his "few indigested notes," by his friend John Webb, in 1655, it may be as well to give the slight notices of Stonehenge given by John Evelyn, and Samuel Pepys, in their diaries.

The former gives the following account of his visit on the 22nd July, 1654: "We departed [from Salisbury] and dined at a farm of my uncle Hungerford's, called Darneford Magna, situate in a valley under the plain, most sweetly watered, abounding in trouts catched by spear in the night, when they come attracted by a light set in the stern of a boat. After dinner, continuing our return, we passed over the goodly plain, or rather sea of carpet, which I think for evenness, extent, verdure, and innumerable flocks, to be one of the most delightful prospects in nature, and reminded me of the pleasant lives of shepherds we read of in romances. Now we were arrived at Stonehenge, indeed a stupendous monument, appearing at a distance like a castle; how so many and huge pillars of stone

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should have been brought together, some erect, others transverse on the tops of them, in a circular area as rudely representing a cloister or heathen and more natural temple, is wonderful. The stone is so exceedingly hard, that all my strength with a hammer could not break a fragment, which hardness I impute to their so long exposure. To number them exactly is very difficult, they lie in such variety of postures and confusion, though they seemed not to exceed 100; we counted only 95. As to their being brought thither, there being no navigable river near, is by some admired; but for the stone, there seems to be the same kind about 20 miles distant, some of which appear above ground. About the same hills, are divers mounts raised, conceived to be ancient intrenchments, or places of burial, after bloody fights. We now went by the Devizes, a reasonable large town, and came late to Cadenham."

Pepys was there on the 11th June, 1668: "Thence [that is from the Cathedral] to the inne; and there not being able to hire coach-horses, and not willing to use our own, we got saddle horses, very dear. Boy that went to look for them, 6*d.* So the three women behind W. Hewer, Murford, and our guide, and I single to Stonehenge, over the Plain and some great hills, even to fright us. Come thither, and find them as prodigious as any tales I ever heard of them, and worth this journey to see. God knows what their use was! they are hard to tell, but yet may be told. Gave the shepherd-women, for leading our horses, 4*d.*"

To "the Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-heng, on Salisbury Plain, restored, by Inigo Jones, Esq., Architect-General to the late King," (1655,) is prefixed the following preface, signed "J. W." (John Webb.) "This discourse of Stone-Heng is moulded off and cast into a rude form, from some few indigested notes of the late judicious architect, the Virtruvius of his age, Inigo Jones. That so venerable an antiquity might not perish, but the world made beholding to him for restoring it to light, the desires of several of his learned friends have encouraged me to compose this Treatise. Had he survived to have done it with his own hand, there had needed no apology. Such as it is, I make now yours. Accept it in his name

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from J. W." The portion of the work for which Jones was responsible was very small. The peculiarities of his plan are that he gives three entrances, and that he makes the two inner portions of the structure of an hexagonal form. The results of his enquiry are as follows: "I suppose I have now proved from authentic authors, and the rules of art, Stonheng anciently a Temple dedicated to Cælus [by some authors called Cælum, by others Uranus, from whom the ancients imagined all things took their beginning,] built by the Romans; either in, or not long after those times [by all likelihood] when the Roman eagles spreading their commanding wings over this island, the more to civilize the natives, introduc'd the art of building amongst them, discovering their ambitious desire, by stupendous and prodigious works, to eternize the memory of their high minds to succeeding ages."

Dr. Charleton,[1] in a fulsome dedication to King Charles II., of his "Chorea Gigantum," or the most famous antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stoneheng, standing on Salisbury Plain restored to the Danes," (1663,) has the following paragraph, which will sufficiently explain his views: "Having diligently compared Stone-heng with other antiquities of the same kind, at this day standing in Denmark, and finding a perfect resemblance in most, if not in all particulars, observable on both sides; and acquainting myself moreover with the uses of those rudely-magnificent structures, for many hundreds of years together; I now at length conceive it to have been erected by the Danes, when they had this nation in subjection; and principally, if not wholly, design'd to be a Court Royal, or Place for the Election and Inauguration of their Kings; according to a certain strange custom, yet of eldest date, most

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[1] Dr. Charleton (1619—1707) was the son of a clergyman of Shepton Mallet, and physician in ordinary to King Charles I. and afterwards to King Charles II. "He was very eminent in his profession, and lived to an advanced age; but by reason of some imprudent management was obliged to retire from his family to one of those islands, which are the remains of our French conquests; and there he passed the residue of his days in obscurity and want." It appears to have been under the influence of Olaus Wormius that the Doctor wrote his work, ascribing the construction of Stonehenge to the Danes.

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sacred esteem, and but late discontinuance, among that martial people." He is very rough in his criticism of Webb's book, and Webb rejoined in "a Vindication of Stone-heng restored" (1664). The three works were printed together in one volume in 1725, and, apart from their theories, are not without a considerable amount of interest to the antiquarian reader.

Bishop Gibson published an edition of "Camden's Britannia," in 1695 in English. He does not agree with Inigo Jones, in thinking that the Romans, nor with Dr. Charleton, in thinking that the Danes, were the builders of Stonehenge; but says; "I should think one need make no scruple to affirm that it is a British monument: since it does not appear, that any other nation had so much footing in this kingdom, as to be authors of such a rude and yet magnificent pile." He appears to have adopted Inigo Jones' description of Stonehenge, with its errors.

In Aubrey's [1] "Hypomnemata A." is the following extract from England described, by Edward Leigh, Esq., 8vo., folio 205, 1659: "About six miles from Salisbury in the plaines before named (they are but rarely inhabited, and had in late time a bad name for Robberies there committed) is to be seen a huge and monstrous piece of worke Stonehenge.* Within the circuit of a Ditch there are erected in manner of a crown in three ranks or courses one within another certain mighty and unwrought stones, whereof some are eight and twenty foot high, and seven foot broad; upon the heads of which others like overthwart peeces doe bear and rest cross-wise, with small tenants and mortises, so as the whole frame seemeth to hang."

* Our old historians termed it for its greatnesse Chorea Gigantum, the Giant's Dance. Our countrymen reckon this for one of our miracles.

[1] It is quite unnecessary to say anything more in a note about John Aubrey, than that his name has, by means of Mr. Britton's memoir, and Canon Jackson's life (*Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. iv.), together with the valuable and interesting volume entitled "Wiltshire Collections," become a household word with Wiltshiremen.

It is much to be regretted that nothing has yet been heard of "Hypomnemata Antiquaria B." It is exceedingly unlikely that this MS. should have been destroyed.

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The following is Aubrey's account of Stonehenge from his "M umenta Britannica," vol. i.: "Templa Druidum.

Of Stoneheng.

Mdm. The Indiginæ doe call it Stonedge (i) Stones set on edge which I believe is the truer name. Quære of Mr. . . that hath now bought the inheritance of it how it is writt in his ancient evidences?

I am now come to Stoneheng, one of our Eng wonders, that hath been the subject of so much course, the Prospect whereof I give in Plate VI., the Ichnographic double, in Plate the VII$^{th}$., scil one being that of Mr. Inigo Jones in Mr. W Stoneheng restored, being an handsome harmon figure: but the cell is absolutely false: the other 2) being that which I tooke myselfe from the place, and accordin y$^{e}$ truth.

"A.A.A. is the circular trench, which should have been distant f the Center an hundred foot by the scale, had there been space eno and is made by *him* perfectly circular, whereas in trueth it is n

"The three entrances here are supposed by *him* to be in y$^{e}$ angle an equilaterall Triangle, whereas indeed they are in the angles Scælenum.

"C. the Worke itselfe. *b. b. b. b. b.* what Mr. Jones calls celle: which he hath here protracted in the forme of an Hexag whereas it should be as fig. 3$^{d}$.

"Fig. the 2$^{d}$ is the Remains of it as it is now.

"Had this been a Worke of the Romans, certainly they wo have made this celle of some harmonicall figure; the Ruines of doe cleerly enough shew (without further demonstration) that could neither be a Hexagon, or heptagon: nor can all the angles forced to touch a circle.

"From $\phi$ to $\phi$ in fig. 2$^{d}$ is fourty five foot. The intervall $\phi$ three yards + the intervall of y$^{e}$ coupled stones $\delta$ one foote.

"The distance between the celle and the greater outer circle stones is twenty one foote.

" ■■■ : these marks signify the picked stones about five fo high, and whereas in this Diagram they are sett in the middle be tween the greater circle and the hexagon: they are distant from th great circle but six foot and ½. These picked stones ■ ■ withi fig 2$^{d}$, are not a yard distant from the coupled stones.

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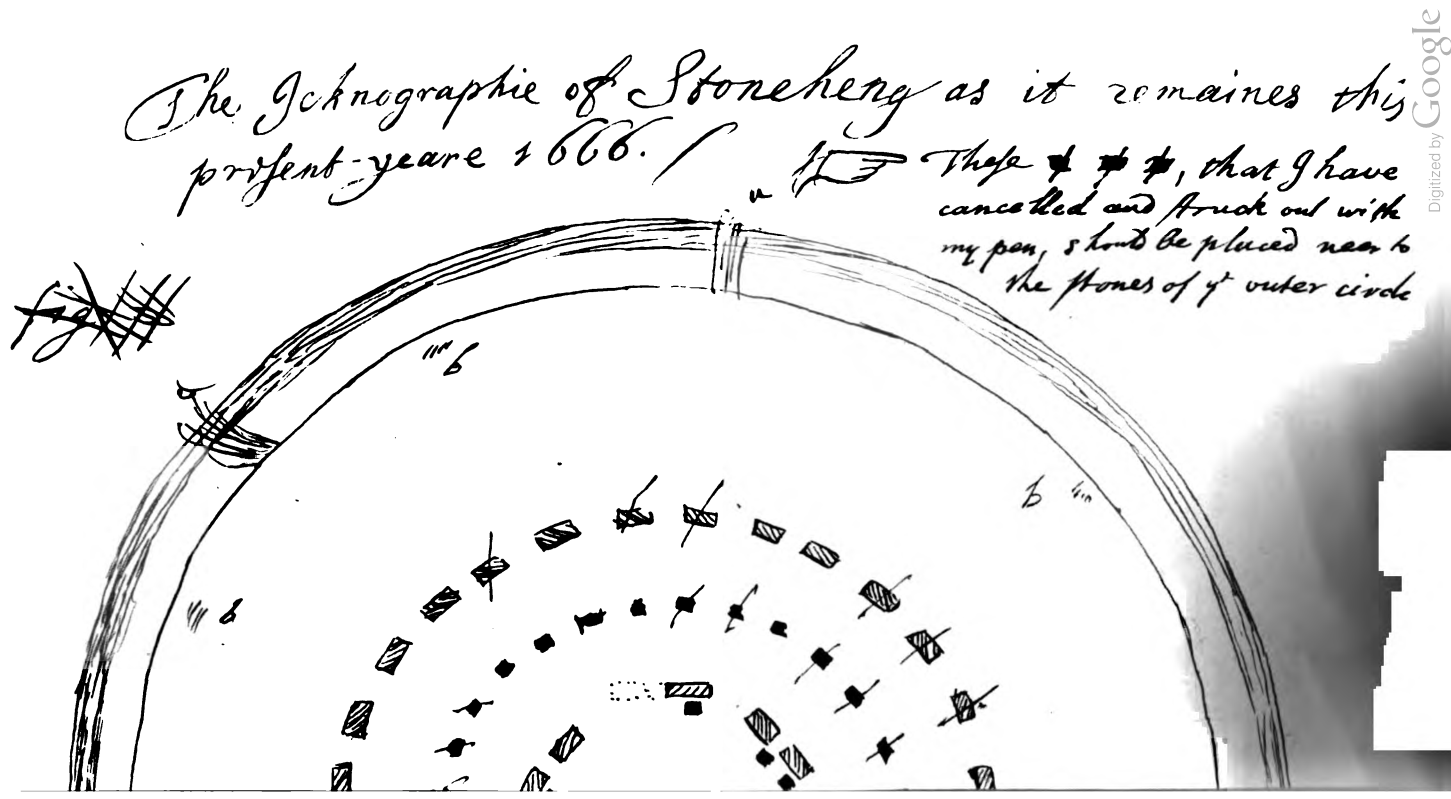


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"From the circular Trench to the great circle of stones is thirty five yards.

"The Diameter of the great circle of stones is thirty two yards ½.

"♂ he supposes an altar-stone; here are stones fall'n down, this supposed Altar being one of them. Perhaps they used no Altar, for I find the middle of these monuments voyed.

"The heighth of the outer circular stones in fig 1 four yards. The breadth of them two yards, the thicknese of them one yard.

"The heighth of the upright stones (of the Celle, as he calles it) eighteen foot ∓ halfe a yard. The breadth of them two yards, thicknesse one yard.

"The transome stones (or stones that lye over) fig 2 thick one yard, and about a spanne more.

"In Plate VIIth the two great stones marked *ā*, *ω̄*, one whereof (sc: *ω̄*.) lieth a good way off, north eastward from the circularish bank, of which there hath not been any notice taken: but I doe guesse it to be materiall, and to be the remaines of the avenue, or entrance to this Temple; which will appeare very probable, by comparing it with the Temples of Aubury, Kynet, and ye Wedding at Stanton-Drew, one of the stones hath a mark or scratch how deep it should be sett in the earth.

"b b b &c. little cavities in the ground, from whence one may well conjecture the stones *c. c.* were taken, and that they did stand round within the Trench (ornamentally) as at Aubury.

"*a a a* signifie pathes worne by Carts.

"*o* the Bank.

"*q* the Ditch or Graffe.

"The pricked lines from the stones *ā* to *ω̄* signifie the imaginarie Walke of stones which was there heretofore.

"In Plate VIII fig 2[d], *π* is a Pitt which the Duke of Buckingham ordered to be digged, when King James the first was at Wilton: at which time, and by w[ch] meanes, the stone twenty one foote long (now out of the earth) reclined by being under-digged. [*x* in fig. 2 and *z* in the Prospect, plate the VIth.]"

From Mrs. Trotman.



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This description of Stonehenge is supplemented by an Appendix.[1]

A Review of Stoneheng, by J. A.

"This ancient monument of Stoneheng Caxton[2] reckons the second Wonder of England. It stands within the Farme of West Amesbury, being part of the Inheritance of the wife of . . . Lord Ferrars, of Chartley, who was daughter and heir of Lawrence Washington, Esq. Upon what ground the writers call it Stoneheng, I cannot tell. I have not seen the old Deeds[3] of this Estate: but by the neighbourhood it is called Stonedge (*i*) stones set edgewise.

"In the first part of this Discourse I have sett downe only the schemes of this Antiquity, because I would not perplex and confound it with story. But having gone through that part which is comparative, I now come to the Historical, and Traditional part. It hath been toucht at by severell Pennes, Historians and Poets.

Sir Philip Sydney in his Sonnets.

'Neer Wilton sweet, huge heapes of stones are found,
But so confus'd, that neither any eie
Can count them just, nor reason reason try
What force them brought to so unlikely ground.'

"But this is a Poeticall excursion.

See Drayton's Polyolbion with Mr. J. Selden's notes which insert here.

[Here follows a long extract from Caxton's Chron., cap. lix., with the history of Ambrosius, Hengist's massacre of the Britons, and the transportation of the stones from Ireland.]

"The Tradition amongst the common people is that these stones were brought from Ireland as aforesayd by the conjuration of Merlin (brother of Uter Pendragon) whereas indeed they are of the very same kind of stones with the Grey Weathers about fourteen

[1] Aubrey has here inserted an extract—ex libris antiquis abbatiæ Bathoniensis "which Mr. Leland perused and quoted." It is very similar in substance to the extract given above from the "Encomum Historiarum."

[2] Note by Aubrey.—W. Caxton, part ii., cap. iiii. "Of Mervailles and Wonders." The second is at Stonehenge besides Salisbury. Ther ben grete stones and wonder huge and ben rered on heygh as it were gates so that ther semen gates sette upon othir gates. Netheles it is not knowen clerely nor apperceyued how and wherfore they ben so arered and so wonderfully honged." W. Caxton was a printer, temp. Hen. VI., in Westminster Abbey Church.

[3] Note by Aubrey —November 7th, 1689. Mr. Baynham, of Cold Ashton, (Gloc.) was steward to Lawrence Washington, Esq.; he tells me that he has seen the original grant of Little Amesbury and Bulford, from William the Conqueror, a little deed.

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miles off.: that tract of ground towards Marleborough (from hence) being scattered over with them greater and lesse (as by a Vulcano) for about twenty miles in compasse. They are so hard that that no toole can touch, and take a good polish: some are of a dirty red, some dusky white, some perfect white, and I have seen some few blew, of the colour of deep blew marle; but generally they are whitish, they lye above the surface of the earth; they say that Porphyry is not drawn out of Quarries, but lies above ground after this manner.

"But the stones of this monument (as likewise the Greyweathers) time and the weather have turnd of a gray colour, as it doeth also the Flints that have been broken by the plough. Severall of the high stones of Stonehenge are honycombed so deep that the Stares doe make their nests in the holes; whether these holes are naturall or artificial I cannot say. The holes are towards the tops of the jambe-stones. This did put me in mind, that in Wales, they do call Stares Adar y Drudwy, sc: Aves Druidum, and in the singular number ADerin y Drudwy, sc: Avis Druidum. The Druids might make these holes purposely for their birds to nest in. They are loquacious Birds, and Pliny lib: Hist. Nat. tells us of a stare that could speake Greeke.

"The inhabitants about the Amesburies have defaced this monument [piece of antiquity] since my remembrance sc, one large stone was taken away [carried] to make a Bridge.†

† Mrs. Trotman of Bishopstone.

"It is generally averred hereabouts that pieces (or powder) of these stones putt into their Wells, doe drive away the Toades, with which their wells are much infested, and this course they use still. It is also averred that no Magpye, Toade, or Snake was ever seen here: but this is easy to be believed: for birds of weake flight will not be beyond their power of reaching some Couvert for fear of their enemies Hawkes and Ravens; whereas no Couvert is neer a mile and a halfe of this place. As for the Toades they will not goe beyond a certain distance from the water by reason of spawning, and Snakes and Adders doe love couvert.

"The inscription in lead found at Stoneheng, which Mr. Lilly



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the Schoolmaster and Sir Thos. Eliot could not read, might be made by the Druides, who though they used the Greeke character, it might be as much disguised and different from what is now in use as it is in the Sclavonique by the Russians, which a critick in Greeke is not able to read.

"Mr. Inigo Jones saieth that he found a Thuribulum or some such like vase lyeing three foot within the ground. I think it was in the Pitt. Plate viii., fig. 2d.

"George Duke of Buckingham, when King James the first was at Wilton did cause the middle of Stoneheng to be digged, and there remains a kind of pitt or cavity still; it is about the bignesse of two sawe pitts. But there is no signe of an Altar stone, as is mentioned in *Stoneheng Restored.* 'Tis true near to the pitt doe lie three rude roundish stones, which are frustums. [In plate vjii., ɤ., is this pitt.

"The Stone that fell downe 21 foot long is x in fig. 2d, and in the prospect it is ʒ Plate the VIth.] And this under-digging was the cause of the falling downe or recumbency of the great stone there, twenty one foot long. He also caused then a Barrowe (or more than one) to be digged, where something was found, but what it was Mrs. Mary Trotman,* who lived then at the Farme of West Amesbury to which this monument belongs, (to whom I am obliged for her very good information of this place) hath forgot. She told me that the Duke of Buckingham would have given to Mr. Newdich, (then Owner of this place) any rate for it, but he would not accept it.

*The wife of Mr. Anthony Trotman.

"Here is a good account of Mrs. Trotman's lost by wett & time . . . Here were also then found Stagges-hornes a great many, Batter-dashers,[1] heads of arrowes, some pieces of armour eaten out with rust, bones rotten, but whether of Stagges or men they could not tell.

"Philip Earle of Pembroke (Ld. Chamberlayne to King Charles

[1] For the meaning of this curious word, which puzzled Sir R. Hoare, see Canon Jackson's note on p. 9 of "Wiltshire Collections." The Canon thinks that they were a kind of war club, like the crest of the Bathurst family. A copy of Aubrey's drawing of a "Batter-dasher" is given on the second plate of Illustrations of Stonehenge from the "Monumenta Britannica."

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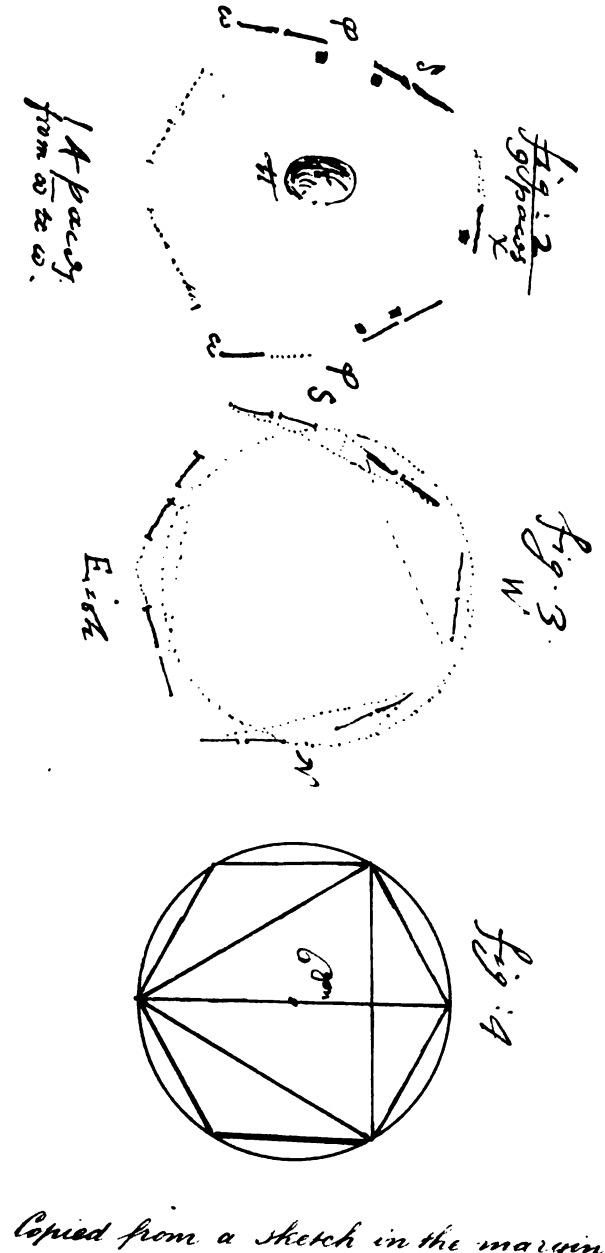


FROM AUBREY'S "MONUMENTA BRITANNICA."

HARRY SANDARS, OXFORD, LITHO., 1876.

*Copied from a sketch in the margin by John Aubrey of a "batter-dasher."*

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the First) did say, that an Altar Stone was found in the middle of the Area here: and that it was carried away to St. James' (Westminster), and he also sad, that upon the digging of the Duke of Buckingham, were found here Stagges-hornes (heads) and Bull's hornes and Charcoales.

From ye reverend Randal Caldicot, D.D. his $L_O$ps chaplain, Rector of Bishopstone.

"One of the great stones that lies downe, on the west side, hath a cavity something resembling the print of a man's foot: concerning which the Shepherds and Countrey people have a Tradition (wch. many of them doe stedfastly believe) that when Merlin conveyed these Stones from Ireland by Art Magick, the Devill hitt him in the heele with that stone, and so left the print there.

"I am now of the opinion that the east vacuity in Plate VIII fig. 2d did containe only one ⊓ and no more; it may well enough agree with the paces and interstices, viz., intervall four paces and ⊓ five: as also with the distance of the Pilasters ■ ■ ■.

"The three stones which Mr. Inigo Jones would have to be angles of an equilateral triangle, are the angles of a Scalenum. The great one (fig. 6) answereth to fig 7th in the Walke or Avenue. The other two are but about six foot high and went round (within) the circular Banke, as they doe at Aubury; witnesse yet three pittes or signes of them, where the stones were heretofore pitcht and equidistant: which is a good Remarque.

"'Tis strange to see how Mr. Camden, Dr. Hakewell in his Apologie with severall others (even Dr. Robt. Plot) should imagine that these stones are artificiall ('tis apparent): they are certainly the stones of the Grayweathers, distant from hence not above fourteen miles, where there are thousands of such stones to be drawn out of the earth. They were brought hither upon Rowlers, and, on the Downes, one may plainly enough yet discerne, where these vast stones of Aubury and Stoneheng were drawn-out: and some, not being big enough for their purpose (use), doe lie on the brink of the pitts still. Perhaps the holes where the stares doe nest might induce Dr. Hakewell to believe them to be factitious; but had he tried them with a toole, he would quickly have been undeceived, and would have found them to have been of the same colour (*i*—reddish generally) grain and hardnesse as are the Gray-weathers.

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"As I remember there is a great stone that lies in the water at Fighelden as left by the way to Stonehenge: another is somewhere on the Downes which rests on three low stones as a Suffulciment as in order to be carried away, wch Dr. Charleton shewed his Majestie and R. Highnesse as we wayted on them from Aubury: 'twas on the Downes between Rockley and Marleborough.

"Mr. Conyers Apothecary at the White Lyon in Fleet Street hath an old manuscript Roll of the time of Henry VI., which confirms that Aurelius Ambrosius was buried at Stoneheng, wch. see.

"These times were troublesome, and by that meanes there might not be erected for him any magnificent Regal monument: but had there been one of marble or free-stone, the country people would have converted it to their use: and had not this Antiquity of Stonehenge consisted of such an extreme hard and ill coloured stone, that it is hardly fit for any use, without much trouble, this venerable Temple had long since been erased and forgotten. Though this Work might probably be built long before the Romans were masters of Britaine, yet they being delighted with the stateliness and grandure of it, and considering the drie situation of it (which they affected for Urne-buriall) 'tis not unlikely but that they might bury here and hereabout, *e.g.*, the Seaven Barrows.[1] So when the Christian religion was settled, the temples dedicated to the heathen gods (were converted) to their owne use and worship.[2]

"At Stonehenge one may count, round about it fourty five Barrowes. I am not of the opinion, that all these were made for burying the dead that were slayne herabout in Battels: it would require a great deale of time and leisure to collect so many thousand loades of earth: and soldiers have something els to doe flagrante bello: to pursue their victorie, or preserve themselves pursued: the cadavera remained a feast for the Kites and Foxes. So that I presume they were the Mausolea or Burying places for the great Persons and Rulers of those times.

"Lawrence Washington, Esq., owner of this place, told me (1666)

[1] Note by Aubrey.—'Tis most likely that they might have Ceremonies, Prayers, and Sacrifices, at these Burial places: so we, the Christians, have Masses.

[2] Note by Aubrey.—See a passage in St. Hierome's epistle to this purpose.

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that in one of the Seaven Barrowes, was lately digged up Coales and pieces of Goates hornes or Stagges-hornes.

"In one of these barrows was found (by the Duke of Buckingham's digging) a Bugle-horne tip't with silver at both ends, wch Mrs. Trotman told me his grace kept in his closet as a great Relique.

"Neer to the farme-house of West-Amesbury is a great Ditch where have been found Rowells of Spurres and other thinges: and,

Mrs. Trotman.

neer to the Penning is Normanton-ditch, but why so called no tradition. In the field thereby, about 1635 was found by ploughing as much Pewter as was sold for five pounds: it was, they sayd, very pure Pewter, which the Shephards had pitched through in many places when they pitched for their Folds. She told me, no Coines were found there.

"Within this Farme is a place called Pitt-poole, wherein a King upon his escape riding hastily downe the steep Shoot, was drowned.[1] She told me his name was mentioned in the Chronicle, but I doubt it.

"Dr. Walter Charlton, Physitian to King Charles II. wrote a Booke entitled *Stoneheng restored to the Danes,* wherein he hath shewed a greet deale of Learning in very good Stile.: but as to his Hypothesis, that it was a work of the Danes, it is a gross mistake for Matthew Paris pag: expressly affirmes, that Stoneheng was the place where the Saxons treacherously massacred the Britons which was . . . . . hundred years before the Conquest of the Danes. (I think Symon of Durham and Hen: Huntingdon say the same. vide.)

Broad Chalk
~~Easton-Piers~~
1665. Finis."

[1] Sir R. C. Hoare (Ancient Wilts, i., p. 198), says: "In vain I searched for all these matters, for the remembrance of them exists not even by tradition. I was enabled, however, to ascertain the position of West Amesbury Penning, which lies in a little vale between tumuli 134 and 137. The King's grave was a large solitary barrow on the hill above the river, on which a clump of trees has been planted, and is called King Barrow by Dr. Stukeley. Though all traces of the name of Pitt Poole are lost, its situation is clearly pointed out by the *steepe shoot* above the river. I could find no vestiges whatever of any ditch answering Mr. Aubrey's description, on Normanton Farm."

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At the back of the last page of the "Templa Druidum" is the following note: "Mr. Paschal's Letter to . . .
"The Author of the Bolt soon shott, was one Mr. . . . . Jay of Nettlecomb lyeing in the Western parts of Somersetshire, deceased (I thinke) 14 or 16 years since. Wells, April 7, 1690. Your &c., A. P."

Mr. Herbert ascribes the "Fools Bolt" to Mr. John Gibbons who *flourished*, according to Mr. Herbert, "circa 1670." This curious paper, which is printed in Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. ii., is amusing enough and worth reading, but space does not admit of much being said about it. It begins thus: "A wander witt of Wiltshire, rambling to Rome to gaze at antiquities, and there skrewing himself into the company of Antiquaries, they entreated him to illustrate unto them, that famous monument in his country, called *Stonage*. His answer was that he had never seen, scarce ever heard of it. Whereupon they kicked him out of doors, and bad him goe home, and see Stonage; and I wish all such Æsopicall cocks, as slight these admired stones, and other our domestick monuments (by which they might be admonished to eschew some evil, or doe some good), and scrape for barley cornes of vanity out forreigne dunghills might be handled, or rather footed, as he was." He considers "Stonage to be a 'British Monument' of a bloody battel foughten there and won by the Giant Cangi under the command of the famous Stanenges of Honnicott over King Divitiacus and the Belgæ; that this Temple, made of factitious stones, was consecrated to the Goddess of Victorie and that in it the Victors sacrificed their Captives and spoiles to their said Idoll of Victorie."

Richard Burton, in his "Wonderful [or admirable] Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland" (1682—1684), thus alludes to Stonehenge (edition 1811, p. 137): "About six miles from Salisbury, upon the plain, is to be seen a huge and monstrous piece of work, for within the circuit of a pit or ditch there are erected in the manner of a crown, certain mighty and unwrought stones, some whereof are 20 feet high, and seven feet broad, upon the heads whereof others like overthwart pieces do bear and rest

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crossways with tenons and mortoises, so that the whole frame seemeth to hang, whereof it is called Stone Henge."

In Plot's Staffordshire, 1686, chap. x., § 11, p, 398, is the following account of Stonehenge: "The Britons usually erecting such monuments as these upon a civil as well as religious account. Witness Kit's Coty House in Kent, Rollwright in Oxfordshire, and Stonehenge in Wiltshire. The latter was most probably [set up] as some British Forum or Temple and not of any Roman Pagan Deity, as Inigo Jones would have it, the Romans of the time being skilfull in architecture and most other arts, and therefore no question had they built it, would have made a much more artificial structure than this appears to have been; nor should it have wanted an inscription, or being someway or other transmitted in their writings down to posterity. Nor is it less unlikely, that it should ever be erected for a Danish forum for inauguration of their kings, as Dr. Charleton would persuade us; for then certainly all the Kings of the Danish race had been crowned either there, or else at Rollwright or some other such cirque of stones elsewhere. Whereas we find Canutus crowned at London, Harold Harefoot at Oxford, and Hardi-Canute likewise at London. Not to mention the Danish transactions in England are of so late a date that our historians have given us a tolerable account of them [the Danes] from their very first entrance, and would not certainly have been silent of so considerable structure, had they been the authors of it, either as a Forum or upon any other account."

Keysler, in his "Antiquitates selectæ Septentrionales et Celticæ," (1720) adopts Inigo Jones' ground-plan, and ascribes the erection of Stonehenge to the Danes or Anglo-Saxons.

Stukeley, in his account of Stonehenge (published 1740, page 66), says that Stonehenge was a work of the Druids, who founded it, B.C. 460. "About 100 years before our Saviour's birth, Divitiacus made the Wansdike north of Stonehenge, and drove the possessors of this fine country of the Wiltshire Downs, northwards. So that the Druids enjoyed their magnificent work of Stonehenge, but about 360 years. And the very great number of barrows about it, requires that we should not much shorten the time. Sir Issac Newton, in his

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chronology, reckons 19 years for a medium of a King's reign. So that in that space there were about 19 Kings in this country. And there seems to be about that number of royal barrows (in my way of conjecturing) about the place. I observe this time we have assign'd for the building of Stonehenge, is not long after Cambyses' invasion of Egypt. When he committed such horrid outrages there, and made such dismal havock, with the priests and inhabitants in general, they fled the country to all parts of the world. Some went as far as the East Indies, and there taught many of the ancient Egyptian customs; as is taken notice of by the learned. It is not to be doubted that some of them fled as far westward, into the island of Britain, and introduced some of their learning, arts and religion, among the Druids; and perhaps had a hand in this very work of Stonehenge: the only one that I know of, where the stones are chizel'd. All other works of theirs are of rude stones, untouch'd of tool, exactly after the patriarchal and Jewish mode; therefore older. This was at a time when the Phœnician trade was at height, the readier a conveyance to Britain: it was before the second temple at Jerusalem was built: before the Grecians had any history."

The celebrated engraver, George Vertue, (1684—1756,) appears to have paid considerable attention to Stonehenge, and says in his Diary: "After having seen these stones, and taken draughts of them, and more than once reviewed them, read mostly all that has been published concerning them, and if I may venture to advance my conjecture in an affair so distant to my understanding and profession.—In my opinion I think they were erected by the first heathen Saxons, whom our historians generally allow to have come into England soon, or immediately after, the Roman legions were called away. The people conquered and overcame the Britons, and made the kingdom subject to their power. As Salisbury plain is so extensive, large, and likely then the seat of war between those Saxons and Britons, and this place so nearly the great central part of England, they, the Saxons, might therefore choose to erect a monument of such strength and power, by the hands of an army, that could not easily be moved nor defaced. Such a monument

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without inscription or image that would surprise all succeeding generations, and be, in all likelihood, permanent for ages to come."

In 1730, Mr. Sampford Wallis published a little book (printed at Sarum) entitled "Dissertation in Vindication of the Antiquity of Stonehenge in answer to the Treatises of Mr. Inigo Jones, Dr. Charleton and all that have written upon that subject, by a Clergyman in the neighbourhood of that famous monument of Antiquity."

In Hearne's copy of the work now in the Bodleian Library, is the following splenetic notice of it written in his small but clear handwriting: "Tis' nothing but an extract from Webb, abating some abusive expressions of the thief, who sufficiently exposeth himself by endeavouring to detract from the reputation of those great men Olaus Wormius and Dr. Walter Charleton, tho' I differ from Dr. Charleton, yet I think that Dr. hath supported his opinion very well, and deserved thanks rather than obloquy. At least it is very unbecoming for such mean writers as the publisher of this extract to attack such a worthy man as the Dr. certainly was, in so rude a manner." The following spiteful note is appended: "One Stafford Wallis was incorporated M.A. of Oxford from St. Andrew's, July 11, 1671."

In the year 1747, John Wood, the Bath architect, described and illustrated Stonehenge. He "differs materially in his lines of the third and fourth circle" from any of his predecessors. He gives it as his opinion "that it was a temple erected by the British Druids, about a hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra."

The Rev. William Cooke, Vicar of Enford, published in 1754 "An Enquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion, Temples, etc.," and concluded "that Stonehenge had been a place held sacred by the Druids, and appropriated to civil or religious assemblies."

In the year 1771 Dr. John Smith (who calls himself inoculator of the small pox), published a little work in which he endeavoured to prove that Stonehenge had been a tropical temple, erected by the ancient Druids for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies. He

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says: "From many and repeated visits I conceived it to be an Astronomical Temple: and from what I could recollect to have read of it, no author had as yet investigated its uses. Without an instrument or any assistance whatever, but White's Ephemeris, I began my survey. I suspected the stone called *The Friar's Heel* to be the index that would disclose the uses of this structure; nor was I deceived. This stone stands in a right line with the centre of the Temple, pointing to the North East. I first drew a circle round the vallum of the ditch and divided it into 360 equal parts; and then a right line through the body of the Temple to the Friar's Heel; at the intersection of these lines, I reckoned the sun's greatest amplitude at the summer solstice, in this latitude, to be about 60 degrees, and fixed the Eastern points accordingly. Pursuing this plan, I soon discovered the uses of all the detached stones, as well as those that formed the body of the Temple." His book is entitled "Choir Gawr, the Grand Orrery of the ancient Druids, commonly called Stonehenge, astronomically explained, and proved to be a Temple for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies."

It is interesting to read Dr. Johnson's notions about Stonehenge, as we find them in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, written October 9, 1783, vol. x., p. 269 of 1835 ed. "Two nights ago Mr. Burke sat with me a long time. He seems much pleased with his journey. We had both seen Stonehenge this summer for the first time. I told him that the view had enabled me to confute two opinions which had been advanced about it. One, that the materials are not natural stones, but an artificial composition hardened by time. This notion is as old as Camden's time; and has this strong argument to support it, that stone of that species is nowhere to be found. The other opinion, advanced by Dr. Charleton, is that it was erected by the Danes.

"Mr. Bowles made me observe, that the transverse stones were fixed on the perpendicular supporters by a knob formed on the top of the upright stone, which entered into a hollow cut in the crossing stone. This is a proof that the enormous edifice was raised by a people who had not yet the knowledge of mortar; which cannot be supposed of the Danes, who came hither in ships,

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nd were not ignorant certainly of the arts of life. This proves lso the stones not to be factitious; for they that could mould such durable masses could do much more than make mortar, and could have continued the transverse from the upright part with the same paste.

"You have doubtless seen Stonehenge; and if you have not, I should think it a hard task to make an adequate description. It is in my opinion, to be referred to the earliest habitation of the island, as a druidical monument of, at least, two thousand years; probably the most ancient work of man upon the island. Salisbury Cathedral and its neighbour Stonehenge are two eminent monuments of art and rudeness, and may show the first essay and the last perfection in architecture."

The additions made by Richard Gough, F.A. & R.S.S., to Camden's "Britannia" for the edition published in 1789, are of sufficient importance to deserve reproduction "*in extenso*," although this will entail a certain amount of repetition hereafter: "About six miles from Salisbury to the north on the plain is what Cicero[1] would call *insana substructio, a wild structure*, a number of monstrous rude stones, some of them twenty-eight feet high, and seven broad, placed in three concentric circles surrounded by a ditch: some of them lie across as architraves on the tops of the others; so that it seems like a hanging work, whence we call it *Stonehenge*, and our ancient historians *Choir Gawr*, the Dance of Giants, from its size. But as no description can do it justice, I have here annexed a print of it.[2]

"Our countrymen reckon this among their wonders: not being able to discover whence and how such kind of stones were brought, none such being found in the whole neighbourhood. It is not my

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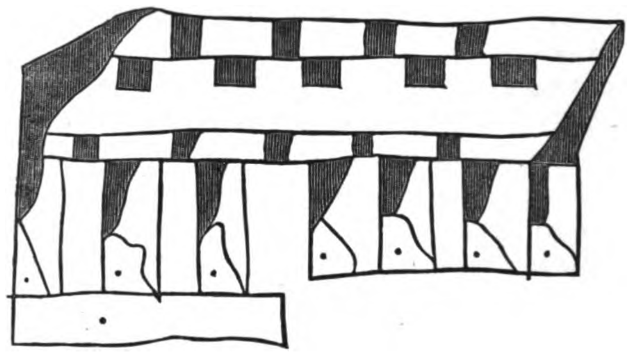
[1] Orat. pro Milone.

[2] "Mr. Camden's print being probably copied from an older, dated 1575, with [illegible] initials R.F., which may be presumed the oldest engraving of this monu[illegible] we have thought it advisable to give the older print a place here. The [illegible] will make all due allowance for the errors in the drawing, among which [illegible]ng the top stones appear round is not one of the least." This older print [illegible] re-engraved for the present paper by Mr. Bidgood, curator of the [illegible] the Somersetshire Archæological Society, at Taunton, who is as [illegible]t as he is an earnest archæologist.

business to enter into any critical discussions on this subject, though I cannot but lament that so little is known of the authors of such a monument. Some, however, think these stones not natural and hewn from a quarry, but made of fine sand and some unctuous cement, like those trophies I have seen in Yorkshire.

"Stonehenge has exercised the conjectures of no less than eight writers since Camden, who, if we except Henry of Huntingdon, first noticed it. There is indeed a rude draught of it in a MS. of the 'Scala Mundi,' written about 1340, and continued to 1450, in Benet College Library, which for the singularity is here copied.[1]



"It is not mentioned in the Itinerary of Leland, who travelling among towns and along rivers, did not go out of his way to examine monstrous stones and barrows on wild and widespread downs, though in his note on the extract about it from Geoffrey of Monmouth (Coll. 2., 31,) he confutes the idle story of Merlin. Mr. Camden could see nothing but confusion and rudeness in this stately pile; and it must be confessed the print he has given of it in his folio edition (to which we have substituted one dated 1575, signed R. F.) does not help to make it distinct.[1] Camden's print was copied and modernized by J. Kip, for Bishop Gibson. Inigo Jones, full of ideas of architecture, conceited it to be a *Tuscan* temple of *Cœlum* or *Terminus*, built by the Romans (Stonehenge

[1] Re-engraved for the writer by Mr. Bidgood, of Taunton.

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restored, Lon. 1655, fol.); as if the rudest monuments of this people were not more regular than this; and as Aubrey well observes 'while he pleases himself with retrieving a piece of architecture out of Vitruvius, he abuses the reader with a false scheme of the whole work.' His son-in-law,[?] Charlton, ('Chorea Gigantum, Lond., 1663,' 4to.) contended for its being Danish, and came nearer the probability of its being the work of some *Northern* people. The attentive though credulous Aubrey first hit on the notion of its being a *Druid* temple. With this notion Mr. Toland concurred, and Dr. Stukeley by accurate admeasurements confirmed it ('Stonehenge, 1740,' fol.). Mr. Wood, of Bath, supported this opinion, with this additional idea, that it had an astronomical as well as theological use, and was, like that at Stanton Dru, in Somersetshire, a temple of the moon. ('Choir Gawr, 1747,' 8vo.) This has been illustrated in a brief and comprehensive manner by Dr. Smith ('Choir Gawr, the grand Orrery of the Druids. Salisb. 1770,' 4to.), who shews that the outer circle of 30 stones multiplied by twelve within for the twelve signs of the Zodiac, represents the antient solar year of 360 days; its inner circle is the lunar month of 29 days, 12 hours represented by 30 more stones, of which six at the upper end of this circle exhibit the hunter's and harvest moon rising six nights together with little variation. Next to this circle is a great ellipse composed of seven pair of pillars with an impost on each pair for the seven planets whose influence may be alluded to by these compages of stones. Within these forming a concentric ellipse are 12 smaller single stones for the 12 signs of the Zodiac with a 13th at the upper end for the arch-druid's seat before the altar. The centre of this temple Dr. Smith finds to be 51° 11″, and that it could not be erected in this form in any other parallel of latitude. A great stone 210 feet from the body of the structure called the *Friar's heel*, from a vulgar tradition that the Devil threw it at a friar whose heel brushed by it made an impression in it, is the index that discloses these astronomical uses. Three others and probably a fourth lie on the bank that surrounds the whole with some variations from the cardinal points, and directly north and south just within the bank is an appearance of circular holes sur-

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business to enter into any critical
I cannot but lament that so little
monument. Some, however, thi
hewn from a quarry, but made
cement, like those trophies I have

"Stonehenge has exercised th
writers since Camden, who, if
first noticed it. There is indee
the 'Scala Mundi,' written abou
Benet College Library, which for

"It is not mentioned in the I
among towns and along rivers, di
monstrous stones and barrows
though in his note on the extra
mouth (Coll. 2., 31,) he confute
Camden could see nothing but
stately pile; and it must be confe
in his folio edition (to which we h
signed R. F.) does not help to mak
was copied and modernized by J. K
Jones, full of ideas of architecture,
temple of *Cælum* or *Terminus*, built b

[1] Re-engraved for the writer by Mr.

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in the reign of James I. caused the middle of Stonehenge to be dug, where remains a cavity as big as two saw-pits. This occasioned the falling down or inclination of a stone 21 feet long. There were found heads and horns of stags and oxen, charcoal, arrowheads, rusty armour and rotten bones, but whether of men or beasts uncertain. (Aubrey, Mon. Brit.) The whole number of stones, uprights, imposts, and altar is exactly 140. The stones are far from being artificial, but were most probably brought from those called the *Grey Weathers* on Marlborough Downs, 15 or 16 miles off, and if tried with a tool they appear of the same hardness, grain, and colour, generally reddish. (Mr. Aubrey says, 'on the downs one may discern whence the great stones both of Abury and Stonehenge were brought. Some not big enough for the purpose lie still at the brink of the pit. Some were left by the way. One lies in the water at Fighelden. Another on the downs resting on three low stones in order to be carried away. This was between Rockley and Marlborough.') The heads of oxen, deer, and other beasts have been found on digging in and about Stonehenge: but the human bones our author speaks of only in the circumjacent barrows. Dr. Stukeley, 1723, dug on the inside of the altar to a bed of solid chalk mixed with flints. In the reign of Henry VIII. was found here a plate of tin, inscribed with many letters, but in so strange a character that neither Sir Thomas Elliot, a learned antiquary, nor Mr. Lilly, Master of St. Paul's School, could make them out. This plate to the great loss of the learned world was soon after lost. (Holland, Stukeley.) Two stone pillars appear at the foot of the bank next the area in which the building stands, and these are answered by two spherical pits at foot of the said bank, one with a single bank of earth about it, and the other with a double bank separated by a ditch (Wood, p. 43). There are three entrances from the plain to this structure, the most considerable of which is from the north-east, and at each of them were raised on the outside of the trench two huge stones with two smaller within parallel to them. The avenue to Stonehenge was first observed by Mr. Aubrey. Dr. Stukeley found that it extended more than 1700 feet down to the bottom of the valley, and was raised a little above the downs between two



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ditches. At the bottom it turns off to the right or east with a circular sweep, and then in a straight line goes up the hill between two groups of seven barrows each, called the King's Graves (Stuk. Stoneh., 35, 36). The other branch points north-west and enters the Cursus. This is half a mile north from Stonehenge, 10,000 feet or two miles long, included by two ditches 350 feet asunder, a bank or long-barrow for the judges seat at the east end: the west end curved and two or three obscure barrows as if to run round (Stuk., 41). In the road from Amesbury to *Radfin* (which last place the Doctor supposes the seat of an Archdruid) are seven barrows together, one great and six little ones, probably a family burial place (Stuk. p. 38). The disposition and form of the barrows on these downs prove them the single sepulchres of kings and great personages buried during a considerable space of time and in peace, and not the tumultuary burials of the slain. The Doctor after wading through an ocean of conjectures with his usual ingenuity, fixes the date of the erection of Stonehenge 460 years before Christ, and the enjoyment of it by the original inhabitants of these parts to about 360 years, in which time, reckoning with Sir Isaac Newton 19 years to a reign, there will have been 19 kings in this country, and so many royal barrows the Doctor fancied about this place (Stuk. 65, 66).

"A very large one called *King Barrow* near Lord Pembroke's park wall at Wilton he supposes the tomb of Carvilius one of the four Kings of Kent, who fought with Julius Cæsar. On opening some of these barrows they are found to consist of a coat of turf, a layer of chalk two feet thick, then another of fine mould, and under it three feet from the surface a layer of flints two feet thick, and last of all a second layer of mould a foot thick, inclosing human skeletons or rude unbaked urns containing burnt human bones: sometimes spear-heads, glass and amber beads, wood ashes, bones of horses and other beasts, a large poleaxe, a sword, a celt, and even fragments of such stones as compose Stonehenge; which last particulars Dr. Stukeley supposed characterised one of its builders. The other barrows he assigns to Druids, chiefs, and private persons of all ages and both sexes.

"The name of Stonehenge is evidently Saxon, q. d. the hanging

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stones, and the authority of the Abingdon Chronicle cited by Dugdale Mon. Aug. i., p. 97, calling it Stanhengest from Hengist is of no weight.

"Leland's opinion that Choir Gawr should not be translated Chorea Gigantum, but Chorea nobilis or magna, putting *gawr* for *vawr* is probable enough."

King, in his "Munimenta Antiqua," i., p. 189, 1799, says of Stonehenge: "Such as were Balaam's altars, such in some degree were the altars at Stonehenge, only more vast and magnificent: being constructed by a people who were at the time more at leisure: and who erected the altars with more additional appendages for the purposes of more gross superstitious rite introduced in the later, and still more corrupted ages of the world. . . . It ought just to be added: that it has been observed (Gent. Mag., lxi., p. 108) that its very British name Cor Gawr points out an Asiatic origin; and leads us to conclude, that it was some kind of resemblance of something derived from the East."

To our old Wiltshire antiquary, John Britton (see "Beauties of Wiltshire, vol. ii., 129—130, 1801), it clearly appeared, "that Stonehenge was the work of the Romanized Britons, about the latter end of the fifth century."

The Rev. Edward Davies, in his "Celtic Researches," (1804) says: "When the Romans acquired a footing in Britain, they found the country possessed by two nations, the Belgæ, originally Celtæ, but somewhat intermixed with strangers, and an indigenous race, who declared they were born in the island. Amongst these pure descendants of the Celtæ, the Druidism of Britain was in his highest repute. The principal seat of the order was found in Mona, an interior recess of that ancient race, which was born in the island. Into that sequestered scene, the Druids, who detested warfare, had gradually retired, after the irruption of the Belgæ, and the further encroachments of the Romans. They had retired from their ancient magnificent seat at Abury, and from their *circular uncovered* temple on Salisbury Plain, in which the Hyperborean sages had once chaunted their hymns to Apollo or Plenyz."

The Rev. James Ingram, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the



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University of Oxford (afterwards President of Trinity College), in his inaugural lecture on the utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature (Oxford, 1807), speaks of Stonehenge as "*the Heathen burial-place,* with its Hippodrome, &c.. on Salisbury plain, vulgarly called Stonehenge, a corruption of Stone-ridge" (p. 13). He afterwards says (p. 87): "As I have ventured to give a new interpretation of that Wonder of the World, Stonehenge, though whole volumes might be written with the pompous title of Stonehenge restored, and with fairer claims to public attention than those of Inigo Jones and others, yet at present I shall content myself with reprinting the following document, extracted from Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. iii., p. 857. It is a grant of lands from King Athelstan to Wilton Abbey, extending from the banks of the Nadder along the Pile of Stones to Burbage, Savernak Forest, Oare, and Wansdike to the North, and beyond Westbury along the Old Bath Road to the West. The whole deserves the attention of the future Historian of Wiltshire." In a disquisition on a passage in Athelstan's grant to the Abbey of Wilton communicated by William Hamper Esq., F.S.A., in a letter to Henry Ellis, F.R.S., Secretary (Archælogia, xxii., 398), it is shown that, topographically regarded, the "Stone-ridge" of the Chartulary of the Abbey of Wilton, could not, by any possibility, be Stonehenge.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare published his magnificent volumes on Ancient Wiltshire in 1812 and 1819. In the first he has treated fully of Stonehenge, and has illustrated his description by beautifully executed engravings from the plans and drawings of Crocker. For the ready and courteous loan of three of the copper-plates of these plans for the illustration of this paper, the writer begs to express his grateful thanks to Mr. Bruce Nichols. His father, Mr. Gough Nichols, had, in the same kind manner, allowed the writer to have some of the plates of Abury copied in lithography in 1857. Sir Richard Hoare attributed the erection of Stonehenge to the "Celts (from Celtic Gaul) our earliest inhabitants, who naturally introduced with them their own buildings, customs, rites and religious ceremonies." The plates in his splendid volumes are invaluable to the student of Wiltshire archæology.

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The more important notices of Stonehenge having now been given, at great length, and the history of opinion respecting it having been brought down to the time of the publication of Sir R. C. Hoare's great work, it will be desirable to defer the notice of more recent theories until after the description of the present state of Stonehenge, and the discussion of the problems to which this remarkable structure has given rise.

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# Part II.

## Description of Stonehenge.

HE who would make clear to another the relative positions of the circles and ellipses, and of the stones which compose them, should bear in mind the Horatian maxim:—

> "Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."

and should call to his aid plans of Stonehenge as it was supposed to have been set up, and of Stonehenge as it is. Those with which Canon Jackson kindly supplied the writer, with the stones coloured according to the portions of the structure to which they belonged, have been reproduced in chromolithography, and will do more to make the details of Stonehenge intelligible than any verbal explanation or written description, however lucid and accurate.

It will be seen that this stone structure stands in the centre of a circular boundary, which is 300 feet in diameter, and which has been formed by the throwing up of a slight vallum from a slight ditch on the outside. This vallum is about 100 feet from the outer circle of stones. The vallum cuts through the boundary ring of a low barrow on the N.W. side (in which Sir Richard Hoare found merely burnt bones), and it embraces another low barrow on the opposite side. From this treatment of the former tumulus, it is clear that it was in existence before the ditch was dug. In the other tumulus on the south-east side nothing was found. Two stones are to be seen on the edge of the embankment, and within it; that on the south-east side is nearly nine feet high, that on the north-west side is not quite four feet high. There are no indications of other stones having been similarly placed on the margin of this earthen ring. The circumference of the ditch is 369 yards.

The entrance faces the north-east, and is marked by a bank and

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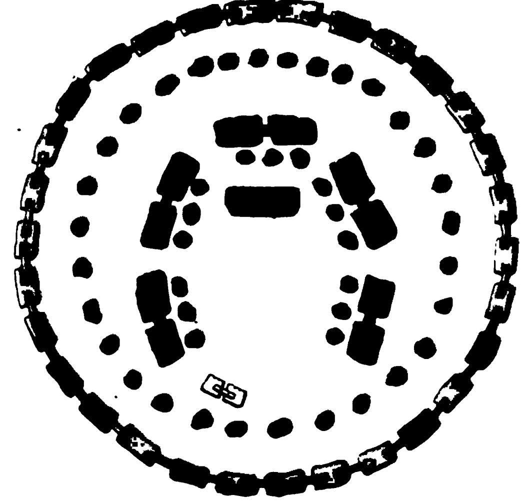

*Stonehenge as it appears to have been.*

*Stonehenge in its present state.*
*A D.1875.*

Wiltshire Sarsen stone.
Syenite.
Syenite & other primitive rock.

Wiltshire Sarsen.
Fine micacious sandstone.

W. West & Co. lith.

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ditch forming an avenue which leads directly into it. Immediately within the entrance a large stone lies prostrate. It is 21 feet long, and 6 feet 10 inches wide. People of the Stukeleian turn of mind, who see Druids and Archdruids everywhere, and would fain believe that within Stonehenge the wicker basket[1] with its burning victims

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[1] "It is the sacrificial altar, fed
With living men,—how deep the groans! the view
Of those that crowd the giant wicker thrills
The monumental hillocks."
*Wordsworth's 'Prelude," Book* xiii.

And

"Pile of Stonehenge! so proud to hint yet keep
Thy secrets, thou that lov'st to stand and hear
The Plain resounding to the whirlwind's sweep,
Inmate of lonesome Nature's endless year;
Even if thou saw'st the giant wicker rear
For sacrifice its throngs of living men,
Before thy face did ever wretch appear,
Who in his heart had groaned with deadlier pain
Than he who now at nightfall treads thy bare domain!"
*Wordsworth's "Guilt and Sorrow."*

Of the Druids, Dr. Thurnam writes as follows in one of the notes to his valuable paper on British Barrows in the Archæologia, vol. xliii., p. 306; "It has become a fashion to question our knowledge of the Druids; but surely what contemporary writers of the first rank, such as Cæsar, Diodorus, and Tacitus, concur in telling us cannot lightly be set aside. Professor Max Müller (*Chips from a German Workshop*, iii., 250), says: 'Cæsar most likely never conversed with a Druid,' forgetting that Divitiacus the Druid was for long his camp companion, held by him in great esteem, and likewise was the guest of Cicero at Rome. *B. G.*, i., 16, 19, 20, et passim. Cicero, *De Divin*, i., 41." Whatever importance ought to be attached to the mention made of the Druids by Cæsar and other Latin writers, it is clear to Mr. Nash, the author of "Taliesin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain," 1858, who has carefully studied the remains of the earliest Welsh Bards, that "we have no allusion in the old Welsh compositions to any of the celebrated symbols of the Druidic priesthood, nor the slightest testimony in support of the fables promulgated as to the character, institutions, rites, and ceremonies of this famous hierarchy." (p. 335.) "Whoever may have been the authors of the documents from which Geoffrey of Monmouth drew up his British History (and it is clear that they were derived from British sources, even if through a Bretonic channel) they knew nothing, at least have related nothing, of the Druids or Druidic worship in Britain. In the passage where Cassibelaunus, elated by his victory over Julius Cæsar, assembles all the nobility of Britain with their wives at London, 'in order to perform solemn sacrifices to their tutelary Gods,' at which solemnity they sacrificed 40,000 cows, 100,000 sheep, and 30,000 wild beasts, besides fowls without number, we hear nothing of the celebrated Druids. In the time of Lucius, the first convert to Christianity, Geoffrey of Monmouth knows only of Flamens and Arch-Flamens as the priests of idolaters; and neither he nor

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was set up, call this the "slaughtering stone:" but there is reason to believe that it was originally erect.

Mr. Cunnington, F.S.A., writing to Mr. Britton from Heytesbury, April 12, 1803, says "I will pledge myself to prove that Mr. King's 'slaughtering stone' stood erect . . . To ascertain whether the 'slaughtering stone' stood erect, I dug round it, and also *into the*

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the compilers of the *Brut Tysilio* has anything to say about the Druids, whose privileges were transferred to the Christian Church. Mr. Herbert, struck with this silence of the chronicler on the subject of the Druid hierarchy, thought there was a systematic concealment of the truth; but the inference is plain, that the Druid extinguished by Paulinus, in A.D. 58, had not been resuscitated in the the tenth century," (p. 332.) "If we find in the oldest compositions in the Welsh language no traces of the Druids, or of a pagan mythology, still less do we find evidence of the existence of any peculiar philosophical or theological doctrines, such as it has been the fashion to represent as lying concealed in these compositions under the somewhat vague title of Bardic mysteries. The whole tenor of the result of an investigation into the supposed evidences of this mystery leads to the conclusion that the Welsh Bards neither of the sixth nor twelfth century had any mysteries to conceal, beyond the secrets, such as they were, of their profession," (p. 339.) With one more extract upon this important fact of the non-existence of any traces of the Druids in the oldest British writings, the subject shall be dismissed: "The Welsh minstrelsy, instead of dating from a time beyond the limits of history, or deriving its materials from a source hidden in the obscurity of a pre-historic age, enters the circle of the romantic literature of Europe during the tenth and succeeding centuries, and will probably be found to have received more from, than it communicated to its continental neighbours. It is, however, no small merit which must be conceded to the Welsh romance-writers, that what they borrowed from others they stamped with the impress of their own genius, and gave currency, under their own peculiar form, to the treasures derived from the mines of the stranger. In the hands of the Welsh, every tradition, every legend, no matter from what source became Welsh,—the events localized in Wales, and the heroes admitted into the cycle of the Welsh heroic genealogies; and it is probably to this process of naturalization that we owe the preservation of the Welsh romances. The Welsh poems, such as we find them in the Myvyrian collection, we have shown to be replete with reference to the extant tales, and to others of a similar nature not known to exist; but of any other mysteries than such as can be explained by reference tó the current religious philosophy of the age, or to these romantic tales, not a particle of evidence can be discovered. Wherever such evidence has hitherto been supposed to have been discovered, investigation has demonstrated it to be a fallacy, originating in an erroneous conception of the meaning of the passages produced, or derived from documents tainted with the suspicion of modern forgery or fraud." p. 340—1.)

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*excavation where it originally stood* when erect. This stone is in form like the annexed figure. By digging I found the excavation in which the end A was placed. At B., on the east side, you may see similar irregularities as you must have noticed on the butt ends of the upright stones of the fallen trilithon. Let any persons who have doubt, examine the stone, and they will be convinced." [See the copy of Mr. Cunnington's sketch of this stone].

Mr. William Cunnington, F.G.S., informs the writer that if this stone *stood erect*, it must have entirely concealed the "gnomon" from persons standing in front of the "altar." "It would have been impossible," he says, "to see the sun rise over the "gnomon" from "the exact centre of the building. It is nevertheless a fact that the gnomon *does* occupy this critical position, as to the sunrise at the solstice."

Before we go inside to view the remains of the circles and ellipses we will walk down the avenue for 98 feet, until we come to the large stone, 16 feet high, which is somewhat on the incline. This is a stone of much importance in connection with Stonehenge, since it has been found that, viewed from the exact centre of the building, at the summer solstice, the sun rises immediately over the top of it.[1] On Midsummer Day of the year 1858, Dr. Thurnam found this to be the case; and in 1868, four members of the Bath Field Club left Amesbury between 2 and 3 a.m., on the 25th of June to see if it were so: "As the long-looked-for moment arrived, one stationed himself at the outer circle, the others on the 'altar-stone,' and awaited the first indication of the rising of the sun. Just as hopes were beginning to fail, and the minutes dragged wearily along, an exclamation of surprise burst from all as the sun gradually rose, a globe of fire, immediately behind the 'Friar's Heel,' and no sooner had its first beams touched the top of the gnomon than they fell right athwart the 'altar-stone'—a glorious and long-to-be-re-

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[1] On the importance which Dr. Smith attached to this stone in this point of view, see page 43, 47. He, a hundred years ago, had come to the conclusion that the sun, at the summer solstice, would be seen to rise over the summit of the "Friar's Heel."

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membered sight!"[1] Mr. Cunnington states that Mr. Purser, of Dublin, verified the same fact some years before (about 1844).

This stone acquired the name of the "Friar's Heel" from the following circumstance, which must, of course, be received with implicit belief: "The stones of which Stonehenge was composed were standing on the premises of an old woman in Ireland; and Merlin sent the Devil to buy them of her. He bought them for as much money as she could count during the time of their removal; which in effect was none at all, for their removal was instantaneous. They were then erected in due order upon Mount Ambre; and the Devil boasted, that nobody would ever be able to tell how the fabric, or any of the parts of which it is composed, came there. But a friar, who had been concealed near the building, overheard the Devil, and replied, 'That is more than thee can tell;' which so enraged the evil spirit, that he snatched up a pillar and hurled it at the friar, but it only reached his heel and struck him on it. Therefore a mark, visible on the stone, is to this day called the Friar's Heel."

Returning to the great structure we observe the group of upright stones with their imposts, over the entrance. It is, with reason, supposed that thirty upright stones and thirty imposts, similarly arranged, constituted the outer circle of Stonehenge. It was, doubtless, intended that, in so far as possible, the uprights should be so shaped and hewn as to be of the same height and size, the transoms of the same dimensions, and the intervening spaces of the same extent. This, however, could not be rigidly carried out, and accordingly we find that neither the heights, nor breadths, nor interstices, are always the same. The average height of the external uprights is 12 feet 6 inches, with an average interval of 4 feet. The imposts were secured to the uprights not only by their own weight, but by mortices, which, when filled by the tenons at the top of the uprights, ought to have been able to defy wind or weather, and to a certain extent, the destructive hand of man. The diameter of this outer circle is 106 feet. Of this outer circle seventeen uprights and six imposts retain their original position.

[1] Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, No. 2, p. 73.—See "Notes and Queries," Fifth Series, vol., xiv., p. 83.

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Within this outer circle, and at an average distance of 9 feet from it was an inner circle, composed of thirty or forty pillars of syenite and other primitive rocks, each about 4 feet in height, and one foot in breadth. These stones, of which more will be said presently, were of a different geological character from that of the stones composing the outer circle, and those composing the five trilithons (or groups of three stones) which formed the "adytum," or more important portion of the entire structure. Of this circle there remain but few stones standing upright, and they are rude and irregular in shape, and apparently unwrought.

Within this circle again was a group of grand trilithons, five in number, arranged in horse-shoe form; one, the highest, immediately behind what is called the "altar-stone," and two on either side, those more distant from the central trilithon being of a lesser height. The standing stone of the lower trilithon of this group, on the right-hand side of the entrance, is 16 feet 8 inches high, 7 feet 6 inches wide, and 3 feet 10 inches thick. This stone seems to have been much honeycombed at its base by the weather. The Duke of Buckingham, *temp.* James I., appears to have wrought the downfall of the most important group, of which the parts are now either reclining, or prostrate upon the "altar-stone," which they have broken in their fall. The reclining stone is 22 feet 6 inches in height; the once associated upright, now broken and recumbent, was 21 feet high above ground, and had 4 feet in addition, which formed its basement and kept it upright. The impost is 14½ feet long and 4 feet 8 inches thick. The uprights of the trilithon which the gipsies helped to overthrow, are each about 21 feet 6 inches long, and about 7 feet 6 inches wide, and 3 feet 6 inches in depth. The transom is 15 feet 9 inches long, and 5 feet in width.

Allowing 2½ feet for the part imbedded in the ground, the average height of these grand trilithons must have been, without the imposts, about 18 feet, and with the imposts, about 22 feet.

The innermost ellipse of stones consisted of about 15 or 19 stones of an average height of 8 feet, and of syenite similar to some of those of the inner circle. They are, as Sir R. C. Hoare says, much smoother and taller than those of the inner circle of small stones, and incline to

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the pyramidal form. One of them, No 26 in Sir R. Hoare's plan, has a groove cut down its side, but for what reason is not apparent.

The so-called "altar-stone,"[1] is, or rather, was, when entire, 15 feet long by 3 wide.

Of this innermost group of stones a few only remain.

On the left hand as one enters the circle of stones from the avenue, is a recumbent syenite stone of 7 feet 6 inches in length with two mortises on its lower side. It appears to have been an impost, but its original situation does not clearly appear.

The writer gladly supplements his own account of Stonehenge with that of Sir Henry James, the Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, as the measurements made under his direction would be taken, probably, with greater accuracy than his own: "The structure, when complete, consisted of an outer circle of thirty large stones, upon which other large stones were laid horizontally so as to form a perfect continuous circle. This circle is 100 feet in diameter within the stones.

"The stones in the uprights have each two tenons on their upper surface, which fit into mortises cut into the under surface of the horizontal stones; by this mode of construction, the whole circle was braced together. The average dimensions of the uprights in this circle are 12 feet 7 inches out of the ground, 6 feet broad, and 3 feet 6 inches in thickness. Those in the circle resting on the uprights are about 10 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 8 inches deep.

"Within this circle are five stupendously large trilithons, each consisting of two uprights with tenons on them, supporting a large horizontal lintel, in which two mortices are cut to receive the tenons.

"These trilithons, are arranged in the form of a horse-shoe, so that one of them is central as regards the other four. The horizontal stone called the altar stone, lies in front of the central trilithon, and we see that the axial line of the structure is from N.E. to S.W., or on the line of the two stones G.H. The five trilithons

[1] On altars in connexion with Druidical worship, see "Herbert's Cyclops Christianus," p. 23.

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are arranged very symmetrically within the outer circle, and nearly at the distance of half the radius from the centre.

"The dimensions of the trilithons are nearly as follows :—

| | | ft. | in. | | ft. | in. | | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. Height of upright out of ground | | 22 | 5 | breadth | 7 | 6 | thickness | 4 | 0 |
| Central trilithon. | Lintel, length | 15 | 0 | ,, | 4 | 6 | ,, | 3 | 6 |
| B. Height of upright out of ground | | 17 | 2 | ,, | 7 | 0 | ,, | 4 | 0 |
| | Lintel, length | 15 | 9 | ,, | 4 | 0 | ,, | 3 | 7 |
| C. Height of upright out of ground | | 16 | 6 | ,, | 7 | 9 | ,, | 4 | 0 |
| | Lintel, length | 17 | 0 | ,, | 4 | 0 | ,, | 2 | 8 |
| D. Height of upright out of ground | | 22 | 0 | ,, | 8 | 3 | ,, | 4 | 3 |
| | Lintel, length | 16 | 0 | ,, | 4 | 0 | ,, | 3 | 6 |
| E. Height of upright above ground | | 16 | 6 | ,, | 7 | 0 | ,, | 4 | 0 |

The Altar stone F. is 17 feet long and 3 feet 6 inches wide.

"In addition to these there was formerly a complete circle of thirty smaller upright stones about 6 feet high, which was intermediate in position between the outer circle and the five trilithons. Within the trilithons there was a row of smaller stones about 7 feet 6 inches high, parallel to the trilithons.

"Only seventeen of the thirty upright stones of the outer circle are now standing, and only six of the thirty lintels are now in their places. Of the trilithons only two (B. and C.) are perfect; the lintel and one of the uprights of A. has fallen and lies broken upon the altar stone F., whilst the other upright is in an inclined position, and supported only by one of the smaller stones which stood in front of it; this fell in 1620. D. lies prostrate, having fallen outward with its capstone on the 3rd of January, 1797. One of the uprights of E. has fallen inwards and is broken into three parts, and its lintel also is broken into three parts.

"Of the circle of smaller stones very few remain standing; the small lintel on the left of the central entrance is all that remains to indicate that there were probably some lintels on this circle, as there may also have been on the inner row of stones.

"The structure is surrounded by a circular enclosure of earth, about 300 feet in diameter, with a shallow ditch outside it."

Sir Philip Sidney gave utterance to the popular notion when he

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wrote "that neither any eie can count them just." Such an idea still prevails. King Charles the Second, however, when he rode up from Heale House with Colonel Robert Philips,[1] after the battle of Worcester, appears to have overcome the difficulty.

It was upon the top of the trilithon, immediately to the left of the altar stone, to one entering from the avenue, that "my Lord Winchilsea and Dr. Stukeley took a considerable walk," but, the latter adds, "it was a frightful situation." Two young men, however, who with their bicycles, paid a moonlight visit to Stonehenge in 1870, seem to have found it otherwise. With the aid of a rope-ladder they got to the top, and "found the situation anything but frightful, for the lintel itself measures 15 feet 3 inches in length, and is 5 feet wide, so that one has really space enough, if not to take a 'considerable walk,' yet to move about freely, with no fear of toppling over. From this eminence we obtained what we had long desired, viz: a view of the original design of Stonehenge, such as cannot be gained in wandering amongst the ruins below." Other young men might not, however, find this "situation" so pleasant; and broken necks or collar-bones might be the consequence of their little adventure.

Mr. Ferguson, Q.C., of Dublin, perplexed by Henry of Huntingdon's expression "ita ut portæ portis superpositæ videantur," and Stowe's words, "every couple sustaineth a third stone lying overthwart, gatewise," after seeing that the impost of the great trilithon had cavities on its upper surface corresponding to the mortices on its under surface, and which suggested to him the idea that they had served as sockets for the reception of uprights supporting a second impost, read a paper on the subject before the Royal Irish Academy, January 9th, 1865. Bearing this in mind, Dr. Thurnam, on the occasion of the visit of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society, to Stonehenge, in September, 1865, "obtained a ladder at Lake and took it to Stonehenge on the summit of the omnibus, and had it placed against the large trilithons. Several of

[1] Colonel Philips said that "the King's arithmetic gave the lie to the fabulous tale that these stones cannot be told alike twice together."

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those present mounted it, including Mr. Alexander, J. P., and Mr. Stallard, the son of the incumbent of West Grafton. I was assured by all that the surface was quite plain and had no hollows." Dr. Thurnam adds, "it is curious that on the upper surface of the impost of the largest trilithon there are two superficial round holes as if incipient mortices. I take this to have been commenced as the under surface, and the mortices afterwards formed in the present lower surface or at least that finally adopted, as being the most level and suitable for the purpose." Any one who would understand the meaning of Henry of Huntingdon's expression, should walk for a little distance outside the vallum in a south-easterly direction, and he would see the inner trilithons towering over the outer circle and giving the idea of "portæ portis superpositæ."

As the inner circle and ellipse are of a different kind of stone to the large external and internal trilithons, questions have arisen respecting the periods at which these several groups of stones have been erected; some supposing that the smaller groups were the first set up, and that the larger stones were arranged around them at a subsequent period; while others have maintained that the larger groups of stone were placed in their positions before the smaller ones had been brought from Wales or Cornwall. Mr. Cunnington, (of Heytesbury,) was led to suppose that the *original* work consisted of the *outward* circle, and its imposts, and the inner oval or large trilithons; and that the smaller circle, and oval of inferior stones, were raised at a *later period*, for they add nothing to the grandeur of the temple, but rather give a littleness to the whole. The Rev. W. Lisle Bowles considered that the very reverse of Mr. Cunnington's conclusions would be the most natural, namely, that the *inner* circles were the *first* work, and the outward, more elaborate, the *last* work, and this opinion was also that of the Rev. Mr. Leman, Sir Richard Hoare's friend. But Mr. Bowles would not give up the idea that the monument was Druidical although he held that it was in part the work of the Belgæ; "No! I consider it originally Druidical, Druidical in its early state;" and that "the last, more lofty and more elaborate circle, accords, not only with a later period, but with the idea that this part, and this part only, was the work of

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he Belgians, as if they had said 'you have a monument to Te
ie is your great God; you have also, on the ground, which
*wn God,* the Deity, *next* in name and power to Teutates, could
reserve to yourselves and children, a temple to the Sun. The
s our own God; the Fire is our God; we will show you h
uild a temple to the Sun, through whom we have conquered
ountry; and we will surround your rude altars with a work
he great deity of light.'"[1]

It might be thought to have been almost impossible to set
arge stones of the outer circle and inner ellipse without
rushing and destroying the stones of the smaller circle an
llipse. Mr. Herbert says, "If this structure were built at
pochs, the grey stones were surely erected the first,
oisting of the triliths over the green stones would be
upposition."[2]

The fact that chippings from the stones of both kind
ound intermingled in two of the adjoining barrows should
nind in discussing this question. Sir R. C. Hoare says:
nutilated flat barrow, 76 feet in diameter and only 3 feet
'his appears to have been one of those opened by Dr. S
s thus spoken of by him in his account of Stoneheng
ery great and old-fashioned barrow, west from Stone
uch matters, I found bits of red and blue marble ch
tones of the temple; so that probably, the interred
uilders.' During our researches in this *tumulus,* we
long section had been made, and found the bones o
hich had been interred on the floor, also several
orns, animal bones, &c., as well as some fragments
milar to those which form the great trilithons of S
learing out the earth from this section, we obser
f whiter soil, which, having removed,, we came
iterment of burned bones within a fine circular
pear head of brass in fine preservation, and a
ietal. It is somewhat singular, that these bur

[1] Hermes Britannicus, p. 125.
[2] Cyclops Christianus, p. 120.

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than usual quantity) should have laid unmolested in a barrow where there were a hundred rabbit holes. On removing the earth from over the cist, we found a large piece of one of the blue stones of Stonehenge, which Sowerby the naturalist calls a horn stone, which, with the sarsen stone, is a very singular occurence, and decidedly proves that the adjoining temple was erected previous to the *tumulus*. Some persons acquainted with the soil in this part of Wiltshire, might think the finding of sarsen stones no uncommon event, and I should perhaps have thought the same, had these specimens been rounded by attrition; but the stones found within this barrow are pieces chipped off, (I am sorry to say) like those now daily knocked off from the great fallen trilithon. With regard to the blue stone, we are certain this species is not to be found in the southern district of Wiltshire. In opening the fine bell-shaped barrow N.E. of Stonehenge, we also found one or two pieces of the chippings of these stones, as well as in the waggon tracks round the area of the temple. These circumstances tend to give a much higher era of antiquity to our celebrated building, than some antiquaries would be willing to allow, and evidently prove that at the period when the *tumuli* adjoining Stonehenge were raised, the plain was covered with the chippings of the stones that had been employed in the formation of the stone circle."[1]

Mr. Cunnington, F.G.S., has kindly furnished the writer with the following remarks upon these findings of chippings in the neighbouring barrows: "No doubt the stones were worked at or near the spot where they now stand, and the surface of the downs around must have been strewed with the chippings.[2] These in course of time would sink through the turf and soil, till they reached the chalk below; owing mainly to the action of the earth-worms, which are continually throwing up the earth to the surface, and in a less degree, to the growth of the ordinary vegetation.

[1] Ancient Wilts, i., p. 127.

[2] Note by Mr. Cunnington.—Mr. H. L. Long in his "Survey of the Early graphy of Western Europe," (1859,) p. 109, mentions the fact that at a ly-erected farm a little westward of Stonehenge, cultivation has levelled -row-like mounds, which were in a great measure formed of the chip- fragments of the stones of Stonehenge.



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"Men who are employed in digging for flints on the downs, always find the coins and various objects of antiquity at the bottom of the soil. An interesting example of this occurred when the late Mr. Waite invited me (now many years ago) to a Roman coin-hunt on Broad Hinton down. We found eighteen good Roman coins in the course of the morning. The process was a very simple one—the men turned over the turf and adhering soil (in this case about nine inches in depth), and we found the coins on the under side, or on the chalk rubble below.

"Chippings of the 'blue stones,' *i.e.*, of the stones of the inner circle, have been found in three of the barrows near Stonehenge, viz., in No. 16, No. ...,[1] and in No. 42.[2] They have also been found, as stated by Sir R. C. Hoare, in the waggon-tracks round the area of the temple.[3]

"Could it be clearly proved that these were associated in a barrow with the original interment, no doubt would remain that Stonehenge was older than the barrow.[4] Sir R. C. Hoare evidently considered this to have been the case with regard to barrow No. 16, and Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, was of the same opinion, as is shewn by the quotation from one of his letters, of which you have a copy. ['I showed you,' writes Mr. Cunnington, F.S.A., in 1802, 'a great variety of stones found in a large oblong barrow near Stonehenge, that are of the same kind as several of those in the building.'] It is much to be regretted that the details as to the finding of these fragments were not more explicitly stated. It should have been distinctly noted whether they were found with the primary interment, as it is *possible* they may have reached the spot where they

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[1] Note by Mr. Cunnington.—"The fine bell-shaped barrow N.E. of Stonehenge."—Hoare's Ancient Wilts, p. 127. [? No. 30.—*W.L.*]

[2] Note by Mr. Cunnington.—Barrow No. 42 is nearly a mile in a straight line from Stonehenge. [The discovery of blue stone chippings in No. 42 was made by Mr. H. Cunnington.—*W.L.*]

[3] Ancient Wilts, vol. i., p. 127.

[4] Note by Mr. Cunnington.—The barrow itself would be classified by Dr. Thurnam with the round barrows—the "bronze period." Stukeley, who describes it as "a very great and old-fashioned barrow," found in it, he says, "fragments of the red and blue stones."

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were found, accidentally, or by natural causes, such as are mentioned above. 'A little more accuracy of observation might have settled the question for ever.'"

The finding of these different kinds of chips *together* makes it appear *probable* that these different kinds of stones were worked on the ground at or about the same time; but it does not *settle* the question. There may have been an interval of time, greater or less, and the chips may yet have become mixed, and have been carried away, together, with the earth or chalk of which some of the barrows were composed. The chips found in these three barrows would go far to prove the superior antiquity of Stonehenge to that of these particular tumuli.[1]

One more theory in connection with the construction of Stonehenge must yet be mentioned. Four or five years ago the writer was astonished at hearing his friend Dr. Thurnam give utterance to what he then considered, and still considers to be, a rank archæological heresy; viz., that Stonehenge was at one time covered with a roof. He said nothing in proof or support of this opinion, and the writer thought it might have been a passing fancy, and that it was not based on any serious considerations. As however the writer finds the following in Lieut. Oliver's paper on the Prehistoric Remains in Brittany, read to the Ethnological Society, January 10th, 1871, he cannot but suppose that the Doctor really attached importance to this view, and had propounded it to others: "Dr. Thurnam has given up the ophite or dracontium theory as untenable, but considers that some of the circles, Stonehenge, for instance, may have been covered in with a roof, as the Scandinavian temples are represented as covered and enclosed structures. A similar idea occurred to a gentleman, who, on looking at Mr. Lukis' plans of the circles and lines, suggested that the avenue might have been covered in with timber and earth, and formed long chambers for the tribe to live in, the chieftains occupying the western circular chamber."

[1] Dr. Thurnam mentions in a note to p. 495 of "Archæologia," vol. 43, that a stone "of fine micaceous sandstone, precisely agreeing with the stone of the large flat slab in the centre of Stonehenge" was obtained by him from barrow (No. 170), about a mile from "the stones."



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That one so cautious, so careful, and so painstaking in the examination of the theories of others, should have committed himself to such an opinion as this, is, to the writer, strange indeed.

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THE GEOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE STONEHENGE STONES.

Dr. Stukeley appears to have been the first to notice the difference between the character of the stones composing the inner and outer circles and ellipses at Stonehenge. He says of the stones of the smaller oval that they are of a much harder sort than those of the lesser circle; and were brought somewhere from the West; and of the (so-called) altar-stone, that "'tis a kind of blue coarse marble such as comes from Derbyshire, and laid upon tombs in our churches and churchyards."

Before Aubrey's time there appears to have been a prevalent opinion that the stones were "factitious."[1] To those who were not acquainted with the valleys in the neighbourhood of Marlborough, these stones would be unlike any with which they were familiar; and the "composition" of them, where they stand, would get over any difficulty about their transport thither from a distance. The appearance, too, of some of the stones, such as of that which forms an impost of the outer circle towards the north-west, and which in its upper portion was found to consist, for the depth of a few inches, of a conglomerate of flints and sand,[2] may have given strength to this opinion. There appear to have been, even recently, according to a paper of Mr. Cunnington's in 1865, some very curious notions about the sarsen portion of the Stonehenge stones. In 1836, the President of the Architectural Society had discovered, "from recent inspection,

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[1] The author of a "Fool's Bolt" strongly asserts their being *saxa factitia*, as "it was impossible to work them into their several forms. Free-stones may be wrought to any, but these churlish stones to no form in cause of hardness and brittleness."

[2] See *Wilts Magazine*, vol. xi., p. 348. Mr. Cunnington adds to this account, the following statement: "Masses of sarsen made up entirely of a similar conglomerate of chalk-flints frequently occur in the neighbourhood of Standen, near Hungerford, but they are not found in the middle or southern districts of Wilts."

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that the large stones of Stonehenge were in their granular character, closely allied to the marble of Carrara," and another careful visitor of Stonehenge was of opinion that the stones were artificial.

Mr. Sowerby, in 1812, describes the stones thus:

"The outer circle and the great trilithons, with their imposts, are of sarsen[1] stone, a fine-grained silicious sandstone.

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[1] In the Addenda and Notes to "Abury Illustrated," the following is given as an explanation of the word "Sarsen:" "The term Sarsen, or Saresyn, was applied by the Anglo-Saxons, simply in the sense of *Pagan*, to the stones which they found scattered about the Wiltshire Downs. As all the principal specimens of these mysterious blocks were perceived to be congregated into temples popularly attributed to heathen worship, it naturally came to pass that the entire formation acquired the distinctive appellation of Sarsen or Pagan stones. The same epithet of 'Saresyn' the Saxons also applied to their invaders the Danes or Northmen, who, on their coming into this country, were universally pagan. Thus Robert Ricart (quoted in Roberts' History of Lyme) says, 'Duke Rollo Le Fort was a Saresyn come out of Denmark into France;' and a spot in Guernsey is still designated by the same term from having constituted the temporary stronghold of certain Norman freebooters."—Waylen's History of Marlborough, p. 529.

The following is from Mr. Henry Lawes Long's "Survey of the Early Geography of Western Europe:" "In addition to the suggestion advanced that our word *Sarsen*, as applied to the Druid sandstone, is, in fact, a corruption of *Saracen*, I may add that *Sarrasin* is the name commonly given on the Continent to ancient objects whether of Celtic or Roman construction, thereby inferring a period anterior to any remains of Christian origin. Roman denarii, which in the north of France still occasionally are current as sous, bear the name of *Sarrasins*. The Roman bridge near Aosta is called the *Pont de Sarrasins*." And I may add the following extract from the "Journal de l'Architecture," (of Brussels,) 4me. année, p. 84: "Les traditions locales attribuent la construction des chaussées romaines aux Sarrasins. Les ruines, les tuiles antiques, les poteries, les médailles, etc., que l'on trouve chaque jour, ne sont connus, comme on sait, que sous les noms de *Masures*, de *Vases*, de *Monnaies*, ou de puits des *Sarrasins*. Cette dénomination remonte évidemment aux temps des Croisades, lorsque les esprits étaient remplis du nom des infidèles. Du reste, les armeés et les populations qui revenaient de Terre-Sainte, en suivant les chaussées romaines, n'auront pas peu contribué à répandre aux environs l'épithète injurieuse de *Sarrasin* et de *payen*, dans laquelle ils auront confondu les Romaines si, comme il est probable, un faible souvenir de ce grand peuple vivait encore à cette époque dans le souvenir de nos pères." Mr. Long quotes the following from Col. Symonds's Diary, which his cousin, Mr. C. E. Long, edited for the Camden Society: "12th Nov. 1644, Tuesday, though a miserable wett windy day, the army moved over the playnes to Marlingsborough, where the King lay at the Lord Seymour's howse, the troopes to Fyfield, two myles distant, a place

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"The stones of the smaller circle (except Nos. 9, 11, 17, 19, in Sir. R. Hoare's plan) are an aggregate of quartz, felspar, chlorite and horn-blende.

"No. 9 is silicious schist.

"Nos. 11, 17 19 are hornstone, with small specks of felspar and pyrites.

"The altar-stone is a fine-grained micaceous sandstone."

The Rev. W. D. Conybeare, in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. ciii., part. 2, p. 452, thus speaks of the small circles: "Each stone a variety of greenstone rock which occurs nowhere nearer than the environs of Dartmoor in the West, or Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire on the North;—either being a distance of full a hundred miles in a direct line."

Professor Andrew Ramsay, writing to Dr. Thurnam (1859), says: "The greenstone may possibly come from Devonshire, but such rocks are also plentiful in Montgomeryshire, in Caernarvonshire, and in Merionethshire, and around Snowdon. In fact from Cader Idris to Moel Hebog, near Bedgellert and Snowdon, and from thence by Carnedd Llewelyn to Conway. They also occur in North Pembrokeshire. My friend, Mr. Perkins, the Vicar of Wootton-under-Edge, considers that these blocks which are quite foreign to the district may have been more easily brought from Brittany, where, I believe, such rocks occur, and I think this is possibly the case."

Mr. Charles Moore, F.G.S., of Bath, in 1865, expressed his belief "that the nearest point at which they could find similar material was Wales, or possibly Shropshire, although he found stones of precisely similar character while exploring the Mendips a few months ago, but the stones could not have been obtained from that spot, for the rock had never been worked."

Professor Phillips' letter to Dr. Thurnam, giving an account of

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so full of a grey pibble stone of great bigness as is not usually seene; they breake them, and build their howses of them and walls, laying mosse betweene, the inhabaitants calling them Saracen's stones, and in this parish a myle and halfe in length, they lye so thick as you may goe upon them all the way. They call that place the Grey-weathers, because a far-off they looke like a flock of sheepe."

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his examination of the specimens sent to him of Stonehenge stones is as follows:—

"*Oxford*, 22*nd December*, 1858.

My Dear Sir,

"The stones, four in number, are thus to be described:—

"1. Marked *Stonehenge altar*. This is a gray sandstone, composed of quartz sand, silvery mica, and some small dark grains (possibly hornblende). Such a stone might be obtained in the gray *Devonian* or gray Cambrian rocks—and in other situations ('Cos.' antiq).

"2. Greenstone (Anglicè). Composed of slightly quartzose Felspar—hornblende—a little chlorite? &c., &c. This is an ordinary greenstone of such large grain and such a constitution as to make approach to the green syenite of some writers. If I had better specimens I could perhaps determine the presence of other minerals. Such a rock may be found in dykes in Devonshire, in dykes and seaming beds in Wales, &c.

"3. Smaller specimen, like the last, but with finer grain.

"4. Compact felspar of Mac Culloch: shows no internal crystallization; base of many dark porphyries—such occur in North Wales, Cumberland, &c. If on the spot, we were to study more carefully the several stones, it might, I think, be possible to identify the greenstones; but by such little atoms as these only guesses and those very vague can be justified.

"There is nothing like granite in the specimens. This rather points to Wales than to Cornwall—nor is there any ordinary (felspathic) elvan as in Cornwall, but 'Elvan' is a name applied to greenstone dykes not unlike this stone near Dartmoor. But as, no doubt, Merlin brought the stones he might choose a rock now buried in the great depression of Caernarvonshire, where Sarn Badrig alone remains to mark his tram-road!

$\phi$."

But upon this subject, there is no one who deserves a hearing, and a more attentive hearing, too, than Mr. Cunnington, F.G.S., who has devoted so much time and thought to the study of the geological character of the Wiltshire megalithic structures. He says, in a paper "on the geology of Stonehenge," read at the Salisbury meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society, 1865: "We are indebted to Mr. Prestwich, the treasurer of the Geological Society, for the exact determination of the stratum from which the 'Sarsens' are derived *(Vide Journal of the Geological Society)*.

"At the close of the *secondary* period of geologists, when the Chalk stratum, now forming the downs over which we shall walk [illegible], was at the bottom of the sea, beds of sands, clays, and

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gravels, were deposited upon it. These constitute what are now called the *tertiary strata.* When they were subsequently raised above the bed of the ocean, they were exposed to the powerful denuding action of seas, *glaciers,* and rivers, by which the main portion of them, in the western district (Wiltshire included), was carried away; a few cappings on some of the hills only remaining through the greater part of our county. Such cappings are not uncommon on some of the high hills on the borders of Salisbury Plain, especially to the northward and eastward of Amesbury, and between that town, Bedwyn, and Kingsclere; whilst hills, where no *masses* of tertaries remain, shew by the presence of numerous tertiary flint pebbles on their summit, the wreck of strata once spread over this area. Among the *lower tertiaries* (the Eocene of Sir Charles Lyell), are certain sands and mottled clays, named by Mr. Prestwich the Woolwich and Reading beds, from their being largely developed at these places, and from these he proves the sarsens to have been derived; although they are seldom found *in situ,* owing to the destruction of the stratum to whieh they belonged. They are large *masses* of *sand concreted together* by a silicious cement, and when the looser portions of the stratum were washed away, the blocks of sandy rock were left scattered over the surface of the ground.

"At Standen, near Hungerford, large masses of sarsen are found, consisting almost *entirely* of flints, formed into conglomerate with the sand. Flints are also common in some of the large stones forming the ancient temple of Avebury.

"At the cliffs of St. Marguerite, near Dieppe, is a bed of fine white sand, reposing unevenly upon the chalk, and extending for one or two miles in length. It contains blocks of concretionary silicious sandstone, frequently measuring many feet in length. A good example of sarsen stone *in situ.*

"The abundance of these remains, especially in some of the valleys of North Wilts, is very remarkable. Few persons who have not seen them can form an adequate idea of the extraordinary scene presented to the eye of the spectator, who standing on the brow of one of the hills near Clatford, sees stretching for miles before him, countless numbers of these enormous stones, occupying the middle

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of the valley, and winding like a mighty stream towards the south.

"Three or four small lateral valleys, containing a similar deposit, and converging to the main valley, add to the impression that almost involuntarily forces itself upon the mind, that it must be a stream of rocks, e'en now flowing onward.[1]

"In some places, they strew the ground so thickly, that across miles of country, a person might almost leap from stone to stone, without touching the ground on which they lie, and some of them are four or five yards across. Sometimes the masses are formed of *unusually fine* sand, and the result is a very dense hard rock. In this variety are commonly found the remains of what appear to be fucoids or sea weeds. They do not exhibit any very marked structure, but are certainly vegetable. With regard to the origin of the stones composing the *small circle* and *inner oval* of Stonehenge our information is less definite. They differ entirely from the sarsens, being all *primary* or *igneous rocks*. Professor Tennant, of King's College, has favored me by making a fresh examination of the specimens. With four exceptions, they are of syenite, composed of quartz, felspar, and hornblende. One of the exceptions is silicious schist, and the other three greenstone, containing small crystals of hornblende and iron pyrites, the latter partly decomposed, and passing into oxide of iron. The altar-stone is a fine-grained micaceous sandstone. Professor Ramsay, of the Geological Survey, says: 'They are certainly not drifted boulders, and do not resemble the igneous rocks of Charnwood Forest; and without asserting that they came from Wales or Shropshire, I may state that they are of the same nature as the igneous rocks of part of the Lower Silurian region of North Pembrokeshire and of Caernarvonshire.

"Professor Tennant says that Charnwood Forest contains *several* kinds of greenstones and syenite, but that he never saw any of them like the stones of Stonehenge. They bear, however, he thinks, a strong resemblance to those of the *Channel Islands*, and it has always appeared to him that they were obtained from that source.

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[1] These stones are now rapidly disappearing; they are used for building purposes.

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"But the most important consideration connected with the smaller stones, and one which in its archæological bearing has been too much overlooked, is the fact of their having been brought from a great distance. I expressed an opinion on this subject in a lecture delivered at Devizes more than eighteen years ago, and I have been increasingly impressed with it since. I believe that these stones would not have been brought from such a distance to a spot where an abundance of building stones equally suitable in every respect already existed, unless some special or religious value had been attached to them. This goes far to prove that Stonehenge was *originally a temple*, and neither a *monument* raised to the memory of the dead, nor an astronomical calendar or almanac. In either of these latter cases there would have been no motive for seeking the materials elsewhere. The sarsens would have answered every purpose, with less labour, and with better effect. But, *if* these were the sacred stones of some early colonists, a *superstitious* value would have been attached to them, and great care and labour bestowed on their preservation. Thus the ancient so-called 'Stone of Destiny,' on which our sovereigns are crowned, was preserved with pious care for centuries in the Abbey of Scone, and has, to this day, its place in the Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey.

"It has been suggested that they were Danams, or the offerings of successive votaries. Would there in such case have been such uniformity of design or would they have been all alike of foreign materials? I would make one remark about the small impost of a trilithon of syenite, now lying prostrate within the circle. One writer has followed another in taking it for granted that there must have been a second, corresponding with it, on the opposite side. Of this there is neither proof nor record, not a trace of one having been seen by *any* person who has written on the subject. This small impost, not being of sarsen, but syenite, must have belonged to the original old circle, and it may even have suggested to the builders of the present Stonehenge the idea of the large imposts and trilithons, with their tenons and mortices.

"It is important to mention that no iron implements have been found in the numerous barrows around Stonehenge."

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DESTRUCTION OF THE STONES OF STONEHENGE.

The measurement of many stones, large and small, recently made by the writer, convinced him that the stones composing the different portions of the structure were intended to be, as far as possible, of the same height and size. The small recumbent stones of sarsen, therefore, must be considered as being only frusta of the originals, the remaining portions having been broken up and carried away. We find Inigo Jones complaining of the destruction of these stones, which came under his notice. He says, in 1620: "Those of the inner circle and lesser hexagon, not only exposed to the fury of all-devouring ages, but to the rage of men likewise, have been more subject to ruine. For being of no extraordinary proportions, they might easily be beaten down or digged up, and at pleasure made use of for other occasions, which I am the rather enduced to believe, because, *since my measuring the work, not one fragment of some then standing are now to be found.*"—Jones' "Notable Antiquity," p. 63. (1655.) Stukeley speaks of the chipping of stones which was common in his day,[1] but in many cases large portions of stones which had fallen must have been carried away. He mentions that he had seen a stone, as big as any at Stonehenge, in Durrington fields, another at Milford, another at Fighelden. "They seem to have been carried back to make bridges, mill-dams, or the like, in the river. There is another in the London road, east from Amesbury, about a mile from the town. Another in the water at Bulford,[2] and yet another stands leaning at Preshute farm near the church, as big as those of Stonehenge." Stukeley seems to have thought that these stones had formed part of a sacellum or little temple upon what he calls Haradon Hill, and where the avenue began. Aubrey

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[1] pp. 5, 23, 26 of reprint.

[2] The common tradition respecting this stone at Bulford is, that as the Devil, who had been employed by Merlin to buy of an old woman in Ireland the stones for Stonehenge, was bringing them over, bound up in a wyth, the wyth slackened as he was crossing the river Avon at Bulford, and one of them dropped down into the water, where it lies to this very hour.

A farmer, with his team of oxen, made an unsuccessful attempt to move this stone some years since.

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had previously recorded, in the "Monumenta Britannica," that "the inhabitants about the Amesburies had defaced this monument since his remembrance, *sc.* one large stone was carried away to make a bridge."

Mr. Kemm, in answer to enquiries made by the Secretaries of the Wiltshire Society, in the *Magazine*, says (vol. xi., p. 243): "My father resided for twenty-five years in West Amesbury House, and I have often heard him express his conviction, that a considerable quantity of fragments of the stones of Stonehenge were built into its walls. I could myself point out pieces of stone in the garden wall, which appear to be precisely similar in quality to the stones of the outer circle . . . Stonehenge stands on the estate, so that the builder of the house was the owner of the monument."

Mr. Cunnington says (vol. xi., p. 348): "Depredations are still perpetrated on Stonehenge by excursionists and other visitors. About two years ago, a mass, which must have weighed nearly 56 pounds, was broken, apparently by means of a sledge hammer, from the hard schist, marked No. 9 in Hoare's plan. The soft stones are frequently much chipped. On the 17th of July last (1868), a party of Goths lighted a fire against one of the stones on the south-east side of the outer circle, by which it was much damaged and disfigured, and several fragments were broken off by the heat."

In Mr. Henry L. Long's book previously alluded to, is the following suggestion respecting the pre-historic injury done to Stonehenge: "There now remain at Stonehenge, upright and prostrate, about ninety-one stones; originally there must have been about one hundred and thirty. It is to be hoped that the work of destruction is now at an end; and that this unique monument of antiquity may experience no further demolitions. It has suffered most on the southern side—certainly the quarter of the most violent winds; but we can hardly suppose that winds would have any appreciable effect upon such mighty and such deeply-fixed masses. Something may have been done by excavators in search of imagined treasures, but I am more inclined to attribute their overthrow to the same cause that inspired their construction, namely, to religious fervour; for we know that, upon the conversion from paganism to Christianity,

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a regular onslaught upon buildings of this description took place, equal to the frenzied assaults of the Scotch Covenanters upon the cathedrals . . . The Saxons remained pagans about one hundred and fifty years, until the arrival of St. Augustine, in 517. What happened to the Druidical worship during that period, we know not; but we cannot suppose it to have revived, even if any Britons had remained to revive it, under the desolation of the Saxon domination, and in defiance of their hostile creed. It seems however likely that the first steps of the British converts to Christianity would have been directed against the symbols of Druidical superstition. We have no record to establish the fact, but what is more likely than that Stonehenge, like similar edifices elsewhere, should have been one of the first objects to experience the wrath of the proselytes against the previous objects of their worship? The partial overthrow of Stonehenge may, perhaps, be referred to some such religious movement, and to about the fourth century of our era."

But for the watchful care of Mr. Henry Browne, who, for so many years, took a loving interest in Stonehenge, and who, "on many occasions, has succeeded in arresting the ravages (worse than those of time) which ruthless hands would have committed," much more injury would probably have been done during a considerable portion of the present century. In his little book on Stonehenge (p. 19), he "exhorts his readers to the respect and veneration justly due to such unparalleled curiosities, and most earnestly entreats them not to contribute to their demolition by taking those chippings of them which the unheeding shepherds of the plain will be ready to provide them with for the consideration of a few half-pence, but rather to become the protectors of them by discouraging every kind of attempt to injure or mutilate them."[1]

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[1] No paper on Stonehenge could, with justice, omit to make mention of Mr. H. Browne, who, for so many years, was the self-constituted curator of Stonehenge, and, who by his constant watchfulness over this object of his interest and affection, must have preserved it from much injury and mutilation. Sir R. C. Hoare in his "Modern Wilts," (Hundred of Amesbury, p. 52,) says of him that "no one has investigated Stonehenge so minutely as he has, and, by ascending to the summit of the trilithons, he has discovered what was before unnoticed, viz., that each stone was fixed to the other by a groove. He also

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## The Incised Stone.

Since the fact became known that the incision upon the lower side of the impost of the trilithon which the Duke of Buckingham helped to overthrow, was the work of an itinerant mechanic, all

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noticed that the small upright stones *behind* the altar were placed closer to each other than in any other parts of the circle, and that a wider interval was left at the entrance." Mr. Browne had his craze, which was that Stonehenge was of the ante-diluvian period, and that the traces of the deluge were to be seen in the direction in which the fallen stones are laid. The following account of him was printed in a Wiltshire newspaper: "Mr. Browne, the author of a work on Stonehenge, was a man of limited means, but of respectable mental attainments, who had been early struck with the magnificence of the remains on Salisbury Plain, and had imbibed a passion for the temple at Stonehenge as absorbing and as powerful as that felt by the young Parisienne for the Belvidere Apollo, or as any one of the Pygmalion-like instances of which so many are recorded. To this, and to its illustrative remains in this neighbourhood, all his thoughts were devoted. He lived under its shadow, he dreamed of it, he endeavoured to trace out the hidden mystery of its existence, he lectured upon its many wonders, and he published a book about it. When engaged on his lectures to the members of the literary institutions that existed some years since in Salisbury, he used to bring his drawings and make his arrangements in the the morning, return to Amesbury to dinner, come back with more materials in the afternoon, read his lecture in the evening, and then again walk on his solitary road to Amesbury at night after the conclusion of the meeting, having already walked five-and-twenty miles. But this persevering energy of his character was more particularly exemplified during the construction of his model of Stonehenge. Every stone was modelled on the spot, and the most minute variations in the original carefully noted in his copy. Day after day, and week after week, was he to be found among those memorials of old time—planning, measuring, modelling, painting, in the prosecution of his self-prescribed task, and interrupted only by the necessity of sometimes visiting Salisbury for materials, which he bore home himself, and on foot. The difficulty of making such a copy would not perhaps be great with proper assistance, but this man worked wholly by himself, and we can imagine his self-gratulation on the completion of his labours, when he could exclaim, like the victor of Corioli, 'Alone I did it! I!' From this model he made others on different scales, and the moulds being preserved, these were afterwards sold by his son, together with some of his own drawings equally accurate, to occasional visitors.

"Mr. Browne, though he had completed his work, had not yet found for it a resting-place, and he determined to present it to the British Museum. It was accepted by the trustees, with thanks, and the author chose to have the pleasure of placing it with his own hands in this great repository of the antiquities of the world. Unwilling to trust the model from his sight, and equally unwilling or unable to bear the expenses of the usual modes of travelling, he resolved to walk with it to London; and mounting his model on a wheel-barrow or hand-

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interest in the subject has come to an end. In Dr. Thurnam's paper, in the ninth volume of the *Wiltshire Magazine,* will be found a detailed account of the whole affair.

The writer noticed, in October, 1875, that a "broad arrow" had recently been cut on the large stone behind the leaning stone of the largest trilithon. When this shall have lost its fresh appearance, it might, if previously unnoticed, give rise to similar speculations.

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### The Fall of the Trilithon in 1797.

The "Archæologia," vol. xvi., p. 103, contains an account of the fall of some of the stones of Stonehenge, in a letter from William George Maton, M.B., F.A.S., to Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq., F.R.S., and F.A.S. It was read June 29th, 1797. The following is the most interesting portion of it: "On the third of the month (January) already mentioned, some people employed at the plough,

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truck he set off across the plain with his charge. After a toilsome and almost continuous march of two days and nights (for he only slept for a short time in the day), he arrived on the morning of the third day at the British Museum, showed the letter of the trustees to the porter, wheeled his load into the court-yard, and saw his model safely deposited in the house. He left without staying to be questioned, and was soon on his way home again; but was detained some days on the road by illness brought on by his exertions." He died at Winchester, April 17th, 1839, aged 70 years, while journeying on foot to deliver a course of lectures at Chichester. He wrote, in 1809, a pamphlet entitled "The real State of England;" in 1810, "A brief arrangement of the Apocalypse;" and in 1830, "The critical state of England at the present time." He styles himself "Lecturer on History."

Mr. Browne, in his little book on Stonehenge and Abury, thus describes the conclusion he came to from his observations as to the manner in which the few remaining transverse stones of the outer circle had been connected together: "They were originally connected together throughout the whole circle by thirty stones placed upon the tops of them, which were fitted together at their extremities by corresponding projections and hollows, as shown by Fig. I. in the plate (copied in woodcut): another circumstance, I believe, hitherto unnoticed by the investigators of Stonehenge." The writer regrets having been prevented, hitherto, from verifying, by personal inspection, the foregoing statement, which had approved itself to Sir. R. Hoare.

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full half-a-mile distant from Stonehenge, suddenly felt a considerable concussion, or jarring, of the ground, occasioned, as they afterwards perceived, by the fall of two of the largest stones and their impost. This trilithon fell outwards, nearly in a westerly direction, the impost in its fall striking against one of the stones of the outer circle, which, however, has not been thereby driven very considerably out of its perpendicularity. The lower ends of the two uprights, or supporters, being now exposed to view, we are enabled to ascertain the form into which they were hewn. They are not right-angled, but were bevilled off in such a manner that the stone which stood nearest to the upper part of the adytum is 22 feet in length on one side, and not quite 20 on the other; the difference between the corresponding sides of the fellow-supporter is still greater, one having as much as 23, and the other scarcely 19 feet, in length. The breadth of each is (at a medium) 7 feet 9 inches, and the thickness 3 feet. The impost which is a perfect parallelopipedon, measures 16 feet in length, 4 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 6 inches in thickness. This impost is considerably more than 11 tons in weight. It was projected about 2 feet beyond the supporters, made an impression in the ground to the depth of 7 inches or more, and was arrested in its tendency to roll by the stone it struck whilst falling . . . One of the supporters fell on a stone belonging to the second circle, which I at first supposed to have been thrown down by it, but which, from recurring to plans of the prior state of the structure, I find to have been long prostrate. The longer of them was not more than 3 feet 6 inches deep (measuring down the middle) in the ground, the other little more than 3 feet. In the cavities left in the ground there were a few fragments of stone of the same nature as that forming the substance of the trilithon, and some masses of chalk. These materials seem to have been placed here with a view to secure the perpendicular position of the supporters. The immediate cause of this memorable change in the state of Stonehenge must have been the sudden and rapid thaw that began the day before the stones fell, succeeding a very deep snow. In all probability the trilithon was originally perfectly upright, but it had acquired some degree of inclination long before the time of its fall. This inclination was

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remarked by Dr. Stukeley, though it was not so considerable, I think, as is represented in his north view of Stonehenge."[1]

Mr. Henry Browne, in his "Illustrations of Stonehenge and Abury," gives some additional information: "I will here take the opportunity of introducing the account which was given me of the fall of this trilithon, by Dr. Maton, of Spring Gardens, London, when I had the pleasure of meeting that gentleman on the spot, and who, at the time of its fall, resided at Salisbury. About twenty years ago it was the habit of persons, waiting the commencement of fairs in this part of Wiltshire, to take up their abode in Stonehenge for some days, as a defence against the inclemency of the weather. In the autumn preceding the fall of the trilithon, amongst others who availed themselves of this protection were some gipsies, who, not content with a position behind this trilithon on the level ground, made an excavation in the chalk to obtain a lower position. On quitting Stonehenge, the effect produced by this proceeding, was that of causing an extraordinary accumulation of moisture behind this trilithon, in the rainy and snowy season of autumn and winter. The chalk, in this position and under these circumstances, being frozen in the winter, and thawed in the succeeding mild weather, was, in consequence, decomposed. This naturally weakened the foundation of the trilithon on its outward side, towards the west, and it at length, as already stated, fell in that direction, after being observed for two or three days to be out of its perpendicular position."

Mr. Rickman, visiting the place on the fall of the trilithon, noticed that the foundation exhibited nothing remarkable, the two great stones having no artificial support in the ground, and one of them exhibiting an irregular shape of its base, quite unsuitable for stability, as forming the obtuse angle of a rhombus, and that not penetrating more than six feet deep. The accurate juncture of the upper surface of the uprights and the lower side of the transverse stone must have cost much labour, and not less skill than the tenons and mortices: but these surfaces exhibited no mark of tooling.[2]

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[1] In Inigo Jones' North Prospect of Stonehenge this trilithon is represented as inclining outwards considerably.

[2] See Archæologia, vol. xxviii., 411.



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FLINT FLAKES FOUND WITHIN THE STONE CIRCLES AT STONEHENGE.

Mr. W. Cunnington, in his "Stonehenge Notes," printed at the end of the eleventh volume of the Magazine of the Wilts A. and N. H. Society, 1869, says: "During a visit to Stonehenge in the summer of last year, Mr. Henry Cunnington found in rabbits' holes round the edge of the altar-stone, and at the edge of the large stone E 2 in Hoare's plan, several flint flakes and a fragment of pottery. The latter is of rude make, slightly burnt, and though evidently very ancient, is not sufficiently distinct to be of much importance. Most of the flakes are decidedly artificial. 'The circular piece,' says Mr. Evans, 'is of a rare form and belongs to the class to which the name of sling stones has been applied.' One flake is undoubtedly ancient, and bears marks of having been well used; but the general appearance of the specimens, with this one exception, is so fresh that suspicions must be entertained as to their authenticity." [1]

Colonel Lane Fox found several worked flints in the rubbish around the trilithons in 1869: "Observing that two or three bare places had been scratched in the soil, apparently by animals, at the foot of the stones, I examined the loose earth carefully, and succeeded in finding the four flints which are exhibited to the meeting [that of the Ethnological Society of London, Nov. 9th, 1869]. Two of these, it will be seen, are perfect flakes, having bulbs of percussion, with ribs and facets at the back" . . . "Besides the flakes, I observed numerous small splinters of flint, such as might well have resulted from the fracture of flint tools, had such been used in the process of dressing the great blocks." Colonel Lane Fox found as many as twenty worked flints in one place close to Stonehenge, "where a small tumulus had been scored by the plough." [2]

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DIGGINGS WITHIN THE PRECINCTS OF STONEHENGE, AND THEIR RESULTS.

Mr. Webb, in "Stoneheng Restored," p. 66, says: "But the sacrifices anciently offered at Stoneheng (already remembered) were

[1] Note by Mr. Cunnington, 1876.—"I believe that all the flakes found in 1869 were purposely placed there. 'Flint Jack' is known to have been at Stonehenge about this time."

[2] Journal of the Ethnological Society, vol. ii., pp. 2, 3.

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Bulls or Oxen, and several sorts of Beasts, as appears by the heads of divers kinds of them, not many years since, there digged up." The same statement is repeated in his "Stoneheng, a Roman Work and Temple," p. 97. Speaking again "of the heads of Bulls or Oxen, of Harts, and other such beasts digged up in or near our Antiquity, which were the relicks of such Beasts as were anciently offered at that Place," he says, in answer to Dr. Charleton, who had spoken of their having been "plowed up in the adjacent fields:" "Those concern immediately our discovery, that have been found in several parts of the Court surrounding Stoneheng itself, and near about it; for besides the abundance of them which were digged up by Dr. Harvey,[1] formerly mentioned, Gilbert North, Esquire, brother to the Right Honorable the Lord North, Mr. Jones, and divers other persons, at several other times; when the Right Noble George, late Duke of Buckingham, out of his real affection to antiquity, was at the charge in King James his days, of searching and digging there, great numbers were found also. And as at all the former time, so in like manner at this same time, were great quantities of burnt coals or charcoals digged up likewise; here lying promiscuously together with the heads, there, in pits by themselves apart, here more, there less." On the next page is an engraving of the cover of the thuribulum (!), which he considers "a notable testimony for what use our Stoneheng was at first erected."

Aubrey, in his "Monumenta Britannica," attributes the partial fall of the leaning stone (marked D 2, in Sir R. C. Hoare's ground plan) to the researches made in the year 1620, by George, Duke of Buckingham, who, when King James the First was at Wilton (the seat of the Earls of Pembroke), "did cause the middle of Stonehenge to be digged, and this under-digging was the cause of the falling downe, or recumbency of the great stone there, twenty one foote long. In the process of this digging they found a great many horns of stags and oxen, charcoal, batterdashers, heads of arrows, some pieces of armour eaten out with rust, bones rotten, but whether of stagges' or men they could not tell." He further adds, that Philip,

[1] The discoverer of the circulation of the blood.



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Earl of Pembroke (Lord Chamberlain to King Charles I.) did say "that an altar-stone was found in the middle of the area here, and that it was carried away to St. James'."[1]

Stukeley mentions that "Mr. Thomas Hayward, late owner of Stonehenge, dug about it, as he acquainted Lord Winchelsea and myself. He found heads of oxen and other beasts bones and nothing else." Again he says, "July 5, 1723. By Lord Pembroke's direction, I dug on the inside of the altar about the middle: 4 foot along the edge of the stone, 6 foot forward toward the middle of the adytum. At a foot deep, we came to the solid chalk mix'd with flints, which had never been stir'd. The altar was exactly a cubit thick, 20 inches and $\frac{4}{5}$; but broken in two or three pieces by the ponderous mass of the impost and one upright stone of that trilithon which stood at the upper end of the adytum, being fallen upon it. Hence appears the commodiousness of the foundation for this huge work. They dug holes in the solid chalk, which would of itself keep up the stones, as firm as if a wall was built round them. And no doubt they ramm'd up the interstices with flints. But I had too much regard to the work to dig anywhere near the stones. I took up an oxe's tooth, above ground, without the adytum on the right hand of the lowermost trilithon, northward. And this is all the account of what has been found by digging at Stonehenge, which I can give."[2]

Mr. Cunnington dug so completely under the large prostrate stone

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[1] Mr. Cunnington, in the Wilts Mag,, vol. xi., p. 349, says "as to the stone said to have been carried away to St. James', in the time of Charles I., we have made some enquiries at St. James' Palace, and are informed on authority of the clerk of the works, that no such stone now exists there." It is very improbable that, if such a stone were removed, it was taken "from the *middle* of the area" of Stonehenge. Inigo Jones would have seen it, and laid it down upon his plan, had it been in that position, when he drew up his account of Stonehenge "by direction of King James, I., in the year 1620.'

The "Antiquities of Stoneheng on Salisbury Plain restored" was first published by Mr. John Webb, of Butleigh, Somerset, (who "married Inigo Jones' kinswoman,") in a small folio, in 1655; but few copies were originally printed, and the greater part of the impression was consumed in the fire of London. Inigo Jones died either in 1651 or 1652.

[2] Stukeley's "Stonehenge," page 32, reprint.

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adjoining the agger, within the area, "as to be able to examine the undermost side of the stone, where we found fragments of stag's horns."[1] Further on he says, "In more modern times (since Stukeley's) we have found, on digging, several fragments of Roman, as well as of coarse British pottery; parts of the head and horns of deer, and other animals, and a large barbed arrow head of iron. Dr. Stukeley says that he dug close to the altar, and at the depth of one foot came to the solid chalk. Mr. Cunnington also dug about the same place to the depth of nearly six feet, and found the chalk had been moved to that depth; and at about the depth of three feet he found some Roman pottery, and at the depth of six feet, some pieces of sarsen stones, three fragments of coarse half-baked pottery, and some charred wood. After what Stukeley has said of finding the marl solid at the depth of one foot, the above discoveries would naturally lead us to suppose, that some persons, since his time had dug into the same spot; yet after getting down about two feet, there was less and less vegetable mould, till we reached the solid chalk; some small pieces of bone, a little charred wood, and some fragments of coarse pottery were intermixed with the soil. In digging into the ditch that surrounds the area, Mr. Cunnington found similar remains of antiquity; and in the waggon tracks, near Stonehenge, you frequently meet with chippings of the stones of which the temple was constructed. Soon after the fall of the great trilithon in 1797, Mr. Cunnington dug out some of the earth that had fallen into the excavation, and found a fragment of fine black Roman pottery, and since that, another piece in the same spot; but I have no idea that this pottery ever lay beneath the stones, but probably in the earth adjoining the trilithon, and after the downfall of the latter, fell with the mouldering earth into the excavation. The only conclusion we can draw from this circumstance of finding Roman pottery on this ground is, that this work was in existence at the period when that species of earthenware was made use of by the Britons in our island."[2]

[1] See page 56.

[2] Ancient Wilts, vol. i., pp. 144, 150, 151. Sir Richard Hoare has spoken in [the f]oregoing paragraph about the finding of Roman pottery. Stukeley has the [follow]ing about the finding of Roman coins: "In 1724, when I was there,

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The following extract is from a letter by Mr. Cunnington, F.S.A., of Heytesbury, dated November, 1802, with which his grandson, Mr. Cunnington, F.G.S., has kindly favoured the writer: "I have during the summer dug in several places in the area[1] and neighbourhood of Stonehenge and particularly at the front of the altar, where I dug to the depth of 5 feet or more, and found charred wood, animal bones and pottery. Of the latter there were several pieces similar to the rude urns found in the barrows, also some pieces of Roman pottery. In several places I found stags' horns. The altar-stone is 16 feet 2 inches long, 3 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 9 inches thick. It was completely broken in two by the fall of the impost of the great trilithon. It was neatly chiseled as you may see by digging the earth from the side."

Mr. Joseph Browne gave to Dr. Thurnam the following account of a digging in front of what is called the altar-stone by Captain Beamish, who undertook the exploration in order to satisfy a society in Sweden that there was no interment in the centre of Stonehenge:

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Richard Hayns, an old man of Ambresbury, whom I employed to dig for me in the barrows, found some little worn-out Roman coins at Stonehenge, among the earth rooted up by the rabbets. He sold one of them for half-a-crown to Mr. Merril, of Golden Square, who came thither whilst I was at the place. The year before, Hayns was one of the workmen employ'd by Lord Carlton to dig clay on Harradon hill, east of Ambresbury, where they found many Roman coins, which I saw. I suspect he pretended to find those at Stonehenge, only for the sake of the reward. My friend the late Dr. Harwood of Doctors Commons, told me he was once at Stonehenge with such sort of Roman coins in his pockets, and that one of his companions would have persuaded him to throw some of them into the rabbit-holes: but the Doctor was more ingenuous. Nevertheless were never so many such coins found in Stonehenge, they would prove nothing more, than that the work was in being, when the Romans were here; and which we are assured of already. I have a brass coin given me by John Collins, Esq., collector of the excise at Stanford. The heads of Julius and Augustus averse: the reverse a crocodile, palm branch and garland, COL. NEM., the colony of Nemansus in France. It was found upon Salisbury plain: and might be lost there before the Roman conquest of Britain under Claudius, by people of France coming hither; or in after ages; no matter which" (p. 32). It thus appears that there were *Coin*-Jacks in Stukeley's time, for the distribution in convenient places, if not for the forgery, of these Roman pieces of money.

[1] "Taking care not to go too near the stones."

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"Some years ago, I do not remember the year, but it was that in which Mr. Antrobus came of age [? 1839], and that there were rejoicings at Amesbury, an officer from Devonport, named Captain Beamish, who was staying at the George Hotel, having obtained the permission of the proprietor, made an excavation somewhere about eight feet square and six feet deep, in front of the altar-stone, digging backward some little distance under it. I remember distinctly the hole being dug through the chalk rubble and rock. Nothing was found excepting some bits of charcoal, and a considerable quantity of the bones of rabbits. Before the hole was filled up, I buried a bottle, containing a record of the excavation."

It thus appears that there have been already many and extensive diggings within the circles and the vallum, and that the result has been inconsiderable, beyond the throwing down of one of the trilithons. It has been recently proposed to examine "the flat surface within the stone circles," and perhaps "the ditch of the earthwork surrounding the structure."[1] It would be well, therefore, to consider carefully the incidental notices of what has been already done in this way, and to calculate whether any future examination of the soil would be likely to be attended with more satisfactory results. The writer ventures to express his belief that the only important result would be the determination of the non-sepulchral character of the work. But even the discovery of human remains within the circles would no more prove that Stonehenge was constructed to be a burial place, than the finding of bishops' and other peoples' bodies in cathedrals would be decisive that these buildings had not been erected with the primary object of promoting the worship and service of Almighty God.

Warton, in his "Parochial History of Kiddington," says of Rollrich, that some years ago, "Its area, which is without a tumulus, was examined to a considerable depth by digging, and no marks of inhumation appeared;" and Stukeley had previously mentioned that

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[1] Colonel Lane Fox "on the Proposed Exploration of Stonehenge by a Committee of the British Association."—Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, vol. ii., p. 1, 1869.

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Ralph Sheldon, Esq., dug in the middle of the circle at Rowlrich, but found nothing. Arbor-lowe, in Derbyshire, contains nothing sepulchral, nor do the Cornish circles of Boscawen-un and Botallack. In 1861 some Edinburgh archæologists made excavations within the great circle known as the "Stones of Stennis," in Orkney, but could not find a trace of human sepulture. The same result would probably attend the examination of the area of Stonehenge.[1]

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[1] It is to be hoped that the diggings at Silbury Hill, and within the large circle at Abury, will have set at rest, for ever, the questions relating to the connection of the former with the Roman road, and to the sepulchral character of the latter. To the writer, when spending some days at and near Abury in 1856 and 1857, the course of the Roman road through the cultivated fields, was, on sunny afternoons, unmistakeably apparent. From Mr. A. C. Smith's interesting account of these investigations, he extracts the following: "Although we have found no hidden treasures, and made no fresh discoveries, the result of our work was on the whole highly satisfactory to us; for we considered that we had fairly settled the question mooted by Mr. Fergusson, but which neither of us ever entertained for one moment, that Avebury was a vast graveyard, and that human bones would be disinterred, if search were made.

"We had made excavations in fourteen different spots within the area, some of them of no trifling dimensions, but not one single human bone had we found; quantities of bones of the sheep, the horse, the ox, we had disinterred, many of which, not far from the surface, were of comparatively recent date: glass and pottery too, *near the surface* told their tale of modern times; but the fragments of pottery which we brought to light from our deeper cuttings were invariably of the British type. Thus we flatter ourselves that our exertions have not been thrown away: we trust we have once for all disposed of the novel theory as to the great charnel house of the ancient Britons; while on the other hand we have unmistakeably proved the site of several of the most important stones long since broken up and carried away; and we have probed the great surrounding embankment to its very core, laying bare the original surface, and closely examining all the materials of which it is composed. We also found three stones not mentioned by recent writers. Ten yards to the east of the standing stones, nearest on the left hand side of the south entrance to Avebury, is a stone which is not laid down in Hoare's map. The dry summer of 1864, and the heat of some part of 1865, had killed the turf over the stone, and it now shows above the surface. Twenty yards in a north-westerly direction from the next standing stone ('m' in the map) another stone may be found under the turf, and ten yards from this again is yet another."—Wilts Arch and Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. x., p. 214.

There are doubtless many stone circles within which interments have been found, and it may be that in these the sepulchral character was the first and only character attached to them by their builders; but there are very many others in

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### The Avenues and Cursus.

Neither Webb nor Aubrey appear to have found out the avenues or cursus, and Stukeley might fairly claim to have been the discoverer of them both. As such, he shall describe them: "The avenue of Stonehenge was never observ'd by any who have wrote of it, tho' a very elegant part of it, and very apparent," and again, "About half a mile north of Stonehenge, across the first valley, is the cursus or

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which have been found no traces of any interment, and it may be fairly believed that they were set up for some object of more general importance.

In the very interesting volumes by Mr. E. H. Palmer, entitled the "Desert of the Exodus," he tells us of "huge stone circles in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, some of them measuring 100 feet in diameter, having a cist in the centre covered with a heap of larger boulders. These are nearly identical in construction with the 'Druidical Circles' of Britain. In the cists we found human skeletons, the great antiquity of which was proved not only by the decayed state of the bones, but by the fact that the bodies had in every case been doubled up and buried in such a position that the head and knees met. There are also small open enclosures in the circles, in which burnt earth and charcoal were found." (p. 140.) At page 337, we have his account of digging into a stone circle in another part of the desert and finding charcoal and burnt earth "in what I have before alluded to as the sacrificial area, but nothing at all in the central cairn." Some of our archæologists are intent upon maintaining that all cromlechs have been at some time or other covered with earth, and that these, and all stone circles, have been sepulchral; but these exclusive and one-sided views are not in harmony either with reason or experience.

The writer takes this opportunity of saying that a note at page 38 of "Abury Illustrated," respecting "sacrificial" cromlechs, was inserted at the wish of a friend; but that it is not, and was not, in accordance with his own judgment in the matter.

The mention of Silbury Hill suggests that the following poem, by Southey, should have a place in the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine:—

"INSCRIPTION FOR A TABLET AT SILBURY HILL.

This mound in some remote and dateless day
Rear'd o'er a Chieftain of the Age of Hills,
May here detain thee, Traveller! from thy road
Not idly lingering. In his narrow house
Some warrior sleeps below, whose gallant deeds
Haply at many a solemn festival
The Scauld hath sung; but perish'd is the song
Of praise, as o'er these bleak and barren downs
The wind that passes and is heard no more.
o, Traveller, and remember when the pomp
f Earthly Glory fades, that one good deed,
een, unheard, unnoted by mankind
in the Eternal register of Heaven.

1796."

hippodrom, which I discover'd, August 6, 1723."[1] He quotes Macrobius to the effect that "upon holy days dedicated to the gods, there are sacrifices, feasts, games and festivals. For a sacred solemnity is, when sacrifices are offer'd to the gods, or holy feastings celebrated, or games perform'd to their honour, or when holy days, are observ'd." "This great work" (the cursus), he continues, "is included between two ditches running east and west in a parallel, which are 350 foot asunder. The cursus, which is two miles long, has two entrances (as it were) : gaps being left in the two little ditches. And these gaps, which are opposite to each other, in the two ditches, are opposite to the straight part of Stonehenge avenue. . . . The east end of the cursus is compos'd of a huge body of earth, a bank or long barrow[2] thrown up nearly the whole breadth of the cursus. This seems to be the plain of session, for the judges of the prizes and chief of the spectators. The west end of the cursus is curv'd into an arch, like the end of the Roman circus's, and there probably the chariots ran round, in order to turn again. And there is an obscure barrow or two, round which they return'd, as it were a *meta*. The cursus is directly north from Stonehenge; so exactly, that the meridian line of Stonehenge passes precisely through the middle of it." To return from the cursus to the avenue, we must not neglect Stukeley's description of the latter : "This avenue extends itself, somewhat more than 1700 feet, in a straight line, down to the bottom of the valley, with a delicate descent. I observe the earth of the ditches is thrown inward, and seemingly some turf on both sides, thrown upon the avenue, to raise it a little above the level of the downs. The two ditches continue perfectly parallel to the bottom, 40 cubits asunder. About midway, there is a pretty depressure, natural, which diversifies it agreeably . . . When I began my inquiries into this noble work, I thought it terminated here, and Mr. Roger Gale and myself measur'd it so far with a chain. Another year I found it extended itself much farther. For at the

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[1] Page 41, ed. 1740.

[2] This was examined by Dr. Thurnam unsuccessfully as regards primary, but successfully as regarded secondary, interments.

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bottom of the valley, it divides into two branches. The eastern branch goes a long way hence, directly east, pointing to an ancient ford of the river Avon. The western branch from this termination at the bottom of the hill 1000 cubits from the work at Stonehenge, goes off with a similar sweep at first, but then it does not throw itself into a strait line immediately, as the former, but continues curving along the bottom of the hill, till it meets, what I call, the cursus."

This interesting portion of the Stonehenge system deserves to have the additional light thrown upon it which comes from the careful survey of the Wiltshire baronet, and Mr. Crocker: "The avenue is a narrow strip of land, bounded on each side by a slight agger of earth. On referring to the map of the environs of Stonehenge, where its situation and form will be best seen, you will perceive that it issues from the N.E. entrance of the temple[1]; then crossing the turnpike road, proceeds in a straight line towards a valley, where it divides into two branches, the one leading in a gentle curve towards the circus; the other directing its course in a direct line up the hill between the two rows of barrows, planted with fir trees. The most northern group has been called by Stukeley, the old King Barrows; the opposite group, the New King Barrows, and under these titles I have distinguished them in my map. The former are lower and flatter in their construction than the latter, which increase in height with the ground towards the south. In the eye of the antiquary, they are much disfigured by the clumps of Scotch firs planted upon them, though at the same time secured from the researches of his spade. More than an usual regularity is preserved in the disposal of these tumuli; and I must here call attention to the map, where

[1] The writer's valued friend and pastor, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, in an address made by him to the members of the British Association for the advancement of Science, when they visited Stonehenge, from Bath, in 1864, said that "an avenue of stones had led up to these circles," but there are certainly no indications, as far as the writer can judge, of any stones having flanked the present avenue. Aubrey, referring to the pricked lines on his plan from $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{\omega}$, says that they "signifie the *Imaginarie* Walk of stones which was there heretofore" (p. 33).

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they will be seen ranged in a semi-circular line, and a passage decidedly left for the avenue, of which traces are still evident as far as this spot; but it has afterwards been obliterated by tillage in its passage through Amesbury Park.

"Here again we have another proof of Stonehenge and its avenue having been formed prior to the surrounding barrows, and we see a rude attempt at symmetry in the seven barrows arranged in two separate lines, which flank the avenue (like wings) on its ascending the summit of the hill. . . . The length of the avenue from the ditch round Stonehenge to the spot where it branches off is 594 yards; and from thence it is visible about 514 yards up the hill. The northern branch appears undoubtedly to lead towards the cursus, though its traces become very faint soon after it has quitted the eastern line up the hill: it seems to have pursued a bending course towards the cursus, but I could not perceive that it pointed to any decided opening in that work.

"The cursus, according to Mr. Crocker's measurement, is in length 1 mile, 5 furlongs, and 176 yards: its breadth 110 yards. At the distance of 55 yards from the eastern end, which is terminated (as described by Stukeley), you perceive the termination of the course rounded off, as if the horses or chariots made a turn at this spot. At the distance of 638 yards from this end, are two entrances into the area of the cursus, opposite to each other; and 825 yards further on, the vallum has been much broken down by the continual track of waggons; and to this spot Dr. Stukeley supposes the northern branch of the avenue from Stonehenge pointed." Sir R. Hoare considered that the slight bank running across the cursus at the west end formed a part of the general plan of these places of amusement, as he found a similar one in the smaller adjoining circus. The barrows he did not think had been "metæ," as Stukeley supposed, but that they had stood on that ground long before the formation of this course, and that, being between the bank and the end, they could not have impeded the races. From the similarity of the plan both of the large and small circus to that of a Roman circus, Sir R. Hoare felt inclined to think that they were not of British origin, but that they had been formed after the settlement of the Romans in our island.

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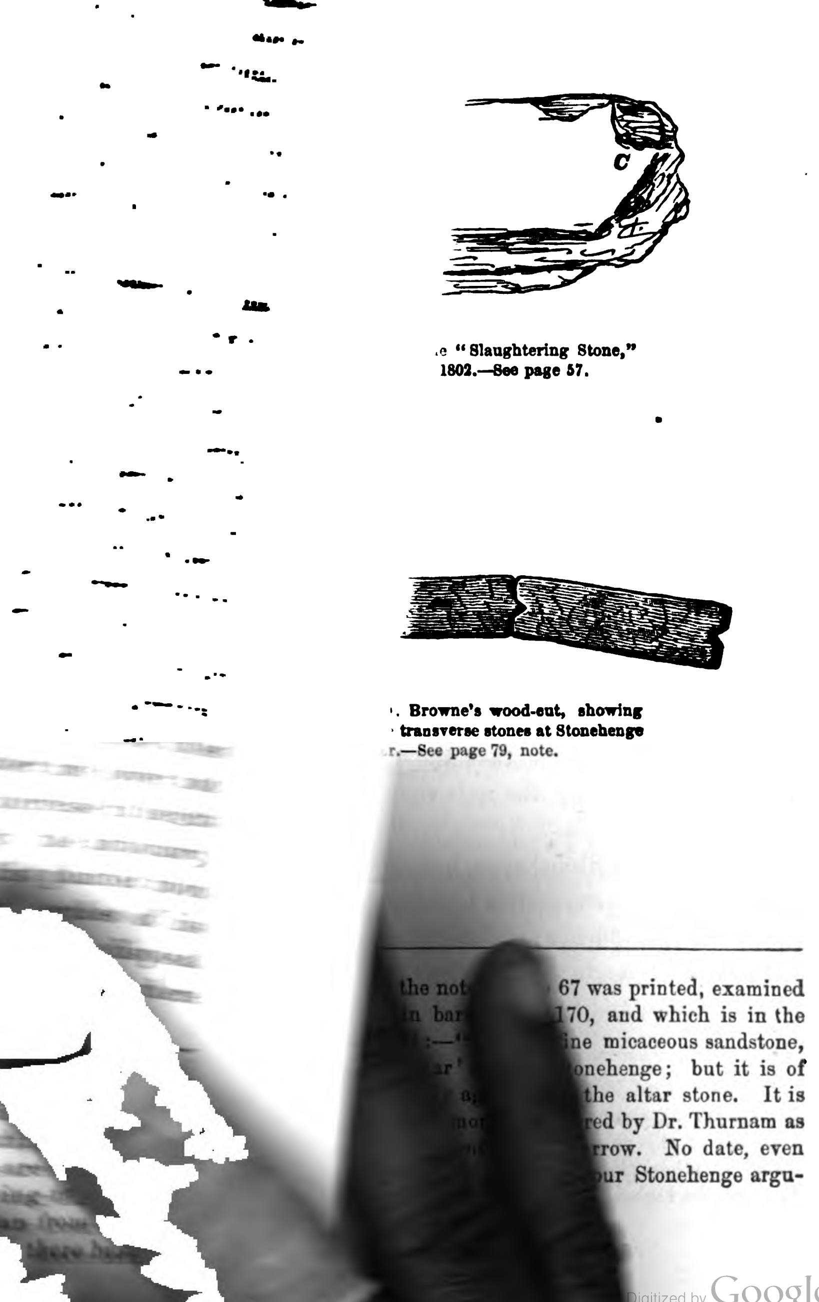


.e "Slaughtering Stone,"
1802.—See page 57.

'. Browne's wood-cut, showing
' transverse stones at Stonehenge
.r.—See page 79, note.

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## Part III.

# By whom were these Stones set up?

IN all countries, in the earliest times, the stone or earthen circle appears to have been the mode of expressing the intention to set apart a particular spot as a "*locus consecratus,*" either for worship, or sepulture. The circle was the form of the sun and moon in their completeness, and it was suggestive of infinity. The impressiveness of the stone circle would of course depend upon the size of the stones which the district produced, but where these were large, they would naturally be made use of in preference to smaller ones. It is not necessary to suppose that the constructors of Abury, Stanton Drew, Rollrich, and the numerous stone circles of Devonshire, and Cornwall, required to be taught this art by foreigners. Just as their daily wants would impel them, in common with all other early races, to shape flints into weapons and instruments, so would their religious instincts suggest to them, as to others, the particular form in which they might best give expression to them. We may safely assume that the indigenæ of all countries would spontaneously set up the rude stone circle, without any suggestion from external sources.

In the case of Stonehenge, however, there is a considerable artistic advance, which is suggestive to many of a later period of construction, and of foreign influence; and accordingly its erection has been ascribed to the Phœnicians, to the Belgæ, to the Romans, to the Romano-British, to the Saxons, and to the Danes.[1]

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[1] Jacob Bryant in the 3rd vol. of his "Analysis of Antient Mythology," p. 532—3 (1776), claims for Stonehenge a very high antiquity: "We have many instances of this nature [poised stones] in our own country, and they are to be found in other parts of the world; and wherever they occur we may esteem them of the highest antiquity. All such works we generally refer to the Celts,

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However probable it may be that the Phœnicians carried on a direct trade with the south western portion of Britain, it is not an established historical fact that that they did so,[1] and any such intercourse would probably have been confined to the sea-coast. If any Phœnician influences reached the interior of Britain it would probably have been through the Veneti, who inhabited Armorican Gaul, the district in which Karnac is found, and who, in the time of Cæsar, were carrying on a brisk trade with the British.

Aylett Sammes[2] (*inadvertently omitted at page* 40), appears to have been the first who broached the opinion that the Phœnicians were connected with Stonehenge. In vol. i., of his "Britannia Antiqua Illustrata," 1676, p. 395, is a treatise of the ancient monument called Stonehenge. It is very prosy, and the gist of it is, that he

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and to the Druids; under the sanction of whose names we shelter ourselves, whenever we are ignorant and bewildered. But they were the operations of a very remote age; probably before the time when the Druids or Celtæ were first known. I question, whether there be in the world a monument, which is much prior to the celebrated Stone-Henge. There is reason to think that it was erected by a foreign colony; one of the first which came into the island. Here is extant at this day, one of those rocking stones, of which I have been speaking above. [?] The ancients distinguished stones erected with a religious view by the name of amber; by which was signified anything solar and divine. The Grecians called them 'Πετραι Αμβροσιαι,' Petræ Ambrosiæ; and there are representations of such upon coins. . . . Stonehenge is composed of these amber-stones; hence the next town is denominated "Ambrosbury:" not from a Roman Ambrosius; for no such person existed; but from the Ambrosiæ Petræ, in whose vicinity it stands."

[1] Mr. C. T. Newton, of the British Museum, concluded a lecture on Phœnician Art in Britain, given at the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute, at Dorchester, in 1865, "by reverting to the question whether the Phœnicians had ever landed on the coast of Britain. This question it will be better to consider still in abeyance. What is wanted for its ultimate solution is a diligent notation of facts. The examination of barrows in the southern counties should be carried on with the most minute care, and the names of places along the coast should be analyzed by the tests of modern philology; for, if the Phœnicians frequented any portion of the British Coast, it is probable that they would have given names to the more important harbours and promontories, as they did in Africa and Spain."—*Builder*, August 26th, 1865.

[2] Aylett Sammes was of Christ's College, Cambridge, and of the Inner Temple. Wood in his "Athenæ Oxonienses" states that the real author of the work was Robert Aylett, L.L.D., a master in chancery, who was Sammes' uncle, and left him his papers.

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considers that the Phœnicians were the giants of the "Chorea Gigantum," and that the *art* of erecting these stones, instead of the stones themselves, was brought from the farthermost parts of Africa, the known habitations of the Phœnicians. Sir William Betham (in the "Gael and Cymbri," 8vo., Dublin, 1834) has advocated the same opinion, but he considered that the Phœnicians were preceded in the occupation of both Britain and Ireland by the Caledonians, afterwards called the Picts, whom he conceives to have been a people of Scandinavian origin, the Cimbri of antiquity. The Phœnicians he considered to be the same people with the Gael or Celts.

Of the Belgæ, and their probable connection with Stonehenge, the writer will speak presently.

Some have supposed that Stonehenge was constructed by the Romans during their occupation of Britain. But the Romans preferred the plains and valleys for their villas and temples to the hill-tops and cold downs. It is perfectly true that there was a continuous Roman occupation of the Mendip Hills, as evidenced by the remains of their amphitheatre, and by the considerable number of coins, fibulæ, incised stones, etc., which are constantly being found, especially at Charterhouse; but to such utilitarians as the Romans, it was a matter of importance to occupy these heights, in order that they might derive the full advantage accruing to them from the smelting of lead, and other metals, by the native and subject population. But neither was Salisbury Plain the site which Romans would have selected for the erection of a temple, nor was the style of Stonehenge that which would be adopted by a Roman architect. In Gaul they built such temples as those at Nimes; in the west of Britain they built to Sul Minerva such a temple as that of which the remains may still be seen at Bath. Moreover, the Romans were wont to make their stones "vocal," as Bolton quaintly puts it, "by inscriptions," or by sculpture. Much stress is often laid upon the silence of Roman writers respecting the megalithic structures of Britain, and Mr. Herbert and others argue from this[1] that they must therefore be of post-Roman date;

[1] "Humboldt confirms a statement I have often made, that we dare not draw too much from the silence of an author. He refers to three weighty and quite undeniable facts, to which there is no testimony in the very places where we

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but the Caledonian Wall of the Romans has received but scanty mention from their own historians; and the megalithic works in Gaul are passed over by them in silence as complete as those in our own island. To the writer, the best reason for the absence of any notice of Stonehenge by the Romans, is this; that to any educated Roman who was familiar with the grand and magnificent works of Rome and the neighbourhood, under the late Republic and early Empire, such a work would appear to be rude in form, puny in effect, and scarcely worthy of any special notice. To Mr. Herbert, however, the rudeness and uncouthness of the Stonehenge structure would cause it to have an especial claim upon the attention of the Romans; "Nothing could be more new and admirable to the eyes of a Greek or Roman than the sight of structures, so rude and uncouth, and yet so stupendous." [1]

Mr. Herbert's theory, as propounded in his "Cyclops Christianus" (1849), is that on the lapse of the Britons into a kind of heathenism after the Romans had left Britain, "groves of upright stones were substituted by them for the oak-groves of obsolete Druidism (as Carnac was a grove of the Armorican Britons after Christianity and the rows of stones their walks of sacred groves); that when Britain became free from Roman rule, Ambresbury appears to have been the place to which the national councils were summoned by the king, where the independence of the island was celebrated by joyous festivities, and where the rites and orgies of its fanatics were solemnized. There kings were elected, anointed, and crowned; and there also buried." But it may be asked whether the Romano-British, after the departure of the Romans, had ever a period of sufficient

should most certainly expect it. In the Archives of Barcelona there is no trace of the triumphant entrance received by Columbus there. In Marco Polo there is no mention of the Chinese wall. And in the Archives of Portugal there is nothing about the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci in the service of that crown." Dr. Luthardt's "St. John the author of the Fourth Gospel," 1875.

[1] Mr. Rickman, in "Archæologia," vol. xxviii, p. 411, considered that Abury was constructed "not earlier than the third century of the Christian æra, and that the more difficult operations requisite for the formation of Stonehenge may be assigned to the next century, or, (to speak with due caution) that this temple was completed before the final departure of the Romans from Britain."



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peace and quietness in which to build Stonehenge. Even before the Romans left, the Saxons were ravaging the coasts of Britain. There is reason to believe that, during this period, Britain was torn with civil quarrels, "while its Pictish enemies strengthened themselves by a league with marauders from Ireland (Scots, as they were then called), whose pirate boats were harrying the western coast of the island, and with a yet more formidable race of pirates who had long been pillaging along the English Channel. These were the English."[1] Under any circumstances, as Dr. Thurnam says, it was scarcely conceivable that the Romanised Britons would have erected these rude masses of stone, when they had such examples before them of architectural skill and beauty as existed at Bath and other Roman cities in this country; or, as Dr. Guest puts it, "I would ask the archæological reader whether he thinks it comes within the limits of a reasonable probability that men who had for centuries been familiarized with the forms of Roman architecture, could have built Stonehenge?"[2]

Had Stonehenge owed its erection to any event connected with the Saxons, we should doubtless have had some mention of it. Dr. Guest[3] says, "It has always appeared to the writer most unreasonable to doubt, that from their first arrival in the island, our ancestors had *some* mode of registering the events of their history. From these rude memorials were probably formed more perfect registers, which gradually swelled into the chronicles we now possess. The oldest extant copy of the Saxon Chronicle was written shortly before the year 900, or at the close of Alfred's reign; but we know that some of its entries were copied, almost *verbatim*, from chronicles which must have been in existence before the time of Bede, and there are others which may have been written at a time when Hengest and Ambrosius were yet rivals."

The Saxons would probably have left some record of their connection with Stonehenge if they had constructed it, or if any event

[1] Green's "History of the English People," p. 6.

[2] Archæological Journal," 1851, p. 155.

[3] "On the Early English Settlements in South Britain."—Salisbury Volume of Arch. Institute, p. 46.

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with which they had been associated had led to its construction. Not to press, however, too far, the absence of written records, we may fairly say, that even if their political position had been favourable to such undertakings, the Saxons would hardly have built a stone temple in the centre of a British necropolis; and that if they had done so, it would have been, to a certain extent, surrounded by Saxon graves, as well as by British; but no traces of Saxon interment are here to be found. It has been urged, too, that they would never have called it by the ignominious name of "Stone Gallows," if they had themselves erected it.[1]

Of the Danes, as the architects of Stonehenge, it will be enough to say, with Warton,[2] that, "during their temporary visits and unmatured establishment, they had not leisure or opportunities for such laborious and lasting structures, however suitable to their rude conceptions," or, with Mr. Herbert, that "the advocates of the Danes, as the builders of Stonehenge, ascribe to a transitory irruption the performance of some settled government."[3]

And here it may be as well to notice the opinions of those, who having made Indian Antiquities their study,[4] have come to the

[1] Stukeley, p. 7, reprint.
[2] History of Kiddington, p. 70.
[3] Cycl. Chr., p. 2.

[4] Mr. Max Müller, writing about the great resemblance of Indian cromlechs, cairns and kistaevns, to those of Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland, and the frequency with which Indian officers speak of them as if they were Celtic or Druidical, says:—"All these monuments in the South of India are no doubt extremely interesting, but to call them Celtic, Druidical, or Sythic, is unscientific, or, at all events, exceedingly premature. There is in all architectural monuments a natural or rational, and a conventional, or it may be, irrational element. A striking agreement in purely conventional features may justify the assumption that monuments so far distant from each other as the cromlechs of Anglesea and the 'Mori-Munni' of Shorapoor owe their origin to the same architects, or to the same races. But an agreement in purely natural contrivances goes for nothing, or, at least, for very little. Now there is very little that can be called conventional in a mere stone pillar, or in a cairn, that is, an artificial heap of stones. Even the erection of a cromlech can hardly be claimed as a separate style of architecture. Children, all over the world, if building houses with cards, will build cromlechs; and people, all over the world, if the neighbourhood supplies large slabs of stone, will put three stones together to keep out the sun or wind, and put a fourth stone on the top to keep out the rain. Before monuments like those described by Captain Meadows



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conclusion that Stonehenge owes its origin to the Brahmins, and that it was a temple of Boodh.[1]

In the appendix to "Asiatick Researches," vol. ii., Calcutta, 1790, p. 488, Mr. Reuben Burrow writes as follows: "From the aforesaid country (the Bengal district) the Hindoo religion probably spread over the whole earth : there are signs of it in every northern country, and in almost every system of worship: in England it is obvious: Stonehenge is evidently one of the temples of Boodh; and the arithmetic, the astronomy, astrology, the holidays, games, names of the stars, and figures of the constellations; the ancient monuments, laws, and even the languages of the different nations have the strongest mark of the same original. . . . . That the Druids of Britain were Brahmins is beyond the least shadow of a doubt, but that they were all murdered and their science lost, is out of the bounds of probability; it is much more likely that they turned Schoolmasters and Freemasons and Fortune-tellers, and in this way part of their sciences might easily descend to posterity, as we find they have done."

Mr. Maurice, in the sixth volume of his "Indian Antiquities," (1801,) discusses at length the resemblance between the doctrines and forms of worship of the Druids and those of the Brahmins, and comes to the conclusion that at some remote period, the two orders were united, or at least were educated, in the same grand school with the magi of Persia and the seers of Babylon. "To satisfy ourselves that the race who erected the stupendous circular temple of Stonehenge were a tribe of Brachmans, of the sect of Boodh, we have only to call to mind the peculiar predominant superstition of that tribe, which, according to Lucian, was the adoration of the sun, as a secondary deity, in a circular dance, expressive of his supposed revolution:

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Taylor can be classed as Celtic or Druidical, a possibility, at all events, must be shown that Celts, in the true sense of the word, could ever have inhabited the Dekhan. Till that is done, it is better to leave them anonymous, or to call them by their native names, than to give to them a name which is apt to mislead the public at large, and to encourage theories which exceed the limits of legitimate speculation."—" Chips from a German Workshop," iii., 281—2.

[1] The Welsh Triads connect the British Isles with Ceylon, which was the great seat of Buddhism.—See Borlase's History of Cornwall, c. xxii.

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and to attend to the mode after which that sect principally represented their favorite deity." He quotes from Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. cap. i.,) the following: "Britannia hodie eam (Magiam) attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut cum Persis dedisse videri possit." "The famous circular stone monuments of the Druids so numerous in Britain, were, doubtless, intended to be descriptive of astronomical cycles, by a race, who, not having, or politically forbidding, the use of letters, had no other permanent method of instructing their disciples, or handing down their knowledge to posterity. For the most part the stone pillars which compose them are found to be *twelve* in number, alluding to the twelve months; and many to consist of *thirty*, in reference to the number of years, which, according to the Druids, formed an age or generation, and was one of their favorite cycles, or else to that of the days of which the ancient lunar month consisted."

Mr. Fergusson, in the "Quarterly Review," No. 215, gives the following as the summary of his argument for the Buddhist origin of Stonehenge: "There are few chapters in the history of the world at present so dark as that which treats of the doings of the Celtic races of Britain before the advent of the Saxons, and none to which the new science of ethnography is likely to be of more value. All however which concerns us at present is to know that Buddhism, in some shape or other, and under some name that may be lost, did exist in Britain before the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity. If this has been made clear, a great step has been gained in the elucidation of the antiquities of this illiterate people. If we may venture to turn the lamp of Indian Buddhism on these hitherto mysterious monuments, we see at once what was meant by the inner choir at Stonehenge by comparing it with Sanchee and elsewhere. We are no longer puzzled by the small granite monoliths, standing unsymmetrically between the two original groups, and inside the principal, for we can at once assume them to be the danams of succeeding votaries, offered after the temple was finished; and we can easily see how it came to be a cenotaph, or memorial church, dedicated to those who died and were buried at Amesbury. . . .
There is, in fact, no winding in the labyrinth through which this thread might not conduct us in safety, and nothing so mysterious

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that we might not hope by these means to understand it. But to effect this end, explorations must be made afresh, and researches set about in a purpose-like manner, not aimless gropings in the dark, such as alone have yet been undertaken." Mr. Fergusson is of opinion "that all the great stone monuments of this country belong to the period that elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the conquest of the country by the Danes and Saxons—to that great Arthurian period to which we owe all that we know of the Celtic race, and which seems to have been their culminating point in the early form of their civilization. In France, where the Saxons never went, the Celts, seem to have retained their old faith and old feelings to a much later period. But even if these propositions are not fully admitted, their rejection does not affect the conclusion that Stonehenge itself was erected by Aurelius Ambrosius, who reigned from about 464 to 508 A.D., and who raised it as a memorial to those who fell in the Saxon war."

Let us now revert to the Belgæ, who, as the known occupants of that portion of Britain in which Stonehenge is found, at the time of Julius Cæsar, deserve to have a full and fair consideration. Dr. Guest (whom it would be an impertinence to praise), has paid much attention to the incursions of this people into the south of England, and in his article on the "Belgic Ditches and the probable date of Stonehenge" (Journal of the Arch. Institute, vol. viii.), has propounded his views as to their gradual acquisition of territory, their ultimate establishment within the country bounded by the Wansdyke, and their erection of Stonehenge as their "*locus consecratus.*" Dr. Guest was not, however, the first to broach this opinion with regard to Stonehenge, for the Rev. Richard Warner,[1] the historian of Bath, was the person, according to the Rev. W. Lisle Bowles,[2] who started

[1] The Rev. Richard Warner was born 1763, and died at Chelwood, near Bristol, of which place he was rector, at the advanced age of 93, in 1857. He was for twenty-three years Curate of St. James', Bath, and while resident in that city, he wrote its history in a quarto volume, 1801; "A walk through some of the Western Counties of England," 1800; "Excursions from Bath," 1801; "Bath Characters," 1807; and other works.

[2] Hermes Britannicus, 1828, p. 123.

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the idea—in his opinion, a most happy one—that the Belgæ, having taken this (the southern) part of the country from the Celts as far as Wansdyke, raised this monument of Stonehenge in rival magnificence to that of Abury. According to Stukeley, the Belgæ, as they gradually expelled the British tribes who preceded them, constructed successive lines of defence—Combe Bank, Bokerly Ditch, the ditch immediately north of Old Sarum, and Wansditch. Warton supposes that there were not less than seven of these ditches. Dr. Guest considers that as such lines of defence would require an organized body of men to guard them, and the maintenance of such a force would be beyond the means of races only imperfectly civilized, the proper character of these ditches is that of boundary lines; and that the number of them has been exaggerated not only by Warton, but even by Stukeley. "It may be asked," he says, "what right have we to assume that the Belgæ overspread the south of Britain, in successive waves of conquest, such as are pre-supposed in the hypothesis we are considering? The only ground for such a hypothesis that I am aware of, is contained in Cæsar's statement, 'Maritima pars ab iis (incolitur) qui prædæ, ac belli causâ Ex Belgio transierunt, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum adpellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello inlato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere cæperunt.' (B.G. i., 4.) It may perhaps be inferred from this passage, that there was a succession of predatory inroads, some of which were followed by Belgic settlements; and when in the district which we know to have been colonized by the Belgæ, we find successive lines of boundary evidently made by a people inhabiting the sea-board, to separate themselves from the tribes of the interior, it may, I think be admitted that the hypothesis advanced by Stukeley and accepted by Warton, is, to say the least, not an unreasonable one. If we attempt to trace the progress of Belgic conquest by the light of Welsh tradition, we shall be disappointed. The all but silence of the Triads, with respect to a people who fill such a place in history, is one of the most puzzling circumstances connected with these mysterious records. The Triad, which mentions the three refuge-seeking tribes, tells us the first of these tribes came from Galedin, and had lands allotted to them in the Isle of Wight. Welsh

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scholars consider Galedin to mean the Netherlands, and perhaps, we may conclude, that according to Welsh tradition, the Belgæ came as refugees to this country, and were first located in the Isle of Wight —driven, it may be, from their own country, by some inundation of the sea, an accident which appears to have been the moving cause of several of those great migrations we read of in Roman history. It is clear from Cæsar, that for some centuries before Christ, the Belgæ were the most energetic and powerful,—and among half-civilized races, this means the most aggressive,—of the Gaulish tribes; and we can have little difficulty in supposing, that the fugitive Belgæ, with the aid probably of their continental brethren, might soon change their character of refugees into that of assailants. Of the inlets, opposite the Isle of Wight, by which the mainland could be assailed, Tweon-ea (now Christchurch) at the mouth of the Stour and the Avon, appears to have been one of the most important in the earlier periods of our history.[1] Here, it would seem, the Belgæ landed. The uplands in the neighbourhood are barren, but the vallies rich, and the Belgæ, we may presume, were soon in possession of the pastures along the Stour, as far as the neighbourhood of Blandford. This town lies in a kind of defile, over which, at that period, the woodlands of Cranbourne Chase, in all probability, extended. At this wooded gorge the Britons seem to have held their own, and the course of Belgic conquest to have been diverted—in the direction afterwards followed by the Roman road and the modern railway—into the vallies of the Piddle and the Frome. We may now ask, whether there be any earthworks which might serve as boundaries to the district we have thus marked out. In the first place, we observe between Holt Forest and Cranbourne Chase the well-known earthwork called Bokerley-ditch, shutting in from the northward the rich valley drained by the Wymburne-brook. From Bokerley-ditch the boundary may have followed the outline of Cranbourne Chase, have crossed the Stour south of Blandford, and then run to the north-westward along Combe-bank. There were also some years back 'in

[1] To illustrate this portion of the paper the writer has had recourse to Dr. Guest's map appended to his paper on the "Belgic Ditches," in vol. viii of the "Archæological Journal," and has had it copied.

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the road from Bindon to Weymouth a great ditch, like Wansdike, 'or several miles.' Hutchins' 'Dorset,' i., 217. No such ditch now visible on this line of road, but, after a long day's search, I cceeded by an accident in finding its mutilated remains between the Frome and Owre-brook. The bank was to the *eastward*, and I have little hesitation in regarding this dike as a portion of the western boundary of the first Belgic conquest. What course it took to join Combe-bank, is, at present, only matter for conjecture; but there are reasons for believing, that fragments of it still exist in the neighbourhood of the Piddle river and its tributaries."[1]

"The second Belgic conquest," continues Dr. Guest, "may have included the downs of Hants and South Wiltshire. The narrow valleys that intersect the latter meet in the neighbourhood of Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum) which must always have been, what in military language might be termed, the *key* of the district.

"North of Heytesbury I found an ancient boundary-line—one clearly of British origin, and *perhaps* anterior to the Roman conquest. I traced it from the west of 'Knook Castle' to within a couple of

[1] Mr. C. Warne, F.S.A., in his "Ancient Dorset," (p. 4,) says. "Of the many great works of early ages in Dorset, none can be said to have retained a more tenacious hold of the surface than this great barrier called Bockley (or Bokerley Dyke); for, while other Celtic works, as Woodbury and similarly entrenched hills, are almost obliterated, this fine old Dyke still stands out in all the freshness of its pristine grandeur,—a wonder of the present, and a monument of a past age, untouched by the hand of time, and but slightly by that of man. This work is so stupendous, and of such a bold aspect as to challenge a parallel in any of the great Dykes which intersect other parts of this kingdom, or exist in other countries.

"Some idea of the magnitude and strength of Bockley may be understood from the fact, that it measures 43, and in in some places 50, feet from the base of the fosse on the Wiltshire side to the apex of the rampart, and from 24 to 30 feet thence to the level of the ground on the Dorset side." (p. 7.)

Mr. Warne, in his valuable work, gives the following extract from Aubrey's "Monumenta Britannica," p. ii., p. 64: "Over Blagdon Hill, west of Merton [Martin] there runnes a great crooked ditch, which comes from Cranborne Chase. J. Golden told me it is called Grimsditch, quære, how far it runnes? It parts Dorsetshire from Wiltshire." "Aubrey's informant, Golden, confounded Bockley Dyke with Grimsditch, the former being the one here described."

See also the interesting paper on the ancient Wiltshire Dykes, by the Rev. Prebendary W. H. Jones, in the fourteenth vol. of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Magazine.

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miles of Tilshead, when it gradually died away in cultivated land. Ancient roads occasionally entered its ditch, more particularly at the salient angles, and its mound was broken and pierced in all directions by the trackways leading to the two British villages north of Knook Castle; but still, amid all the changes of two thousand years, its crest was seen stretching over the plain, and could be followed without the chance of a mistake. The next day I found the 'Tilshead Ditch,'[1] within little more than a mile from the spot where I had lost the former one. It was a ditch with *two* mounds, and these gradually became lower as I traced it to the eastward, a mile or two beyond Tilshead. If this ditch be a continuation of the former one I cannot satisfactorily account for its change of character. I could find no remains of this Belgic boundary—if we may venture to give it such a title—north of Beacon Hill. Even the 'unmutilated remains of a bank and ditch,' on Wick-down, turned out to be merely a deep ditch with a low mound on each side of it. But south of the hill, the Amesbury bounds presented appearances which strongly resembled those of an ancient earth-work, and we may be allowed to conjecture that they were once connected with 'The Devil's Ditch' east of Andover, and with the boundary-line, a fragment of which still remains to the south of Walbury.

"According to these speculations, the second Belgic boundary must have included the valleys of South Wiltshire, and then have

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[1] Dr. Thurnam, in his work on "British Barrows," (p. 15,) says: "The position of some of the long barrows in relation to the very ancient earthworks known as Belgic dykes is indicative of the superior antiquity of the former.

The earthwork (bank and ditch) which stretches across Salisbury Plain from North East to South West, and is laid down on the Ordnance and other maps, as 'Old Ditch,' is especially prominent near Tilshead, where is one of the largest of our long barrows, measuring as it does 380 feet in length and 11 feet in height. On reaching the east end of this mound, which is situated on its north side the ditch makes a decided curve in order to avoid the tumulus, 'which," as Sir R. Hoare justly observes, 'is a certain proof of the superior date of the barrow.'—(Ancient Wilts, i., 90.)

"Another example is on the southern border of the county, near the villages of Martin and Tippet, where the course of a branch of Bokerley Ditch has been diverted 'in order to avoid a long barrow, which,' as Sir Richard again says, 'proves the high antiquity of the sepulchral mound.'—(Ancient Wilts, i., 233.)"

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swept round so as to separate the downs of Hampshire from the woodlands which encircled Scots Poor.[1] The hypothesis does not seem an unreasonable one, and I know of no other which can satisfactorily account either for the boundary-line north of Heytesbury, or for the lines which are found in the neighbourhood of Walbury and Andover. It will be seen that the writer differs from Stukeley in considering the first and second of his ditches as forming part of one continuous boundary; and in denying altogether to the ditch which runs immediately north of Old Sarum, the character of a Belgic earthwork.

"The general consent of our antiquaries has fixed upon the Wansdike as the last of the Belgic boundaries. Were it called the last frontier of the Belgic province—understanding by that phrase the district which the Roman geographers assigned to the Belgæ proper —I should be little disposed to quarrel with the conclusion they have come to. . . . This magnificent earthwork reached from the woodlands of Berkshire to the British Channel. Its remains

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[1] Mr. Jones calls this boundary-line the "Old Dyke," and thus describes it: "This is no doubt a very ancient dyke. It can be traced almost across the county from west to east. . . . . There can be little doubt as to the Old Dyke being of British origin, and it well may be anterior to the Roman conquest. It has the foss to the north, so that we may infer that it was made by a people coming up from the south. All along are remains of British villages and earthworks, to say nothing of numberless tumuli, some of them of large size and of the shape, which, authorities tell us, indicate the greatest antiquity. The most western portion which remains can be traced from Boreham down, in the north part of Warminster parish; thence it runs along till it comes to Knook Castle, the two ancient encampments of Battlesbury and Scratchbury being about two miles to the south of it. Thence it goes on within a couple miles of Tilshead, and, in its course, turns at right angles to avoid, as it would seem, interfering with what is now called Tilshead Long Barrow. Again you trace it just above what is called Silver Barrow (a name corrupted from Sel-berg, *i.e.*, great barrow); here it diverges to the north, and you trace it again close by Ell-barrow, (that is Eald-berg, old barrow) and across Compton Down. Again it goes northward, and you meet with it close by Chisenbury Camp and Lidbury Camp, and it reaches what are called the Twin Barrows, close by Combe Hill. It would seem no unlikely conclusion that it then went on to Sidbury, an ancient encampment in the parish of North Tidworth but from this we cannot, as far as I know, trace it, for the Amesbury bounds mentioned by Dr. Guest are clearly too far from it to be considered as portions of it."—(Wilts Mag., vol. xiv.)

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have been carefully surveyed by Sir R. C. Hoare. The conquests it was intended to include seem to have been, first, the Vale of Pewsey; secondly, the mineral district of the Mendip Hills; and, thirdly, the country lying between the range and marshes of the Parret. Ptolemy gives us Winchester, Bath, and Ilchester, as the three principal towns of the Belgic Province. If we run a line along the Wansdyke from Berkshire to the Channel, then along the coast to the Parret, then up that river eastward till we strike the southern borders of Wiltshire, and then follow the first Belgic boundary across Dorsetshire to the sea, we shall have defined, with tolerable accuracy, the northern and western boundaries, which Roman geographers assigned to the Belgæ proper. It will be seen that the Wansdike bends to the south, as if to avoid Avebury, and approaches close to, but does not include Bath. It seems reasonable to infer, that when the line of demarcation was drawn, the Dobuni insisted on the retention of their ancient temple, and of their hot baths; and if this inference be a just one, another and a more important one seems naturally to follow. Assuming that the Belgæ were thus excluded from Avebury, is it not likely that they would provide a '*locus consecratus*' at some central point within their own border— a place for their judicial assemblies, like the Gaulish temple 'in finibus Carnutum quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur?' May not Stonehenge have been the substitute so provided?" Dr. Guest further gives it as his opinion that Stonehenge "could not have been built much later than the year 100 B.C., and in all probability was not built more than a century or two earlier." Whenever it was built, it must have been when the builders were at peace amongst themselves, and with their neighbours the Damnonii, if the smaller stones came from Devonshire; and with the Ordovices, if they were brought from North Wales. And if it were asked, How could the Belgæ procure these stones, which were brought from beyond the Wansdyke, the Belgic limit? it might be supposed (with the Rev. W. L. Bowles), that the great line of Wansdyke was thrown up by mutual consent, and that the Britons, upon the condition that their holy precincts should be undefiled, and their great temple left uninjured, might grant the Belgians the right to convey, to their

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own district, the stones to raise the temple to their own God.[1]

The writer would conclude this section with the words of his deceased friend, Dr. Thurnam, in which he fully concurs: "The builders of Stonehenge, we believe, in common with the learned Master of Gonvile and Caius College, to have been the Belgæ, or possibly a confederacy of the whole of those Belgic tribes, by whom, at a no very long time before our era, a great part of South Britain was conquered and settled. Whether the invading Belgæ brought with them from Gaul the fashions of more elaborate forms of tumuli, our knowledge of those in North-Eastern France does not enable us to determine. There have been many important explorations of the chambered barrows and dolmens of France; but it does not appear that any zealous and munificent antiquary has demonstrated the form, the structure, and contents of the barrows of the bronze period of that country, in like manner as our Wiltshire baronet has those of this part of England. In the absence of such information, we incline to the opinion of their indigenous origin, and conclude that the bell and disc-shaped tumuli were invented on the spot by the Belgic builders of Stonehenge, whence their fashion was gradually distributed over those parts of Britain to which Belgic influence and authority extended. The erection of circular barrows over the distinguished dead seems to have been continued as late as the conquest of South Britain under Claudius and his successors; there being no proof that the islanders were in any material degree Romanized in their customs before the time of Agricola; to which period their adoption of Roman funeral usages may in all likelihood be referred."[2]

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[1] Hermes Britannicus, p. 126.

[2] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., p. 309.

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# How were these Stones brought and set up?

TO the visitor of the ruins of Stonehenge who is aware that the stones composing it have been brought from a distance, three interesting questions naturally suggest themselves; 1, How were the stones brought here? 2, How were they shaped and prepared with their mortises and tenons? 3, How were they raised into their upright, and transverse positions?

Let us see whence and how they can have been brought here before the use of metal, and the means and appliances with which man in more recent times has been so fully supplied. Having selected a block of proper dimensions from the neighbourhood of Marlborough,[1] it would then be the work of the party to be employed in its removal to cut down with their flint or horn axes,[2] poles sufficiently strong and long to serve as levers; then to provide themselves with wooden wedges; and lastly to cut trees, of proper size, into proper lengths, for rollers upon which the stone should run.[3]

Having raised their stone upon the rollers, they would, with their

[1] "Many of them [the sarsen, or as he calls them, sarsdon, stones] are mighty great ones, and particularly those in Overton Wood. Of these kind of stones are framed the two stupendous antiquities of Aubury and Stone-heng."—Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Wilts (Britton's edition, p. 44).

Dr. Charlkton, too, believed that the Stonehenge stones came "from the fields adjoining Aibury or Rockly," p. 44.

[2] Mr. E. T. Stevens, in his "Flint Chips," at page 68, gives us an interesting account of the modern use of stone tools. "Many persons," he says, "are loth to believe that rude stone hatchets have been used for cutting down trees, and still less that planks and boats can have been made with similar tools." He goes on "to cite some of the uses to which tools of stone, bone, horn and shell have been applied in modern times. . . . . The axe used formerly by the natives of Vancouver's Island in felling the largest tree, which they did without the use of fire, was made of elk-horn, and was shaped like a chisel. The natives held it as we use the chisel, and struck the handle with a stone not unlike a dumb-bell, and weighing about two pounds."

[3] Strabo, Geogr., iv., p. 280, says: "The Forests (of the Britons) are their towns; for they fence in a spacious circuit *with felled trees*, and build themselves huts there, and stables for their cattle, (which they occupy) for no long time."

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levers, shove it along, levelling and smoothing the uneven ground before them as best they could, and placing relays of rollers continually in advance. By this means, after much toil and time, they would land their stone at its destination.

Let us suppose, however, that in the intercourse with eastern people, trading for tin or otherwise, the builders of Stonehenge had become acquainted with the use of bronze and of the rope, they would then have been at a greater advantage. Perhaps the bronze implements might not be able to do much more for them than the flint, but the rope would be an immense assistance, in enabling them to bring so much draught-power of men to their aid, and possibly of beasts, if the *bos longifrons* and the horse, (whose remains are found in the barrows,) were to be found in sufficient numbers on the downs and their neighbourhood.

At Rome, when the writer was there in the winter of 1865-6, it was amusing to see the primitive manner in which the large blocks of Carrara marble were transported from the Tiber to the artists' studios. Sir George Head, in his "Tour of many days in Rome," vol. ii., p. 397, thus describes the slow and clumsy operation: "A sledge of sufficient size and strength having been constructed for the purpose, consisting simply of a low framework of stout timber, connected by transverse pieces and supported on wooden runners, such as are used for the transport of heavy merchandise over the snow in the roads of North America, the block of marble, divested previously of all its unnecessary bulk, was laid upon it, which preliminary part of the operation, however, I did not see performed. But the manner of putting the sledge in motion, which I did see, was as follows: in the first place, at the distance of sixty or seventy yards in front of the object a hole was made in the ground, and an iron crowbar not less than twelve inches in circumference, inserted in the hole as a point to haul upon, including a massive triangular frame to support a capstan lashed close to the crowbar. A block and pulley having been fixed to the sledge, and another block and pulley to the frame of the capstan, the rope was in the the first instance made fast to the sledge, and finally once more carried forward and rove with a double turn round the shaft

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[illegible] and in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's [illegible] Egyptians [illegible], 328. [illegible] representation [illegible] colossus

[illegible] recorded [illegible] walls by [illegible] transport [illegible] masses, [illegible] was the only [illegible] used [illegible] limited [illegible] about this would [illegible] imple- [illegible] probable that other [illegible] stones [illegible] to be lifted. From [illegible] part of the wall panels of the palace of [illegible] —Sir John [illegible] was known in a [illegible] Aug. [illegible] the British Associat[illegible]

which a number of men are employed in dragging with ropes, and which representation was found by Messrs. Irby and Mangles in a grotto behind E'Dayr, a Christian village behind Antinoe and El Bersheh. In this picture we see represented the statue bound upon a sledge with ropes, a man standing on the knees of the colossus beating time with his hands, and giving out the verse of a song, to which the men responded; another man on the sledge at the feet of the colossus, pouring out in front of the sledge a liquid, perhaps grease, from a vase; four rows of men, in pairs, dragging the statue; Egyptian soldiers; men carrying water or grease; others carrying implements; taskmasters; and reliefs of men. In one of the quarries at El Maasara, another mode of transporting a stone is represented. "It is placed on a sledge, drawn by oxen, and is supposed to be on its way to the inclined plain that led to the river; vestiges of which may still be seen a little to the south of the modern village." Mr. Samuel Sharpe,[1] in his account of the mechanical arts, as practised by the Egyptians, says: "Of the various ways in which the engineering difficulties might have been overcome, we may take it for granted that the rudest was that actually used. We know that when a town was to be stormed, the military engineers were often driven to the slow and laborious method of raising against it a mound of earth of the same height as the city wall, and from this the besiegers attacked the garrison on equal terms. . . . If an obelisk ninety feet long was to be placed upright, it was probably lifted up by means of a mound of earth. which was raised higher and higher, till the stone, which leaned on it, was set up on one end. If a huge block was to be placed on the top of a wall, it may have been rolled on rollers up a mound of sand to its place. Such labour will, in time overcome difficulties which yield more quickly to a smaller force when skilfully directed. Of the six simple machines called the mechanical powers, the Egyptians used the wedge, the lever, and the inclined plane; but seem not to have known the screw, pulley, or the wheel and axle. Though their chariots ran on wheels, they chose to drag a colossal statue on a sledge, rather than to risk the

[1] History of Egypt, i,, 40, Ed., 1839.



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unsteadiness of putting rollers under it. Though their sailors pulled up the heavy sail by running a rope through a hole in the top of the mast, they had no moveable pulley fixed to the sail whereby a man can raise more than his own weight."

Mr. Layard, in his "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 24, (1867,) gives an interesting account, with illustrations, of the bas-reliefs found by him at Konyunjik which represent the building of an artificial mound, and the process of dragging the colossal figure to its summit. "As some of the largest of these sculptures were full twenty feet square, and must have weighed between forty and fifty tons, this was no easy task when the only mechanical powers possessed by the Assyrian appear to have been the roller and the lever. A sledge was used similar to that already described, and drawn in the same way. In the bas-relief representing the operation, four officers were seen on the bull, the first apparently clapping his hands to make the drawers keep time, the second using the speaking trumpet, the third directing the men who had the care of the rollers, and the fourth kneeling down behind to give orders to those who worked the lever. Two of the groups were preceded by overseers, who turned back to encourage the workmen in their exertions; and in front of the royal chariot, on the edge of the mound, knelt an officer, probably the chief superintentent, looking towards the king to receive orders direct from him. Behind the monarch were carts bearing the cables wedges, and implements required in moving the sculpture. A long beam or lever was slung by ropes from the shoulders of three men, and one of the great wedges was carried in the same way. In the bas-relief representing the final placing of the colossal bull, the figure no longer lay on its side on the sledge, but was held upright by men with ropes and forked wooden props. It was kept in its erect position by beams, held together by cross-bars and wedges,[1] and was further supported by blocks of stone or wood. On the sledge, in front of the bull, stood an officer giving directions with outstretched hands to the workmen. Cables, ropes, rollers, and levers

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[1] It may be remarked, that precisely the same kind of framework was used in the British Museum for moving and placing the great sculptures.

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were used by the workmen. . . . When moving the winged bulls and lions, now in the British Museum, from the ruins to the banks of the Tigris, I used almost the same means as the ancient Assyrians, employing, however, a cart instead of a sledge."

Of the power of numbers unaided by artificial contrivance, Dr. Charleton well observes: "Allowing them to have been as unskilful as you please in such instruments, yet consider how numerous they were, and how strenuously great swarms of them used to join hands together in such attempts; and you have not forgot the old verse, *multorum manibus grande levatur onus*, many hands make light work. What prodigious matters may be effected by mere strength and hand-force of great multitudes without rules of art, may be discerned from the savage Indians; who, being destitute of other mathematicks but what nature dictated to them, and wanting the advantage of engines, did yet by their simple toil and indefatigable diligence, remove stones of incredible greatness: for Acosta ('Histor. Indic., lib. 3, cap. 14), relates, that he measured one stone brought to Tiaguanaco, which was 38 foot long, 18 broad, and 6 thick: and that in their stateliest edifices were many other of much vaster magnitude."[1] ("Stoneheng restored to the Danes," p. 46.)

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[1] "In his interesting 'Himalayan Journal,' (vol. ii., p. 276,) Dr. Hooker states that he found the Khasias, a wildish hill-tribe, on the mountain confines of Upper India, still erecting megalithic structures. He remarks that among the Khasias, 'funeral ceremonies are the only ones of any importance, and they are often conducted with barbarian pomp and expense; and rude stones, of gigantic proportions, are erected as monuments, singly or in rows, or supporting one another, like those of Stonehenge, which they rival in dimensions and appearance.'

"In reply to personal enquiries by Sir James Simpson, Dr. Hooker informed him—

'In answer to your query, Do you remember any recent erection, any arrangement the same as the cromlechs—viz., two, four, or six upright stones supporting a large mass?—this is a common erection now in vogue, such as are put up annually during the cold season. The whole country for many square miles was dotted with them and they are annually put up. Some I saw were quite fresh, and others half finished, and had I been there during the dry season, I was told I could have seen the operation. A chief or big man wants to put up such a cromlech, to commemorate an event or for any other purpose; he summons all the country-side, and feeds them for the time. They pass half the time in revelry, the other half in pulling, hauling, pushing and prizing; it is



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But enough, if not more than enough, upon the transport of stones and colossi in early times with scanty and simple means. Those who would go farther into this interesting subject should turn to the tenth volume of the Wiltshire Archæological Society's Magazine, where they will find a paper by Mr. A. C. Smith, in which the method of moving colossal stones as practised by some of the more advanced nations of antiquity, is much more fully discussed than can be done here.

And now having, at last, brought our huge block to the place where it is to be set up, the next thing to be done is to "dress" it. With what instrument is this very hard stone to be worked? Our masons have stone hammers and stone chisels, and, it may be, bronze tools besides. But bronze is a rather soft metal for such tough work. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in a note to ch. 86 of the second book of Herodotus (Rawlinson's translation), says that in metallurgy the Egyptians possessed some secrets scarcely known to us, for they had the means of enabling copper to cut stone without hardening it by an alloy, and of giving to bronze blades the elasticity of steel with great hardness and sharpness of edge. With the possession of such a secret, we can easily understand how this wonderful people were able to chisel out their great granite statues and obelisks—but it is not likely that our Celtic ancestors had any such means of hardening their bronze. What can be done, however, with flint in cutting stone, is told us by Mr. E. T. Stevens, in his interesting and valuable work, entitled "Flint Chips," p. 495: "In the museum at St. Germain," he writes, "There are some blocks of granite, upon which figures resembling those upon the stones of Gavr Inis have been cut with an *ancient* flint tool within the last two or three years, and Sir James Simpson has proved experimentally that ring and cup-cuttings *can* be produced upon the Argyleshire schist and hard Aberdeen

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all done by brute strength and stupidity. They have neither science nor craft, nor any implements of art but the lever. I was told that the ashes of the burnt dead were often deposited under them; but could not make out that this was a general custom. The whole country is studded with stone erections, usually a cromlech, with a row of tall stones behind it.'"—From Col. Sir Henry James' work on Stonehenge published in connection with the Ordnance Survey.

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granite, with a flint chisel and a wooden mallet. In the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum there is a block of grey Aberdeen granite from Kintore: it is one of the ancient sculptured stones of Scotland, and has upon one side two crescents, &c. On the back of this hard granite Mr. Robert Paul, the door-keeper of the museum, tried, at Sir James Simpson's request, the experiment alluded to, and cut in two hours two-thirds of a circle, with a flint and a wooden mallet. The flint used was about three inches in length, an inch in breadth, and about a quarter of an inch in thickness. The circle which was sculptured with it in the granite is seven inches in diameter, and the incision itself is nearly three quarters of an inch in breadth, about a quarter of an inch in depth, and very smooth on its cut surface. In sculpturing the circle, the sharp tips of the flint tool from time to time broke off, but another sharp edge was always immediately obtained by merely turning the flint round, This experiment shows conclusively that such sculptures might have been produced during the Stone Age," and also that, even without metal, all that was done to the sarsen and other stones at Stonehenge might have been effected by flint alone.[1] Dr. Thurnam was of opinion, that, in making the mortises and tenons, the stones, after certain chippings had been made, had been rubbed into form by means of stone mullers, with sand and water.[2]

If we may judge from the feet of the fallen trilithons, the part to be imbedded in the ground was, in *some* instances, by chipping made smaller and narrower than the part to stand above ground; and it would appear from the statement contained in the following cutting from a Salisbury newspaper of October 3rd, 1863, attested by Mr.

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[1] Though hundreds of beautiful stone axes and ornaments have been found in the Britanny tumuli, no weapons of metal have yet occured in them. It has been supposed that the carvings on some of the stones could not have been cut without metal. Actual experiments, however, as Messrs. Bertrand and de Mortillet have shown me, prove that the stone can be cut with flint, while bronze produces no effect on it."—Sir J. Lubbock, Prehistoric Times, p. 110, second edition.

[2] The irregular form and size of these mortises and tenons justify the conjecture of William Smith, the geologist, that these had been formed by friction with stones and sand."—Crania Britannica.

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J. Browne, that the hole into which the upright was to be dropt was prepared with a bed of concrete: "It has been a matter of surprise to observant persons, that the now wholly prostrate trilithon at Stonehenge should, considering the extreme smallness of its base, ever have stood for ages immemorial. On the 22nd ult., Sir Edmund Antrobus' under-gamekeeper, Mr. Eli Vockins, of Seven Barrows, when digging deeply for rabbits, proved that the upright had been embedded in a rough strong concrete, the great quantity and tenacious quality of which fully account for their long and otherwise inexplicable stability.—Joseph Browne, eye-witness."

And now that our stone is prepared, and the hole for its reception has deen dug out and lined with concrete, how is it to be raised, and set up in its place? Mr. R. W. Emerson, who visited Stonehenge with Mr. T. Carlyle, could not see much difficulty in handling and carrying stones of this size: "The like is done in all cities, every day, with no other aid than horse-power. I chanced to see a year ago men at work on the substructure of a house, in Bodmin Square, in Boston, swinging a block of granite of the size of the largest of the Stonehenge columns, with an ordinary derrick. The men were common masons, with Paddies to help, nor did they think they were doing anything remarkable. I suppose there were as good men a thousand years ago."[1] It is probable that there were as good men a thousand or two thousand years ago, but it is very improbable that the latter had derricks.

Mr. Rickman, in the twenty-eighth volume of the "Archæologia," gives a plate embodying his ideas of the manner in which the uprights were raised into their positions. He has assumed, however, that the people of that day had ropes. The Rev. Richard Warner, the historian of Bath, in his "Walk through some of the Western counties of England," p. 216, (1800,) says: "What is there in these Celtic temples that should so greatly excite our admiration? Even in Stonehenge, the most stupendous of them, we see nothing that might not readily be effected by the united efforts of tumultuary numbers. The wondrous stones which compose it would be found

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[1] "English Traits," 1856.

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in the neighbourhood of Marlborough, amongst that assemblage of rocky fragments called the Grey Wethers; would be floated down the Lesser Avon to Amesbury; conveyed to the spot where they now stand with the assistance of rollers; and lifted to their present situation by the inclined plane; operations which seem to include no particular sagacity in their designation, or difficulty in their execution; particularly when it is recollected that the whole strength of the nation was directed to accomplish the work by the irresistable impulse of superstition." Mr. Max Müller, in his interesting paper on "Cornish Antiquities," in the third volume of "Chips from a German Workshop," thus treats this question: "Marvellous as are the remains of that primitive style of architectural art, the only real problem they offer is how such large stones could have been brought together from a distance, and how such enormous weights could have been lifted up. The first question is answered by ropes and rollers, and the mural sculptures of Nineveh show us what can be done by such simple machinery. We there see the whole picture of how these colossal blocks of stone were moved from the quarry on to the place where they were wanted. Given plenty of time, and plenty of men and oxen, and there is no block which could not be brought to its right place by means of ropes and rollers. And that our forefathers did not stint themselves either in time, or in men, or other cattle, when engaged in erecting such monuments, we know even from comparatively modern times. Under Harold Harfagr, two kings spent three whole years in erecting one single tumulus; and Harold Blatand is said to have employed the whole of his army and a vast number of oxen in transporting a large stone which he wished to place on his mother's tomb. (Saxo Grammaticus, 'Historia Danica,' lib. x., p. 167, ed. Francfurt, 1576.) As to the second question, we can readily understand how, after the supporters had once been fixed in the ground, an artificial mound might be raised, which, when the heavy slab had been rolled up on an inclined plane, might be removed again, and thus leave the heavy stone poised in its startling elevation."

The writer is indebted to Weaver's "Monumenta Antiqua" (Nichols 1840), for the following quotation: "Bray, in his work on the part

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of Devonshire bordering on the Tamar and the Tavy, observing that in India, on the tops of some of the pagodas, there are amazing masses of rock, adds, that to place them in such elevated situations they had recourse to *aggeration*. They took the laborious method by accumulated earth of forming an easy ascent or inclined plane to the top, by means of levers rolled them to the summit, and then removed the mound (Bray, vol. i., p. 228)." [1]

Mr. Tom Smith, sometime master, successively, of the Craven and Hambledon packs of hounds, a good artist and a clever man, had a theory about the manner in which the stones were set up, which is worth giving in the words of his biographer: [2] "Being shortly after on a visit to the Bishop [Denison, his brother-in-law], a party was made up to go to Stonehenge. On their return there was a discussion on that wonderful structure, in which Mr. Smith did not take part. This caused the Bishop to ask if he did not agree with the rest as to the almost superhuman character of the pile, and the inadequacy of any known means for raising it: he replied that he saw nothing so marvellous about it, and that he thought he could point out a way in which it might have been constructed. Pen, ink, and paper were forthwith placed before him, and he was desired to put his ideas in a tangible shape. He at once made a sketch, and the matter furnished conversation for the evening. The Bishop, looking at the sketch, allowed that there might be something in the supposition, and next asked where the huge stones of Stonehenge could have come from. Mr. Smith then gave an account of a fox having been run to earth at the Grey Wethers, and explained that these stones are just of the same character; some of them being twenty feet long, seven or eight wide, and three or four thick. He allowed that it would require a great number of men to transport such stones for ten miles over Salisbury Plain: but anyone who looks at the Wansdyke, which traverses the same district for thirty or forty miles, will

[1] One would like to know how the roof of the Mausoleum of Theodoric, at Ravenna, which is formed from a single block of limestone, 36 feet in its internal diameter, and estimated to weigh above 200 tons, was raised to its place.

[2] "Sporting Incidents in the Life of another Tom Smith," 1867.

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see that there is no real objection. Whoever they were that dug that wide dyke, and threw up that high bank, must have had abundance of labour at command; and though Mr. Goodman's fourteen horses could not move one of the Grey Wethers, long levers very probably could. As Dr. Johnson says in Rasselas, 'The master of mechanics laughs at strength;' and Archimedes had said long before him, 'Give me a place to stand on, and a lever, and I will move the world.' . . . Trunks of oaks bound with iron, and pierced with holes for levers would furnish rollers to propel the stones to very near their ultimate destination. It is also necessary to suppose the site of Stonehenge occupied by a mound, either natural or artificial; the ascent being by an easy incline from the quarter whence these stones were brought. On the top of the mound we must suppose as many holes dug as there were upright stones to be placed. On the arrival of each stone, it would be dropped into its hole; and when all were thus placed, there would only remain the more easy task of laying on the imposts, each end of which evidently has been mortised on to the perpendiculars. The earth would then be dug away, leaving the structure complete; and if this earth must be accounted for, we may think it probable that we see it in the numerous barrows near, that still exist on Salisbury Plain."

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# For what purpose were these Stones set up?

TO the writer, who believes in the pre-Christian erection of Stonehenge, it does not appear impossible to arrive at something like a rational conception of the objects of the founders of Stonehenge. Man, even the most savage and degraded, must have his god or gods. The religious instinct implanted in man, and fostered by the constant realization of his own weakness, and of the existence of powers above him, around him, and independent of him, by which his welfare is more or less affected, must have an outcome. And if he knows not the Creator he will worship the creature. And which of God's creatures would he be so likely to make the object of his simple-minded adoration, as that great body, which, by its light and heat, would appear to him to exercise the most potent influence over his material good? As the sun simply, or as the sun in connection with the moon and stars, it would be regarded by him as the natural object of his daily worship. "In the East," says Dr. Döllinger, "where the stars shine brightly in an ever-cloudless sky, and men more readily receive the influences of these heavenly bodies, astrolatry, or the worship of the stars that illume the earth, developed itself. Above all, it was the sun, the great quickener of nature, adored as the centre and lordly power of the visible universe, as the common source of light and life, by which men felt themselves irresistably attracted. For their high, ever-increasing susceptibility of natural impressions, and of the properties of the universe, led them to give themselves up with longing and passion to the sidereal powers, and they felt themselves governed by them as if by magic. The cultus they rendered them, the direction of all their intellectual powers towards them, the sympathy with their phases, their setting, disappearances and re-appearances, the every-where prevalent notion in all antiquity that the heavenly bodies were not dead masses of fire or earth, but living animated beings—all this involved them more

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and more in a service of complete idolatry and worship—religion became astrolatry."[1]

Dean Milman says, "Down to the captivity, the Jews of Palestine had been in contact only with the religions of the neighbouring nations, which, however differently modified, appear to have been essentially the same, a sort of Nature-worship, in which the host of heaven, especially the sun and moon, under different names, Baal and Moloch, Astarte and Mylitta, and probably as symbols or representatives of the active and passive powers of nature, no doubt with some distinction of their attributes, were the predominant objects. These religions had long degenerated into cruel or licentious superstitions; and the Jews, in falling off to the idolatry of their neighbours, or introducing foreign rites into their own religious system, not merely offended against the great primal distinction of their faith—the unity of the Godhead—but sunk from the pure, humane, and comparatively civilised institutes of their law-giver, to the loose and sanguinary usages of barbarism."[2]

Let us hear, too, what Mr. Tylor (who has made the primitive culture of mankind his especial study) says upon solar worship: "Rivalling in power and glory the all-encompassing heaven, the sun moves eminent among the deities of nature, no mere cosmic globe affecting distant material worlds by force in the guise of light and heat and gravity, but a living reigning Lord:—

> 'O Thou, that with surpassing glory crown'd,
> Looks't from thy sole dominion like the God
> Of this new world.'

It is no exaggeration to say, with Sir William Jones, that one

[1] "The Gentile and the Jew," vol. i., p. 67.

[2] History of Christianity, book i., c. 2. Dean Milman refers to Bohlen, (das alte Indien, p. 139 et seq.) who gives a long list of the festivals of the sun; and to Dr. Richard's valuable work on Egyptian Mythology; on the Deification of the Active and Passive Powers of Generation; the marriage of the Sun and the Earth, p. 40, and pp. 62—75.

The writer cannot divest himself of the idea that, at Abury, a symbolical representation was intended of the generative and fructifying powers of the sun in its connection with the earth, the "παμμῆτορ τε γῆ" apostrophized by Prometheus, (Prom. Vinctus 90).

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great fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the sun: it is no more than an exaggeration to say, with Mr. Helps, of the sun-worship in Peru, that it was inevitable. Sun worship is by no means universal among the lower races of mankind, but manifests itself in the upper levels of savage religion in districts far and wide over the earth, often assuming the prominence which it keeps and develops in the faiths of the barbaric world. Why some races are sun-worshippers and others not, is indeed too hard a question to answer in general terms. Yet one important reason is obvious, that the sun is not so evidently the god of wild hunters and fishers, as of the tillers of the soil, who watch him day by day, giving or taking away their wealth and their very life. On the geographical significance of sun-worship, D'Orbigny has made a remark, suggestive if not altogether sound, connecting the worship of the sun not so much with the torrid regions where his glaring heat oppresses man all day long, and drives him to the shade for refuge, as with climates where his presence is welcomed for its life-giving heat, and nature chills at his departure."[1]

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[1] Tylor's Primitive Culture, ii., p. 260. Most of us, doubtless, are acquainted with Southey's sonnet:—

> "I marvel not, O Sun! that unto Thee
> In adoration man should bow the knee,
> And pour his prayer of mingled awe and love;
> For like a God thou art, and on thy way
> Of glory sheddest with benignant ray,
> Beauty, and life, and joyance from above.
> No longer let these mists thy radiance shroud,
> These cold raw mists that chill the comfortless day;
> But shed thy splendour through the opening cloud
> And cheer the earth once more. The languid flowers
> Lie scentless, beaten down with heavy rain;
> Earth asks thy presence, saturate with showers;
> O Lord of Light! put forth thy beams again
> For damp and cheerless are the gloomy hours."

The most eloquent writer of English in modern times, says: "It may be easy to prove that the ascent of Apollo in his chariot signifies nothing but the rising of the sun. But what does the sunrise itself signify to us? If only languid return to frivolous amusement, or fruitless labour, it will, indeed, not be easy for us to conceive the power, over a Greek, of the name of Apollo. But if, for us also, as for the Greek, the sunrise means daily restoration to the sense of passionate gladness and of perfect life—if it means the thrilling of new strength through every nerve,—the shedding over us a better peace than the peace of night, in the power of the dawn,—and the purging of

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In such a climate as that of Britain, dependent so much on solar influence, for its material prosperity, would it be unreasonable to suppose that the solar cultus would prevail? It can hardly have been an accident that the stone without the circles at Stonehenge should have been so placed that the sun should rise immediately over it at the summer solstice. A remarkable account is given by Mr. W. G. Palgrave of a very similar structure to Stonehenge, which he found in Arabia, where the heavenly bodies were the objects of worship; it is as follows: "We had halted for a moment on the verge of the uplands, to enjoy the magnificent prospect before us. All along the ridge where we stood, and visible at various distances down the level, rose the tall, circular watch-towers of Kaseem. But immediately before us stood a more remarkable monument, one that fixed the attention and wonder even of our Arab companions themselves. For hardly had we descended the narrow path where it winds from ledge to ledge down to the bottom, when we saw before us several huge stones, like enormous boulders, placed endways perpendicularly on the soil, while some of them yet upheld similar masses laid transversely over their summit. They were arranged in a curve, once forming part, it would appear, of a large circle, and many other like fragments lay rolled on the ground at a moderate distance; the number of them still upright was, to speak from memory, eight or nine. Two, at about ten or twelve feet apart one from the other, and resembling huge gate-posts, yet bore their horizontal lintel, a long block laid across them; a few were deprived of their upper traverse, the rest supported each its head-piece in defiance of time and of the more destructive efforts of man. So nicely-balanced did one of these cross-bars appear, that in hope it might prove a rocking-stone, I guided my camel right under it, and then

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evil vision and fear by the baptism of its dew;—if the sun itself is an influence, to us also, of spiritual good—and becomes thus in reality, not in imagination, to us also, a spiritual power,—we may then soon overpass the narrow limit of conception which kept that power impersonal, and rise with the Greek to the thought of an angel, who rejoiced as a strong man to run his course, whose voice, calling to life and to labour, rang round the earth, and whose going forth was to the ends of heaven."—Ruskin's "Queen of the Air," p. 11.

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stretching up my riding stick at arm's length could just manage to touch and push it, but it did not stir. Meanwhile the respective heights of camel, rider, and stick taken together would place the stone in question full fifteen feet from the ground. These blocks seem by their quality, to have been hewn from the neighbouring limestone cliff, and roughly shaped, but present no further trace of art, no groove or cavity of sacrificial import, much less anything intended for figure or ornament. The people of the country attribute their erection to Darim, and by his own hands, too, seeing that he was a giant; also for some magical ceremony, since he was a magician. Pointing towards Rass, our companions affirmed that a second and similar stone circle, also of gigantic dimensions, existed there, and lastly they mentioned a third towards the south-west. That the object of these strange constructions was in some measure religions, seems to me hardly doubtful; and if the learned conjectures that would discover a planetary symbolism in Stonehenge and Carnac have any real foundation, this Arabian monument, erected in the land where the heavenly bodies are known to have been once venerated by the inhabitants, may make a like claim; in fact, there is little difference between the stone wonder of Kaseem and that of Wiltshire, except that the one is in Arabia, the other, the more perfect, in England."[1]

Dr. Thurnam, in his "Historical Ethnology of Britain" (chap. v. of the introduction to the "Crania Britannica") says; "Various British coins exhibit symbols of stars, crescents, and suns, which may refer to the ancient astral and elemental worship," and refers

[1] Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862—63, by William Gifford Palgrave, vol. i., p. 250, 1865. Sir J. Lubbock, referring to Bonstettin, Sur les Dolmens, p. 27, says, "that Kohen, a Jesuit Missionary, has recently discovered in Arabia, near Khabb, in the district of Kasim, three large stone circles, described as being extremely like Stonehenge, and consisting of very lofty triliths."—p. 122, second edition. Dr. Thurnam has a memorandum to the following effect, from Selden "de Dis Syris, Syntagma ii., c. xv., acervus Mercurii, &c." Selden is quoting several Jewish and Talmudic writers, one of them saying: "Lapides fani Merkolis sic dispositi erant, ut unus hinc, alter illinc, tertius super utrumque collocaretur;" and that "Merkolis, binis lapidibus, sibi mutuo adjacentibus, tertius lapis imponebatur."

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to the engravings of some gold coins found on Farley Heath, Surrey, which are given at p. 304 of the thirteenth volume ol the Archæological Journal. The Rev. Prebendary Earle, also argues from these characters on British coins in favour of the solar theory, but this view is not acquiesced in by all numismatists. The writer's old and valued friend, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S., President of the Numismatic Society, has kindly furnished him with the following communication: "There is no mystery about the origin of the earliest coins of Britain. They are degraded types of Gaulish coins, and these Gaulish coins again are degraded types of those of Philip of Macedon. When the Gauls invaded Macedonia, they brought back, as part of their plunder, gold money of Philip; and as they had none before (so far as we know) they set to work to copy what they had found. The first copies are sufficiently well done to be like their originals. You find ϕΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ legible and a victory driving a chariot. Soon the Greek letters are lost, and the victory and chariot become indistinct. Some of these indistinct coins found their way to Britain in the course of trade, and were imitated by the Britons, each imitation being one stage farther off from the original Philip's, till, at length, all notion of a horse and chariot is lost. The horse remains, but such a nondescript animal (sometimes with his tail divided into three distinct tails!) that you would hardly guess that it was meant for a horse. Then the chariot departs altogether, and its wheels appear *anywhere* on the coins—above, before, in front of other objects. Some of the circles alluded to by Dr. Thurnam are probably these wheels. I doubt altogether the existence of any *astral* or mythic marks, though, of course, a star or a wheel with the spokes crossing will be seized on by some as representing the sun, and so on. These gold British coins may be considered as before or as contemporary with Julius Cæsar. After his time we find Roman types on British coins."

Having said so much upon the probable connection of Stonehenge with sun-worship, it will be well to introduce here the opinions which have been broached by antiquaries and others since the publication of Sir Richard Hoare's volume of "Ancient Wilts," in 1812.

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stones are found in Somersetshire and in various places along the territories of the Cymry, through Wales and in Cumberland, all of them partaking of the same primitive character—huge masses of unhewn stone, arranged in a spherical position. Six or seven miles north of the mounds of Old Sarum, the ancient capital of the Western Belgæ, is that marvel of Britain, which now bears the Saxon appellation of 'Stonehenge.'" (pp. 100—2.)

Mr. J. M. Kemble thought it quite possible that the triliths might have served as gallowses, on some grand occasion; and that after a defeat some British leaders may have been sacrificed by tying them up to Woden on the same. As long as the Anglo-Saxon language is Anglo-Saxon, Stonehenge can mean nothing but "The Stone Gallowses." *Notes and Queries*, second series, vol. iii., p. 2.

Mr. J. Y. Akerman, F.S.A., in a letter to Dr. Thurnam, dated November 1st, 1860, writes as follows: "Most of the writers on Stonehenge seem determined to show us how little qualified they are to discuss such a subject. I think it not unlikely that the pagan Saxons made Stonehenge on some grand occasion their *offering place*. It should be remembered that when they offered human victims to Woden, they *hung them up*, and here was a not inappropriate spot."

In Halliwell's "Rambles in Western Cornwall," 1861, is the following: "With regard to Stonehenge, the theory of its being a temple of the Druids is unsupported by the least evidence, the little there is at all respecting it leading to the belief, that in it we see the remains of a gigantic mausoleum, in the middle of an ancient British cemetery, which continued in use during the Roman sway."

A critic of Mr. Halliwell's work (*Saturday Review*, April 12th, 1862), remarks, that "No ancient writer mentions these stone erections, supposed to be Druidical works, in connection with Druidical rites; and much might be said to show that they were of much older date than the Druids, and probably of Phœnician origin. Certain it is, that the Israelites, in common with ancient nations, erected monuments of single stones; and it would appear stone-circles, as the tokens of some great national achievement or national victory. The Book of Joshua furnishes evidence of the first usage; and the latter will, if we mistake not, be found referred to in a book

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of much later date, where such stones are described as the stones of a crown—literally, 'circled stones lifted up for an ensign upon the land.' Zech. ix., 16."

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., the energetic explorer and expounder of Roman Antiquities, holds that Stonehenge is a Gilgal, and was erected for the purpose of celebrating holy rites, a place where the army met, and where the chieftains were buried. It might be called a burial place, or a House of Commons.

The Rev. Canon Jackson, to whom all members of this Society and readers of its Magazine are so deeply indebted, read a paper on Stonehenge at the Society's meeting at Marlborough, in 1859. It has never been published, but was briefly reported in the newspapers of the time, together with some observations, in reply, of the veteran Wiltshire antiquary, Mr. Matcham, who was one of the friends and coadjutors of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and a member of the Stourhead Antiquarian Club, of which Mr. Joseph Hunter gives such an interesting account in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute. In this Salisbury volume are "Remarks on two communications respecting Stonehenge," in which Mr. Matcham urges that Stonehenge, like Abury, "is susceptible of an entire astronomical explanation; and that it displays in its different groups not only the rudiments of a lunar calendar, but according to the Oriental and Metonic system a accurate measurement of the solar year." Canon Jackson's paper was (in substance) as follows: "He said many ingenious theories as to the origin of the structure had been put forward by various writers. We were not obliged to adopt their conclusions, but at the same time we ought to feel indebted to them for their exertions to clear up the mystery that hung over it. His own belief was, that while writers had ransacked the world in search of an explanation of Stonehenge, the real key to the mystery lay all the time at home. The late Mr. Algernon Herbert's opinion was that it was erected in the fifth century, shortly after the Romans abandoned Britain, and it was to the 150 years between A.D. 408 and A.D. 552 to which he (Mr. Jackson) wished to call their attention. The first point to be considered was the political and religious state of the country at that time. The Romans, then, were masters of the country, but they did not people

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...ation we are to reject the
must strike out many other
...onfusion about Robin Hood.
...th Richard I. The Records,
... of Edward II. It does not
...ne. Make the same allowance
...lthough the bards and chroniclers
...n of the structure they agree as to
...he fifth century. He was therefore
the only historical one, and preferred
...le without any authority whatsoever.
...as what it is most likely to have been, a
...British purposes—a strange structure in-
...builder were strange. Mr. Jackson then
...umstantial evidence from the legends and
...e ...nge, which he traced up to its source: all
...d by adopting this period and the substance
...by the old British writers: but which were
...n any other way. He considered the small
...s the key to the history. They were certainly
great distance, and had been a sacred circle of
Like the Casa Santa at Loreto, a small cottage
...n the Virgin Mary's house at Nazareth, but now
...magnificent church, so these obelisks, possessing some
...al value, were transported hither, and enshrined in a
mightie... ...ey Wethers that Wiltshire could
...ntral st... ...mmonly called the altar, he did not
... ...ny purpose of the kind: but that
... ...portant personage during public
... ...rent from the rest. He then
... ...h at Avebury and Stonehenge

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were in point of size, perfectly insignificant compared with the enormous statues and obelisks of Egypt. The statue of Sesostris, at Thebes, weighed 892 tons, being one single block. So that there was no great magic required for moving stones of 40 or 50 tons. It was only a question of so many bullocks or men. The whole story of Stonehenge admitted of a perfectly simple explanation, if people would only be satisfied with the story stripped of the absurdities with which time and the want of regular history has invested it. But they had been so long accustomed to think that it must necessarily belong to some unknown period of antiquity, that to call it only 1300 or 1400 years old was not to be endured. The subject was enveloped in obscurity, but, upon the whole, he leaned to the opinion that it was of the fifth century.

"Mr. Matcham said he had no intention of attempting to answer every argument which Mr. Jackson had adduced, but there were one or two observations which had fallen from that gentleman to which he would take the liberty of adverting. With reference to Stonehenge having been the work of the Belgæ (a suggestion, by the way, not originally made by Dr. Guest, but propounded before he was born), he asked, how the stones forming the outer circle at Stonehenge could have been obtained, supposing Wansdyke to have been the boundary between the Belgæ and the ancient Britons? It was pretty well established that they were sarsen stones, which could not have been found in sufficient quantity on the southern side of Wansdyke. Stones of that kind must have existed in considerable quantities, to have enabled the workmen to pick out large uniform blocks like those at Stonehenge. So far with reference to the Belgæ having been the authors of Stonehenge. Supposing it, however, to have been built by Vortigern, there was no occasion to enter further into the question, but he (Mr. Matcham) thought there were strong reasons against that supposition. Now as to its erection subsequent to the desertion of this island by the Romans:—everybody who visited Stonehenge must acknowledge it to have been the result of a vast amount of labour—the whole mind and body of the people must have beem brought together for that one purpose. That, he apprehended, could not have been the case at the time of the desertion

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of Britain by the Romans, for the country was then split into parties, not only political but religious. Now the religion of the southern portion of the county was mainly Christian, although he quite admitted with Mr. Jackson and Mr. Herbert that there was an attempt to infuse into it the spirit of other creeds. If however, a new building was to be raised, and there had been anything like a mixture of religions, there would most probably be the marks of two religions upon that building. Now Stonehenge bore not the slightest mark of Christianity, and this had always been, to his mind, a great objection to the theory of the late Mr. Algernon Herbert. Then again the specimens of pottery which had been found in the neighbourhood were of the rudest description, and evidently belonged, not to the Romans, but to the ancient Britons. Again, the country was, at the time of Vortigern, ravaged by war, and it was not likely that such a period would have been selected for the erection of such a mighty monument as that of Stonehenge. The writings of the Welsh bards simply went to show that the building was standing at that time—indeed, Mr. Davies, the author of 'Celtic Researches,' who well understood the old Welsh poetry, said the opinion of the bards was that Stonehenge had been standing from time immemorial. The only authority for Mr. Herbert's theory was Geoffrey of Monmouth. He could not suppose that at the time when the country was invaded by the Picts and Scots, Vortigern could ever have sent a fleet to Ireland to bring something like thirty stones to the Amesbury Downs. The smaller stones were certainly not from the neighbourhood, and they *might* have come from Ireland. . . . . He himself was inclined to the belief that the outer circle of Stonehenge was erected by Phœnician architects. They first settled at the Land's End, in Cornwall, and having lead and iron mines, in Wales, it was by no means improbable that they drew these stones from different parts of the country as emblems of the places whence they derived their wealth. He did not say it was so, but there was just as much reason for the supposition, as that Merlin brought them from Ireland."

The following are the conclusions to which one of our most thoughtful and learned antiquaries, the Rev. John Earle, has come:

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first, that Stonehenge was constructed with reference to sun worship, and, secondly, that there might be some truth in the legend which made it a sepulchral monument. "As regarded the date he was inclined to believe it should be resolved into two parts, and that the interior oval and the interior circle were of one and the same age, and were to be classed with other unhewn monuments existing in various parts of the country, and that they were not in a position to form any definite opinion as to their date. With reference to the external circle, the stones composing which had been worked with iron, he was of opinion that it must have been raised after the Romans left this country. The only objection he had ever heard to this view was that the chippings of the two kinds of stones had been found together, but he should like to know the circumstances under which they were found, because it appeared highly improbable that the smaller stones were ever chipped, because they were all of granite or other igneous rock, of which he understood the like was only to be found in Wales or the West of Ireland. In conclusion, he said when they considered that the erection of Stonehenge had left no record behind it, they might naturally reflect how late in the career of the human race written history entered. A large number of monuments in different parts of the world, more or less analogous to Stonehenge, were the only records of a vast period of unwritten antiquity. In them they saw what grand conceptions, what symmetrical designs, what heavy undertakings, men were capable of before they arrived at the art of even the rudest chronicling. And there is nothing in the execution of those works on which investigation had hitherto been able to fasten as a character, whereby they might be arranged in a chronological scale. Those who took their stand upon records and monuments made their way upwards to meet those who, starting in the remote era of geologic time, were striving to connect their researches with the history of man."

The last opinion shall be the brief, but weighty one, of the distinguished writer on ethnological archæology, Sir John Lubbock, who has done so much, by his purchase at Abury, and by his speeches in Parliament, to awaken, and strengthen, an interest in the pre- ---vation of our ancient monuments. He thinks "it may be

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regarded as a monument of the Bronze Age, apparently not all erected at one time, the inner circle of small, unwrought blue stones, being, probably, older than the rest;" and that it was "used as a Temple." ("Pre-Historic Times," p. 116.)

Herbert, in his learned and amusing book, speaks, in his sarcastic vein, of the variety and vanity of the opinions about Stonehenge. Whatever any Member of the Society may think about their vanity, there can be but one opinion as to their variety.

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## Part IV.

# Salisbury Plain and the Stonehenge Barrows.

TO the lover of our open downs it is refreshing to read of Salisbury Plain before it had been encroached upon, as now, by the plough. The Rev. William Gilpin, in his "Observations on the Western Parts of England, relative especially to Picturesque Beauty," dedicated to Speaker Addington, 1798, says: "The plain[1] on which Stonehenge stands, is in the same style of greatness as the temple that adorns it. It extends many miles in all directions, in some not less than fifty. An eye unversed in these objects is filled with astonishment in viewing waste after waste rising out of each new horizon.

> 'Such appears the spacious plain
> Of Sarum, spread like Ocean's boundless round,
> Where solitary Stonehenge, grey with moss,
> Ruin of ages, nods.'

"The ground is spread, indeed, as the poet observes, *like the ocean*; but it is like the ocean after a storm, it is continually heaving in large swells. Through all this vast district, scarce a cottage or even a bush appears. If you approach within two or three miles of the edge of the plain, you see, like the mariner within soundings, land at a distance, houses, trees, and villages; but all around is waste. Regions, like this, which have come down to us rude and untouched,

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[1] Stukeley was not insensible to the charms of "this delightful plain,

> 'Juvat arva videre
> Non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curæ.'—*Virgil.*

Nought can be sweeter than the air that moves o're this hard and dry chalky soil. Every step you take upon the smooth carpet, (literally) your nose is saluted with the most fragrant smell of *serpillum* and *apium*, which with the short grass continually cropt by the flocks of sheep, composes the softest and most verdant turf, extremely easy to walk on, and which rises, as with a spring, under one's feet." (p. 9.)

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from the beginning of time, fill the mind with grand conceptions, far beyond the efforts of art and cultivation. Impressed by such views of nature, our ancestors worshipped the god of nature, in these boundless scenes, which gave them the highest conceptions of eternity. . . . All the plain, at least that part of it near Stonehenge, is one vast cemetery. Everywhere, as we passed, we saw tumuli or *barrows*, as they are called, rising on each hand. These little mounds of earth are more curiously and elegantly shaped than any of the kind I remember elsewhere to have seen. They commonly rise in the form of bells, and each of them hath a neat trench fashioned round its base; though in their forms, and in the ornamental circles at their bases, some appear to be of more distinguished workmanship. They are of various sizes, sometimes of thirty, sometimes of forty, or fifty yards in diameter. From many places we counted above an hundred of them at once; sometimes as if huddled together without any design; in other places rising in a kind or order. By the rays of a setting sun, the distant barrows are most conspicuously seen. Every little summit being tipped with a splendid light, while the plain is in shadow, is at that time easily distinguished. Most of them are placed on the more elevated parts of the plain, and generally in sight of the great temple. That they are mansions of the dead is undoubted; many of them having been opened, and found to cover the bones both of men and beasts; the latter of which were probably sacrificed at the funeral. We suppose also that some of them contained the promiscuous ashes of a multitude, as Virgil describes them:—

> 'Confusæ ingentem cædis acervum,
> Nec numero, nec honore cremant. Tunc undique vasti
> Certatim crebris collucent ignibus agri.
> Tertia lux gelidam cælo dimoverat umbram;
> Mærentes altum cinerem, et confusa ruebant
> Ossa focis; tepidoque onerabant aggere terræ.'

Indeed this mode of burial, as the most honourable, seems to have been dictated by the voice of nature. We meet with it in Homer; we meet with it in Herodotus. The vestiges of it are found on the vast plains of Tartary; and even among the savages of Guinea.

"Though Salisbury Plain in Druid times was probably a very

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busy scene, we now find it wholly uninhabited. Here and there we meet a flock of sheep scattered over the side of some rising ground; and a shepherd with his dog attending them; or perhaps we may descry some solitary waggon winding round a distant hill. But the only resident inhabitant of this vast waste is the bustard. This bird, which is the largest fowl we have in England, is fond of all extensive plains, and is found on several; but these are supposed to be his principal haunt. Here he breeds, and here he spends his summer-day, feeding with his mate on juicy berries, and the large dew-worms of the heath. As winter approaches, he forms into society. Fifty or sixty have been sometimes seen together. As the bustard leads his life in these unfrequented wilds, and studiously avoids the haunts of men, the appearance of anything in motion, though at a considerable distance, alarms him. . . . As he is so noble a prize, his flesh so delicate, and the quantity of it so large, he is of course frequently the object of the fowler's stratagems. But his caution is generally a protection against them all. The scene he frequents, affords neither tree to shelter, nor hedge to skreen, an enemy; and he is so tall, that when he raises his neck to take a perspective view, his eye circumscribes a very wide horizon. All open attempts, therefore against him are fruitless. The fowler's most promising statagem is to conceal himself in a waggon. The west-country waggons, periodically travelling these regions, are objects to which the bustard is most accustomed; and though he retires at their approach, he retires with less evident signs of alarm, than from anything else. It is possible, therefore, if the fowler lies close in such a concealment, and with a long-barrelled gun can direct a good aim, he may make a lucky shot. Sometimes also he slips from the tail of a waggon a couple of swift greyhounds. They soon come up with the bustard, though he runs well; and if they can contrive to reach him, just as he is on the point to take wing (an operation which he performs with less expedition than is requisite in such critical circumstances) they may perhaps seize him.[1]

[1] On the Bustard and its extinction in England, see Wilts Arch. Magazine, vol. ii., p. 212; also the interesting article on this bird, in vol. iii., by our Wiltshire ornithologist, as well as antiquary, the Rev. A. C. Smith. In Sir

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"Some encroachments have been made by the plough, within these few years, upon Salisbury Plain. But these inroads, though considerable in themselves, bear little proportion to the vastness of these downy grounds. The plough is a heavy invader; and its perseverence only can produce a visible effect in so vast a scene.

"Another reason also may operate powerfully in preserving these wide domains in a state of nature. The soil is, in most places, very shallow, not above five or six inches above a rock of chalk; and as the tillage of two or three years exhausts it, without more expense than the land will answer, it hath been thought but ill husbandry to destroy a good sheep walk for a bad piece of arable land."

APPEARANCE OF STONEHENGE FROM THE PLAIN.

Mr. Warner truly says that "the distant effect of Stonehenge is not so striking as the description of its magnitude would lead us to imagine, since being an isolated object, situated in the heart of the plain, without anything around it for a standard of comparison, every impression of its greatness is swallowed up and overwhelmed in that idea of immensity which the prospect on every side presents to the mind. This very circumstance of *unaccompanied* locality, howevers heightens, perhaps, the effect of the fabric when we approach it, for the mind, not being interrupted or distracted by neighbouring objects, bends its undivided attention to the solitary wonder before it."[1] And Mr. Fergusson justly observes of it that "when viewed from a distance the vastness of the open tract in which Stonehenge stands takes considerably from its impressiveness, but when the observer gets close to its great monolithic masses the solitary situation lends it a grandeur which scarce any other building of its class can be said to possess."[2]

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Richard Hoare's Ancient Wilts, i., 94, is a very curious account of two bustards having attacked men on horseback, near Tilshead, in June, 1801 In the *Times* newspaper of March 2nd, 1876, was a letter from the Rev. F. O. Morris, the well-known ornithologist, in which he stated that he had heard recently from a friend that a great bustard had taken up its quarters in the fens of Cambridgeshire, and he claimed for it the protection given by the recent Act of Parliament. It is vain to hope that the poor bird will be allowed to live at peace in England.

[1] Warner's "Excursions from Bath," 1801, p. 172.

[2] Quarterly Review, No. 215, p. 202.

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## On the Barrows [1] surrounding Stonehenge.

To the sanctity attaching to Stonehenge, the numerous and important "monumental hillocks" on the adjoining plain bear testimony, but no one who looked carefully at them, could, for a moment, entertain the idea that these were the graves of slaughtered heroes whom survivors had "buried darkly at the dead of night." They carry with them unmistakeable indications of having been leisurely and carefully made by a people who were living in peace and safety upon and around the neighbouring down. From the great size of many of them and their commanding positions on the more elevated portions of the plain, they are very striking objects, and greatly enhance the interest awakened by the stone circles, and their sacred precincts.

Leland describes those near Stonehenge as "monticuli illi ex egestâ terrâ conglobati;" [2] and Camden, writing of Wiltshire, says: "Many such artificial hills both round and pointed are to be seen in these parts, and are called burrowes or barrowes, probably thrown up in memory of soldiers slain thereabouts. Bones are found in them."

From the chapter on barrows in the "Monumenta Britannica" of Aubrey, part ii., and which has for its motto the following from Seneca, de Consolatione ad Polyb: "Quæ per constructionem lapidum, et marmoreas moles, aut *terrenos tumulos* in magnam eductos altitudinem constant, non propagabant longam diem, quippe et ipsæ intereunt," the writer has extracted the following notices of barrows in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge: "In the Farme of West Amesbury (within which is that famous Antiquity of Stoneheng) is a place called the King's Graves (which is now the *Sheep-penning* of West Amesbury) where doe appeare five small Barrows, or Tumuli,

[1] Called "Lowes," in Derbyshire; "Howes," in Yorkshire. "The raising of mounds of earth or stone over the remains of the dead, is a practice," says Mr. Akerman, "which may be traced in all countries to the remotest times." Dr. Wilson adds that "their origin is to be sought for in the little heap of earth displaced by interment, which still to thousands suffices as the most touching memorial of the dead."

[2] Comment de Script. Britann. De Ambrosio Merlino Cambro, 1709, p. 44.

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at one corner of the Penning.[1] At the end of these graves were stones, which the people of late yeares, sc. since 1640, have fetcht away: for in these parts, stones (except flint stones) are very scarce. Mrs. Trotman of Bishopstone, wife of Anth: Trotman, who then lived at the farme (from whom I have these excellent remarques and traditions concerning Stonehenge and these Barrows) told me that there were some letters on the stones: but what they were I could not learn.

"Near the Penning aforesaid, where the Kings-graves are, is Normanton-ditch, but why so called, no tradition. In the field thereby hath been found, by ploughing, within 30 years last past (sc. about 1638 or 1640) as much Pewter as was sold for five pounds. the shephard had pitcht through it in many places in pitching for their Fold. It was pure pewter, here were not any Coines found.

"In this Farme is Pitt-poole, which is so called from a King, who upon his escape, rideing hastily downe the Sheep-shoot, was then drowned. See the Chronicle de hoc.

"About Stoneheng are Seaven Barrows (called so by the Travellers) one whereof is called Panbarrow. Quære the names of the rest of the barrows. Mrs. Trotman says that one of the Chronicles recites the names of these Barrows, and who are there buried, but I much doubt it. Mrs. Trotman knows a man that sawe the digging, and will enquire of him dates.

"Capt. J. Ryves says, are severall Barrowes that retain Danish or Saxon names, sed non credo."

On the next page is a note to his description of Gawen's Barrow, in the parish of Broad Chalke, which the writer would like to print: "I never was so sacralegious as to disturb or rob his urne: let his ashes rest in peace: but I have oftentimes wish't that my corps might be interred by it: but the Lawes ecclesiastick denie it. Our

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[1] This word "Penning" or "Pennings" seems to be in use in other parts of Wiltshire. Sir R. C. Hoare speaks of a "Great Penning," near Tilshead (Ancient Wilts, i., p. 94.); and Dean Merewether speaks of a "Penning," near Abury; "at Mr. George Brown's above Beckhampton." "The phrase belongs to a disused enclosure adjoining the farm-yard and fold near at hand. The term 'Penning,' is applied by the husbandmen to other similar enclosures and earthworks.'" (Salisbury Vol. of Arch. Institute, pp. 109, 110.)

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Bones, in consecrated ground, never lie quiet: and in London once in ten yeares (or thereabout) the earth is carried to the dung-wharfe."

Stukeley (c. x.) thus speaks of the barrows: "I come in the last place to speak of the barrows, observable in great numbers, round Stonehenge. We may very readily count fifty at a time, in sight from the place: easily distinguishable: but especially in the evening, when the sloping rays of the sun shine on the ground beyond them. These barrows are the artificial ornaments of this vast and open plain. And it is no small entertainment for a curious person to remark their beauties, their variety in form and magnitude, their situation. They are generally of a very elegant *campaniform* shape, and done with great nicety. There is likewise a great variety in their shape and turn, and in their diameters, in their manner of composition. In general, they are always on elevated ground, and in sight of the temple of Stonehenge. For they all regard it. This shews *they* are but superficial inspectors of things, that fancy from hence, great battels on the plain; and that these are the tumultuary burials of the slain. Quite otherwise, they are assuredly, the single sepulchres of kings and great personages buried during a considerable space of time, and that in peace. There are many groups of them together, and as family burial places; the variety in them, seems to indicate some note of difference in the persons there interr'd, well known in those ages. Most of the barrows have little ditches around, extremely well defin'd. In many is a circular ditch 60 cubits in diameter, with a very small tumulus in the center. 60 or 100 cubits is a very common diameter in the large barrows. Often they are set in rows, and equidistant, so as to produce a regular and pretty appearance, and with some particular regard to the parts of the temple, the avenues, or the cursus."

In 1722 Lord Pembroke opened one of a pair of twin barrows by the east side of the road from Wilton to Stonehenge.

"On the west side, he made a section from the top to the bottom, an intire segment, from center to circumference. The manner of composition of the barrow was good earth, quite thro', except a coat of chalk of about two foot thickness, covering it quite over, under

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the turf. Hence it appears, that the method of making these barrows was to dig up the turf for a great space round, till the barrow was brought to its intended bulk. Then with the chalk, dug out of the environing ditch, they powder'd it all over. So that for a considerable time, these barrows must have look'd white: even for some number of years. And the notion of sanctity annex'd to them, forbad people trampling on them, till perfectly settled and turf'd over. Hence the neatness of their form to this day, At the top or center of this barrow, not above three foot under the surface, my Lord found the skeleton of the interr'd, perfect, of a reasonable size, the head lying towards Stonehenge or northward." The year following he began upon a barrow north of Stonehenge, in that group south of the cursus. "T'is one of the double barrows there; and more easterly and lower of the two (No. 29 in Sir R. Hoare's map), likewise somewhat less. It was reasonable to believe this was the sepulture of a man and his wife; and that the lesser was the female; and so it prov'd, at least a daughter. We made a large cut on the top from east to west. After the turf taken off, we came to the layer of chalk, as before, then fine garden mould. About three foot below the surface, a layer of flints, humoring the convexity of the barrow. These flints are gather'd from the surface of the down in some places, especially where it has been plow'd. This being about a foot thick rested on a layer of soft mould another foot: in which was inclosed an urn full of bones. This urn was of unbak'd clay, of a dark reddish colour: crumbled into pieces. It had been rudely wrought with small mouldings round the verge and other circular channels on the outside, with several indentures between, made with a pointed tool. The bones had been burnt, and crowded all together in a little heap, not so much as a hat crown would contain. The collar bone and one side of the under jaw are grav'd in their true magnitude. It appears to have been a girl of about 14 years old. . . . . Beads of all sorts, and in great number, of glass of divers colours, most yellow, one black, were mix'd with the bones. Many single, many in long pieces, notch'd between, so as to resemble a string of beads, and these were generally of a blue colour. There were many of amber, of all



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shapes and sizes, flat squares, long squares, round oblong, little and great. Likewise many of earth, of different shapes, magnitude and colour, some little and white, many large and flattish like a button, others like a pully. But all had holes to run a string thro', either thro' their diameter or sides. Many of the button sort seem to have been cover'd with metal, there being a rim work'd in them wherein to turn the edge of the covering. One of these was cover'd with a thin film of pure gold. These were the young lady's ornaments, and had all undergone the fire; so that what would easily consume fell to pieces as soon as handled. Much of the amber burnt half thro'. This person was a heroin, for we found the head of her javelin in brass. At bottom are two holes for the pins that fastened it the staff. Besides there was a sharp bodkin, round at one end, square at the other, where it went into a handle. [These ornaments are engraved in Stukeley's Stonehenge, plate xxxii.] Then we op'd the next barrow to it enclos'd in the same ditch, which we suppos'd the husband or father of this lady. At fourteen inches deep, the mould being mixed with chalk, we came to the intire skeleton of a man. The skull and all the bones exceedingly rotten and perish'd through length of time."

On this interesting account of one of the few barrow-openings at Stonehenge before the time of Cunnington and Hoare, the latter says: "Not dissuaded by the external appearances, and convinced by experience that all interments found near the surface were subsequent deposits, Mr. Cunnington, in 1803, explored the second tumulus, by making a section rather to the south of the centre, when at the depth of six feet, he came to the floor of the barrow, which was covered with ashes; and on digging still further to the south he found a fine oblong cist, about eighteen inches deep, fifteen inches wide, and two feet long, and in it a complete interment of burnt bones, and with them six beads apparently of horn, four of which were perforated; the other two were circular, and rather flat, but all appeared as thought they had been burned. Dr. Stukeley made the same observation respecting the articles found in the other barrow; but he must have been mistaken as to the amber,

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for we know that fire would entirely consume it.[1] Stukeley also opened what he calls a Druid barrow (? No. 169), "next to bush barrow, westward of it." He found "a squarish hole three-and-a-half feet long, and nearly two broad in the centre of the tumulus. In it were burnt bones." He opened besides "another of these of like dimensions, next to that Lord Pembroke opened, south of Stonehenge. He found a burnt body in a hole in the chalk as before." He finishes his account as follows: "In some other barrows I open'd, were found large burnt bones of horses and dogs, along with human. Also of other animals, as seem'd: of fowl, hares, boars, deer, goats, and the like. And in a great and very flat old fashion'd barrow, west from Stonehenge, among such matters, I found bits of red and blue marble, chippings of the stones of the temple, so that probably the interr'd was one of the builders. . . . This is the sum of what is most material, that fell within my observation, relating to the barrows about Stonehenge."

In Stukeley's Common Place Book is the following: "Forty-five barrows in sight of Stonehenge. A° 1666, one of the 7 barrows being digged up they found coals, goats' horns and stags horns. [In margin, 'Remains of sacrifice at the Briton's burial.'] Near to the penning is Normanton Ditch, here in ploughing was found A° 1635, very good pewter, sold for £5." [2] (This Stukeley must have learnt from the "Monumenta Britannica.")

No less than 300 barrows are laid down on Sir R. C. Hoare's map of "Stonehenge and its environs," within an area of no more than twelve square miles. "It can scarcely be doubted that those interred under tumuli near this sacred place *(locus consecratus)* were the distinguished dead [3] brought probably from all parts of the

[1] Ancient Wilts, i., 162.

[2] Wilts Mag., xi., 342.

[3] The question naturally arises. "If these grave-mounds contain the 'corpora clarorum virorum,' where are the graves of the innumerable members of the 'ignobile vulgus?'" They must have been buried where they died. If the bodies were burnt, the ashes un-cisted and un-urned, would soon become mingled with the surrounding earth; if buried entire, the bodies would be laid but a few inches below the surface, and the percolating rain of centuries would generally cause the bones to crumble and decay. Some years ago the writer



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territory of the Belgæ for interment near the place where their great annual assemblies seem to have been held." The barrows cannot be considered apart from the mysterious stony structure which they surround. Sir R. C. Hoare says: "I scarcely know how we can separate the æra of the one from the other," and Dr. Thurnam, in his important work on British barrows (Archæologia, vol. xliii), from which the writer proposes to make copious extracts, writes as follows: "That Stonehenge belongs to the same epoch as the barrows by which it is surrounded might be inferred from their relative situation. We might, perhaps, surmise priority in the case of two small tumuli, encroached on and inclosed by the vallum and ditch, which, at the distance of a hundred feet, form the *enceinte* to the stones; one of which tumuli, on being excavated was found to cover an interment of burnt bones. Two other barrows however, at no great distance, appear to have been contemporary, or at the most, of a date very slightly posterior to that of Stonehenge itself. In digging down to the base of them, chippings and fragments not merely of the sarsens were found, but likewise of the blue felspathic horn-stones, foreign to Wiltshire, which assist in the formation of this megalithic structure."

By comparison with the number of barrows on a similar area around the circles of Abury, Dr. Thurnam found that those in the latter district were only one hundred and six, little more than one third as many as in the Stonehenge district.[1]

The barrows around Stonehenge are of different ages,[2] of different

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found a skeleton in a hut-circle on Walton Down, near Clevedon, Somerset, at a depth of from four to five feet from the surface. A short notice of this was inserted by Mr. Albert Way, in the sixteenth vol. of the Archæological Journal, p. 157. Dr. Thurnam, to whom the writer gave the skull, pronounced it to be that of a young woman.

[1] "The large map of Stonehenge and its environs has an area of about sixteen square miles, but the barrows comprised within do not extend over more than twelve. . . . . In no place in the British Isles—perhaps, if we except the plains at old Upsala, not in Europe,—are the tumuli so numerous as around Stonehenge, where they form a great necropolis."—Dr. Thurnam.

[2] By "different ages" is here meant that some appear to have been erected before the Stonehenge circles; some when they were in course of construction, and others, after their completion. In no instance, however, have Roman coins

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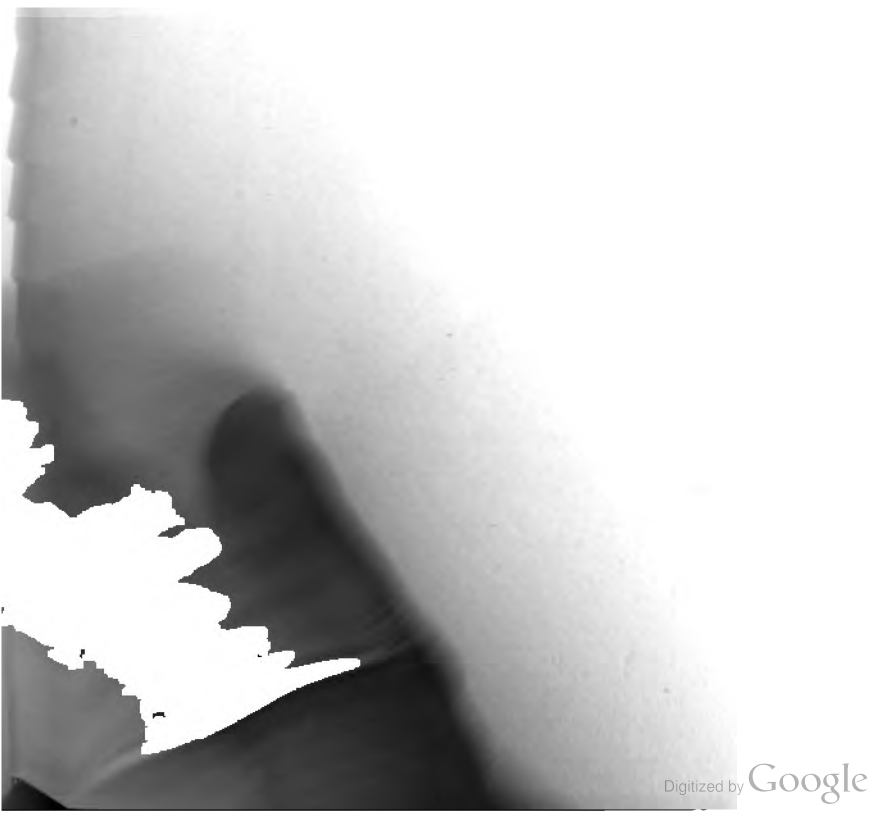
Barrow.

Bowl-shaped Barrow.



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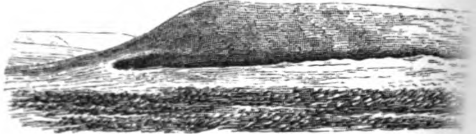

Long Barrow.

Bowl-shaped Barrow.

Bell-shaped Barrow.

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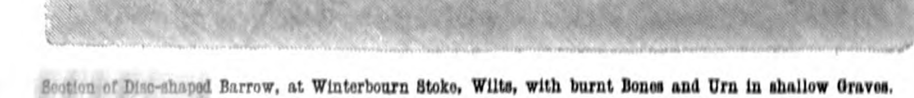
Disc-shaped Barrow.



Section of Disc-shaped Barrow, at Winterbourn Stoke, Wilts, with burnt Bones and Urn in shallow Graves.

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3. Disc-shaped barrows.
- *a.* Simple, with flat area.
- *b.* With one, two, or three small central tumuli.
- *c.* With one low mound nearly covering the area.

"But though the outer form is important, there can be no satisfactory classification of barrows which does not likewise refer to their internal contents. . . . In none of the first class, or long barrows, whether unchambered or chambered, have objects of metal, either bronze or iron, been found; and so far as we know, they are of the stone period. In the second class, or round barrows, not only are there objects of stone, but also, and chiefly, those of bronze, and in very rare instances of iron also. They may be regarded, therefore, as belonging to the Bronze Period, and to that of Bronze and Iron transition."

Accepting this classification, let us first see about the long barrows of Wiltshire generally, and of this district in particular.

Dr. Thurnam counts as many as sixty of these large grave mounds in Wiltshire, of which eleven in the north of the county are chambered.[1] "If," he says, "we estimate the barrows of all sorts in the county at 2000 in number, this will give a proportion of one long barrow to about thirty-five round barrows. . . . Of the whole number, as many as twenty-four are on that part of Salisbury Plain which lies between the valley of the Salisbury Avon on the east and Warminster on the west, and between the Vale of Pewsey on the north and that of Wily on the south. In no other part of England are long barrows so numerous as on this part of Salisbury Plain, where, in an area of 150 square miles or thereabouts, we have on an average one in every six square miles. . . . It is a very rare circumstance to find two (long barrows) within sight or even within a mile's distance of each other; and generally they are two or three miles apart. In Wiltshire I know of only one decided exception to this rule, being that in the parish of Milston, on the very confines of Hampshire, where a small but true long barrow is seen to lie

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[1] "In this rough estimate I include the barrows levelled since the explorations of which there is record in 'Ancient Wilts.'"

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parallel with another of average proportions, and is only separated from it by an interval of about 100 yards. At Knowl Hill, on the southern border of the county, near Fordingbridge, are two long barrows of large size, which I have not myself seen, but which are laid down on the maps much nearer to each other than is at all common. As a rule long barrows occupy the highest points on the downs, in situations commanding extensive views over the adjoining valleys, and so as to be visible at a great distance. Salisbury Plain may be said to be guarded as it were by a series of such long barrows, which look down upon its escarpments like so many watch-towers. Others occupy elevated central spots on the interior of the plain; and some of these—as Ell-barrow and Knighton-barrow—are well-known landmarks to the hunter and wayfarer over these extensive and (in winter) dreary downs. Several of the clusters of round barrows near Stonehenge are grouped around, or in close proximity to, a single long barrow. On inspecting such a group as that on Winterbourne Stoke Down, where out of twenty-seven tumuli we find a single long barrow, or as that on Lake Down, where to twenty-three circular barrows of various forms we also have one long barrow, it might at first be thought that the long and circular barrows were of the same date, and that the elongated tumulus, as well as the variations in the forms of the round barrows, had its origin merely in the taste or caprice of those by whom it was erected. Knowing, however, as we do, that the examination of the long barrow discloses an entirely different method of sepulture, and indicates a much earlier epoch than does that of the round barrows, we come rather to regard them as the burial places of an earlier race, probably the original possessors of the soil, around which the tombs of a later and more cultivated people were afterwards erected. As a rule, these tumuli stand apart from those of circular form. . . . In by far the greater proportion of long barrows, the mound is placed east and west, or nearly so, with the east end somewhat higher and broader that the other. Under this more prominent and elevated extremity the sepulchral deposit is usually found at or near the natural level of the ground; but although this is the general rule, a certain proportion depart decidedly from such a system of

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orientation, being placed pretty nearly north and south, and this is an arrangement which I find obtains in about one out of six of our Wiltshire long barrows. In this case, as I have found by excavations, sometimes the south and sometimes the north end is the higher and broader of the two, and covers the sepulchral deposit. They vary in size from one or two hundred to three and even nearly four hundred feet in length, from thirty to fifty feet in breadth or upwards, and from three to ten or even twelve feet in elevation. Along each side of the whole length of the tumulus is a somewhat deep and wide trench or ditch, from which trenches no doubt a great part, or sometimes even the whole, of the material of the mound was dug, but which it is very remarkable are not continued round the ends of the barrow.

"The absence of chambered long barrows in South Wiltshire appears to be due to the fact that in those chalk regions there is an absence of stone suitable for the construction of chambers. In North Wilts the case is different; and sarsen stones of large dimensions and in great numbers are found in the hollows of the higher chalk downs. Of the chambered barrows of Wiltshire, which inclusive of Wayland's Smithy, just over the border are twelve in number, nine, all in the chalk district, have, the chambers formed of the hard silicious or sarsen stones."

Usually the human remains in the long barrows comprise numerous skeletons, which are described by Sir R. C. Hoare as "strangely huddled" or "thrown promiscuously together," or "as lying in a confused and irregular manner." In a large proportion of the long barrows opened by Dr. Thurnam, many of the skulls exhumed have been found to be cleft, apparently by a blunt weapon, such as a club or stone axe. From a minute examination of the fractures he thinks it evident that the violence was inflicted prior to burial, and in all probability during life. He hence concludes that the skeletons with cleft skulls are those of human victims immolated on the burial of a chief.[1] The body of the chief would be as a rule unmutilated, whilst marks of violence might be expected to be met

[1] On the "Ossuary" theory in opposition to the "Human Sacrifice theory" of Dr. Thurnam, see Professor Rolleston's paper "On the People of the Long Barrow Period," Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. v., No. ii., pp. 134, 5, 6.

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with in the remains of the slaves and retainers slaughtered in his honour. And in accordance with this conclusion it is not unusual, as already stated, to find one of the central skeletons with the skull entire, whilst in all the others it is more or less extensively cleft. The solitary skeleton which formed the primary interment in the Winterbourne Stoke long barrow was entire and unmutilated, and the absence of associated skulls with cleft skulls rendered it probable that the usual funeral rites were in this instance never completed. In the Tilshead Lodge long barrow, in which were two skeletons, the skull of one was cleft, while that of the other was intact. Dr. Thurnam, more over, considers it very probable that at this period anthropophagism prevailed, and sees "no difficulty in acceding to the conclusion of Mr. Greenwell, that in the disjointed, cleft, and broken condition of the human bones in many of the long barrows, and especially in those examined by him at Scamridge, near Ebberston, and near Rudston, Yorkshire, we have indications of funeral 'feasts, where slaves, captives, and others were slain and eaten.'"[1]

Dr. Thurnam often found not far from the human remains, though at a somewhat higher level, the bones of oxen, those of the skull and feet being the portions of the skeletons most generally met with. These he found to be of the small short-horned species, the *bos longifrons* or *bos brachyceros*. He concludes that oxen were slaughtered at the time of the obsequies for the supply of the funeral feast, and that the heads and feet, not being used for food, were thrown on the yet incomplete barrow, as offerings, perhaps, to the manes or other deities.

Out of thirty-one long barrows there are three cases in which the burial was attended by the burning of the dead. "The cremation however seems to have been of an imperfect and defective sort, quite different from that of the round barrow period; when, moreover, instead of the burning having been practised at the most in a tithe of the instances (in Wilts and the south-west of England), it was decidedly the more usual mode." According to Dr. Thurnam's enumeration

[1] Archæological Journal, 1865, xxii., 107.

of the circular barrows of Wiltshire, the exploration of which is recorded in the "Ancient Wiltshire," of Sir R. C. Hoare, and which he reckoned as three hundred and fifty-four in number, cremation had been practised in not fewer than two hundred and seventy-two instances, or in the proportion of rather more than three to one.

In no case whatever has any object of metal been found in the simple long barrows with the primary interment. The rarity of objects of flint and other stone, and those of bone, as well as pottery, is also very remarkable; and leads to the inference that those which have been met with have seldom been deposited intentionally, or as a necessary part of the funeral rites. Mr. Cunnington makes no mention of having found any flint implements or weapons in the long barrows opened by him and Sir R. C. Hoare, but Dr. Thurnam found in the Winterbourne long barrow, close to the right arm of the single skeleton which formed the primary interment a naturally "bludgeon-shaped flint about eight inches long, and well adapted for being grasped in the hand. From one end numerous flakes had been knocked off, and it had evidently constituted an object of considerable importance to its owner." In the Norton Bavant long barrow in which he found the remains of eighteen skeletons, there was a globular ball or nodule of flint, much battered, and weighing three pounds and three-quarters. "It lay close to one of the skulls, and had obviously been appropriated to some special purpose. It was possibly the instrument by which so many of the skulls had been fractured." From Fyfield, Walker's Hill, and Rodmarton long barrows, Dr. Thurnam and Mr. Lysons procured some very delicate and beautifully-chipped leaf-shaped arrow-heads, of which there are notices in "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries second series," iii., 168. Similar leaf-shaped arrow-heads of flint were found by Mr. Bateman in the long barrows of Derbyshire. Neither Sir R. C. Hoare nor Mr. Cunnington appear in any instance to have found earthen vases of any sort, or even fragments of such, with the primary interments. Dr. Thurnam found in the long barrow at Tinhead a fragment or two of rude black pottery of a peculiar character, thin, smooth on the outside, and having the clay of which it is formed mixed with pounded shells, apparently fossil

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shells of the district. At Norton Bavant, imbedded among the human skeletons, he discovered the greater part of a thin curious vase of a wide-mouthed semi-globular form, and which was capable of being partially restored. In both instances there is not the slightest trace of ornamentation, either by the pressure of cords or or thongs or by any other process; in this respect the contrast being great with most of the pottery from the round barrows.

It was fortunate that the opening and re-opening of these long barrows was carried out by one who was thoroughly conversant with craniology, and who was able to turn his scientific examinations to ethnological account. Sir R. C. Hoare and Mr. Cunnington took no note of the character of the skulls they discovered, nor did they preserve them.[1] The first skull obtained by Dr. Thurnam from an

[1] "The priority of the dolichocephalic skulls from the chambered and other long-barrows of Britain, was maintained by the late Mr. Bateman, who made so large a collection of the most ancient crania, associated implements and other remains, from the barrows excavated by himself and friends, in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Yorkshire. Mr. Bateman assigned the chambered barrows to 'the most remote antiquity, when the sole material for the spear and arrow was flint.' After exploring several such mounds (much less remarkable, however, in the size of their chambers than those of the Dobunian district), he says, 'the interments within the chambers have been many, and apparently continued over some length of time. They are marked by a strongly-defined type of skull, the more obvious feature being excessive elongation, and a laterally compressed appearance, enhanced sometimes by the sagittal suture being elevated into a ridge.' To a later period, he assigned the smaller barrows covering one or two skeletons, accompanied sometimes by objects of bronze in addition to those of flint, the crania from which, he says, are of a short round form." (Ten Years' Diggings, 1861, p. 146; Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1862, vol. vii., p. 210.) In the latter paper, Mr. Bateman says, p. 211: "While allowing the hazard of any attempt to generalize from data which are somewhat limited and imperfect, I am still induced to claim some degree of consideration for these observations which are of a classifying tendency, from their being the fruit of nine years' close examination of tumuli of many kinds, and a careful comparison of between one and two hundred crania derived from them." Dr. Wilson, the author of "Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," 1861, appears to have been fully alive to the great difference between these two classes of skulls. According to Dr. J. B. Davis, the coadjutor of Dr. Thurnam, in the "Crania Britannica," the first publication which called attention to the long and short skulls derived from ancient barrows, attributing them to different races, was, "Om Hovedskallerne og Beenradene i vore gamle Gravhöle, by Professor Eschricht, Dansk Fokeblad, 1837, p. 109.—"Cr. Brit." on Skull from Long Lowe Barrow, Staffordshire.

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unchambered long barrow, and which was also the first to be described, was from that at Winterbourne Stoke, in 1863. (Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London, 1864, i., 144, pl. I.) Since then he had accumulated twenty-seven skulls from the unchambered long barrows in South Wilts, which are all remarkably long and narrow, and designated *dolichocephalic*, *stenocephalic*, and *kumbecephalic*,[1] by modern craniologists. "In Europe, at the present day, there is no people with skulls so long and so narrow; and we have to search for cranial proportions similar to those of the old long barrow folk far away in Africa, India, Australia, or the Melanesian Islands. The contrast in form between the long skulls from the long barrows and the short or round skulls, which to say the least, prevail in our Wiltshire circular barrows, is most interesting and remarkable, and suggests an essential distinction of race in the peoples by whom the two forms of tumuli were respectively constructed."[2]

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[1] "Long-headed," "narrow-headed," "boat-shaped."

[2] "The mean stature, derived from 52 measurements was 5 feet 6 inches for the men of the Long Barrows, and 5 feet 9 inches, for those of the Round Barrows."—Thurnam Mem. Anthrop. Soc., iii., 71. Very different was the stature of some skeletons found at Lundy Island, in the Bristol Channel, a few years ago, of which the writer procured the following account for Dr. Thurnam from the son of Mr. Heaven, the chief resident on the island: "The skeletons were found on the top of the island, about 2 feet under ground, in digging foundations for a wall for farm buildings; the ground was slightly mounded; if artificial, it must have been some time ago, as it was always taken for a natural rise in the land. The number of the more perfect skeletons was seven, lying in a row with the heads to the West. The first in the row, a male, measured 8 feet 5 inches; by the head were placed two upright stones with the head lying in a little hollow, and protected by a third stone. None of the others had any appearance of coffins by them but great numbers of limpet shells. The one measured was measured by my father, by whose orders the remains were buried again, but I am afraid much injured by the workmen in doing so. Some pottery and some beads were found with them. About thirty yards from one male skeleton were those of a woman and child. Mr. Etheridge, then curator of the British Institution, showed some of the pottery to a friend of his, an antiquary, I believe, who said it was undoubtedly Ancient British. I believe a slight notice of the discovery appeared in a Bristol paper. The ground was not fully explored." The writer would have been glad, if he could have met with this newspaper notice. He was informed of the discovery by the late Commander R. W. Hardy, R.N., who was acquainted with Mr. Heaven, and wrote to him for the above information.

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To make shorter work of this most interesting subject, which ought to be carefully studied in the two papers entitled "Principal Forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls," and "On the Two Forms of Ancient British Skulls," both contributed by Dr. Thurnam to the Memoirs of the Anthropological Society, the writer will print two extracts from the former paper, which will give a general sketch of Dr. Thurnam's views respecting the respective occupants of the long and short barrows:—

"The evidence before us appears to favour the conclusion, that whilst in Britain the chambered long barrows were erected by a dolichocephalous race, in Gaul such tombs were raised by a brachycephalous as well as by a dolichocephalous one, though especially by the former. Hence the inference, that the two races came into contact in Gaul at an earlier period than in Britain. In this country, it has been shown that the evidence is in favour of the dolichocephalous race having preceded the brachycephalous; by whom it seems to have been absorbed, or, as is less likely, extirpated. In Britain, the remains of the brachycephalous Celtic race do not distinctly appear except in the circular tumuli, which are generally to be referred to the ago of bronze; whilst the chambered and other long barrows of the stone age, so far as yet examined, always contain skeletons with crania of a dolichocephalic type. . . . . In order to connect the dolichocephalic crania from the megalithic tombs of the stone period in Britain, with those of the Basques, and, through them, with the ancient Iberians, we require to know the form of the ancient Iberians' skull, as revealed to us by researches in the most ancient tombs of Aquitania and Spain, and especially in the south of the Peninsula. . . . So far as I have been able to ascertain, the form of skull which prevails in the Peninsula, at the present day, is preponderatingly dolichocephalous, and is thus strongly contrasted with the more cranial form of modern France. . . . That the Iberian[1] race extended itself into Gaul,

[1] Mr. Henry Lawes Long, in his work on the "Early Geography of Western Europe," (1859, Reeve,) considers from the application of the linguistic test, that no tribe of Iberic origin ever made a settlement in Britain. From the central or Celtic division of Gaul, he thought that we might

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at least as far as the Garonne, is on all hands admitted. The limits of its original distribution in that country form a legitimate subject for enquiry. In Britain, many circumstances point to an Iberian source for at least part of the earliest population, especially in the south-west of the island. Tacitus remarks the dark complexion and curly hair, which, in his day, were believed to indicate the Iberian origin of the Silures,[1] especially named, perhaps, as representative of the south-western tribes. The description of the Cassiterides preserved in Strabo, is, no doubt, likewise applicable to the Damnonian peninsula, also the place of resort of the Phœnicians of Gades. This evidently very ancient notice represents the inhabitants as nomadic and pastoral, and as habited in long tunics covered by black mantles—a garb apparently identical with that of the Iberians, who are likewise described as *melanchlæni*, or dark robed,[2] and which is in striking contrast with the bright party-coloured dress of the Gauls. Altogether, the doctrine of an Iberian, or Ibero-Phœnician origin of a very early, perhaps the earliest, population of at least part of Britain, though not as yet proved, derives much additional weight from the comparison here instituted of the skulls of the British dolichocephali of the stone period with those of the Basques."

safely infer that some colonies issued and established themselves to a consider-extent in our island, although the fact of their advent has not been so much noticed in history as that of the emigrants from the Belgic states; this he would explain by the circumstance of their arrival having occurred at a much earlier period in history, of their being more barbarous than the Belgic settlers, who by a later immigration probably introduced the improved civilisation of the continent, with which from their maritime situation, they continued to preserve a closer intimacy; nevertheless, the immigrants from Celtic Gaul, occupying the central parts of Britain, formed a people of great bravery and power, and seem to have attained a supremacy over the other inhabitants, and to have been the foremost in all the opposition which withstood so vigorously the arms of the Romans.

[1] "Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt." (Vit. Agric, c. xi.) Dionysius, and his paraphraser Priscian, say expressly that the Cassiterides were peopled by the Iberians: "populus tenuit quas fortis Iberi." (Dion. Perie, v. 563. Priscan, Perieg, v., 578.) The question of an Iberian origin for an intrusive or pre-Celtic population in Britain is discussed in its historical bearings, in Cran. Brit., chap. v. § 2, pp. 52—58.

[2] Strabo lib. iii., c. 5, § 11: comp. lib. iii., c. 3, § 7: Diod. Sicul. lib. v., c. 33.

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The long barrow at Winterbourne Stoke has led us into a lengthy (but it is hoped, not an uninteresting,) notice of the characteristics of barrows of this description, and of the ethnological theories respecting those interred in them, which have been formed by some of the most careful and scientific of the antiquarians of our age. The account given by Dr. Thurnam of the opening of this barrow (at which the writer was present,) shall be given in a note;[1] and

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[1] "About a mile-and-a-half to the west of Stonehenge, on the boundary of the parishes of Winterbourne Stoke and Wilsford, is a cluster of circular barrows, which, as in many other instances, are grouped around an immensely long tumulus. The twenty-six tumuli, which, in addition to the long barrow, form this group, are mostly of the more elegant, and probably less ancient, forms. In five, the interment has not been found; two, however, are those absurdly called 'pond barrows,' and probably not sepulchral. Of the twenty-one, seven have been raised over the entire body, and fourteen over the burnt remains. All are probably of the 'bronze period;' and in three, containing skeletons, and one, burnt bones, there were fine blades or pins of that metal, one of the last with an ivory handle. Drinking cups, or other earthen vases, were obtained from four of the barrows; and there was a bone pin with another of the deposits after cremation. The tumulus is about 240 feet in length, and nine in height at the north east end, where it has a breadth of about 65 feet; at the other extremity it is not quite so high or broad. The summit is thrown up almost to an acute ridge, but at the two ends the surface is more rounded. On each side is a trench stretching the whole length of the barrow, but, as usual, not continued round either end. A large excavation at the south-west extremity, disclosed no sepulchral traces; and this immense mound, with an interment only at one end, was no doubt intended as much for a monument as a tomb. At the north-eastern end., about two feet below the highest part of the tumulus were six skeletons, viz; one of a man of about sixty years, one of a young woman under twenty, one of a child about seven, and three of infants of less than two years, the youngest, perhaps, fœtal. The skull of the man lay to the north-east, that of the woman to the south-west. *Secondary* interments of the Anglo-Saxon period have been found near the summit of long barrows; but these were obviously British, as shown by the flexed position of the skeletons, by an empty vase of very coarse British pottery, and an oval flint knife. The male skull is well preserved, and of extremely brachycephalic type; the skulls of the woman and children were obtained in a fragmentary condition, but the latter present the same well-marked type, with the occiput flattened. These interments can hardly have been other than secondary, and of a later date than that for which the tumulus was erected; and it became a question whether, on the primary interments being reached, the skull would prove of the same, or of dolichocephalic type. Continuing the excavation, the chalk rubble was dug through, to a depth of six feet, into a stratum of black unctuous earth, of which the lower third of the barrow through its entire length seems to have been formed. At a further depth of three feet, the chalk rock

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leaving his description of the chambered long barrows of North Wilts and Gloucestershire, the writer will as briefly as possible, give a *resumé* of the Doctor's account of the other barrows which encircle Stonehenge. He classifies them as to external form as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bowl-shaped | 278 |
| 2. | Bell-shaped | 40 |
| 3. | Disc-shaped | 36 |
| | Total | 354 |

I. The bowl-shaped barrow is the simplest form of tumulus
with throughout the whole of the British Isles. The variety in
shape and size of the bowl-barrow is considerable. The fo
the majority may be compared to that of the third of an orang
horizontally. The prevailing height is from three to five fee
diameter the usual limits are between twenty and sixty feet, t
in rare instances one hundred feet is reached and even ex
Dr. Thurnam believes it must be allowed that the bowl-shape
primitive form of the circular barrow. Occasionally it is sur
by a slight ditch.

was reached, where were the remains of the original interment; viz.
ton of a man laid on the right side, with the knees drawn up in a
tracted posture, and the head to the south-west. Close to the righ
natural bludgeon-shaped flint, about 8 inches long, well adapt
grasped in the hand; from one end of which numerous flakes had
off. The skull was dolichocephalic; though less decidedly so tha
crania from the chambered barrows. Near the back of the hea
'cist' or hole, scooped out of the chalk rock, about 18 inches wide
in depth. Two feet further to the north, were two similar cists
but somewhat larger, and scarcely so deep. These holes, like
the long barrows of South Wilts, had perhaps been used for d
and drink, as a *viati*[illegible] for the dead [illegible]ibly for the bl
victims, whose ma[illegible] appe[illegible]ave been burie
of their chief in t[illegible]uli. [illegible]red bones of
animals were fou[illegible]mit, [illegible]ard from
primary intermen[illegible] of an o
skeleton was th[illegible] viz.,
inches." (Dr. Thur[illegible] Anci
Gaulish S[illegible]," prin[illegible]opo
of Lo[illegible]

Of the two hundred and seventy-eight bowl-shaped barrows, seventy-one appear to have contained skeletons, and the remainder (two hundred and seven) burnt bones. The "oval" form of the bowl barrow is a diminutive kind of long barrow, and differs from it in having a ditch all round it. An example of this kind of barrow is No. 49. These barrows belong to the same people and epoch as the round barrows, and especially those of the bowl form.

2. The bell-shaped barrow,[1] an elegant form of tumulus, moulded with much accuracy and symmetry, in a sort of bell-shape. "It is surrounded by a circular ditch, from which part of the material of the mound has been dug, and within this there is a flat circular area on the same level as the surrounding turf. In the centre of this

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[1] In Derbyshire, according to Mr. Bateman, almost all the tumuli are bowl-shaped. In the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, the barrows, which are numerous, are, with scarcely an exception, of the bowl-shape. In Scotland there are no disc-shaped or bell-shaped barrows. The barrows in the Orkneys are bowl-shaped and conoid. The conoid, few in number, are remarkable from their size and great height in proportion to their base. The barrows near Bircham, in Norfolk, are of the bell-shaped form. In Sussex, near Chichester, are campaniform barrows, and on the Sussex down are disc-shaped barrows. On the Mendip Hills the barrows are bowl-shaped, and on the noble ridge-way between Dorchester and Weymouth hardly any other than bowl-shaped are to be distinguished. Mr. Charles Warne says of the Dorset tumuli that the prevailing form is bowl-shaped, frequently surrounded by a shallow fosse. Mr. Sydenham observes that "as the explorer advances in a north-eastern direction towards the adjoining county of Wilts, the barrows present increasing evidence of greater refinement and of a further advance in art." Dr. Thurnam thinks that he alludes chiefly to the richer character of the objects found in the barrows of Wiltshire, but may likewise refer to their frequently more elaborate external form. In that very north-eastern corner of Dorsetshire to which Mr. Sydenham refers, is the well-known group of tumuli, at Woodyates, many of bell and disc-shape, which may compete for beauty with those in the neighbourhood of [illegible]nehenge itself. The evidence afforded by the distribution of the different [illegible] of barrows, goes far to prove that the Durotriges were an aboriginal or [illegible] tribe, whose territory may have been encroached on, but was never [illegible]er-run or subjugated by the immigrant Belgæ. [According to Dr. [illegible]hole north-eastern angle of Dorsetshire, embracing the district of [illegible] miles from the present boundary of Wiltshire, belonged, not to [illegible] to the Belgæ.] From Mr. J. T. Blight we learn that bell- [illegible]re in Cornwall. (Condensed from Dr. Thurnam's paper, [illegible] 43.)



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The following is Dr. Thurnam's classification of circular barrows in equal areas around Abury and Stonehenge:—

| | Avebury. | | | Stonehenge. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | | Per Cent. | No. | | Per Cent. |
| Bowl-shaped | 84 | | 80 | 191 | | 70 |
| Bell-shaped | 12 | 10.5 | 20 | 44 | 16 | 30 |
| Disc-shaped | 10 | 9.5 | | 40 | 14 | |
| Total | 106 | | 100 | 275 | | 100 |

"If we look at the relative proportions, it will be seen that in the Stonehenge district half as many more are of the more elaborate forms as in that of Avebury. The invention or introduction of bell-shaped and disc-shaped tumuli must be regarded as a more recent event in the Avebury-district than in that of Stonehenge. It is certain also that these types of barrow are of decidedly more elegant form in the last-named district. The bell-shaped barrows, in particular, are higher and more conical, and as a rule, stand on platforms of larger extent. Many of the bowl-shaped barrows near Avebury, as in North Wilts in general, are trenched close to the base, and in this respect show an approximation to the bell-shaped barrow, which to some degree they represent in this district. Altogether, it is probable that the elaborate bell-shaped and disc-shaped grave-mounds were invented by the people who built Stonehenge, and who, in its construction, manifested a great advance in the arts over those aboriginal tribes by whom rude, though gigantic, megalithic circles, like those of Avebury and Arbor Lowe, were most likely erected."

## Character of Interments in Round Barrows.

"Out of the 354 circular barrows, of the more or less successful opening of which there is a record in Sir R. C. Hoare's volumes, the primary interment in 272 appears to have consisted of burnt, and in 82 of unburnt, bodies. Many observations show that the two practices must often have been strictly contemporary. On the plain, within a mile-and-a-half of Stonehenge, are two fine bell-shaped tumuli of very similar size and proportions, in such close proximity that their surrounding trenches reciprocally intersect, so as to constitute them a kind of twin barrow, leaving little doubt of their

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having been erected at the same period.[1] In both, the primary interment was found at the base of the barrow, not less that fourteen feet deep. In the first, the deposit consisted of burnt bones, inclosed in a coffer of elm wood. In the second, the primary interment was represented by an entire skeleton, lying in a rude coffin, likewise, as believed, formed of the trunk of an elm. The contemporary character of the two tumuli was shown, not merely by their proximity and external form, and the mode of burial in wooden coffers, but also by the almost identical character of the accompanying relics, which comprised unusually fine objects of bronze, the more remarkable being blades of daggers, and perhaps spears.[2]"

### Posture of Skeletons.

"The posture of the skeletons, the remains of primary interments in circular barrows of the ancient British period, is very remarkable. As regards Wiltshire, it may be stated that, without recorded exception, the skeleton has been found in a contracted posture, with the knees drawn up towards the trunk, the legs bent on the thighs, and the arms more or less drawn up towards the chest and face."[3] In thirty-five out of fifty-five cases in which the position of the skeleton is recorded, the head was directed to the north, six to the north-east, two to the north-west, five to the east, three to the west, three to the south-east, and one to the south-west.

### Cinerary Urns.

Dr. Thurnam, when analysing the results of Mr. Cunnington's and Sir R. C. Hoare's excavations, recorded in "Ancient Wiltshire," found that in sixty-eight out of two hundred and seventy-two cases in which the primary interment had been preceded by cremation, the burnt bones were collected into cinerary urns. The urns were sometimes placed upright, at others in an inverted position. Sir R.

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[1] Nos. 15 and 16 in the Winterbourn Stoke group.

[2] Ancient Wilts, i., 121, 2, 3, and plate xv.

[3] "That the contracted posture of the skeleton is universal, or all but universal in ancient British barrows, would likewise appear from the researches of the Rev. W. Greenwell, whose table of fifty-eight unburnt interments in Yorkshire and other northern counties shows no exception." Archæologia, xliii., 318, and Lubbock, Preh. Times, 2nd edition, p. 138.

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C. Hoare is no doubt correct in saying they are much more frequently found inverted. The urns of larger size are indeed almost always in this position. Sometimes the urn had been lined with leaves of fern or bracken (*Pteris aquilina*) before the burnt bones were placed in it. More often apparently, at least in Wiltshire, they were inclosed in linen cloth, of which fabric Sir R. C. Hoare found traces in at least six instances. Sometimes the mouth of the urn was covered by a large flat stone, as in the barrow on Tan Hill, opened in 1855; at other times with flints as in two barrows near Little Durnford; and with unburnt clay, firmly rammed in![1] Very commonly the urn when deposited was protected by being inclosed in a heaped-up pile of flints. In six of the barrows the burnt bones were not inclosed in fictile urns, nor merely in a simple cist or grave, but in a coffer or shell rudely formed out of the unbarked trunk of a tree. In one case a more carefully-made chest of elm wood seems to have been fastened together with rivets and strips of bronze.

### Objects Deposited with the Dead.

"In the following table the barrows in 'Ancient Wiltshire' are classed according as the interments were accompanied by objects of one sort or other, disregarding occasional and less significant combinations :—

#### Round Barrows.

| | Unburnt Bodies. | Burnt Bodies. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| With urns or other fictile vessels only | 17 | 67 | 84 |
| „ implements of bone | 2 | 14 | 16 |
| „ „ of stone | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| „ „ of stone and bronze | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| „ „ of bronze[2] | 14 | 58 | 72 |
| „ ornaments only | 9 | 20 | 29 |
| With objects | 53 | 165 | 218 |
| Without objects | 29 | 107 | 136 |
| Total | 82 | 272 | 354 |

[1] Wilts Arch. Mag., vi., 326; Ancient Wilts, i., 221; Archæologia, xxx., 60.

[2] The bronze implements comprised twenty-two awls (without other implements), four celts, and about fifty blades of knives or daggers, sometimes two, three, with the same interment.

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The writer has drawn largely upon Dr. Thurnam's work (which must always be the standard book on Wiltshire barrows) because it seemed of importance to set before those who are interested in Stonehenge the characteristics of those traces which these grave-mounds afford us of the civilization and customs of the builders and frequenters of this sacred place. But it is impossible to follow him far into all the details relating to the pottery, and stone, bone, and bronze implements, discovered in the South Wilts barrows. They can only be touched upon here very cursorily.

POTTERY.

The pottery is all more or less rude, formed of clay, mixed with minute pebbles, or fragments of broken flint or quartz, or sometimes with pounded chalk or shells, recent or fossil. For the finer vessels the clay has been tempered by the admixture of some sort of grit or sharp sand. All seems to have been hand-made; to have been partly dried by exposure to the air, and then baked, rather than burnt, in the ashes of a fire lighted over and around it. The ornamentation was generally made by the finger or finger-nail, and from the size of the markings Dr. Thurnam is inclined to think that the makers of our British fictilia, like the potters of existing American and African tribes, and lately even in the Hebrides, were of the female sex. Other modes of ornamentation were by means of twisted cord, sticks serrated at the edge, and pieces of wood or bone. Dr. Thurnam arranges these fictile vessels as follows :—

I. Culinary vessels.
II. Sepulchral vessels.

| With burnt bodies. | With unburnt bodies. |
|---|---|
| 1. Cinerary urns. | 3. Food vessels. |
| 2. Incense cups. | 4. Drinking cups. |
| 3. Food vessels (rarely). | |

Of the sepulchral pottery three forms were discriminated by Hoare, the cinerary urn, the drinking cup, and incense cup. To these, Mr. Bateman added the food vessel. The true cinerary urn was probably made to contain ashes, and the incense cup may likewise have been usually designed for funereal rites. The decorated food vase and drinking cup seem, however, to have belonged to what we may term

the table-ware of pre-historic Britain. Rude as many of these latte appear to us, they would be classed with the vessels for honourabl use in the households of the period. Though made for the living they were likewise habitually buried with the dead, and hence pass ove into our sepulchral class. These vessels Dr. Thurnam has found i the form of bowls and jars, pans and pannikins, large pots often wit perforated ears, cooking pots, pipkins, with handles, small cups, an strainers. Cinerary urns, or urns designed for the reception of burn bones, are of every size, from the capacity of less than a pint t that of more than a bushel. Urns of nine or ten inches hig are medium sized, those from one foot to fifteen inches large, an above this height exceptionally large, and very rare. The larges Dr. Thurnam knew are two feet or very little more in height, c which one from Wiltshire is in the Blackmore Museum. It wa exhumed at Bishopstone; and measures 24½ inches. The Stoneheng urn, of which a wood engraving copied from that in Hoare's "Tumul Wiltunenses," is given, is 22½ inches high, and 15 wide.

Of the sixty-eight cases in which the burnt bones, as recorded b Hoare, have been collected into urns, there were sixteen or nearl one in four, accompanied by bronze objects; viz., eight by the blade of knives or daggers, seven by awls, and one by both.

Dr. Thurnam sub-divides cinerary urns into those

*a.* With overhanging rim:
*b.* With moulded rim.
*c.* With border in place of rim.
*d.* Barrel-shaped.
*e.* Flower-pot shaped.
*f.* Cylindrical.
*g.* Globular.
} Almost peculiar to the Dorsetshire barrows.

For examples of *a.* see "Ancient Wilts," vol. i., title page, an plate viii., and No. 257 in the Stourhead collection.

For example of *b.* see "Ancient Wilts," i., pl. xiii.; pl. xvi. pl. xxviii., fig. 1.

For example of *c.* see "Wilts Archæological Magazine," vi., 73 These urns have sometimes handles.

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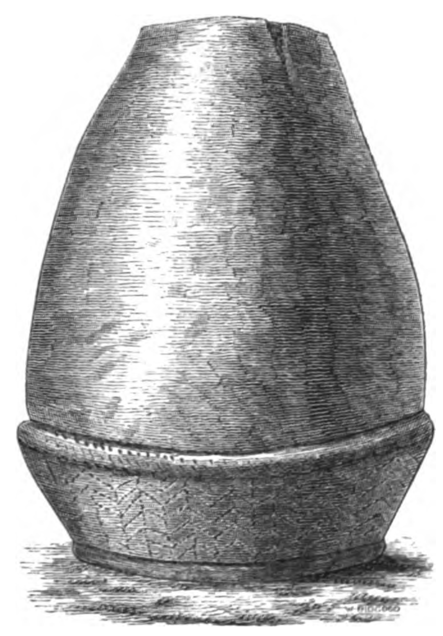

**Sepulchral Urn, with overhanging rim, 16 inches in height, 11 in diameter.**
**From group of Barrows, near Woodyates.**

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**The Stonehenge Urn.**

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**The Stonehenge Urn.**

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· example of *d.* see "Ancient Wilts," i., pl. xvi., "The Stone-
· urn," and woodcut of it on opposite page.
· an example of *e.* see Thurnam's "Ancient British Barrows,"
eologia, xliii., plate xxx., fig. 7.
an example of *f.* see Thurnam's "British Barrows," plate
fig. 8.
an example of *g.* see Thurnam's British Barrows," plate xxx.,

ense cups. "The small fictile vessels, first named 'Incense
by Hoare—a name which, for the present at least, it is ex-
t to retain—are a rather frequent accompaniment of interments
cremation: about one in eleven of those in the barrows of
ire being so accompanied. Sir Richard registers the discovery
nty-six, twenty-four of which are in the museum at Stourhead,
elve figured in vol. i. of Ancient Wilts, Of the whole num-
ur were inclosed with the burnt bones in cinerary urns; the
der with deposits of the same description in shallow graves,
he floor of the barrows." Dr. Thurnam distinguishes them as
:—

he simple cup, in which the sides deviate but slightly from
pendicular.
The contracted cup, in which the sides are bevelled in to-
a narrow mouth and base.
The expanded cup, in which the upper part spreads out into
y-dilated mouth.
more important varieties of the incense cup are these:—

*a.* The nodulated cup.
*b.* The compressed cup.
*c.* The handled cup.
*d.* The basket cup.
*e.* The slashed cup.
*f.* The strainer cup.

hese types and varieties are found in the barrows of Wiltshire,
are almost peculiar to them. Of the nodulated cups seven
wn. Three are described by Hoare (i., pl. xi., pl. xxiv.);
m barrows near Abury are described by Dean Merewether
Arch. Inst., Salisbury, pp. 93, 108, fig. 2, 3); and another is
Bristol Museum, having been found in a barrow at Priddy,

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East Somerset. "This part of Somersetshire must have been within the districts of the Belgæ, beyond whose limits no such cups have been found." Of the "basket cup," the sides of which are open and resemble basket-work, the best example was obtained by Mr. Albert Way, from a tumulus at Bulford, four miles from Stonehenge. An engraving of it is to be seen on page 366 of "Archæologia," vol. xliii. Of the slashed cup, the sides of which are slashed with vertical openings, distinct from those of basket-work, the best example is from a Wiltshire barrow near Stonehenge, and is figured on plate xxv. of "Ancient Wilts," vol. i. Of the strainer cup from Lake, within sight of Stonehenge, and which is perforated at the bottom with twenty-four holes, like a colander, and with two holes at one side, an engraving is given in plate xxx. of "Ancient Wilts," vol. i. A very large proportion of these little vessels are pierced on one side with two holes, from half-an-inch to two inches apart. There are exceptions with a large number of holes, but the rule is to have two holes on one side only. It would have been difficult to suspend these cups with holes so made. If they were used as lamps the side holes might be intended for fastening them by wooden pegs in some safe corner of the building. Embers may have been placed in them, and on these embers incense, as in vessels found in France, with Christian interments of the middle age; which to complete the analogy with these cups, have holes in the side. "On the whole, the view expressed by the designation of incense cup, given to these vessels by Hoare, carries with it much probability; and the name can scarcely now be changed without clear proof of some different intention."

Food vessels are rare in the barrows of Wiltshire and the south of England. They are usually from four to five inches in height, and of an urn, flowerpot, or bowl-shape, with wide mouth, narrow foot, the shoulders moulded, as also the lip without and within. They are often scarcely to be discriminated from cinerary urns of the second type, except by their size, and by being found empty, or at the most containing traces of organic matters. Dr. Thurnam found four varieties or types of them: *a.* undecorated urn-shaped; *b.* partially decorated urn-shaped; *c.* decorated bowl-shaped; *d.* decorated shallow

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Drinking Cup, from Barrow, No. 93.

*Half size.*

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bowl-shaped. A very coarse Wiltshire example of the first variety is that from a secondary interment of the round-barrow period, found near the summit of the long-barrow at Winterbourn Stoke. It is figured on page 379 of "Archæologia" vol. xliii. An example of the second, also figured by Dr. Thurnam, which was found in a barrow at Collingbourn is in the museum at Devizes.[1] "That no food vessels of the third variety have been found in the round barrows of Wiltshire is the more remarkable as fragments of such were obtained from the chambered long-barrow at West Kennet, in that county." The last variety is confined to Ireland. These vessels have probably contained offerings of food and drink such as savage and half-civilized nations still place in the tomb, and seem to have been employed for some pultaceous food or pottage which almost everywhere forms the staple diet of man before, and often for ages after, he adopts the use of bread.

The most handsome of the fictile vases of ancient Britain are the drinking cups. They are usually tall vessels of seven or eight inches in height, thin and well-baked, made from clay tempered with sand or finely-pounded stone; the colour, varying from a light brown to a somewhat bright red. The general capacity is from two to three pints. The ornamentation is profuse; the surface, covered with markings incised or punctured, symmetrically arranged in horizontal bands, which, in the more ornate, alternate with square, oblong, or chequer-shaped compartments, placed vertically or obliquely, and variously filled in. Drinking cups are the accompaniment of unburnt bodies, and were placed in the grave near the head, or more frequently (in Wiltshire twice as often), near the feet. In two instances, however, out of two hundred and seventy-two burnt interments in the Wiltshire barrows, this form of vessel was found, perhaps employed from caprice, or in the absence of others of more appropriate form. Dr. Thurnam distinguishes three principal types of drinking cups, chiefly from the character of the brim, two of which belong to England and one to Scotland: *a.* high-brimmed globose cup; *b.* ovoid cup with recurved rim; *c.* low-brimmed cup.

[1] See Wilts Arch. Mag., x., 93. It was at the feet of the skeleton of a child, [illegible] near the centre of the mound.

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The first is the prevailing type in South Britain, to which four-fifths, probably, of the known examples belong. The body or lower part is more or less globular; the upper, separated from the lower by a constriction, frequently very defined, spreads out somewhat like the calyx of a flower, and forms a brim which almost equals the lower part in height. The sides of this brim, whether more or less erect or sloping, are straight, and not recurved at the tip. The ornamentation is profuse and elaborate. Of the second type seven examples have been yielded by the Wiltshire barrows. The cup from the Winterslow Hut barrow is figured by Dr. Thurnam, pl. xxxi., fig, 2. The third form prevails in Scotland. In very rare cases drinking cups have handles, but none have been found in Wiltshire.

Of the implements and weapons of stone obtained in Sir R. C. Hoare's excavations, Dr. Thurnam gives the following table:—

IMPLEMENTS AND WEAPONS OF STONE.

| | Unburnt Bodies. | Burnt Bodies. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Celts of flint, partly polished | 4 | ... | 4 |
| Hammer-axes, polished and perforated | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Hammers | 2 | ... | 2 |
| Dagger-blades of chipped flint | 2 | ... | 2 |
| Javelin-head | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Arrow-heads, leaf-shaped, of chipped flint | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| „ barbed | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Knives and scrapers | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Whetstones, grooved | 3 | ... | 3 |
| Polished Hone-stones, perforated | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| „ „ un-perforated | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| „ Stones, use doubtful | 2 | ... | 2 |
| „ Wrist-guards | ... | ... | ... |
| „ Gorgets, perforated | 2 | ... | 2 |
| Total | 31 | 20 | 51 |

Of stone implements found in the barrows around Stonehenge, mention can only be made of the following: four stone hatchets or wedges, commonly known as *celts*, were discovered with unburnt bodies; three with the same interment in a barrow at Upton Lovel. All these last were of flint; two being more or less ground or

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polished, and at the broader end presenting a fine semi-lunar cutting edge. In the same barrow were as many as sixty rudely-made bone implements, and a perforated stone hammer-axe. "This is the only interment known to me in which stone celts and perforated hammer-axes have been found together. It must belong to the time when the former were in process of being superseded by the latter, or were about to be so superseded. But even this interment, the richest of any in objects of stone and bone, though regarded by both Cunnington and Hoare as of the Stone age, cannot be accepted as strictly of that period. This is proved by the insignificant bronze pin or awl found with the interment, which is figured in 'Archæologia' (xv., 125, pl. iv., fig. 5), though not in 'Ancient Wilts.'" One of the most beautiful and elaborately-polished stone celts known to Dr. Thurnam was said to have been derived from a barrow near Stonehenge. It was formerly in the Leverian Museum, and is now in the possession of the Rev. H. H. Winwood, of Bath. It is a dark stone, with delicate golden veins, polished all over, of a regular almond form, sharply pointed at one end, and measures 7 by 3 inches, and not more than 1 inch thick. It is of the rare type described by Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 96—98, fig. 52. A stone hammer, found in a barrow (? 18) of the Wilsford group, is engraved at page 411 of the "Archæologia," vol. 43. Two perforated axes, the one 8¾, the other 7 inches long, both stated to be from barrows near Stonehenge, are to be seen, one in the British Museum, the other in the Christy collection. Both are of exceptional size, much larger than any in the Stourhead Museum. The latter is of beautiful greenstone, and finished with a groove at the edges. Dr. Thurnam found four leaf-shaped javelin-heads of flint in an oval barrow (No. 49) within a few yards of the western end of the low earthwork known as the "smaller cursus," which are fully described (and two of them figured) in the eleventh volume of the Society's Magazine. Three of them are engraved in Mr. Evans' "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 330. A flint knife, 2½ inches in length, chipped on the convex border, from a secondary interment in the long barrow at Winterbourn Stoke, belongs to the Round Barrow period. It is engraved at page 420 of "Archæologia," vol. xliii.

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Two long narrow stones, carefully formed and polished all over, and remarkable for their tenuity, being 4½ inches long, 3¼ inch broad, and scarcely more than a ¼ inch thick, flat on one side, and rounded on the other, were found by Sir Richard Hoare in barrow No. 5. He describes them as "two pieces of a dark coloured slaty kind of stone, lying parallel with each other, which are engraved in 'Tumuli,' plate xiv." Dr. Thurnam obtained an object of this sort, of fine micaceous sandstone, precisely agreeing with the stone of the large flat slab in the centre of Stonehenge, from a barrow on the plain (No. 170) about a mile from the stones. (See note at page 93.)

Dr. Thurnam considered that some of the pebbles and stones found in the tumuli may have been preserved for their rarity and beauty, and others as amulets or fetishes. "It is not possible," he says, "to decide under which of these categories we must place 'the kidney-formed pebble of the sardonyx kind,' of a sea-green colour, curiously striated and spotted, or the 'small red pebble,' found, the one with a burnt, and the other with an unburnt body." [1]

In the following table the implements and other objects of bone obtained during Sir Richard Hoare's excavations are enumerated, according as they were found with burnt or unburnt bodies:—

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[1] "Ancient Wilts," i., 165, 183, pl. xxii. A bead of stone, neatly grooved round the edges, was found in one of the Barrows at Lake. (Ib. i., 211., pl. xxx., fig. 7.) A beautifully-veined stone, polished and perforated, from a burnt interment at Winterbourne Stoke (figured Archæologia, 43, p. 431), may, as Hoare suggests, have been worn "suspended as an amulet." Fossils were also prized; as for instance what Hoare calls "a pair of petrified cockle-shells" found with bronze and ivory relics in a barrow at Winterbourn Stoke (No. 25,) but which, one being still preserved at Stourhead, we know were Brachiopods, or lamp-shells (*Terebratula* or *Rhynconella*,) several species of which occur in the Wiltshire strata. In the barrow at Upton Lovel, at the legs of the larger skeleton, with several perforated boars's tusks, and bone and stone implements, were, "a handful of small pebbles of different colours, several not to be found in the neighbourhood," and as many as five ætites, or eagle-stones, broken in two and forming a rude kind of Cup. Mr. Cunnington, who opened this barrow in 1801, was much puzzled as to the use of these stones, which however were amulets of great reputed virtue. The analogy, such as it is, between a hollow stone, "in a manner pregnant, having another stone within, as if in its womb," led to the notion of its having a wonderful power of retarding or accelerating delivery. Directions for its use are given by Pliny, and it retained its reputation as late as the last century, when it had still a place in the London Dispensatory.

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## Objects of Bone.

| | Unburnt Bodies. | Burnt Bodies. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bone pins | 6 | 12 | 18 |
| „ weapons? | 63 [1] | 1 | 64 |
| „ mesh-rules | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| „ wrist-guard | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Hafts of deer-horn | 3 | ... | 3 |
| Hammer-head of horn | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Pick of „ | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Pipe of bone, perforated | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Tube | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Dice (?) | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Tweezers of bone | ... | 7 | 7 |
| | 78 | 22 | 100 |

Pins of various sizes, from one to nine inches in length, formed from the fibulæ and splint-bones of the legs of quadrupeds, of which the horse, deer, and goat have been identified, are often found with interments. There are many at Stourhead, of which about one third have had the head perforated as if for suspension or attachment. Many were probably used for fastening the cloak of skins or coarse woollen sagum, which formed the clothing. The same which secured the dress of the living may have served to have fastened the skin or cloth in which the remains of the dead, burnt or unburnt, were wrapped. Single bone pins were found by Hoare with eighteen interments, or about once in every twenty graves. Relatively, they were half as frequent again with burnt as with unburnt bodies. One from a barrow at Wilsford is at Stourhead. In one of the Lake barrows, Mr Duke found four "bone instruments" (pins) at the head of an unburnt body, the finest three and a half inches long, perforated. A "tube of bone" from a barrow (No. 18) of the Wilsford group, was perhaps the mouth-piece of a musical instrument, (figured on p. 439 of Archæologia 43). Four small objects of bone, of the same form and size, viz., about $\frac{6}{10}$ in. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, flat below and convex above, and each marked with a different device,

[1] Sixty of this number were with a single interment.

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except one which is left blank on both sides, were found with a burnt interment, accompanied by a small bronze blade, at Lake, near Stonehenge. Sir Richard Hoare supposed that they were intended, like the *talus* or *tesera*, for some kind of game, or for casting lots. They are engraved in plate xxxi. Ancient Wilts, i. In barrow No. 9 of the Wilsford group was a "rude ring of bone" with an "ivory pin" and a small bronze celt.

The objects of bronze from the Wiltshire barrows very much exceed in number the objects of stone; those found by Hoare, as shown in the table here given, being twice as numerous :—

OBJECTS OF BRONZE.

| | Unburnt Bodies. | Burnt Bodies. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Celts[1] | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Blades of knives, daggers, &c. | 16 | 44 | 60 |
| Awls and drills | 5 | 29 | 34 |
| Crutch-headed screws | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Large pin with rings | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Prong with rings | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Rivets and pieces of bronze-mounted shield (?) | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Bracelet | 1 | ... | 1 |
| Buckle | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Bead | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 29 | 79 | 108 |

Neither Sir R. Hoare, nor explorers of the Wiltshire barrows subsequent to him, have found in them objects of iron which can be classed as pre-Roman. The statement, a quarter of a century ago, by Dr. S. Birch, F.S.A., that "the evidence of the tumuli and kistvaens goes far to prove the excessive rarity of iron among the Celts

[1] Sir Richard Hoare remarks "that bronze celts differ in their construction and their antiquity," and adds, "I must give the priority of age to those discovered in our barrows."—Ancient Wilts, i., 203, note. "They may," says Dr. Thurnam. "have served various purposes, and according to the form of handle and the method by which it was attached, have been axes, chisels, or even hoes."

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(of Britain) anterior to the Roman dominion," derives nothing but confirmation from subsequent researches.

"The only graves hitherto opened in England, certainly of the Iron age and at the same time pre-Roman, are met with, not as we might have expected, in the southern counties, where the finest objects of the Bronze age are found, but far away to the North of the Humber. A large group of tumuli at Arras and Hessleskew, in the East Riding, yielded the remains of chariot wheels and axles of iron, with bronze and iron trappings for the horses, including four iron bits, two of them plated with bronze. A shield, with a bronze boss, had its rim of iron. The bodies, all unburnt, were in the contracted posture, and with them were ornaments of bronze, jet, amber, ivory, and glass, the beads of this last material remarkable for their beauty and size. There was also a fine finger-ring of gold.

"So far as researches in the tumuli have gone, they show that the bronze civilization of Britain commenced on its southern shores,[1]

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[1] According to Sir John Lubbock's analysis, interments accompanied by stone implements, in Derbyshire barrows, were nearly four times as frequent as those with bronze. Dr. Thurnam hence infers that the southern tribes were better and more early provided with bronze than the northern, and that the use of weapons and implements of this metal commenced on the southern coasts, and was thence gradually spread over the interior and north of the island. (p. 158.) "Tin is the most remarkable of all the metallic products which Phœnicia obtained from Tarshish, because it is found in so few parts of the world. Only three countries are known to contain any considerable quantities of it: Spain and Portugal; Cornwall and the adjacent part of Devonshire; and the islands of Junk-Ceylon and Banca, in the straits of Malacca. [That tin should have been brought into the countries bordering on the Mediterranean from the remote islands of the Straits of Malacca, at the very early age at which its use is ascertained, is highly improbable. No such traffic is ever alluded to by ancient writers.] It is so soft a metal that of itself it is of little use; but it readily combines with others, and particularly with copper, giving it the hardness which is needed for tools and instruments of war. As it is easily fusible, and in all the countries in which it has been found appears on the surface, in fragments derived from the detritus of primitive rocks, it would be early discovered and employed. Bronze, which is one of the oldest of the alloys of copper we are acquainted with, contains about ten or twelve per cent of tin; and it is remarkable that nearly the same proportions result from the analysis of the bronze instruments found in the sepulchral barrows of Europe; of the nails which fastened the plates with which the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ, was covered; of the instruments contained in the tombs of Ancient Egypt; and the



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and attained its highest development among the tribes to the south of the Thames; and suggest, though they do not prove, that the use of iron for weapons originated on the eastern coast, as far north as the present Yorkshire. The commencement of the bronze age in this island is of an uncertain epoch. The introduction of iron, as brought under our eyes in these interments, was certainly very late, not earlier apparently than the first century of our era. . . . We may not be far wrong in concluding that when Britain was invaded by Julius, and perhaps even as late as the conquest under Claudius, some of the tribes were using iron weapons, others were provided with none but bronze, and that others possessed both."

Among the more important of the Bronze objects from the barrows around Stonehenge which Dr. Thurnam has described, is the bronze celt found in Bush Barrow, which is 6½ inches long, 2½ broad, and only $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in greatest thickness. It has side-flanges and the centre is slightly thickened. An engraving of it is on page 444 of Archæologia, vol. xliii. A socketed spear or javelin-head, about 3½ inches long, with two very small loops at the upper third of the socket, is engraved at page 447 of Archæologia, vol. xliii. With scarcely an exception the large leaf-shaped and triangular blades figured by Hoare are from barrows in the immediate neighbourhood of Stonehenge. Two of these are stippled or pounced; and a third labelled "Barrow No. 120," is also decorated in the same way. A fine bronze bracelet encircling the arm of a skeleton was found in a barrow (No. 37). It is a broad flat band, profusely ornamented with vertical and horizontal lines, and with chevrons at the ends, which overlap. With an interment by cremation there were two pieces of twisted bronze wire, perhaps part of a bracelet.

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tools of the Mexicans and Peruvians."—"Kenrick's Phœnicia," p. 213. "We can have no hesitation in regarding Spain as the source of the tin which was so early in use among the nations bordering on the Mediterranean. How long it was before the Phœnicians discovered the far richer supply which the British Islands afford, is altogether uncertain." (p. 216.) "It is by no means improbable that tin which came originally from Cornwall, may have returned thither from Gaul or Spain, in the form of those instruments of bronze which ...e some of the earliest of our British antiquities in metal." (p. 221.)

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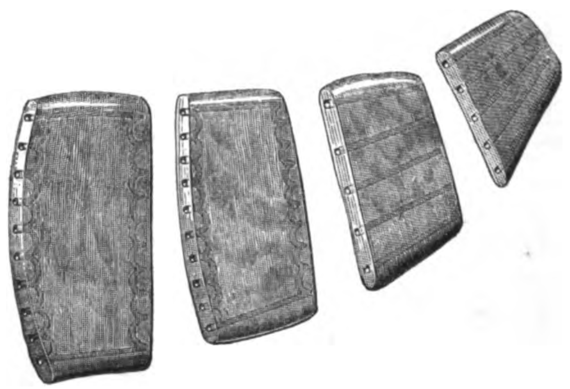
**Ivory Armlet from Barrow No. 25, on Winterbourn Stoke Down.**

*Scale, two-thirds linear.*



**Plates for an amber collar, from Lake.**

*Scale, two thirds linear.*

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PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

"In the round barrows opened and described by Sir Richard Hoare personal ornaments were found with about 18 per cent. of the primary interments, though, as the following table shows, proportionately more often with the unburnt bodies :—

| | Unburnt Bodies. | Burnt Bodies. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 82 | 272 | 354 |
| With personal ornaments | 19 | 45 | 64 |
| Per cent. | 23 | 16 | 18 |

"Many, perhaps most, of the interments accompanied by ornaments were those of women, but many others, especially where the decorations were the richest and most numerous, were doubtless those of men. . . . The articles of this kind met with were for the most part fabricated from a few well-known materials, still prized for the same purpose, viz., ivory, glass, amber, jet, gold, and bronze. To these must be added various mineral and fossil substances, and the bones, teeth, and shells of animals. . . . The three first-named of the materials on our list are expressly named by Strabo as forming, in his day, the principal imports into this country from Gaul, viz., "ivory bracelets and necklaces, articles of amber and glass, and other similar wares of small value."[1] The discovery of objects made of these materials in the barrows is a confirmation of the accuracy of Strabo, and affords additional reasons for attributing many of the tumuli of the Bronze period to the Augustan age. As the context of the passage proves, this geographer wrote his description of Britain not later than early in the reign of Tiberius, and prior to the Roman conquest by about thirty years."

The ornaments of ivory found in Wiltshire barrows amount to twelve in number, and they were probably made from the tusks of the walrus or other marine animal. Another possible source for the ivory of the barrows are the fossilized tusks of the *Elephas primigenius*, which are sometimes "so little altered as to be fit for the purposes of manufacture." See the wood-cut of the ivory armlet found in barrow No. 25.

[1] Strabo, iv., 5, § 3.



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"The beads of glass found in the barrows of Wiltshire are of coarse material, of a light blue or green colour, long, slender form, and notched all round, so as to resemble several minute beads in one piece. They vary in length from half-an-inch to an inch-and-a-quarter, the notches varying from four or five to ten or twelve in number. They were found in twelve of the tumuli described by Hoare, and in every case with interments after cremation. With one exception they were associated with beads of amber, and in more than half the number with others of jet or shale. A necklace of glass, amber, and jet seems to have been the favourite ornament of the women of this part of Britain. In these mixed necklaces the glass beads are more numerous than those of jet or shale, but less so than those of amber. Glass beads are rarely found in the barrows of North Wilts; but one is named by Dean Merewether, and one was obtained by myself from a tumulus on Tan Hill. . . . In the barrows of Wiltshire the ornaments most frequently met with are of amber, and thirty-three interments are recorded by Hoare, six of unburnt and twenty-seven of burnt bodies, with which they were found." Amber ornaments are of very rare occurence in the barrows of other parts of England.[1] Those found in Wiltshire appear to have been in most instances necklaces, but rings and studs have also been found. The amber from these barrows is uniformly of the red transparent sort, which as well as the pale sort, is found in England at Cromer, Norfolk, and on the Yorkshire coast. It may however, have been imported and manufactured in England. "Amber has not been found in the ancient sepulchres of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, though of frequent occurrence in those of Etruria and Southern Italy. A chain of amber beads, connected by strips of gold, has been found in a sepulchre at Cære (Cervetri), answering very exactly to the Homeric description."[2] (Kenrick's "Phœnicia" p. 221).

[1] In one of the tumuli opened by the Rev. J. Skinner, at Priddy on the Mendip range, within a cist, containing the primary interment of burnt bones were found four amber beads, and a fifth in the form of a heart. They were of fine rich red or ruby colour, highly polished and transparent when held up to the light, only one of them had a hole made through it, the others were bored on one side, probably for the admission of a pin. A small blue opaque glass bead was found with them, perforated.—Arch. Journal, xvi., p. 148.

[2] Abeken, Mitt. und Unt. Ital. p. 271, 281. Hom. Od. 6, 460.

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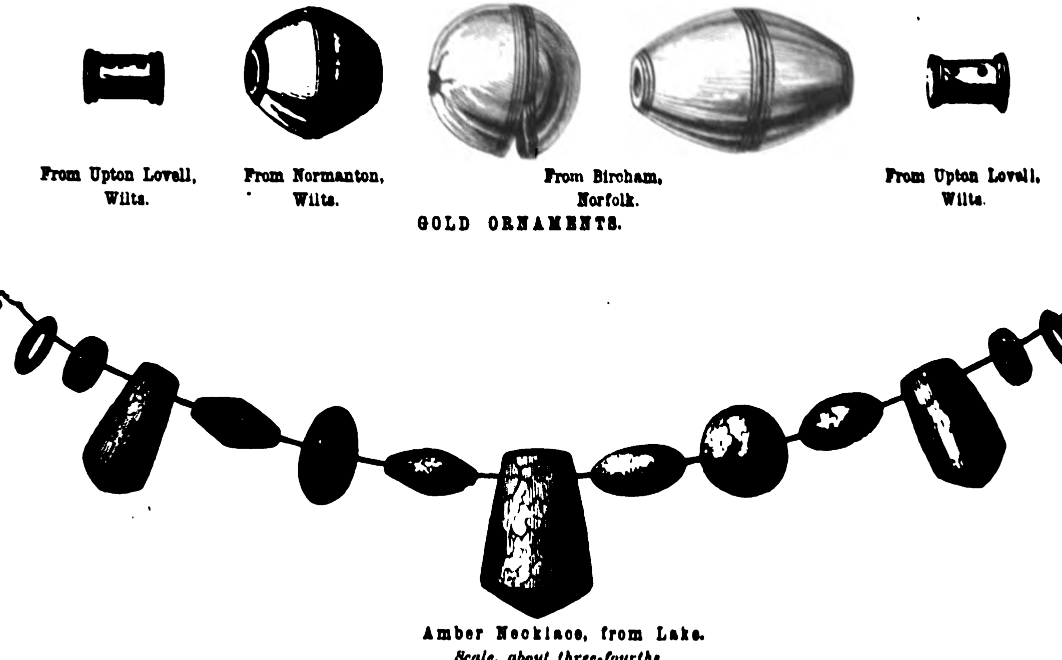

From Upton Lovell, Wilts. From Normanton, Wilts. From Bircham, Norfolk. From Upton Lovell, Wilts.

GOLD ORNAMENTS.

Amber Necklace, from Lake.
*Scale, about three-fourths.*

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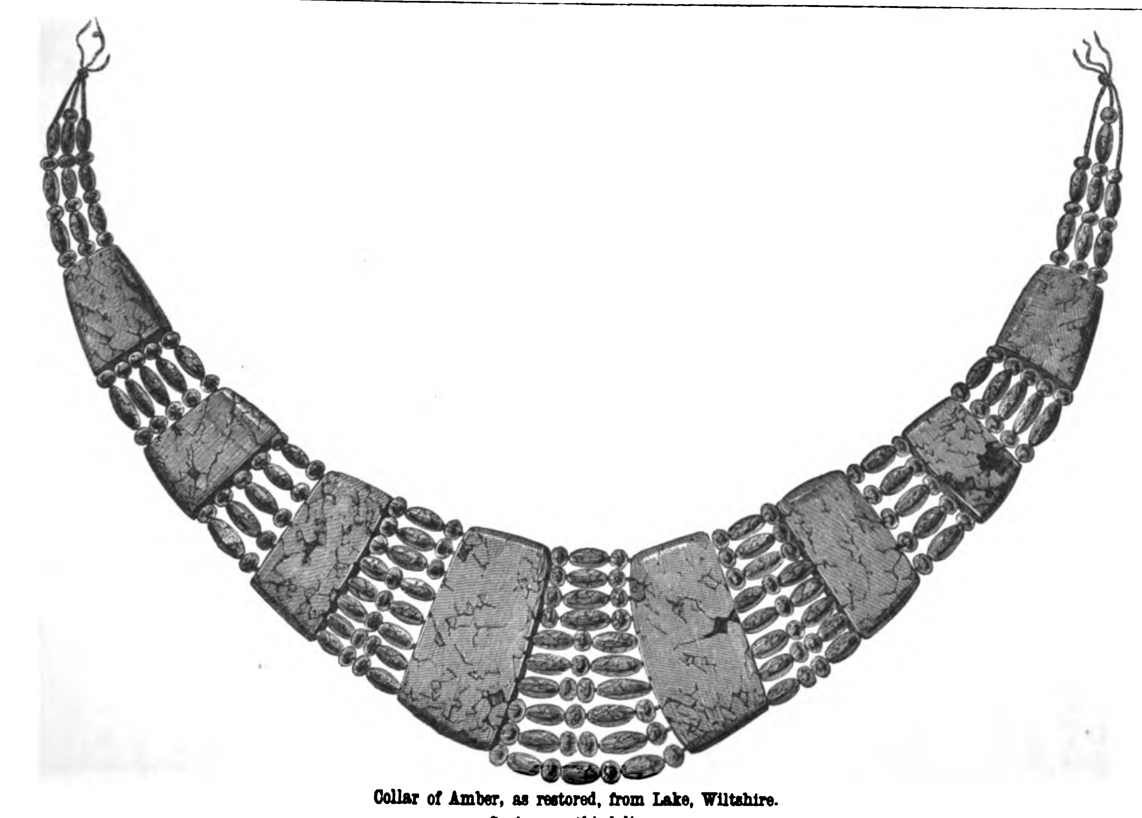

**Collar of Amber, as restored, from Lake, Wiltshire.**
*Scale, one-third linear.*

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By the kindness of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries the writer is able to give the cuts which illustrate Dr. Thurnam's account of the quadrangular tablets of amber found in a barrow of the Lake group, and which appears to have formed a collar. "They occur," says Dr. Thurnam, "in sets of three, six, and eight. These plates, found with seven interments, five of them burnt, are about a quarter-inch thick, rounded at the upper and lower margins, and vary in size from one to three inches in length, and from three-quarters to one-and-a half-inch in width. In the vertical edges are a series of equidistant perforations, which, according to the size, are four, six, or even ten in number. The perforations mostly pass through from edge to edge, and are bored with great accuracy, probably with a metallic borer, worked most likely with a bow-drill. The plates were always accompanied by beads of the same material, and there can be no doubt that the two have been strung together so as to form symmetrical ornaments analogous to those of jet found in the barrows of Derbyshire and North Britain. This combination was not realized by Sir Richard Hoare, who was of opinion that the plates were strung together and worn lengthwise on the breast. The MS. notes of the late Rev. E. Duke, kindly lent me by his son, describing the barrow which yielded the set of plates of largest size, eight in number, do not expressly name these tablets, but merely say 'the skeleton was found with rows of red amber beads around the neck.' In another of the Lake barrows also about two miles from Stonehenge, opened by Mr. Duke, was 'a skeleton having on a necklace of amber beads,' to which, no doubt, belongs the set of three small plates, with four-fold perforations, still to be seen at Lake House. Through the kind aid of the present owner I have succeeded in constructing models of these two complex collars, in a style which must closely approximate to that of the original ornaments. (See woodcut.)

"The perforations in the three plates of the lesser collars, as well as in the four outer plates of the large, run straight through from edge to edge; but in the four larger and more central plates of the latter only the upper and lower perforations run through the plates, whilst the eight which are intermediate go a little way in

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and pass out again, each two adjoining perforations communicating right and left by a curvilinear canal. This very ingenious method has probably been contrived to ensure the better set of the large ornaments, as well as for more security; it being obvious that if the through-and-through perforations had been continued from one to the other end of the ornament, the breaking of one or two sets of threads might have resulted in the loss of great part of the whole.

"It is to be observed that this large collar is of most unusual dimensions. In addition to the eight large dividing plates it appears to have comprised in its construction nearly two hundred beads; and when arranged in an easy curve, to have measured 15 inches across, and 25 inches in length, in the lower curvature. When worn, it must have extended from shoulder to shoulder, hanging half-way down to the waist, somewhat like a mayor's chain or collar of SS. None of the dividing-plates in these ornaments present any trace of surface decoration, such as the favorite British chevron, so often seen on the corresponding pieces of the jet necklaces.

"Buttons of jet or shale occurred thrice with unburnt, and once with burnt bodies. At the back are double perforations for sewing them on to the dress. . . . Britain was celebrated for the abundance of its fine jet during Roman times. Kimmeridge shale, cannel coal, and some forms of lignite, seem to have been substituted for jet where this could not be had.

"Ornaments of gold were found in seven of the Wiltshire tumuli, in four with unburnt, and in three, with burnt bodies. In most of these there were several objects of the precious metal, and altogether nineteen golden ornaments or sets of ornaments may be enumerated." Among these were three varieties of small buttons or beads, made as Sir R. Hoare believed by first modelling in wood, and covering the wooden nucleus with a plate of gold, which was made to overlap, and fastened by indentation. One large doubly-conical bead, made of two such plates, is ornamented with concentric rings and perforated lengthwise. A second, of globular form, doubly perforated on one side, seems intended to have been sewn to the clothing, though it may have been a pendant (Ancient Wilts, plate

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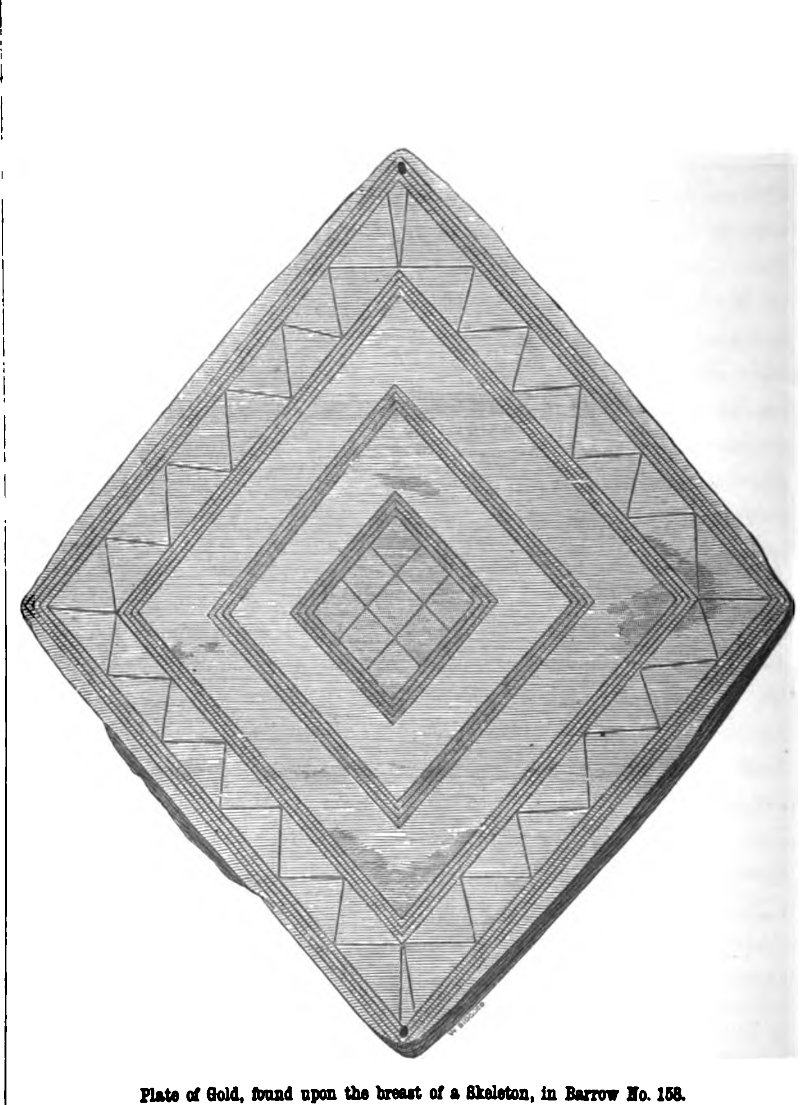

**Plate of Gold, found upon the breast of a Skeleton, in Barrow No. 158.**

***Size, two-thirds.***

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xxv., figs. 7 and 8). The same may be said of the thirteen "beads" from the Upton Lovel barrow. Each is in the shape of a drum and formed of three pieces of gold, two being circular lid-shaped ends. In each are two holes at one side, supposed to be "for the purpose of stringing," but quite as likely for sewing them as buttons to the front of some vestment. Six or seven "beads" very similar to those from Normanton, near Stonehenge, some globular and some of a double-cone shape, were found in one of the barrows at Bircham, Norfolk. (See wood-cut.)

Small circular discs of gold, of the size of florins, are supposed to have been pendants for the ears. Quadrangular golden plates, of considerable size, occurred with two interments. These are ornamented in parallel lines, zigzags and chequers, and were found in conneetion with thin plates of wood, on which the pattern had been engraved, and over the edges of which the gold was lapped. The gold of the smaller plate, measuring 6 inches by 3, is mere foil, not thicker than writing paper; it is perforated at each of the four angles. The other, much larger (from Bush barrow, half-a-mile south of Stonehenge, the richest of all in gold objects), is a solid and substantial ornament, of lozenge form, 7 by 6 inches in its longest diameters, and perforated at the two angles most distant from each other. It is of fine gold, weighing 1 oz., 5 dwts., and lay immediately over the breast of the skeleton. Both these plates had no doubt been attached to the dress, and worn as breast ornaments.[1] (See wood-cut.) "In addition to this plate and the large

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[1] Dr. Thurnam was of opinion that it was from the gold of Britain that these ornaments were fabricated. Cæsar is usually made to say of the Britons "Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo;" but a beautiful MS. of about the tenth century in the British Museum, reads the passage thus: "utuntur aut ære aut nummo aureo, &c." They use either brass money, or gold money, or instead of money, iron rings adjusted to a certain weight. "It may be therefore safely asserted" says Mr. Hawkins, "that previous to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, in the year 55 A.C., and before the Roman dominion was generally established in this island, the Britons had a metallic currency of struck coin, formed on a Grecian model. Julius Cæsar himself, when correctly read and rightly interpreted, asserts the fact, and the actual discovery of coins in various parts of the island unequivocally confirms it." The Upton Lovel or "Golden" Barrow was opened for the

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hook of gold, there was a small lozenge-shaped plate, not perforated, about an inch in diameter." (Tumuli, plate xxvii, fig. 5.)

Five of the seven barrows yielding objects of gold were on Salisbury Plain, near Stonehenge, four of them within half-a-mile of that structure, and a sixth on the confines of the plain, at Upton Lovel, in the vale of Wily. The seventh alone was altogether out of this district, at Mere, ten or twelve miles to the west. No objects of precious metal are found in the barrows of North Wilts, and Sir Richard Hoare inferred the "high antiquity of the tumuli near Abury from finding in them 'no costly ornaments of jet, amber, or gold.'"

In the Upton Lovel barrow were found several tusks of the wild boar, perforated at the broad end, lying near the feet of the male skeleton. In other barrows were the canine teeth of the wolf and remains of the deer, the ox, the dog, and the horse. Bones of birds were occasionally met with.

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first time in 1803, by Mr. Cunnington. (See "Archæologia," vol. xv.) At the depth of 2 feet was found a little pile of burnt bones in a shallow bason-like cist, and at the distance of 1 foot from the bones was a considerable quantity of ashes with fragments of burnt bones. About 2 feet from the pile of bones were discovered: 1. Thirteen gold beads made in the form of a drum, having two ends to screw off, and perforated in two places on the sides for the purpose of stringing. 2. A thin plate of the same metal, 6 inches in length, and nearly 3 in width, richly wrought and perforated at the 4 corners. 3. Another ornament in the form of a cone, decorated with circles and zigzags, and fitted closely to a piece of dark wood, like ebony, on which the marks of the pattern still appear impressed; the bottom part of this article is also perforated. The above are all of pure but thin gold, neatly worked, and highly burnished. The large flat plate must have been, like the cone, strengthened by a strip of wood behind; and the whole by their several perforations, are strongly marked as forming the decorative accoutrements of some distinguished British chieftain. There were beside two small articles in gold, resembling little boxes, about an inch in diameter with a top, in the form of a cone to take off. (See Tumuli, plate x.) And some large plates of amber, and above one thousand beads of the same substance and different sizes, and a curious little grape cup. Subsequent researches in 1807, resulted in the discovery of two cups, one plain, the other covered with a profusion of zigzag ornaments, a small lance head and pin of bronze, and on the floor of the barrow, in an oblong cist, about 18 inches deep, a simple interment of burnt bones.

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# The Camp at Amesbury, commonly called Vespasian's Camp.

THE camp near Amesbury, between Stonehenge and the town, upon elevated ground, was, according to Stukeley, commonly called Vespasian's, and he endorses the name. It is locally known as "the ramparts." Sir R. Hoare considers that this was originally the stronghold of those numerous Britons who inhabited the plains around Stonehenge, an asylum in times of danger, for their wives, children, and cattle; and that like other camps of the same kind, it was occupied, as occasion or necessity required, by Romans, Saxons, and Danes. "It occupies the apex of a hill, surrounded on two sides, east and south, by the river Avon, and comprehends within its area 39 acres. It extends in length from south to north, and terminates in a narrow rounded angle at the latter point. It was surrounded by a single vallum, which has been much mutilated on the east side in forming the pleasure grounds of Amesbury Park. The ramparts on the western side towards Stonehenge, are very bold and perfect. It appears to have had two entrances, north and south; the former still remains perfect and undoubted. The area is planted and fancifully disposed in avenues, walks, &c., near the principal one of which, and on the highest ground, is the appearance of a barrow, but much disfigured in its form." The camp is divided by the high road which passes Stonehenge. In Stukeley's Common-Place Book, is the following mention of it: "The walls, Vespasian's camp, as believ'd. The people of Amesbury say the area of it is 40 acres, single trench, one graff towards Stonehenge." In his "Stonehenge described," he describes the camp as "an oblong square, nicely placed upon a flexure of the river, which closes one side and one end of it. There is an old barrow inclos'd in it, which doubtless was one of those belonging to this plain, and to the temple of Stonehenge, before this camp was made."

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# Progress of Down-Cultivation around Stonehenge.

IT is to be hoped that our grand-children will not have to look for Stonehenge in a field of turnips. The cultivation of the down adjoining Stonehenge is gradually closing in upon it, and on the west side has already resulted in the obliteration of the group of barrows numbered from 15 to 22 (inclusive). The large barrow, close to the road, of group No. 14, (which Mr. Edwards, of Amesbury, informed the writer had been nearly as large as No. 164,) has been deliberately degraded to its present low elevation that it may the more easily be ploughed over. The adjoining barrows of this group, from one of which the "Stonehenge" urn was taken, will soon have altogether disappeared. On the opposite side of the road, a large portion of the down on the slope below Bush Barrow and the adjoining barrows, has been ploughed up. Our iron age, with its steam ploughs, is too strong for the age of stone and bronze.

An account of the results of the examination of each barrow on the plain around Stonehenge will be given in an appendix.

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# Part V.

## Poetical Notices of Stonehenge.

THE few following poetical notices of Stonehenge may not be unacceptable to the readers of this paper.

In the "Birth of Merlin," a play ascribed to Shakespeare (first known edition 1662), Merlin addresses his mother thus:—

> "And when you die I will erect a monument
> Upon the verdant plains of Salisbury,—
> No king shall have so high a sepulchre,—
> With pendulous stones, that I will hang by art,
> Where neither lime nor mortar shall be used—
> A dark enigma to the memory,
> For none shall have the power to number them;
> A place that I will hallow for your rest;
> Where no night-hag shall walk, nor were-wolf tread,
> Where Merlin's mother shall be sepulchred."

Drayton ("Polyolbion, 1613), calls Stonehenge "first wonder of the land." In the following lines Wansdyke resents being called by Stonehenge a "paltry ditch," and shows a strong aptitude for the employment of abusive language:—

> "Where she, of all the plains (Salisbury) of Britain that doth
> bear
> The name to be the first (renowned everywhere)
> Hath worthily obtain'd that Stonendge there should stand:
> She, first of plains; and that, first wonder of the land.
> She Wansdike also wins, by whom she is embrac'd,
> That in his aged arms doth gird her ampler waist;
> Who, (for a mighty mound sith long he did remain

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Taught 'mid thy massy maze their mystic lore:
Or Danish chiefs, enrich'd with savage spoil,
To Victory's idol vast, an unhewn shrine
Rear'd the rude heap; or, in thy hallow'd round
Repose the king's of Brutus' genuine line;
Or here those kings in solemn state were crown'd:
Studious to trace thy pond'rous origin,
We muse on many an ancient tale renown'd.

The Oxford English Verse prize poem for 1823, "On Stonehenge," was as follows:—

Wrapt in the veil of time's unbroken gloom,
Obscure as death, and silent as the tomb,
Where cold oblivion holds her dusky reign
Frowns the dark pile on Sarum's lonely plain.

Yet think not here with classic eye to trace
Corinthian beauty, or Ionian grace:
No pillar'd lines with sculptur'd foliage crown'd,
No fluted remnants deck the hallow'd ground;
Firm, as implanted by some Titan's might,
Each rugged stone uprears its giant height,
Whence the pois'd fragment tottering seems to throw
A trembling shadow on the plain below.

Here oft, when evening sheds her twilight ray,
And gilds with fainter beam departing day,
With breathless gaze, and cheek with terror pale,
The lingering shepherd startles at the tale,
How at deep midnight, by the moon's chill glance,
Unearthly forms prolong the viewless dance;
While on each whisp'ring breeze that murmurs by,
His busied fancy hears the hollow sigh.

Rise from thy haunt, dread genius of the clime,
Rise, magic spirit of forgotten time!
'Tis thine to burst the mantling clouds of age,

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And fling new radiance on "Tradition's page":
See! at thy call, from Fable's varied store,
In shadowy train the mingled visions pour;
Here the wild Briton, 'mid his wilder reign,
Spurns the proud yoke, and scorns the oppressor's chain;
Here wizard Merlin, where the mighty fell,
Waves the dark wand, and chaunts the thrilling spell.
Hark! 'tis the Bardic lyre, whose harrowing strain
Wakes the rude echoes of the slumbering plain;
Lo! 'tis the Druid pomp, whose lengthening line
In lowest homage bends before the shrine.
He comes—the priest—amid the sullen blaze
His snow-white robe in spectral lustre plays;
Dim gleam the torches through the circling night,
Dark curl the vapours round the altar's light;
O'er the black scene of death, each conscious star,
In lurid glory, rolls its silent car.

'Tis gone! E'en now the mystic horrors fade
From Sarum's loneliness, and Mona's glade;
Hush'd is each note of Taliesin's lyre,
Sheath'd the fell blade, and quench'd the fatal fire.
On wings of light Hope's angel form appears,
Smiles on the past, and points to happier years:
Points, with uplifted hand, and raptur'd eye,
To yon pure dawn that floods the opening sky;
And views at length the Sun of Judah pour
One cloudless noon o'er Albion's rescued shore.

T. S. Salmon,
*Brasenose College.*

The following, in English and Latin, are by the writer's departed friend, the Rev. Francis Kilvert, of Bath:—

See rocks Cyclopean, as by giant's hands
In a rude temple's form disposed. Amid

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These masses, by Heaven's bounties compassed round,
Our sires in superstition's gloom immersed,
Grim idols, terror's offering, with the blood
Of human victims and with rites impure,
Adored.—Such ills would false religion breed!
Those shades are fled. The Sun of Righteousness
Risen on the earth, with healing in His wings,
Hath chased the darkness, and with Gospel light
Illumined all the land. Lit by its rays
May we, the progeny of pagan sires,
Whilst Fancy waving her mysterious wand
Evokes these long-past shadows, with glad hearts
And pious breathings, gratefully enjoy
Our "sober certainty of waking bliss."

---

*Idem Latine redditum.*

---

Saxa vides Cyclopea
Giganteis quasi manibus
In templi speciem disposita.
Has inter moles
Dei benefici muneribus circum undique septi,
Majores nostri,
Superstitionis mersi caligine,
Impiis cruentisque ritibus
Numinum terricula piabant.
Tantum malorum
Religio prava suadere poterat!
Diffugere hæ tenebræ,
Justitiæ sole salutaribus radiis exorto:
Affulsit lux Evangelii,
Cujus illustrati lumine,
Præteriti temporis umbras evanidas,
Gratis animis, piis suspiriis,
Posteri contemplemur.

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# Conclusion.

THE writer, in conclusion, would venture to express his own deliberate conviction: first, that Stonehenge and the barrows which surround it, are part and parcel of the same system, and that they are inseparably connected; and secondly, that the history of Stonehenge must be read by such light as the contents of these barrows afford. The result would, of course, be to throw back the erection of Stonehenge to a pre-Christian period. He would fain hope, that ere long, Antiquaries will come to be of one accord as to the propriety of abandoning the theories which would ascribe it to the Romans, to the Roman-British, to the Saxons, or to the Danes. There is at present, much dissipation of Archæological power and much profitless "beating of the air" in the endeavour to maintain positions which the writer humbly believes to be utterly untenable. It would be a great gain if, by common consent, the stand-point of the Christian era were adopted, and if the solution of the difficulty were sought for in the times which preceded it. The result of ethnological, linguistic, and archæological researches into this higher period might be to favour the idea that a Phœnician or some other external influence of a very early date had been associated with the erection of the megalithic structures of the West of England. Till then, the writer is content to consider the Belgic theory regarding Stonehenge, originated by Mr. Warner, and so ably supported by Dr. Guest, as by far the most rational which has yet been propounded.

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# Appendix.

THE writer believes that the following account of the examination of the Stonehenge barrows will be found interesting and useful. It is fuller than Sir R. Hoare's own analysis in the "Tumuli Wiltunenses." The barrows of the Lake, Wilsford, and Winterbourn groups, will be found to have been numbered on the large map of "Stonehenge and its environs" according to the enumeration of them in the smaller plans in vol. i. of Ancient Wilts, and in that of the Winterbourn Stoke group (which adjoins the long barrow), in Dr. Thurnam's account of the Wiltshire Barrows, (vol. xliii. of the "Archæologia.") Two or three barrows which had been marked as belonging to the Winterbourn and Lake groups in the large map, and which were not to be found in the smaller plans, have been erased.

## Winterbourn Stoke Group.

1. Long barrow, not opened by Sir R. Hoare. See Dr. Thurnam's account of the opening of it, page 159.

2. Ninety-three feet in diameter and 8 in elevation. Burnt bones, with a small urn.

3. Partly intersected in forming the turnpike road. Primary interment missed, but an urn enclosing burnt bones near the top.

4, 5, 6. Produced simple interments by cremation.

7. Primary interment, an adult skeleton, lying N. and S. with a drinking cup at his feet. Four feet above was the skeleton of a child, with a bason-like urn.

8. A heap of burnt bones in an oval cist, 4½ feet long and 2 feet wide. At the distance of a foot, a fine drinking cup, richly ornamented, but broken in removal.

9. Simple interment of burnt bones.

10. Nothing found.

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[illegible] feet high. The original interment was [illegible] cist which had been deposited within [illegible] with its head lying to the north-east. [illegible] a beautiful, but crushed urn, in tint [illegible] not more than half baked, like [illegible] plate [illegible] L.) A [illegible] by a [illegible] wood, [illegible] these [illegible] of [illegible] xv.,

[illegible] simple interm[illegible]

[illegible] small tumuli, [illegible]

[illegible] of burn[illegible]

[illegible] a small urn, [illegible]

the second, two or three beads, and in the third, only burnt bones.

18. Ninety-seven feet in diameter, and 7 high. Primary interment, a skeleton, with head toward the west, at a depth of 7 feet. At a depth of nearly 3 feet a sepulchral urn covering a little pile of burnt bones, and almost immediately under them a skeleton. Before coming to the urn were found two interments of burnt bones in the east and west corners of their sections. A perforated pebble stone, about 2 inches long, and very neatly polished, which had apparently been burnt.

20. Is, what Sir R. Hoare called a "pond barrow." 21, from the fragments of burnt bones promiscuously dispersed about the soil, gave proof of a prior opening.

22. The body appeared to have been placed on the chalk, and a large conical pile of flints raised over it. "From finding some of the bones above the floor, and amongst the flints, we might almost be led to suppose that the Briton here interred, had suffered a similar death to that of Achan." The skeleton was laid from north to south, and from the size of the bones, appeared to be that of a young person, or a female. 23[1] and 24. Unproductive. 25. A large and rude bowl-shaped barrow, 107 feet in diameter, and 6 in elevation. On the floor a skeleton (which had been originally interred from north to south) with a more recent interment of burnt bones deposited near its feet. Two small earthen cups, a ring or bracelet of bone or ivory, two oblong beads made from bone, and two whetstones and a bronze pin, were found near.

26. A fine bowl-shaped barrow, 97 feet in diameter, and 9½ in elevation. In an oblong cist, a skeleton lying from north to south, within a shallow case of wood, of a boat-like form. Round its neck were found a great variety of amber and jet beads, a lance-head and pin of bronze, with a little urn of a very neat form, which was broken to pieces.

27. About 90 feet in base diameter, and 7 in height. On the

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[1] Dr. Thurnam opened No. 23, and found a simple deposit of burnt bones, in a shallow cist, in the chalk, a little to the S.E. of the centre. He opened No. 24, but found it unproductive.



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floor of the barrow was a large oblong cist, 5 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 2½ deep, neatly cut in the chalk, and in it a skeleton, with an inverted urn containing burnt bones, in its lap. "On removing the urn and the skeleton, we found five more skeletons lying almost side by side, two of which were young persons; and when we reached the floor of the cist we found, what I consider to be the primary interment, viz., two skeletons lying by the side of each other, with their heads to the north, and both extremely well-preserved. One of them was a tall and stout man. At their head was placed a drinking cup. We had here positive proof that the two different modes of burial had been practised in this barrow at different periods, and that the urn was deposited at a period subsequent to all the other interments, and was the third deposit."

To the north of this group are two very small mounds, scarcely elevated above the surface, which produced nothing worthy of notice.

The first barrow that occurs on leaving the British villages, and which is No. 1 on Sir Richard Hoare's map of "Stonehenge and its environs," contained a very large interment of burnt bones. No. 2 had been previously opened. No. 3 is a long or rather triangular barrow, east and west, the broad end towards the east; it measures 104 feet in length, 64 in width at the large end, 45 at the small end, and does not exceed 3 or 4 feet in elevation. Shepherds had excavated the eastern end by making huts for shelter. A second section at the west end produced two or three fragments of burnt bones. "We next observed a rude conical pile of large flints, imbedded in a kind of mortar made of the marly chalk dug near the spot. This rude pile was 4 or 5 feet in the base, and about 2 feet high, and was raised upon a floor, on which had been an intense fire, so as to make it red like brick. At first we conceived that this pile might have been raised over an interment, but after much labour in removing the greater part of it, we very unexpectedly found the remains of the Briton below, and were much astonished at seeing several pieces of burnt bones intermixed with the great masses of mortar." Sir R. Hoare left some of the mortar containing the burnt bones near the top of the barrow, to satisfy the curiosity of any person who might wish to examine it. On exploring this barrow farther to the east,

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two deep cists were found, containing an immense quantity of wood ashes, and large pieces of charred wood, but no other signs of interment. No. 4 had been opened before. No. 5 is 5 feet high, and 110 feet in base diameter. The primary interment in the large cist consisted of the head of a skeleton, but no vertebræ or ribs; further on were the thigh-bones, legs, etc. At the feet a little rude drinking cup, and two pieces of a dark-coloured slaty kind of stone. (Pl. xiv.) Above the primary interment, was, at the depth of 2 feet on the south side of the cist, the skeleton of an infant; and at a foot above the floor of the barrow was found the skeleton of a young person, and upon the same level on the south side, was an interment of burnt bones. This tumulus, Sir R. Hoare thought, might prove yet more productive, if more carefully examined. No 6 had been previously explored. In No. 7, a fine bell-shaped barrow, 122 feet in diameter, and 9 feet high, the interment was missed, but the fragment of a very large urn and a few burnt bones led Sir R. Hoare to think that the barrow might have been opened before. No. 8. This barrow, rather inclined to the bell-shape, is 82 feet in diameter, and 7½ in elevation. It contained within a shallow oblong cist the burnt bones (as conceived) of two persons, piled together, but without arms or trinkets. A whetstone and a piece of squared stone were also found in it. No. 9, 16 inches high, produced between the horns of two stags, a rudely-made, yet in outline an elegant, urn, inverted over a pile of burnt bones. (Pl. xvi.) Beneath was the skeleton of an adult, and at a depth of 4 feet below, was another skeleton with its head placed towards the north. No. 10. In this small tumulus was an oblong cist, and in the further part of it a few fragments of burnt bones, and a large glass bead, which has two circular lines of opaque sky-blue and white, which seem to represent a serpent intwined round a centre which is perforated. "This was certainly one of the Glain Neidyr of the Britons, derived from Glain, what is puro and holy, and neidyr, a snake." This is engraved in "Tumuli," pl. xiv. No. 11 is a "pond barrow."

Leaving the Winterbourn Stoke group, and proceeding in a line towards Stonehenge, we find but few barrows, until we approach the precincts of that monument.

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No. 12. A group of small tumuli, in one of which was a very rude urn, badly baked, and containing ashes, burnt bones, and two pieces of twisted bronze wire, which probably once formed a ring; this urn was not inverted.

13. A simple interment of bones. 14. A group consisting of eight barrows of different sizes, and close to the road leading to Amesbury. "The tumulus nearest that place produced the largest sepulchral urn we have ever yet found, measuring 15 inches in diameter at the top, and being 22½ inches high. It contained an interment of burnt bones, which was protected by a large triangular stone placed over the mouth of the urn." (Pl. xvi.) This is the urn, called, *par excellence*, the "Stonehenge Urn." Two of this group of barrows are large; that nearest the road is bowl-shaped, 80 feet in base diameter and 8½ in elevation. The interment was met with at 8½ feet, in a shallow oblong cist, where the burnt bones had been interred in a box of wood. In the adjoining large tumulus was an interment by cremation, which had in former times been disturbed by rabbits. Of the others two had been opened before; in one other was found a bronze spear-head, and in this and the remainder were deposits of burnt bones.[1] In No. 15 was a deposit of burnt bones within a cist. Some scattered fragments of bone led to the belief that a skeleton had been found when it had been opened before. No. 16. A mutilated flat barrow, 76 feet in diameter, and only 3 in elevation. In this barrow were found chippings of the Stonehenge stones. (See pp. 64, 65.) No. 17. A long barrow, in which nothing was discovered. No. 18. Is injured by rabbits. No. 19. Seems to have been one of those opened either by Lord Pembroke or Dr. Stukeley, who had found the interment in an oblong cist. No. 20. Had been opened before and contained the interment of a skeleton. Nos. 21 and 22 were unproductive. No. 23 had been opened without result by Mr.

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[1] The smaller barrows in this group have been nearly obliterated by a farmer, who has ploughed up this part of the down nearly to the stone circles. The large tumulus nearest to the road has been deliberately degraded to its present low condition. All traces of the group adjoining Stonehenge (Nos. 15 to 22 inclusive) have disappeared. A slight elevation above the surrounding soil just indicates where the highest of them had been.

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Cunnington, but just below where he had left off Sir R. Hoare discovered a large rude sepulchral urn inverted over a pile of burnt bones, amongst which was an elegant pair of ivory tweezers. No. 24 is a very flat barrow, and contained the skeletons of an adult and a child in a very shallow cist. It had been previously disturbed. No. 25. A wide bowl-shaped barrow, contained, within a narrow cist, a skeleton with its head towards the north, with a drinking cup by its right side, and near it a neatly-formed pin or needle of bone. No. 26, produced a large interment of burnt bones on the floor, with a cone of jet, two oblong beads of the same substance, eighteen of amber, and a very small cone of the same. No. 27. Previously opened, appeared to have contained originally the skeletons of two adults and two children. Round the arm of one of the adults was an ornamented bracelet of bronze, now in the Stourhead Museum. On approaching the Cursus, we find a numerous continuation of barrows, flanking the southern side of it; the first of these, No. 28, was opened by Lord Pembroke, in the year 1722; as well as No. 29, in 1723. Stukeley gives a description of the opening of the latter. An urn, full of burnt bones, of unbaked clay, was found. The collar bone, and one side of the under jaw, make it likely that they had belonged to a girl about 14 years of age. A great number of female ornaments were mixed with the bones. They consisted of beads of glass, yellow, blue, and black; many of amber, of all shapes and sizes, and many of earth, of different shapes, size, and colour. One of the button sort was covered with a thin film of pure gold. (See Stukeley's "Stonehenge," p. 44, or "Ancient Wilts," i., 161, 162.) "Then we opened the next barrow to it, enclosed in the same ditch, and found at 14 inches deep the skeleton of a man." Convinced by experience that all interments found near the surface were subsequent deposits, Mr. Cunnington, in 1803, explored the second tumulus. At the depth of 6 feet he came to the floor of the barrow, which was covered with ashes; and on digging still further to the south, he found a fine oblong cist, 18 inches deep, 15 inches wide, and 2 feet long; and in it a complete interment of burnt bones, and with them six beads, apparently of horn, two of which were circular and four perforated. No. 30. A beautiful bell-shaped barrow, and the largest of

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this group. It measures from ditch to ditch 131 feet, and is 15 feet high. At the depth of 15 feet was found only a simple interment of burnt bones. No. 31, a bowl-shaped barrow, 104 feet in base diameter, had on its floor an interment of burnt bones, with a small spear-head. No. 32, a fine bell-shaped barrow, contained only a simple interment of burnt bones. No. 33. Seventy-eight feet in diameter, surrounded by a fine vallum without the ditch, but having no elevation, as usual, in the centre. At the depth of 2 feet was a circular cist containing a deposit of burnt bones, together with beads of glass, amber, and stone, with one of a horn-like substance. No. 34 had been opened before, and No. 35 was not successfully explored. No. 36, produced three skeletons, one over the other; the first about 2 feet deep; the second on a level with the adjoining soil. Close to the right side of the head of this last skeleton was a drinking cup, and with it a considerable quantity of something that appeared like decayed leather. Six feet lower lay the third, with which was found a drinking cup. Sir Richard Hoare was surprised to find the bones and teeth so well preserved when deposited deep in the chalk, but "the most remarkable circumstance," he says, was finding a piece of the skull, about 5 inches broad, that had been apparently sawn off, for he did not think that any knife could have cut it off in the manner in which this was done. No. 37 contained a large oblong cist, full of black ashes, and a few burnt bones. In No. 38, after much labour, the interment was missed. No. 39 is described as a bowl-shaped tumulus, adjoining the south side of the Cursus, 78 feet in diameter, and nearly 7 high, although it had been some years under tillage. A skeleton, with a drinking cup, had been previously found. Another skeleton was found on the floor, of a female, with a large quantity of beads near the neck. Close to the head was a kind of bason, broken, but neatly ornamented round the edge. "On removing the head, we were much surprised to find that it rested upon a drinking cup, that had been placed at the feet of another skeleton, and which was interred in an oblong cist 2 feet deep, and lying also from north to south. With the drinking cup was a spear-head of flint, and a singular stone." (Plate xvii.) This stone is very neatly polished, feels silky, and, at first sight, looks something

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like fossil wood. (See plate xvii., "Ancient Wilts," vol. i.) No. 40 "may be called 'the monarch of the plain,' being the largest barrow upon it." On the floor were perceived symptoms of cremation, in charred wood, etc., yet "we could not discover the primary interment." No. 41. An interment of burnt bones. No. 42, sixty-six feet in diameter, and 6 feet high, was opened in 1803, and produced, within a circular cist, an interment of burnt bones, and a bronze pin with part of its handle, deposited in a neat and perfect urn. (Plate xvi.) Nos. 43 and 44 are included within the boundaries of the Cursus, and very near the western end of it. In the first of these, at the depth of 3 feet, was the skeleton of an adult, with a drinking cup, and on the floor of the barrow, another of a child. We afterwards, in a shallow cist, found the third skeleton, of a man, with a curious pebble of a sea-green colour when dipped in water, and under the left hand a dagger of bronze. No. 44 contained only a simple interment of burnt bones. Nos. 45 and 47 yielded simple interments of burnt bones; No. 46, a rude urn with cremation. No. 48 an interment of burnt bones with a bronze pin. No. 49 is a long barrow.[1] No. 50. Under a regular stratum of flints, intermixed

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[1] No. 49 is *not* a *long* barrow. It is an oval barrow, coeval with the round barrows of the bronze period, and differing from the long barrow in having the ditch all round it and being much smaller. These oval barrows cover interments sometimes by simple inhumation, but more generally after cremation. Dr. Thurnam opened this barrow on May 5th, 1864. Near to the east end, at the depth of about 1½ feet, was the skeleton of a person of middle stature, closely doubled up, and with the head to the north. Close to the back of the skull was a small drinking cup of richly decorated red pottery, such as is found with skeletons in the later round barrows. Like the brachycephalic skeleton with which it was found, it was much decayed and broken. The centre of the mound was searched for a second interment, but unsuccessfully, although a small cup of coarse thick pottery was found. A third opening was made near the west end of the barrow, and at a depth of from 1 to 2 feet, was the skeleton of a tall man, of a stature of 6 feet. This was likewise doubled up, but the head was directed to the west. Close to the remains of the skull were four very beautiful *javelin* heads of flint. They were close together, and had probably been deposited with their shafts entire. These are the only objects of this description which have been found in the Wiltshire barrows, but four of the same kind, but smaller, were found in an oval barrow on Pistle Down, Dorset, near the junction of the three counties of Wilts, Dorset and Hants.—See engravings of them in "Archæologia," 1873; "Proceedings of Soc. Ant.,"

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a black vegetable mould, at the depth of 5 feet, was the cist, at [the] floor of the barrow containing a skeleton, lying from north to south; and near it, a large branch of a stag's horn. No. 51. A fine bell-shaped barrow, 95 feet in diameter, and 7 feet in elevation. At the depth of 4½ feet in the native soil, viz., 11½ from the summit, were found two skeletons, with their heads laid towards the north; the one, an adult, the other, a young person of about twelve years of age. No. 52. In this was perceived earth, quite black, and some burnt to a [illegible]. In 53, near the centre, was found a circular cist containing only ashes, with a quantity of small bones, probably of birds, dispersed about the barrow. No. 54. A fine bell-shaped barrow, [illegible] feet in diameter, and 7 in height, produced, on the floor, and near the centre, a circular cist, 18 inches wide, and 1 foot deep, full of wood ashes and a few fragments of burnt bones. About 2 feet to the north of the above was another cist, of an oblong form, much larger and deeper than the other, which contained an interment of burnt bones piled up in a heap in the centre of the cist. No. 55 produced only a simple interment of burnt bones. In No. 56 a cist was discovered, which had been previously investigated, but [illegible] near the top.[1] The barrows numbered from 57 to 61 were opened by Mr. Cunnington. [illegible] the four bell-shaped, barrows. [illegible] he found an [illegible] and in another the

[illegible]

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scattered fragments of burnt bones, a few small amber rings, beads of the same, and of jet, with the point of a bronze dart. In the large barrow, No. 57, he found, in a cist, at the depth of 12 feet from the surface, the remainder, as he thought of the brass dart, and with it a curious whetstone, some ivory tweezers, and some decayed articles of bone. No. 66 is a low barrow, in which were fragments of a human skull, of a large sepulchral urn, and a drinking cup. No. 67 appeared to have been previously opened. No. 68 is what Sir R. Hoare calls a "pond barrow." No. 69 had been previously opened by Mr. Cunnington. No. 70 had an interment of burnt bones, deposited in an irregular cist. No. 71 produced the skeleton of a child, near the surface, and lower down, two rude sepulchral urns, the one above the other, each containing burnt bones. No. 72 had been opened by Mr. Cunnington, and produced a sepulchral urn. No. 73 had, near the surface, a skeleton, with four wooden beads near its neck; and it appeared that another interment of burnt bones had been taken out. No. 74 produced a cinerarium, and ashes in a cist. Nos. 75, 76, 77, 78, and 79 had been opened before, and appear to have been robbed of their contents. No. 80 is not sepulchral. In No. 81 was a large rude urn, containing an interment of burnt bones. No 82 had a cinerarium, and two simple interments of burnt bones, just under the surface. No. 83 contained a sepulchral urn, with a small bronze pin. To the south of No. 80, on the opposite hill, is a disc-barrow, not inserted in the plan, which produced a rude urn without an interment. No. 84, the largest barrow in this group, had been ploughed over. In making our section, we found pieces of stags' horns, pottery, and the remains of a skeleton and drinking cup and two knives; but the primary interment was a skeleton, with its legs gathered up, and hands placed under its head. No. 85 contained originally an interment of burnt bones, within a cist, but had been opened, No. 86 had also been opened; it had a circular cist and a cinerarium. No. 87 contained fragments of an urn and burnt bones, in a shallow circular cist. No. 88 produced, just under the turf, fragments of a rude urn and burnt bones, and lower down, a sepulchral urn reversed over a deposit of burnt bones. No. 89 had been in tillage; it contained a skeleton

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[illegible]

[illegible] instrument made from a stag's horn; [illegible] also a large and deep cist. Nos. 105 and 106 had been [illegible] a small fragment of burnt [illegible] ashes in a [illegible] had been [illegible] No. 115 [illegible] [illegible] found, [illegible] the long barrow [illegible] differing th[illegible] apparently un[illegible] [illegible]." (Tumuli [illegible] regular account was [illegible]

The lowest part had been opened, and contained an interment of burnt bones. In the other mound was an interment of burnt bones, secured by a linen cloth under a rude urn. No. 113, although previously examined, yielded fragments of an urn and skeleton. No. 114 contained a deposit of burnt bones and ashes, in a deep cist. No. 115 the same, but had been opened before. No 116 had been opened. No. 117 contained a small rude urn, with an interment of burnt bones. No. 118. A small long barrow, and produced a deposit of burnt bones and black ashes in a neat circular cist. No. 119 had an interment of burnt bones in a small cist. No. 120 is a "pond" barrow. No. 121 produced a rude urn reversed over a deposit of burnt bones. On the south side of Durrington Walls is an elevated mound, having the appearance of a barrow, No. 122, but, after digging to the depth of 11 feet, no sepulchral traces were found. No. 123, mutilated. No. 124, appearing like three barrows rising from one large base, but certainly a long barrow. It stands from south-west to north-east, and has its wide end towards the west. On the small end, and also on the centre, are mounds resembling two circular barrows Sir Richard opened that on the small end, and found only a few ashes and charred wood; but in the central mound we discovered, near the top, a skeleton and a drinking cup, both of which had been disturbed. On reaching the floor of the long barrow we found a circular cist like a little well, but it contained no interment. From this well-like cist, a tunnel, like a chimney, ascended nearly to the top. "I imagine that, as in most of our long barrows, the primary interment would be at the broad end. In this tumulus we have rather a singular instance of a circular barrow being raised upon a long barrow." Nos. 125, 126, and 127 being in tillage, were not opened. Nos. 128 and 129 had been previously opened, but the cist of the latter, containing an interment of burnt bones, with a lance-head of bronze,[1] had escaped unnoticed. No. 130 had

[1] "The bronze blades from the barrows are by Hoare variously described as those of daggers, spears, lances, and arrows. The great majority were probably daggers or knives for hunting, or for every day purposes. No other tumuli have been so productive in such implements as those of Wiltshire; nor have so many of such large proportions and beautiful workmanship been found in any other district." (Thurnam's Anc. Brit. Barrows, "Archæol.," xliii., 448.)

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been partially opened, but some of the interments remained perfect, and were attended with some novel and singular circumstances. At the depth of about a foot and a half from the surface was a skeleton with a drinking cup, and lower down a deposit of burnt bones. On the east side of the barrow lay the skeletons of two infants, one with its head towards the east, the other towards the west, each placed over the head of a cow, which from fragments of the horns, appeared to have been of small size. We afterwards found a cist nearly four feet deep in the chalk, which contained the primary interment, viz., the skeleton of a man; but these relics had been disturbed, and some bronze articles, with which the bones were tinged, had been removed. No. 131 had been opened. No. 132. In a deep cist were found an unusually large quantity of burnt bones, two drinking cups, two incense cups, and two bronze pins. The quantity of bones and the duplicate articles led Sir R. Hoare to suppose that this mound had been raised over two persons. (Plate xxiv.) No. 133 is a very high barrow, but the plough had made very considerable encroachments round its base. It contained, within a deep cist, a pile of burnt bones, and a very beautiful and perfect grape cup (engraved in plate xxiv. of "Ancient Wilts"). Nos. 134, 135, 136, and 137 bore marks of prior openings. No. 138 had been opened. No. 139, a mean barrow, composed entirely of vegetable earth, produced, within a shallow cist, a pile of burnt bones, and with them two fine daggers of bronze, a long pin of the same metal in the form of a crutch, a whetstone, and a small pipe of bone, about 7 or 8 inches long, and more than a quarter of an inch in diameter at the small, and half an inch at the large end (plate xxiv); it is thin, and neatly polished, and has a perforation near the centre. Nos. 140, 141, 142, 143, previously explored by the neighbouring farmers. No. 144, a wide bowl-shaped barrow, composed entirely of vegetable earth, contained the remains of a skeleton within an oblong cist, with head towards the north and with a small lance-head of bronze. No. 145, previously explored, but in the cist was discovered a piece of ivory resembling the handle of a cup, and a large black pebble. No. 146 appears to have been the barrow opened by Dr. Stukeley, and marked B. in table ix., of his work. No. 147. One of these barrows,

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enclosed within the same ditch, was opened by the Earl of Pembroke, in the year 1722, and is marked A. in table ix., of Stukeley, and described at page 44 of his "Stonehenge." He had found the deposit of a skeleton three feet under the surface, with its head placed in a northerly direction towards Stonehenge. Sir R. Hoare found the cist, which contained an interment of burnt bones, and with it two articles of ivory in high preservation. The one resembled a small lance-head, the other is like the handle of a cup. (See Hoare's Ancient Wilts, plate xxiv.) Dr. Stukeley had cleared a part of the floor of the small barrow, and left two half-pence covered with stones. Mr. Cunnington, however, continuing his researches, soon perceived the well-known line of chalk which led them to a cist at the east end of the barrow, and to an interment of burnt bones, with which were deposited four amber beads, two of jet with convoluted stripes, and a little broken cup. No. 148 was unproductive. No. 149 had been opened. In No. 150 the interment was missed. No. 151 is a small long barrow; and Nos. 152, 153 and 154 had been opened before. No. 155, a fine bell-shaped barrow, 92 feet in diameter, and 11 high. On the floor was found a large quantity of burned bones, and with them an earthen cup of a peculiar pattern, a cone of gold similar to that discovered in the golden barrow at Upton Lovel, five other articles of gold and several curious ornaments of amber. (See plate xxv., of Ancient Wilts, vol. i.) The cone of gold is ornamented at intervals with four circular indentations, which are all dotted with a pointed instrument in the same manner as the lines on British pottery. The base of the cone is covered with a plate, which is also ornamented with indented circular lines, and is made to overlap the lower edge of the cone to which it is fastened; it is perforated at bottom in two places for the purpose of suspension. The two circular trinkets are extremely beautiful, and in high preservation; they are composed of red amber set round with gold, and are also perforated for suspension. They resemble the articles found by Dr. Stukeley in a barrow, of which there is an engraving in his Tab. xxxii. "No barrow that we have yet opened has ever produced such a variety of singular and elegant articles, for except the cone of gold, all are novelties, both

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in pattern and design." No. 156, a fine bell-shaped barrow, 102 feet in base diameter, and 10 feet in height, contained within a very shallow cist, the remains of a skeleton, and a deposit of various elegant little trinkets, the most remarkable of which are two gold beads (engraved in plate xxv.). Besides these beads of amber, jet, and stone, was a beautiful little grape cup, and at the feet of skeleton, a drinking cup. No. 157 had a prior opening. No. 158 called by Stukeley, Bush Barrow, was not opened by him. Mr. Cunnington's attempts were at first unsuccessful, but in 1808, on reaching the floor of the barrow, he and Sir R. Hoare discovered the skeleton of a stout and tall man lying from S. to N., the extreme length of his thigh bone was 20 inches. About 18 inches south of the head, we found several bronze rivets intermixed with wood, and some thin bits of bronze, nearly decomposed. These articles covered a space of 12 inches or more; it is probable therefore that they were the mouldered remains of a shield. Near the shoulders lay a fine celt (plate xxvi). Near the right arm was a large dagger of bronze, and a spear-head of the same metal, full 13 inches long, and the largest Sir R. Hoare had found. A curious article of gold had probably decorated the case of this dagger. The handle of wood belonging to this instrument (engraved in plate xxvii), had been formed, with a labour and exactness almost unaccountable, by thousands of gold rivets smaller than the smallest pin. Beneath the fingers of the right hand lay a lance-head of bronze. Immediately over the breast of the skeleton was a large plate of gold in the form of a lozenge, measuring 7 inches by 6. It was fixed to a thin piece of wood, over the edges of which the gold was lapped: it is perforated at top and bottom, for the purpose, probably, of fastening it to the dress as a breast-plate. The even surface of this noble ornament is relieved by indented lines, chequers, and zig-zags, following the shape of the outline, and forming lozenge within lozenge, diminishing gradually towards the centre. On the right side of the skeleton, was a very curious perforated stone, with some wrought articles of bone, many small rings of the same material, and another article of gold. No. 159 had been opened by Lord Pembroke or Dr. Stukeley. No. 160 produced within a small

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circular cist, an interment of burnt bones, and with it a great variety of amber, jet, and glass beads. In No. 161, a low barrow, was a skeleton with a drinking cup, the head towards the south-east: and eighteen inches lower down was another, lying on its left side, with the head towards the east. Beneath this again in a cist nearly 6 feet deep, cut in the chalk, was the primary interment, a young man with a drinking cup close to his right hand, the head lying towards the north. No. 162 had been opened before. No. 163 contained an interment of burnt bones, deposited in a shallow oval cist, with the fragments of a small cup, and a bone pin. No. 164 may be considered as the most beautiful bell-shaped barrow in the plains of Stonehenge. Its base diameter is 145 feet, and its elevation 14½ feet. It contained, within a very shallow cist, the skeleton of a man, with his head deposited towards the north-east, upon a plank of elm wood; on the left side of the head was a fine dagger of bronze, and a small lance-head of the same metal, the former of which had been guarded by a wooden case: at the feet of the skeleton was a richly-ornamented drinking cup. Some stags' horns were at the head and feet of the skeleton. Large pieces of petrified wood were found in holes extending from the top to the bottom of the barrow. No. 165[1] is a small oblong barrow, and was opened at the broad end, but the sepulchral deposit was not found. No. 166 contained the remains of a skeleton, with a drinking cup and stags' horns. No. 167 is a "pond" barrow.[2] No. 168 produced

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[1] In "Tumuli Wiltunenses," 165 is described as a small oblong barrow, in which we found interments, as usual, at the broad end." p. 41. This was opened by Dr. Thurnam. Three skeletons were found, and secondary interments."

[2] "Pond barrow, a misnomer introduced by Sir R. C. Hoare, it not being a barrow at all, but a circular excavation in the surface, similar to what might be made for a pond. The name 'barrow' necessarily involves the idea of a mound or heap, and, as applied to sepulchral monuments, implies a grave-mound; it is entirely inapplicable to such hollows as are here referred to. These circular excavations are often found among or adjacent to the barrows of Wiltshire, but the area within has scarcely ever yielded traces of interment. Sir R. Hoare and the Rev. E. Duke excavated the centre of three without finding sepulchral or other remains; in a fourth, however, in a hole in the chalk, there was a deposit of burnt bones. Dean Merewether opened others in North Wilts, and the



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an interment of burnt bones and No. 169 did not prove sepulchral.[1] No. 170[2] is a long barrow, not opened. No. 171 denotes a group of various tumuli of different sizes, the largest of which produced a rude urn, some jet beads, and a brass pin. In another, which had been opened before, was found the fragments of a large urn, and a piece of granite similar to one found in a barrow at Upton Lovel. Nearly all the smaller barrows in this group contained simple interments of burnt bones. In No. 172 was at first discovered a circular cist, containing a vast quantity of black ashes, with a few fragments of burnt bones; but the interment was placed on the floor, by the side of the cist. With the bones was a large ring and

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Rev. J. H. Austen one in Purbeck, Dorset, and found nothing. I have also dug into two or three (including that marked No. 14 on Winterbourn Stoke Down) with the same negative result; save only that in one (94 or 97 'Ancient Wilts,' i., 168), a mile to the north of Stonehenge, I found the skull and bones of the right arm of a woman in *situ*. The absence of the left arm and of the lower part of the skeleton was remarkable, and showed that the body had been dismembered before burial, which was probably long subsequently to the formation of the cavity. Stukeley opened one near Stonehenge (p. 45), and found nothing but a bit of red pottery. He speaks of them as 'circular dish-like cavities dug in the chalk, like a barrow reversed;' and elsewhere calls them 'barrows inverted.' ('Abury,' p. 12.) His view of their use as 'places for sacrificing and feasting in memory of the dead' is not unlikely. The earth and chalk excavated from them would be employed, we may suppose, in the completion of one or more of the adjacent barrows." Dr. Thurnam, "Archæologia," xlii., p. 167.

[1] "The primary interments are sometimes at a not inconsiderable distance from the centre of the tumulus. Such an irregularity may be inferred to be accidental, dependent probably on the carelessness of those who raised the sepulchral mound. In one barrow near Collingbourn, the Rev. W. C. Lukis found the grave containing the prnicipal interment as much as 12 feet to the south of the centre. As the deviation is as likely to be in one direction as the other, the difficulty of finding the interment is immensely increased. Hence may be explained the fact that of the barrows explored by Hoare and Cunnington, nearly one-fifth (eighty-six out of four hundred and sixty-five) were 'unproductive;' not that, unless in rare instances, they were mere cenotaphs, but that zeal failed in what seemed a hopeless search." Dr. Thurnam, "Archæologia," xliii., p. 330.

[2] No. 170 was opened by Dr. Thurnam, but not successfully. There were important secondary interments. In this barrow Dr. Thurnam obtained the piece of stone spoken of in note at p. 93 of this paper.

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several beads of a dark olive brown colour, made from some bituminized substance. No. 173 is a long barrow. In making a section at the broad end, a skeleton was discovered at the depth of 18 inches from the surface, and on reaching the floor of the barrow, four other skeletons were found strangely huddled together, and yet there was no appearance of a previous disturbance of the barrow. The bones were in a high state of preservation, and one of the persons here interred seems to have had no forehead, the sockets of his eyes appearing to have been on the top of his head, and the final termination of the vertebræ turned up so much "that we almost fancied we had found the remains of one of Lord Monboddo's animals." No. 174 had been opened before. No. 175 contained a simple deposit of burnt bones, and in the small tumulus attached to it, and which had been investigated, we found fragments of another interment. In No. 176, a fine bell-shaped barrow, was found a skeleton, lying on the floor with its head towards the north, but this barrow was not very minutely investigated. No. 177 was only the base of a large circular barrow, the earth having been removed for agricultural purposes; yet the spot where the deposit of burnt bones was made was discovered, and with them a fine spear head of bronze. No. 178 contained a simple interment of burnt bones; and Nos. 179, and 180, had been opened by the neighbouring farmers. No. 181 is a group consisting of several mean barrows, which appeared to have been previously opened. No. 182 produced an interment of burnt bones, deposited within a wooden box on the floor, and with them the head of a bronze dagger, which had been secured by a sheath of wood lined with linen cloth, a small lance-head, a pair of ivory nippers, and an ivory pin. In No. 183 was an interment of burnt bones and some stag's horns.

### Barrows on Wilsford Down.

No. 1 is a small circular barrow, which had been explored. No. 2, a disc-shaped barrow, in it were found a lance-head of bronze, and a pin of the same metal, intermixed with a part of the interment of burnt bones. No. 3, a barrow of the same form, produced an interment by cremation, and a considerable quantity of glass, jet, and amber beads, together with a fine bronze pin. In No. 4 was



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found only the cinerarium containing the ashes, but the interment was missed. No. 5, a flat bowl-shaped barrow, produced, on the floor, a single interment of burnt bones, placed by the side of a circular cist, which contained another deposit of burnt bones within a beautiful sepulchral urn (engraved in plate xxviii.). Close to this urn was another oval cist, containing a similar deposit, together with a spear-head of bronze, which appeared to have been almost melted into a rude lump by the heat of the funeral pile. No. 6 had been opened. No. 7 has three sepulchral mounds within its area; in one were found the relics of the skeleton of a youth, and fragments of a drinking cup; in the central tump was a simple interment of burnt bones, with a small bronze pin; and the third seemed to have been opened. No. 8 had also been examined. No. 9, a large and almost bowl-shaped barrow, 8 feet high. Within a cist, 2 feet deep, was a little pile of burnt bones, and with them an ivory pin, a rude ring of bone, and a small bronze celt. (Plate xxviii.) The cist was protected by a thick covering of flints, and immediately over it was the skeleton of a dog. No. 10 is a "pond" barrow. Nos. 11 and 12 adjoin each other, and are wide and low barrows. The former had been opened, and its scattered relics seem to indicate two interments having taken place within it, cremation and the skeleton. The latter proved a singular, though not a productive barrow. From the small elevation of the mound it was expected that the interment would have been soon met with, but "we were obliged to dig 10 feet below the level, when we discovered a skeleton, with its head laid towards the east." In No. 13, a large bowl-shaped barrow, was the skeleton of a young and stout man, deposited in shallow cist, with the head towards the south-east, and near it a large and rude drinking cup. (Plate xxviii.) No. 14 had been previously opened. In No. 15 no interment could be found. No. 16, a bowl-shaped barrow, produced, at a foot beneath the surface, an interment of burnt bones, and some instruments made of stags' horns, some whetstones, an arrow-head of flint, another in an unfinished state, and a small spear-head. At a greater depth was the primary interment, of a skeleton, with its head laid towards the north-west. No. 17 had been opened. No. 18 is a large bell-shaped barrow, 121 feet in

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diameter, and 11 in elevation, "the monarch of this group." On the floor was the skeleton of a very tall man, lying on his right side, with his head towards the south-east. At his feet were laid a massive hammer, of a dark-coloured stone, a bronze celt, a tube of bone, a whetstone with a groove in the centre, and several other articles of bone, amongst which is the enormous tusk of a wild boar, but the most curious article found was one of twisted bronze, of which Sir Richard Hoare could not divine the use. It is engraved in plate xxix. of "Ancient Wilts," vol. i.

### Lake Group.

No. 1, a long barrow, not opened. The diminutive barrow, No. 2, produced, just under the surface, a rude but perfect little cup (engraved plate xxx.), which is perforated at the bottom like a colander, and has holes on the sides for suspension. This cup accompanied an interment of burnt bones. Nos. 3 and 4 had been previously opened. In No. 5 was an interment of burnt bones, with twenty or thirty small black beads, which appeared to have been composed of earth or wood, and to have passed the fire. No. 6, one of the finest barrows in this group is 13 feet 9 inches high. Within one foot of the surface a large sepulchral urn, rudely formed and baked, 15 inches high and 13 wide, had been placed with its mouth downwards over a large pile of burnt bones, amongst which was a fine ivory bodkin. At a further depth of 5 feet were the remains of two skeletons; and at the bottom of the barrow, and total depth of 13 feet 9 inches, was an oblong cist, five feet deep, and seven feet long, cut in the chalk, containing the skeleton of a child, apparently not more than two or three years old, accompanied by a drinking cup. No. 7 is a large bell-shaped barrow, composed entirely of vegetable earth. It contained, within a cist, a little pile of burnt bones, with which had been deposited a very fine bronze pin, a large stone bead which had been stained red, a bead of ivory, and a lance-head of bronze. (Pl. xxx.) No. 8, a very wide and flat barrow, about 6 feet high, and 48 in diameter, from which the French Prophets are supposed to have preached in 1710 (see Stukeley). At the depth of 2 feet a pile of marl was reached, which increased in

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size as the floor was approached. On the north side of the section was found the cist from whence this marl had been thrown out; it was 8½ feet long, and above 2 wide, and contained a pile of burnt human bones, which had been enclosed within a box of wood. Near the bones lay a fine spear-head and a whetstone. (Pl. xxviii) No. 9, a fine bell-shaped barrow, 10 feet high, produced only a simple interment of burnt bones on the floor. In No. 10 nothing was found but the skeleton of a dog and the head of a deer.[1] Nos. 11 and 12 had been previously opened. No. 13 contained a simple interment of burnt bones. In No. 14 and 15 we see a kind of double barrow, the smallest end of which had been opened before. The floor of the larger mound was strewed with an immense quantity of wood ashes, and in a small oblong cist was an interment of burnt bones, together with four glass pully beads, one of stone, two of amber, and a bronze pin. On the north side of the adjoining inclosure, but not within it, are a few small barrows, scarcely elevated above the soil, which were more productive than their size seemed to promise. No. 21 had been opened before, but amongst the earth and scattered bones were some fragments of a fine drinking cup, some chipped flints and one perfect arrow-head of flint. No. 22 had been partially opened, but amongst the unburnt bones which had been moved were found

[1] Dr. Thurnam says (page 25 of "Ancient British Barrows," part ii.): "I have myself successfully re-opened tumuli, 'unproductive' under the hands of Hoare and Cunnington, whose explorations had yielded 'no signs of interment.' Fifty or sixty years after these unsuccessful attempts, I was, in the case of four barrows, rewarded by the discovery of interments of burnt bodies, eccentrically deposited. One was on Lake Down (Ancient Wilts, i., 211 (10), on which Cunnington had made two trials. The others were on Winterbourn Stoke Down (Ibid, i., 121 (10), 124 (23), the fourth being one of two or three very small mounds, about a quarter of a mile to the north, not distinguished by numbers. (Ibid, i., 126.) In three of the number the burnt bones were contained in shallow graves, whilst in the fourth they were collected into a large upright urn, with the rim in close proximity to the ploughed surface of the very low burial mound." Dr. Thurnam opened besides, barrows not examined by Sir R. Hoare, at Lake, Amesbury "Seven Barrows," North, "King Barrow," and Winterbourn Stoke (p. 5 of Ancient British Barrows, ii.); but, with the exception of the information that the last was unsuccessful, and that the examination of two of the five barrows at Winterbourn Stoke had been described in "Proc. Ant. Soc." 2nd series, ii., 427—429, he has not published details respecting them.

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the remains of two neatly-ornamented drinking cups; and on digging towards the south-east was discovered the skeleton of a child, and over it a drinking cup. (Pl. xviii.) No. 23 contained a simple interment of burnt bones within a cist, made in the form of a cone, and No. 24 produced a similar interment, immediately under the turf, with fragments of a drinking cup. Two feet lower down was another deposit of burnt bones immediately over the head of a skeleton; and beneath this was a second skeleton, lying with its head to the north-west, and several large pieces of stags' horns by its side. The barrows, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, were opened by their owner, the Rev. Edward Duke, in 1806. Nos. 16, 17, and 18 had each an interment of burnt bones, and a small lance-head of bronze. No. 20, besides a lance-head contained four little articles of bone, intermixed with the ashes and burnt bones. Sir Richard Hoare thought they might have been used, like tesseræ, for some kind of game. (Pl. xxxi.) No. 21, a wide and low tumulus, ploughed over for many years. The mode of interment was here varied, and the very rich and numerous trinkets discovered in this barrow seem to announce the skeleton to have been that of some very distinguished British female. The most remarkable of these was an ornament of amber, 10 inches in height, and above 3 in breadth. It is formed of eight distinct tablets, and by being strung together, formed one ornament, as may be distinctly seen by the perforations at top and bottom. Besides the above were numerous beads of amber of much larger proportions than usual,and varying in their patterns, four articles of gold perforated, perhaps for earrings, and two small earthen cups, the one about 7 or 8 inches deep, the other little above an inch. The largest of the beads, the gold ornaments and the fragment of the smallest cup are engraved of their full size in plate xxxi.

### Barrows at Winterbourn Stoke.

These are situated at a short distance from the village, on a gentle ·ence, and are twelve in number. Nine of them are surrounded ·tch and vallum enclosing an area of about four acres, but · a period subsequent to the barrows within it. All, but

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"I. 1. *Templa Druidum.* 2. *A Review.* 3. *Religion and Manners of the Druids.* II. 1. *Camps.* 2. *Castles.* 3. *Military Architecture of the Old Times.* 4. *Roman Towns.* 5. *Pits.* 6. *Horns.* III. 1. *Barrows.* 2. *Vrnes.* 3. *Sepulchres.* 4. *Ditches.* 5. *Highways.* 6. *Roman Pavements.* 7. *Coines.* 8. *Embanking and Draining.*

"To which is Annexed, *Στρώματα*, sive MISCELLANEA.

"Containing Discourses Chronological, *e.g.*, 1. *Architectonical.* 2. *Of Scutcheons.* 3. *Hand-writings.* 4. *Habits.* Also 5. *Of Weights.* 6. *Prices of Corn.* 7. *Of Diversities of Standards,* and the *Value of Money.* 8. *Noüuelles.* 9. *The Proportion of the Languages, Ingredients of our present English.*

"The whole Work will consist of about 160 Sheets, and will be Printed in *Folio* with abundance of Cuts.

"The Book to be Printed on a very good Paper. Every Subscriber to pay Eighteen Shillings in Quires, that is to say, Nine Shillings down in hand at the time of the Subscription, and the other Nine at the delivery of it.

"That the price to any other than a Subscriber to be One Pound Four Shillings in Sheets: And there are so few Printed, that care will be taken that none shall be under-sold.

"That the Books will be printed by *Candlemas* next, and will be delivered at the Shops of these Booksellers following, viz., Mr. *Clavel* at the *Peacock* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, Mr. *Smith* at the *Feathers* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, Mr. *Bennet* at the *Half-Moon* in *St. Paul's* Church-yard. Mr. *Nott* in the *Pall-Mall.* Mr. *Hensman* in *Westminster-Hall.* Mr. *Hindmarsh* at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill.* Mr. *Sam. Crouch* over against the *Royal Exchange.* Mr. *Horne* at the entrance into the *Royal Exchange.* Mr. *Wilkinson* at the *Black Boy* in *Fleet-street.* Mr. *Henry Clements* Bookseller in *Oxford.* Mr. *Henry Dickenson* Bookseller in *Cambridge.*

"All Gentlemen who subscribe, will have their Names, Titles, and Places of Abode Printed in a sheet.

"*Monumenta Britannica.* [Specimen page.] 25.

"Templa Druidum.

he Declension of the *Roman* Empire the *Britains* being

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wrapped up in a linen cloth to protect them; and with the bones were found a small bronze pin, employed probably for fastening the cloth, five rings of a dark brown colour, one of which was perforated for suspension, a small cone of the same materials perforated also for the same purpose, and several pully beads of glass, with one of jet, and another of amber. No. 11 contained, within an oblong cist, a simple interment of burnt bones. No. 12 contained a very large rude urn, 16½ inches deep, inverted over an interment of burnt bones, and within it a smaller vase. Within them were found two dark rings, a large amber bead perforated, four pully beads and three of a black colour.

On the eastern side of the valley, and nearly opposite to the cluster of barrows just described, is another group situated on the southern declivity of a projecting point of the downs. They are enclosed in an area of about seven acres, within an oval earthen work, surrounded by a bank and ditch of slight elevation, and are eleven in number. Cremation had been practised in Nos. 1 and 2. Nos. 3 and 4 had been opened by shepherds, and contained interments of burnt bones. In the former was a little cup, which Mr. Cunnington purchased. No. 5 contained an urn very imperfectly baked, and within it an interment of burnt bones, and a very small arrow-head of bone. In No. 6 cremation had been adopted. No. 7, a large barrow, produced three interments. At the depth of 4½ feet was the skeleton of an infant; and immediately beneath it a deposit of burnt bones, and a drinking cup. At the depth of 8 feet, and in the native bed of chalk, was the primary interment, viz., the skeleton of a man, lying from north to south, with his legs gathered up according to the primitive custom. On his right side, and about a foot or more above the bones was an enormous stag's horn. No. 8, a large old-fashioned bowl-shaped barrow, with a base diameter of nearly 100 feet, contained a skeleton lying on the floor with its head to the north. The other three barrows, 9, 10, and 11, afforded, on opening, no one appearance of sepulchral remains.

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"It is environed with an extraordinary great *Vallum* [or Rampart] as great and as high as that at *Winchester*, (which is the greatest Bulwark that I have seen), *within which* is a Graffe of a Depth and Breadth proportionable to it: Wherefore it could not be designed for a Fortification, for then the Graffe would have been on the out-side of the Rampart.

"From the Port *a*, to the Port *β*, is sixty Perches. From the Port *γ*, to that of *δ* the same distance, and the breadth of the Rampart is Four Perches, and the breadth of the Graffe the same distance. Round about the Graffe (*scil.* on the edge or border of it) are pitched on end huge Stones, as big, or rather bigger than those at *Stoneheng*; but rude and unhewn . . . . . . . . . . .

### Drawing of Stonehenge in the "Scala Mundi."

(*Page* 46.)

Through the intervention of his friend, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the writer has been able to procure a further account of the plan of Stonehenge in the library of Corpus Christi College (formerly Benet College), Cambridge. The Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., a Fellow and Librarian of the College, has most kindly sent him a *fac-simile* of the drawing in "Scala Mundi." This "Scala Mundi" is in the Parker MS. (No. 194). At the end of it is written, in a style not much later than the time of Edward II., "Hospitium beate Marie extra bishopsgate hunc vendicat librum." "It is a Chronological Table or Fasti from Anno Mundi I., down to 1338, in handwriting of the time of Edward I., thence to the year 1451, in a somewhat later hand: the skeleton is complete to the year 1619. The lunar cycles of nineteen years and the solar cycles of twenty-eight years are duly marked, but there are fifty lines (*i.e.*, fifty years) in each page instead of one clear cycle of nineteen only, as is the case when twenty-eight leaves of such pages complete a combination of the lunar and solar cycles. The manuscript is a small folio 11¼ inches long by 7¾ wide." The notice of Stonehenge occurs on page 57. In the quadrangular space between the stones is written "Stonehenges juxta Ambresbury in Anglia sita" in red ink. A.D. 491 is the year to which the notice of Stonehenge is

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appended, and the British King then reigning is Aurelius Ambrosius. The print in Gough's Camden, from which the woodcut at page 46 was taken, is not faithfully copied; but as the generally rude and inaccurate character of the original sketch is sufficiently shown, it seems to be hardly worth while to have it re-engraved.

### The Stones of the inner Circle and Inner Ellipse.

*(Page* 59.*)*

The great puzzle about Stonehenge is in connection with these smaller stones, which are foreign to the neighbourhood. We cannot be far wrong in believing that the entire structure was intended to serve as a temple for religious worship; and we know whence the large stones came, and how "with much ado and pains" they could be set up; but we are in perplexity about these primitive stones from Wales or Cornwall. Were they brought here, in the first instance, in ignorance of the existence of the sarsen stones in the neighbourhood? This is not likely. Were they brought here to decorate the interior of the temple, as we should employ rare and costly marble from a distance to adorn the interior of a church? This again is not likely, as although by shaping and polishing they might be rendered more comely, they are at present in no way ornamental.

For the merely structural purposes of making a circle and ellipse, sarsen stones of the same height and size would have been equally serviceable.

We are forced to believe that some special *religious* value was attached to stones of this particular kind, and that no other stones could have supplied their place in a building of this character.

That medicinal and other virtues were believed to be the property of particular stones we know from Pliny (Book xxxvi.) and others; and Aubrey tells us (p. 35) that pieces of these stones were put into wells "to drive away the Toades." It is not unlikely that enquiries into the superstitious value, which has at different times and in different places, become associated with particular stones, will render it almost certain to us that these smaller Stonehenge stones were held in such high regard as to make the trouble of bringing them from a great

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distance a matter of no concern in comparison with the importance of having them there, as an integral portion of the sacred fane.

### The word "Sarrasin."

*(Page 69.)*

Dr. Stukeley says (p. 63 of reprint) that: "the Cornish men universally suppose that the Jews are the people who first work't in their rocks for tin; and in old neglected tin-works they find some of their tools. The workmen call them *attal sarazin*, the Jews' cast off works in their Hebrew speech, says Norden." On the Jews in Cornwall, see Mr. Max Müller's "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. iii.

### Destruction of Stones at Stonehenge.

*(Page 77.)*

Lord Herbert (then the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert) stated in his speech at the Society's meeting, at Salisbury, in 1855, that he believed "that some years ago, a portion of Stonehenge was consumed in the reparation of the roads." (See "*Wilts Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag*," ii., 6.) This can hardly have been the case since 1812, as the plans of Stonehenge which served for the illustration of Sir Richard Hoare's description of it in "Ancient Wilts," require no alteration for the illustration of the present paper, although at an interval of sixty years.

There must have been some misapprehension about the stone from which West Amesbury House was built (see *page* 76), as Mr. Edwards, of Amesbury, in a letter which he has kindly communicated to the writer (dated April 8th, 1876), says, "I have been to West Amesbury, and have carefully examined the stones used in building the house as well as the garden wall, but have not discovered any stones similar to those at Stonehenge. . . . I likewise examined the walls of the old farm-house, on which there is a date of 1680, the old portion of which is partly built with similar stones to that of the house before mentioned." Mr. Edwards mentions the curious fact that the Stonehenge circles and the Friar's Heel are in different Hundreds, the former being in the Hundred of Underditch, and the latter in the Hundred of Amesbury.

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### Re-erection of the Trilithon which fell in 1797.

*(Page* 81.*)*

For more than twenty years there has been discussion about the propriety of re-erecting the stones of the trilithon which last fell down. It appears, however, that at a very early period in the present century the same idea had been entertained, but had come to nought. Mr. Britton, in his memoir of Mr. Hatcher, says "that a sum of fifty pounds, which had been subscribed to raise the fallen trilithon at Stonehenge, was, in 1802, employed in exploring some of the numerous barrows of Salisbury Plain."

### Digging around the "Slaughtering Stone."

*(Page* 85.*)*

There seems to have been some confusion in Sir R. Hoare's mind about this digging around the "Slaughtering Stone," as it appears that it was done by Mr. Cunnington, in 1802, two or three years before his connection with Sir Richard commenced. For "*he,*" in the next line, *read* "Sir R. Hoare."

### The Cursus.

*(Page* 90.*)*

Any one who would visit the west end of the Cursus should go along the road to Shrewton, as far as barrow No. 42, and then cross the road. At a distance of about 300 yards he will come upon this end of the Cursus. One of the barrows upon it is on the down, the other inside the plantation. It will be useless to attempt to trace its boundaries through the plantation.

### Absence of Anglo-Saxon Barrows from the neighbourhood of Stonehenge.

*(Page* 99.*)*

"It is further to be remarked that the few Anglo-Saxon tumuli which have been found in Wiltshire were in the outlying districts and valleys, and not one of them on the barrow-covered hills and



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plains around Avebury and Stonehenge, the sacred places of an elder race."—Dr. Thurnam, "Archæologia," vol. xliii., p. 287.[1]

THE BELGIC DITCHES,
as described by Dr. T. Wharton, in his "History of Kiddington," pp. 72, 73, 74. [1815.]
*(Page 103.)*

"Petty barbarian states, intent only on repelling their neighbours or enlarging their territories, unfurnished with arts or letters, and from their natural ferocity cherishing the most violent jealousies, and destitute of the principles of mutual confidence, possessed no other mode of adjusting their differences and securing their frontiers, than to construct these inartificial bulwarks, serving at once for division and defence, planned on the simplest mechanism, and executed by the mere strength of tumultuary multitudes.

"They must be esteemed stupendous operations, not only if we consider their solidity and extent, but the inconveniencies of ground, and impracticabilities of country, over which they were conducted, with a sort of blind but unbaffled perseverance, by the devious and eccentric hand of savage conquest. There is often a kind of barbaric capriciousness even in the irregularities of their course. It frequently happened, that a boundary raised with infinite labour, soon became superfluous, and as new spaces of country gradually fell a prey to the progression of prosperous arms, was included by another on a more comprehensive scale and wider compass. A straight line drawn northward, from the southern coast of England about Dorsetshire and Hampshire, only thirty miles into land, would cut through the curve of no fewer than seven of these boundaries, successively circulating one beyond the other, and which I believe to have been reared by the Belgæ, a formidable colony of the Celts from Gaul, as they gradually extended their victories, and propagated their

[1] The six grave-mounds belonging to Ancient Wiltshire, which have been proved upon examination to be Anglo-Saxon, are described in Hoare's "Ancient Wilts," i., 46, 48, 174 (barrow levelled), 234, 235; vol. ii. "Roman Æra," p. 26. The five secondary Anglo-Saxon interments are described in i., 79, 100, 113, 194, 236.

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acquisitions, over Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. All these seven valla describe the most desultory track, but proceed in windings nearly parallel—a proof of their reference to each other, and that the aboriginal Britons did not suffer the invaders to advance with any degree of precipitation.

"The most perfect is that near Woodyates, in Dorsetshire: and which originating, as I presume, from the river Stour, or the sea-shore, about Christchurch, in Hampshire, appears conspicuous, like the elliptic on one of the hemispheres of a globe, over the long and broad declivity of Bladon Hill, above Marton, in Wiltshire, and intersecting, with a prodigious ridge and foss in almost original preservation, the Roman road called the Ikenild Street, within a furlong of Woodyates, pushes through the woody tracts of Cranbourne Chase, and seems to terminate at Grovely Wood, within five miles of Salisbury. This very remarkable rampart is unquestionably Celtic, being evidently antecedent to the Romans; for at the intersection above-mentioned, the substance of the Ikenild, that most dubious and unintelligible of the Pretorian ways, yet here retaining the genuine and massy remains of a pebbly and flinty stratum cemented with chalk, is continued in a line across or through it, as was plainly perceptible when the London turnpike-road was lately made. Had the rampart and dyke been posterior, the Roman materials would have been torn up and destroyed. And I must add that near Woodyates Lane the Roman road penetrates the centre of a barrow, one of a numerous group. These barrows, apparently connected with the rampart, are as indisputably Celtic, and not Roman; because the Romans, more pious than modern Christians, would not have suffered such a profanation to have been committed on a sepulchre of their ancestors. Nor, in after times, would the Saxons or Danes have formed a barrow on a public way. Wansdyke or Gwhahan-Dyke, the ditch of division, which also interferes with a probable Roman road at Hedington, and in the midst of which is situated the town of Devizes, anciently a Celtic station, is the last frontier of the encroachments of the Belgæ northward. Here a stand was made between the contending barbarians: and as Wansdyke runs between Stonehenge and Abury, probably those two mysterious monuments,



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if not sepulchral, were intended to perpetuate the final triumph of the Southern Britons, and the limitation of the Belgic dominion. . . . The boundaries of which I am now speaking, are for the most part extant on the steeper and northern sides of hills, the foss, or excavation, lying on the North, because people, pressing forward from the south, were opposing the resistance of a northern adversary."

## The Bustard.

*(Page 140.)*

The re-appearance of several bustards in Wiltshire in the winter of 1871, when the two, which, as stuffed specimens, are to be seen in the Salisbury Museum, were killed, would seem to indicate that if this bird had a chance of living a quiet life on the downs, it would again be found occupying its former haunts. The rapid conversion of the downs into corn and root-producing land would, however, effectually prevent any re-settlement of this bird near Stonehenge, even if it could ensure an unmolested existence.

## The Ossuary Theory.

*(Page 152.)*

Dr. Thurnam did not think that the provisional interment of bodies during the formation of the mound which was to be their ultimate destination would satisfactorily account for the remarkable appearance presented by so many of these bodies when discovered in the long barrows. He says "It is highly probable that, during the time the large and honorary grave-mound was in process of formation, the bodies of the dead and of those slaughtered in their honour were deposited in some temporary grave, and subsequently disinterred for final interment in the complete, or nearly complete, long barrow. I am, however, satisfied, by repeated and minute examinations of the bones, that the very peculiar appearances which they present cannot be entirely explained in this way; but that they are due to the manner in which those who were sacrificed in the course of the funeral ceremonies were slaughtered, and who seem to have been literally 'brained' by the blows of a club or stone axe." "Archæologia," xlii., p. 191.

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## CREMATION IN WILTSHIRE LONG BARROWS.

*(Page* 153.*)*

Dr. Thurnam saw reason, subsequently, to add to this list of three long barrows presenting imperfect cremation, two, which he had previously considered to be oval barrows. They are "Kill-Barrow," near Tilshead, and No. 3 on Shrewton Down (p. 196). "Both, when excavated at the east and broader end, yielded deposits of burnt bones, covered and intermixed with a substance resembling mortar, many of the bones being tinged of a green colour. . . . In both the skirts of the mounds are more or less mutilated, so that the lateral ditches of the true long barrow are not apparent." ("Archæologia," xliii., 297, *note*.) The three long barrows, described in "Archæologia, xlii., 191, in which the remains of the dead found in them had been burnt, were Knook Long Barrow, Tilshead Old Ditch Barrow, and that in the centre of Bratton Camp. In Knook Long Barrow, in the year 1801, in the usual situation, and instead of the usual pile of skeletons, Mr. Cunnington found a "large quantity of burnt bones." This barrow was re-opened by Dr. Thurnam, in 1806, "when, in digging at the north-east end of the barrow we came to traces of the burnt bones and many scattered brittle flints, some of a red and others of a blackish-grey colour, as if scorched by heat. Though no pains were spared in clearing out the base of the barrow, no trace whatever was met with of any unburnt skeleton or skeletons." In 1865 Dr. Thurnam opened the Tilshead Ditch Barrow (perhaps the largest long barrow of Wiltshire), and found beneath a pile of large flints, and on a sort of pavement of similar flints, a large pile of burnt bones, being those apparently of one full-grown adult individual. It was observed that the fragments of bone were much larger than those so common in the circular barrows, and that they were far from being so completely incinerated. The skeleton of a small female was found about two feet to the north-west of the burnt bones, closely doubled up, and crouched. The skull presented indisputable marks of having been violently cleft before burial, and no doubt during life. "In this instance the skeleton appears clearly to have been that of a slaughtered female victim, and the burnt bones those probably of the chief in

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whose honour the barrow was erected." In August, 1866, Dr. Thurnam opened the barrow at Bratton Castle, and in the more westerly of two large openings made at the extreme east end, he found, on the natural level, at a depth of 8½ feet, a heap of imperfectly-burnt, or rather charred, human bones, as many, perhaps, as would be left by the incineration of one or two adult bodies. Careful search was made for an entire unburnt skeleton or skeletons, but without success. Dr. Thurnam gathered from the results of the examination of some long barrows in Yorkshire by Canon Greenwell that in that part of the north of England "cremation was the rule of the long barrows, but cremation after a singular and imperfect fashion."

### Posture of Bodies in cases of Inhumation.

*(Page* 165.*)*

Had Dr. Thurnam lived to write his paper on Stonehenge, he would doubtless have condensed for it his two valuable papers in vols. xlii. and xliii. of the "Archæologia," and have done it in a more systematic manner than the writer has done. The latter, anxious not extend his paper to an undue length, has touched very lightly on some very interesting matters connected with the barrow-burial around Stonehenge, and amongst others, upon the position of bodies in cases of inhumation. He gladly takes advantage of this printing of "Addenda" to give some more information upon this subject than the slight mention of it made at page 165. Sir R. Hoare says "Ancient Wilts," i., 24) :—

"The second mode of burying the body *entire* is evidently proved to be of a much later period, by the position of the head and body, and by the articles deposited with them. In this case we find the body extended *at full length*, the heads placed at random in a variety of directions, and instruments of iron accompanying them.

"Two modes of *cremation* seem also to have been adopted; at first the body was burnt, the ashes and bones collected, and deposited on the floor of the barrow, or in a cist excavated in the native chalk. This being the most simple, was probably the most primitive custom practised by the Ancient Britons. The funeral urn, in which

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the ashes of the dead were secured, was the refinement of a later age. The bones, when burnt, were collected and placed within the urn, which was deposited with its mouth *downwards*, in a cist cut in the chalk. Sometimes we have found them with their mouth *upwards*, but these instances are not very common: we have also found remains of the linen cloth which enveloped the bones, and a little brass pin which secured them.

"Of these different modes of interment, I am of opinion that the one of burying the body entire, with the legs gathered up, was the most ancient: that the custom of cremation succeeded, and prevailed with the former; and that the mode of burying the body entire, and extended at full length, was of the latest adoption."

"The crouched position of the skeleton," says Dr. Thurnam, "with the knees drawn up more or less closely to the breast, is not confined to the long barrows, or to tombs of the stone age; but is also observed, almost, if not quite, to the exclusion of the extended posture, in the circular barrows of the bronze age. It is a very singular, though well-known circumstance, that this contracted or crouched position of the remains is by no means peculiar to ancient British tombs, but is found to have been and still to be very generally resorted to by primitive and barbarous peoples in both hemispheres and in all the quarters of the globe. The earliest notice of it seems to be in Herodotus, who tells us (iv., 190) that the Nasamones of Lybia buried their dead in a sitting posture, watching when one is about to expire, that they may set him up, that he may not die supine." The secondary interments found by Mr. W. Cunnington, Sir R. C. Hoare, and Dr. Thurnam, near the summits of barrows, with iron weapons accompanying them of an Anglo-Saxon character, were all in a extended position. In a barrow opened in 1802 by Mr. Cunnington, the contracted position is described more specifically as the "sitting posture." Such a posture, and more rarely a kneeling and standing one, have occasionally been pointed out in other British barrows. Most of the deviations, however, from a simple crouched position are probably the result of accidental circumstances. We may infer, from the example of numerous barbarous and savage peoples at the present day amongst

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whom American Indians, Esquimaux, Australians, New Zealanders, Feejeeans, and Andaman Islanders may all be named, that the custom which obtained with the ancient Britons was the same as now practised, viz., that of swathing the body more or less closely in skins or cloth, in a posture sometimes described as a sitting one, and sometimes as simply doubled up. When a corpse is thus prepared and deposited, for burial, it is obvious that it must be very uncertain, whether, in filling up the grave, the body shall ultimately lie on the right or the left side; or be somewhat tilted up and left in the sitting or squatting posture. . . . . What may have been, and what may still be, the reason for this practice has been much argued. It must be remembered that death usually leaves the body with the limbs more or less bent and contracted, or in the condition known as *rigor mortis*. Hence, in laying out the corpse it is generally needful to employ slight force, in order to extend, and as it is said, compose the limbs. In rude states of society we may readily understand that superstitious feelings may operate so as to prevent any interference with nature, whose apparent indications in such a matter would be likely to be carried further rather than contravened. It may likewise have been the object to inter the dead as much as possible in the same posture, as that which the living were accustomed to occupy when at rest, crouching rather than sitting round the fire or low table, with the elbows on the knees, and the hands resting against the cheek. . . . . According to M. Troyon, this doubled-up posture, none other than that of the unborn infant, was imposed on the body of the dead, when about to re-enter the bosom of the universal mother, as the symbol of a belief, not only in a life to come, but likewise in that of the resurrection of the body. The bodies of the Britons of this period, and in this part of the island were, for the most part, deposited in the meridian line, with the head to the north, and consequently with a south aspect. This was found to be the general practice by Sir R. Hoare, Mr. Cunnington, and Dr. Thurnam.

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# Stonehenge Notes made in April, 1876.

ON the 7th of April, 1876, the writer, with his son, Captain Long, Mr. William Cunnington, and Mr. Edwards of Amesbury, visited Stonehenge, with the view of making a careful examination of the circles and ellipses. Mr. Cunnington found that the small stone in the outer circle, opposite to Nos. 5 and 6 on Sir R. Hoare's plan, is not a sarsen, but a syenite, and that it had, probably, been originally a portion of No. 6. This stone should therefore, have been coloured *green*, instead of *yellow*. The stone numbered 3 in Hoare's plan has also been incorrectly coloured *blue* instead of *green* in the chromolithograph. These alterations can easily be made by hand.

The writer observed a stone which appears hitherto to have escaped notice. It is the stump of that stone of the inner ellipse (behind the altar-stone), which the large upright D 1 in falling, struck; and, by striking, became broken into two parts. It is under the south corner of the upper fragment, 3 feet from No. 25, as No. 25 is 3 feet from No. 24.

It has, hitherto, been the general opinion that the stones of the inner *circle* had been unhewn; and Mr. Henry Browne, who must have been very familiar with their appearance, describes them in his little work as being "wholly unhewn;" but it is difficult to believe that Nos. 7 and 4 (for instance) have never been touched by flint or metal. The opinion arrived at by the party was, that the syenites had been more or less wrought, but that the horn-stones (so-called) 17, 19, 9, and 11, had not been worked. It is, however, not easy to form a judgment upon this matter, for these stones, being much more brittle than the syenites, would be more subject to the wanton injury of visitors, and having been more sought after for "toade charms," etc. (p. 35), may, perhaps, have been more injured than any of the others.

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Mr. Henry Browne was of opinion that the transverse stones of the outer circle "had been fitted together, at their extremities, by corresponding projections and hollows." It was evident to all the party that the ends of those stones which are "in situ" had not been cut down straight as is the case with the transom stones of the trilithons, but that they had had vertical ridges and corresponding grooves, and that some system of dovetailing had been adopted by the builders of Stonehenge. That these projections and grooves should have been considerably "weathered" away is not to be wondered at.

The two stones in front of the stone marked F 1 are evidently fragments of that stone. The remains of the tenon are still visible on the innermost fragment. The three fragments adjoining are, doubtless, those of the transom stone to F 1 and F 2.

The following measurements may be of use and interest. The width of the entrance between A 1 and A 2 is 4 feet 4 inches. The interval between them widens considerably towards the top. Between A 2 and the adjoining stone the width is 3 feet 1 inch; between the latter and the stone next to it, 3 feet 3 inches; and between the two next standing stones, 2 feet 4 inches. On the other side of A 1 the first interval is 3 feet in width; the second, 3 feet 6 inches; the third, 4 feet; the fourth, 3 feet; the fifth, 3 feet 9 inches; and the sixth and last, 2 feet 8 inches. The interval between No. 7 and the nearest corner of C 2 is 7 feet; between No. 5 and C 1, 13 feet 4 inches; between B 1 and No. 4 (which is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot wide) the interval is 10 feet 5 inches; and between No. 4 and the stone on the opposite side the interval is 9 feet. The large unnumbered prostrate stone next to No. 7 is 17 feet 2 inches long, 5 feet 7 inches wide, and 1 foot in depth above ground; No. 12 is 7 feet 6 inches long; No. 27 is 9 feet 6 inches high; No. 28 is 8 feet 10 inches high; and No. 29 is 7 feet 9 inches high. No. 23 is 7 feet high; No. 22 is 6 feet 9 inches high, and the interval between them is 3 feet 4 inches. The "Altar-stone" was carefully measured both on the inner and outer edges. Its length on the inside is 15 feet 5 inches, and on the outside is 16 feet 2 inches. The space between No. 3 and No. 1 measures 14 feet, and between No.

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1 and No. 20, 5 feet. These two stones (each about 6 feet in height) form the inner entrance. The extra distance between these two stones, their peculiar flattened forms and rounded tops, so different from those of the other obelisks, would seem to indicate the regard for effect which those who erected these stones had in this particular portion of the smaller circle. The distance between No. 20 and No. 19 is 2 feet 4 inches; between No. 19 and No. 18, 2 feet 4 inches; and between Nos. 18 and 17 the same. The syenite stone, No. 15, which is of very fine grain, is 7 feet long; the interval between the syenites, Nos. 13 and 14, is 9 feet 8 inches, and between Nos. 14 and 16, 11 feet. The stone of the outer circle, opposite to the small syenite transom (7 feet 6 inches long), next to No. 3, is, on the inside, 13 feet 4 inches high, 5 feet 10 inches wide, and 4 feet in thickness. The upright stone of the outer circle, opposite to No. 6, and adjoining the fragment of syenite belonging to that stone, is 12 feet 6 inches high. The standing stone of the outer circle behind No. 11, (upon which the broad arrow has been cut), is 14 feet high, 7 feet wide, and 4 feet 5 inches thick. The measurements taken of stone F 2, by the writer and his son, in the autumn of 1875, were: height, 16 feet 8 inches; breadth, 7 feet 6 inches; and thickness, 3 feet 10 inches. From the difference between these measurements of that stone and those of Sir Henry James, it may be seen how difficult it is to make the most careful measurements tally. The allowance made by some persons for loss by the rounding off of edges (which weather or violence may have occasioned) will often make a difference of 2 or 3 inches.

The stone on the north-west portion of the vallum is 4 feet high, and 3 feet 6 inches wide at the broadest part.

On the occasion of our visit on the 7th of April last, Mr. Cunnington found, in the ruts of a waggon-track close to Stonehenge, splinters of the syenite-like stone, of the horn-stone (so-called), and of the sarsen stone; and also a small but well-formed chipped flint celt. These specimens were all picked out of the earth just below the turf, where it had been cut through by the wheels. He also picked up, under the large stone resting on No. 9, and under the great sloping stone of the large central trilith, as many as nine

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fragments of various stones of the inner circle. These had probably been broken off by visitors.

The writer was under the impression that exposure to the weather on the north side had produced the peculiar appearance of decay on that side in stone F 2 (page 59), but Mr. Cunnington considers that the decayed portions must have been originally of a softer character than that of the body of the stone.

On the arable land adjoining Stonehenge, where the group of barrows 16—22 had been, two chips of sarsen stone were picked up. The site of the "barrow-like" mounds (note, p. 65) was not ascertained.

Mr. Edwards, of Amesbury, has given the following interesting information. In reply to the writer's wish to know how much of the Cursus on the Amesbury side is under cultivation, and when it was first ploughed up, he says: "The piece of down land which was broken up, commencing at the top of the hill, where the Cursus terminates, towards Amesbury, and which extends from thence into the bottom, is fifty acres, and was ploughed up about twenty-five or twenty-six years ago. It commences at the top of the hill, in a line with the two Seven Barrows, and consists of the hanging or slope of the hill down into the bottom called Stonehenge Bottom, and full in our view when we were returning along the line of the Cursus."

To the writer's enquiry when the barrows 15 to 22 (inclusive) were levelled, Mr. Edwards answers: "This was done 28 years ago, and my informant stated that, after it was done, when ploughing there, it was his aim, as well as that of others, to see which could pick up the most chippings. Some of them were granite and others sand stone. Of the granite no use whatever could be made when they took them home, but the sand stone they used for whetting or sharpening reaping-hooks. As to when the farm building adjoining the field in question were erected? That was built 29 years ago."

Mr. Edwards has also most kindly gathered for the writer the following information respecting the successive owners of Stonehenge during the last 250 years:—

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OWNERS OF STONEHENGE.

1. In 1620. Mr. Newdick.
2. In —— Dawbony.
3. In 1639. Sir Laurence Washington, knight.
4. In 1643. Laurence Washington, Esq.
5. In 1655. Robert Lord Ferrars, of Chartley.
6. In 1723. Thomas Hayward, Esq.
7. In 1724. Rev. Mr. Hayward.
8. In 1771. Charles Duke of Queensberry and Dover.
9. In 1778. William Duke of Queensberry.
10. In 1810. Archibald Lord Douglas.
11. In 1824. Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart.
12. In 1826. Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart.
13. In 1870. Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart.

*Authorities for the above.*

1. In 1620. Mr. Newdick—Refer to Sir Richard Colt Hoare's "History of Ancient Wiltshire," vol. i., pp. 153, 154, and 155. As George Duke of Buckingham made his researches at Stonehenge in the year 1620 and from the information Mr. Aubrey received from Mrs. Trotman that the Duke of Buckingham would have given to Mr. Newdick (the owner of this place) "any rate for it, but he would not accept it," it might be presumed that it belonged to him at the time when the Duke of Buckingham made those researches.

2. In—— Dawbony or Dowbeny.—In the printed particulars of the Amesbury Estate, drawn up when it was for sale in 1824, mention is made of the Manor of Dawbneys, and from the following it will appear that West Amesbury Estate is the manor that bore that name, on which Stonehenge stands. The name of Dowbeny still exists in the name of a meadow in the parish of Amesbury, situated on the West Amesbury Estate, commonly called Bony Mead, meaning no doubt Dawbony's Mead. In the following remarks there is still further evidence to prove that West Amesbury belonged to Mr. Dawbony.

3. In 1639. Sir Laurence Washington, knight.—In the boundaries of the Manor of Amesbury Earls examined on Monday, the

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5th day of August, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Charles, 1539, mention is made of the several fishings of Sir Laurence Washington lately called Mr. Dawbony's Mill Pond. And further on mention is made of Stonage down, parcell of West Amesbury, Sir Laurence Washington's Hold. In the boundaries of the Manor of Amesbury Priory mention is again made of the Mill Pond or several water called now Sir Laurence Washington's (late Mr. Dowbeny's Mill Pond,. The foregoing goes to prove two things, that the West Amesbury Estate did belong to Sir Laurence Washington; and, lastly, that it belonged to M. Dawbony, previous to Sir Laurence Washington. The said Sir Laurence Washington, knight, was Chief Register of the Chancery, ancestor of the first President of the United States of America. He died at Oxford, May 4th, 1643, aged 64, and was buried in the church of Garsdon, Wilts, where there is a monument to his memory. Refer to Britton's "Beauties of Wiltshire," vol. iii., p. 66. The Manor of Garsdon, which belonged to him, passed to his son of the same name, and West Amesbury, with Stonehenge, descended in the same way.

4. In 1643. Laurence Washington, Esq., who is mentioned by Inigo Jones, in his work, entitled "The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, 1665," as being at that time proprietor of the site of that ancient monument. Page 107 speaks of him "as his honored Friend Laurence Washington, Esq., on whose demesnes this antiquity stands."

5. In 1665 Stonehenge is spoken of by Aubrey in his "Monumenta Britannica," as being part of the inheritance of the wife of Lord Ferrars of Chartley, who was daughter of Laurence Washington, Esq., and which is referred to in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's "History of Ancient Wiltshire," vol. i., pp. 153 and 154.

6. In 1723. Thomas Hayward, Esq.—Refer to the "Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," vol. xiv., p. 229: "Thomas Hayward gen: owner of Stonehenge 4 Jul. 1723." It appears that he died in 1724. The above in the autograph of Dr. Stukeley and written in a copy of his work "Stonehenge and Abury."

7. In 1724. Rev. Mr. Hayward—Refer to the "Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," vol. xiv., No. 41, page

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228: "The precise spot of ground where Stonehenge stands is in the lordship of West or Little Ambresbury the possession of the Rev. Mr. Hayward who at present may be called the Arch-Druid of the Island." The above likewise written in the same book "Stonhenge and Abury," by the Rev. Dr. Stukeley.

8. In 1771. Charles, Duke of Queensberry and Dover. The writer is not at all aware as to when Stonehenge came into the possession of His Grace, nor from whom, but it certainly was his property at the time when Dr. John Smith wrote his work in 1771, entitled "Choir Gaur, the Grand Orrery of the Ancient Druids, commonly called Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain," as the said work is dedicated to him as the owner of Stonehenge.

9. In 1778. William, Duke of Queensberry, on the death of his cousin, succeeded him as the owner of the estate, consequently of Stonehenge.

10. In 1810, Archibald, Lord Douglas, next became the owner of Stonehenge and the Amesbury property, on the death of William, Duke of Queensberry.

11. In 1824 Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart., purchased the said property, of Archibald Lord Douglas. He died, February, 6th, 1826.

12. In 1826 Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart., nephew of the above, succeeded him in the Amesbury property. He died, May 4th, 1870.

13. In 1870 Sir Edmund Antrobus, Bart., son of the above, succeeded his father in the estate and baronetcy, as third baronet.

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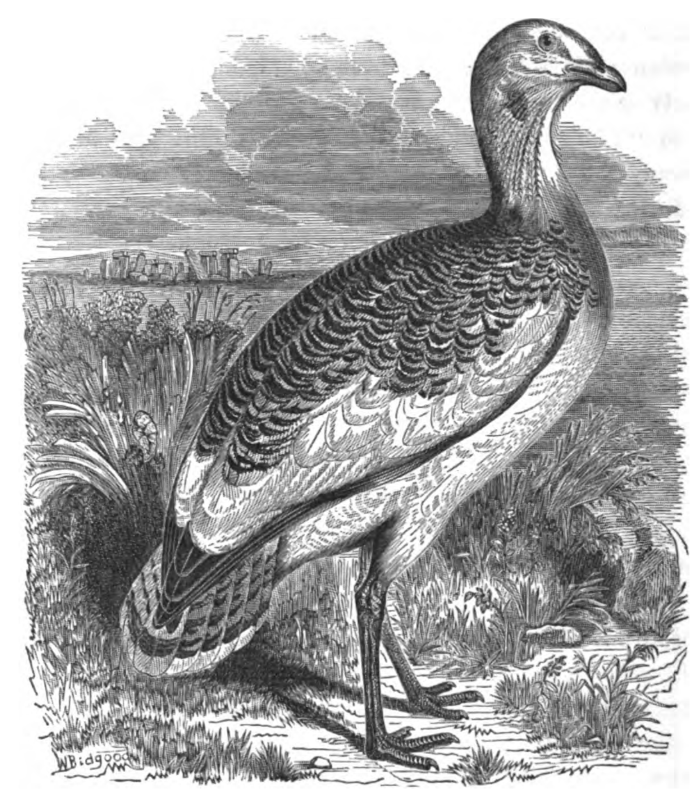


THE BUSTARD.

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228:

the

Rev.

AZINE.

NUS."—*Ovid.*

.A., F.S.A.,

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Farleigh and Melksham, and south to Edington, Imber, and Netheravon—an extent in round numbers of some 20 miles long by about 12 miles broad, or an area of some 240 square miles. As a hundred, so deemed and constituted since the middle of the fourteenth century, it is joined with Cannings, and comprises not only the two parishes from which it takes its name but also those of Bromham, West Lavington, and Rowde.

Of such a place one would naturally suppose that materials would be tolerably abundant out of which to weave a connected history. I will guarantee from personal experience that any one who feels inclined to make a topographical venture in this direction will soon discover on what a meagre stock he has to draw. It is, I think, Thucydides who says that the greatest honor of a good woman is not to be talked about; let us hope that Potterne was, under the fatherly rule of so many successive Bishops, so quiet and well-ordered a daughter of the see of Sarum, that she earned this praise, and so in a small degree confirmed the truth of the old saying—"Happy are the people who have no annals."

A strange illustration, from a somewhat strange quarter, may be quoted in passing. Southey, in the "Doctor" (p. 311), says—"Who was old Ross of Potterne that lived till all the world was weary of him? All the world has forgotten him now."—It is true;—I have asked every one who might be able to throw light on the history of old Ross—I have ferretted out the oldest inhabitant, ordinarily the parish oracle—but in vain. All the world certainly is not yet weary of Potterne, but its history at all events seems like old Ross to have been forgotten. Most topographers have in fact simply given Potterne the go-by, in apparent unconsciousness of its existence. Leland, who came to these parts about 1541, though he speaks of "The Vyes" (Devizes) and its Castle, does not mention Potterne. John Aubrey also is silent about it, unless indeed his notings concerning it be in that "Liber B" which has been so long missing, despite of our good friend Canon Jackson's hue and cry after it, and which seems to have been borrowed from the Ashmolean Library but never returned to it. Cox, in his "Magna Britannia," a book written in the early part of the eighteenth century, has a

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few words about it, which for the value of them might as well have been left unsaid—"Pottern is only remarkable for giving name to the hundred, which shews that anciently it was the most noted town in it, how mean so ever it be now."—John Britton, though he dilates on "The Devizes," says not one word about Potterne. There is just a passing notice of it in Mrs. Gaskell's "Sylvia's Lovers" (p. 399), in which it is described as "a quiet little village, far inland, nestled beneath the stretches of Salisbury Plain;" but descriptions, however pretty, furnish few materials to the topographer.

And first of all, as to the NAME, and its probable, or, I should rather say, its *possible*, derivation. It is not confined to Wilts, for Hutchins tells us that a small manor in Verwood, a tithing and hamlet in Up-Wimborn Hundred, was called Pottern, or Wimborn Pottern. A suggestion has been made that it is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *putte* (though I only find the word as *pyt* in the dictionary), which means a *well*, and the termination *ærn* (as in Col-*erne*, Chit-*terne*, &c.), which signifies a *dwelling*, so that the whole word might mean a "dwelling by the well." But this does not carry any conviction to my mind. The Anglo-Saxon word is certainly never spelt *pot*, and can only mean at best an *artificial* well, its original signification being a *pit* or *hole*. In a place that may be described as a "land of springs" such an artificial well would not only be unnecessary, but also most unlikely to give a name to a large tract of country. Besides its numerous *wells* or *springs* (for such was the meaning of *well* in olden time), give names to divers places already, and it is hardly possible to imagine the introduction of another word, with a similar signification, providing the name of Potterne. Thus we have East-well, Frog-well, Butter-well, Sugar-well, Bottomless-well. Of the last, as we are on etymologies, I cannot help giving you an interpretation derived from a genuine Wiltshireman. Speaking of the field through which it flows, he said —"Thick field be äll zaft (=soft), an' in the zummer it be äll so peäty-like that it do zeem äll on a quäke, jest as if he'd got *no bottom to 'un.*"

But another derivation that has been suggested to me traces the name to a Celtic source. Certainly in the neighbourhood there is a



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epithet *Rûge* (or *Rûh*), the equivalent to our modern word *rough*,[1] was applied to such places as were *rugged*, wild, or uncultivated—thus we meet in the charters with *Ruan*-leah, or *Ruge*-leah, which is represented by the Wiltshire "Row-ley" and by the Staffordshire "Ruge-ley." This hundred may have derived its name from some particular *tumulus*, or possibly from a group of sepulchral barrows. Its name exists in a modern form in "Rough-bridge" Hill, a designation given to a portion of the down near Wansdyke just on the border of the hundred, and "Rawbridge" Lease, in the tithing of Worton, may be another form of it. The whole of that part of the down is in fact covered with barrows, and an account of the opening and examination of several of them by Mr. Cunnington and the late Dr. Thurnam is to be found in the pages of our Magazine (vol. vi., 317). I should not be surprised if the name Round-way was a corruption of a not uncommon expression in charters, *Rugan-wege*, *i.e.*, the *rugged* or hoar way. At all events it seems to me to be as probable a derivation as any of the others that have been suggested.

The parish of Potterne consists of three tithings or townships. (1) POTTERNE proper, containing 3142 acres; (2) WORTON, containing 923 acres; (3) MARSTON, containing 881 acres:—the entire parish thus comprising no less than 4956 acres. There is some ground also for thinking that POULSHOT was at the time of Domesday included in it, unless indeed it was reckoned as a part of Melksham. Poulshot is not named separately in the Domesday record, which implies that at that time it was deemed a portion of some larger manor.

MARSTON means the *town* or village on the *meer* or boundary. WORTON was I imagine originally *Ufer-tún*, changed in time to *Uver-ton* and *Wor-ton*, a transition natural enough when you recollect that there was but one character in early writing for *v* and *u*. A similar change has taken place in the name now spelt WROUGHTON,

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[1] Thus in Pottern Terrier we meet with RUE-MOORE (No. 731) and ROUGH GROUND (Nos. 657, 658). The strange corruption RAGE-WALLEN, which is given as the name of lands close to Poulshot (No. 729—736) is possibly *Rough-wood-lands*. I should not be surprised if the former part of the name ROOKY MARSH (No. 676) was not originally from a similar source.

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which, like Worton, was originally *Uver-tún*, meaning the *upper* town or village. OVERTON is another form of the same word.

POTTERNE, there can be no doubt, was amongst the earliest endowments of the Bishops of Wiltshire. The entries in Domesday Book imply that it belonged to that bishopric in the days of the Confessor, that is, while its see was at Ramsbury,[1] for the Bishops did not remove to Old Sarum till A.D. 1075. If a conjecture might be hazarded, in the absence of any known charters or documents giving information, I should be much inclined to believe that both Cannings and Potterne were endowments of the see when it was first founded in 909 in the time of Edward the Elder. In the Hundred Rolls[2] of Henry III. (c. 1225), Cannings is said to have belonged to the Bishop of Sarum from an ancient grant (*ex antiquo feoffamento* or "*per antiquum usum*"), but the jurors could give no more definite information. Though Potterne is not mentioned in that document, yet it is always so intimately joined with Cannings that I can hardly doubt that the same statements might be made respecting it.

We meet with the earliest detailed notice of this manor in the Domesday Record. There are the following entries respecting it. It will be seen in a foot-note that of two of the entries we have, in another part of the record, accounts more in detail of what had been included as subordinate manors in the general statement.

"The BISHOP of SARUM holds POTERNE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld for 52 hides. Of this land 10 hides are in demesne, and there are 6 carucates, and 4 serfs, and 5 coliberts. There are 29 villans and 40 bordars with 30 carucates. There are 6 mills paying 43 shillings and 4 pence, and 40 acres of meadow. The pasture is 2 miles-and-a-half long, and 1 mile and 3 furlongs broad. The wood is 1 mile long and 10 furlongs broad. The demesne of the Bishop is and was worth £60.

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[1] Ramsbury is in the north-east of Wilts. The original name was "Hræfenesbyrig" (=*Ravens*-bury), and its Bishops are usually styled "Episcopi *Corvinensis* Ecclesiæ." The Diocese would seem to have included Berks as well as nearly the whole of Wilts. Florence of Worcester calls these early Bishops "Episcopi Sunnungenses;" they had an estate at Sunning in Berks, as had also their successors, the Bishops of Sarum, till a comparatively recent period. See Jones' "Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wilts, &c." p. 25.

[2] Hund. Rolls (Henry III), ii., 231.

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"Of the land of this Manor Two Englishmen hold 6 hides and 1 virgate of land. One of them holds by military tenure at the command of the King, and was a nephew of Bishop Herman. And Alward holds three hides which Ulward in the time of King Edward bought of Bishop Herman but only for his own life, so that they should afterwards revert to the Bishop's manor because they were part of the demense of the Bishop. These Thanes have there 4 carucates with 2 serfs and 9 bordars. They are worth £7. What the PRIEST of this manor holds is worth forty shillings.

"Of the land of this same manor ERNULF DE HESDING holds 3 hides and one virgate of land of the King. The Bishop however claims them, because he who held them in the time of King Edward could not be separated from the Bishop."*

The results of an examination of these entries seem to me on several accounts to be very interesting.

First of all, we are told that there were in all some *forty carucates*, or plough-lands; that is, I suppose, about 1600 acres of land under the plough. Considering the large extent of wood[1] at these times, this reckoning shows an excellent state of things as regards the farming, and proves that Bishops did not make bad landlords, or at all events that they managed to get good lessees and tenants. The average extent of land under the plough in Wiltshire was about *one fifth*;—on the supposition that we are only dealing with what is *now* included in Potterne, the above reckoning would return *one third* as arable land. This among other things leads me to think that the 1500 acres of Poulshot were reckoned with Potterne, and this would give about *one fourth* as arable, a large proportion even

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* "Wilts Domesday," pp. 21, 22. Of the land held by Alward, one of the "Two Englishmen" we have this further account, at p. 132, under the head of Lands of the King's Thanes:—"Alward holds 3 hides in POTERNE. In the time of King Edward it paid geld with the Manor of the Bishop. The land is 3 carucates. One is in demesne: and there are 3 villans and 4 bordars with 2 carucates. The wood (?) is 4 furlongs long and 2 furlongs broad. The estate is worth 70 shillings, Bishop Osmund claims it."—And at p. 74 we find a detailed account of the last holding: "Ernulf de Hesding holds 3 hides and 1 virgate of land in POTERNE which paid geld with Poterne, the manor of the Bishop of Sarum, in the time of King Edward. Bishop Osmund claims this land. Algar who held this land in the time of King Edward could not be separated from the Church. Robert holds it of Ernulf. The land is 2 carucates, and they are in demesne, and one villan has there a half carucate, and there are 6 serfs, and 3 bordars. There is a mill, paying 7 shillings and 6 pence and 14 acres of meadow. The wood (?) is 3 furlongs long, and one furlong broad. It was worth £4; it is now worth £5."

[1] This will appear from the names that still remain: thus *Cad*-ley (=Wood-leigh), and *Kit*-more (=great wood), are from the old Celtic *coed* (in the Cornish dialect *cuit*) which means *wood*. Poulshot, was originally "Paules-*holt*" the latter portion of the word meaning *wood*.

then, though we know that the estates belonging to the church were more highly cultivated than others.

Then the demesne of the Bishop is represented as being some ten hides, or I suppose some 1500 acres, kept in his own hands. This, or at all events a portion of it, would constitute his prebendal manor.

Of other tenants in chief there were first of all "two Englishmen," (*duo Angli*), holding 6½ hides, or possibly some 900—1000 acres, shewing us that at all events the Conqueror respected the rights of the church and of those who held under it. One of these two Englishmen was Bishop Herman's nephew, holding no doubt a beneficial lease under his benevolent uncle,—shewing us, as ill-natured folks might remark, an early example of *nepotism!*

Then there was one Alward, who held three hides which in the time of the Confessor had belonged to Ulward, he having purchased a life interest in the same from the Bishop. Over the name Ulward[1] in the original record is written in very small letters "*albus*" (= White);—in fact his English name was "Ulward White," a very interesting instance of a *surname*, in these early days very uncommon. You will observe moreover a proof of how ancient a date was the custom of granting out lands for one or more lives. It is a custom that has been perhaps rightly found fault with, but I cannot doubt that, on the principle of its being "an ill wind that blows nobody any good," we owe to it the preservation of many a manor from the spoiler's hands, on account of the complicated interests involved in it.

Then the priest of the manor is said to have held land—his glebe in fact—to the value of forty shillings per annum—a proof by the way of there having been a church here in very early days.

Then lastly, of the tenants in chief was ERNULF DE HESDING, who held 3½ hides under the King, but which said estate was claimed by the Bishop as inalienable from his manor, having been held under the see by one Algar in the days of the Confessor. In another

[1] The name ULWARD WIT appears also in the Domesday for Dorset (fol. 82 *a*).

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part of the record, as will be seen from the extracts given in the foot-note on the preceding page, we have this holding again referred to, and the name of the tenant holding under Ernulf de Hesding was one ROBERT. Now it so happens that the immediately adjoining estate of Lavington (West) was held by Robertus *Flavus*, that is (as the Normans would say) Robert le *Blond* (=the *fair*). This name became afterwards in plain English, "Robert *Blount*." Entries can be produced from various records shewing how for many centuries the "Blount" family were connected with Potterne, Etchilhampton, and Lavington.[1] I congratulate my friend Mr. Stancomb on shewing himself so appreciative an archæologist, in perpetuating in his newly-built mansion the name BLOUNT'S COURT, which connects it so closely with an old holder who lived in this neighbourhood some 800 years ago.

One word more about the Domesday entry—there were on this manor some twenty-nine *villani* (or *villans*), that is what we should now call "yeomen or copyholders," each with (say) some 30 or 40 acres of arable land, to which was annexed in every instance a certain quantity of pasture, meadow, and wood. Altogether it was a well-tilled estate, and if a rough guess might be made of probable population one might say, that as there are some ninety persons mentioned as tenants or dependents, and these may represent heads of families, there was a population here in these early days of between four hundred and five hundred persons.

But we must pass on now to the days when Bishop Osmund became in virtue of his office the owner of the manor of Potterne. Indeed, the early history of this manor derives much of its interest from being, so to speak, intertwined with that of its Bishops.

Before however we speak of Bishop Osmund, a passing notice must be made of a memorial of these early days, which still remains.

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[1] Thus in Testa de Nevil we have at pp. 141, 153, the record of one Knight's fee held at "Lavinton" by Roger Gernon "de Willelmo *Blundo*." The fee was still as at the time of Domesday held by William Blount of the King as chief lord. In the Inquis. Nonar. (1340) we have "Galfridus le *Blount*" among the jurors in the account of the prebends of Potterne and Lavington Episcopi.—Jones' "Domesday for Wilts," p. 126.

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I have told you of a priest "passing rich" on a glebe worth *forty shillings* by the year, and helped also it is to be hoped by the offerings of a grateful people. So too there was a church; and there is still to be seen the font which, as I believe, belonged to it. I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter of this interesting relic of the past; all that I will say at present is, that it is certainly not later than the *tenth* century.

(A.D. 1000-1100). We are now to tell how POTTERNE fared in the days of St. OSMUND. This great and good man was a nephew of William the Conqueror. It was through his exertions that the cathedral at Old Sarum was completed. Among his liberal benefactions to the cathedral, with the sanction of King William, were estates in various parts of Wilts and elsewhere, together with the churches of Potterne, Wivelsford, Lavington, Ramsbury, and Bedwin. The Potterne Manor, either in whole or in part, constituted the "prebend" (or *provision*,) of the canonry in the cathedral church, which was and still is appurtenant to the bishopric. In virtue of the said canonry (so endowed) the Bishop always presented to the vicarage of Potterne. On the principle I presume that direct access to the landlord rendered unnecessary the intervention of any inferior officer, however venerable or dignified, we find the authorities announcing that "The Archdeacon of Wilts hath no jurisdiction in Potterne."[1] The Bishop, we may charitably presume, provided for the spiritual interests of the people here by the appointment of a fit and competent priest, and no doubt also took sufficient care of the temporalities of his manor, so that he did not need his "*eye*" (the "*oculus* Episcopi,") in the shape of an Archdeacon, to look to matters here. Happily now, though all such peculiars have been abolished, there will be no danger, we will hope for some years to come, of any personal collision between the Vicar of Potterne and the Archdeacon of Wilts.

In these early days I hardly think it likely that there was any

[1] The other Peculiars in Wilts over which the Archdeacon formerly had no authority, and which were visited by the Bishop's Vicar General twice every year, were Marlborough, Preshute, Devizes, Lavington Episcopi, Stert, Trowbridge, and Berwick St. James.—Bacon's "Liber Regis," p. 869.

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episcopal residence at Potterne, or that the Bishop often honoured his tenants with a visit. Bishops, in the eleventh and following centuries, were so often engaged in high offices of state, as really to have had little time for their especial duties, and many of these were performed by means of Suffragans who were, so to speak, Bishops in "sole charge." The number of such Suffragan Bishops employed in Wiltshire from time to time was larger than is commonly imagined. Of some of these we may hereafter have occasion to say a few words.

(A.D. 1100-1200).—Bishop ROGER, who succeeded St. Osmund at Sarum in 1107, must have had quite enough upon his hands, in his successive offices of Lord Chief Justice, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellor, to give him much spare time for his diocese. It was he that as a priest at Caen in Normandy attracted the notice of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry I.), the son of the Conqueror, by the speed with which he sung mass. Charmed with the priest's rapid monotone, he made him his chaplain. Promotion, rapidly followed, and never was there a favourite more loaded with benefactions.

Amongst other accomplishments Bishop Roger seems to have been one of the best architects of his day, and so, to gratify alike his taste and his ambition, he built castles on *four* different estates belonging to his see, *viz.*, at Old Sarum, at Sherborne, at Malmesbury, and at Devizes. It was on this last that he lavished great and almost incalculable sums. Ordericus Vitalis tells us that there was not a more splendid fortress in Europe.

In order to obtain a site for this last-named castle, Bishop Roger took a slice out of each of the two large manors that belonged to him (the *eastern* portion from Cannings, and the *western* from Potterne), and it so happening that the King's manor of Rowde met the other two at about the same point, the castle which he built was called "Castrum ad *Divisas*," *i.e.*, the castle at the "points of boundary."[1] This is why this place in which we are now assembled was ordinarily called, till a comparatively recent period, "*The*

[1] See Wilts Mag., ix., 41.

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Devizes." For by degrees the town grew up round the castle, and what is now included in this borough was formerly a castle and its demesne.

But Bishop Roger's ambition, or as some will have it his faithlessness, brought him like others to ruin. Having pledged his allegiance to Matilda Empress of Germany, daughter of Henry I., he quickly transferred it to Stephen, who by a bold stroke usurped the throne of England on his uncle's decease. Differences afterwards ensued which ended in the arrest and imprisonment of Bishop Roger and the beseiging of his castle at Devizes. All his castles—at Sarum, Malmesbury, Sherborne, and Devizes—fell into the hands of the King, together with much of the property belonging to his church. The Bishop died, almost immediately afterwards, broken-hearted—like Wolsey, some four hundred years subsequently, "left naked to his enemies."

That goodly slice of Potterne and Cannings which was thus taken to form the castle and its demesne was lost to the see for ever. Indeed for some eighteen years the manors of Cannings and Potterne were held by the crown. In the year 1157 a final settlement was made, by which most of the property was restored to the Bishop Jocelin de Bohun, but the castle and lordship of Devizes were irrecoverably detached from the see.

In one of the deeds relating to this transfer, there is a clause which incidentally throws light on the meaning of a local name, about which not a few have been somewhat exercised.[1] There is a piece of rising ground of pasture land close by Eastwell, called "Barborne," though in a survey of 1656 spelt "Barberen." In the instrument to which I refer, which is a deed of restitution dated April 1149, we have the following clauses:—"Excepting the five hides of the said manor occupied by Robert Fitz-Ralph," and *inter alia* "half a hide which *Barleben* the porter holds." I have little doubt of the said worthy porter Barleben having bequeathed his name to what is to this day called "*Barbons.*"

(A.D. 1200-1300). For the next fifty or sixty years little can

[1] See Waylen's "Devizes," pp. 51, 52.

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be told about Potterne. In the beginning of this period flourished Richard of Devizes,[1] a Benedictine Monk of Winchester, the author of "*Tempora Regis Ricardi I.*" and "*Epitome Rerum Britanicarum,*" extending from Brute to Stephen. About the same time also lived William of Poterne, who seems to have been in a post of some authority, inasmuch as he was applied to by Richard, Prior of Bath (1198-1223), to examine the record of Domesday to ascertain the terms in which the town of Bath was described, It was no doubt the same ecclesiastic who held the Prebend of Twyford as Canon of St. Paul's London, at the time.[2] His letter is published in Ellis' "Original Letters,"[3] from the old royal collection in the British Museum, (6 c. xi,) and consists simply of a summary of the entries from the Domesday Book for Somerset respecting Bath. It is written in the hand of the early part of the thirteenth century, on a leaf of an ancient volume of the letters of St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

A little later on, the names of Ranulf de Lovethorpe, William Nigel, and Roger Fitz-Everard occur, amongst others, as those of holders under the manor, and mention is made of Mimberie, Maserige, Thorp, and Poterne Wike. Meanwhile "The Devizes," was rising daily in importance, throwing into the shade the older manors of Potterne and Cannings. Not a year passes but King John comes to his castle at "The Devizes," which is made in short a provincial treasury. Thus on July 5th, 1215, the King was here and received "a golden cabinet, set with stones and other precious gifts." The following day he acknowledges the receipt of a more substantial present, in the shape of "66 sacks of money." Then in the following year, on June 9th, the entry runs,—"We received in our chamber at 'The Devizes,' 60 marks, &c." No wonder that thus basking in the sunshine of royal favour, the inhabitants of this town waxed bold in asking favors, and sometimes it must be confessed with but a slender regard for their neighbour's interests.

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[1] See Waylen's "Devizes," p. 16.

[2] See Le Neve's Fasti, ii., 441.

[3] Ellis's "Original Letters," i., 26.

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Thus amongst other grants which they obtained was one which forbad any market to be held *infra septem leucas*, that is, within seven miles (equal by the way to about ten-and-a-half of our present miles) of their town: an effectual means of extinguishing the privileges of the more ancient manor, and exalting themselves at the expense and inconvenience of others.[1]

Little help moreover I imagine did its episcopal lords render to Potterne. As for Bishop Jocelin de Bohun, he did not enjoy the manor at all for the first fifteen years of his episcopate, for it was not restored to the see till A.D. 1175. Moreover he seems to have performed his duties, in part at least, by means of a suffragan, one Geoffrey Bishop of St. Asaph, who, leaving his own sheep upon the mountains of Wales, somehow found time to look after Jocelin's flock in Wiltshire. Then the three successive bishops, Herbert and Richard Poore, and Robert Bingham, must have had their hands quite full in carrying out the building of the present glorious cathedral at Salisbury, to have found much time for Potterne or her needs.

With a solitary exception we know nothing about the good folks at Potterne in the thirteenth century except the names of a few of them. William de Cotes held two knight's fees, or some 1500 to 2000 acres, in Potterne.[2] Then among the jurors of the hundred in 1255, occurs the name of Radulfus de *Flore*, who in more modern times would have been called Ralph *Flower*, shewing us a greater antiquity than some perhaps suspected for the name of "Flower" in Potterne. Again there was Galfridus de Blund (=Blount), who held besides lands in the hamlet of Etchilhampton, half a knight's fee in P[illegible]e, and to whom we are indebted for the name "*Blount's* Cour[illegible] short acco[illegible] of some of the descendants of this worthy will [illegible] account of Etchilhampton in the Wiltshire Archæol[illegible]

One distinguish[illegible] more particular though still but a passing menti[illegible]TERNE, the "Justic[illegible],"

[1] See [illegible]

[2] W[illegible]

[3] "Wil[illegible]

who in the days of King John held in trust for the King the entire county of Wilts. He appears first of all as one of the puisne judges on circuit in 1203 at Reading and Winchester. He held one knight's fee (or perhaps some 800 to 900 acres) at Thorneycroft, a name still to be seen in the terrier of the parish. In the early part of John's reign he also served as Under Sheriff of York to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and was an active agent in the despoiling of the Archbishop's lands and goods, when that prelate refused to pay certain exactions levied by the crown, for which act James of Potterne was formally excommunicated by the Archbishop. A short time afterwards the county of Wilts was placed under his charge. He seems to have had a difficult part to play, for an entry in the close rolls relating to the proposed grant of an estate at Wallop, which was however to be withheld, "*si Jacobus de Poterna non sit ad servicium nostrum,*" *i.e.*, in plain English, unless he could be trusted, seems to throw a passing cloud over his loyalty.[1] He seems however to have tided over the difficulty, like many others in those difficult times, for the estate was certainly in his possession a few years afterwards, and early in the reign of Henry III. he was filling important and responsible offices.

One most important work must have been carried out during the thirteenth century—viz., the building of the present church, a fit daughter for the singulary beautiful mother church at Sarum, and, like it, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. To whose zeal we are indebted for this beautiful structure we know not: perhaps in part to James of Potterne, who would seem to have been living in 1255, and in part to the Bishop of the time, who rightly made his prebendal church at Potterne in some degree a reflection of his cathedral church at Salisbury.

Possibly also during this century a manor house was built as a residence for the Bishops, for a mandate was issued by Henry III., dated from Potterne, on July 12th, 1255, ordering the Sheriff of Wilts to make a "chimney in the Queen's Chamber in the Castle

[1] Waylen's "Devizes," p. 61.

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prelate were more dunce or dwarf, more unlearned or unhandsome.[1] However he had plenty of money, and that compensated no doubt for many defects both mental and personal. And he spent his money liberally on the various churches of his diocese. Neither was he afraid of asserting his rights—it is quite a romantic chapter in his episcopate, the way in which he recovered Sherborne after it had been lost for more than two hundred years to his see.[2]

Very shortly after his appointment Bishop Wyville obtained what is called "licentia crenellandi;" leave, that is, to *crenellate*, or fortify with strong walls his mansions at Sarum, Woodford, Poterne, and other places, together with one at Fleet Street, London. Few people, I suppose, when they turn up *Salisbury* Court in Fleet Street, are aware of the name being a traditionary remembrance of the Bishop's "crenellated mansion" on the banks of the Thames.

The renewed licence to "crenellate his mansions," granted to Bishop Erghum, in 1375, seems to imply that his predecessor had not quite finished his work. We know little of this Bishop save that he was a foreigner appointed by the Pope. His Holiness, for some reason or other, quietly set aside the claims of John de Wormenhale, a Canon of Sarum, who had not only been elected by the Chapter, but approved by the King. As a natural consequence, Bishop Erghum had differences with his Chapter. He appointed a namesake, John Erghum, whom we may without uncharitableness presume to have been a kinsman, to the living of Potterne. The entries in the Bishop's registers are indeed suggestive of a little

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[1] Fuller's authority was from the Chronicles. Thus the author of the Chronicon Angliæ, 1328—88 (Rolls Edit.), says "Hoc anno (1330) obiit Rogerus Mortivaus, Epis. Sar., cui successit Robertus Wyville per provisionem, vir utique competenter illiteratus et minime personatus, quem si Papa cognovisset nunquam, ut creditur, ad tantum apicem promovisset." Adam Murimuth and Walsingham make similar statements.

[2] See the whole account, and also an engraving of the monumental brass recording the recovery of the Castle at Sherborne, in Kite's Wiltshire Brasses, pp. 14—18. Bishop Wyville died at Sherborne, but his remains were interred in Salisbury Cathedral "in the midst of the choir." In 1684, this portion of the building having been newly-paved with chequered marble, the slab containing his brass was removed to the eastern transept where it is still to be seen.



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friendly arrangement, shewing that, though not on terms with his Chapter, he did not fall out with his family. Thus in 1384 one Richard Durant is appointed to the living of Potterne. In the *same* year John Erghum, the Bishop's name-sake, appears as Vicar. The air of Potterne did not seem to suit him—if indeed he ever came there—for a few months afterwards he exchanges with one Henry Chapel, but whence the one came, or whither the other went, I cannot tell you. Then in a little more than twelve months the first-named Richard Durant again turns up as Vicar, in his turn once more to be speedily superseded by William Codyer, showing himself for the *second* time an accommodating *locum tenens*, and thus manifesting, it may be, canonical obedience to his diocesan. However the translation of Bishop Erghum, in 1388, to the see of Bath and Wells, stopped alike the quarrels at Sarum (about which there was at length an appeal to Rome), and any further friendly arrangements touching the Vicarage of Potterne.

Bishop Waltham, his successor at Sarum, held the see only for seven years: moreover he held at the same time the high office of Lord Treasurer, having been previously Master of the Rolls and Keeper of the Privy Seal. He could have found very little leisure for his episcopal duties, and naturally enough committed them to the care of suffragans, two of whom were Robert Hyrtlesham, with the title of Bishop of Sevastopolis (Sebastopol), and John "Sodorensis Episcopus," *i.e.*, Bishop of Sodor. His knowledge of law, and the influence of his high position, seem one or both to have secured special privileges for his three manors of Lavington, Potterne, and Woodford.[1] After this time we hear of the Hundred of Potterne and Cannings.

It has been thought by some that an important addition was during the fourteenth century, made to the tower of the church, the second stage of it seeming to be more of the early decorated period, than the lower one, which, I presume to be of the same date as the rest of the church, viz., Early English. They would place the latter at about 1250, and the former about one hundred years later. If so,

[1] Cal, Rot. Chart., i., 192.

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it was probably the work of either Bishop Wyvill or Bishop Erghum, unless indeed the Earl of Salisbury or Sir Thomas Hungerford helped them. It is to be hoped they did, for the two Bishops must have had quite enough on their hands in "crenellating" their mansions.

Anyhow there is in the Tower of the Church what may fairly be deemed a memorial of this century in a very ancient bell, which has an inscription round it that hitherto has puzzled every one. A copy of this inscription will be found at the foot of an engraving of the ancient Font. The bell itself is the second in the peal, and would weigh about 8 cwt. Mr. Lukis considers that it may be of the date of about A.D. 1400. The inscription looks very like a foreign one. It is just a *possible* conjecture that it may have been the gift of Bishop Erghum, who was, I have already intimated, himself a foreigner and was consecrated at Bruges by Archbishop Sudbury and two French Bishops. If so, it is possible that the supposed elevation of the Tower at this period was for the purpose of receiving this bell.

(A.D. 1400-1500.)—During the fifteenth century we meet with several well-known names as those of holders of estates in Potterne. In 1407, John Lovell died possessed of lands in Poulshot, Marston and Potterne. Then we have various members in succession of the families of Stourton and Frampton. And in 1449 the *Inquisitiones post mortem* record the decease of Wm. Ryngebourne, described as "*Armiger*" (esquire) a title then but charily given, who took his name from Ryngebourne (now called Rangebourne Mill) which he seems to have held. Sir Edmund Hungerford, Knight, a grandson of Sir Thomas Hungerford, who held a lease of the Manor of Potterne in 1367, was Constable of Devizes Castle in 1455, and may fairly be presumed to have taken some interest in a manor which had belonged to his family.

There can be no doubt of the Manor House at Potterne having been occupied by one at least of its episcopal lords during this century. Bishop Mitford died there in 1407. According to some authorities he was the last who kept up the Mansion House at Potterne.



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From some of their bishops in this century the good folks resident on this manor could have had but scant attention. BISHOP HALLAM, afterwards advanced to the high rank of Cardinal, died whilst attending the Council of Constance in 1417. Judging from the number of Suffragans employed by them, during their short tenure of the see of Salisbury, Bishops CHANDLER and NEVILLE both preferred to do their episcopal work in Wiltshire by *deputy*.[1] And their successor, WILLIAM AISCOUGH, paid a terrible penalty for being so constant an absentee from his diocese. For in the year 1450, when at Edington, he was suddenly attacked, and killed "*a suis diocesanis, eo quod non residebat in episcopatu suo, ut dicebatur,*" *i.e.*, "by men of his diocese, because, as it was alleged, he was a non-resident bishop." A more detailed account of this murder (for such it was) is given to us in the following words: "Some of the bishop's tenants of the meaner sort that lived in his farms came to Edendon, where the bishop was, when they found him at the service of God. They took him out in his bishop's vestments, and, dragging him from the altar, carried him by force to a neighbouring hill, and while he was kneeling struck out his brains, leaving his body naked, stript of all his clothing. This was done on June 29th, 1450, before which day they had rifled his baggage at Salisbury, and taken away 10,000 marks of ready money." Magna Brit. (Wiltshire) p. 173. It is to be hoped that the bishop's tenants in Worton and Marston, who must have been within two or three miles of the scene of this occurrence, were not in that fray—anyhow they could not have regarded with unconcern so terrible a deed, committed so near their own borders. For their credit, it may be added, that the ringleader was *not* from Potterne, but, as was reported, a brewer from Salisbury.

There was no great temptation after this for a bishop to venture

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[1] Within some fifty or sixty years from 1407-1466 we meet with the names of some *fourteen* suffragan bishops engaged in the diocese of Sarum. Amongst them were not only several bearing titles taken from foreign countries, but also some Welsh and Irish Bishops. Amongst the latter were Nicholas Ashby, Bishop of Llandaff, and the Bishops, for the time being, of Tuam, Enaghdun, Achonry, Connor, and Ardagh. The *personal* services rendered by the Bishops of Sarum must have been but small.

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too near Edington. Still the two immediate successors of Bishop Ayscough had good reason to take interest in Potterne. The one, RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, brother to the Sheriff of Wilts for 1436, held the castle of "The Devizes" in 1461; the other, LIONEL WOODVILLE, was brother to the Queen of Edward IV., who as such had enjoyed the castle and demesne of "The Devizes" as her royal dowry.

It is during this century that we first meet with a name that now for a long series of years has been well known in Potterne; for GRUBBE is the name of a vicar who was probably appointed about 1474 or 1475. The episcopal registers for those two years are missing, and I have not been able to find out from other sources the said vicar's Christian name. I may add that the name Grubbe is no doubt a Flemish name; like others common enough in these parts, such as Kemp, Gouty, Clutterbuck, Derrick ; and seems to tell us of the trade in wool and cloth, for success in which we were so much indebted to foreign workmen. By this time we know that "The Devizes" was benefitting by this new branch of industry. And, once more to quote the witty Thomas Fuller, "Happy the yeoman's house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such as came in strangers within their doors soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them. Yea, those yeomen, in whose houses they harboured, soon proceeded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and worship to their estates."—Church History, i., 419.

No doubt it was to some one or other of these thriving men of business that we owe the last addition to the Tower, the battlemented parapet of which is in the perpendicular style and of the date of about 1490; and also that singularly interesting old timbered-house, now ordinarily called the "Porch House," of which some time ago a photographic engraving was given in our Magazine (vol. x. 1). As a more detailed notice will appear of this interesting building in the pages of this Magazine, I will only say that the original design of this house looks much as though it were intended for what is some-

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times called a "Church House"—a public building in which, before the days of rating, meetings were held for raising funds for the repair of the church, the relief of the poor, the mending of the roads, &c. On the principle of "business first, pleasure afterwards," as soon as they had attended to the wants of others they had a little care for themselves and had their church ales, and other festivities. (See Wilts Magazine, ii., 191, on "Ancient Ales in the county of Wilts.") One such house at Bradford, called by Leland "a goodly large chirch house," and said by him to have been built by Horton, a wealthy clothier, has, I rejoice to say, been permanently secured within the last two years, and conveyed to the Trustees of an old endowed school. Potterne is also happy in having the friendly help of one whom she may well be pleased to reckon among her people even though as a wayfarer, whose intuitive love of the beautiful, and reverence for the ancient, has led him to purchase this relic of former days, and, with generous unstinted outlay, to restore it to its pristine beauty.

It may be mentioned that the old timbered-house was used many years since as an inn bearing the sign of "The White Horse." There was also at the front-door an "upping-stock" (or steps for mounting a horse) cut out of a single block of oak, a very usual appendage to country inns, and especially useful when travellers carried their apparel and goods in ponderous saddle-bags.

As we have spoken of bishops suffragan in Wilts, we may mention in passing that in 1479 one bearing the title of "Episcopus Tinensis," that is I presume "Bishop of Tenos," was Rector of Devizes.

(A.D. 1500-1600.)—At the commencement of the sixteenth century many stirring events occurred at "The Devizes," but the farmers and villagers of Potterne went on quietly tilling their fields, and enjoying, perhaps from their very obscurity, an immunity from the troubles which overtook their more aspiring neighbours. Indeed to this obscurity I really believe many of our villages owed the preservation of interesting memorials of the past. And so, whilst between the years 1520 and 1530, certain persons named Maundrel and Spicer and Coberley, who seem to have come from Rowde or Keevil, and John Bent, a simple tailor of Erchfont, were martyred

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at the stake, the first three at Salisbury and the last at The Devizes, for their refusing to accept the teachings of Rome, the fires of persecution did not reach Potterne. Almost about the same time, in fact, they seem to have found means to effect some repairs in this church, for there is the date 1528 still to be seen beneath the belfry floor.

Some years later John Beare, Rector of Devizes from 1566-1570, seems to have been deprived of his living for some cause or other, but his contemporary at Potterne, John Bower, was undisturbed in his less ambitious and certainly more peaceful post.

Still there were at times occasional disturbances at Potterne. Thus in a Longleat MS., among the Protector Somerset's accounts kept by a steward we have this entry: "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." We have no clue to the cause of this excitement.

One fact may be noticed in connection with this period, viz., that the manor seems henceforth to have been regularly leased to a lord farmer (as people used to call him)—the *Firmarius*, as he is styled in old deeds, or person who held the estate *ad firmam*, or on farm. At times the Lessee made appointments to the living. Thus in 1558 John Bower was nominated to the vicarage by one bearing the same name, his father possibly, who held the manor under the bishop.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus returns the net value of the manor in 1540 at £139 4*s*. 10½*d*., and of the prebendal estate at £26. The vicarage was estimated at £20 6*s*. 8*d*. Val. Eccl. ii., 145.

In 1553 (Edward VI.) the Commissioners appointed for the survey of church goods, who for Wilts were Sir A. Hungerford, Sir W. Sherrington, and Sir W. Wroughton, made due enquiry at Potterne. They returned "four bells and a sanctus bell," but make no entry of communion plate at all. (Wilts Mag., xii., 365.) Did the good folks at Potterne borrow a hint from their neighbours at Cannings (for to them I believe the tale about the moon-rakers and their feigned simpleness is generally attributed) and hide the plate from the too curious eyes of the commissioners in some pond or elsewhere, to be duly produced again when Sir Anthony and his friends were

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fairly off the premises? What became of the "Sanctus" bell or where it hung I cannot quite tell you—anyhow the other four bells were left to the parishioners, and no plate was "secured to the King's use."[1]

During this century the leading people seem to have been members of the GRUBBE family—it is now also that we first meet with the name of LONGE in connection with Potterne. Of the antiquity of the name Flower in the parish mention has already been made. As regards the GRUBBE family, I may say, that they probably succeeded that of Bower as lessees of the manor. In 1571 we have Henry Grubbe, M.P. for The Devizes. Mr. Waylen prints an amusing document in which the Corporation of The Devizes make humble application on 29th April, 1578, to the Court of Chancery, over which then presided Sir Nicholas Bacon, praying that the said Henry Grubbe might be commanded to appear before "his good Lordship," to shew cause why he should not leave off a suit for the recovery of "wages" for serving the Borough in Parliament. The plaintiffs alleged that "on account of the poverty and small ability of the town of The Devizes the said defendant Henry Grubbe and one George Reynolds did faithfully promise and take upon them that they would serve as burgesses in the said Parliament for the said town without any wages, fee, reward, or allowance taking therefor." The defendant in answer pleaded, that the promise of *free* service was only for *one session* of Parliament, whereas he had served for *two sessions*, and it was for his work in the latter that he wanted to be paid. How the suit ended Mr. Waylen does not tell us—most likely in a compromise. No doubt the good burgesses were very angry with the said Henry Grubbe. Anyhow they did not again honor him with their confidence, by electing him a *second* time as their representative in Parliament.[2]

A little later in this century we find "our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Grubbe of The Devizes" called upon to lend Her Majesty

[1] See Wilts Mag., xiv., 327.

[2] Some seventy years afterwards (in 1641) we find a record in the Corporation Book of the payment of twenty pounds to Mr. Nicholas as a *gratuity* for his pains and expenses in Parliament as member for Devizes. Waylen's Devizes, 138.

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Queen Elizabeth the sum of twenty pounds for the space of one year. This, I imagine, must have been a brother of the ex-member, who sued the unhappy burgesses for his "one session's wages." He need not have been so urgent, for, as the writ testifies, "special choice hath been made of such of our loving subjects as are known to be of ability," for the purposes of this loan. The "accommodation" was loyally rendered at the Crown Inn in The Devizes on July 26, 1597, a due receipt having been given for it by Edward Hungerford, appointed to be the receiver of the same.

A word or two must be said about the LONG family in Potterne. The first known settler here was Thomas Long who died in 1566, and whose first wife was Isabel daughter of John Flower of Potterne. It is from him that the late Mr. Charles Edward Long (than whom no one knew more of the wide-spreading and well-treasured pedigrees of his family) traced the direct *paternal* descent of the Longs, both of Preshaw in Hants, and of Rood Ashton. It would be indeed venturesome, not to say irrelevant, to attempt to find a way through the labyrinth of the Long pedigree, Thus much however, I may say, that this same THOMAS LONG of Potterne, was believed by Mr. C. E. Long to have been a son of Thomas Long of Semington, who died in 1509, and was buried in the chapel of St. George there, and who gave his said son a house and property at Littleton, a hamlet of Steeple Ashton. He considered it probable moreover that "Thomas of Semington" was a near kinsman, probably a *nephew* of Robert Long of Wraxall, the Rodolph of their race, though the actual *proof* was wanting. "The descendants of Thomas of Potterne," to use Mr. C. E. Long's words written to me but a few weeks before his lamented decease, "gradually distributed themselves all along the river, in one parish after another—at Keevil, Bulkington, Marston, Worton, Cheverell, and Potterne—all using the same water for their woollens, whilst some were fighting themselves into knights."

(1600-1700.)—As far as the principal gentry were concerned the Grubbes, the Rookes, and the Flowers were the leading persons in

[1] Jackson's Aubrey, 337.

the seventeenth century in Potterne. In 1629 John Northey was appointed to the vicarage by John Grubbe, who was the lessee of the manor, and who in 1638 served as Sheriff of the county. The deed is still to be seen by which King Charles I. called on the said John Grubbe for a loan of £200, pledging himself on his honor as a king to return the same, a pledge fairly enough redeemed by the bestowal of the manor of Easterton on his family. In 1639 we meet with the name of Thomas Grubbe, Serjeant, as the largest contributor to the subsidy-rolls of East Kennet.[1] And then somewhat later in the century we have Walter Grubbe M.P. for The Devizes, who, like many aspirants for Parliamentary honors in our own days, got petitioned against, but unlike them was fortunate enough to retain its seat.

The following names of persons connected with Potterne and its dependencies appear in a list of freeholders for 1638: Henry Bull, Marston; John Flower, Worton; Thomas Grubbe (armiger), Potterne; Philip Harvest, Whistley; William Hunt, Potterne; William Lye, Potterne; Roger Long, Marston; John Mereweather, Worton; William May, Marston; John Ranger, Potterne; Francis Rooke, Potterne; Richard Rooke, Potterne; Philip Smith, Potterne.

Of course great and stirring events happened during this century. I do not mean to dwell on them, because much that I should say is already printed in Waylen's Devizes, and in a number of communications made by him to a local journal under the title of "Wiltshire during the Civil Wars." I may mention however, that during the siege of Devizes, Waller is said to have disposed of his dragoons, some 500 in number, on the Potterne side,[2] and no doubt billetted them on the good folks in the village. And further, that when the storm, which had been raging against all persons and things ecclesiastical, reached the Bishop of Sarum, the court leet and royalties of Potterne were sold July 12, 1648, to Thomas Barton for £43 17*s.* 4*d.* and the lordship of Potterne to Gregory Clement for £8226 7*s.* 2*d.* There is a traditionary tale in the village, that when the said Gregory

[1] See the whole account in Waylen's Devizes, 352.

[2] Waylen's Devizes, 166.

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Clement, on or about May 29th, 1660, was complacently viewing his acquired property, he suddenly heard the bells of St. John's, Devizes, strike out a merry peal, and then quickly disappeared from Potterne, and was never afterwards seen there. Those joyous sounds told him that England was welcoming her king back again, and that Gregory Clement had certainly lost his money, and most probably his credit also.

The "Tryers" appointed by the Commonwealth came round in due course, about 1649, when John Northey was Vicar of Potterne, to test the efficiency of the various parochial ministers, and then many an one being judged to be inefficient and "no godly man or sufficient preacher," was superseded by another, who though he might have had a more fluent tongue had probably a far less sensitive conscience. But John Northey, for aught I have been able to learn, lived on undisturbed through all the troublous times of the Commonwealth. His contemporary at Devizes, one "Master John Shepherd," was roughly handled, and as it would appear, unfairly accused by some of the Parliamentary generals or officers.[1]

A word in passing must also be said of the persecution that was carried on against a class of religionists, who, as we think, from their quiet and inoffensive ways, might have hoped for immunity. These were the Quakers, who, as we know, flourished much in this vicinity. Mr. Waylen[2] gives us many details of the proceedings taken against them, and the fines and imprisonment inflicted on them. The amusing part too in the legal arrangements of those days was this, that these inoffensive Quakers were condemned under a law which dealt with them as "reputed Papists" or "Popish recusants!" Of those immediately from Potterne who were thus persecuted, we hear (in 1678) of Roger Wheeler, a blacksmith of Potterne,[3] and Richard [illegible]oyner of Worton; and in 1683, Mary and Martha Underwood [illegible] Potterne, were informed against as Quakers and condemned to [illegible]eks' imprisonment. The spirit of persecution is the same

[1] See Wilts Mag., ii., 329.

[2] Waylen's, Devizes, 343.

[3] *Ibid*, 346.

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whether under King or Protector, under Monarchy or Commonwealth.

(A.D. 1700-1874).—A very few words more are necessary to bring down our narrative to the present time. At the commencement of the eighteenth century we find the lordship of the manor in the hands of Edward Nicholas, of the Roundway family, who held it under Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

Amongst worthies of this century, I may mention Dr. Kent, an eccentric but large-hearted clergyman, who lived at Whistley. The interest attaching to his memory consists not a little in the fact of his having been the friend of one who, though then in complete obscurity, rose afterwards to great eminence, I mean Sir Thomas Laurence. The father of the future President of the Royal Academy kept the Bear Inn, in Devizes. He shewed Dr. Kent on one occasion a sketch, on a wall in his son's bed-room, of the "Doctor" himself on a favorite white horse which he always rode. The sketch so pleased Dr. Kent, that he at once presented young Laurence with a box of colors, the first he ever possessed, and always afterwards befriended him. In truth he was the means of giving him that first start in life, which enabled him to persevere successfully till he found himself at the very head of his honorable profession.

It would be wrong to pass over without one word the well-known story of Ruth Pierce of Potterne, whose sudden death in the Market Place of Devizes in the very act of telling a lie, is held forth as a solemn warning of the dangers of untruthfulness by an inscription on a stone pillar recording the circumstances. The circumstances, as stated on the east panel of the market cross, were as follows: "On Thursday, the 25th of January, 1753, Ruth Pierce, of Potterne, in this county, agreed with three other women to buy a sack of wheat in the market, each paying her due proportion towards the same. One of these women, in collecting the several quotas of money, discovering a deficiency, demanded of Ruth Pierce the sum which was wanting to make good the amount. Ruth Pierce protested that she had paid her share, and said she 'wished she might drop down dead if she had not.' She rashly repeated this awful wish; when, to the consternation and terror of the surrounding multitude, she instantly fell down and expired, having the money concealed in her hand."

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THE MARKET CROSS, DEVIZES.

This inscription was by order of the authorities, recorded on a tablet and hung up in the Market House, a row of sheds near the cross. When that building was taken down it was transferred to the pediment of a couple of pillars which stood opposite the Bear Inn, supporting the sign of that house. No long time afterwards Lord Sidmouth presented to the town the new Market Cross, and the authorities then availed themselves of a panel in the new structure, to use their own language, "to transmit to future times a record of an awful event which occured in this Market Place, in the year 1753, hoping that such a record may serve as a salutary warning against the danger of impiously invoking divine vengeance, or of calling on the Holy Name of God to conceal the devices of falsehood and fraud."

A small tract based on this occurrence entitled "Ruth Pierce or evil consequence of Lying," and also a short handbill headed ie Punished," were published many years since by the Re- t Society. A religious tale, founded also on the same which the whole circumstances are graphically described, d in the first volume of Sunday Evening Readings, by Adams.

isition on Ruth Pierce of Potterne, bearing date

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January 26th, 1753, was presented a short time ago to the Society by Lt.-Col. Perry Keene, and is preserved in the Museum. A copy of the same was given in this Magazine (vol. xii., 256).

Little more remains to be told. The history of Potterne for the last hundred years is but that of an ordinary Wiltshire village, having no stirring incidents to relate, and happily no persecutions to chronicle. Our good friends of the Devizes Gazette used a few years ago to head paragraphs now and then with the words "*The Potterne Lambs again,*" and tell us how sundry of them were brought into the vicinity of the Market Place, to be cured by a little wholesome bleeding, prescribed by the talented and witty Recorder or some of his brother justices, for the complaints of giddiness in the head, or unsteadiness in the gait, and especially too loud and disorderly bleating. But these are now happily things of the past. We can only hope that any chronicler who in days to come may fill up the gaps in our sketch, or continue it to the days of some future generation, though he may no longer be able to tell of episcopal lords, or "crenellated" manor houses, will nevertheless have to record in Potterne the honest industry, and successful progress, of peace-loving, law-abiding Wiltshiremen.

It will be no inapproriate mode of closing our account of Potterne to dwell a little in detail on the Parish Church, and on matters more or less closely connected with it. Our notice will include a list of the Vicars from the earliest period of which we have any records to present time.

## The Parish Church.

We have already mentioned that there was a church at Potterne at as early a date as some time in the tenth century. It was not on the site of the present church, but on lower ground near the mill. The site is now used as garden-ground, but is still called the "Old Churchyard." For many centuries the site was parish property but it has now passed into private hands. Some ancient fragments, possibly from this early church, or, if not, from a second church earlier in date than the present church, are still to be seen carefully preserved in the vicarage garden.

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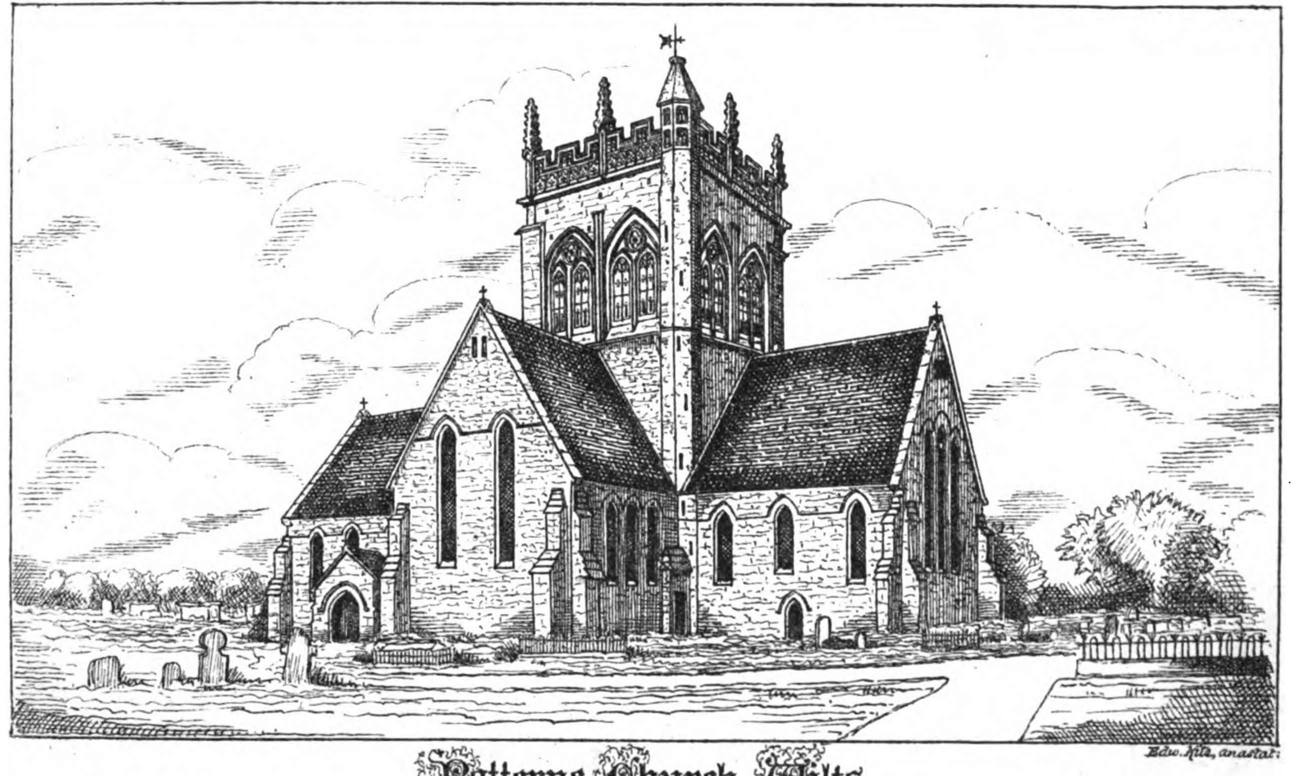


Potterne Church, Wilts.
(South East View.)

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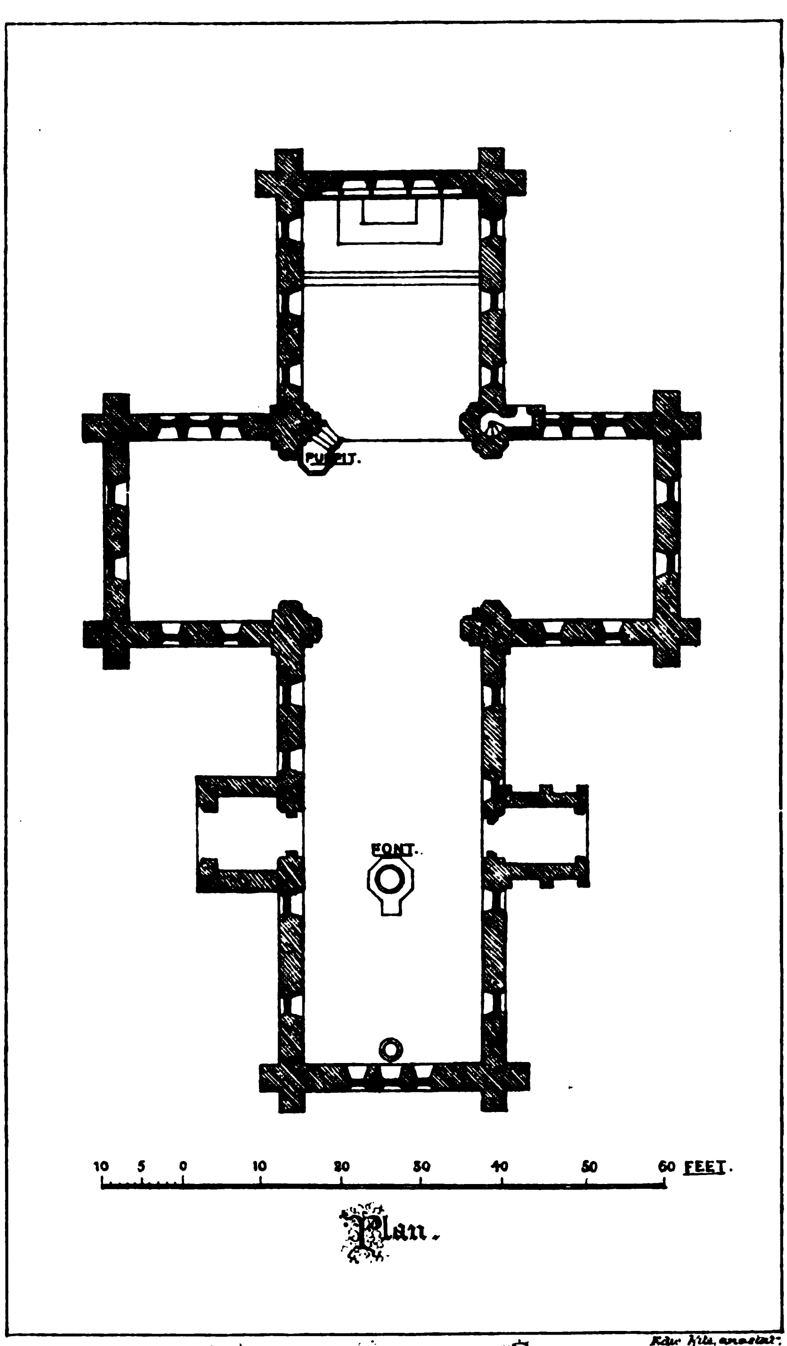


Edw. Kite, anastat.

Potterne Church, Wilts.

The present church is one of singular beauty. Situated on a rising knoll of ground, and approached by flights of steps, the words of Holy Writ almost instinctively occur to you as you look at it: "Beautiful for situation is Mount Sion;"—"Hither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord." The church as will be seen from the ground-plan, of which an engraving is given, is cruciform, having a central tower with a north and south transept on either side. The whole body of the church, and also the lower portion of the tower, were built about the middle of the thirteenth century, possibly during the episcopate of William of York, who, as we have already noticed, had a residence at Potterne, and was one of the trusted advisers of Henry III., and belongs to what is called the first-pointed or Early English style of architecture. An engraving of one of the buttresses is given in the Glossary of Architecture (Plate 39), and a conjectural date of *c.* 1250 assigned to it.

The following architectural sketch of the Church, kindly drawn up by Mr. C. W. Purday, who was associated with Mr. Christian in carrying out the work of restoration a few years ago, will, we are sure, be read with pleasure:—

"The present Church of Potterne was built during the first half of the thirteenth century, and is a cruciform structure, consisting of nave without aisles, chancel, central tower, and short transepts. The nave has a north porch of the same date, and a south porch added in the fifteenth century. The nave, chancel, and transepts are all of equal width, about 22 feet 4 inches inside the walls. The total length inside is about 106 feet, and the length across the transepts, about 65 feet. The tower occupies the whole square of the crossing, measuring 28 feet 6 inches outside, and its piers are so arranged, with plain chamfered orders, as to offer little obstruction on the inside.

"The great feature of the plan is its extreme simplicity and regularity, and the same characteristics mark the architecture, sculpture being entirely absent, and mouldings being used only in a very sparing manner; but the want of elaboration is amply compensated by good proportion and refinement of detail.

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"Light is abundantly poured into the building by thirty-four lancet windows, grouped as follows: the nave has eleven, four on each side and a triplet in the west gable; the chancel has nine, three on each side and a triplet at the east end; each of the transepts has seven, two long lancets in each gable, two shorter ones on the west side, and a group of three to the east, over the chantry altars.

"A moulded string runs all round the inside walls below the window sills. The lancet windows have all chamfered scoinson arches, with a hood mould above, which is connected from window to window by a second string mould running horizontally just below the springing of the arches. The western triplet is plain, but at the east end of the chancel the architect has given us a beautiful composition, in an arcade of five bays rising to the centre with detached marble shafts, and delicately moulded arches, caps and bases. The three central bays are pierced to form a triplet window, while the two outer bays are left solid, as blank panels. The four great arches carrying the tower are rather sharply pointed, with the double chamfered orders of the jambs carried round, and simply bound together at the springing by the moulded string which runs round the building, without capitals, and finished above by a moulded label or hood. In the east and west gables, a small double window opens above the collars of the roof.

"The roofs are all of equal height and steep-pitch, and are of the form most common in the thirteenth century—known as trussed rafter roofs.

"The tower space has a flat panelled ceiling of wood under the ringers' floor.

"Externally, the church has the same simplicity of detail which marks the interior. The windows are finished with plain splays with a moulded label and connecting horizontal string at the springing, but none under the sills.

"The walls are of rubble stone with solid well designed buttresses of masonry at the angles, and the gables are finished with stone copings and crosses.

"The north porch and doorway are of very simple character,

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coeval with the church. The south porch, of somewhat more ornate but less refined character, is one of the few features of later date, having been added in the fifteenth century.

"The roofs are covered externally with the stone slates or tiles of the district.

"The Tower was at first carried up only to the string above the point of the church roofs, and then probably allowed to rest for twenty or thirty years—possibly more—when the bold and beautiful belfry stage was erected, but still left incomplete at the top. During this interval a great change was taking place in the architecture of the period, and the early forms of tracery were being developed by grouping two or more lancets under an arch, and piercing the spandrell or tympanum above, by circles or other geometrical forms. This belfry stage has buttresses of ashlar at the angles, and on each face between these two large and bold windows, each consisting of two plain lights under a pointed arch, with a quatrefoil piercing in a circle above them. In the centre of each face of the tower a triple attached shaft runs up between the windows. A stone spiral staircase runs up in an octagonal turret or buttress attached to the south-east angle of the tower.

"There is nothing to show exactly how the tower was intended at this date to be finished, but judging from what remains, and from what was done in similar cases in other parts of the country about the same time, it is probable that a low stone spire, with a corbel course just above the great windows, would have been erected, had the original design been fully carried out.

"It may be doubted, however, whether the spire would have been more effective, or more suited to the position of the church, than the rich coronet of panelling and pinnacles set upon the tower in the [illegible]teenth century, and which now forms such a pleasing finish. At [illegible]e this was done, the tower was raised a few feet, as is clearly [illegible] the difference in the walling. A plain stone cornice runs [illegible] above this is a battlemented parapet with sunk tracery [illegible]e, and crocketted pinnacles at the angles, and in [illegible] side of the tower. The staircase turret is carried [illegible] plain pinnacle top, and a weather vane.



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"In the fifteenth century also the wide open lights of the belfry windows were built up with masonry, to keep out the weather, open tracery piercings being introduced to allow the sound of the bells to pass out freely.

"The tower has a flat leaded roof behind the parapets.

"We have now briefly described the main structure, but a few details require notice.

"The Church contains portions of three fonts of different dates. That now in use has a base and stem of the thirteenth century, while the bowl is of late fourteenth century work, but neither are very remarkable as to design. The most curious of the three, and indeed in an antiquarian sense the most interesting object in the whole Church, is the large tub-shaped font now placed at the west end of the nave. This is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and very probably dates from before the Norman Conquest. The surface (excepting the upper rim round which is cut in well-formed and legible characters a text) appears to have been chiselled over at a period much later than its first erection. It seems probable that the builders of the thirteenth century, wishing to preserve so sacred an object in their new Church, and finding it broken and injured, endeavoured to render it more sightly by dressing it over—carefully preserving however its one feature of interest, the text. The attempt appears not to have been satisfactory, for a new font was made and the ancient one reverently preserved by being buried beneath it, and there it remained until, during the recent restorations, it was discovered and exhumed.

"The internal walls were from the first plastered in the usual way and decorated in a very beautiful manner, the surfaces being lined out in what is generally known as the masonry pattern, simple in the nave, and with sprigs and flowers in the chancel, while the horizontal string was marked out by a band of richer work. The east wall of the chancel was further enriched by a beautiful cross, placed midway between the altar and the window sill on a ground of lattice pattern with flowers. Fragments of this decoration were discovered in almost every part of the Church, but the plaster was in so decayed a state that none could be preserved. That on the east wall had been coloured over and re-done in the fifteenth century,

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keeping the general idea, but in a much coarser and less refined manner both as to drawing and colours.

"The old oak pulpit of the fifteenth century, a portion of which still exists, is of good design and execution. It has tracery panels finished with ogee crocketted canopies, and small detached pinnacled buttresses at the angles. Traces of the original colouring still show themselves in the hollows and less exposed parts.

"In modern times the Church was suffered, like most others, to fall into a very unseemly condition, and such works as were from time to time carried out only tended to obscure its beauties. The transepts and west end of the nave were choked with galleries. The east window was partly concealed behind a costly but cumbrous and incongruous 'classic' reredos of wood, and one light of the west window was blocked up to form a flue for the stove. The tie-beams had been cut out of the roofs, causing the decayed timbers to spread and do damage to the walls.

"The masonry, thanks to the lasting nature of the stone, suffered little, but the stone copings were removed from the gables, leaving only the apex stones set on the tiling.

"A better time at length dawned, and in 1871 the restoration of the Church was commenced under the superintendence of Mr. Christian, the chancel being repaired at the cost of the Ecclesiastical Commisioners for England, and the remainder by subscriptions. Commencing with clearing out and improving the interior, the work soon grew to larger dimensions, including amongst other structural repairs the entire renewal of the nave, chancel, and north transept roofs, the timbers of which were found to be in a state which rendered repair impossible. These were renewed on the old lines as far as possible.

"It is not necessary to describe minutely the work of restoration; suffice it to say, that, so far as ancient features were concerned, it was carried out in a strictly conservative spirit; the work of the original builders being considered far more precious than new, and not removed unless so far decayed as to have lost all interest, or to endanger the stability of adjoining portions. In this course happily the architect had the sympathy of those most concerned in the work.



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"In the case of the internal decoration the preservation of the old was impossible, owing to its fragmentary condition and the bad state of the plastering; but the greatest care was taken to ascertain the exact colours employed and the general arrangement of the patterns, and what has already been done in the chancel may be taken as a faithful reproduction, as far as possible, of the original design. The decoration will be extended to other parts of the church as soon as funds for its execution are available.

"The want most felt in the interior is for a little more colour. The windows were no doubt originally all filled with stained glass of more or less richness, which tended to tone down the abundant light. Some are again filled with coloured glass, notably the east windows of the chancel and north transept, in which, though the colouring is good, the lines are perhaps a little too hard to suit the ancient work. The stained glass for the west window, which is soon expected, will, if successful, add very much to the internal effect of the building."

There is a PISCINA and an AMBRY in the chancel, and also a PISCINA in the north transept. The latter would seem to imply a chantry founded in that part of the Church, but no records relating to it have as yet been discovered. The Church itself, like the Cathedral at Salisbury, is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. The annual dedication feast takes place on Sept. 19th, which corresponds with Sept. 8th (old style) and is marked in our calendars as the festival of the "Nativity of the Virgin Mary."

There are still to be seen faint traces of the ancient ROOD-LOFT. In the tower staircase the doorway is still traceable which must have opened on to the rood-loft. There is still a traditional remembrance in the parish of a ROOD SCREEN which was of oak and extended across the chancel arch. It was taken down not long after the beginning of the present century, and appropriated to secular and very common uses.

Of the ANCIENT FONT, alluded to above, which was discovered during the restoration carried out in 1872, buried under the site on which the present font is placed, we must speak more particularly. It is probably of the date of the tenth century, and was, we may reasonably

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*Inscription on Ancient Bell:—*

IH 7L HΛ HV ꟻO NΛ

*Ancient Font, and Inscription:—*

+ SICVT CERVVS DESIDERAT
AD FONTES AQVARVM ITA
DESIDERAT ANIMA MEA
AD TE DS [illegible] EN.

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suppose, the font which belonged to the earliest church that was built for Potterne. It is made of stone, circular in form, and of simple, almost rude, workmanship. An engraving of this most interesting relic is given, from which our readers may be able to form a fair idea of it. Its dimensions are as follows :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Height, outside | ... | 2 feet | 2½ in. |
| Depth, „ | ... | 1 „ | 3 „ |
| Diameter, outside | ... | 2 „ | 11 „ |
| Diameter, inside | ... | 2 „ | 2 „ |
| Circumference, at top | ... | 9 „ | 2 „ |
| Circumference, at bottom | ... | 7 „ | 6 „ |

Round the upper rim of the font is a Latin inscription, cut in antique characters: "SICUT CERVUS DESIDERAT AD FONTES AQUARUM ITA DESIDERAT ANIMA MEA AD TE DEUS. AMEN." [Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my Soul after thee, O God. Psalm xlii., 1]. Though it helps us little in our enquiry as to the precise date of the font, it is a matter of some interest that the quotation is not from the Vulgate, but from an alternative reading in a version of St. Jerome.

The following remarks by Mr. Christian, the architect under whose direction the recent restoration was carried out, will be read with interest. "This font," he writes, "is of very early date, and much older than the existing church. Its general form and outline is quite different to anything I have ever seen of the work of the *thirteenth* century, but is quite in accordance with that of Saxon times. The inscription, as far as my experience goes, is unique, and is written in characters which so far as I know have not been in use since the Conquest. Those most nearly resembling them are to be found in a copy of St. Cuthbert's Gospels in the British Museum, the date of which is given as the beginning of the eighth century. My theory is, that, when the ancient Church in the valley was abandoned and the new one built in the thirteenth century, the ancient font was removed, and that afterwards in the fifteenth century, when, as the tower clearly shews, a good deal of work was done at the Church, a new font was made, and the old one buried beneath the floor. The men of the

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thirteenth century would certainly not have used in the construction of the new building any of the architectural features of a former age, but they might well be content to utilize the furniture, as it might be called, of earlier times, and would not be likely willingly to destroy such a font. Out of many hundred fonts which I have seen I have never met with the like of Potterne, with a text of Holy Scripture inscribed round its rim. Those who are better acquainted with ancient psalters than I am may be able to adduce additional evidence on the subject, but so far as form and lettering enable me to form a judgment, I should without hesitation assign the date of its execution to early Saxon times."

The BELLS are six in number; and two of them, the *third* and *sixth*, would seem to have been put up, or re-cast, in 1624.

1. This bell is 46½ inches in diameter, and weighs about 17 cwt. It has the inscription: "The gift of the Rev. George Edmonstone, Vicar, 1820. Rt. Watts and Jos. Glass, Churchwardens. James Wells *fecit*."

2. A very ancient bell, probably of the fourteenth century, with an illegible inscription. (See plate 3.)

3. "✤ Anno Domini 1624."

4. "Mr. John Gaisford and John More C. W. 1713. W. C."

5. "R. Wells, of Aldbourne, *fecit*. 1771."

6. "✤ Drawe near to God. Anno Domini 1624. I.M.: R. B."

The REGISTERS of the parish extend back to the year 1557. The oldest is written on parchment. Some of the earliest entries, in consequence of the leaves being decayed, are not very easy to decipher. The following notice is to be read at the commencement of the book containing the earliest entries: "The ancient Register of Potterne hereto annexed, when in a confused state and fast decaying, was thus arranged and as far as possible transcribed gratuitously for the benefit of the Parish by and under the immediate inspection of Robert Benson, Esq., M.A., and Barrister-at-law, Middle Temple, London, A.D. 1823-4."

Of MONUMENTS there are several relating to the TANNER family, connections more or less intimate no doubt of Bishop Tanner, who was a native of Wilts and promoted to the see of St. Asaph in

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1732, and of whom a brief notice will be found in an earlier number of this Magazine.[1]

Other monuments relate to the Grubbe family, and there is a small brass in the north transept to the memory of Susanna Grubbe, daughter of Thomas Grubbe, Esq., who died in 1684.

Others relate to the families of FLOWER, BAILEY, SPEARING, KENT, and WRAY. The latter monument records the fact of the deprivation of the Rev. Robert Byng, D.D. (an ancestor of the Wray family), from the Rectory of All Cannings, for his loyalty to King Charles II., and his decease and burial, before the Restoration, at St. John's Church, Devizes.

There are several stained glass windows in the church. The east windows were placed in memory of the late Vicar, the Rev. Joseph Medlicott. Others have been inserted as memorials of various members of the families of Grubbe, Oldfield, and Olivier. The head of the last-named family was the late Colonel Olivier, who became connected with Potterne in 1830, and who for some thirty years was the lessee under the Bishop, and so, for the time being, Lord of the Manor of Potterne. It was he that, at the time of the machine-burning riots, organized a troop of yeomanry cavalry known as the "Potterne Troop," to act as mounted police—a troop that was disbanded in 1836. For a portion of the time that he resided at Potterne he was churchwarden of the parish, and seconded the vicar, the Rev. G. Edmonstone, in his efforts for the providing educational and other advantages for the people of his charge. He was also for a short time the possessor of the Porch House, now in course of restoration, and so indirectly the means of preserving it: for at that time it was being utilised, and converted into sundry tenements, and ruthlessly treated, to provide for the tenants' supposed needs. Colonel Olivier was the first Treasurer moreover of the Wilts Archæological Society, and so well deserves this passing mention at our hands. On his decease in 1864, the property belonging [to] him was sold, and the connexion of his family with the parish [term]inated.

[1] Wilts Mag., xiii., 59.

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The following list of Vicars of Potterne from the beginning of the fourteenth century has been compiled from Sir Thomas Phillipp's "Wiltshire Institutions" and other sources:—

VICARS OF POTTERNE.

| A.D. | PATRON. | INCUMBENT. |
|---|---|---|
| c1310 | Bishop SIMON OF GHENT. | RICHARD DE HESDING. |
| 1313 | The same. | GILBERT DE WYTHAM. |
| 1316 | Bp. ROGER DE MORTIVAL. | WILLIAM DE ASTON. |
| 1327 | The same. | WILLIAM DE LAVYNTON. |
| 1348 | Bishop ROBERT WYVILL. | ALAN AVENEL. |
| 1350 | The same. | JOHN DOYLLY, Rector of Ewelm, Oxon, by exchange with Alan Avenel. See Kennet's Paroch. Antiq., ii., 377. |
| 1379 | Bishop RALPH ERGHUM. | ROBERT DUDING. |
| 1384 | The same. | RICHARD DURANT. |
| 1384 | The same. | JOHN ERGHUM. |
| 1385 | The same. | HENRY CHAPEL, by exchange with John Erghum. |
| 1386 | The same. | RICHARD DURANT. |
| ...... | ...... | WILLIAM CODYER. |
| 1392 | Bishop JOHN WALTHAM. | ADAM USKE, by exchange with William Codyer. |
| 1395 | The same. | WILLIAM BAYTON. |
| ...... | ...... | HENRY PAKE. |
| 1396 | Bp. RICHARD MITFORD. | JOHN GOLDE, by resignation of Henry Pake. |
| 1437 | Bishop ROBERT NEVILLE. | THOMAS RYLE. |
| 1440 | Bp. WILLIAM AISCOUGH. | JOHN EWYAS, by exchange with Thomas Ryle. |
| ...... | ...... | —— GRUBBE. |
| 1494 | Bishop JOHN BLYTHE. | WALTER BROWN, by resignation of —— Grubbe. |
| 1502 | Bishop EDMUND AUDLEY. | NICHOLAS INGULSENTE, on decease of Walter Brown. He was Rector of Poulshot in 1498. |
| 1515 | The same. | WILLIAM CADMAN, on resignation of Nicholas Ingulsente. |
| 1535 | Bp. NICHOLAS SHAXTON. | JOHN CLERK, on decease of William Cadman. |
| 1550 | THOMAS BOURE (as Lessee of the Manor under Bishop Capon). | JOHN BOURE, on decease of John Clerk. |

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| A.D. | Patron. | Incumbent. |
|---|---|---|
| ...... | ...... | Nicholas Strangwidge. |
| 1629 | John Grubbe, Esq., Lessee of the Manor. | John Northey, on the decease of Nicholas Strangwidge. |
| ...... | ...... | John Craig, Preb. of Durnford, 1708, Gillingham, 1726. |
| 1696 | Bishop Gilbert Burnet. | Charles Theophilus Mutel (on cession of John Craig), Preb. of Chute, 1698, Husborne, 1701. |
| 1711 | The same. | Francis Fox (on decease of C. T. Mutel), Preb. of Stratton, 1738. |
| 1726 | Bishop Benjamin Hoadley | David Scarlock, on cession of Francis Fox. |
| 1768 | Bishop John Hume. | John Hume (on decease of David Scarlock), Preb. of Combe, 1779. |
| 1770 | The same. | James Hume Spry (on resignation of John Hume), Preb. of Minor Pars Altaris, 1774. |
| 1781 | The same. | Arthur Coham (on decease of J. H. Spry), Preb. of Fordington, 1772. Archdeacon of Wilts, 1779. |
| 1793 | Bishop John Douglas. | Arthur John Coham (on resignation of Arthur Coham). |
| 1799 | The same. | William Douglas (on decease of A. J. Coham), Archdeacon of Wilts, 1799. |
| 1807 | The same. | George Edmonston (on resignation of W. Douglas. |
| 1837 | Bishop Edward Denison. | Joseph Medlicott (on resignation of George Edmonston). |
| 1871 | Bishop George Moberley. | Thomas Boughton Buchanan (on decease of Joseph Medlicott), Rector of Wishford Magna, 1863, Archdeacon of Wilts, 1874. |

The above is probably a tolerably complete list of the Vicars of Potterne from the year 1307 downwards. It will be observed that among them are several bearing surnames, the same as those of their respective patrons and bishops; showing that if "providing for their own" was a *test*, the diocesans were orthodox enough. Two of them

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held names now well known in the religious world, RYLE and CADMAN. Several held the office of Archdeacon, and not a few held prebendal stalls in the Cathedral at Sarum. We know very little about them. One, by name DAVID SCARLOCK, who held the living from 1726 to 1768, wrote several works, amongst others one that might possibly be read with advantage even now, entitled "A caution against speaking evil of Governors." Another, his immediate predecessor, FRANCIS FOX, seems, from the careful way in which he enters in the baptismal registers the names of sponsors, to have been a diligent and conscientious pastor. He held a prebendal stall at Sarum and was chaplain to Lord Cadogan. He was an author: amongst other works he published one in 1723 entitled "The New Testament explained," and in 1727 a tract on the "Duty of Public Worship," still on the catalogue of the Christian Knowledge Society. In 1726 he became Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, and died there in 1738.

Of one other Vicar, who passed away but little more than twenty years ago at the patriarchal age of ninety-one, I will say a few closing words. In 1807 GEORGE EDMONSTON became Vicar of Potterne. He resigned his charge after thirty years' incumbency, but still lived amongst his old parishioners. It was his happiness to welcome as his successor one whom he had at first associated with himself as Curate, and afterwards as contentedly looked up to as Vicar. Large-hearted, and open-handed, his memory is still affectionately cherished in Potterne. Numerous were his gifts to the parish—to the Church—to the poor. To the last he not only left liberal bequests by will, but during his lifetime built and endowed schools for the education of their children. And now both GEORGE EDMONSTON and JOSEPH MEDLICOTT, successive Vicars of Potterne, "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death not divided," sleep peacefully together in that peaceful churchyard, till they shall awake to a friendship yet more real, because purer—uninterrupted—never-ending.

*Bradford-on-Avon,*
*August,* 1876.

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*Canon Ordinary of Sarum, and Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.*

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# On the Old Porch-House at Potterne.

By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A.

[Read before the Society at the Annual Meeting, at Devizes, September, 1874.] *

BEFORE I enter upon a short account of the old Porch-House at Potterne, it may perhaps serve to open up the subject and facilitate my description and prepare in some degree for a better examination of this most interesting specimen of domestic architecture of a bygone age, if I make a few preliminary observations on timber buildings in England generally, and touch upon the more common arrangement and detail of an English house from three to four hundred years ago.

I do not think it is sufficiently considered that up to a comparatively late period (say within the last two hundred years) most of our houses were built of timber. But I will go farther than that, and say that up to the period of the Norman Conquest, the great majority even of our Churches were built of timber. Why is it that instances of Saxon Churches are so extremely rare with us, while specimens of Norman work are so abundant? This is not, I will venture to say, solely due to the inferior, and therefore less durable, character, of Saxon work and Saxon materials; for the thickness of Saxon walls (where a specimen exists,) is remarkable. But it is because, when the country was in great measure covered with forests and marshes, and roads of communication were few and often impassable, the carriage of stone was too formidable and too costly a business, while the supply of timber was so ample and so ready at hand, that Churches, as well as less important buildings, were generally made of wood: as for the same causes they are to this day in Norway, where I have seen specimens of wooden Churches bearing a

* The writer of the following paper desires to express his personal obligations to the spirited owner Old Porch House, at Potterne, (George Richmond, Esq., R.A.,) not only for his courtesy in out all the principal points of interest in the building, but also for supplying the details, to his imperfect sketch owes any interest it may possess.

recognized date of no less than five or six, and in one instance seven, centuries.

It was these wooden Churches of our forefathers which, the Saxon Chronicles so often tell us, were burnt by the Danes; and it would seem that it was not until after their repeated demolition by fire, that our ancestors awoke to the fact that it was advisable to employ a more durable, if more expensive, material for their chief buildings. As a notorious exception to this, doubtless the very perfect Saxon Church of Bradford rises before our minds, which dating back (as is believed on good authority) from the eighth century, seems to contradict the statement I have just made. But if we remember that Bradford is situated in the heart of some of the best stone-quarries in England, we shall understand that stone would, in that particular district, be as well the *more natural* as the *cheaper* material for building; and the "Ecclesiola" of Bradford, as it has been happily called, would be an exceptional case among its own contemporary Churches: and on that account I claim for it now an additional title, to the respect and reverence (and let me add contribution towards its preservation) of all true archæologists, in that it is not only an almost unique specimen of its age which remains to us, but that it probably never had many compeers of its time of like build and material.

I crave the indulgence of my readers for this digression on stone Churches, to which I have been led by the few remarks I have made on timber Churches; and I return to the timber houses of which I was speaking.

Long after ecclesiastical buildings began, in the words of an old writer, to "become petrified," and even after they had attained perfection, those of a secular character continued to be formed of wood. Indeed I may say that for the several succeeding centuries, (even up to two hundred years ago,) timber was the material *generally* adopted, not only for the cottage of the peasant, but for the hall of the knight or noble. Doubtless this was in great degree owing to the causes I have already mentioned, the profusion of timber and the difficulty of carting stone. To some extent also it may be attributed to fashion, and the reluctance to change, which seems to have been as natural

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to our forefathers as it is unnatural to us: but perhaps more than all (in the better examples at least) to the desire of obtaining many beautiful features which were peculiar to the timber edifices, and which could be produced by this material alone: "projecting stories, windows with delicate tracery, elegant oriels, carved gable boards, pendants, and so forth. These, together with a profusion of enrichment on their chequered walls, impart to these buildings a charm which cannot be surpassed by any other style."[1]

"These timber buildings of England were generally constructed of oak, possessing extreme durability; the superiority of which over that procured at present is said to arise from the trees having been felled in winter, and not in spring, as at present, for the sake of the bark."[2] There was no stint of timber employed: massive beams were used in every part of the construction: indeed it has repeatedly been urged that there has been an unnecessary consumption of wood in these buildings; but this objection does not appear to be well substantiated; for any excess of strength in the first instance has been more than amply repaid by the additional number of years they have lasted: their existence for three or four centuries in a sound state being one of the best proofs of the skill displayed in their construction. The walls were generally formed of timbers disposed in various patterns, though sometimes simple squares, and were filled in with plaster set in stout oak laths: this plaster was a mud-clay well mixed with straw, which was afterwards whitewashed,[3] and was a material resembling the Devonshire *cob* of the present time. The principal timbers of the roof were generally built up in squares in the same manner as the walls, and were covered with stone tiles.

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[1] "Ancient timber edifices of England," by John Clayton, Architect, 1846.

[2] Clayton's "Ancient timber edifices of England."

[3] In London, the citizens were compelled to whitewash even the thatch of their houses, as a precaution against fire, and so the "Londoners objected to sea-borne coal for fuel, that the smoke from it blackened the white walls of their buildings. The appearance of the city presented the aspect of a mass of low whitewashed tenements."—Hudson Turner's Domestic Architecture of England from the Conquest to the end of the thirteenth century, vol. ii., p. 26, and vol. i., p. 115.

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These roofs of open timber-work were often richly ornamented, and sometimes pierced wood-work resembling the tracery of windows was introduced under the arches. King-posts and tie-beams were also characteristic features of these massive roofs. The foundations were generally of stone, as were the fire-places and chimney shafts, where they existed. The construction of the projecting stories and several other portions displayed great ingenuity: these overhanging upper stories were generally carried on corbels: the timbers in front were often ornamented with panelling, either entirely carved on wood, or the spaces between the timbers were filled with plaster, and the timbers were left projecting. Moreover it would seem probable, from the appearance of the timbers in many of these buildings, that their surfaces were originally protected by a description of paint of a rich brown colour: it is however extremely uncertain whether the practice of blackening them, as is usually done in the present day, can be traced to an ancient origin.

As regards the interiors of these timber houses, perhaps we of this more luxurious age should scarcely be satisfied with the accommodation which met all the requirements of our ancestors, and we might pronounce the rooms they generally contained, few in number, and diminutive in size. Neither should we be content to dwell in a hall without a chimney, and with windows guiltless of glass, but which ably fulfilled their duties of letting in the air, and letting out the smoke. Yet such were the simple manners of the good old times that these arrangements were universally adopted. Moreover the majority of houses consisted of no more than a ground floor, and of this the "*hall*" was the chief apartment; the general living room of the family; into which the principal door opened; which in the case of the less pretentious dwellings, served for cooking, eating, receiving visitors, and in short for almost all the ordinary usages of domestic life. Adjacent to this, and oftentimes on the same level, was the "*chamber,*" the family bedroom, which was also the private apartment of the lord and his family, and the resort of the female part of the household by day. In addition to this were the "*cellar,*" and on the side opposite the chamber, the "*stable,*" which was considered a necessary appendage, because at this period

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householders were in the habit of giving lodgings to travellers, who generally came on horseback.[1]

This was the ordinary arrangement of apartments in the house of a gentleman of moderate fortune during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the dwellings of the more wealthy differed only in having an upper floor, called the "*soler*,"[2] which could only be entered by one door, and was therefore more easily defended, and so was considered the place of greater security; a "*chapel*" of very small dimensions, and a "*kitchen*," detached from the rest of the buildings, generally vaulted and open to the roof, and as distinct as possible from the rest of the house, as a security against fire.

And such continued to be the general style of domestic architecture in England until the sixteenth century, by which time it may be said to have reached its highest degree of perfection, combining (as it then did) much internal comfort and convenience, with very considerable external beauty of decoration. At this period, the interiors of the better-class houses presented many peculiar and attractive features, both with regard to arrangement and decoration. They were often lined with panelled wainscotting, had carved chimney pieces of an elaborate character, and even emblazoned windows. Moreover, in addition to the principal apartments mentioned above, there was sometimes added a state bedroom, and sometimes even a drawing room.

At this period which has been called "the truly Augustan age of Elizabeth," the science of construction of timber-framed houses was thoroughly understood; and as the supply of material seemed still

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[1] "Everybody who could afford it, travelled on horseback. There were companies of hackney men who provided horses for travellers at a fixed rate per stage, and cooks accompanied them who provided for the culinary necessities of wayfarers." In the middle of the fifteenth century, "hackneys were usually hired at four-pence a day, equal to about seven shillings of our money,

> "ffor cariage the porter hors schall hyre
> ffoure pens a pece withinne the shyre.'"

[Turner's Domestic Architecture, vol, iii., p. 47."

[2] ... robably from *sol*. There was also sometimes, above the gateway, ... led the *soleret*, the diminutive of soler; a term still retained ... of rooms just above the ground floor, universally known

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abundant and almost inexhaustible, possibly the prevailing fashion of wooden houses might have been prolonged to a much later date, had not the Great Fire of London[1] in 1666 (of which the well-known Monument is the memorial) put a sudden stop to the practice, and caused the substitution of a less perishable material: for immediately after the Fire of London a proclamation[2] (which by many was deemed arbitrary and unjustifiable) was made, enjoining the Lord Mayor and other city magistrates to take care that no houses of timber should be erected for the future.[3] And this new, though enforced, fashion of stone and brick houses in London very soon spread through the country, to the utter abandonment of the mode of building, which, till then, had monopolized the attention of architects and builders.

With these preliminary remarks on the general subject of timber houses in England, and wherein I have gleaned from the writings of some of our best archæologists, to wit, Mr Hudson Turner, Mr. John Henry Parker, Mr. Albert Way, Mr. Clayton and others; I come now the more readily to the very excellent specimen of an old timber house in our own county, which it is my present purpose to describe.

In the parish of Potterne, and in the very middle of the village, abutting on the main street, stands an old old house, which, though it has long attracted the notice of the archæologist and the

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[1] As some slight precaution against fire, so deservedly dreaded by those who dwelt in streets of wooden houses, an old law had long since enacted that "before every house there should be a tub full of water, either of wood or stone;" the like of which may be seen, rigidly enforced at the present day, in the towns of Bergen, Trondhjem, &c., in Norway, where the majority of houses are of timber.

[2] Long before this, even in the reign of King John, a decree was made that every alderman should, under penalty of fine, provide himself with a hook and cord, whereby to demolish the wooden houses of the citizens in case of fire, and nothing can give us a better notion what mean and flimsy hovels the citizens of London were then contented with, if a hook and cord were implements sufficient for pulling them down.

[3] Hallam's History of England, vol. iii., p. 6.

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THE PORCH HOUSE, POTTERNE, WILTS,

AS RESTORED 1875.

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artist, has been, for some generations at least, passed by the many without admiration or remark. Now and then its timbered walls, its old-fashioned windows, and its overhanging roof might have arrested the momentary notice of the traveller, as he wended his way through the village street, but it was forgotten almost as soon as seen.[1] Occasionally its picturesque outline might have tempted the sketcher's pencil, or invited the photographer to halt; but by the great majority of passers by, I will venture to say, it was wholly unnoticed.

And yet on examination this was no ordinary house, such as the other houses all around it were. Its formation, its material, its open porch, its gables, its bay window, its barge boards, its projecting story, all proclaimed it the work of a former age: while if one entered it and peeped behind the plaster and ceilings which concealed them, beautiful tracery of windows and fine open roofs rewarded the zeal of the curious, and invited to further research.

And thus unheeded, or at least unrecognized, it might have remained to this moment, gradually succumbing to neglect and the wear and tear of ages, had it not attracted the artistic eye of a gentleman, to whom to see was to admire, and to admire was to purchase, with a view to its restoration: and to whose loving carefulness and reverent regard for antiquity, scrupulous adherence to the most rigid laws of preservation, and determination to admit of no renovation, which was not (presumptively at least) warranted by precedent; we of this county and neighbourhood, and above all the Members of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, are indebted for the very interesting specimen which we may now see, of a timber house, whose antiquity we may safely estimate at three hundred, and not improbably at near four hundred years, or perhaps more.

Waiving however for the moment the important question whether it may fairly lay claim to date from the sixteenth or from the fifteenth century, let us proceed to examine its more modern history and its

[1] An excellent illustration of the Old House, as it stood about eight years ago, may be seen in the frontispiece of the eleventh volume of the Magazine.

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actual condition as it appeared two years ago. As regards its occupation during the years of its decline, it has suffered almost more than the wonted vicissitudes of old houses, and has indeed been put to strange uses; for it seems to have served successively as a brewery, as a bakehouse, as a barrack, as a public-house (bearing the sign of the "Pack-horse"); and finally, and only too fatally to many portions of it, it was divided into four or five tenements. To fit it for these several uses, and especially for its last unfortunate occupation as the abode of several families, it was deemed necessary to make many disastrous alterations. Thus the fine old porch, which has given its name to the house, was stopped up in front, and opened at the sides: two new doors were made and opened to the street: at the back two new doors were made opening into the hall: windows were blocked up with wattle and plaster: others were opened: three or four staircases were made: small rooms were made less by means of thin partitions: fire-places were constructed where none had previously existed: and ceilings everywhere hid the fine open roofs, and the oak joists, on which the original flooring rested. One huge chimney, having two flues in it, and of about two hundred years' standing, took up a great part of the hall, and in great degree spoilt its proportions. While more recently the pendants from the roof with tracery were ruthlessly cut away to make head room for the upper floor: indeed one of the workmen, now engaged in the restoration, who lived in these rooms for several years, acknowledges that he assisted in cutting away the grand old pendants and tracery, which he says reached down to within two or three feet of the upper floor, so that they must have lost 2 feet 6 inches or 3 feet in length by the operation.

Notwithstanding however all these destructive alterations, and that considerable injuries were done, under the plea of restoration, the structure itself happily remains, and pretty much the same in general aspect as it was several centuries ago.

Let me now pass on to mention shortly how the work of restoration has been conducted, and what has been done. In the first place it was felt that where a single mistake might be fatal, and one false move, through lack of the required care and caution, might ruin

everything, it was absolutely essential to secure success that the work should be placed in the hands of a competent architect, one whose discretion and carefulness, as well as knowledge and experience could be relied upon: and who more fitting than the well-known Mr. Christian, who chanced to be engaged in restoring Potterne Church at the time? To him therefore, and to his head assistant, Mr. Purday, who devoted much attention to the work, are we indebted, next to the owner, for the admirable manner in which this restoration has been conducted. Possibly some few mistakes may have been made, but these are comparatively trifling, and may be attributed, partly to the unavoidable absence of the owner, for when able to spare the time, he not only superintended the progress of the work himself, but assisted the workmen in no slight degree with his own hands; and partly to the prolonged illness of Mr. Christian, who was thus hindered from giving it that constant personal attention which so tender a patient required. I repeat, however, that so far as I can form an opinion, the mistakes are few and trifling, while the restoration is thoroughly successful, as it is likely to be, and as it certainly deserves to be, when conducted on such admirable principles (which cannot be too highly commended by antiquarians) of extreme care and even horror of demolishing anything that is old, and an equal shrinking from the introduction of anything that is new, for which there is no absolute warrant of precedent.

Carried out on these principles, the restoration of the old Porch-House at Potterne has been most carefully conducted. Wherever oak was originally used, there oak has again been supplied: elm has been used for elm: and there is no pine in the building. There was but one chimney, the massive one alluded to just now, and but one fire-place, in the north parlour: these however formed no part of the original buildings, but were added about the time of Charles II. It was found to be absolutely impossible to retain the large chimney, for it completely blocked up the hall, though it was removed with reluctance. When pulling it down, it was found to be composed of oak and wattle, a material which was discovered to be fire-proof by those who built it two hundred years ago, but a piece of practical knowledge which had been lost to us from that period.



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The porch door, remembered by many old inhabitants, with its wicket, is described as covered with iron, like a prison door; and it is not a little remarkable that the present owner, with a firm presentiment that it must be in existence somewhere, and with a no less confident persuasion that it would be found (if at all) in a pig-sty, offered a reward for its recovery; and sure enough, before long, half of the identical wicket, with some of the iron fittings upon it, was discovered doing duty as a part of the floor of a pig-sty, at a mile's distance. It will, I am sure, rejoice the heart of every true archæologist to learn that the wood of the wicket having proved to be still sound, only somewhat richly pickled, it is to be worked up again into the door, and restored to its former position. Besides this, no other original door remains: the only one of any antiquity, which may be a sixteenth century door, is now placed in the end building at the north-east.

It has been suggested that perhaps the hall itself is of elder date than the other buildings on either side of it, and that it was removed from its original site and rebuilt here, when possibly the porch may have been added.[1] Certain it is that nothing would have been easier than to do this, for the whole framework of the building is mortised together, and fixed by oak pegs through the tenons, and all the uprights are numbered for their respective places, i., ii., iii., iv., v., vi., and so on, as any one may still see for himself. It should however be remembered that this argument for its easy removal is by no means conclusive; for the practice of putting together timber framework by means of pegs, prior to its permanent erection, was not only a general custom of builders then, but is still the time-honoured practice of carpenters: indeed roofs of barns and farm buildings are generally so constructed on the ground previous to erection. Between the oak uprights, short thick horizontal oak laths fit into grooves, and these formed the foundation for the plaster, but in the larger spaces wattle was used instead of laths.

Of the two quaint windows on the east wall of the hall, the

[1] If however the porch was an addition, Mr. Purday gives it as his decided opinion, based on structural details, that it was an addition made immediately after the hall had been placed here.

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southernmost alone remained; though the other has been opened in the restoration. There was no evidence that these windows have ever been glazed, but there were indications of shutters, and these indications remain. It is presumed that (as in other old houses of similar construction and date) they were for the admission of air, and for the exit of smoke, for as there was originally no fire-place in the hall, a fire must have been kindled upon the floor, and the smoke must have found its way out as it could: and indeed that this was the case, the blackening of the purlines and rafters, is corroborative, if not (as I almost venture to say) conclusive. Those purlines and rafters are of elm, but the framing of the roofs is wholly of oak, as are all the uprights throughout the whole group of buildings, which, though apparently one, are in fact *four*.

Of the three upper windows looking towards the street, one only with transomes may be of the time of James I., but it has been thought advisable that these should be carefully repaired and retained, although there is evidence that the original windows were different to these, and probably carried tracery: no portion however of these remains for an example; and with a wise discretion, which we shall appreciate and applaud, no conjectural restoration of them was to be entertained for a moment.

As regards the pavement, the oldest portion was composed of unequal-sized flag-stones, but they were certainly not original, nor have we any trace of the materials of which the floor was composed. In general however it was nothing more than the natural soil well rammed down, and upon this was strewn the dried rushes in winter, and the green leaves in summer, which did duty for carpets.[1]

I should mention here that very lovely tracery was found in a little blocked-up window in the upper room of the North wing, and also fragments of tracery in the oriel window, and that from these patterns all the restorations have been made. In the same upper room of the north wing, there is a round hole through one of the upright timbers, directed downwards, which it is surmised may have

[1] Every traveller in Scandinavia will recollect the juniper and pine branches, with which the floors of the rooms are very generally strewn at this day.

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been intended to facilitate the throwing down stones or other missiles on the heads of assailants, in case of attack; or perhaps more probably for the pouring of water on the faggots, if they attempted to set fire to the building. Whether such was the object of this perforation I cannot say, though the provision of such holes and for such purposes was well understood by our forefathers. In Ireland, such an opening was appropriately called "the murthering hole."

During the progress of the work the following objects of interest were discovered. Of *coins*, many half-pence of the Georges; two of William and Mary; one of George and Caroline; and one of Washington. Three tradesmens' tokens, one of them German; one Roman coin of Constantine, cast at Treves; and best of all, in a mortice hole of the northern wing, three golden *écus* of France, wrapped in a small portion of fine linen: two of these are of Louis XI., the other of Charles VIII., of France. They appear to have been placed in the hole for security, and then it seems they dropped down out of reach; but how these foreign coins came to be deposited there, and what was the story of their being so concealed and then abandoned, notwithstanding their value, are interesting speculations, on which we may weave what romances we please, and which none can dispute, for we shall never know the truth of the story, conjecture and search as we may. In the roof were found one or two leathern articles, a coin of George I., and a tiler's measure; while the great chimney yielded up a portion of a carved stone, and a fowl, prepared without doubt for dinner, but somehow forgotten and left a mummy!

And now I come to the critical question as to the *probable date* of this interesting old building. I am happy to say that we are not without documentary evidence with regard to a very old manor house at Potterne: for as in those lawless days, when roving thieves lurked in the forests, and plundered where they could find booty; every manor house and every knight's house was protected by *crenellated* or embattled inclosure walls (indeed it was contrary to law in those disturbed times to build any house of any size or importance without some such fortification); and as no one was allowed to put battlements (*crenelles*) on his house without a license from the

crown,[1] we have most valuable testimony regarding the houses which were so crenellated, and which must have included all the principal houses in the land, in the catalogues of licences granted for the purpose during the reigns of the several sovereigns of that period. A complete list of these licenses to crenellate was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1856 in chronological order, carefully extracted from the Rolls themselves, under the direction of Mr. Duffus Hardy, the Assistant Keeper of the Rolls : and I have the authority of the author of the "Glossary of Architecture," for saying that "the licenses to *crenellate* or fortify a mansion may generally be relied on as fixing the date of it, because every house of any importance was obliged to be fortified;" and in another part of his book he says in still more distinct terms, "the licenses to crenellate give us the exact date of each house within a very few years."

Now in the list of licenses for the eleventh year of Edward III. (A.D. 1338) we find licenses granted to Robert Bishop of Salisbury to crenellate his manor houses at Poterne, Wilts, Canynyges, Wilts, and at Remmesbury, Wilts.[2] For some reasons which we cannot explain, though it was by no means an uncommon occurrence, these licenses were not immediately acted on; and consequently at the beginning of the next reign, the first of Richard II. (A.D. 1377) we find a ratification of the licenses formerly granted in the eleventh of the Edward III., under the Privy Seal; viz. to Ralph, the then Bishop of Salisbury, and his successors to crenellate his several manor houses of Poterne, Canynge, and Remmesbury aforesaid;[3]

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[1] "Some curious instances occur of pardons granted to persons for having ventured to fortify their houses without a licence, and others of licences renewed at the beginning of a new reign, where the original intention had not been carried out. These exceptional cases would suffice to clearly prove the general custom and law upon the subject, if there were any doubt about it."—Turner's Domestic Architecture in England, vol. iv., p. 201.

[2] "Anno Regni Edw: III., 11. Robertus Episcopus Sarum *possit kernellare mansum manerii.* . . . . . Poterne, Wilts. . . . . . *mansum manerii.* . . . . . Cannyngg, Wilts. . . . . *mansum manerii.* . . . . . Remmesbury, Wilts."

[3] "Anno Regni Rich: II., 1. Radulphus Episcopus Saresburiensis, et successores sui . . . . *manerium* . . . . . . Potterne, . . . . *manerium* Canynge . . . . *manerium* Rammesbury."

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and we may conclude, as the licenses were not again ratified in the succeeding reign, that they were then acted upon.

That the Porch-House at Potterne is that identical manor house, for the fortification of which a license was finally granted by the crown in 1377, I do not think any one is rash enough to conjecture. That episcopal residence in all probability soon fell into decay; for it appears that the bishops' ancient manor house ceased to be kept up *circa* 1450; though that it was at times at least occupied by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury in person while it existed, we have evidence, in that Bishop Richard Mitford (or Metford) died at Potterne in 1407.

That however this fine old timber house, of too noble a character to be an ordinary residence, might have been one of the many ecclesiastical residences, after the Bishop ceased to keep up his own manor house, for either the person renting the titles and manor, as agent for the Bishop, or as Vicar for the time being, is a suggestion which has been put forward with no little show of probability. That such may have been the case is by no means unlikely, but in the absence of any proof in support of it, the archæologist can only look upon it as conjecture. Others have broached the opinion that it was a Church house, where Church ales were held, and other business or festivities in connection with the Church were carried on: but here again we are simply hazarding a guess, for which we have no positive foundation, while the superior character and elaborate details of the building seem, in my judgment at least, to militate against such a supposition.

With regard to the actual date of the building, there is the internal evidence of construction and detail, and the external evidence of style; and some of our best architects have given it as their opinion that it may be attributed to the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth centuries, from 1490 to 1510, or during the reign of Henry VII., while others again affirm it to be Elizabethan, and this is the view taken by the author of the "Glossary of Architecture," who says, "Nothing remains at Potterne earlier than the time of Elizabeth, of which period there is a very good and picturesque timber house with carved barge-boards and panelling, and

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the projecting upper story." On this point however let everyone use his own judgment, after due examination: for myself, though I scarcely venture to offer any opinion, I incline to the earlier date, to which I am led not only by many of the details given above, but still more by the authority of those in whose judgment I am inclined to place confidence. It is however a question open to opinion, and may well exercise the careful consideration of those who are most conversant with such matters. But certain I am, that when thus carefully examined, whether it be pronounced fifteenth, sixteenth, or even seventeenth century work, all will unite in one voice of admiration at the beauty of the building, and in no less hearty a tribute of gratitude to the worthy owner, who is carrying out the work of restoration in so reverent, so careful, so truly archæological, a spirit, and who has done his utmost to preserve in its integrity so fine a specimen of the old timber houses of England.

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ON SOME

# Curiosities and Statistics of Parish Registers.

By the Rev. W. C. Plenderleath.

SOME years ago I undertook the task of indexing the registers of the little Wiltshire village of which I am rector. In the course of that work, which occupied my spare time for more than two years, I came across a number of facts, and was led into some enquiries, which interested me greatly. It was not that the Cherhill registers contained any historic names, or were interspersed with any curious remarks, such, for example, as that at Chaddleworth, Bucks, where a friend told me he once read the following P.S. to an entry of burial:—"This is the man who met one of Cromwell's Ironsides in Hangmanstone Lane, and was never well

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afterwards!" Nothing of this sort do I find at Cherhill. England has suffered many a convulsion, both in Church and State. Dr. Sacheverell preached, and was imprisoned, and came out of prison, a hero, and a martyr—in the eyes of his own party at any rate: the Bill of Rights and the Test and Corporation Act was passed: the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. But the good folk at Cherhill cared for none of these things. The prospects of "turmuts" or "wuts," to-year,—such was their measure of public interests: and the domestic fortunes of Cleare, Betsey, or Dan'l, the staple of gossip on Sunday mornings at the corner of the village road. I was talking a few winters ago to a class of fourteen young men, all of whom were well instructed in the three Rs, some of them remarkably so, and I found that not one of the fourteen had ever heard of the *Times* newspaper, and only one of Stonehenge, which is distant from our village about eighteen miles as the crow flies! One is therefore quite prepared to find that the ancestors of these lads were not sufficiently interested in current events to break out irrepressibly in such entries as I have given a specimen of above, and as we find in many places where fragments of the history of the Empire have been interspersed among the "homely annals of the poor," and the progress of the Reformation has been recorded alternately with the churchwardens' payments for the destruction of polecats and sparrows, and their charges for washing the parish surplice.

But notwithstanding the absence of any entries such as these, I found a good many things in the Cherhill registers which appeared to me worthy of being brought under the notice of the Society, and this they accordingly were in a paper which I read at our annual meeting, at Swindon, in 1873. And my attention being thus called to the subject, I pursued my enquiries somewhat further. And after examining the registers of a good many other parishes and obtaining transcripts and extracts from a good many more, I jotted down a few memoranda on the subject which I read at the annual meeting at Devizes the following year. It is the substance of these two papers, with some further additions, that will be found in the following pages.

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And first with regard to the origin of registers. Now some sort of system of general registration appears to have existed from the very earliest period among almost all civilized nations. And by general registration I mean such a system as would include, if not the whole, yet at any rate the main part, of the nation (with the exception of the proletarian class), independantly of any profession or official position. In the third chapter of the book of Nehemiah, v. 5, the prophet mentions his having "found a register of the genealogy of them which came up" out of the captivity. And that this register had been carefully kept, and was supposed to be an exhaustive one, we may gather from his subsequent statement, with regard to certain persons who claimed to belong to the priestly family, that "These sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but it was not found, therefore were they, as polluted, put from the priesthood." *Ibid*, v. 64.

Among the Greeks an almost perfect system of registration existed in connexion with the Apaturian festival, the origin of which is placed by Baehr as early as B.C. 1190. This festival was held at Athens in the autumn of every year, and lasted three days, the third day being devoted to the enrolment of the children of citizens, who were there registered each in the phratry of his father.[1] See Schol. Ar. Pac. 890. Nor was this observance confined to Athens. Herodotus says that it was common to the whole Ionian nation with the exception of the inhabitants of the cities who had given up the celebration "on mere pretence of a murder." (Herod. i., 147.) And Grote says "It was the characteristic festival of the Ionic race,

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[1] Potter in his "Archæologia Græca," (i., 369,) gives two derivations for the name of this festival, either of which would connect it with the ceremony of registration. They do not however, I admit, appear to me to be very probable. "*Apaturia*, quasi *apatoria* i.e., *homopatoria*, because upon this festival children accompanied their fathers, to have their names entered into the publick register. . . . . . Others will have *Apaturia* to be so named, because the children were till that time *apatores*, *i.e.*, without fathers, in a civil sense; for that it was not till then publickly recorded, whose they were. For a like reason, Melchisedec is by some thought to be called *apator*, *ametor*, *i.e.*, without father, without mother; viz: because his parentage was omitted in the sacred genealogies."

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bringing together the citizens in their primitive unions of family, &c. . . . marriages were then enrolled, and acts of adoption certified." This enrolment took place either immediately after birth, or at the age of three or four years—very rarely later than the seventh year. There was a subsequent registration in the lexiarchic list which took place at the age of twenty, and which was necessary for the full enjoyment of the rights of citizenship: but this is perhaps less cognate with our subject. (See the voyage du jeune Anacharsis, chapter 26, for a most interesting account of both these festivities and comp. also Schömann, Comit. Athen. 379.)

With regard to the Egyptians I can find no distinct account of anything in the nature of general registration, though from the statements of the priests recorded by Herodotus in his Book II., it is evident that very careful lists and memorials were preserved of persons who had occupied any official position or dignity. See Herod. II., 100, 142, 143.

With the Romans we come upon firmer ground. From the time of Servius Tullius the people had been accustomed to a quinquennial enumeration at which their names and ages, together with those of their wives and children were taken down and inscribed in the Acta Publica, the ceremony being concluded with the great purificatory sacrifice in the Campus Martius called the Lustrum. (The lustrum was sometimes, though rarely, omitted. See Livy, iii., 22.) This enumeration, was made, first by the kings, then by the consuls, and after the year 310 by persons called censors, who were appointed for that purpose. (Adam's Rom. Antiq. *sub* "*Comitia.*") The object of this census however seems to have been more fiscal than statistical, and in the corresponding festival of the Paganalia (Dionys. iv., 15) in the country villages (which was held every year) I can find no mention of a record of either names or numbers being kept: nor do I see anything about any notice taken of deaths, except that the writer before named (Dionys., iv., 791) says that for every person that died a piece of money had to be paid to Venus Libitina. It was not until the time of Marcus Aurelius, (one of the wisest statesmen that ever occupied the Imperial throne,) that we meet with what we may describe as a fully-developed system of registration throughout

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the Empire. By an edict issued in A.D. 170 he directed all Roman citizens to report the birth of their children within thirty days to the "præfectus Œrarii," the record of which was preserved in the temple of Saturn. And public officers called "Tabularii" were appointed for the same purpose in the provinces. (See Capitol. M. Anton. Phil. cap. 9.) These officers were afterwards known as "commentarienses." (Paulus Dig., B. 49., Tit. xiv., d. 45.)

Of foreign mediæval registers I have been able to learn scarcely anything, save that there are some to be met with as early as 1308 in France, and that in Spain Cardinal Ximenes ordered registers to be kept in every parish as early as 1497.[1] At Florence it is stated by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxiii., p. 561, that a sort of rude annual record of the number of baptisms used to be kept by putting into a bag a white bean for every girl baptized, and a black bean for every boy, and counting them over at the end of the year. This was at the Church of St. John, where all baptisms in the city then took (and in fact, still take) place, and if true, would appear to exclude the probability of any nominal registration.

But to come to England. Now the origin of parochial registers in this country is no further back than the thirtieth year of Henry VIII., when we find an injunction issued by Lord Cromwell, in his capacity of Vicar-General, directing a book to be kept for every parish in a coffer with two keys, one of which keys is to remain in the possession of the parson, and one in that of the churchwardens. Entries are to be made by the parson on Sundays of such functions as he had performed during the previous week, in presence of the churchwardens. These injunctions were issued in September, 1538, [illegible]d I see no reason to doubt but that they were pretty generally ob[illegible]ved, though in many cases probably with no great good-will. I [illegible] come across a curious letter, preserved among the records of

[illegible] one of the few European countries which has not adopted the pro- [illegible] Code Napoleon in respect of registration. The old system is still [illegible]ears to be very effectively carried out, it being compulsory on [illegible]gy to add an alphabetical index to each volume as it is com-

Exeter Cathedral, which was addressed by Sir Piers Edgecombe to Lord Cromwell on this subject. It runs thus:—

"Plesse it yovr goode Lordeshyp to be advertyssed that the Kynng's Majesty hath commandyd me at my beynge in hys gracious presens, that in casse I parceyvyd any grugge or mysecontentacyon amangge hys sejectes, I shulde ther off advertyssey our Lordeschypp by my wrytinge. Hyt ys now comme to my knolegge this 20 day of Apryll by a ryght trew honest man a servant of myn, that ther is moche secrett and severall communycacyons amongges the kyngges sojettes and that off them in sundry placess with in the schires of Cornwall and Devonsher be in greate feer and mystrust what the Kyngges Hyghness and hys Conseyll schulde meane to give in commaundment to the parsons and vycars of every parisse that they shulde make a booke, and surely to be kept wher in to be speeysfy-yd the namys off as many as be wedded and the namys off them that be buryyd, and off all those that be crysteyned.

"Now ye may perceyve the myndes off many what ys to be don to avoyde ther unserteyn conjecturys, and to contynue and stablysse ther hartes in trew naturall loff accordynge ther dewties, I referr to yovr wysdom. Ther mystrust ys that somme charges more than hath byn in tymys past shall growe to theym by this occacyon off regesstrynge of thes thynges; wher in ytt hyt schall please the Kyngges Majeste to put them youte off dowte, in my poor mynde schall encresse moche harty loff. And I besseche our Lorde preserve yow ever to his pleasser. 20th daye off Apryll. Scrybelyd in hast. P. EGGECOMB."

Thus far Sir Piers Edgecombe, but Sir Cuthbert Sharp, in his Chronicon Mirabile, does not give us at all the like account of the reception accorded to the injunctions. He says:—

"Cromwell, who sternly governed poop and helm,
Bade registers be kept throught the realm.
Then each incumbent gat him grey goose quill
And 'boke of Pergamene,' and wrote his fill."

*Prologue* iv.

And in fact in no less than forty parishes there are entries dating to an even earlier period, copied no doubt from still older books which have perished. Of the books begun in the year 1538 in obedience to the injunctions, as many as eight hundred and twelve are still extant, among which are to be reckoned those of Ogbourne St. Andrew and Calne, while the Heddington books begin only one year later,—as early, very probably, as there was anything to record. The best preserved of these original books that I have come across, is in the church of St. Michael's Bassishaw, London, where the old leaves were in 1872 skilfully embedded in margins of toned paper, and

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bound in Russia leather, the whole being then enclosed in a strong case. At Charlton Kings also, near Cheltenham, the books are perfect from 1538 to the present date, with the exception of one leaf (1557-8) which has been torn out. But that the number of the 1538 books still extant represents but a very small proportion of those which were then begun, there is abundant testimony to prove. In Bell's History of the Huntingdon Peerage, p. 295, he says "In making the extracts necessary for my purpose, I found that the early registers of this parish (Christchurch, Hants) had been destroyed, as I was informed, by the late curate's wife, who made kettle holders of them, and would most likely have consumed the whole parish archives in this homely way, but that the fortunate and timely interference of the present clerk rescued what remains from destruction." Again, in the "Parochial Histories" of the diocese which were collected some years ago under the auspices of the late Bishop, I find the following report from Tilshead: "About forty years ago I saw a long parchment book on a shelf in the village shop. I requested it to be taken down for my inspection. To my surprize I found it was an old register. Many of the leaves were cut diagonally as with a penknife—others were loose and transposed. I asked how the book came into the possession of the old woman. The answer was, 'My uncle who kept the boarding school here, was churchwarden, and a clever writer. He made a fresh register; therefore there was no use keeping the badly-written one.' Both the original (which I claimed) and the copy, begin in 1654." And here I venture to digress for one moment in order to hint to anyone concerned, to whom these presents may come, the great regret with which an archæologist sees the paucity of these parochial history returns. Besides the original papers of questions, many reminders I know have been sent out by the indefatigable Secretary for Wiltshire, Mr. A. C. Smith. But from the majority of the parishes has come as yet no sign. Yet year by year traditional lore of all sorts and kinds must be dying out which it needs only the work of a few spare half-hours to search out and record, and the loss of which will be irreparable. I know that in my parish there have died during the time that I have been resident there—1. an old man who gave me

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a full account of the cutting of the White Horse, which happened only a few years before his birth, and which he remembers to have heard about when the memory of it was yet fresh; 2. an old woman who used several curious local words that I do not see in Ackerman; 3. an old man who remembered the making, at the end of the last century, of some shallow pits, which would inevitably have been taken some day for "Early British Habitations," had I not been able to put upon record the testimony of one who "kenned the bigging on't." No one of these pieces of information could possibly have been recovered by my successor, had they been suffered to be lost now.

But to return to my registers. In *Notes and Queries* (2, ii., 152) a book is spoken of as having been discovered "in a tattered state behind some old drawers in the curate's back kitchen." Another is mentioned which was rescued from among a quantity of waste paper in a cheesemonger's shop. And the parish clerk of South Otterington, Yorkshire, is stated to have used all the registers dating from before the eighteenth century for waste paper, "a considerable portion going to singe a goose." Again (*Ibid*, 2, iii., 321) in a parish in Northamptonshire, the leaves of a register were sewed together to serve as the covering of a tester bed, and in another parish the clergyman used to cut them up for labels wherewith to direct the pheasants that he sent away to his friends. In 1764 Bigland speaks of a parish clerk who was a tailor and had used nineteen pages of registers to make measures of; and in 1848 Mr. Bruce found that at Lincoln the parchment transcripts were cut up by the registrar for binding modern wills. Again Thoresby, in his History of Leicestershire seems to infer that he had met with similar instances of destructiveness, as he says with regard to the parish of Scraptoft, "I saw here the best preserved and I believe the oldest register in the county. It has not been a plaything for young pointers. It has not occupied a bacon-scratch or a bread-and-cheese cupboard. It has not been scribbled on within and without, but it has been treasured ever since 1538 to the honour of a succession of worthy clergymen."

At Birchington in Kent there is a serious charge of damage brought

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against a person unmentioned: "Here endeth the 1st boke of the Register of Birchingtown. The 2nd boke called the black boke was spoiled by an ignorant woman."

On the other hand, at Barkstone, in Leicestershire, is a gratifying instance of conscientiousness on the part of the clergyman, who, after recording the baptism of one Ellen Dun, adds, "Lord pardon me if I am guilty of any errour in registering Ellen Dun's name." This gentleman would have been sorely scandalized had he chanced to fall in with the Rector of Tunstall in Kent (A.D. 1567) who after recording the birth and baptism of one Mary Pottman in April, of another in June, and the burial of a third in September, added in disgust at so large an expenditure of ink, "From henceforw^d. I omitt the Pottmans."

I may conclude this portion of my subject by stating that it was given in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1833, that "out of seventy or eighty parishes for which Bridges made collections a century since, thirteen of the old registers have been lost, and three accidentally burnt. On a comparison of the dates of the Sussex registers seen by Sir W. Burrell between 1770 and 1780 and of those returned as the earliest in the population returns of 1831, the old registers in no less than twenty-nine parishes had in the interval disappeared; while during the same half-century, nineteen old registers had found their way back to the proper repository! On searching the MS. in Skelton Castle, in Cleveland, a few years ago, the first register of the parish was discovered, and has since been restored." And in another part of the same evidence it is stated by a witness that only the previous year a gentleman of the Heralds' College had written to a clergyman for copies of certain registers, and the latter, instead of making copies, cut out the original pages and forwarded them to his correspondent, saying that he himself "could make nothing of them!"

But even where the books have always been duly kept, the leaves not torn out, and "the Pottmans" not intentionally omitted, it by no means follows that the registers are all that can be desired. I have already stated that the direction given in Cromwell's injunctions is that the duties of each week are all to be entered upon the



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Sunday, and even up to the first year of the present reign it is not at all uncommon to find traces of this practice being continued—the notes of the several functions being generally kept in a private book of the clerk's. At Broad Hinton the registration appears to have been left at one time entirely to the clerk, as is testified by the following entry: "Through the omission of Edward Greenaway, clerk of this parish, there was no register regularly kept from the year 1742 to the year 1757, which great neglect was unknown to the minister until Ed. Greenaway left Broad Hinton, Feb. ye 20th, 1757." At Cherhill, on the other hand, I not infrequently find double entries—up to the year 1813, when printed forms were supplied in accordance with the Act of Parliament passed the preceding sessions. These double entries (which contain generally some discrepancy in spelling) I account for thus. The parson or curate, who had ridden over from a distance to perform a baptism or a funeral, entered it in the first book that came to hand. If this happened to be the wrong one, the clerk, finding no entry on the following Sunday, gave notice to the officiating clergyman; and he, if he had not been himself the person to perform the service, entered it again, with variations. Sometimes this discrepancy is considerable, as in a case at Cherhill of two several entries in different books, of what is evidently intended for the same marriage, although the names of both bride and bridegroom are differently spelled and a different date is given. It is almost like the well-known pocket-knife, which had had both of its blades replaced by new ones, and had also had a new handle—but still it was the same knife! Again there is a case of a man who is recorded in one of my books to have married a certain Elizabeth Smythe on the 27th of September, 1780, but is by another book stated to have been wedded on that day to Betty Moss. Elizabeth and Betty are I need scarcely say different forms of the same name. And as to the variation in the surname, it is not at all uncommon to find large families who are called with perfect indifference by either of two surnames—there is more than one family in Cherhill at the present moment with regard to whom this is the case. Nor has the same thing been always entirely unknown among persons of a higher station in life than my parishioners. I find in Dale's Wiltshire

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Descents, compiled from the Visitations of 1620, two examples of *aliases* amongst families possessed of some property in the county, the Richmonds *alias* Webbs of Draycot, and the Weares *alias Brownes* of Poulton. To neither of these families is more than one crest or other heraldic bearing attributed, though the second name is no doubt that of a heiress who has at some time married into the family. In Spain at the present time these two names are in such cases borne together with the copula between them, *e.g.*, "Martinos y Campos." We can however go beyond two surnames in Cherhill, for a few years ago there was a woman in the village whom some of her neighbours called by one name, others by a second, and others again by a third! In this case, her deceased husband's grandfather had been illegitimate, and the family had borne indifferently the name of their father or of their mother. And she herself, on the decease of her husband without issue, had partly reverted to the use of her maiden name, in accordance with a widespread impression (which in Scotland at least has I believe some legal ground), that although by marriage a woman obtains a right to a new name, she does not lose her right to that which she previously bore. The case of this woman was I remember capped, when I mentioned it in my paper at Swindon, by the Vicar of Hilmarton, who said that he remembered one Christopher Rivers of that parish having married a woman of the name of Ann Heath, but that she had thenceforth always borne the name, not of Ann Rivers, but of Ann Christopher! He confirmed also my statement of the retention of the maiden name by women after marriage, of which he gave examples from his own experience.

But the fact is that the variations of surnames are absolutely hopeless. I myself remember having pointed out to me an itinerant trader of some sort who was popularly called Billy Berkshire, because his home was situate in that county; and it is of course from soubriquets that a very large number of our surnames arise. And Bigland quotes from Camden the pedigree of one William Belward, Lord of Malpas, whose sons were respectively known as Da[illegible] Clerk and Richard de Belward; their sons as William [illegible] Philip Gogh, David Golborne, Thomas de Cotg[illegible]

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Overton, and Richard Little; while the sons of some of these gentlemen again appear under the surnames of Egerton, Goodman, Kenclarke, and Richardson. There is one curious case in the Cherhill registers of a surname attributed sometimes to a husband and sometimes to his wife. Joseph and Martha Manners were blessed with a very numerous family from 1808 and downwards, in the several entries of which the name of Hillier is sometimes given as a second Christian name to the husband (which it really was), and sometimes (two Christian names being then very uncommon in the parish) it is attributed to the wife, under the impression no doubt that it was her maiden name. With regard to the use of a second Christian name, the earliest example of it in parochial registers with which I am acquainted is at Merborough, in Yorkshire, where "Robert Browne Lillie" was baptized in 1592. In my own registers I do not find it occur at all before 1775, and after this only at rare intervals until a recent period. In fact out of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two baptisms recorded, I see only one hundred and seventy-five children to whom two names were given, and seven who have been favoured with three. At Burbage, on the other hand, I find the following entry as early as 1781: "Ap. 29. Baptized Charles Caractacus Ostorious Maximilian Gustavus Adolphus, son of Charles Stone, tailor, and Jenny his wife." But the practice of giving a plurality of names is so largely on the increase that I should not be suprized if some afternoon I were required to baptize a child as "Albert Edward Victor Christian George Frederick Ernest Alexander John Charles," after the Prince of Wales and the whole of his interesting male offspring. It is royal personages, I may add, who appear to have been the originators of this custom, of which an example is to be met with as early as 1028 in the person of Urrace Teresa, Queen of Leon. And again towards the end of this same century we find the name of Mary Isabella, as Queen of Castile and Leon. This lady appears to have chosen her two names herself, having been of Moorish origin, and baptized as a preliminary to her marriage with King Alfonso VI. I am not aware of any *man* who bore more than one baptismal name until two centuries after this, when we find Andronicus Guidon Comnénus spoken of as

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having succeeded Alexis the Great in the Empire of Trebizond.

This is however I fear a somewhat wide digression from my immediate subject.

In the reign following that of Henry VIII. another attempt was made to secure the keeping of a register by associating the parishioners generally in its guardianship, the direction of Edward the Sixth's injunction in 1547 being to the "parson, vicar, or curate, *and parishioners.*" This was confirmed by Act of Parliament in the first year of Elizabeth, the only alteration then made being in the disposal of the fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* which was attached to neglect of the duty of registration. This had been allotted by Cromwell's injunctions to the repairs of the church. Those of Edward VI. however transferred it to the poor box, and the Act of Queen Elizabeth divided it between the two.

In 1562, an attempt was made to consolidate the system of registration by the establishment of diocesan registries under Parliamentary authority, but the energetic opposition of the clergy caused the scheme to be abandoned. Nor did a proposal of Lord Burghley's, in 1590, for a general office to embrace the whole kingdom, fare better, and at the earnest entreaty of Archbishop Whitgift, this was also withdrawn. The clergymen, having had their attention thus called to the subject, did for themselves in 1597 what they would not allow Parliament to do for them, and by a canon which passed both Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury, copies of the parochial registers of each parish were ordered to be sent to the diocesan registry within one month after Easter in each year.

This brings us down to the date of the present book of canons (1603), when we find it ordered by canon lxx. that "In every parish Church and Chapel within this realm, shall be provided one parchment book at the charge of the parish, wherein shall be written the day and year of every christening, wedding, and burial which has been in that parish since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured." This book is to be kept in a coffer with three locks and keys, and entries to be made only on Sunday by the clergyman in presence of the churchwardens. Not a few of these coffers are still in

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but their books are mostly gone, and they are now much oftener the receptacles of old candle-ends than of books or parochial documents.

Thus matters stood until the reign of Charles I., towards the close of which the growing disaffection and disunion existing in the kingdom began to show upon the registers. In the books of St. Helen's Church, Auckland, Durham, I find, under date 1633, that "Mr. John Vaux, our minister was suspended. . . . Mr. John Cowper, of Durham, served in his place, and left out divers christenings unrecorded and registered others disorderly." And at Gainsford in the same county, is this note: "Courteous reader, this is to let thee understand that many children were left unrecorded or unregistered, but the reason and cause was thus:—Some would and some would not, being of a fickle condition as the time was then: this being their end and aim, to save a groate from the poor clarke, so they would rather have them unredgestered. But now . . . it is their design to have them redgestered." There is a sort of Tommy Goodchild air of piety about this excellent resolution on the part of the inhabitants of Gainford which we will hope was justified by their subsequent action. At Fittleton in this county we find one of these books headed: "Ann. Dmi. 1663. Marriages in the parish of Fittleton and Haxton since my coming to bee Rector, there being no just register kept before. Steph. Jay, Rector."

At Chart in Kent. "Marye the daughter of John Smith, Esq., was baptized on the 13th day of January in 1660, by John Case, Vicar. The first that hath been baptized at the font since it has been re-erected by the appoynmt. of the said Mr. Smith, being full sixteen years paste. One Thomas Seoone, an elder, having out of his blinde zeale defaced and pulled it downe, wt. other ornaments belonging to the churche." Again, at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, "For some time following, there was in this towne neither minister nor Clarke, but the inhabitants were inforced to procure now one and then another to baptize their children, by which means there was no register kept, only those few hereafter mentioned were by myself baptized in those intervals when I enjoyed my freedom." At Staindrop, Durham, under date "1644. From this time to 1646 through want of a minister and carelessness of the cleark, during the wars,

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much of the registers is lost, only here and there a name registered . . . 1652. June 14. From this time till August there was noe minister, soe that the children were carried to other parishes to be baptized."

These irregular functions were of course registered in the books of the parishes where they took place. The Rector of St. Dionis, Backchurch, London, informs me that there are an unusual number of marriages registered in the books of that parish during the rebellion—owing evidently to the fact that the clergyman who happened to be in possesion of the living at the time was not turned out by the Presbyterians, as were most of his neighbours, and that those persons therefore who adhered to the old path flocked from all sides to his ministrations. Nor were these extra-parochial services always free from danger. In the register book at Hexham, Northumberland, is the following: "Note. That Mr. Will. Lister, Minister of St. John Lees in those distracted times, did both marry and baptize all that made their applications to him, for wth. he was sometimes severely threatened by the souldiers, and once had a cockt pistoll held to his breast, so that its no wond^r^ y^t^ ye registers for these times are so imperfect, and besides they are so extremely confused."

In August, 1653 an act was passed, called, after its author, "the Barebones Act," by which the custody of the parish books was transferred from the clergy aud churchwardens to an official called the Parish Register, who was sworn into his office by a justice of the peace, and when any entry was to be made had to produce the book before a justice and to attest by his signature the writing of that magistrate, for which he was paid a fee of 12*d.* on each marriage, and 4*d.* on each birth and death. Numerous instances of the appointment of these "Registers" occur. At Broad Hinton is an entry to the effect that "John Grinaway chosen by the inhabitants to be their pish. Register is approved of and sworn there- before me on the seven and twentieth day of March in the ...r Lord God 1654. Wm. Sadler." In the Bremhill book ...rpenter describes himself as "Clark and Register" in the ... and at Allington, near Amesbury, Stephen Rutt is re- ...ve been sworn to the office of "Regestor" on May 31,

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[illegible] duties of this official was the publishi[illegible]
[illegible] which had to be done for three con[illegible]
[illegible] after which the parties could be ma[illegible]
[illegible] the Register attending as one of [illegible]
[illegible] record of one of these marriages, [illegible]
[illegible] near Salisbury: "The 8th [illegible]
[illegible] in this county shephe[illegible]
[illegible] was married the day and year abov[illegible]
[illegible] being about 27 years of ag[illegible]
[illegible] Act of Parliament in that beh[illegible]
[illegible] Esq. one of the J[illegible]
[illegible] Wilts and in the presence of Jo[illegible]
[illegible] William and Robert Rivers and Thom[illegible]
[illegible] and others. The certificate f[illegible]
[illegible] was there produced and [illegible]
[illegible] then and there present, affir[illegible]
[illegible] three times by himself at B[illegible]
[illegible] Andrew London, Parish [illegible]
[illegible] given in the inex[illegible]
[illegible] the period of [illegible]
[illegible] the baptisma[illegible]
[illegible] which i[illegible]
[illegible] 1657. An[illegible]
[illegible] even in [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] not long [illegible]
[illegible] deaths for which [illegible]
[illegible] Home and Foreig[illegible]

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"Bursted, Sussex, 1666. Richard Bassett, the old clarke of this parish, who had continued in the office of clarke and sexton for the space of 43 years, whose melody tumbled forth as if he had been thumped on the back with a stone, was buried the 20th Sept."

"Kyloe, Northumberland. 1696. Buried, Dec. 7. Henry, the son off Henry Watson of Fenwick, who lived to the age of 36 years and was so great a fool that he never could put on his own close, nor never went a ¼ mile off yᵉ house in all this space."

"Bp. Middleton, Durham. A poor maide of Cornforth having a decease in a legge buried Mail 20, 1674."

I never before heard of a *decease* in the leg, but I have heard repeatedly in my own village of an *absence* in the same, or some other, part of the body.

I will add here a most charming inscription from the Melton Mowbray book, dated 1670, and written after the fashion dear to lawyers, viz., without a single stop :—

"Here is a Bill of Burton Lazars of the people which was buried and which was and married above 10 years old for because the clark was dead and therefore they were not set down according as they was But they are all set down sure on nough one among another here in this place."

I must not omit to add that these irregularities in the registration during the time of the Great Rebellion, although very general, were not universal. It is mentioned by Mr. Methuen, in his valuable and exhaustive paper upon the history of All Cannings in the Magazine of our Society (vol. xi., p. 189), that the books were regularly kept and the entries appear to have been made contemporaneously during

English of this gentlemen can be well capped by a piece of Latin on a monumental slab in Cherhill Church. There are commemorated [on the sl]ab the virtues of a certain good woman who died in her fifty-third year [...]." But when her husband came to die, he, being a man, is recorded [on the sl]ab to have departed in the seventy-third year "Ætatis sui." [...] do not understand Latin, (in case my paper should chance [...] hands of any such) it would be impossible to explain by trans[lation th]e absurdity of this piece of grammar. I can only parallel it [...] as if a groom should equip his steed with a man's saddle or a [...]ng to the sex of the person about to ride, but according [...]en was a horse or a mare!

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the whole of this period at the chapelry of Etchilhampton in that parish.

At the Restoration, the register books returned naturally to the care of the clergy, where they have ever since remained.

The Cherhill books begin in 1690—one year after the accession of William and Mary. From this date until 1754 we have only one book used at a time, made of vellum, with baptisms and marriages at one end and burials at the other, until they met in the middle and a new book had to be begun. In the books of Broad Hinton, however, of this period (and in fact from the time of their commencement in 1611) the three entries appear to have been kept in parallel columns, the baptisms generally taking up more than one half of the page, the burials a smaller portion, and the marriages being inserted vertically between them. The most curious thing that I find in the Cherhill books of this time is a horoscope, or what I suppose to be such. This occurs opposite to the entry of the baptism of one Hesther Smith in February, $17\frac{49}{50}$,[1] and is as follows:

♊ ♐ ♓
1.7.11.12
| | |
7 8 6 7 5

What the connection is between the zodiacal signs and the figures placed beneath them, or what is the nature of the calculation, I have been unable to discover, and should feel greatly beholden to anyone who could inform me. The only other apparent reference to astrology with which I am acquainted is one mentioned by Burns, in his History of Parochial Registers. This is at St. Edmund's,

[1] This fractional-looking way of writing dates in the first three months of the year, arising from the beginning of the ecclesiastical year on March 25th, and of the legal year on January 1st, although of frequent occurence, is by no means universal. This "ecclesiastical" year is of course not to be confused with the spiritual year, often called ecclesiastical, which begins in Advent. In an old Prayer Book in my possession, printed at Oxford in 1740, is a "Note, *that the Supputation of the year of our Lord in the Church of* England *beginneth the 5th and 20th day of* March."

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Dudley, where, under date of 1589 we are informed that Samuell, son of William Smithe, Clarke, Vicare of Duddly, was born on Friday morning at 4 of the clock, being the xxviij day of February. The sign of that day was the middle of Aquarius ♒, the sign of the month ♓, the plenet of the day ♀, plenet of the same hower ☿ and the morrow day. Whose name hath continued in Duddly from the conqueste."

To the same valuable and scarce work I am indebted for the fact (on which the author is a good authority, he having been in the office of the Registrar-General), that the best preserved of the register books of the kingdom are those of marriage; next, those of burial; and worst, those of baptism (pp. 100, 144). And furthermore for the following curious saying, which he states to be an old English proverb: "The marriage of a young woman and a young man is of God's making, as Adam and Eve: of an old man and a young woman of our Lady's making, as Mary and Joseph: but of an old woman and a young man by the Author of Evil" (p. 165.)

The handwriting in these old books is remarkably good and careful —much better than what I find a century later. It is curious to see the German form of the letter *e* gradually passing through the form (very similar to an *o*) which held its ground for so long a time into that in which it appears in modern manuscript. The two latter forms are not uncommonly found together in the same word. And in the same way I see an instance of the German and the modern English *r* occurring together in the name of Elizabeth Preter, in 172¾. The gradual transformation of the *ff* into *F* may also be traced, the second stroke getting smaller and smaller until it disappears in the detached central stroke which is at present used. These two forms also coexist in the case of the same name, borne by the same person; whence it has come, no doubt, that some families have retained the one form as *Ff* and others of cognate origin have been content with *F*. In a like way I trace the manner in whic[h] names now widely different have been derived one from the oth[er]. Maskelyne becomes Masklyne; then a little later Maskling; th[en] Masling; and then the now not uncommon form ... Talbot becomes Tolbit—then Tobit; in which fo...

doubt be referred by a casual observer who was unacquainted with its real history, to a scriptural origin. Similarly the now not uncommon Wiltshire name of Amor has nothing whatever to do with the widespread influence which is denoted by that word in Latin, but is simply a corruption of Aylmer, as traceable in the registers of St. Katharine's, Savernake. Spelling is, I need scarcely say, a matter of the most perfect indifference up to a very short while ago. There are repeated instances in the Cherhill books of the same name being spelled differently in the same entry; and in successive entries the variety is infinite. Ealey, Ealy, Elly, Ely, and Healy all occur within the space of one generation for the same family. So Hazel, Hazell, Hasel, Hessel, and Hezel. And this list I might multiply almost indefinitely.[1]

In Christian names the great crux appears to have been the name of Rebecca, which occurs in almost every imaginable spelling, the most curious perhaps being Rebakko, in 1718, and Rubacko, in 1735. In the name of Elizabeth the only question appears to have been whether to assign the *a* to the second syllable and the *e* to the last, or *vice versa*. Hester appears in the curious form of *Easter*, in 1724, and Martha in that of *Mattha* (as it is even now often pronounced), five years later. Sarah similarly becomes *Sary*, in 1734, and *Saro* on a subsequent occasion; Alice, *Ellid*, in 1756, and *Elice*, in 1721; while we get at different times such strange, yet clearly-recognizable designations as Meriah, Georog, Edwan, Meery, and Edmneat. One Lucy Alexander has been unfortunate in the spelling of both her names, appearing as Lusy Elxander in 1789. Three Christains appear to one Christian: eight Hannahs spell their name with one *n* against fourteen who enjoy the usual number; and although we have one Winifred, the balance of testimony is largely in favour of Wineford. An Orford, baptized in 1868, I strongly suspect to have been named, not after the noble house of Walpole,

[1] So in the records of my own family, the last syllable of our name is spelled in no less than five different ways. And I actually find one of my ancestors inscribed on the Scottish Parliamentary Roll with one spelling in 1670, and his brother appointed Commissioner of Supply for the county with another spelling in 1615, while they were both of them making contemporaneous entries in our family Bible with a third!

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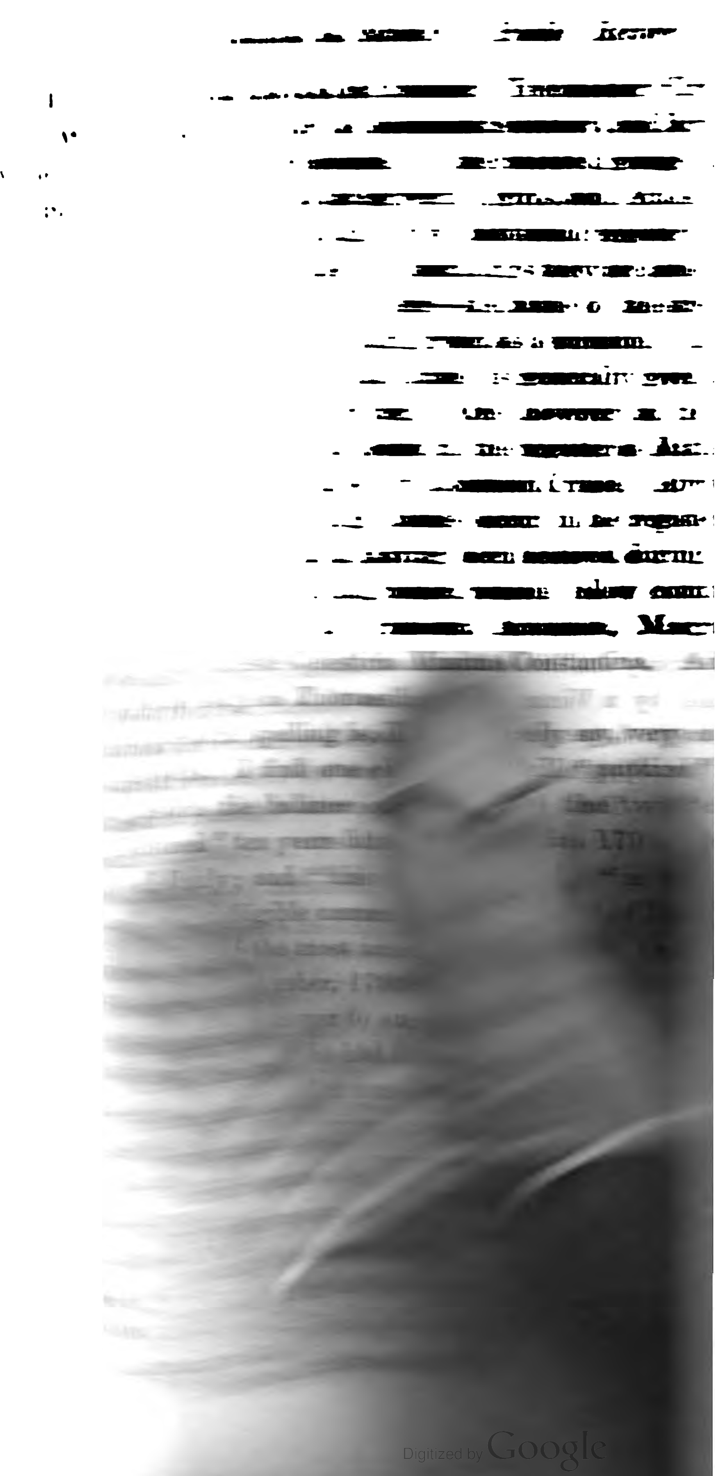
but after the cake-burning king. In 1798 I find an entry (written in so clear a hand that not one of the letters is mistakeable) of the burial of "Besepty, Daughter of Eristper Bromham." This means of course Bessy, daughter of Christopher, and occurs in a hand quite different from that of any of the entries either before or after. My idea is that for some reason or other the churchwarden or clerk took upon himself to enter it, and not being able to read the memorandum made by the clergyman, put it in this curious form. And from the initial letter of Christopher being taken for an *E*, we learn no doubt that the less educated people still wrote that vowel in the German way, which had long been abandoned by the more educated. Letitia appears as Lettisha, in 1752, and at a later period as Lettechia. In the first of these entries it was originally written in a large bold hand Purtishah, but through this the pen has been passed, and Lettisha written twice above it. This spelling is however sometimes even now a matter of deliberate choice. I have myself been obliged to write Millicent in the registers with an *e* intruded between the second and third syllables, despite my protest; and nothing will disabuse some of my parishioners of the idea that they are right in compelling me to enter Winifred as "Wineford," however much I may wince under the operation. Among other curious names in the Cherhill registers I may mention Israel as a girl's baptismal name in 1751, and Francis as that of a woman whose marriage is recorded in 1722. The common name of Dyke is metamorphosed into Diyck; and the current pronunciation of Rawlings is shewn by its being spelled "Rollings," even as the entry of "Piteryealy" accuses the shortened penultimate and preposed *y* customary in these two names; and, as I fear, that of "John Arris" at Newington Butts, in 1689, shews an indifference to aspirates which is not without a parallel even in the present day. In 1598 I find the name of Hugh spelled "Hewgh" in the records of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, London. And (to add here a few more curious names which I have extracted from the registers of this parish, and also from those of St. Peter's Cheap,) the following appear as Christian names of males, Hannibal, Stylas, Armynger, All Santis (All Saints), Bowlas, Galfrid, Zuraiay, and Purifie. Of females, Adlyn, Armenelle, Eriphine, Alse,



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down by tradition for the instruction or warning of posterity.

It is time however that I should return to my historical sketch of the progress of registration. In the year 1754 occurs an attempt to relieve, by the addition of a separate book for marriages, the chaos of entries which had before been bound up between one pair of covers. This book consisted of printed forms in which were first recorded the publication of the banns, and then the performance of the marriage. Being however only of paper, this book did not entirely supersede the vellum book, and I find a good many marriages between this date and 1813 entered in both books, with the usual results of numerous discrepancies in spelling. During this time the only thing of particular interest that I note at Cherhill is the description of one Richard Bush as a "scribbler," a designation with which I may cap that of Richard Michels of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1607, as an "aquavityman," and of Brian Pearson of St. Marylebone, Durham, in 1722 as "the Abbey Dog-Whipper." The Westbury and Dilton books of this period are rich in curious entries, made by a Vicar of the name of Hewitt, who held the living for between forty and fifty years, and deceased in the year 1793. I copy a few of them from transcripts with which the present Vicar, the Rev. H. Duke, has kindly favored me, indicating the names by itials only:—

WESTBURY.

E. H., a kind of Cannibal man had eat some horseflesh raw, and was never afterwards: he died soon upon it: his father was hanged some years ago e murder of one B. of Westbury—I say buried E. H., October 27, 1766."

widow, found dead at her door. She had been drinking drams, &c., suffocated with strong liquors. Buried March 15, 1767."

d 63, who sold the Vicar's house next the millpond to J. M. which Char ery, and the parish put me into possession of it September, 11, 1769."

unt to J. H., who rents of Thos. Phipps, Esq.. of Leigh, Dilton Farms, Grant's Farm on the hill, and Colton's r: and £500 a year or nearly of W. Bennett, Esq. of d his cousin J. H., called Bacon H., let their poor th rich men, and to be kept by the parish, and to orkhouse, May 5, 1774, at the parish expense."

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"J. B. of the Weavers' Arms, in a desponding condition hanged himself in his own house, but lies buried in Westbury Church with his Father, R. N., of the Bell. I was and Family at this time at Nantwich in Cheshire, to see my sister and friends: so he had no Burial Service read over him nor ought to have it; notwithstanding tho Coroner's warrant left for that purpose. He and his last wife followed the Methodists for years. I prayed with him just before my journey to Cheshire began, 31 July last, and he told me then he had attempted and should hang himself. He turned of a black melancholy countenance, and seldom came to church. Buried Sept. 7, 1775."

"E. B., widow of J. B. She hanged herself. It was said she sold herself to the Devil some years ago. The Jury brought her in a Lunatick, so she was buried in the churchyard, June 21, 1776."

"M. B. Widow, aged 73 years, of Westbury Leigh. She had the Great Bell rung out at 6 in the morning and until 9 o'clock and after she was buried—which was March 16, 1777."

"S., wife of J. V., died of a fright from her husband who threatened to beat out her brains. Buried Oct. 17, 1785."

"E. M., widow, aged 103 years, a dirty squalled person, eat up with filth: been kept by the parish these 40 years and by begging. Buried Oct. 8, 1786."

"J. K. P. Intoxicated with Rum Toddy by washing out a Rum Puncheon with boiling water of J. M. which was put in the barn in Marriage Orchard—tumbled headlong in Gibbe's Close on plain ground and broke his neck. Buried Feb. 10, 1787. He was a Drunkard."

"W., an unbaptized son of E. C. and E. his wife, aged 6 weeks, which R. N., deputy sexton, buried, Nov. 3, 1787, in the Vestry Room in R. E. alias G.'s Brick Grave, without my consent or asking reason or giving me the least notice: tho' I told him and sent E. C. word that 6s. 8*d.* I would have for the future for every person of his family that was buried in that Grave, since he had refused to pay me for his son W., who was buried in the same Brick Grave."

"Mr. J. H., aged 52 years, died of a mortification: would have no Christian burial read over him, and desired me not to attend: he had left the Established Church, turned Independent, then left their meeting and turned Anabaptist, and was attended to his Grave, which is near the Communion Table, by two Anabaptist teachers and some others of that sect, and carried to the Grave by six men of that sect. He lived, the people said, like a Hog, and was buried like a Dog. Certainly he was an Epicurean. Was buried Oct. 24, 1788."

"R. T. Publican of the Angel, of a most drunken character. Aged 69 years. He died drunk. J. M. alwaies supplied this drunken House and Fellow with Gin. I record not this because he was a Presbyterian, but because he was a most vicious and vile Fellow, and tried all I could to put him down. Buried August 12, 1790."

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## DILTON.

"J., son of W. D., a soldier, married one E. H., of Dilton, daughter of J. H., of Dilton Dye-house, who was transported to North America for stealing dye-stuff from Messrs James and Nicholas Codell, of Chapmanslade, some years ago. The said E. D. above, mother of this son J., I buried the 7th of April, 1777, as above in Dilton Chapel on the mother's promise of paying me what she owed me, or 6*s*. 8*d*. for the fee. The old grandmother of the boy has only paid me one shilling towards her daughter E.'s fee, though they both died in Westbury Leigh, and none of the family of Hs ever buried at Dilton at all: for old R. H., the dyer, I buried at Westbury in the Churchyard: his widow died at Longleat, and was buried in the church at Horningsham, Corsley, or the new church in the Woodlands. J. H., their son, transported, died in America. R. H., son of J. the transport, I buried in Dilton Chapel, April 1st, 1776, on the promise of the mother paying my fee of 6*s*. 8*d*., of which she paid me since 2*s*. And now the boy J. D. is buried in Dilton Chapel by J. G., my sexton, without my knowledge or privity."

"Never a D. or H. in the World ever were buried in any of the Churches of this parish, nor none of the Hs. J. H., the transport, in Mr. Wroughton's time crowded an infant into Dilton Chapel unknown to him: and so forsooth every-body of this Grand Folks must do as they please, who are near being kept by the parish. I have threatened J. G., sexton, to prosecute him, but he has promised to see me paid 6*s*. 8*d*. from S. D., or H., the boy's uncle."

"S. R., widow, aged 103 years, died of a dropsy. Buried March 24th, 1786."*

We come now to a curious and abortive attempt on the part of a distressed Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise a *lucellum*, not only from the lighting of the torch of life, but out of its extinction also. In the year 1783, the national resources having been heavily drained by the war with France, and still further also by the payment of nearly ten millions sterling to the American loyalists, as an indemnity for their losses during the War of Independence, a stamp duty of 3*d*. was imposed upon the entry of every "burial, marriage, birth, and christening," the tax to commence on October 1st. Two years later

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* Various interesting extracts from other Wiltshire registers are to be found in Nichols's "Collectanea." I append a list of the parishes to which they belong:—

Vol. v., p. 28—Great Bedwyn.
" " 36 and 361—Little Bedwyn.
" " 39—Easton.
" " 260—SS. Peter and Paul, Marlborough.
" " 268—St. Mary, Marlborough.
" " 346—Preshute.
" " 350—Mildenhall.
" " 353—Ogbourne St. Andrew.
" " 358—Ogbourne St. George.
Vol. vi., p. 227—Malmesbury.
" vii., " 72—Collingbourn Ducis.
" " 175—Collingbourn Kingston.
" " 180—Burbage.
" " 188—Tidcombe.
" viii., " 190—Chute.
" " 201—Market Lavington.

Portions of the registers of Durnford, Stratton St. Margaret, South Marston, and so[illegible] parishes were also privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, about the year 1822. We m[illegible] copies of these books in our Devizes Library.



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[illegible] existed only eleven years. [illegible]

[illegible] stamps, and in the books of [illegible] during this period written upon a [illegible] related to gaugers, which [illegible] escaped.

[illegible] to have been far from universal [illegible] either in my own books, or in the [illegible] able, to examine. This may [illegible] the fact that the sixth section [illegible] sioners to grant licenses of [illegible] perhaps rather say, in [illegible] been no restriction whatever [illegible]

[illegible] of the parish of Wath, [illegible] Curate, describes him [illegible] marriages, and burials [illegible] begging [illegible]

[illegible] washing together with an [illegible] in the barn [illegible] more properly [illegible] ground and [illegible]

[illegible] his wife, [illegible] the Vestry Room [illegible] reason or giving [illegible] I would [illegible] in that Grave, [illegible] in the same [illegible]

[illegible] mortification: [illegible] to attend: he [illegible] their meeting and [illegible] near the Comm[illegible] of this sect, and [illegible] people said, like a [illegible] Epicurean. Was buried [illegible]

[illegible] most drunken [illegible] supplied this drunkard [illegible] was a Presbyterian, [illegible] all I could to put [illegible] August 12, 1784.

This was however not the first time, I may mention, that the revenue officers had taken an interest in the affairs of domestic life, for the same three offices of the church had been laid under taxation by William III. in 1695, the duty being proportioned to the rank and means of the person taxed. As the collection of this however was not connected in any way with registration, it scarcely falls within the compass of my subject. The only reference to it that I have anywhere met with is in the Avebury register, where I find, under date 1698, "Henry, the son of John Smith, who was assess'd for £600, was baptized Sept. 8." What is perhaps more akin to the matter in hand is that in the time of this same sovereign, the clergy were deprived of their fees for the search of the register books, to which (by 6 and 7 Wm. III., cap. 6) they were bound to allow access without fee or reward. Nor was this most inequitable provision repealed, so far as I have been able to discover, until the passing of Sir George Rose's Act, in 1812, though the very following year (1695) the sum of sixpence was allowed to the clergy for each entry that they *made* in the register.

In 1818 the whole system of registration was changed, in accordance with the Act of the previous year. Forms similar to those now in use were supplied in paper for baptisms and burials, while the marriages were continued in very much the same form as before. The record of the banns was transferred to another book, and the words "by consent of" were added, this blank intended of course to be filled up with the word "parents," or "guardians," as the case might be, when the bride was under age. But one wise clergyman has made it read (in 1824) "With consent of *the parties*," forgetting that such consent was orally given in every case during the ceremony *in facie ecclesiæ*. In 1837 occurred the last change, when the shape of the marriage books was altered, and two volumes were provided, one to be sent, when filled up, to the Registrar of the diocese, and the other to remain permanently in the custody of the Incumbent (6 and 7, Will. IV., c. 36). The books for baptisms and burials remained unaltered.

I may mention in passing that besides the parochial which form the subject of this paper, there exist a c

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number of similar records belonging to various dissenting bodies, lists and descriptions of which are comprised in the report of a Commission on the subject which was appointed in 1836, and which reported the following year. The earliest of these registers are those of the French Protestants in London and Canterbury, which go back as far as 1567. The Baptist community come next in point of antiquity: their registers begin in the reign of Charles I. See Parliamentary Papers, vol. xxviii. There are some singular entries in the marriage registers of Shapwick Church, Dorsetshire, occurring at intervals from 1695 to 1722, and running thus, "Marryed elsewhere," or else "Marryed, or pretended, at a lawless church." I imagine that these must refer to a chapel of the Nonjurors, though the Vicar of the parish tells me that he has not been able to obtain any evidence of the existence of such in the neighbourhood. He says however that there were a large number of Royalists in Shapwick at the time of the Great Rebellion, and he thinks it not at all unlikely that their children would be led by the principles in which they had been brought up to espouse the cause of the Nonjurors in the next generation.

Modern foreign registration does not of course come within the scope of our investigation as an archæological society; but for the benefit of anyone who may be curious in such matters I may say that there is a considerable amount of information on the subject derivable from the report of the Commission of 1832. See Parliamentary Papers, vol. xiv.

In the same volume I see a very remarkable statement by one witness to the effect that "At the last York Assizes . . . . upon Mr. Serjeant Jones stating that an obliteration appeared in a register which was produced, Mr. Justice Alderson, who tried the cause, observed 'Are you surprised at that, Brother Jones? I am not at all surprised. I have had much experience, and I never saw a parish register book in my life that was not falsified in one way or other, and I do not believe that there is one that is not.'" (Page 64.) I cannot help thinking that this was by far too sweeping a statement of the learned and distinguished Judge's; although unquestionably in the very careless and un-business-like way in which registers

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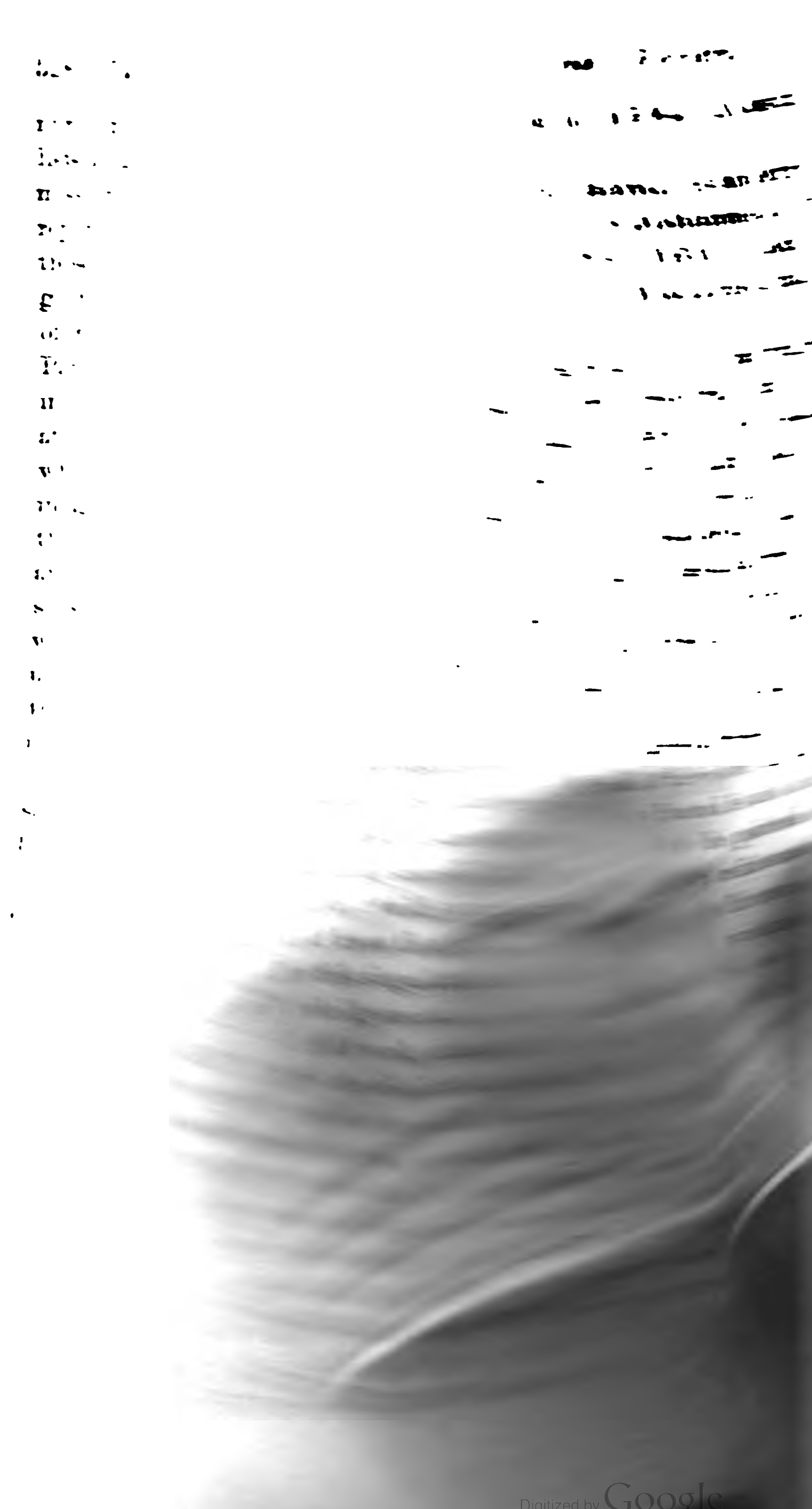
were too often kept, there were great opportunities of falsification, of which advantage is known to have been sometimes taken. The only instance of this which has come to my own knowledge occurred at the Church of St. Peter, Cornhill, and for the following account of it I am indebted to the Rev. Richard Whittington, Rector of the parish, and I believe a collateral descendant of the well-known Lord Mayor of that name. "In 1829," he says, "a Chancery suit was pending, the issue of which turned upon an entry in the register, and two persons came to see the books in company with the parish clerk. They afterwards induced him to retire to spend the evening at one of the taverns in the parish, and then, after making him drunk, as the evidence sworn before the Lord Mayor would seem to show, he delivered up the keys of the church and registers, that they might search them (as they said) early the next morning. They paid an early visit, it would seem, to the church, erased the original entry, and in a very clumsy manner inserted another and then decamped."

I have already incidentally given several examples from burial records of epithets or descriptions attaching to the persons whose decease is recorded. I proceed to add a few more. At St. Oswald's, Durham, "Lyonel Martine, a very honest man, aged lxxxxvii. years, burr. 28 July, 1616." And in the same book, "Mrs. Margaret Pudsay, and old maid, papist." At Great Staughton, Hunts, in 1618, "Sepulta est Jana Poole, anicula." At Teddington, Middlesex, "James Parsons, who had often eat a shoulder of mutton, or a peck of hasty pudding at a time, which caused his death, buried March 7, 174¾, aged 36." At Norton in Cheshire, was buried in 1743 a gentleman who is lauded in the register book almost as much as he might have been on his tombstone: "Comeliness and cheerfulness shone brightly in him: his expressions were handsome, facetious, and mild: to all easy and just: to his friends particularly respectful;" and so on.

In the marriage registers I have only come across one descriptive entry, and that is at Sea Salter, in Kent, where is the following: "John Housden, widower, a gape mouthed lazy fellow, and Hannah Matthews, an old toothless hag, both of Faversham, were trammelled



it. It will not bee amiss when you find it dankish, to wipe over the leaves with a dry wollen cloath. This place is very much subject to dankishness, therefore I say looke to it."

At Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, is the following table of contents:—

> "Hic puer ætatem, hic vir sponsalia noscat;
> Hic decessorum funera quisque sciat."

This is rather truistic. A better preface runs as follows [I find it jotted down in my note-book, but have accidentally omitted to mark where I got it]:—

> "Janua baptismus: medio stat tæda jugalis.
> Utroque ex felix, mora pia si sequitur."

I see given in *Notes and Queries* (I., vii., 257) as existing at Ruyton, in Shropshire, what sounds very much like a translation of the above:—

> "No flattery here, where to be born and die
> Of rich and poor is all the history.
> Enough if virtue filled the space between
> Proved by the ends of being to have been."

At Norton, in the county of Durham, there occurs the following preface to the register of marriages, according to Sir Cuthbert Sharpe, from whose Chronicon Mirabile I quote it: "Marriage comes in on the 13th of January, and at Septuagesima Sunday it is out again until Low Sunday, at which time it comes in again, and goes not out till Rogation Sunday: thence it is unforbidden until Trinity Sunday, from thence it is forbidden until Advent Sunday and comes not in again till the 13th of January." This note bears date 1745.

At Fittleton in this county: "Wee are borne crying, wee live laughing, wee dye sighing." This inscription is signed by the same gentleman to whom I have already referred—"Ste. Jay," and appears to have been written about 1650.

Of colophons of any sort or description I have met with [illegible] single instance.

And now, leaving the wide pastures in which, [illegible]

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I have been roaming, I will return to my own village, and give a few statistics—to be taken for as much as they are worth.

It has been stated by a high authority that "in scarcely any country in the world is there so great similarity of surname as in England," and if this means (as I believe it is intended to do) so *few* surnames, the records of Cherhill certainly bear out the statement. There is one name (and that a very uncommon one—in fact I had never heard it in my life until I came to Cherhill) which belongs to eighty out of the one thousand six hundred and thirty-six persons whose baptisms are here registered; and adding the thirteen times in which it appears with slightly varied spelling, the number of times in which it occurs in the register would be no less than ninety-three; *i.e.*, once in every seventeen-and-a-half entries. Nine surnames occur more than forty times each, and together take up more than one fifth of the whole number. Twenty-three surnames occur more than twenty times each. One hundred and seventeen surnames occur more than once. And of one hundred and nineteen surnames there is only a single entry. The whole number of different surnames recorded is two hundred and fifty-nine.

Of Christian names in the same entries there are one hundred and sixty-four, viz.: male names proper, sixty-one; surnames given as Christian names, twenty-one; total eighty-two. The number of females, curiously enough, is exactly equal, viz.: Christian names proper, seventy-two; surnames given as Christian names, ten; total, eighty-two. And what is more curious still is that the number of the two sexes is exactly equal in these entries, viz.: eight hundred and eighteen of each.[1] With regard to the number of times that each name appears in the Cherhill books, John leads the way among

[1] This is, I need scarcely say, not the ordinary proportion, which is in Great Britain one hundred and four males to every hundred females. And in every other country in Europe, with the single exception of Sweden, the disproportion is still greater. (See Ansell's Statistics of Families, and Hendrik's Vital Statistics of Sweden.) On the other hand, the Florentine bean register, which I have before mentioned, gave in 1835, shortly before its abolition, a proportion of one hundred and thirteen females to one hundred males. This must however I think have been attributable to some special local circumstances interfering with the registration of the male children.

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makes with one hundred and forty occurrences, or one in every 5.7 entries. Then came William and Will, one hundred and twenty-two, or one in 6.7. Then Thomas and Tom, sixty-nine, or one in 12.9. Then Henry, Harry, Henery, Hennery, or Henrie, fifty-nine, or one in 13.5. Then Robert and James, forty-one each, or one in 19.9. And so on down to fifteen names which appear but once each.

Of female names, the first is Ann, who under the varying forms of Ann, Anne, Annie, Anna, Nanny, and Nanney, appears one hundred and sixty-one times, or one in every five entries. Then comes Mary, Maria, Meriah, and Mariah, one hundred and fifty-two, or one in 5.4. Then Elizabeth, Elisabeth, Elizebath, Bety, Betty, Betsey, Besepty, and Lizzey, one hundred and ten, or one in 7.4. Then Sarah, Sarak, or Sary, ninety-five, or one in 8.6. Then Jane, eighty five, or one in 9.6. The Rebecca, Rebekah, Rebekak, Rebeckh, Rebekkah, Rebeckah, Rabacca, and Rebca, forty-three, or one in 19.9. And so on down to eighteen names which occur only once each. With regard to age at marriage I get little or no information from the registers until the time of my own appointment in 1860, the columns having been in almost every case filled up simply with "full age," or "minor,"—an evil practice which, as I see from a recent report of the Registrar-General, prevails in about two-fifths of all the returns made to him. I have however myself, when registering a marriage, invariably asked for age, explaining that I did so simply with a view of adding to the value of the record both for statistical purposes and also for those of identification. And I have never in any one instance met with the least hesitation to furnish me with a proper return. Out of the thirty-five marriages thus recorded, I find the average age of the husbands to be twenty-nine years and two hundred and ninety-six days; and of the wives, twenty-seven years and one hundred and twenty-nine days.[1] Nine wives appear to have been older than their husbands, or more than one fourth of the whole number.

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[1] This is less than the average of difference in age throughout England, which is stated by Ansell (Vital Statistics, p. 48) to be about four-and-[illegible] and to be still on the increase.

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Of the duration of life in the parish we get perhaps an approximate idea from the fact that the average age of recorded deaths is thirty-seven years, three hundred and forty-six days. The lowest average is in the first decade, viz., from 1813 (before which year age was not registered) to 1823, when it amounts to thirty-two years, fifty days. And the highest average occurs in the last decade, from 1863 to 1873, when it rises to forty-four years, one hundred and fifty-four days. But the trustworthiness of the earlier at least of these records is probably affected by two causes, one that when there was no resident clergyman some children may have died unbaptized, and their interments consequently not been recorded. And another possible source of error might be the uncertainty of poor people generally as to their exact ages, and their well-known tendency when very old to imagine themselves yet more so than they really are. I find however no remarkable instances of longevity on record at Cherhill. Eighty-nine, which occurs three times, is the highest figure. The healthiness of our high Wiltshire downs is however I think strongly attested by the fact that the two ages between which most deaths appear to have occurred at Cherhill are under two years, and between seventy and eighty years. An analysis of the whole record gives the following figures:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between 1 and 2 years old | the deaths | were | 16.4 | per cent. |
| „ 70 „ 80 | „ | „ | 15.9 | „ |
| Under 1 year | „ | „ | 12.6 | „ |
| Between 60 and 70 | „ | „ | 10.7 | „ |
| „ 80 „ 90 | „ | „ | 9.4 | „ |
| „ 20 „ 30 | „ | „ | 8.7 | „ |
| „ 10 „ 20 | „ | „ | 8.5 | „ |
| „ 40 „ 50 | „ | „ | 7.4 | „ |
| „ 50 „ 60 | „ | „ | 5.2 | „ |
| Over 90 years | „ | „ | .4 | „ |

With regard to the seasons in the year least favourable to human life, it will I think surprize some persons to hear that the month in which I find the smallest number of funerals recorded is "chill October," while that which shews the highest figure (with the

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exception of January) is "the merry month of May." Then April, "Mensis Veneris Marinæ." The whole list runs as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| January | 10.2 | per cent. |
| May | 10.7 | " |
| April | 10.5 | " |
| March | 8.7 | " |
| June / August | 8.3 | " |
| July / September | 7.9 | " |
| November / December | 7.1 | " |
| February | 6.1 | " |
| October | 5.7 | " |

Perhaps the most curious point is the sudden drop from January, which heads the list, to February, which all but finishes it.

And now just one word in conclusion with regard to statistics generally, which it is rather the fashion now, I think, to decry. A writer in a recent number of "Blackwood" pompously remarks, "There is an extraordinary virtue in averages. When life has been robbed of its romance and death of its mystery: when the King of Terrors is turned into vulgar fractions and Providence reduced to a decimal, the accountant lays down his pen with a gratified glow and feels that Society is his debtor." It appears to me that this gentleman has completely misunderstood the position, and misappreciated the value, of that department of science of which he takes upon himself to speak. To my mind the fair muse of History walks not unattended, and that man grossly dishonours her who would rob her of her escort. Upon her waits first of all the somewhat stern form of Chronology—stern, I say, yet withal beautiful in her ordered symmetery, Then comes Heraldry, gorgeous of attire, yet not meretricious, for she knows not aught but the purest colour and will not suffer a confusion of divers metals for her adornment. Then Statistics, with thoughtful brow and solemn mien, her raiment sown with bees, for it is she that extracts from History its lessons; and

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yet as "Vos non vobis mellificatis," so it is not for herself that she does so, and her work, valueless in itself, may be turned, we know not when, to profit. So I venture to despise the sneer of this anonymous writer, even as I lament the prejudice of a late Chancellor of the Exchequer, who once said in a speech before some "Working Men's Mutual Laudation Society," that there was utility in every branch of human knowledge *except Heraldry*. So clever a man as the ex-member for Calne ought not to have said so foolish a thing.

I have only in conclusion to express my thanks to my friend the Rev. J. P. Hardy, of Wadham College, Oxford, for much valuable help in the preparation of this paper: to the Rectors of St. Peter's, Cornhill and of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, and to the Vicar of Westbury, all of whom I have already referred to by name, for several most interesting papers and transcripts: and to the incumbents of the various churches which I have myself visited with a view to search, for the permission which they have in every case kindly accorded me.

I need scarcely add that although perhaps not even the humblest addition to contemporary local history is absolutely without value yet I do not of course attribute any sort of importance to the statistics of so small a population as those with which I am concerned, and which, rather with a view of eliciting information of more moment, and of encouraging researches in more fruitful fields, I have ventured to lay before the Society.

> "C'est peu, tres-peu, que j'aggrandis la domaine:
> D'autres un jour lui traceront des lois."

W. C. P.

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# "Wiltshire Nonjurors," &c.[1]

Extracted from a book entitled, "The names of the Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, and others who refused to take the oaths to his late Majesty King George (1st), London, printed for J. Robinson, Ludgate Street. 1745."

"TO THE PUBLIC."

"The following List of Estates, which was collected by Authority in the year 1715, is published, at this Time, with no other View, but to assist the Magistrates, and other Officers, who shall happen to be intrusted with the Execution of such Orders of Government, as either have already been, or may hereafter be issued, for suppressing the Growth, and unhappy Effects, of the present rebellious Insurrection in the North; which, its hoped, will caution the Possessors of such Estates, at this Juncture, carefully to keep within the Bounds, of their known Duty, to our Gracious Sovereign King George, and his Rightful Government over them; unto which, it is conceived, they will find themselves more especially obligated, if they only please to observe, that many of them (who in the said year neglected to give in such a particular account of the value of their respective Estates, as was then under Severe Penalties required of them by Law) were never, as yet, called upon to answer for such neglect, but gently permitted to go on quietly, and to partake equally with their Fellow-Subjects, of all that Lenity and other blessed Effects of a mild Administration in Government, which these Kingdoms have peacefully enjoyed, ever since the most joyful and happy accession of his late Majesty King George the First, to the Throne.

"N.B.—The Estates which appear to have been registered but not valued, belong to such as neglected their Duty, in complying with the Legal Orders of the Government at that Time.

"The names of the Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, and others, who refused to take the Oaths to his late Majesty King George:—

| *Wilts.* | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Hussey, of Maryhall, in Com' Dorset, Esq. | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| James Morgan, of St. Gile's: Annuity out of the Mansion of Ansty | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Brunning, of Winchester, Gent | 5 | 16 | 8 |
| William Estcourt, of Brunham, Esq. | 224 | 9 | 0 |
| Mary Watson, of Bestford, in Com' Worcester, Spinster | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Katherine Watson, of ditto | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| John Horton, of Woolverton, in Com' Somerset, Gent | 0 | 5 | 4 |
| Francis Cottington, of Fonthill Gifford, Esq. | 795 | 4 | 8 |
| William Moore, of St. Giles, in Com. Middlesex:— | | | |

[1] The following interesting document is kindly contribute[d ...] Matcham, Esq., a name held in high honour in this Society, as [...] county, and a zealous Archæologist of many years' standing. [...]

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| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Estate at Hedington, in Possession of Anthony Brook | 130 | 2 | 6 |
| Gaynor Cruse, of Wootton Basset, Widow | 64 | 0 | 0 |
| Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Castlehaven | 537 | 12 | 10 |
| Edward Cary, of Torr Abbey, in Com. Devon, Esq. | 564 | 12 | 6 |
| Mary Anne, of Sutton Mandeville, spinster | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| John Doncastle, of Binfield, in Com' Berks, Gent. | 94 | 0 | 0 |
| Susannah Kennion, of Barth, in Com' Somerset, Widow | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Francis Carne, of ditto, Gent | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Anne Cruse, of Greenhill, Widow | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Farnhill, of Fonthill-Gifford, Gent. | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| Anne Perkins:—Estate at Cheesgrove, in possession of William Green | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Charles Woolmer, of Fonthill-Gifford, Gent. | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Wells, of Bambridge, in Com' Southton, Gent. | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| John Wright, of Keldenhall, in Com' Essex, Esq. | 12 | 10 | 6 |
| Bartholomew Smith, of Winchester, Esq. | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Mary Coffin, of Stourton, Widow | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Mary Jenkins, of Wardour-Castle, Spinster | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| John King, of Warblington, in Com' Southton, yeoman | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Simeon White, of Wardour-Castle | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Jeffrey Lodge, of Stower-provost, in Com' Dorset, Yeoman | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Knype, of Sembly | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| George Brookman, of Anstey, Yeoman or Weaver | 1 | 12 | 0 |
| John Haylock, of Tisbury | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Matthew Haylock, of Bridzor | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| Mary Butt, of ditto | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Cecil Wilson, of ditto | 52 | 10 | 0 |
| Richard Lee, of Hasledon | 61 | 10 | 0 |
| Henry, Lord Arundell | 1186 | 8 | 0 |
| Thomas Pippin, of Bridzor, Yeoman | 13 | 15 | 0 |
| Eleanor Wilson, of ditto, Widow | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir John Webb, of Great Canford, in Com' Dorset, Bart. | 403 | 17 | 2 |
| John Cottington, of Goodmanstone, in Com' Somerset Esq. | 110 | 0 | 0 |
| Abigal Kingsmill, of Juckpen,* in Com. Berks, Widow | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| George Knype, of Semley | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir George Brown, of London, Bart., of Coldridge Coppice, in Lurgershall, | | | |
| Thomas Champion, of Sutton-Mandeville, Leather cutter | 5 | 15 | 0 |
| | £4990 | 7 | 2 |

* In all probability *Inkpen*. The names of several places are incorrectly given in the book from which this extract is taken; but it is not deemed advirable to substitute the real orthography, more especially as their identity is in most instances generally known. (Ed.)

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## *To the Editor of the Wiltshire Magazine.*[1]

*West Hay, Wrington, August 18th.*

DEAR MR. SMITH,

You will, I am sure, kindly help me in the public correction of an error into which I have been drawn by assuming the accuracy of a report given in one of the Wiltshire papers of a speech made by Mr. Matcham in reply to Canon Jackson's paper on Stonehenge, read at Marlborough, at the Society's meeting, in 1859. That report states "That the Phœnicians having lead and iron mines in Wales, it was by no means improbable they drew these stones from different parts of the country as emblems of the places whence they derived their wealth." Mr. Matcham writes to me in his kind and courteous way that "such a notion never entered my head. I only expressed my opinion that Phœnician architects were employed by the people who had determined on the erection or enlargement of the temple—to transport the outer stones from the site, and to erect them in the way they now appear, and I think this suggestion susceptible of something very like proof." You would oblige me very much if you would, at the meeting next week, and (if necessary) in the next number of the Journal, give the correction of this error as wide a circulation as the error itself.

I sincerely hope that you will not separate next week until you have had a thoroughly good discussion of the Stonehenge questions. If we cannot yet go far in advance, we can at least get rid of some of the rubbish which has been for so long a period accumulating about that place and its history.

With Sir John Lubbock as President, you ought not to disperse without having cleared the ground and opened a way to something more satisfactory than the popular opinions of past years.

Very sincerely yours,

W. LONG.

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[1] The following note was read by the Rev. A. C. Smith at the [illegible] at Salisbury, on the 23rd August, and would rightly [illegible] account of those proceedings: but is printed here, [illegible] be lost in rectifying the mistake made, and also [illegible] occur in the same volume which con[illegible]

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# Mr. Sotheron Estcourt and Mr. Poulett Scrope.

IN the present year our Society has suffered a loss to be really felt, in the deaths of two of its original founders and steady supporters, the Rt. Hon. Thomas H. S. Sotheron Estcourt and George Poulett Scrope, Esq. Our readers will not consider a few pages of our Magazine misapplied, if to each of those names, familiar among us for so many years, it says

"Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo."

THE RT. HON. THOMAS HENRY SUTTON SOTHERON ESTCOURT was born 4th April, 1801, and was the eldest son of Thomas Grimston Bucknall Estcourt, Esq. (many years M.P. for the University of Oxford), by Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of James Sutton, Esq., of New Park (now Roundway Park), near Devizes. The Estcourt family is of very great antiquity both in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. The last male heir of the elder branch dying in 1684, some of the existing property passed to a junior branch, the Estcourts of Cam, from which Mr, Sotheron Estcourt descended. He was educated at Harrow and Oriel College, Oxford, where, at Michaelmas, 1822, he took First Class in Classical honours. He graduated M.A., 1826, and was made Honorary D.C.L. in 1857. In 1830 he married Lucy Sarah, only child of Admiral Frank Sotheron, of Kirklington, Co. Notts, who died in 1870. He had assumed her name only in 1839, but reverted to his own patronymic, Estcourt, by Royal license in 1855. He was returned to Parliament in the Conservative interest for Marlborough, in 1829 until 1832. From November, 1835, until 1844, he sat for Devizes, and in the latter year succeeded Sir Francis Burdett as one of the Members for North Wilts, his colleague being the late Walter Long, Esq., of Rood Ashton. In March, 1858, he was appointed (by the late Earl of Derby) President of the Poor Law Board, being at the same time sworn of the Privy Council: and in March, 1859, on the resignation of Mr. Walpole, Secretary of State

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for the Home Department: which office he retained until the change of Ministry in June following. He retired from Parliament in 1865.

Though belonging, as most men of position do, to a party, he was not a blind partizan: neither obstinately opposed to all changes, nor wishing to adopt them unless well-considered. For political life however he had less affection than for quiet service to the county of Wilts, in which, both North and South, by persevering work and unvarying kindness and courtesy of manner, he became, certainly one of its most popular men to the day of his death.

Besides, as a magistrate, taking a leading part in arranging financial affairs, the settlement of the County Rate, the Constabulary and other matters requiring close and continual personal exertion, he succeeded, after much difficulty, in establishing—his greatest glory—the Wiltshire Friendly Society. With this, his name it is hoped may long continue to be associated: for not until the working-people of Wiltshire shall cease to feel the benefits to themselves and their families, of habits of prudence and self-reliance, can they look with indifference upon the Society's Medal, which bears the effigy of the amiable gentleman who laboured so long and so earnestly for the improvement of cottage homes and lives.

With respect to our own Society, it is recollected with pleasure that he was our President at the Annual Meeting at Swindon, in August, 1860, and again at Shaftesbury, in August, 1861. At Malmesbury, in 1863, he was unable to attend from ill-health. It was not his habit to render literary assistance, but of his desire to preserve from neglect the Antiquities for which the county is so famous, he gave substantial proof, as mentioned in the Report for 1876. Hearing that part of the ground on which stands the mutilated remains of Avebury was for sale, he immediately sent to one of the Secretaries of the Society an unlimited order to secure it for him: but in this laudable attempt to save one of the most curious monuments in the world from injury by future barbarians he had been anticipated by our present President, Sir John Lubbock.

Mr. Sotheron Estcourt was an excellent scholar and delighted in literature, but though for amusement among his various
he would now and then exercise his pencil, as for in



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illustration of the "Travels in Portugal" of his friend, Mr. Latouche, it is not known that he ever published any production of his pen. It may therefore be not uninteresting to his friends and our readers in general if we preserve a few lines composed by him, when on his own sick-bed, to accompany a circular that was issued for raising a memorial to his intimate and valued friend, the late Sidney, Lord Herbert of Lea:—

LINES ON THE DEATH OF LORD HERBERT.

**By the Rt. Hon. T. H. S. Sotheron Estcourt,**
***October*, 1861.**

"Let Glory with her golden chaplet crown
Those who in battle for their Country die;
England, dear HERBERT, with a like renown
Enrols Thy name amongst her chivalry,
Though Thou on peaceful bed didst close Thine eye:
Thee as a model, bids her children take,
And learn to hazard life, as Thou didst, for Her sake.

"See how in youth, by careful Mother led,
Upward His thoughts, with steady gaze, He turned,
Enticing scenes foreswore: hard work instead
He courted, and the charms of pleasure spurned:
And so an early grave by Labour earned:
Whilst at stern duty's call, the path He trod
Which guides by painful steps the soul from Earth to God.

"Mourn, soldier, Thou hast lost a thoughtful friend,
Thy health, thy comfort, were his constant care,
He taught thee how to save, and what to spend,
On thy sick bed He breathed a purer air:
Lo! Angels, at His word to camps repair,
Smooth the rough pillow, where the wounded lie,
And turn to brighter Scenes the dying Veteran's eye.

"Ye too, before whose presence Sin should flee,
Tell how his lavish hand was wont to raise
Your modest School, your costly Sanctuary,
For man's instruction and his Maker's praise:
Point to the Spot, where gild the sun's warm rays
A Temple, worthy of a Poet's tongue,
In strains, such as of old another HERBERT sung.

"How shall we miss the bright engaging Smile,
That banished strife; to all a welcome brought;
The ready speech, a Senate might beguile;
The playful Wit; the rich inventive Thought;
The Spirit that false Counsels set at nought:
Each action charming by its native grace,
And, Heaven's best gift, His mind, reflected in his Face.

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"What though no more that Silvery Voice we hear,
Like distant music still its echoes swell,
E'en, from the grave, it bids us check the tear,
Nor grieve for one, who fought his fight so well:
That voice, Dear HERBERT, should a lesson tell,
Count not the worth of Life by length of days,
His Thread is fully spun, whom all unite to praise."

Mr. Sotheron Estcourt resided at the family seat, Estcourt, in the parish of Shipton Moyne, on the very borders of Gloucestershire, but in Wiltshire he was owner of Long Newnton and Ashley in that neighbourhood: and near Devizes he held by inheritance from his mother's family, the Suttons, a lease of the Episcopal manor of Bishops Cannings, his interest in which, owing to some difficulties in the renewal, he sold to the Crown in 1858. In Yorkshire a large estate at Goole, on the Humber, and at Darrington, near Pontefract, came to him from his wife's family, the Sotherons.

He died at Estcourt House, on Friday, January 6th, 1876, and was buried at Shipton Moyne, where he had a few years ago restored the Parish Church. A more extended notice of him appeared in the *Devizes Gazette* on 13th January following.

GEORGE POULETT SCROPE, Esq., was born in London, in 1797, and was the second son of Mr. J. Poulett Thomson, of Austin Friars, Roehampton, and Waverley Abbey, Co. Surrey, head of the eminent mercantile firm of Thomson, Bonar, & Co.: his elder brother being Charles Poulett Thomson, the Governor-General of Canada, who was created Lord Sydenham during Lord Melbourne's Ministry. He was educated at Harrow and St. John's College, Cambridge. He is well remembered as a leading reformer in his day, and as a very accomplished, polished and courteous gentleman. In 1821 he assumed the ancient Wiltshire name of Scrope, on his marriage with Emma, sole daughter and heiress of William Scrope, Esq., of Castle Combe, the author of the well-known volumes on "Deer Stalking," and "Salmon Fishing." He entered Parliament as Member for Stroud in May, 1833, and sat for that borough thirty-five years, retiring from public life in 1868. He was the writer of a great number of pamphlets [illegible] on a variety of subjects, as currency, banki[illegible] and social economy, &c.,

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and also of a biography of his brother, Lord Sydenham: but his principal, as it was his earliest, study, was geology. When quite a youth, happening to be at Naples, he was much struck with the phenomena of Mount Vesuvius; and being led to follow up the study of them he afterwards examined the region of extinct volcanoes in Central France and other countries, collecting materials for a work which he then published, and which has been generally received as the best authority on the subject. For this, in 1867, he received from the Geological Society the Woollaston Gold Medal, the highest honour at the disposal of that Body. Of his labours in geology including various occasional papers which appeared in different scientific perodicals, a detailed account (with a portrait of him taken late in life) is given in the "Geological Magazine," vol. vii. (1870).

Towards the topography of Wiltshire he made a very valuable contribution by the "History of the Parish of Castle Combe," compiled chiefly from the records of the Scrope family in his custody. This work was privately printed in 4to, 1852, and is already a scarce volume. It was very favourably noticed in the Quarterly Review, vol, xcii., p. 275, as supplying from original and authentic sources—the most proper and useful to an antiquary—a curious account of the mode of local government in a township during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He was the author of an article on "Wiltshire" in the Quarterly Review, vol. ciii., p. 108 (1858).

Of our Society he was the first President, and his opening address upon that occasion at Devizes, in 1853, is printed in vol. i. of this Magazine. Several subsequent communications from his pen will be found by reference to the index. After the death of his wife, by whose will the ancient estate of her family, held by them in North Wiltshire without interruption for five hundred years, was placed at his absolute disposal. Mr. Poulett Scrope sold Castle Combe to E. C. Lowndes, Esq., and left Wiltshire altogether, having bought a house at Fairlawn, near Cobham, in Surrey, where he died 18th January, 1876, aged 79. The fine old Church of Castle Combe had been thoroughly restored by him some years before his death.

J. E. J.

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# Trust-Deed of the Saxon Church of St. Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon.

By the Rev. Canon W. H. Jones.

THE Wiltshire Archæological Society having from the first taken deep interest in the recovery of this precious relic of the eighth century, it is thought well, as in some sort a report of progress, to print a copy of the deed by which it has been conveyed to Trustees with a view to its permanent preservation. The few words printed in *italics* will shew the special trusts under which it is held.

It may be stated that between £800 and £900 have been raised and expended in the purchase, conveyance, and partial restoration, of this "Ecclesiola." The latter work has consisted wholly of what may termed re-habilitation—the replacing, exactly as they were originally, several of the more mutilated features of the building.

Everything has been done under the direction of Mr. Irvine, who was the principal superintendent of the works both at the Abbey of Bath and the Cathedral at Wells under Sir Gilbert Scott, and who is an experienced and practical architect, and withal no mean archæologist. To his pen we are indebted for a careful essay on the Cathedral at Wells, printed in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society about two years ago.

It may be added that a visit was paid to the "Ecclesiola" a few months ago by Sir Gilbert Scott, who fully approved all that had been done, and added a recommendation or two which have since been carried out.

The little Church having been made wind and water-tight, is now used for daily prayer each morning at nine o'clock. The fittings, stoves, seats, &c., have been supplied by private and special offerings from the parishioners of Bradford[illegible] A simple yet handsome lectern and prayer desk [illegible] memorial

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of a former curate, whose name and disinterested labours are still remembered gratefully in the parish.

The Chancel is as yet wholly unfurnished. There is much need of money to provide a good yet simple altar-table, and other fittings for the chancel. It would be very desirable also to proceed with further repairs to the roofs and walls, and especially to restore at all events the lower portion of the west front, which has been so sadly mutilated by the insertion of modern windows.

At least £500 more is needed to do all that is desirable. About *twenty-five* copies are left of a *privately-printed* account of this little Church, and the Treasurer will have pleasure in forwarding one to any subscriber of *one guinea* or upwards.

W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A.,
*Treasurer.*

*The Vicarage,*
*Bradford-on-Avon.*

## Trust Deed.

"This Indenture made the twenty-fifth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between the Rev. William Henry Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Bradford, in the county of Wilts, of the first part, the Right Honorable Horatio, Earl Nelson, of the second part, and the said Earl Nelson, the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas Boughton Buchanan, of Potterne in the county of Wilts, M.A., Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse, of Monkton Farleigh, in the county of Wilts, Baronet, Sir John Wither Awdry, of Notton in the parish of Lacock in the county of Wilts, Knight, John Henry Parker, of the Ashmolean, Oxford, Esquire, C.B., F.S.A., Edward Augustus Freeman, of Somerleaze, Wells, in the county of Somerset, Esquire, D.C.L., the Reverend Edward Lowry, Barnwell, of Melksham, in the county of Wilts, M.A., and the said William Henry Jones, of the third part:—Whereas in the town of Bradford-on-Avon, in the county of Wilts, there is a Saxon Church, or Chapel, of great antiquity, which for many years was disused as a place of religious worship, the chancel-arch having been walled-up, the chancel and nave having been treated as separate buildings and belonging to different owners, the chancel having been converted into a cottage, and the nave into a charity school, so that the original nature of the building was lost sight of and forgotten until recently discovered by the said William Henry Jones, and whereas it was thought desirable, and an object of public utility, that the said Church should be purchased and restored to its original state, and preserved for the benefit of the parish of Bradford-on-Avon or other public use, and for that purpose a subscripton was opened and sumsof money were raised, with which the said Church and the site thereof were purchased in fee simple by the said William Henry Jones, and conveyed to him by the two Indentures hereinafter recited (namely):—*First.*—By indenture dated the eighteenth day of January, one thousand

eight hundred and seventy-two, made between Frederick Ezekiel Edmonds of the one part, and the said William Henry Jones of the other part, in consideration of the sum of sixty pounds to the said Frederick Ezekiel Edmonds, paid by the said William Henry Jones, he, the said Frederick Ezekiel Edmonds, granted and confirmed unto the said William Henry Jones and his heirs, all that outhouse or shed formerly used as a sizing house, together with the small piece of land or ground on the west thereof, bounded as therein mentioned, and also all that messuage or tenement with the garden land or ground belonging thereto adjoining to the last described premises, then in the occupation of William Meade, together also with the Yard adjoining and belonging thereto, and the shed being then thereon in ruins, which said last described premises were bounded as therein described : all which said messuage, sheds, land and other hereditaments and premises thereinbefore described and thereby granted or intended so to be, were situate near the Church Walk, in the town and parish of Bradford, in the county of Wilts, and were more particularly delineated in the plan thereof drawn in the margin of the Indenture now in recital, and therein coloured red, together with all the houses, ways, and appurtenances thereto belonging, and particularly a right of way for all purposes whatsoever to and for the said William Henry Jones, his heirs and assigns, to and from the said messuage, sheds, land, and hereditaments thereinbefore described through the gates between the Free School and the glebe properties, as the same had been always and was then enjoyed, but the wall separating the said hereditaments thereinbefore described from the other property of the said Frederick Ezekiel Edmonds, called the Abbey, as shewn on the said plan by a dotted line from the points A to B, to be for ever thereafter a party wall, to hold the said premises thereinbefore described, unto and to the use of the said William Henry Jones, his heirs and assigns, for ever. And *Second.*—By Indenture dated the eighteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy three, and made between Thomas Bush Saunders, John Alderton Bush, and Stephen Moulton of the first part, the said Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse of the second part, and the said William Henry Jones of the third part, in consideration of a conveyance from the said William Henry Jones to the said Thomas Bush Saunders and others, of certain premises therein mentioned, they the said Thomas Bush Saunders, John Alderton Bush, and Stephen Moulton, as the surviving trustees of the Bradford Free School, and in whom the premises thereinafter assigned were then vested for the residue of a term of one thousand years granted thereof by an Indenture of Lease dated the eighth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, and made between the parties therein mentioned, with the consent of the Board of Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, granted, assigned and transferred unto the said William Henry Jones, his executors, administrators and assigns, the messuage and premises comprised and described in the first schedule thereunder written, to hold the same unto the said William Henry Jones his executors, administrators, and assigns, for all the residue then unexpired of the said term of one thousand years, and the said Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse, in whom the reversion and inheritance in fee simple, expectant upon the expiration or other sooner determination of the said term was then vested did thereby grant and release unto the said William Henry Jones, his heirs and assigns, all that the

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reversion and inheritance in fee simple, expectant upon the expiration or other sooner determination of the said term of one thousand years of and in the said premises contained in the first schedule thereunder written, to hold the same premises unto and to the use of the said William Henry Jones, his heirs and assigns for ever so that the term of one thousand years might become merged and extinguished in the freehold and inheritance thereof, and the first schedule referred to in the Indenture now in recital, comprised a message, edifice, or building with the appurtenances situate in or near to the Churchyard, in the town and parish of Bradford aforesaid, formerly called or known by the name of the Skull House, many years since converted into and used as a School House, and bounded on or towards the north, south, and east by premises recently purchased by the said William Henry Jones, and numbered on the Tythe Map of the parish of Bradford, with the number 149, and in the book of reference thereto described as house containing three perches and then in the occupation of John Thornton Butt, and used as a school charity, called the "Bradford Free School," and whereas it is desired that the several premises conveyed by the said Indentures and which together comprise the said Church and the site thereof with the yard thereto adjoining, shall be conveyed to and vested in the parties hereto of the third part, upon and for the trusts and purposes hereinafter expressed:—Now this Indenture witnesseth, that, in order to effectuate the said desired conveyance, he, the said William Henry Jones doth hereby grant and assure unto the said Earl Nelson, his heirs and assigns, all and singular the buildings, messuages, school-house cottages, out-houses, pieces of land, hereditaments, and premises described in the said several hereinbefore recited Indentures, and thereby granted, assigned, and conveyed, or intended so to be, together with the said right of way, and all other ways, and all lights, drains, easements, and appurtenances thereto belonging, or reputed to belong, and all the estate, right, and title, both legal and equitable of the said William Henry Jones therein, to hold the hereditaments and premises hereby granted and assured unto the said Earl Nelson, his heirs and assigns, to the use of the said Earl Nelson, Thomas Boughton Buchanan, Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse, Sir John Wither Awdry, John Henry Parker, Edward Augustus Freeman, Edward Lowry Barnwell, and William Henry Jones, their heirs and assigns for ever, upon and for the trusts and purposes hereinafter expressed (that is to say) the trustees for the time being acting under these presents (hereinafter called "the Trustees") shall when and as they shall have funds at their disposal for the purpose, from time to time restore the said Church, and the site thereof, to their original state, or from time to time restore or alter the same to such state as the Trustees, or the majority of them, shall in their discretion think proper, and shall for ever hold and, so far as they shall have funds at their disposal for the purpose, keep and preserve the said Church, and the site thereof, in their restored or altered state, as *a memorial of past ages, and for public benefit, and instruction with a due regard always to the object for which the said Church was originally erected, namely, as a place dedicated to the worship and service of Almighty God*, for which purpose the Trustees shall permit the same to be *used by or by the direction of the Vicar, for the time being, of the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Bradford-on-Avon, for such permanent or temporary purposes in connection with the*

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*parish of Bradford-on-Avon, as the Trustees, or the majority of them, shall from time to time approve of*, or shall permit the same to be used for such other public or quasi public purposes, whether permanent or temporary, as the Trustees, or the majority of them shall from time to time sanction, and in every case, (whether of parochial or other use,) subject to such regulations as the Trustees or the majority of them shall prescribe, provided always, and it is hereby declared, that when and so often as the persons hereby constituted Trustees or any of them or any person or persons hereafter appointed Trustees or a Trustee hereof by virtue of this power, or any statutory power, or by any Court of Law or Equity, or otherwise shall die or become incapable to act in, or desire to retire from the trusts hereof, it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing Trustees or Trustee, for the time being hereof, (and for the purpose of this power, if there be no other surviving or continuing Trustee, every retiring Trustee willing to act herein shall be considered a continuing Trustee) or, if there be no other donee of this power willing and capable to act herein, for the Archdeacon for the time being of the Archdeaconry of Wilts, and the Vicar, for the time being, of the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Bradford-on-Avon, or in the event of either of them being incapable or unwilling to act, or of their being a vacancy in either office, for one of them to appoint by writing any persons or person being bona-fide members, or a bona-fide member of the Church of England, to be new Trustees or a new Trustee hereof, in the place of the person or persons so dying or being incapable to act, or desiring to retire, and further, that whenever an appointment of new Trustees or of a new Trustee shall be made, the number of Trustees shall be filled up to not less than seven nor more than nine, or as near thereto as can conveniently be done, and further, that the Archdeacon for the time being of the Archdeaconry of Wilts, and the Vicar for the time being of the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Bradford-on-Avon, and each of them shall always be ex-officio Trustees, or an ex-officio Trustee, under these presents, and shall from time to time, as and when it can conveniently be done, be appointed Trustees or a Trustee hereof, under the foregoing power, and in the meantime shall have all the rights and powers of Trustees or a Trustee hereof, although such formal appointment may not have been made nor the trust properly vested in them or him respectively. In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals."

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# On an Agreement,

**BETWEEN THE ABBESS JOHANNA DE MONTEFORT, AND THE CONVENT OF LACOCK, AND SIR JOHN BLUET, LORD OF LACKHAM, CONCERNING THE ERECTION OF A CHAPEL OF OUR LADY ADJOINING THE ABBEY CHURCH OF LACOCK, A.D. 1315.**

By C. H. TALBOT, Esq.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. Job Edwards, of Amesbury, the possessor of the original, I am enabled to lay before the readers of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine a very interesting document relating to the Abbey of Lacock.

It is an agreement between the abbess Johanna de Montefort and the convent of Lacock and Sir John Bluet lord of the manor of Lackham in the same parish, whereby the former bind themselves to erect a chapel of Our Lady adjoining the abbey church. It is dated in the last week of August, 1315. It is probable that the building of this chapel was consequent on the appropriation to the Abbey of Bluet's interest in the rectory of Lacock, in 1310 or 1311. Originally, the two lords of Lacock and Lackham had the alternate presentation to the rectory, and the parish appears practically to have been formed by the coalescence of those manors. The foundress of the Abbey, Ela Countess of Salisbury bestowed her advowson or alternate right of presentation on the Abbey. The probability is that this chapel contained the tomb of Sir John Bluet. The following item occurs among the *Annual and perpetual Rents, and Burdens paid annually* of the Abbey contained in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" (survey of 1535) :—[1]

"For 30 lb. of wax, bought for the maintenance of four candles daily about the tomb of Sir John Blewett, Knt. generally costing 7*d*. a lb. £0 17*s*. 6*d*."

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[1] Vide Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles and John Gough Nichols, pp. 287, 288, 299 and 300.

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And among the *Yearly Alms* :—

"To the poor in money on the feast of Saint Petronilla the Virgin, from the foundation of Sir John Blewett, Knt. on the appropriation of the rectory of Lacock £2 1*s*. 8*d*."

The original document is in good condition and clearly written, in Norman French. I at first supposed that it must have been at one time among the records at Lackham House; but it has been pointed out to me that this copy, sealed by Sir John Bluet, would have been the one retained by the abbess and convent. I cannot feel confident that I have deciphered the whole beyond a doubt; but, with the exception of the endorsement, I have been able to compare my copy carefully with the original a second time,[1] and have made it as accurate as possible. The contractions of the original are printed at length. I have to express my obligation to the Rev. Canon Jackson and the Rev. Canon Jones for assistance in ascertaining the meaning of some words that were not familiar to me.

Before treating of the chapel itself, it will be desirable to give some account of what is known about the abbey church[2] to which it was attached. The existing remains of the Abbey of Lacock consist of the domestic buildings lying to the north of the church; and, as the latter has been removed, the only traces of it that remain are found in the south wall of the present house. The church was a work of the thirteenth century, vaulted with stone. Its west wall was in a line with the west side of the cloister court; and from this point it extended eastward at least as far as the eastern wall of the sacristy and chapter-house, in which distance there were six bays, and it is very likely that it projected beyond that line by one bay. It is obvious that it was not cruciform; but the structural evidence would leave it an open question whether or no it had a south aisle.

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[1] When the document was exhibited in the temporary museum, at the late meeting at Salisbury. As it was under glass I could not re-examine the endorsement, which was not visible. The latter is not very clearly written, and is probably of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It will be noticed that the name Bluet is there spelled Blewett, as in the Valor Ecclesiasticus.

[2] I have given a short description of it in this Magazine (vol. xii., p. 228) in a paper on Lacock Abbey. The description here given contains facts not then ascertained.

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I infer from the document which is the subject of this paper that it probably had an aisle.[1] This however must be considered a doubtful point. It is evident also, from Aubrey's statement, that at the time of the dissolution the abbey had bells;[2] and this implies a belfry, but its site is not known, nor whether it formed part of the original plan or was a subsequent addition. On the north side of the church, in the four westernmost bays, there were lancet windows, one in each bay, by which light was admitted over the roof of the original cloister. In the second bay from the west there was an original doorway from the cloisters, which must have been closed when the present cloister was built;[3] and the window above it was blocked up,[4] probably at the same time. In the fourth bay from the west there was an arched doorway, but of what date is not known, which must

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[1] If this was the case, the plan may have borne some resemblance to the contemporary church of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, at Harnham, which was also a foundation of Ela, Countess of Salisbury. The latter is not vaulted, and appears to have consisted of a main building without any structural distinction of nave and choir, with a western porch, and a continuous north aisle of which the eastern end formed a chapel. I am aware that the arrangement has been supposed to be different.

[2] Aubrey says "Here was a good ring of bells, which Sir [William] Sharington sold, when he built Rea-bridge to divert the travelling by his house." (See Jackson's Aubrey, p. 90.) Sir William can only have *re-built* Ray-bridge, as it is on or very near the site of the bridge of Lacock, mentioned in a grant of the Empress Maud and her son Henry to the monastery *de Drogonis Fonte*, afterwards Stanley Abbey. (See Bowles' History of Bremhill, p. 96.)

[3] A vaulting shaft of the cloister comes against this doorway. The actual shaft is modern, but copied from the old one, for which it was substituted when the present doorway was made. The Perpendicular builders apparently left no communication with the church at this point. To the west of the jamb of the modern doorway the remains of the original one can be traced, having a segmental arch on its inner side, above which a string-course, to be noticed later, appears to have been carried as a hood-moulding.

[4] As this is the only one of the four windows that still remains, it is fortunate that during the past year I was able to examine the head of it. It proved to be a rather sharp lancet without external mouldings. It had a centre joint, and one side had settled a little. It was certainly walled up during the existence of the church, for a stone water-pipe which conveyed water from the church roof had been carried down the face of the wall by which it was closed. These curious pipes are thus shown to have been a late addition to the church. The external hood-moulding had been cut off, and portions of it were found amongst the material which filled up the window.

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have communicated with the cloister; and, immediately to the east of it in the same bay, a square-headed doorway which may have communicated with a staircase to the dormitory. In the sixth bay from the west, close to Sherington's[1] tower, there is a doorway of the fifteenth century[2] with a four-centred arch walled up, which communicated with the sacristy. There appears to have been a string-course,[3] running along the wall internally, just below the windows, and continued throughout the six bays. There were probably vaulting shafts, which may have been detached, as I cannot see any marks such as might have been left if attached shafts had been cut away.

The evidence on which these statements about the north wall are made is as follows. The south side of the house was altered in the year 1827. Before that date the north wall of the church remained, from its west end as far as the octagonal tower built by Sir William Sherington. In the course of the alterations a portion of the old wall was taken down, to the level of the cloisters, the lower part being left; and a rectangular projection was built out, with a large oriel window and a buttress, for the purpose of gaining more room in the gallery over the cloister. Near the west end of this gallery an oriel of smaller size was inserted, and between these two points a doorway was made, opening into the cloister, with a shallow oriel over. Another buttress was built between this and the last-mentioned oriel. Thus the traces of the abbey church are by no means

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[1] This name was usually spelled Sharington in old times, but it may at the same time have been pronounced Sherington. It is Sheringtone on Sir William's monument in Lacock Church. It was derived from Sharrington in Norfolk, and I think that familiarity with the name Sherrington in this county may have had an influence in changing the pronunciation.

[2] It must, however, have succeeded an earlier one, as the corresponding doorway in the sacristy is Early English. If the church was only six bays long, this doorway must have been inconveniently near the high altar, supposing the latter to have been at the extreme east end. I think, therefore, we have here an argument in favour of there having been at least seven bays.

[3] The evidence consists of two horizontal courses of freestone, of which the upper and narrower is that from which the projecting string has been cut away. The remains of the westernmost window show that it ran just below the splay of the sill.

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so evident now as they were before these alterations. Fortunately however we have evidence which enables us to supply those features which have disappeared.

Before the alterations were begun, a set of drawings of the whole house were made by the late Mr. John Darley[1] of Chippenham, which are valuable as indicating what then existed. They are very neatly executed, but it is evident that many of the details were not drawn out from actual measurement. They therefore must be received with caution and carefully checked. The drawing of the south side of the house shows clearly the six bays of vaulting, the four lancet windows, the position of the string-course, the doorway in the second and the two doorways in the fourth bay from the west; but every one of the arches is drawn as four-centred, which would give a totally erroneous idea of the character and date of the church, if we did not know it to be a mistake. The real proportions of the vaulting can be seen in the two bays next Sherington's tower. When it was taken down, the wall-rib which was bonded into the wall was not removed; but, as it was not intended to be seen, its projecting part was cut away, and the stones shaved down to the general surface of the wall. Nevertheless, on inspection, their arched outline is plainly visible. All the other features above enumerated are traceable in different places throughout the wall, with the exception of the arched doorway in the fourth bay from the west, shown in Darley's drawing, which is not now accessible.[2]

[1] I have, by an unfortunate mistake (vol. xii., p. 228, of this Magazine), attributed these drawings to Mr. Harrison, who was the architect employed for the alterations. The drawings are not signed, in accordance with the usual practice, and I was not aware at the time that any had been made by Mr. Darley.

[2] It is concealed on the south side by the projecting modern building. Future investigation in the cloisters may probably bring it to light. It appears to correspond in position with the east walk of the latter; and, whatever its date, it must have formed the principal entrance to the church, from the north, after their erection. Of the adjoining square-headed doorway one jamb can be seen. It was opened at the time of the alterations, having previously been walled up, and found to lead into a room which had no other entrance, in which was found only an ash pole, sound in appearance, but which broke on being touched. This room is now inaccessible, but evidently lies within the thick western wall of the sacristy, and I conjecture that it contained a staircase from the dormitory to the church. (See Mag., vol. xii., p. 224.)

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The north wall of the church is about four feet thick, as was also the west wall, of which a small portion remains,[1] disguised under the form of a buttress. Internally, the building was more than thirty feet high to the crown of the vaulting; and, as each bay occupied about twenty feet, the whole must have been one hundred and twenty feet long at least, and probably longer. Externally, it is probable that originally at any rate it had a high roof. The corbel-table[2] remains on the north side, and at the north-west angle there has been an octagonal pinnacle.[3]

I now come to the Lady Chapel. Such chapels were frequently added at the east end of a church, forming a prolongation of the main building. In other cases they were placed on one side of the choir. It is evident that this chapel was built on the south side of the church, probably near its eastern end. It was to be fifty-nine feet long by twenty-five and a half feet wide. There were to be four windows, one in each end gable, and two on the south side. When this agreement was written the chapel had been begun. Two of the windows were finished, namely that in one of the gables, and one of those in the side wall, and the two others were begun. The adjacent

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[1] The south face of this buttress, at first sight, appears to be unaltered Early English work; but, on inspection, it will be seen that the string-courses, &c., are found on its west and south, but not east sides. The explanation is this, the west and east sides are unaltered, being the external and internal faces of of the church wall, and the Early English work on its south face consists of external facing-stones, taken from the demolished part, and re-used here to form a finish to the ragged section of the wall. We have thus a slight indication of the external design, in the west face of this fragment and a buttress niched in the angle adjoining, with the remains of the pinnacle above. This bit of wall may have been left as a precaution, to avoid depriving the adjacent buildings of their old abutment.

[2] On the south side the corbel-table from the south side of the church has been re-used. Several of the corbels are evidently original. The balustrade erected above these corbel-tables was probably the work of Sir William Sherington.

[3] The base remains. The engraving by S. and N. Buck, dated 1732, shows that when they sketched the house this pinnacle retained its pyramidal top. The engraving however may have been made some time after the sketch, and is very inaccurate, showing lancet windows in all six bays, the modern windows *all* on one level, and an arched door out of its proper position.

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old south wall of the church was still standing. In this wall it is probable that there was a single lancet window in each bay, whose point reached close up to the vaulting. Provision is made for the removal of this wall, as high as the points of the windows, and as low as the string-course below their sills, for the purpose of introducing two arches, as wide as possible between the buttresses; and, apparently to gain greater height in the jambs, they meant to cut part of the old vaulting. I think from this that they were dealing with the low vault of an aisle, and not the main vault of the church. If it had been the latter they surely would have been content with the height available without interfering with the vaulting. The roof was to be of timber, covered with lead, and ceiled and painted internally. Although the chapel was longer than two bays of the abbey church, it was evidently open to the latter for the space of two bays only, about forty feet. The whole chapel was to be finished in twelve years' time, two-thirds of it in the first eight, and the remaining third in the four following years.

The date of the erection of this chapel shows that its character must have been what we call Decorated, of which period it happens that there is very little work remaining among the abbey buildings. It must have been demolished together with the abbey church, and this was probably done by Sir William Sherington, on his commencing the conversion of the former monastery into a manor house. I have not found any documentary evidence of the fact; but the erection of the tower by him is in itself evidence enough, for the eastern part of the church must first have been removed. Probably its stones were re-used for his new work throughout the house.

### Text of the Agreement.

"Ceo est le covenaunt feat entre Dame Johanne de mounfort abbesse de lacoke e covent de mesme le lyu dune part E monsire sire Johan Bluet seigneur de lacham dautrepart Ceo est asavoir qe les avauntdites abbesse e covent o lour successeres frount feare e parfeare une chapele de nostre Dame en lour abbeye de lacoke Quele chapele se joynt a lour haut Eglise de mesme labbeye E si serra La chapele de la longure de cynkaunte e neof pez e de la largesce de vynt e cynke e demi E serront en lavauntdite chapele quatre fenestres Ceo est asavoir en chescun gable une fenestre si large com la une est feate e chevie e lautre com elle est comencee serra bien feat e finie e en Le forein costee de lavauntdite

chapele la une soit telle com elle est feat e chevie e lautre si large com elle est comencee serra feat e finie de bone overaigue e covenable E serront les avauntdites fenestres covenablement ferrees e verrees E serra le veul mur abatuz de la poynte des deus fenestres qe furent e parerent le jour de la fesaunce de cest escript en le mur avauntdit taunke a la renge table * prochein de soutz les bas de memes les fenestres E serront deus arches feates la ou le mur issi serra abatuz si large ceo est asavoir com bien e enseurement purra estre soeffers entre les deus rachemenz † issi qe la veille voute purra estre sawne sanz peril E frount les avauntditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres feare le comble de mesme la chapele de bon merym ‡ e covenable overaygue E de tel manere coumble commenz plerra al avauntditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres E serra lavauntdite chapele ceo est asavoir le comble covert de plum bien e covenablement E serra le coumble de denz lavauntdite chapele tot bien laumbresche e depeynt E serra les deus parties de lavauntdite chapele feate e parfeate en totes overaigues com sus est dit Del jour de seynt michel en lan du regne le roy Edward filz au roi Edward neofyme de denz les vst § aunz procheinz ensuvaunt pleinementz soient acompliez E la terce partie de la chapele avauntdite serra enseurement feate e parfeate de denz les quatre annz procheinz apres les vst annz avauntditz pleinementz soient acompliez en chescune manere de overaigue com sus est dit E si lavauntdite chapele ne soit feate e parfeate e en totes overaigues chevye e finie bien e covenablement en touz poynz com sus est dit qe dieux defende aydunqe serra les avauntditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres tenuz alavauntdit monsire sire Johan ou a ses excecutours en deus cent marcs dargent Des queux deus cent marcs les avauntditz abbesse e covent ount feat e livere a monsire sire Johan Bluet de ceo un obligacion E si le overaigue avauntdite soit feate e parfeate en totes manere choses chevies e finies denz le tenps avauntdit serra labesse e covent e lour successeres quites e assoutz des deus cent marcs avauntditz compiert ‖ en une lettre al avauntditz abbesse e covent par lavauntdit monsire sire Johan de ceo feat E lavauntdit monsire sire Johan Bluet veult e graunte pur luy e pur ses heirs e pur ses excecutours qe chescune manere de covenaunt feat avaunt le jour de la fesaunce de cest escript tochaunt chescune manere de overaigue de lavaunt nomee chapele soit esteynt e tenuz pur nul [E enseurement un obligacion des deus cent marcs qe lavauntditz abbesse e covent avoient feat a monsire sire Johan Bluet avaunt la fesaunce de cest escript soit veoud e a totes gentz tenuz pur nul] ¶ E pur ceo qe les avauntdites parties voelent dunepart e dautre qe les avauntditz covenaunz en totes choses susdites soient fermes e estables A cest escript endente entrechaunjablement ** ount mys lour seals par iceaux

* Renge table, range table, probably what we call a string-course.

† Rachemenz. The sense requires some such word as buttress. I find in the *Concise Glossary of Architecture* "Ratchements of a herse, a kind of flying buttresses which spring from the corner principals and meet against the central or chief principal."

‡ This is an altered form of the Latin *materiamen*, *maremium*, or *meremium* (old French *merrien*, *marren*, &c.), signifying timber fit for building houses. (Glossarium manuale, Du Fresne, Du Cange, &c. s. v. materia.)

§ Judging from the dates given in the attached writing (see below) this word should mean *eight*.

‖ Equivalent to the Latin *compertus*.

¶ The words enclosed in brackets are erased in the original.

** This word is written, and might have been printed, *entrechauniablement* : *jour* also is written *iour* which form occurs in early printing. I am uncertain how *joynt* is written, not being able to refer to the original, so have printed *j* in all cases.

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tesmoignes Sire Wauter de pavely Sire Johan de hales sire Johan de la mare Chivalers Johan tourpyn Johan de stodleghe Johan percehaye Johan de Bourleghe e autres Done a Lacoke le Jeody procheyn apres la feste seynt bartolomeu * lan du regne le roi Edward filz au roi Edward neofyme."

Appended is a seal which is slightly injured, and on it is a shield bearing the arms of Bluet, a two-headed eagle, with the legend (SIGI)LLVM . JOHIS . BLV(ET), and two dragons filling the space between the seal and the legend.

There is the following endorsement:—

"Indentura convencionis facte inter Blewett et Abbatissam de lacok pro nova construcione Capelle beate marie intra monasterium predictum."

The following writing is attached:—

"Fait assavoir qe le temps qe remenit uncore a parfaire la chapele nostre dame amounte de la feste seint michel prochein passe Lan de la Incarnacion nostre seigneur mil . ccc . xxj. taunqe a sys annz prochein suvauntz e de mesmes la feste seint michel taunqe la feste de la translacion seint Thomas le martir apres les sys annz † Tachez ceste escrouoite al escrit qe touche mesme la matire."

TRANSLATION.

This is the covenant made between the Lady Johanna de Mounfort abbess of Lacoke and the convent of the same place of the one part, and Sir John Bluet lord of Lacham of the other part: That is to say that the aforesaid abbess and convent or their successors will cause to be made and perfected a chapel of Our Lady in their abbey of Lacoke, which chapel adjoins their high church of the same abbey; And thus shall the chapel be, of the length of fifty-nine feet and of the breadth of twenty-five and a half; And there shall be in the aforesaid chapel four windows, that is to say in each gable one window so large as the one is made and finished, and the other as it is begun shall be well made and finished, and in the further side of the aforesaid chapel let the one be such as it is made and finished, and the other so large as it is begun shall be made and finished of good and suitable work; And the aforesaid windows shall be suitably fitted with iron and glass; And the old wall shall be beaten down from the point of the two windows which were and appeared on the day of the making of this writing in the aforesaid wall as far as the range table next below the bases of the same windows; And two arches shall be made where the wall shall be beaten down so large that is to say as well and surely can be allowed between the two buttresses where the old vault can be sawn without danger; And the aforesaid abbess and convent or their successors shall cause the roof of the same chapel to be made of good timber and suitable work and a

* The feast of St. Bartholomew was the 24th of August. This, in the ninth year of Edward II., gives the date 1315.

† The time which was left for finishing the chapel, when this was written, ran from September 29th, 1321, to July 7th, 1328, (the feast of the translation of St. Thomas à Becket next after Michaelmas, 1327.)

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**roof of such kind as shall please the aforesaid abbess and convent or their successors; And the aforesaid chapel, that is to say the roof, shall be covered with lead well and suitably; And the roof within the aforesaid chapel shall be all well ceiled and painted; And the two parts of the aforesaid chapel shall be made and perfected in all works as is above said from the day of Saint Michael in the ninth year of the reign of king Edward son of king Edward, within the eight years next following fully to be accomplished; And the third part of the aforesaid chapel shall be surely made and perfected within the four years next after the eight years aforesaid fully to be accomplished, in every kind of work as is abovesaid; And if the aforesaid chapel shall not be made and perfected and in all works completed and finished well and suitably in all points as is abovesaid, which God forbid, then the aforesaid abbess and convent or their successors shall be bound to the aforesaid Sir John or to his executors in two hundred marks of silver, of which two hundred marks the aforesaid abbess and convent have made and delivered to Sir John Bluet a bond; And if the aforesaid work shall be made and perfected in all manner of things completed and finished in the time aforesaid the abbess and convent and their successors shall be quit and released from the two hundred marks aforesaid stipulated in a writing made about this by the aforesaid Sir John Bluet to the aforesaid abbess and convent; And the aforesaid Sir John Bluet wills and grants for himself and for his heirs and for his executors that every kind of agreement made before the day of the making of this writing touching every kind of work of the abovenamed chapel shall be extinguished and held for nothing. [And certainly a bond of the two hundred marks which the aforesaid abbess and convent had made to Sir John Bluet before the making of this writing shall be void and to all persons held for nothing.] * And, because the aforesaid parties will on the one part and on the other that the aforesaid covenants in all matters abovesaid may be firm and stable, they have interchangeably set their seals to this indenture by these witnesses, Sir Walter de Pavely, Sir John de Hales, Sir John de La Mare, knights, John Tourpyn, John de Stodleghe, John Percehaye, John de Bourleghe, and others. Given at Lacoke, the Thursday next after the feast of Saint Bartholomew, in the ninth year of the reign of king Edward son of king Edward.**

Endorsement:—

**Indenture of an agreement made between Blewett and the Abbess of Lacok for the new construction of a Chapel of the Blessed Mary within the aforesaid monastery.**

Writing attached:—

Done to let it be known that the time that remains yet to perfect the chapel of Our Lady amounts from the feast of Saint Michael last past, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord MCCCXXI, as far as six years next following; and from the same feast of Saint Michael as far as the feast of the translation of Saint Thomas the martyr, after the six years. Fasten this writing to the writing that touches the same matter.

* The words enclosed in brackets are erased in the original.

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# GENERAL INDEX

TO THE

# WILTSHIRE

## Archæological and Natural History Magazine,

### VOLS. IX. TO XVI.

---


Abbeston, *alias* Tichborne, Chapelry, x. 318.
Abbodeston, *or* Abbotston (Brench and Dole Hund.), xii. 14, 30, ; xiii. 115.
——— (Elstub and Everleigh Hund.) *See* Winterbourne and Rolleston.
——— (Frustfield Hund.) xiii. 117.
Abele tree (*Bot.*) xiii. 192.
Abingdon, meaning of name, xv. 95.
Aborigines of Great Britain, the, xvi. 158.
——— of Wiltshire. *See* Wiltshire, Earliest Inhabitants of.
Abury. *See* Avebury.
——— near Rood Ashton, xiii. 334.
Accat, meaning of the word, xv. 169.
Accessary, definition of an, xiv. 211.
Account-book, ancient domestic, xv. 144.
*Achillea*, (*Bot.*), x. 186.
Acleton, Free Chapel at, xii. 376.
*Acotyledones* (*Bot.*), xiv. 307.
Adams, Rev. J., xiv. 119. On the opening of a barrow near Great Shefford, xi. 137. On the Geology of the Valley of the Kennett, xi. 268.
Adams, Professor W. G., xiv. 117.
Adders-tongue (*Bot.*), xiv. 319.
Adventurers, the Merchant, ix. 142.
Æglesford, meaning of name, xv. 97.
Æthandum. *See* Ethandunum.
Afferton, Free Chapel at, xii. 380.
Aggeration, xvi. 120.
Agriculture of Wiltshire. *See* Wiltshire.
——— The use of lime, marl, and shell sand in, xiv. 116.
——— Geology in reference to, xiv. 118.
Agrimony (*Bot.*). *See* Hemp-Agrimony.
*Agrostis* (*Bot.*), xiv. 286.
*Aira* (*Bot.*), xiv. 288.
*Ajuga* (*Bot.*), xii. 103.
Akerman, J. Y., *don.*, x. 328. On the Malmesbury Charter, ix. 7. On Stonehenge, xvi. 130.
——— The late, his works, xiv. 235.
Alberye. *See* Avebury.
Alcadæ (*Ornith.*), xii. 168.
Aldborne, *or* Aldburn, xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 99.


Digitized by Google

plate and bells, xii. 364. Monumental brasses, x. 255; xii. 138. 339. Illustration of, xi. 245. Chantry, x. 255. Fraternity of our Lady, xii. 379.

Aldborne, *or* Aldburn, Hayne of, ix. 226. Walrond of, ix. 231.

Alder (*Bot.*), xiii. 195.

Alderbury *or* Alwardbury, x. 317; xii. 8. Meaning of word, xiii. 45. Dedication of Church, xv. 99. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.

——— Hundred of, xii. 369.

Alderholt, starling of, ix. 230.

Alderman, the, of Wokingham, xi. 52, 58.

Alderston, xiii. 117. Meaning of the name, xiii. 45.

Alderton *or* Aldrington. xiii. 117; xiv. 1. Dedication of Church, xv. 99. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.

Aldrington (Worc.), Slate tablet found at, x. 109.

Ale-conner, office of. xii. 271.

*Alias.* Ancient use of word, xi. 59; xvi. 311.

Alien Priories, x. 272, 275, 299, 313.

*Alisma*, *Alismaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 72.

Alkanet, (*Bot.*), xi. 238.

Allan, Rev. W., on the Roman Embankment at Cricklade, xii. 126.

All Cannings. *See* Cannings.

Allington *or* Alington, near Amesbury, xii. 7, 23. Dedication of Church, xv. 99. Church plate and bells, xii. 370. Registers, xvi. 315.

——— near Chippenham, xii. 22. Chapelry at, x. 256. House, xii. 267.

——— in All Cannings Parish, xi. 10; xii. 17; xiii. 111. History of, xi. 194.

*Allium* (*Bot.*), xiii. 218.

All Saints, Churches dedicated to, xv. 106.

Allsop, Dr., xiv. 26.

Almery, the, Cirencester, xiv. 225.

*Alnus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 195.

*Alopecurus* (*Bot.*), xiv. 282.

Alton *or* Aulton, xiv. 344. Chapelry, xii. 376.

——— Barnes *or* Berners, xii. 16; xiii. 111. Origin of name, xi. 9. Dedication of the Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. White Horse, xiv. 27.

——— Priors, xii. 12. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Free Chapel at, x. 256; xii. 379. Boulton of, ix. 225.

——— near Figheldean, xii. 7.

Alvediston *or* Ashton, xii. 11. Meaning of name, xiii. 45. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chantry at, x. 256. Visited by Society 1865, x. 30.

Alveston, near Bradford, xiii. 113.

Alwardsbury, Hundred of, xii. 7.

Amaranth, *Amarantus*, *Amarantaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 331.

Amber ornaments found in barrows, xvi. 180.

Ambiani, xvi. 129.

Ambres, meaning of word, xvi. 132.

Ambresbury. *See* Amesbury.

Ambrosians. the, xvi. 132.

Ambrosius, Aurelianus, xiv. 270.

Ambry, meaning of the word, xii. 288.

*Amentiferæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 189.

Amesbury *or* Ambresbury, xvi. 185. Hundred of, xii. 6, 370. Meaning of name, xiv. 174; xvi. 11. Monastery at, x. 61. Inventory, xii. 356. Chapelry, x. 256. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 370. Drawings from, x. 38.

Ammeracre, xiii. 323.

Ammonites, some new, xiv. 112.

Amphitheatre, the, Cirencester, xiv. 150.


Digitized by Google

Ampney, meaning of the name, xiv. 161.
——— Down. Tomb of Sir N. de Villars, at, xiv. 127. Hungerfords of, *ib.* 128. Gateway at, *ib.* Visited by Society, *ib.* 140.
Ampullæ (with illustration), x. 106.
*Anacharis* (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
*Anagallis* (*Bot.*), xii. 328.
*Anatidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 153.
*Ancylocera* (*Geol.*), xiv. 113.
Anglesea penny, the, x. 323.
Animal forms used as national symbols, xiv. 12.
Anstie, E. B., *don.*, xiii. 344.
Anstie, T. B., *exh.*, xv. 139.
Ansty, Preceptory of St. John at, x. 256. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
*Anthemis* (*Bot.*), x. 187.
*Anthoxanthum* (*Bot.*), xiv. 281.
Anticlinal line of London and Hampshire basins, xiv. 111.
Antiquities, preservation of national, xiii. 14.
*Antirrhinum* (*Bot.*), xii. 78.
Antrobus, Sir Edmund, xvi. 239.
*Apargia* (*Bot.*) x. 204.
Apaturian festival, the, xvi. 303.
Apice family, the, ix. 224.
*Apocynaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 227.
Apple, derivation of word, ix. 66.
April, proverbs respecting, xv. 48, 53, 65, 67.
*Aquilifoliaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 224.
*Araceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 76.
*Araliaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 252.
Archæology, the province of, xv. 140. Utility of, *ib.* 129.
Archery, statutes of Q. Elizabeth respecting, xiv. 214.
*Arctium* (*Bot.*), x. 195.
*Ardeidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 55.
*Aristolochiaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 343.
Armada, preparations for the Spanish, xiv. 243.
Arms and descents, Wiltshire, ix. 223.
*Arrhenatherum* (*Bot.*), xiv. 291.
Arrow-grass, (*Bot.*), xiv. 74.
Arrow-head (*Bot.*), xiv. 72.
Arscott, Richard, xv. 30.
*Artemisia* (*Bot.*), x. 190.
Arum (*Bot.*), xiv. 76.
Arundell, Lord, xiii. 21.
Asarbacca, *Asarum* (*Bot.*) xii. 343.
Ascension Day, proverb respecting, xv. 65.
Ash, meaning of word in composition, xiv. 157.
Ash (*Bot.*), xi. 226. Sanctity of the, xiv. 19. Superstition connected with, xiv. 323. Proverb respecting, xv. 54. Specimens in Wiltshire, x. 149.
Ashdown, xiv. 17. Meaning of the name, xv. 81.
Ashford, meaning of the name, xiv. 167.
Ashgrove, meaning of the name, xv. 81.
Ashley family, the, ix. 224.
Ashley, Ashleigh, *or* Assheley, xvi. 342. "*Hungfords*," xiii. 117. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Supposed chapelry at, x. 257.
Ashlington *or* Ashington, xi. 175. *See also* Etchilhampton.
Ashton, xii. 26. Meaning of name, xv. 81. (Brench and Dole Hund.), xiii. 115. (Heytesbury Hund.), *ib.*
——— East *or* Sulden, *q.v.*
——— Gifford *or* Giffard, xii. 27; xiii. 331. Origin of name, xiii. 55.
——— Hurdcotes, xiii. 335.
——— Keynes, xii. 20. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 362.
——— Market *or* Steeple, *q.v.*
——— Middle, xiii. 335.
——— Rood *or* Chapel, x. 301; xii. 377; xiii. 323. Meaning of name, xiii. 332. Canon Jackson on, xiii. 318.



Digitized by Google

Ashton Saucères, xiii. 335.
——— Steeple, xiii. 116, 310, 325. Meaning of name, x. 310; xiii. 324. Analysis of parish property at, xiii. 329; xv. 87. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Beach Chapel, x. 309. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Monumental brases, xiii. 327. Analysis of coral rag at, xiv. 109. Thunderbolt fell at, 1772, xiii. 316.
——— Sulden, Silden, *or* East, xiii. 335.
——— West, xiii. 116, 331. Dedication of Church, xv. 100.
*Asparagaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 213.
Aspen (*Bot.*), xiii. 193.
Asphodel (*Bot.*), xiv. 68.
*Asplenium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 315.
Asserton or Asherton. *See* Winterbourn Parva.
Assessments, ancient, Mr. R. Mullings on, xiv. 134.
Assize of bread and butter, xiii. 112, *et sqq.*
Assyrian megaliths, how moved, x. 53.
*Asteroidea* (*Geol.*), xiv. 117.
Aston. *See* Alvediston.
*Athyrium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 315.
Atford *or* Apford, Gunter of, ix. 226.
Atrebatti, the, xiv. 335.
*Atriplex* (*Bot.*), xii. 334.
Atropa (*Bot.*), xi. 240.
Atworth, xii. 25; xiii. 118. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Aubrea *or* Aubree. *See* Avebury.
Aubrey, meaning of name, xiii. 51. Family, the, ix. 224.
——— John, x. 29; xiii. 122, 335; xiv. 1. Prospectus of his work, xvi. 219.
Auckland, St. Helen's Church, xvi. 314.
August, proverbs respecting, xv. 55.
Auk (*Ornith.*), xii. 165.
Aurelius, xvi. 11.
*Auriculaceæ* (*Conch.*), ix. 280.
Austen. *See* Godwin-Austen.
Aveburye. Alberye, *or* Aubree, xii. 19, 364; xv. 248, 9; xvi. 221, 341. Meaning of name, xiv. 254.
——— Excavations at, in 1865, x. 210. Weight of stones, xi. 344. Entrenchment near, xi. 344. Resemblance to Carnac, xiii. 89. Threatened desecration, xiii. 221. The avenues, xvi. 5. The British Quarterly Review on, xii. 242. The Athenæum on, xii. 248. Archæological varia respecting, xiv. 228.
——— Priory at, x. 257. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Benefactions to, xii. 382. Lithograph of arches in, x. 176. Free Chapel at Beckhampton, xii. 380. Fragments of parochial history, x. 176, Registers, xvi. 327. The Manor House, xi. 243.
Aveline, W. T., xiv. 115, 116.
*Avena* (*Bot.*), xiv. 290.
Avening, xv. 94. Meaning of name, xiv. 161.
Avens (*Bot.*), ix. 62.
Averages, value of, xvi. 335.
Avesbye, misreading for Ansty.
Avington, xi. 137. Visited by the Society, xi. 137.
Avon, river, meaning of name, xiv. 160.
Avon *or* Aven, free Chapelry at, x. 257.
Awborne. *See* Aldbourne.
Awdry, Rev. E. C., on monumental brasses near Chippenham, xii. 148, 233. *Exh.* xv. 138.
——— Sir John Wither, xvi. 346. President, x. 3. At Hungerford, xi. 121. Inaugural Address, xi. 123. Requested to retain presidency, xi. 345. At Chippenham, xii. 133. Address, xii. 135. Speech, xii. 143. At Devizes, xiii. 221.
Axe, meaning of name, xiv. 167.

Digitized by Google

Axford *or* Ashrugge, xii. 18. Meaning of name, xiv. 167. Chapelry at, x. 258.
Axmouth, meaning of name, xiv. 167.
Aylesbury, Frances, ix. 284.
Aylesford, meaning of name, xiv. 253.
Aylmer and Amor, xvi. 320.
Ayscough, Bishop William, ix. 224; xiii. 297.
Baalbec, x. 58.
Babeton, xiii. 114.
Babstock, xii. 369.
Bachelors, tax on, xvi. 326.
Backsword fighting, xi. 33.
Bacon's Liber Regis, xv. 99.
Badger old meaning of word, xiv. 215.
Bad meat, fine for selling, xiii. 112. *et sqq.*
Badpitt, misreading for Tidpitt.
Baggsbush, meaning of name, xiv. 256.
Baily, Rev. H. G., xiv. 131.
Bailiff of a Hundred, Office of, xiii. 283.
Bakyngton. *See* Beckhampton.
Baldamus, Dr., x. 117.
Baleclyffe. *See* Baycliff.
Balen, bastard (*Bot.*), xii. 98.
Balks. *See* Lynchets.
Ball, J., *exh.*, xv. 138.
*Ballota* (*Bot.*), xii. 102.
Bannister, Mr., *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Baptismal Registers, xvi. 301.
Bapton, Ellis of, ix. 225.
Barbadoes, the Colony of, xv. 36.
Barbury Camp, visited by the Society, xii. 150. Meaning of name, xiv. 256.
Barebones, Act, the, xvi. 315.
Barford, xii. 11; xiii. 113. Meaning of name, xiv. 169. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Barker, R. H., *exh.*, xi. 139.
——— W. H., *exh.*, xi. 139.
——— W. L., on Fish Culture, xi. 137, 252. On Hungerford, xi. 134, 140.
Barkstone, Registers, xvi. 309.
Barlavington, meaning of name, xv. 95.
Barlegh. *See* Berlegh.
Barley (*Bot.*), xiv. 305.
Barncourt. *See* Whiteparish.
Barnacles, legend of the, xii. 155.
Barneston, Rev. Preb., ix. 224.
Barnard, T., *exh.*, x. 37.
Barnwell, Rev. E. L., xiii. 274; xvi. 346.
Baron family, the, ix., 224. Rev. J. *exh.*, ix. 24.
Barrett family, the, ix. 224.
Barretta, meaning of word, xiv. 214.
Barrey, H. G., *exh.*, xv. 139.
Barrows at Beckhampton, xv. 137. Bedwin, xi. 342. Bittiston, *ib.* Bratton, xiii. 339. Collingbourne Ducis, with illustrations, x. 85. Draycot Cerne, xi. 343. Draycot Hill, xi. 42. Fyfield, xi. 47. Hackpen, xi. 342, 343. Imber, xiv. 259. Kennett, West, with illustrations, x. 130. Knowl Hill, xvi. 151. Lake, xvi. 213. Lundy Island, xvi. 156. Milston, xvi. 150. Oldbury Hill, xiii. 103; xv. 137. Pistle Down, xi. 44 (note); xvi. 201. Roundway, ix. 25; xv. 137. Salisbury Plain, on, xvi. 142. Shefford, Great, xi. 137. Stockton Down, xii. 108. Stonehenge, near, xi. 40, 342, 343; xvi. 1. Tilshead, xiii. 341. Upton Lovell, xvi. 172, 183, 184. Walker's Hill, xi. 45. Wilsford Down, xvi. 211. Winterbourne Stoke, xi. 42; xvi. 159, 193, 215.
——— Bell-shaped, xvi. 161. Woodcut of ditto, 149. Bowl-shaped, xvi. 160. Woodcut of ditto, 149. Classification of, xvi. 149. Contents of, ix. 25. Disc-shaped, xvi. 163; woodcut of ditto, 149. Ell-barrow, meaning of

Digitized by Google

name, xiv. 342. Gawen's, xvi. 143. Kill-barrow, xiv. 259. Kings' graves, xi. 343. Long, as distinguished from round, Dr. Thurnam on, xiii. 309, 339. Number of in England, xvi. 150. Reverence required in digging, xv. 91. Silver, the, xiv. 342. Twin, the, *ib.* Wiltshire, how differing from those of other counties, x. 86.
Bartley, O., xiv. 110.
Barton, the, Cirencester, xiv. 142. Meaning of word, xv. 74.
Barwick Bassett. *See* Berwick Bassett.
Basil (*Bot.*), xii. 96.
Basilicas, early, xiii. 95.
Baskerville family, the, ix. 224, 225.
Bateman, Mr., xvi. 155.
Bath, the Baths of, xvi. 14. Oolitic District of, xiv. 111. Proceedings of Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, xi. 347.
Bathampton, xiii. 115.
Battlesbury, xiv. 342.
Baverstock, dedication of Church, xv. 100.
Baycliff, Baylecliff, *or* Baylesclyve, xii. 27, 379; xiii. 115.
Baydon *or* Bedon, xii. 18. Roman Station at, x. 104. Plan of ditto, 105. Implements found, 106,107, Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Bayley family, the xi. 193. Christopher, xiv. 33.
Baynard family, the, ix. 224.
Baynton *or* Bayntun family, the, xi. 17. Sir Edward, xi. 292; xv. 325. Henry, xiii. 234.
——— Chapelry, x. 258.
Beaces-hlæw, xv. 93. Beach family, the, xi. 259—60; xiii. 331.
Beacon Hill, Amesbury, xi. 266.
Beacons, the, xiv. 244, 251.
Beads found in barrows, xvi. 180. Lithograph of ditto, ix. 115; xvi. 183.
Beak-rush, (*Bot.*), xiv. 82.
Beamish, Captain, xvi. 86.
Beam-tree, the (*Bot.*), ix. 66.
Beauchamp family, the, xi. 17.
——— chapel at Bromham, x. 162.
Beaumont, E. de, his theory, xiv. 111.
Beaver, jaw-bone of a, (wood-cut) xi. 182.
Becket family, the, ix. 125.
Beckhampton *or* Backyngton, xii. 19, 27. Free Chapelry, xii. 376. 380.
Beckingham family, the, ix. 224.
Beckington, (Somerset,) x. 241.
Bedell of a Hundred, office of, xiii. 283.
Bedon. *See* Baydon.
Bedstraw (*Bot.*), ix. 260.
Bedwyn, xii. 14; xiv. 344. Meaning of name, xiv. 175.
——— Brail, xv. 150.
——— Great *or* West. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Chapelries at, x. 258. Registers, xvi. 325.
——— Little *or* East, xii. 15. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefaction to, xii. 382. Chisbury Chapel at, xii. 379. Registers, xvi. 325.
Beech (proper name), xv. 93.
Beech (*Bot.*), xiii. 195. Specimens at Corhampton, x. 144. Savernake, x. 141.
Beech-fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 310.
Beechingstoke, Bychyngstoke, *or* Stoke, xii. 16; xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xv. 78. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Bees, proverb respecting, xv. 58. Superstition as to, xiv. 329.
Belemnites, Christian Malford, xiv. 112. Trowbridge, xiv. 113.
Belgæ, The, xiv. 334; xvi. 102, 170.
Bell, Professor, xiv. 117.

Digitized by Google

Bells, Church, All Cannings, xi. 16. Ockingham, xi. 73. Potterne, xvi. 282. (*See also* Inventories of Church goods throughout Wiltshire, xii. 354.)
Bellers, Captain, *exh.*, ix. 26.
Bell-flower (*Bot.*), xi. 219.
Bell-ringing, Gane's bequest for, x. 30.
*Bellis* (*Bot.*), x. 182.
Bemerton, xii. 13; xiii. 115. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Benachie, clay cup found at, xii. 125.
Benacre, Daniel of, ix. 225.
Beneknolle. *See* Binknoll.
Benneger *or* Berenger family, the, ix. 224.
Bennet, Miss E., xiv. 111.
Bennet and Clench. Messrs, *exh.*, x. 37.
Benson, E. G., *exh.* x. 34.
Bent-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 286.
Bentley Wood, intended monastery at, x. 259.
*Beorh* or *Berg* (Teut.), meaning of word, xv. 76.
Bere, meaning of name, xiv. 169.
Berenger. *See* Benneger.
Bergavenny, George Cantilupe, Baron of, xiii. 230.
*Berie* (Teut.), meaning of termination, xv. 77.
Berkeley, xv. 250.
Berkshire, meaning of name, xiv. 175.
Berlegh Chapel, x. 260, 322.
Berley's *or* Barley's Courts, Wraxhall, xiv. 106.
Bernecourt. *See* Whiteparish.
Berrelege, lost manor of, x. 170.
Berwick, Teutonic origin of name, xiv. 158. Dedication of Churches, xv. 100.
——— Bassett, xii. xv. 248. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
——— St. James, xii. 14; xiii. 113. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Benefactions to Church, xii. 382. Free Chapel at Afferton, xii. 380.
Berwick St. John, x. 30; xii. 11; xiii. 113. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
——— St. Leonard, *or* Cole Barwike, Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Beryfield, meaning of name, xv. 78.
Besil family, the, ix. 224.
Betony, water (*Bot.*), xii. 81.
——— wood (*Bot.*), xii. 101.
*Betula* (*Bot.*), xiii. 194.
Bever, Mr., xv. 35.
Beversbrook, xii. 25. Chapelry, x. 260.
Beynton. *See* Baynton.
Bible, ancient copies of the, ix. 24.
Biby, J., xiii. 139.
Biddeston *or* Budestone, xii. 21. Dedication of Churches, xv. 100. One Church destroyed, x. 260. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Free Chapel, xii. 380. Munday of, ix. 228. Thynne of, ix. 230.
*Bidens* (*Bot.*), x. 185.
Biggs family, the, xii. 121. Pedigree of, xii. 202. Doctor, *exh.*, ix. 27.
Bindweed (*Bot.*), xi. 231.
Bingham, Bishop, ix. 224.
Binknoll, Beneknolle, *or* Bynoll, xii. 21; xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xiv. 256. Chapelry at, x. 261.
Birch, W. de G., F.R.S.L., on Stanley Abbey, xv. 239.
Birch (*Bot.*), xiii. 194.
Birchington, Registers, xvi. 308.
Bird family, the, ix. 224. E., R.A., painting by, ix. 23.
Birds, list of Wiltshire, xii. 179. *See also* ornithological collections.
Birdcombe. *See* Burcomb.
Birdlyme. *See* Burgelon.
Bird's nest (*Bot.*), xi. 223; xiii. 209.
Birgheston. *See* Brixton Deverell.
Birth, seven children born at a, xv. 348.
Bishops, suffragan. *See* Suffragans.

Digitized by Google

Bishops Cannings. *See* Cannings.
Bishopston, meaning of name, xiii. 46.
——— *or* Bussipston, xii. 18 21. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Monumental brass, x. 239. Chapel, x. 264.
——— *or* Ebbesbourn, x.25 ; xiv. 162, 337. Church, x. 236. Dedication of, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Bishopstrow, xi. 180 ; xii. 28 ; xiii. 114. Meaning of name, xiii. 46 ; xiv. 158 ; xv. 96. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Biss (River), xv. 210. Meaning of name, xiv. 169.
Bisset family, the, xiii. 333.
Bissey, meaning of name, xiv. 169.
Bitter-sweet (*Bot.*) xi. 240.
Bittern (*Ornith.*), xii. 57.
Bittiston, xi. 342.
Blachegrave, hundred of. *See* Blakingrove.
Black, W. H.. F.S.A., on certain marked stones in Wiltshire, xi. 135.
Blackdown *or* Blakedun, xv. 248.
Blacklands *or* Blacklonde, xii. 25. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Benefactions to, xii. 382.
——— Park, large oak in, x. 147.
Blackmore, H., *exh.*, x. 38.
——— H. P., M.D., x. 6 ; xiv. 117, 118, 119. *Exh.* x. 35. On the recent discovery of flint implements in the valley of the Avon, x. 221. W., *exh.*, 35. Mrs., *exh.*, x. 36.
——— Museum, conversazione at the, 1870, xiii. 32.
Bladder-fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 314.
Bladder-wort (*Bot.*), xii. 325.
Blague *or* Blake family, the, ix.224.
Blakelonde. *See* Blacklands.
Blakingrove *or* Blachegrave, Hundred of, xii.21. Meaning of name, xv. 84.
*Blechnum* (*Bot.*), xiv. 317.
Bleeck, C., *exh.* ix. 24.
Blinks (*Bot.*), ix. 73.
Blister, story of a, xiv. 326.
Blite (*Bot.*), xii. 332.
Blount family, the, ix. 224. Origin of, xi. 181. Meaning of name, xvi. 253. Thomas, xiv. 106.
Blue-bell (*Bot.*), xiii. 218.
Blue Boar, the, Salisbury, xv. 331.
Blue-bottle (*Bot.*), x. 197.
Blue-cap, great (*Bot.*), ix. 266.
Bluet, *or* Blewett family, the, x. 288. Sir J., xvi. 350.
Blunsdon *or* Blunteston, xv. 251. Ferrers of, ix. 226.
——— Broad, *or* St. Leonard's, xii. 19. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— St. Andrew, xii. 20. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Blunt, meaning of name, xiii. 51.
Blysmus (*Bot.*), xiv. 85.
Blythe, Bishop John, ix. 224.
Boar-hunting, xv. 148.
Bodenham, meaning of name, xiv. 175.
Bodman, J., History of Trowbridge, xv. 208.
Bog-bean (*Bot.*), xi. 230.
Bogey, meaning of word, xiv. 337.
Bogmore gate, Salisbury, xi. 287.
Bohun family, the, xv. 214. Humphrey de, xiii. 293. Matilda de, xv. 214.
Bokerley Ditch *or* Dyke, xi. 264 ; xiv. 175, 334, 336 ; xvi. 104.
Bokesey. *See* Wokesey.
Bolam, Mr., *don.*, xiv. 120.
"Bolt soon shot," the, xvi. 40.
Bonhommes, the, xiii. 310.
Bonleigh, misreading for Roucleigh. *See* Rockley.

Digitized by Google

Books, old and curious, ix. 24, 25, 26; x. 33, 35, 37, 38; xi. 139. At Longleat, xv. 337.
Berage, *Borago* (*Bot.*), xi. 234.
*Boraginaceæ*, xi. 233.
Bordar, meaning of term, xi. 142.
Borde, Dr. Andrew, xvi. 17.
Boreham, Dedication of Church, xv. 105.
——— Down, xiv. 342.
*Bos longifrons*, x. 103. *Primigenius*, skull and humerus of (woodcut), xi. 283—4.
Boscombe *or* Bosomme, meaning of name, xiv. 175. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Boteler, Colonel, xiii. 125, 133, *et sqq.*
Botreaux, Lady Margaret, xi. 289.
*Botrychium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 319.
Bottomless-well, meaning of name, xvi. 247.
Boulham. *See* Burghlen.
Boulton family, the, ix. 225.
Boundaries, permanence of, in Wiltshire, x. 166. In Estates, xi. 178.
Boundary Stone, xiv. 128.
Bounder, meaning of the word, x. 174.
Bouverie, E. P., xv. 122.
Bow, the long, xiv. 212.
Bowden *or* Botenedon, xv. 250. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Chapel in Manor House, x. 261.
Bowerbank, J. S., xiv. 112.
Bower Chalke. *See* Chalke.
Bowles, Rev. W. L., on Stonehenge, xvi. 63.
Bowls, an unlawful game, xiv. 212.
Bowood, xii. 306.
Bowyer Family, the, ix. 225.
Box, xii. 22; xiii. 117; xiv. 344. Origin of name, xii. 346. Geology, with illustrations, xi. 316, 19. Mode of working quarries, xi. 321. Cutting of Tunnel, xi. 329. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
——— Brook, the, xiv. 271.
Boxham, a misreading for Foxham, *q.v.*
Boyd, C. xiv. 109.
Boyton, xii. 27; xiii. 115. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chantry x. 261. Chapel x. 273.
Brace, supposed slate, (with lithograph) (*Archery*), x. 110.
*Brachiopoda*, fossil, xiv. 113, 114, 116.
*Brachypodium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 304.
Bracken (*Bot.*), xiv. 318.
Bradbury, Mr. *don.* xii. 258. E., *don.* xv. 237.
Bradenstoke, x. 268; xv. 248. Meaning of name, xv. 78. Visited 1869, xii. 150. The Abbey or Priory, x. 261; xv. 325. Property of the, x. 268, 284, 291, 306, 321; xi. 198. Dedication of modern Church, xv. 101.
Bradfield, Chapelry at, x. 261.
Bradford, Capt., *exh.* xv. 138.
Bradford-on-Avon, meaning of name xiii. 299; xv. 80. Hundred of, xii. 25, 365; xiii. 118. History of town, xiii. 299. Excursion to, 1865, xiv. 118. Visited by Society 1872, xiii. 312. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantry, xii, 375. Ancient ecclesiastical buildings, x. 261. Saxon Church of St. Lawrence (with illustrations), xiii. 222, 274, 287; xvi. 345. Chapel, of St. Mary Tony, xiii. 313. Rectory and Vicarage, xv. 223. Hermitage, xiv. 102. Skull-house. xvi. 348. Besil of, ix. 224. Bird of, *ibid.* Rogers of, ix. 229.
——— Geology of Valley of, xi. 321. Oolitic formation near, xiv. 111.
Bradley *or* Bradlegh, meaning of name, xv. 80.
——— Maiden, xii. 26. Dedica-



Digitized by Google

tion of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chantry, x. 292; xii. 375. Baycliffe free Church, xii. 379. Chapelry, x. 287. Redish of, ix. 229.
—— North, xiii. 116, 294; xiv. 31. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chantry, x. 262; xii, 378. Southwick Chapel, x. 307.
Bramshaw, x. 167. Meaning of name, xv. 81. Dedication of Church, xv. 100.
Bransdown, meaning of name, xiv. 256.
Brasses, Monumental: Aldbourne, x. 255; xi. 138, 339. Bishopstone, x. 239. Dauntsey, xii. 239. Draycot Cerne, xii. 237. Laycock, xii. 238. Steeple Ashton, xiii. 327.
—— near Chippenham, Rev. E. C. Awdry on, xii, 233.
Bratton, xii. 26; xiii. 116. Meaning of name, xv. 80. Visited by the Society, 1872, xiii. 309. Old White Horse, xiv. 22. Modern do., xiv. 25. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Benefactions, xii. 382.
Bravender, Mr., xiv. 150.
Breachfield, xi. 108.
Breamore, meaning of name, xiv. 158, 172.
Bremelham, Dedication of Church at, xv. 100.
Bremhill, xii. 22. Bowles's History of, ix. 6; xv. 239. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Registers, xvi. 315, 326. Narborne of, ix. 228. Taylor family of, ix. 230.
Brench and Dole, Hundred of, xii. 366; xiii. 114.
Brenchill. *See* Bremhill.
Bribery at Elections, xi 87, 89; xii. 266.
Brictric, xv. 213.
Bridsor, meaning word, xiv. 170.
Brigmerston *or* Brigmilston, xii. 7. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Brinkworth, xii. 23. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Briontune Priory, x. 262.
Brisbane, Bishop of, *don.* xv. 132.
Bristol, xv. 250.
Bristow, H. W., xiv. 115, 117.
Britcomb *or* Brytcomb, xiii. 113.
Britford, ix. 10; xii. 10; xiii. 118; xiv. 274; xv. 224. Meaning of name, xiv. 256. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
British village on Martinsell, the, ix. 22.
Britons, the Ancient. *See* Wiltshire, the earliest inhabitants of.
Britton, J., xiv. 108. On Stonehenge, xvi. 51.
Brittox, meaning of name, ix. 39.
Brixton *or* Bryghteston Deverell, xii. 27. Meaning of name, xiii. 47. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
*Briza* (*Bot.*), xiv. 297.
Broad Chalke. *See* Chalke.
Broad Hinton. *See* Hinton.
Broadsheets, old, x. 35.
Broadtown, xiii. 112. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. White Horse, xiv. 28.
Brodie, Rev. P. B., xiv. 111, 112, 113, 114, 118.
Broke, Lord, xiii. 294.
Broke Hall. *See* Broke House.
Brokenborough, xii. 24; xv. 93. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
*Bróm.*, *Angl. Sax.*, xv. 82.
Brome-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 301.
Bromham, xi. 25; xiv. 344. Meaning of name, xv. 82. Mr. Talbot's Notes on, xv. 350. Liberty of, xii. 365. Church, ix. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church bells, xii. 365. Chantry, xii. 377. Beau-

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champ Chapel, x. 263. Font, xiii. 327. Old timber houses, xv. 320.
——— House or Hall, ix. 38; xii. 305; xv.325 (with anastatic illustration).
*Bromus (Bot.)*, xiv. 301.
Bronze Age, the, xiii. 24, 26, 340.
———Implements. *See* Implements.
———Relics (Roman), xiv. 187.
Brooks, always named in old times, xiv. 166.
Brook House, Rev. E. Peacock on, xiv. 31. Visited by Society, 1872, xiii. 308. The Farm, xiii. 295.
Brook-lime (*Bot.*), xii. 86.
Brook-weed (*Bot.*), xii. 330.
Broom-rape (*Bot,*), xii. 73.
Broome, long stone at, xi. 341.
Broughton *or* Browton Gifford, ix. 227; x. 241; xii. 25; xiii. 118. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Benefactions, xii. 381. Rectory, xv. 225.
Brown, G. x. 209; xiii. 222. J., xiv. 115; *don.* xiii. 344; *exh.* x. 36. Mrs. J., *exh.* xi. 138. W., *don.*, xiv. 120.
Browne family, the, ix. 224, 230; xvi. 311. H., xvi. 77, 233.
Browne-Willis's Parochiale Anglicanum, xv. 99.
Bruce, meaning of name, xiii. 52.
Brydges, Sir John, xv. 147.
Bryony (*Bot.*), ix. 73.
——— black (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
Buchalk. *See* Chalke, Bower.
Buchanan, Ven. Archdeacon, xvi. 346.
Buckland, Professor W., xiv. 110, 111, 112.
Bucklebury Common, xi. 274.
Buckley, General, xiv. 122.
Buckman, Professor J., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., xiv. 115, 118. On the Flora of Silbury, ix. 158. On the Roman remains at Latton, ix. 230. On the Materials of Querns, ix. 291. On the Geology of Wiltshire, xi. 333.
Buckstalls, meaning of word, xiv. 212.
Buckwheat, climbing (*Bot.*), xii. 340.
Buddhist origin of Stonehenge, theory of, xvi. 101.
Bugle (*Bot.*), xii. 103.
Bugloss, Wild (*Bot.*), xi. 234.
"Builder" newspaper, the, xi. 321.
Builder's estimate, an old, xv. 329.
Bulbridge. *See* Bullbridge.
Bulea Chapel, x. 263.
Bulford. *See* Bullford.
Bulkington, *or* Bukkington, xii. 29. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Bull, Messrs. H. F. & E., *exh.*, xv. 138. H, *exh.*, ix., 27.
Bullbridge *or* Bulbridge, dedication of Church, xv. 100. Chantry, x. 263.
Bullen, Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire, ix. 225.
Bullford, xii. 6; xvi. 75. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
——— *or* Bulford House, x. 38.
Bull ring, the Cirencester, xiv. 150.
Bulrush (*Bot.*), xiv. 72.
Bunce family, the, ix. 225.
Burbage *or* Burbage Savage, xii. 15; xvi. 312. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Seymour Chapel, x. 264. Tenure of manor, xiii. 55. Chadwell of, ix. 225.
Burcombe *or* Bridcombe, xii. 13; xiii. 115. Meaning of name, xiv. 172. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Burderop, Martin of, ix. 228.
Burdlyme. *See* Burgelon.
Burdock (*Bot.*), x. 195.
Burdon's Ball Chapel, x. 264.
Burgelon, Burghlen, Boulham, *or* Birdlyme Free Chapel, x. 264; xii. 376, 380.
Burials, Registers of, xvi. 301.



Digitized by Google

Burmarigold (*Bot.*), x. 185.
Burnell Bassett, xii. 382.
Burnet Saxifrage (*Bot.*), ix. 243.
Burnevale Chapel, x. 293.
Burport Chapel, xii. 377.
Bur-reed (*Bot.*), xiv. 75.
Burrell, Sir W., xvi. 309.
Burrows, W., *exh.*, ix. 26.
Bursted, xvi. 317.
Burtford. *See* Britford.
Burton, R., on Stonehenge, xvi. 40.
——— Regis, xii. 18.
——— Hill Chapel, x. 293.
*Buruh* or *Burh* (Teut.), meaning of word, xv. 76.
Bush, J., *exh.*, xv. 139. W., xiv. 33.
Bushel, ancient Winchester, x. 32.
Bushton *or* Bussipston. *See* Bishopstone.
Bustard, the Great, xv. 138; xvi. 140, 228. Woodcut of, xvi. 240.
Butcher, H., *don.*, xiii. 223, 287; *exh.*, xv. 138. W. H., xiv. 120.
Butcher's-broom (*Bot.*), xiii. 215.
Butler, G., x. 174.
*Butomus* (*Bot.*), xiv. 73.
Butterbur (*Bot.*), x. 181.
Buttermere, Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Butterwort (*Bot.*), xii. 324.
Button family, the, xiii. 334. *See also* ix., 225.
Butts(*Archery*), provision for public, xii. 269.
Bychyngstoke. *See* Beechingstoke.
Bynoll. *See* Binknoll.
*Byrgian* (Angl. Sax.), meaning of word, xv. 91.
*Byrig* (Teut.), meaning of word, xv. 76.
Cadenham *or* Cadnam, meaning of name, xiv. 173. Manor House, xii. 152; xv. 325. Hungerford, of, ix. 226, 227.
Cadeworth. *See* Cadworth.
Cadleston. *See* Coulston.
Cadley, meaning of name, xiv. 173; xvi. 251.
Cadnam. *See* Cadenham.
Cadworth *or* Cadsworth, Hundred of, xii. 10, 369; xiii. 112.
——— and Cawdon, meaning of names, xiv. 176.
Cæderburg, old name for Malmesbury, xiv. 157, 257.
Calais, ix. 150. Residents at, xv. 346.
*Calamagostris* (*Bot.*), xiv, 285.
Calamist, *Calamintha* (*Bot.*), xii. 95.
Caldecote, xv. 253.
Call ey, O., xiv. 184.
*Callitriche*, *Callitricaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 347.
Calloes *or* Cayllewaye. *See* Titherton.
*Calluna* (*Bot.*), xi. 221.
Callwood, meaning of name, xiv. 176.
Calne *or* Coln, xv. 251, 252, 253; xvi. 134. Meaning of name, xiv. 176. Hundred of, xii. 24. St. Mary's Church, Dedication of, xv. 100. Benefactions to, xii. 382. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chantries at, x. 264; xii. 375. Registers, xvi. 306. St. Mary Magdalene's Church, xii. 375. Free Chapel, xii. 378. Hospital of St. John, xii. 374. Narbone of, ix. 228. The clothiers of, xii. 306.
Calestone *or* Calestun, xii. 25; xv. 248, 257. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Calton family, the, ix. 225.
Cam, meaning of name, xiv. 164.
Camden, xvi. 20. On Stonehenge, xvi. 218.
Camomile. *See* Chamomile.
Camps, British. Barbury, xii. 150. Codford, xi. 343. Hackpen, *ib.* Sidbury, *ib.* Danish. Chiselbury, *ib.* Fripsbury, 342. Roman,

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Amesbury, 343. Badbury, *ib.* Brinbury, *ib.* Temple-down, *ib.*
*Campanula*, *Campanulaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 218, 219.
Canary Grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 280.
Candlemas Day, superstition respecting, xv. 64, 65.
Caneford. *See* Straford.
Cane Hill, xi. 4. Meaning of name, xiv. 196; xv. 94.
Canning, W., xiv. 27.
Cannings, xiv. 344. Meaning of name, xv. 94. Hundred of, xii. 18.
——— All, xiii. 111. Mr. Methuen's History of, xi. 1, 175. Dedication of Church, xv. 99. Ground plan (lithograph) xi. 20. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Chapelry, x. 255; xii. 17. Gough of, ix. 226.
——— Bishops, xvi. 250, 342. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Ernle of, ix. 225. Visited by the Society, 1863, ix. 19; 1874, xv. 136.
*Caprifoliaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 255.
*Caprimulgidæ* (*Ornith.*), ix. 220.
*Cardiaceæ* (*Conch.*), ix. 281.
Cards, playing, xiv. 212.
*Carduus* (*Bot.*), x. 192.
*Carex* (*Bot.*), xiv. 86.
Carisbrook, xv. 253.
*Carlina* (*Bot.*), x. 195.
Carlsruhe, xv. 314.
Carnac, the stone avenues of, xiii. 32. Map of, xiii. 80.
*Carpinus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 198.
Carrara Marble, the transport of, xvi. 111.
Carrington, F. A., on Wokingham, xi. 50.
Carrot (*Bot.*), ix. 248.
Carruthers, W., xiv. 118, 119.
Carucate, *or* Caruka, meaning of term, xi. 142.
Cart, old meaning of word, xv. 148.
Cassitulidæ (*Geol.*), xiv. 114.
Cassock, a military garb, xiv. 244.
Castle Combe, xii. 22. Meaning of name, xiv. 172. Anciently Cumbvill, *ib.* Poulett Scrope's History of, ix. 7; xvi. 344. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Zones of oolite at, xi. 328. Scrope *or* Scroope family of, ix. 230. Visited by Society, xii. 146.
Castle Eaton *or* Yatton, dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 382.
*Catabroza* (*Bot.*), xiv. 297.
Catcombe and Catley, meaning of names, xiv. 176.
Catcott, Rev. A., xiv. 109.
Catmint (*Bot.*), xii. 97.
Catsbrain, meaning of name, xiv. 157.
Cats-ear (*Bot.*), x. 203.
Cats-tail (*Bot.*), xiv. 74.
——— Grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 281.
Cattlepens, supposed ancient British, xi. 245.
Camden *or* Cawdon, Hundred of, xii. 10; xiii. 118. *Misread* Randen, xii. 369. Meaning of name, xiv. 176.
Caxtons at Longleat, xv. 338.
Cedars of Lebanon, Wiltshire, x. 153.
Celtic element in local names, on the, xiv. 156. 274.
Celts, the, ix. 18, 100, *et sqq.*
—— found at Wilsford, ix. 24. Elsewhere, x. 35. Fictitious, *ib.* Lithograph of some, ix. 121. *See also* implements, flint.
*Centaurea* (*Bot.*), x. 196.
Centaury (*Bot.*), xi. 228.
Ceorles-hlew, xv. 93.
*Cephalanthera* (*Bot.*), xiii. 210.
*Cephalopoda*, fossil (*Geol.*) xiv. 113, 114.
*Ceratophyllum*, *Ceratoph*[illegible] (*Bot.*), xii. 347.
Cerendon. *See* Surrenden.

Digitized by Google

Ceridwen, xiv. 21.
Cerne Abbas, the giant at, xiv. 30.
Cerneoote. *See* Sharnoote.
*Certhiadæ* (*Ornith.*) ix. 49.
"Certum," meaning of word, xiii. 107.
*Ceterael* (*Bot.*), xiv. 317.
Caddington, meaning of name, xiv. 257.
Chaddleworth, xvi. 301.
Chaderwick, meaning of name, xiv. 257. Chapel, x: 297.
Chadwell family, the, ix. 225.
Chaldrington. *See* Cholderton.
Chalfield *or* Chaldfield, xii. 25; xiii. 118; xv. 223. Eyre of, ix. 226.
—— Great, xiii. 302. Walker's History of, ix. 7. Church, x. 265. Dedication of, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Manor house, visited by Society, 1872; xiii. 315.
—— Little, Free Chapel, x. 265; xii. 376, 380.
Chalices, ancient, x. 33.
Chalk, analysis of Marlborough, xiv. 109.
—— bastard, *ib.*
—— beds of London basin, xiv. 120.
—— downs, terraces of the, xiv. 118.
—— heaps on Salisbury Plain, x. 178.
—— rock near Salisbury, xiii. 92. Whitaker on the, xiv. 116.
—— and clay, strata between the, xiv. 115.
—— Valley, the x. 24.
Chalke, *or* Chalk, hundred of, xii. 11; xiii. 113.
—— Bower, *or* Buchalke, x. 30, xii. 11; xiii. 113. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
—— Broad x. 27; xii. 11; xiii. 113. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chapel, x. 310.
Chamberlaine, Mrs., *don.*, xiii. 223, 287.
Chamomile *or* Camomile, (*Bot.*), x. 187.
Chandler, T., *exh.*, xv. 138. W., xiii. 234.
Chantrey, Sir F., monument to Sir S. Taylor, xiii. 310.
Chantries in Wiltshire, Rev. Preb. Walcott on, xii. 354. Given to layman, x. 280.
Chapels, ancient in Wiltshire, x. 252. Ancient use of word, x. 255.
Chapel Knap, x. 265.
—— Playster, xiii. 301.
Chapmanslade *or* Chipmanslade, xv. 255. Dedication of Church, xv. 101.
*Charadryadæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 45.
Chard, trial of Col. Penruddocke at, xiv. 56. Lithograph of old Town Hall, xv. 41.
Chardford, ix. 10; xiv. 274.
Charge to be given at Quarter Sessions, a, xiv. 208.
Charlcombe, xv. 73.
Charleton, Dr. xvi. 30.
Charlham, xiv. 129.
Charlton *or* Charleton, *near* Donhead, xv. 93. Dedication of Church, xv. 101.
—— Kings, xvi. 307.
—— *near* Malmesbury, xii. 24. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Knevett of, ix. 227.
—— Park, Elms at, x. 140; xii. 350.
—— *near* Pewsey, x. 266; xii. 16; xiii. 112. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Chawoy of, ix. 225.
Charnham Street, Hungerford, xi. 141.
Chart (Kent), xvi. 314.
Charters, Chippenham, xii. 265. Devizes, ix. 23; xv. 139. Mal-

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mesbury, ix. 7. Stanley Abbey, xv. 280. Wokingham, xi. 58.
Chatindon, xv. 256.
Chaucer, early copy of, xv. 338.
Chaucey family, the, ix. 225.
Cheaseldeane. *See* Chiseldon.
Chedgelow *or* Cheggelewe, Hundred of, xii. 24.
Cheese, receipt for good, xiv. 328.
Chelworth, x. 267; xii. 23. Meaning of name, xv. 79.
Cheney family, the, ix. 225.
*Chenopodium, Chenopodiaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 332.
Cherborough. *See* Winterborne Gunmore.
Cherhill *or* Chyriell, xii. 24; xiv. 273; xv. 273; xvi. 301. White Horse, xiv. 25. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Cherington *or* Churington, xii. 16.
Chervil (*Bot.*), ix. 251.
Chesingbury Priors, xv. 101.
Chettle, Mr., *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Cheverell, Meaning of name, xiv. 257. Manor of, xi. 297, 304.
——— Magna *and* Parva, xii. 17; xiii. 111. Dedication of Churches, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Chantry, x. 267.
Chevesaunce, xiv. 213.
Chick Changles, xv. 73.
Chicklade *or* Chickland, xii. 28; xiii. 113. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Chicksgrove, xiii. 114.
Chicory (*Bot.*), x. 203.
Chilmark, xii. 28; xiii. 114. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Chittern All Saints, xvi. 330.
Chilton Folyot, x. 268; xii. 15. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 382. Pile of, ix. 228.
Chimney pieces, Elizabethan, xii. 201.
Chinese curiosities. ix. 23.
Chippenham, xv. 253-4-5. Ale-conner, office of, xii. 271. Ambry, the, 288. Archery butts, 267. Brotherhood of St. Catharine, 378. Causeway, the, 284. Chantries, x. 268; xii. 375, 377. Charter, 265, 269. Church plate and bells. 368. Clock, 280. Cock squailing, 277. Coral rag, xiv. 115. Cromwell at xii. 301. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Epidemics, xii. 282-3. Fairs. 260. Forest, xv. 293. General Meeting at, xii. 133. Geology, 137. Hermitage, 285. Hundred, xii. 368; xiii. 117. King Charles I. at, xii. 300. Leather-searcher, office of, 273. Registers, 311. Rogues, punishment of, 279. Shambles, 262. Tippler, office of, 270. Town Hall, 259. Vermin, destroying of. 281. Yeld Hall, 262.
——— notes on history of, by Canon Jackson, xii. 257.
——— and neighbourhood during the Great Rebellion, by Rev. J. J. Daniel, xii. 292.
Chirton, dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 381. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22.
Chisbury, xii. 15. St. Martin's Chapel, x. 259. xii. 376, 379.
Chiselbury, Danish Camp at, xi. 343. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 31.
Chiseldon, *or* Chuseldene. xii. 21. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Chisenbury, xii. 12. Camp, xiv. 342. Chapel, x. 268. Estate, xiii. 123.
Chitterne, *or* Chuterne, xii. 27. Meaning of name, xiv. 174.
——— All Saints, dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chapel, x. 38, 268.

Digitized by Google

——— St. Mary, dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantry, x. 38, 269.
Chittoe, meaning of name, xiv. 174. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Chapelry, x. 269.
*Chlora* (*Bot.*), xi. 228.
Cholderton, *or* Chaldrington. x. 168; xii. 7. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Christ Church, Churches so named, xv. 107.
——— (Hants,) xvi. 307.
Christenings, tax on, xvi. 326.
Christian Malford, *or* Criste Mallford, xii. 23; xiv. 159. Meaning of name xii. 290; xv. 97. Saline waters of, xiv. 116. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 150. Fossils found at, xiv. 112. Church, xi. 133. Dedication, xv. 101. Plate and bells, xii. 366.
Christian names, English, xvi. 332–3. Plurality of, xvi. 312.
Christmas Day, superstitions respecting, xv. 64, 67.
Chronicon Mirabile, xvi. 306, 331.
Chronology, value of, xvi. 335.
*Chrysanthemum* (*Bot.*), x. 189.
Chuet. *See* Chute.
Church, Professor A. H., on Corinium, xiv. 141, 186.
Church Ales, xii. 263. Bells melted during Rebellion, 304. Benefactions, 381. Dedications in Wiltshire, xv. 99. House, *or* Yeldehall, xii. 262. Goods, Inventories of Wiltshire, 354. Plate in Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury, xi. 336, 337.
——— service, attendance at, xi. 92. Order of, x. 248. Time of, xi. 204.
——— Eaton, *or* Yatton, xii. 290.
Churchill, meaning of name, xiii. 52.
Chute, meaning of name, xiv. 158, 173. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chapels, x. 269; xii. 377. Sottewell of, ix. 229. Standon of, *ib.*
Chyverell. *See* Cheverell.
*Ciclorium*, *Cichoriaceæ* (*Bot.*), x. 202, 203.
*Cidaridæ* (*Geol.*), xiv. 114, 115.
Cimbri, ix. 102; xvi. 129.
Cirencester, Abbey, the xiv. 145. Amphitheatre, 150. Church, 146. Forest marble (woodcut), xi. 331. Gateways, xiv. 144. Hundreds, 218. Names of streets, 145. Parvise *or* Town Hall, 146. Pane, 144. Pavement, 142. Roman remains, 145, 149. Visited by Soc., 1873, 142.
——— On ancient, by Rev. E. A. Fuller, xiv. 216.
——— On recent Roman finds at, by Professor A. H. Church, xiv. 186.
Clack, meaning of name, xiv. 159, 172. Epithet attached to it, xiv. 159. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 150.
Clarendon, Lord, and his Trowbridge Ancestry, ix. 282.
——— Palace, x. 270. Park, xiii. 125.
Clark, J. B., *exh.*, xiii. 316. W. P. *exh.*, xiii. 317. Miss, *exh.*, ix. 27; xv. 138.
Clarke, H., xiii. 141. W. A., *don.*, xv. 112.
Clary (*Bot.*), xii. 93.
Clatford, xii. 18, The Priory, x. 270.
Clayhill *and* Cley Street, meaning of names, xiv. 159, 172.
Cleavers (*Bot.*), ix. 260.
Clench, Mr., *exh.*, x. 37.
——— Farm, meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Clergy, grievances of Wiltshire, xii. 210.
Clerk, Rev. D. M., x. 178.

Digitized by Google

Cleverton. *See* Lea.
Cliffansty, Clevancy, *or* Clyve Wauncy, xii. 21; xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xv. 82.
Cliffes, old Stanza on the, xiv. 159.
Cliffe *or* Clyffe Pypard, xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xv. 82. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Chapelry, x. 264, 221.
Clifford family, the ix. 225.
Clifton, xiii. 114.
Climate, change of in human period, x. 9.
Clock, old, at Hungerford, xi. 155.
Clothiers, the, their migrations, xiii. 296.
Clubs, irreligious, in 1721, xi. 91.
Club-rush (*Bot.*), xiv. 84.
Clyffe. *See* Cliffe.
Clyvpeper. *See* Cliffe Pypard.
Coach to London in 1721, xi. 90.
Coal, early use of in smelting, x. 108.
Coate, xii. 18. Meaning of name, xiv. 158, 173.
Cobham, Margaret, x. 66.
Cock pit, supposed old. xi. 137.
Cocks-foot grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 298.
Cock-squailing, xii. 227.
Cocket, meaning of word, ix. 148.
Cockleborough, xii. 22.
Cockscomb (*Bot.*), xii. 83.
Codford *or* Codeford, xiii. 115. Meaning of name, xiv. 173.
——— St. Mary, xii. 27. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Hermitage, x. 270. Ingram's History of, ix. 7. Camp, xi. 343.
——— St. Peter, *or* West Codford, xii. 27. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
Codmead, meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Codrington, T., F.G.S., *exh.*, ix. 25; *don.*, xii. 385; xv. 132. On the [geo]logy of the Berks and Hants [and] Marlborough Railways, ix.
Codrington, Cudelington, *or* Cuttedelegh, xv. 247, 249, 272, 288.
*Coed* (Celt.), meaning of word, xvi. 251.
Coffers, Church, xvi. 313.
Coffin, stone, xiv. 129.
Coins, British, ix. 24, 26; x. 34, 36, 37; xv. 137, 138. Origin of, xvi. 127. At Ramsbury, xi. 119.
—— foreign, x. 34.
—— Greek, *ib.*
—— Roman, ix. 24, 26, 27; x. 34, 114; xi. 118; xv. 136. At Bisley, xiv, 187. Bourton, *ib.* Charlton, ix. 27. Corinium, xiv. 188. Coulston, ix. 27. Easterton, x. 178. Goatacre, ix. 27. Highway, *ib.* Hilmarton, *ib.* Latton, ix. 233; xiv. 189. Sherston, xi. 344. Stratton, xiv. 189. Sutton, ix. 23. Wanborough, xiv. 155, 344. Westlecot, xiv. 180. Wilsford, ix. 24.
Cokelburgh, xv. 248.
*Colchicum*, *Colchicaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 219.
Coldharbour, meaning of the name, xiii. 335.
Cole (*River*), xv. 94. Meaning of name, xiv. 166.
—— Berwick. *See* Berwick St. Leonard.
*Coleoptera* (*Entom.*), ix. 25.
Colerne *or* Culern, xii. 22; xv. 262. Meaning of name, xiv. 257. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Benefactions, xii. 381.
Coleshill, x. 170. Meaning of name, xiv. 166.
*Colimacea* (*Conch.*), ix. 278.
Collectanea, Nichols's, xvi. 325.
Collens, A., xiii. 149.
Collier, H., xiii. 139. H. & J., xiv. 47.
Collingbourne. xv. 94. Meaning of name, xiv. 275. Woods, xv. 148.
———— Ducis *or* Valence, xii. 15. Barrows (with illustrations), x. 85

to 103. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Collingbourn Kingston, Regis, *or* Abbat's, xii. 15. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Yerworth of, ix. 231.
Collinson, Rev. J., xiv. 228.
Collyer, Mr., *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Colouring, architectural, x. 40.
Colston, Mrs. *exh.*, ix. 25; xv. 137.
Colston, *See* Coulston.
Coltsfoot (*Bot.*), x. 181.
*Coluber lævis* (*Zool.*), x. 35.
*Columbidæ* (*Ornith.*), xi. 162.
*Colymbidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 165.
Comb, Roman, x. 107.
Combe (in Enford parish), Chapel at, x. 271.
——— Bank, xvi. 105.
——— Bissett *or* Combissate, x. 25; xii. 10. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Comerwell. *See* Cumberwell.
Comfrey (*Bot.*), xi. 235.
Commissioners of sequestration, xiii. 123.
Common, rights of, at Hungerford, xi. 149.
Communicants in Edward VI. reign, xii. 355.
*Compositæ* (*Bot.*), x. 180. Mr. Flower on the, ix. 162.
Compton Basset, xii. 25. Meaning of name, xii. 289; xiv. 172. Large stones, xi. 342. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
——— Beauchamp, xiv. 20.
——— Chamberlayne, xii. 12. Meaning of name, xii. 289; xiv. 172. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells. xii. 366.
——— House, x. 32. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 32; 1870, xiii. 22.
*Coniferæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 198.
Conigre, meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Conock *or* Conick, xii. 16; xiii. 111. Meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Constable of Hungerford, the, xi. 152.
*Convallaria* (*Bot.*), xiii. 213.
Conventicles, Bishop Ward's enquiry as to, xv. 233.
*Convolvulus* (*Bot.*), xi. 231.
Conchological specimens, Miss Cunnington's, ix. 25, 27.
Conchology, mineral, Sowerby on, xiv. 110.
*Convolvulaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 231.
Conybeare, Rev. J. J., xiv. 111. Rev. W. D., on Stonehenge, xvi. 70.
Cooke, J., xiii. 139. Rev. W., on Stonehenge, xvi. 43.
Coombs, origin of, ix. 186.
Cooper, story of a Wiltshire, xiv. 330.
Coot (*Ornith.*), xii. 71.
Copper period, the, xiii. 23.
Copplestone, Sir John, xiii. 254; xv. 33.
Coprolites, xiv. 111.
Coral, British fossil, xiv. 114.
——— Rag, xiii. 319. Analysis of, xiv. 109.
Coralline, x. 36.
"Corbet-clasp," meaning of term, xi. 338.
Corclam, Smyth, of, ix. 230.
*Corinium*, Professor Church on, xiv. 129.
Cormorant (*Ornith.*), xii. 170.
*Cornaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 253.
Cornbrash, analysis of, xiv. 109.
Cornel-tree (*Bot.*), ix. 253.
Corn-salad (*Bot.*), ix. 264.
Cornwall family, the, ix. 225.
Coroners, duties of, xiv. 213.
Coronership of Hungerford, xi. 152.
Corpus Christi, proverb respecting, xv. 65.

Digitized by Google

Corsham *or* Cosham, xii. 22. Meaning of name, xiv. 173. Quarries at xi. 319, 322. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Seal of Vicar of, xi. 138. Chapel, x. 265; xii. 378. Religious houses, x. 272. Ferrers of, ix. 226. Smyth of, ix. 230.
——— Court, visited by Society, 1869, xii. 146.
——— Manor, x. 65.
Corsley, xii. 28; xv. 255. Meaning of name, xiv. 177. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chapel, 273.
Corton *or* Corston (Kingsbridge hundred), meaning of name, xiv. 177. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Chapel, x. 274; xii. 376.
Corton *or* Cortington (Heytesbury hundred), xii. 27. Chapel, x. 273.
*Corylus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 197.
*Corymbiferæ* (*Bot.*), x. 180.
Cossgrave. *See* Corsham.
Costume of Heytesbury pensioners, xi. 305.
Cotstow *or* Cotestowe, xv. 255.
Cotton-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 85.
Couch-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 305.
Coulesfield. *See* Cowlesfield.
Coulston, East Coulston, Couleston, Cadleston, or Colston, xiii. 116. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Moor of, ix. 228. Colston Chamberlain, xii. 26.
Country life in Cent. XVII., xiii. 178.
Courser (*Ornith.*), xii. 47.
Courts, Bishops', xiii. 106.
——— Hundreds', *ib.*
——— Sheriff's, *ib.*
Covenant servants, xiv. 136.
Coveslye. *See* Corsley.
Cow, curious accident to a, x. 139.
Cowidge, dedication of Church, xv. 100.
Cowsfield *or* Cowlesfield Loveray, x. 318; xii. 9; xiii. 117. Tenure of manor, xiii. 55. Cowsfield Spilman, x. 319.
Cowslip *or* Paigle (*Bot.*), xii. 326.
Cow-wheat, meadow (*Bot.*), xii. 81.
Cow-white, meaning of word, xv. 227.
Crab, oldest known British, xiv. 118.
Crab-apple (*Bot.*), ix. 66.
Crabbe, the Poet, xiii. 294, 315.
Crake (*Ornith.*), xii. 68.
Cranborne Chase, x. 28.
Crane family, the (*Ornith.*), xii. 53.
——— Mr. Wolley on the, xii. 54.
Crapaudine locket, xii. 249.
*Crassulaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 76.
Creed, Rev. Dr., xii. 212.
Creeper (*Ornith.*), ix. 50.
Cremation, xvi. 16, 229.
Crendel, x. 172. Meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Crenellate, licenses to, xvi. 299.
*Crepis* (*Bot.*), x. 207.
Cretaceous rocks, xiv. 118.
Cricklade, meaning of name, xiv. 178. Roman embankment, xii. 126. Hundred, xii. 20, 362. Dedication of churches, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Priory chapel, x. 274; xii. 374. Hospital, xii. 374. Pleydell of, ix. 228.
Crocker, Mr., on Stonehenge, xvi. 91.
Crockerton. Dedication of Church, xv. 101.
Crofton, xii. 15; xiii. 112.
Croke *or* Crook, Unton, xiii. 130. Letters to Thurloe, xiv. 40, *et sqq.*
Cromlechs, ix. 135. Arabian, xvi. 125. Modern Indian, xvi. 115.
Cromwell, Lord, xvi. 305.
——— Oliver, Portrait of, x. 33.
Crookwood, meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Croping, R., xv. 22.
Cross, Market, Steeple Ashton, xii. 325.



Digitized by Google

Cross, Processional, xv. 139.
Crosses, Saxon mural, xiv. 128.
Crouch, meaning of name, xiv. 177.
Crouchton, J., xiii. 334.
Crow, *near* Ringwood, meaning of name, xiv. 257.
Crowood *or* Crow-Wood, origin of name, xv. 82. Visited by Society, 1867, xi. 136.
Crows, their destruction ordered, xiv. 215.
Crowthorne, origin of name, xiv. 216.
Crudwell, xii. 24. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Crustacea, the malacostracous, xiv. 117.
*Cryptogameæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 307.
Cubbington, xv. 285, 286.
Cuckhamstow, xv. 92.
Cuckingstool, Cirencester, xiv. 224. Wootton Bassett, xii. 129. Recent use of, *ib.*
Cuckoo (*Ornith.*), ix. 55. Rev. A. C. Smith on life-history of, x. 115.
Cuckoo-pint (*Bot.*), xiv. 76.
*Cuculidæ* (*Ornith.*), ix. 55.
*Cucurbitaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 73.
Cudel' *or* Cudelington. *See* Codrington.
Cudweed (*Bot.*), x. 191.
Cukelyn the Bald, xvi. 12.
Cumberland, G. xiv. 110.
Cumberwell *or* Cumerwell. xii. 25; xiii. 118. Chapel x. 274.
Cunnington, H., *exh.*, ix. 27.
Cunnington, William, F.G.S.,ix.16; x. 7; xi. 123; xiii. 286; xiv. 113, 14, 15, 16, 19, 120, 133. *Don.* xv. 112, 237, 238, 352. *Exh.* ix. 26; x. 39; xv. 137.
Baydon, on the Roman station at, x. 104.
Locket, on a crapaudine, xii. 249.
Stonehenge, on, x. 16; xvi. 65, 71.
Cunnington, William, F.G.S.,
Wardour, on freshwater beds in valley of, xiii. 32.
Westbury, on the geology of, xiii. 306.
——— W. (of Heytesbury), xii. 191. Miss, *exh.*, ix. 25, 27; xv. 139.
Cups, drinking, found in barrows, xvi. 171. At Collingbourne (woodcut), x. 91. Roman (photo-lithograph). xiii. 276.
——— Incense. *See* Incense Cups.
Curiosities, mediæval, x. 35, 36; xi. 138. Modern, ix. 26; x. 34, 35; xi. 139.
Curlew (*Ornith.*), xii. 61.
Currant (*Bot.*), ix. 79.
Curry Combe, meaning of name, xiv. 179.
Cursus, the, xvi. 225.
*Cuscuta* (*Bot.*), xi. 232.
"Custom Ground," xiii. 334.
Custumal, xv. 126.
Custumers, meaning of term, ix. 148.
Cuttedelegh. *See* Codrington.
Cutteridge, meaning of name, xiv. 173. Rev. E. Peacock on, xiv. 31. Visited by Society, 1872; xiii. 308.
Cycadean fruits, xiv. 118.
*Cyclostomacea* (*Conch.*), ix. 281.
*Cynarocephaleæ* (*Bot.*), x. 195.
*Cynoglossum* (*Bot.*), xi. 233.
*Cynosurus* (*Bot.*), xiv. 298.
*Cyperus*, *Cyperaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 80.
*Cystopteris* (*Bot.*), xiv. 314.
*Dactylis* (*Bot.*), xiv. 298.
Daffodil (*Bot.*), xiii. 212.
Daisy (*Bot.*), x. 182.
Dale, R., notes on Wiltshire heraldry, ix. 223.
Damerham, x. 311. Hundred, xii. 12, 366. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
Dandelion (*Bot.*), ix. 162; x. 206.
Danes, the, xvi. 99.

Digitized by Google

Dane-wort (*Bot.*), ix. 255.
Daniel family, the, ix. 225.
Daniell, Rev. J. J., on Chippenham, xii. 141.
Danvers, Sir J., xiv. 245.
Danyell, Samuel, poet laureate, xiv. 106.
*Daphne* (*Bot.*), xii. 341.
Darrell families, the, ix. 225. Of Littlecot, xi. 259. Lady xv. 147.
Darnel (*Bot.*), xiv. 306.
Darwin, C., xiv. 114. His theory, xi. 125, 126.
Dauntesey family, the, ix. 225.
Dauntsey *or* Dauntesey, xii. 23; xiv. 159. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Brasses, xii. 239. West End Chapel, x. 275. Stradling of, ix. 230.
Davenport family, the, ix. 225.
Davidson, T., xiv. 113, 114.
Davies, Rev. E., on Stonehenge, xvi. 51, 135. Rev. J., xiv. 278.
Davis, T., xiv. 109.
Dawbony, Mr., xvi. 237.
Daws, their destruction ordered, xiv. 215.
Dean, meaning of name, xiv. 179.
——— East, x. 168.
——— West, *ib.* Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chantry, x. 317. Benefactions, xii. 381.
Deane, J., xiii. 186. Rev. J. B., on Stonehenge, xvi. 129.
Death-rate in Wiltshire, xvi. 334.
"Decorated" Architecture in Wiltshire, xi. 132.
Dedication of Churches, how altered, xi. 3.
Deer-hays, meaning of the word, xiv. 212.
De la Beche, Sir H. T., xiv. 111.
De Lisle, meaning of name, xiii. 52.
De Luc, J. A., xiv. 109.
Deluge, Rev. A. Catcott on the, xiv. 109.
Delwardburie. *See* Alderbury.
Deptford, xii. 27. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Derry Hill, dedication of Church, xv. 101.
—— Woods, meaning of name, xiv. 257.
Despencer, J., License for Chapel, x. 275.
Destruction of antiquities, xiii. 14, 85; xvi. 76, 225.
Deverell, origin of name, xiv. 162.
——— Hill, *or* Hulle, xii. 27; xv. 332. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantry x. 287.
——— Kingston. dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chapelry, x. 275. Court Chapel x. 273.
——— Longbridge, xii. 12. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
Devizes. xii. 17. (Divis') xv. 257. Meaning of name, xvi. 255. Building of xi. 130. Charters, ix. 23; xv. 139. Conversaziones at xv. 134, 135. Elms. x. 140. Grace cup, ix. 23. History of, Waylen's, ix. 7. Literary institution, xiv. 123. Maces, Corporation. ix. 23. Map of, Dore's, xv. 138. Mayor and Corporation, *exh.*, ix. 23. General meeting, 1863, ix. 1; 1864, ix. 205; 1866, x. 219; 1871, xiii. 220; 1874, xv. 117. Register of borough, ix. 23. St. John's Church, x. 276; xii. 380. Dedication, xv. 101. Plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantries, 375. St. Mary's Church, dedication, xv. 101. Plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantries, x. 275; xii. 375, 377. Tokens, x. 326.
——— Rev. Canon Jackson, on the history and antiquities of, ix. 28.
——— Castle, xv. 133; xvi. 255, 256. Ditch round, ix. 175. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 11.

Digitized by Google

Devizes, Geology of neighbourhood, ix. 175.
Dewberry (*Bot.*), ix. 61.
*Diademadæ* (*Geol.*), xiv. 115, 116.
Diana, statute of, xiv. 186.
Dice, game of, xiv. 212.
Dichampton. *See* Ditchampton.
Dicheriche. *See* Ditteridge.
Die, a Roman, xiv. 233.
*Digitalis* (*Bot.*), xi. 77.
Dilton, xvi. 325. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
——— Marsh, Dedication of Church, xv. 101.
Dingley, T., xv. 320.
Dinton *or* Donyngton, xii. 29; xiii. 114. Dedication of Church, Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Benefactions, xii. 381. Conventual cell, x. 276. Mayor of, ix. 228.
*Discoreaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
*Dipsaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 264.
Disbrowe, General, xiii. 133, *et. sqq.*
Dissent in Wiltshire, xvi. 324.
Dissenters' Registers, xvi. 326, 328.
Ditchampton, x. 320. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chapelry, x. 264.
Ditches, the Belgic, xvi. 226.
Ditteridge, Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Diver family, the (*Ornith.*), xii. 166.
Dixon, S. B., xiv. 118.
Dock (*Bot.*), xii. 335.
Dock-cress (*Bot.*), x. 202.
Dodder (*Bot.*). xi. 232.
Dogs-tail grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 298.
Dogwood (*Bot.*), ix. 253.
Dole, meaning of name, xiv. 179.
Dolesfield, Hundred of, xii. 13.
Dollar Street, Cirencester, xiv. 145.
Döllinger, Dr., xvi. 122.
Domesday for Wiltshire, gleanings from, by Rev. Canon Jones, x. 22, 165; xiii. 42. His edition of, ix. 8.
Domestic Architecture in Wiltshire, xi. 133.
Donaldson, Professor T. F., xiii. 305. *exh.* 317.
Doneworth, Hundred of, xii. 367; xiii. 113.
Donhead *or* Dunhead, xii. 28. Meaning of name, xv. 81. Dedication of churches, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Grove of, ix. 226.
Donyngton. *See* Dinton.
Door, story of a, xvi. 296.
Dorchester, meaning of name, xiv. 158. Old river-bank, near, xii. 192.
Dores-bridge, meaning of name, xiv. 268.
Dorrington. *See* Durrington.
Dotterell (*Ornith.*), xii. 51.
Dove, J., sheriff, 1650, xiii. 123, 126.
Dowding, Rev. B. C., *exh.*, ix. 24. W., *don.*, xii. 131. *Exh.*, x. 36.
Dowett, Major, xii. 306.
Downs, the Wiltshire, xi. 262.
Downton, xiv. 338. Meaning of name, xv. 81. Hundred of, xi. 9; xii. 370. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 370. Burnell's chantry, xii. 374. Eyre of, ix. 225.
Drawlatch, meaning of word, xiv. 213.
Draycot, xii. 304; xiii. 111. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 149.
——— Cerne, xii. 23; xiii. 117. Meaning of name, xii. 289. Barrow, xi. 343. Tenure of manor, xiii. 47, 280. Dedication of Church. xv. 102. Brasses, xii. 237.
——— Fitz Payne, x. 276.
——— Foliot, Richmond or Webb family of, ix. 228; xvi. 311. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
——— Oare, xii. 16.
Drinking custom, xv. 322. Hard, xi. 91. 101, 104, 205, 206, 216.
Dropwort, Water (*Bot.*), ix. 244.

Digitized by Google

Druce, meaning of name, xiii. 52.
Druids, the, ix. 126, *et sqq.*; x. 16; xvi. 27.
Druidism, xvi. 129.
Drunkenness in Wiltshire, xvi. 324, 325.
Dryden, J., on Stonehenge, xvi. 128.
Du Boulay, Rev. F. H., *exh.*, ix. 24.
Duck (*Ornith.*) xii. 153.
Duckweed (*Bot.*), xiv. 76.
Dudley, St. Edmund's Church, xvi. 319.
Duke, Anne, xiv. 62; xv. 28. Rev. E., x. 8. On Stonehenge, xvi.128. G., xiii. 120. Rev. H. H., xiii. 309; xvi. 323. Colonel R. xiv. 50. Children of, xv. 29. R. xiii. 120.
Dulton. *See* Dilton.
*Dún* (Angl. Sax.), xv. 81.
Dunche, W., xiv. 231.
Dunley Chapel, x. 277.
Dunnington, meaning of name, xv.95.
Dunworth *or* Doneworth, hundred of, xii. 28.
Duration of life in Wiltshire, xvi. 324.
Durleigh, meaning of name, xiv. 163.
Durnford, x. 17; xii. 7. Meaning of name, xiv. 163. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Drawings of, x. 38. Church plate and bells. xii. 370. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 17..
Durrington, xii. 6. Meaning of name, xiv. 163. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Dyer family, the ix. 225.
Dyke, Mrs., *exh.*, ix. 25. Miss, x. 34.
Dyke. ancient Wiltshire, xiii. 17; xiv. 332. "The old," xiv. 341.
"Earldoms, the," xiv. 338.
Earle, Rev. J., on Stonehenge, xvi. 135. Sir W., xv. 34.
Earlstoke. *See* Erlestoke.
"Early English," Architecture in Wiltshire, xi. 130.
Earthnut (*Bot.*), ix. 242.
Eastcote. *See* Estcott.
Easter Day, superstitions respecting, xv. 65.
——— offerings, xv. 228.
Easterlings, the, ix. 139.
Easterton, x. 178.
Easton *or* Eston, xv. 248, 258.
——— Grey, xii. 23. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
——— Percy *or* Piers, x. 277; xiii. 117.
——— Royal, xv. 178. Dedication of Church, xv. 101. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. The Priory, x. 277.
——— near Tisbury, xii. 28. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Eastridge, xii. 18.
Eastrop, meaning of the name, xv. 79.
Eastwell, visited by Society, 1874, xv. 135.
Eaton Meysey, xii. 20.
Ebbe *or* Ebel, meaning of name, xiv. 162.
Ebbesborne, *or* Eblesbone Wake, ix. 25; x. 30; xii. 11. xiii. 113. Dedication of Church, x.102. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chadwell, of, ix. 225.
——— old name for Bishopston, xiv. 162.
Ebele river, x. 27.
Ecclesiola. *See* Bradford St. Laurence.
Ecesatingetone, xi. 175.
Ecgbright's stone, xiii. 47, 108; xiv. 23.
*Echinidæ*, *Echinoconidæ*, *Echinodermata*, *Echinolampidæ* (*Geol.*), xiv. 115 *to* 120.
*Echium* (*Bot.*), xi. 236.
Ecton's Thesaurus, xv. 98.
Edgecumbe, Sir P., xvi. 306.
Edgell, Rev. H. F., *exh.* xv. 199.
Edington *or* Edyingdon, [illegible]
xiii. 116. Manor, xiii. [illegible]

Digitized by Google

x. 278. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chapelry. *See* Baynton. Rectory and Vicarage, xv. 223. Visited by Society, 1872, xiii. 310.
Edmonds family the, ix. 225.
Edmondesham, Hussey of, ix. 226.
Edward I. at Stanley Abbey, xv. 300, 301.
——— II. ditto, *ib.* 301.
——— III. ditto. *ib.* 302, 304.
——— Charter to Hungerford, xi. 146.
Edwards, G. F., xiv. 110. J. *don.*, ix. 209. Professor. *See* Milne-Edwards. Mr., xiv., 133; *exh.* x. 88. Mrs., *exh.*, xiii. 316.
Egbert's stone. *See* Ecbright's stone.
Egerton, P. M. de G., xiv. 112, 114, 115.
Eggs, British birds', ix. 27. Cuckoo's colouring of, x. 124.
Egyptian megaliths, how moved, x. 82; xvi. 112.
Elsey, Dedication of Church, xv. 102.
Ela, Countess of Salisbury, x. 24; xiv. 214.
Elcombe, xii. 20. Chantry, x. 278.
Elder (*Bot.*), ix. 225.
——— Dwarf, legend of the, xii. 138.
——— Water (*Bot.*), ix. 257.
Eleanor of Brittany, x. 62. Queen, *ib.*
*Eleocharis* (*Bot.*), xiv. 82.
Elecampane (*Bot.*), x. 184.
Elfrida, Queen, x. 61.
Elingdon, xii. 21. *See also* Wroughton.
Elington, xv. 82.
Elizabeth, Queen, her motto, xiv. 208. Provision for her household, xiv. 237. Death-bed, xv. 155.
Elkington family, the, ix. 226.
Ell-barrow, meaning of name, xiv. 342.
Ellen, J. xiii. 344; *don.*, x. 328; xi. 120; *exh.*, ix. 26.
Ellerleigh, hundred of. *See* Everley.
Ellesbourne Wake. *See* Ebbesbourne.
Ellesborough, Hussey of, ix. 226.
Elliot, Sir W., F.L.S., *don.*, xiii. 344.
Ellis family, the, ix. 225.
Elm (*Bot.*), xii. 350. Whether indigenous, x. 136. Called the Wiltshire weed, x. 160.
Elston, xii. 14. Meaning of name, xiii. 55; xv. 90. May of, ix. 228.
Elstub, hundred of, xii. 12, 364. Meaning of name, xv, 84.
Eltham, xvi. 330.
Elysbourne. *See* Ebbesbourne.
Embracery *or* Imbracery, meaning of word, xiv. 212.
Emerson, R. W., on Stonehenge, xvi. 118.
Enamels, ancient, x. 36, 38.
Encaustic painting, x. 43.
Encrinites. fossil, xiv. 110.
Encroachments on downs, xvi. 186.
*Endogenæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 200.
*Endymion* (*Bot.*), xiii. 218.
Enford, xii. 12. Meaning of name, xiv. 180. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chapels, x. 268, 271; xii. 275.
Englefield families, the, ix. 225.
Englishcombe, xiv. 274.
Engravings, old, x. 35, 38.
Entomological collections. Mr. Killick, xi. 139. Low, *ib.* Sloper, ix. 25. Woodman, xi. 139.
*Entomostraca* (*Geol.*), xiv. 113.
*Entre-sol*, origin of word, xvi. 291.
Eocene beds, on the, xiv. 117, 120.
*Equisetum*, *Equisetaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 307.
Erchfont *or* Orchesfounte, xii. 16; xiii. 111. Meaning of name, xiv. 171. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Escote Chapel, x. 279; xii. 376.

Digitized by Google

Erdeven, menhirs (Litho.), xiii. 90.
Erghum, Bishop, xvi. 261.
*Erica*, *Ericaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 221, 222.
*Erigeron* (*Bot.*), x. 182.
*Eriphorum* (*Bot.*), xiv. 85,
Erlestoke, Earlstoke, *or* Ewellstoke, xii. 29. Origin of name, xiii. 297. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Benefactions, xii. 382. Large elms, xii. 350.
*Erne* or *Ærn* (Angl. Sax.), meaning of termination, xvi. 247.
Ernle *or* Ernly family, the, ix. 225, 226; xi. 21, 190.
*Eryon* (*Geol.*), xiv. 118.
*Erythræa* (*Bot.*), xi. 228.
Eschricht, Professor, xvi. 155.
Escott *or* Eastcott, xiii. 111. Chapel, x. 279; xii. 376.
Estcourt family, ix. 226. Right Hon. T. H. Sotheron, xvi. 340.
Esthrop, xiii. 112.
Eston. *See* Easton.
Estuarine sands in Wiltshire, xiv. 118.
Esturmy horn, the, xiii. 55.
Etchilhampton, xii. 16; xiii. 111. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. History of the Chapelry of (with illustrations), xi. 175.
Ethandunum, xiv. 23. Identity claimed for Edington near Hungerford, xi. 140.
*Eupatorium* (*Bot.*), x. 180.
*Euphorbia*, *Euphorbiaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 344.
*Euphrasia* (*Bot.*), xii. 84.
Evans, J. xiv. 117, 119.
Evelyn, J. at Stonehenge, xvi. 28.
Evergreen oak, the, x. 155.
Everley, Ellerleigh, *or* Overleigh, xii. 12. Hundred, xii. 364. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Gilbert, of, ix. 226. Sadler of, ix. 229. Sidbury Camp, near, xi. 343.
Ewart, W., M.P., ix. 14; x. 219; *exh.*, ix. 23.
Ewellstoke. *See* Erlestoke.
Ewelme, Chapel, x. 279.
Ewridge, Chapel, x. 280.
Ewyas family, the, xi. 201.
Exe, Exeter, Exmouth, meaning of names, xiv. 167.
Eyebright (*Bot.*), xii. 84. Legend, xii. 84.
Eyre family, the, ix. 225. 226; xiii. 302. Rev. Sub-dean, *exh.*, x. 34. C. *exh.*, xi. 138. H., xiv. 109.
Eyres, a "Leveller," xiii. 124.
*Fagus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 195.
Fairford, visited by Society, 1873, xiv. 140.
Fairs and Markets, forbidden on Sundays and holidays, xiv. 209.
Falkner, Miss, *don.*, ix. 209.
False measures, fine for, xiii. 111, *et sqq.*
Farley *or* Farleigh, xiv. 344. Meaning of name, xv. 72.
——— Hungerford *or* Farley Castle, xiii. 227, 331. Hungerford of, ix. 227.
——— Monachorum, xii. 25. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Priory, xv. 222.
Farnham, xv. 72.
Farringdon, xv. 72. The fossiliferous sands and gravels of, xiv. 113.
Fast-days, observance of, xiv. 216.
Fasterne Chapel, x. 280.
Fauna of England, ancient, ix. 117.
Feasts, sacrificial, xiv. 14. Village, xv. 99.
Featherfoil, Marsh (*Bot.*), xii. 327.
February, proverbs respecting, xv. 46, 52. 53.
Fees, parochial, xvi. 324, 325, 327.
Fellows, meaning of name, xiii, 59.
Felony, offences amounting to, xiv. 209, 210.
Ferguson, Mr., Q.C., on Stonehenge, xvi. 62.



Digitized by Google

Fergusson, James, on Avebury, x. 210, 214; xiii. 303. Silbury, xi. 113. Stonehenge, xvi. 102.
Ferne House, Grove of, ix. 226. Visited by the Society, 1870, xiii. 20.
Fern, flowering (*Bot.*), xiv. 318.
Ferns, the Wiltshire, xi. 349; xiv. 310.
Ferrers family, the, ix. 226. Lord, xvi. 238. Meaning of name, xiii. 52.
Ferstesfield, hundred of. *See* Frustfield.
Fescue-Grass, *Festuca* (*Bot.*), xiv. 298.
Fetter-lock, the, a cognizance of the Longs (with illustrations), xiii. 280.
Fettiplace, T., xiv. 184.
Feverfew (*Bot.*), x. 188.
Ffouleston. *See* Fuggleston.
Fibula, ix. 24; x. 114.
Fictitious antiquities, x. 35.
Fifehead, meaning of name, xv. 87.
Fifield *or* Fyfield, meaning of name, xv. 87.
——— Bavant, x. 30; xii. 11; xiii. 113; xvi. 316. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 30.
——— near Marlborough, x. 23; xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Benefactions, xii. 382.
Figheldean, xii. 7; xiv. 273. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Figwort (*Bot.*), xii. 81.
*Filago* (*Bot.*), x. 190.
*Filices* (*Bot.*), xiv. 310.
Finger-pillory, x. 35.
Fiorin-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 287.
*Firmarius*, xvi. 267.
Firs in Wiltshire, x. 151.
Fish, culture of, xi. 137, 252. Fossil xiv, 112. Statutes protective of, xiv. 212, 213.
Fish Ponds, Cutteridge, xiv. 35.
Fisher family, the, ix. 226. F. R., *exh.*, x. 35.
Fisherton Anger, dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chantry, xii. 374. Hermitage, x. 280. Monastery, xii. 354, 369. Gaol, ix. 84. Brick-earth, x. 222.
——— Bapton *or* Babeton, xii. 29; xiii. 114.
——— Delamere, xiii. 114. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantry, x. 282. Benefactions, xii. 382.
——— Kelloways, meaning of name, xii. 289.
——— Lucas, ditto, *ib.*
Fishery, free, at Hungerford, xi. 143.
Fittleton, xi. 259; xii. 12; xvi. 231, 314. Meaning of name, xiii. 48; xv. 89. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Free Chapel, x, 282; xii. 379 Acleton Chapel, xii. 376.
Filton, Dr. W. H., xiv, 111.
Flag (*Bot.*), xiii. 211.
Flea-bane (*Bot.*), x. 182.
Flea-wort (*Bot.*), x. 194.
Flints, on the spontaneous origin of, xiv. 120.
Flint implements. *See* Implements.
Flora of Silbury, the, ix. 159.
——— Wiltshire, ix. 58, 238; x. 180; xi. 218; xii. 73, 234; xiii. 189; xiv. 68, 280.
Florence, curious custom at, xvi. 305.
Flower, T. B., F.L.S., *don.*, xi. 244; xii. 258; xv. 237, 352.
Compositæ, on the, ix. 162.
Ferns of Wiltshire, on the, xi. 349.
Flora of Wiltshire, the. *See* Flora.
Herbarium, instructions for forming, x. 233, 252.
Primrose, notes on the, xii. 351.


Digitized by Google

Flowering-fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 318.
Fluellin (*Bot.*), xii. 80.
Fonts: Etchilhampton (with woodcut), xi. 185. Potterne, xvi. 278, 280. Wokingham, xi. 74. Wooden, Norway (with wood-cut), x. 177.
Fonthill, xiii. 113. Derivation of word, xiv. 170. Abbey, x. 282. Visited by Society, 1870, xiii. 22.
—— Episcopi, xii. 9. Dedication of Church, xv. 102.
—— Gifford, xii. 28. Origin of name, xiii. 55. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Mayor of, ix. 226. Mervyn of, *ib.*
Food vessels found in barrows, xvi. 170.
*Foramifera* of the *Rotalinæ*, On the (*Geol.*), xiv. 120.
Forbes, Professor E. xiv. 113, 114.
Ford, meaning of word in composition, xiv, 158.
—— Abbey, xiv. 52.
Foreigner, old meaning of word, xi. 60.
Forest, meaning of word. xi. 129.
—— laws, struggles against, x. 28.
Forests, ancient Wiltshire, x. 136.
*Formanria* xiii. 115.
Fosbury, dedication of Church, xv. 102.
Fossils, Wiltshire, xi. 138, xv. 137. New Wiltshire, xiv. 136. Found near Melksham, xiv. 111. Pewsey, ix. 23. Salisbury, xiv. 111. Savernake (sponge, with illustration), ix. 170. Tilshead, x. 37. Westbury, xiv. 136.
—— list of, from the great oolite and forest marble, xi. 332.
Fotherby, Bishop, ix. 226.
Foundlings, how named, xvi. 322.
Fovant, xii. 10; xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xiv. 170. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chantry, x. 282.
Fowler, Dr., x. 6.
Fox, J. J., *exh.*, ix. 27. Colonel Lane, on Stonehenge, xvi. 82. T., *don.*, xi. 120. T. B., *don.*, xiv. 120; xv. 237; *exh.*, xv. 137.
—— *v.* Long, x. 95, 96.
Fox-glove (*Bot.*), xii, 77.
Foxham, dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells (misread Boxham), xii. 368.
Foxley, xiii. 117. Dedication of Church, xv. 102.
Fox-tail grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 282.
Foyle, O., xv. 31.
"Francigena," meaning of term, xi. 176.
*Fraxinus* (*Bot.*), xi. 226.
*Fritillaria* (*Bot.*), xiii. 216.
Fruits, coniferous, fossil, xiv. 119.
Freeman, E. A., xvi. 346; *don.*, xiii. 223
Freemasons, chapters of, xiv. 210.
Freeth *or* Frith, meaning of word, xiv. 180.
Freisbute, meaning of word, xiv. 213.
Freke, Arundel, xiii. 122.
Frekylton, brass of Henry, x. 255; xi. 138.
French language, when predominant in England, xi. 52.
Fresco painting, x. 42.
Freshford, xiii. 301.
Friday, superstition respecting, xv. 61.
Fripsbury, xi. 342.
Frisian names, xv. 88.
Frith. *See* Freeth.
*Fritillaria*, Fritillary (*Bot.*), xiii, 216.
Frog, earliest existent, xiv. 139.
Froxfield, dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Frustfield *or* Fersteafield, hundred of, xii. 9, 369; xiii. 117.
Fry, J. B., *exh.*, xiv. 154.
Fuggleston *or* Ffouleston, xv. 82,



Digitized by Google

277. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Hospital, x. 282.
Fuller, Rev. E.A., on Ancient Cirencester, xiv. 216. Cirencester Church, xiv.141. J. B., xiv. 122. Dr. T. xvi. 25.
Funerals, old custom at, xii. 114.
Fungus, Jew's-ear, x. 137.
Fyfield. *See* Fifield.
Fyler, Rev. S., xii. 212.
Gabata, x. 33.
Gainford, xvi. 314.
Gaisford, J., xiii. 234. Mrs., *exh.*, ix. 26.
*Galanthus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 213.
*Galeopsis* (*Bot.*), xii. 100.
Galingale (*Bot.*), xiv. 80.
Gambier-Parry, T., x. 12. On Architectural colouring, x. 140.
Game, curious old, xi. 34. Unlawful, xiv. 212.
Game-laws under Queen Elizabeth, xiv. 212.
Gane, Rev. J., his will, x. 30.
Gannet (*Ornith.*), xii. 171.
Gaols, Wiltshire, ix. 82.
Gardener family, the, ix. 226.
Gargany (*Ornith.*), xii. 161.
Garlic (*Bot.*), xiii. 218.
Garsden *or* Garsdon, meaning of name, xv. 82. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Garstang family, the, xiv. 146.
*Garston*, meaning of word, xv. 74.
Gate-house at Spye Park, the old, xv. 324.
Gaunt, John of, xi. 145; xiii. 293; xv. 215.
Gauzebrook, meaning of name, xiv. 168.
*Ge-mære* (Angl. Sax.) *See Mær.*
Gentian, *Gentiana* (*Bot.*), xi. 229. *Gentianaceæ*, 228.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, xvi. 8, 15.
Geological collection, Mr. Cunnington's, xv. 133.
Geological sections (wood-cuts), Rox, xi. 323, 324, 326. Cirencester, 331. Inkpen, 277, 278, Kennett, 281. Kintbury, 273. Yatton Keynell, 328.
——— Sketch of the Valley of the Kennet, xi. 268.
Geology of Wiltshire, xi. 315. Of Wiltshire Railways, ix. 167. *See also* Conchology, Fossils, Mineral, Petrifactions, &c.
George III., figure of, near Weymouth, xiv. 30.
Germander (*Bot.*), xii. 103.
*Gesso* x. 40.
"Giant-chambers," xiii. 342.
Giant's Dance, the, xvi. 10.
——— Graves, the, x. 23.
Gibbs, D.A., *exh.*, xv. 138.
Gibson, Bishop, on Stonehenge, xvi. 31.
Giffard, Sir O., his penance, xiii. 16.
Gilbert family, the, ix. 226.
Gilgal, a, x. 19.
Gillingham, x. 171.
Gilpin, Rev. W., on Salisbury Plain, xvi. 138.
Gladdon (*Bot.*), xiii. 211.
Glanvill, Sir J., xvi. 316. W., *ib.*
Glass lamps, ancient. x. 36.
——— stained, at Bishopston, x. 25. In Chapter House, Salisbury, x.11.
Glastonbury Abbey, xv. 344.
——— Thorn, the, ix. 65.
"Glumigrim," xvi. 330.
*Glyceria* (*Bot.*), xiv. 295.
Glynne, Lord Chief Justice, xiii. 161; xiv. 46.
*Gnaphalium* (*Bot.*), x. 191.
Goatacre, meaning of name, xiv. 258.
Goats-beard (*Bot.*), x. 204.
Goat-sucker, the (*Ornith.*), ix. 220.
Goddard family, the, ix. 226. Meaning of name, xiv. 184. Origin, *ib.* Annual dinner, xiv.155. A., M.P., xi. 88. A. L., M.P., President of Swindon meeting, 1873, xiv. 121. Address, 125. Final speech, 151.

Digitized by Google

Rev. F., ix. 52; *exh.*, ix. 24; xiv. 155. H. N., *don.*, xi. 120, 244; xii. 258; xiii. 344; xv. 138. John, xiv. 185. Richard, brass of, at Aldbourne, xi. 339. Lithograph of ditto, xi. 245. Thomas, monument to, xi. 340. Thomas, xiv. 135.
Godewell, xv. 258, 259.
Godsbury, meaning of name, xv. 89.
Godwin, H., on a recent visit to Uriconium, xi. 135. J., *don.*, xiii.104, 223, 344.
Godwin-Austen, R. A. C., xiv. 113.
Godwyn, Bishop Thomas, xi. 63.
Gold, mosaic, ix. 233.
Golden-eye (*Ornith.*), xii. 164.
Golden-rod (*Bot.*), x. 183.
Goldney, G., M.P., xii. 142, 151. President at Devizes, 1874, xv. 117; address, 125; *exh.*, 137.
Goldsmid, Sir F. H., xiii. 277.
Gong-stool, meaning of word, xiv. 224.
Good, Rev. H., xii. 214.
Good-Friday bread, xiv. 328.
"Good King Henry" (*Bot.*), xii.334.
Goosacre, meaning of name, xiv.169.
Goosander (*Ornith.*), xii. 165.
Goose (*Ornith.*), xii. 153.
Gooseberry (*Bot.*), ix. 79.
Goose-foot (*Bot.*), xii. 332.
Goose-grass (*Bot.*), ix. 260.
Gore, T.. his will, xiv. 1.
—— xii. 13; xiii. 114. Meaning of name, xv. 81. Chapel, x. 283.
Gosford and Gosport, meaning of names, xv. 168.
Gossip, old use of word, xv. 175.
Gough family, the, ix. 226; xi. 35. R., on Stonehenge, xvi. 45. Capt. W., xiii. 135.
Gout-weed (*Bot.*), ix. 241.
Gowen, R., xiv. 112.
Gowk=Cuckoo, x. 115.
Grace-cup, the Devizes, ix. 23.
Graffiti. *See* Stonehenge, incised markings at.
Grafton, R., his Bible, xv. 338.
———— *or* East Grafton, x. 259; xii. 15. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Tenure of manor, xiii. 55.
*Grallatores* (*Ornith.*), xii. 44.
*Graminaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 280.
Grammar school at Heytesbury, xi. 294.
Grant, Rev. A., xii. 49. Mr., *don.*, xiii. 104. Messrs.. *exh.*, xv. 138. Mrs., *exh.*, ix. 27.
Grasses, best mixture of, xiv. 295.
Gravels, quarternary, xiv. 119.
Graves, Mr., xiii. 164.
Gray family, the, ix. 226.
Great Western Railway Works, visited by Society, 1873, xiv. 121.
Grebe (*Ornith.*), xii. 166.
Green, Rev. Dr., xii. 210.
Greene, R., xiii. 149, 176.
Greenhill family, the, xii. 119. H., xiii. 325.
Green sand, the Wiltshire, xiv. 113.
Green shank (*Ornith.*), xii. 62.
Greenwell, Rev. Canon, *don.*, xi.244.
Gregory, J. R., *exh.*, xv. 138. Mr., *exh.*, xv. 133.
Grey, Lady Jane, papers relating to, xiv. 192.
Grey Wethers, xiv. 117. Owen and Catcott on the, xiv. 109.
Grievances of clergy in time of Charles I., xii. 210.
Grimsdyke, x. 173; xiv. 337. Meaning of word, xiv. 339.
Grimstead, East, x. 168; xii. 8. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
———— West, Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Grittenham, Oliph of, ix. 228.
Grittleton *or* Grutelintone, xii. 22. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. History of, by Rev. Canon Jackson, ix. 7. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 147.
Gromwell (*Bot.*), xi. 237.
Grove, F., ix. 295.
*Grossulariaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 79.

Digitized by Google

Groundsel (*Bot.*), x. 192.
Grove families, the, ix. 226; xiii. 120. Hugh, xiii. 270; xv. 22. Portraits of, xiii. 272; xiv. 39. J., xv. 23. T. F., M.P., xiii. 20. Miss Chafyn, xiii. 343.
Grovely Wood, xiv. 339.
Grubbe family, the, xvi. 265, 268. Mrs., xv. 135.
*Gruidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 53.
*Grumi*, xiv. 339.
Guest, Dr., xiv. 339.
Guelder Rose (*Bot.*), ix. 256.
Guild, a, at Trowbridge, x. 245.
Gull family (*Ornith.*), xii. 172.
Gumbleton, Dedication of Church, xv. 102.
Gunter families, the, ix. 226.
Guston, meaning of name, xiii. 56.
Guy, E. E., *exh.*, ix. 27.
Gwatkin, J. R., *exh.*, xv. 137.
*Gymnadenia* (*Bot.*), xiii. 204.
Gypsey-wort, (*Bot.*), xii. 93.
Gypsies, penal law against, xiv. 210.
*Habenaria* (*Bot.*), xiii. 204.
Habitations, early British, ix. 124; x. 4.
——— Lacustrine, ix. 25, 104 (note).
Hackleston, xi. 259.
Hackpen *or* Hakpin, xv. 260. Meaning of name, xiv. 171. Babury Camp, on, xi. 343. Barrows, near, xi. 342, 343.
Haddock family, the, ix. 227.
Hagioscopes, at Avebury, x. 176. Hilmarton, *ib.*
Hag's Hill, xiii. 323.
Haine, J., xiv. 114.
Hairbell (*Bot.*), xi. 220.
Hair grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 288.
*Halcyonidæ* (*Ornith.*), ix. 212.
Hale, Penruddock of, ix. 228.
Hall, Marshall, *don.* ix. 209; xiii. 104.
Halle, John, ix. 155; xv. 336.
Halliwell, on Stonehenge, xvi. 130.
*Haloragaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 72.
Halstead's Genealogies, xv. 338.
*Hamme* or *Hám* (*Teut.*), meaning of word, xv. 74.
Ham, xii. 15. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Hampton Down, xiv. 344.
Hamptworth, Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Hamworthy, meaning of name, xv. 79.
Hanckerton. *See* Hankerton.
Handwriting, changes in English, xvi. 319.
Hanford (Enford?), benefaction to Church, xii. 382.
Hanham, Sir J. xiii. 302.
Hankerton, dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Hanningstoke, Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Hannington *or* Hanyngdon, xii. 20. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 382. Visited by Society, 1873, xiv. 141.
———, Hants, xv. 96.
Harbouring bad characters, xiii. 113.
Hardenhuish *or* Hardenyssh, xii. 23; xiii. 118. Meaning of name, xiii. 48; xv. 88. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Old Church and Manor House, x. 284.
Hard-fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 317.
Hard-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 296.
Harding, of Titherington, xv. 88.
Hardinge, H., xiii. 139.
Hardy, Rev. J. P., xvi. 336.
Hardyng, J., xvi. 17.
Harebell. *See* Hairbell.
Hare-pipe, meaning of word, xiv. 213.
Hares-ear (*Bot.*), ix. 244.
Hares-tail (*Bot.*), [illegible] 86.
Harnham, East, [illegible]

Digitized by Google

Harnham, West, xii. 10. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. St. Nicholas' Hospital, x. 24. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 31.
——— Gate, Salisbury, xi. 287.
Harris, Rev. H., *don.*, xi. 120, 244; xii. 131, 385.
Hartham *or* Hertham, xii. 23; xiii. 117; xv. 223.
Hartley, Rev. A. O., xiii. 310.
Harts-tongue (*Bot.*), xiv. 316.
Harwood, Dr., story of, xvi. 86.
Haselbury, x. 284; xii. 22; xv. 77. Dedication of destroyed Church, xv. 102.
Hassock. *See* Hessick.
Hatch *or* Hacche, xii. 28; xiii. 113. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chapel, x. 285.
Hatcher, W. H.. xiv. 112.
Hatsell, Captain, xv. 34.
Hawkbit (*Bot.*), x. 204.
Hawkesworth family, the, ix. 227.
Hawksbeard (*Bot* ), x. 207.
Hawkshaw, Sir J., xvi. 112.
Hawkweed (*Bot.*), x. 207.
Hawles family, the, ix. 227.
Hawthorn, the (*Bot.*), ix. 64. As a hedge-bush, xii. 322.
Haxton *or* Hacklestone, Tyderley of, ix. 230.
Haymaking, proverbs respecting, xv. 57.
Hayne family, the, ix. 226.
Hayward, Rev. H., xiv. 133. J., xiii. 316. Rev. T., xiv. 229; xvi. 238, T., *ib.* W. P., *don.*, xi. 350; *exh.*, ix. 24; xv, 136.
"Hayward," the, of the town of Hungerford, xi. 149.
Hays, meaning of word, xiv. 213.
Hay-scented fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 313.
Hazel (*Bot.*), xiii. 197.
Hazelrigge, Sir A., xv. 34.
Heale family, the, xiii. 236. Rev. J., on encaustic tiles found at Poyntington, xiii. 19.
Heale House, x. 17.
Heath (*Bot.*), xi. 222.
Heath-grass (*Bot.*). xiv. 292.
Hecatæus of Abdera, xvi. 6.
Heddington *or* Headington xii. 25; xiv. 344; xv. 223; xvi. 306. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 19.
Hedgehog, superstition respecting, xiv. 329.
Hedges and Hedgerows, Mr. Spencer on, xii. 317.
Heigham, hundred of. *See* Highworth.
Helleborine (*Bot.*), xiii. 209.
*Helminthia* (*Bot.*), x. 205.
*Hemicidaridæ* (*Geol.*), xiv. 115.
Hemlock (*Bot.*), ix. 252.
Hemp-agrimony (*Bot.*), x. 180.
Henbane (*Bot.*), xi. 241.
Henchman, Rev. Dr. xiii. 124.
Henley, meaning of name, xv. 80.
Henry II., charter to Stanley Abbey, xv. 280.
——— III., ditto, xv. 294.
——— of Huntingdon, xvi. 7.
Heraldry, value of, xvi. 335.
Herbarium, the Wiltshire, xiv. 236. Instructions for forming, x. 233; xii. 252. Report of, xv. 110.
Herbert, Lord, x. 19. Lines on his death, xvi. 342.
Herb-paris (*Bot.*), xiii. 200.
"Herb-two-pence." *See* Moneywort.
Herepath, meaning of the word, xi. 343.
*Herminium* (*Bot.*), xiii. 207.
Hermitage, meaning of the word, xiv. 102. At Codford St. Mary, x. 270. Chippenham, xii. 285. Fisherton, x. 281. Preshute, x. 300. Yatton Keynes, x. 322.
Heron family, the (*Ornith.*), xii. 55.
Herons, how to be killed, xiv. 212.
Hessick, meaning of the word, xiv. 258.

Digitized by Google

Hewish *or* Huish, xiv. 344. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— Hill, Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22.
Hexham Registers, xvi. 315.
Heytesbury, hundred of, xii. 26, 365; xiii. 115. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantries, x. 285. Hospital of St. John, xii. 374. Dedication, xv. 102. Ancient Statutes of, xi. 289. Grammar School, xi. 294. Heytesbury of, ix. 227. Hungerford of, *ib.*
Heywood, xv. 248. Chapel, x. 286; xii. 376. Dedication, xv. 102.
Heyworth, xii. 19.
Hicks, Captain J. L., xii. 328.
*Hidarii*, xiii. 118.
Hide family. *See* Hyde.
Hide, history and meaning of term, xi. 142.
*Hieracium* (*Bot.*), x. 208.
Higden's Polychronicon, xvi. 15,
Highmore, Dr. N. J., xiii. 344. *Don.* ix. 209.
Highway, xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 102.
Highways, care of the, xiv. 215. Fine for overflow on, xiii. 111, *et sqq.*
Highworth *or* Heigham, hundred of, xii. 362. Meaning of name, xv. 79.
——— *or* Wurthe, xv. 277. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Chantry, x. 286; xii. 377. Obit. xiii. 282.
Hilcote *or* Hulcote, xii. 16.
Hildensell. *See* Hill Deverell.
Hill, Mr. Baron, xiii. 164.
Hill Deverell. *See* Deverell.
Hillier, W., *exh.*, xv. 137.
Hilmarton *or* Hilmerton, xiii. 112; xv. 223. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Corton Chapel, x. 274; xii. 376. Widcombe Chapel x. 319.
Hilperton, xv. 223. Church, xi. 133. Dedication, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Hindon, meaning of name, xv. 81. Lynchets near, xii. 185. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Chapel, x. 287; xii. 379.
Hinton *or* Hunton family, the, ix. 226.
Hinton, meaning of name, xv. 80.
——— Broad, (Selkley hundred) xii. 19; xv. 260, 261. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Church plate and bells. xii. 364. Registers, xvi. 310, 315, 318, 330. Manor house, xv. 325.
——— Little (Elstub hundred), xii. 12. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
——— (Amesbury hundred), xii. 7.
——— (Thornbull hundred) xii. 21.
——— (Wherwelsdown hundred), xii. 26; xiii. 116. Charterhouse, xiii. 301. Manor House, *ib.*
——— Cherry (Cambridgeshire) registers, xvi. 331.
Hippocras, xv. 169.
Hippophagy, xiv. 15; xvi. 323.
*Hirundinidæ* (*Ornith.*) ix. 213.
Historical criticism, Sir J. Awdry on, xii. 136.
Hoare, Sir R. C. History of Wilts, ix. 6. Repertorium Wiltoniense, xii. 4. His barrow digging, x. 85. On Stonehenge, xvi. 52.
Hobhouse family, the, xiii. 300. Sir C. P., xvi. 346.
Hóce, (Fris.) xv. 92.
Hochelhampton *or* Hetheseling, xi. 175.
Hocktide Court, xi. 138. Ceremonies connected therewith, xi. 150, 151.

Digitized by Google

Hodeston, xiii. 112.
Hoddon, xvi. 330.
Hoe Benham Marsh, xi. 281.
Hoffman, A. W., xiv. 116.
Hog-weed (*Bot.*), ix. 248.
Holbein, xiv. 128, 140.
Holbury, on some Roman remains found at, xiii. 33. On a Roman building at (with photolithographs), xiii, 276, 378.
*Holcus* (*Bot.*), xiv. 288.
Holford, R. S., ix. 206.
Hollis, Miss, *exh.*, xv. 138,
Holly (*Bot.*), xi. 224.
Holt, xii. 25; xiii. 118. Rev. J. Lewis on Geology of, xiv. 109. Waters, x. 326; xi. 311; xiv.108. Large elms, x. 138; xii. 350. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Visited by Society, 1872, xiii. 315.
Holy Cross, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
Homington, xiii. 118; xv. 286. Dedication of Church, xv. 102. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Hone-wort (*Bot.*). *See* Stonewort.
Honey, Westbury, xiii. 295.
Honeysuckle (*Bot.*), ix. 257.
Hook, origin of name, xv. 92.
Hooper family, the, ix. 227.
——— (*Ornith*), xii. 159.
Hoopoe (*Ornith.*), ix. 51.
Hop (*Bot.*), xii. 349.
Hopgrass xi. 153. Gunter of, ix.226.
Hopper's Wiltshire arms and descents, ix. 223.
*Hordeum* (*Bot.*), xiv. 305.
Horehound (*Bot.*), xii. 93, 102.
Horn, ancient, xi. 145.
Hornbeam (*Bot.*), xiii. 198.
Horningsham, Great, xii. 27; xiii. 115. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Stourton of, ix. 230.
——— Little, Chapel, x. 287.
Hospitium, South Wraxall, xiv. 100.
*Hottonia* (*Bot.*), xii. 326.
Hounds-tongue (*Bot.*), xi. 223.
Hour-glass in Stratford Church, x. 17.
House, arrangements of a mediæval, xvi. 290.
Howe, Sir R., M.P., xi, 90.
Howes, meaning of word, xvi. 142.
Hubbaslow, xi. 342.
Hubert de Burgh, ix. 38.
Hudson, Mr., x. 11.
Huish. *See* Hewish.
Hull, E., xiv. 115, 116.
Hullavington *or* Hundlavington, xii. 24; xiii. 117. Meaning of name, xv. 90. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Destroyed Chapels, x. 261, 310.
Hulle. *See* Hill Deverell.
Hume, Dr., on querns, xiii. 311.
Humulus (*Bot.*), xi.. 349.
Hundreds, when instituted, xv. 84, 85. List of Wiltshire, xii. 6. How named, xv. 83. The hundred court, xiii. 106.
Hungerford family, the, ix. 226, 227; xi. 289; xiv. 126. Their property, x. 268, 273, 274, 285, 291, 302, 304, 309, 313; xi. 143, 153, 154, 155. Chantry at Heytesbury, x. 286. Chapel in Salisbury Cathedral, xi. 334. Walter, Lord, xiii. 230. Sir Antony, xv. 147. Sir Edward, xii. 292. Sir Thomas, xiii. 235. Sir Walter, xiii. 231.
Hungerford, Geology of, ix. 168. Annual Meeting at, xi. 121, Mr. Barker's Historical Account of, xi. 140. Free Chapels of North and South Standen, xii. 379. Letters patent of Edward III., and Henry IV., xi. 138. Hock tide Court Book, *ib.* Darell of, ix. 225. Corporation of, *exh.*, xi. 138.
Hunt, Captain Thomas, xiii. 141; xiv. 58, 59.
Huntworthe. *See* Hamptworth.
Hurcot *or* Hurdcote, xii. 1[illegible]

Digitized by Google

Hurst, Moody of, ix. 228. Stenhold of, *ib.* 229.
Hussey family, the, ix. 226; xiv. 106. Meaning of name, xiii. 52. Mr., xii. 46. Mrs., *exh.*, x. 36.
Hussey-Freke, A. L., xiv. 141.
Huxley, meaning of name, xv. 92.
Hyacinth, grape, *and* starch, xiii.219.
Hyde *or* Hide family, ix. 226. Origin of, ix. 280. M.P. for Wilts, xi. 88.
*Hydrocharidaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
*Hyoscyamus* (*Bot.*), xi. 241.
*Hypochœris* (*Bot.*), x. 203.
Hypomnemata, Aubrey's, xvi. 31.
Ibis, the glossy (*Ornith.*), xii. 59.
Idmiston *or* Idmeston, xii. 8. Dedication of Church, xv.103. Church plate and bells, xi. 370. Registers, xvi. 316. Free Chapel of Burgelon *or* Birdlyme, x. 264; xii. 380.
Idover, meaning of name, xiv. 163.
Iford, Horton of, ix. 227.
*Ilex* (*Bot.*), xi. 224.
Iley Oak, xiii. 108.
Imber *or* Immere, xii. 17, 27; xiii, 115. Meaning of name, xiv. 261. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Rous of, ix. 229.
Implements, bone, xvi. 173, 175. Lithographic illustration, ix. 121.
——— Bronze, xi. 285; xv. 139; xvi. 166, 176. Found at Olbury, xv, 137. Temper of, xvi. 116.
——— Flint, ix. 169; x. 8, 22, 35, 36, 37; xi. 40, 109, 110; xiv. 117. Found in the Avon Valley, x. 221. At Bemerton, x. 35. Fisherton, *ib.* Milford, x. 35, 37; xiv. 118. Niagara, x. 37. St.Mary Bourne, xi. 106. West Kennett, x. 133. Weymouth, x. 39; xi. 139. Wilsford, ix. 24. Experiments with, xvi. 117. How made, x. 230. Woodcuts of, x. 133; xi. 43, 47.
Implements horn, x. 96.
——— Iron, x. 328.
——— Stone, ix. 121; xiv. 119; xvi. 172. Modern use of, xvi. 110.
Incense Cups, so-called, ix. 25, 133, xvi, 169. Woodcut, *ib.* Theory of use of, xii. 122.
Indulgences granted to Stanley Abbey, xv. 244.
Ingleford *or* Inglesol. xi. 141.
Inglesham, dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Inglewood, xiv. 274.
Ingram, Rev. Dr. James, President of Trinity Coll., Oxon., history of Codford St. Mary, ix. 7. On Stonehenge, xvi. 52.
——— Rev. Canon A. H. W., on the use of a small clay cup, xii. 122. On a piece of perforated slate, x. 109.
Inkpen, xi. 274, *et sqq*, Geological sections (woodcuts), *ib.* 277, 278. Ware, *ib.* 139.
Inquisition on Ruth Pierce, xii. 256.
Insects, new fossil, xiv. 111.
*Insessores* (*Ornith.*), ix. 45, 211.
Interments, common British, ix. 136.
*Inula* (*Bot.*), x. 184.
*Iris*, *Iridaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 211.
Iron, disposition of in variegated strata, xiv. 118. manufacture of, xiv. 117.
—— ore in Wiltshire, Mr. Cunnington on, xii. 146. Ores, analysis of British, xiv. 117.
—— Period, the, xiii. 24, 26.
Irvine, Mr., xvi. 345, 346.
Isey *or* Eisey, meaning of name, xiv. 258.
Isis, meaning of name, xiv. 167.
Ivory, ancient carved, x. 36.
Ivy (*Bot.*), ix. 252.
—— ground (*Bot.*), xii. 98.
Ivychurch, monastery at, x. 287.

Digitized by Google

Jackson, Rev. Canon J. E., ix, 15; xii. 141, 151; xv. 131. His work for the Society, xv. 119. Edition of Aubrey, ix, 7. History of Grittleton, *ib.* Wraxall Manor House, xiii. 314. *Don.*, xiii, 104.
Papers on—
Ambresbury Monastery, x. 61.
Chapels, ancient Wiltshire, x. 253.
Churches, names of Wiltshire, xv 98.
Chippenham, notes on history of, xii. 259.
Gaols, Wiltshire county, ix. 82.
Gore, last will of Thomas, xiv. 1.
Heytesbury Almshouses, statutes of, xi. 289.
Hungerford Chapel, inventory of, xi. 334.
Longleat, literary treasures of, xv. 337.
——— papers, xiv. 192, 237.
Rood Ashton and other estates near Trowbridge, xiii. 311, 318.
Rowley *or* Wittenham, xiii. 227.
Sheriff's Turn in 1439, the, xiii. 107.
Stonehenge, xvi. 131.
Wulfhall and the Seymours, xv. 134, 140.
Jacob's ladder (*Bot.*), xi. 231.
James I., his right to the throne, xv. 156. At Stonehenge, xvi. 26.
James, Rev. J., on Avington Church, xi. 137.
—— of Potterne, xvi. 258.
January, proverbs respecting. xv. 46.
*Jasione* (*Bot.*), xi. 218.
*Jasminaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 225.
Jefferies, autograph of Judge, x. 37.
——— R., on Swindon, its history and antiquities, xiv. 37, 130. S. A., *exh.*, xv. 138.
Jenner, Dr., his prognostics of rain, xv. 70.
Jessy, meaning of word, x. 73.
Jethun. *See* Yatton Keynell.
Jewell, Bishop, his family, ix. 227. Letter to Wiltshire magistrates, ix. 83.
Jewellery, mediæval, xiii. 15.
Jewitt, L., *don.*, ix. 209.
Jew's-ear (*Bot.*), x. 136.
John, King, at Stanley Abbey, xv. 284. His charters to, *ib.* 290. Receipt of jewels from, *ib.* 291.
—— of Gaunt. *See* Gaunt.
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, on Stonehenge, xvi. 44.
Jones, Francis, xiii. 152; xiv. 39. Inigo, x. 84. Heirloom of, ix. 24. On Stonehenge, xvi. 27, 29. John, xiii. 139. Professor T. R., xiii. 32; xiv. 113, 120.
——— Rev. Canon W. H., xiii. 275, 312, 345.
Papers on—
All Cannings, xi. 1.
Clarendon, Lord, and his Trowbridge ancestry, ix. 282.
Domesday for Wilts, ix. 8. Gleanings from ditto, x. 22, 165; xiii. 42.
Dykes, Ancient Wiltshire, xiv. 332.
Fetter-lock, the, a cognizance of the Longs, xiii. 280.
Names of some English occupiers in the time of Edward the Confessor, xii. 148.
——— of places near Devizes, ix. 19.
——— of places in Wiltshire, xiv. 156, 253; xv. 71.
Nomina Villarum, xii. 1.
Potterne, xvi. 245.
South Wraxall, St. Andrew's Chapel at, xiv. 100.
Staple, Merchants of the, ix. 137.
Stockton, Anglo-Saxon Charter relating to parish of, xii. 216.
Trowbridge, Early annals, of xv. 208, 304.
——— Terumber's Ch[illegible] at, x. 239.



Digitized by Google

"Judas-light," xii. 382.
Judge Nicholas. *See* Nicholas.
July, proverbs respecting, xv. 54.
*Juncus*, *Juncaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 68.
June, proverbs respecting, xv. 50.
Juniper, *Juniperus*, (*Bot.*), xiii. 117.
——— large specimen at Wardour, *ib.*
Jurassic rocks compared with Oolite, xiv. 119.
Justice family, the, ix. 227.
Justices of the Peace, instructions to, xiv. 194.
Katharine, Queen, x. 68.
Kauffman, portrait by, ix. 23.
Keene. *See* Perry Keene.
Keevil *or* Kyvell, xii. 26. Meaning of name, xiv. 258. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Manor House, xv. 135. Woods. xiii. 323.
Kellaways. *See* Titherington.
Kelts. *See* Celts.
Kemble family, the, ix. 227. Meaning of name, xiv. 259. J. M., on Stonehenge, xvi. 130.
Kemble *or* Kemele, xii. 24. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Ewelme Chapel, x. 280.
Kemm, W. C., x. 209; xiii. 222; xvi. 76. *Exh.*, x. 38. On sarsen stones, xi. 243.
Kempsford, xiv. 129. Visited by the Society, 1873, xiv. 141.
Ken, meaning of the name, xv. 94. Bishop, *ib.* 339. His autograph, *ib.*, 338. His will, *ib.*, 339.
Kenilworth, Sir Walter Scott's, xv. 346.
Kennett, meaning of the name, xiv. 165.
——— Valley, Geology of the, (with woodcut,) xi. 268; xiv. 120. Peat deposit, xi. 137.
——— River, the, xi. 159.
——— East, xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 103,
Kennett, West, long barrow at, x. 130. Large stones, xi. 342.
Kenrick, Mrs., *don.*, xiii. 343. *Exh.*, xv. 133, 137.
Kensey, his execution, xiii. 186.
Kent. Dr. xvi. 272.
Kerlescant, Plan of, (lithograph,) xiii. 81.
Kevelegh, xiii. 116.
Keysler, xiv. 14. On Stonehenge, xvi. 41.
Kidder *or* Kydder, meaning of term, xiv. 215.
Kill barrow, meaning of name, xiv. 259.
Kilvert, Rev. F., Poems on Stonehenge, xvi. 190.
King, Rev. B., xiii. 222. *Don.* xv. 237.
Avebury, archæological varia on, xiv 228.
——— Fragments of parochial history. x. 176.
Nelson, anecdote of Lord, *ib.* 175.
Wellington, ditto Duke of, *ib.* 174.
—— J. W., *exh.*, xv. 138. Miss, *exh.*, xiii. 316.
Kingdon, Rev. H. T., *exh.*, ix. 24. On the origin of the name of Tan Hill, xi. 287.
Kingfisher (*Ornith*,), ix. 212.
Kingsbridge, xii. 21. Hundred of, xii. 21, 367; xiii. 112.
Kingsclere, Professor Buckland on Valley of, xiv. 110.
Kings'-graves, the, xvi. 142.
Kingston, the Duchess of, xiii. 300.
Kingston Deverell. *See* Deverell.
——— House, Bradford, visited by Society, xiii. 312.
Kingswood, Salkeld *or* Seacole of, ix. 229. Sport of, *ib.*
——— Abbey, x. 288.
Kington Langley. See Langley Fitzurse.
——— Saint Michael, meaning of

Digitized by Google

name, xii. 290. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Priory, x. 288. Snell of, ix. 229.
Kington, West, xii. 22. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells. xii. 368.
Kintbury, Geological section at, (woodcut,) xi. 273.
Kinwardston, Hundred of, ix. 8; xii. 14, 363.
Kirton family, the, ix. 227.
Kirwan, Rev. J., on Stonehenge, xii. 130. On Devonshire tumuli, xi. 13; xiii. 17.
Kite, E., xi. 13. *Exh.*, x. 37.
Kitmore, meaning of name, xvi. 251.
Kitton, F., xiv. 120.
Knaphill, ix. 22.
Knap-weed (*Bot.*), x. 196.
Knawel (*Bot.*), ix. 75.
Knevet family, the, ix. 227.
Knighton, xii. 11; xiii. 113. Chantry Chapel, x. 288. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Knook, xii. 27. Meaning of name, xiv. 259. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Castle, xiv. 342.
Knot (*Ornith.*), xii. 67.
Knot-grass (*Bot.*), xii. 338.
Knowl Chapel, x. 259.
Knowle family, the, ix. 227.
Knoyle, hundred of, xii. 9. Meaning of name, xiv. 259. Tyderley of, ix. 230.
——— East, Child, Bishop's, *or* Great, xv. 247. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 370. Chapelry, xii. 379. Hunter of, ix. 226.
——— West *or* Odierne, xii. 26. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Willoughby of, xiii. 176.
Kyloe, xvi. 317.
*Labiatæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 89.
Labour-in-Vain-Hill, xiv. 26.
Labyrinth at West Ashton, xiii. 331.
Lace, old, x. 34, 36.
Lackham, xiii. 118. Meaning of name, xiv. 260. Chapel, x. 288. Baynard of, ix. 224.
Lacock, x. 269; xii. 22. Meaning of name, xiv. 260. Nicholas's history of, ix. 6. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Brass, xii. 238. Obit., xii. 381. Blake *or* Blague of, ix. 224. Stump of, ix. 229.
——— Abbey, x. 289; xii. 307; xvi. 350. Bells, *ib.* 352. Mr. C. H. Talbot on the existing structure of, xii. 221. Visited by Society. xii. 146.
*Lactuca* (*Bot.*), x. 205.
Lacustrine habitations, ix. 104 (note).
Lady-fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 315.
Lady's-tresses (*Bot.*), xiii. 207.
Lake, xii. 6. Chapel, x. 289. House, x. 17. Drawing of ditto, x. 38. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 17.
Lambert family, the, ix. 228. Edmund, xiv. 81.
Lambourne, xv. 94, 263, *et sqq.*
Lambs, the Potterne, xvi. 274.
Lamb's-lettuce (*Bot.*), ix. 264.
Lamb's-tongue (*Bot.*), xii. 331.
*Lamium* (*Bot.*), xii. 99.
Landford, Laneford *or* Lufford, xii. 9; xiii. 117. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Landowner, power given to a, to try and execute offenders, xiv. 182.
Lane, meaning of name, xiii. 52.
Lanfear, Mr. xi. 138.
Langdon, xv. 263.
Langford family, the, ix. 285.
——— xii. 10. Servington of, ix. 229.
——— Great *or* Steeple, xii, 13; xiii. 115; xiv. 47. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
——— Little, xiv. 339. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church

Digitized by Google

plate and bells, xii. 367. Chantry, x. 290.
Langley *or* Langele, meaning of name, xv. 80.
——— Burrell, xii. 22; xiii. 118. Meaning of name, xii. 287; xiii. 56. Scandal at, xii. 314. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 149.
——— Fitzurse *or* Kington Langley, xii. 22. Origin of name, xiii. 56. Chapel, x. 288. Dedication, xv. 103. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 149.
Lapwing (*Ornith.*), xii. 52.
Larches at Nonsuch, x. 150.
*Laridæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 172,
*Lastræa* (*Bot.*), xiv. 311.
*Lathræa* (*Bot.*), xii. 75.
Latimer, meaning of name, x. 171; xiii. 53.
Latinity, curious, xvi. 317.
Latton, xii. 20. Roman remains at, ix. 232. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Laverstock, xii. 8. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chantry, x. 290.
Lavington, Bowyer of, ix. 225. Davenport of, *ib.*
——— East, Steeple, Stapul, *or* Market, xii. 17; xiii. 111. Lynchets near, xii. 185. Meaning of name, xv. 87. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Chantry, x. 290; xii. 377.
——— West, Gernon *or* Bishops, xii. 17; xiii. 111. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions to, xii. 382. Chapels, x. 283, 290, 291.
Law, anecdote of Bishop, x. 253.
La Warre family, the, xi. 196.
Lawrence family, the, ix. 227. W. F., xv. 120.
——— Sir Thomas, F.R.A., ix. 194. Works of, ix. 17, 23, 26, 27, 194 (with photolithograph); xv. 133, 137, 138, 139.
Layamon, xvi, 14.
Layard, Mr., xvi. 114.
Laycock. *See* Lacock.
Lea and Cleverton, dedication of Church, xv. 103.
Lead, Roman works in, found at Corinium, xiv. 188.
Lea. *See* Leigh.
Leáh (Teut.), xv. 78.
Leap year, superstitions respecting, xv. 65, 66.
Lear, Ven. Archdeacon, x. 25. On Bishopstone Church, x. 236.
Leather searchers, office of, xii. 273.
Leaze *or* *Lega*, xiii. 113.
Lee family, the, ix. 227.
"Leicester's Commonwealth," xv. 346.
Leigh (Bradford Hund.), xiii. 118.
—— *or* Lea, The. (Kingsbridge Hund.) Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
—— *or* Lye (Westbury Hund.), xii. 26; xiii. 116; xv. 268.
—— Delamere, xii. 22; xiii. 118. Meaning of name, xii. 287. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Leland, the antiquary, xvi. 18.
Lely, Sir Peter, xv. 138.
*Lemna*, *Lemnaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 76.
Lent, Dispensations for, xii. 272.
*Lentibulariaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 324.
Leonora, Princess, x. 66.
*Leontodon* (*Bot.*), x. 206.
Leopard's-bane (*Bot.*), x. 192.
Lepers, Hospital for, x. 276, 304.
*Lepidoptera* (*Entom.*) ix. 25.
*Lepsaña* (*Bot.*), x. 202.
Letcombe Ashes, xiv. 19.
Letters, change of in local names, xiv. 161.

Digitized by Google

Lettuce (*Bot.*), x. 205.
Leversedge family, the, x. 316.
Lewes, le., Cirencester, xiv. 221.
Lewis, Rev. J., xiv. 109.
Liber Scholasticus, xv. 99.
Library, the, at Longleat, xv. 339.
Licenses to crenellate, xvi. 299.
Lidbury camp, xiv. 342.
Liddingdon, Leddington, Luddington, *or* Lydington, xii. 21, 112. Meaning of name, xiv. 260. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Fisher of, ix. 226.
Lidiard. *See* Lydiard.
*Liguliflorae* (*Bot.*), x. 202.
*Ligustrum* (*Bot.*), xi. 225.
*Liliaceae* (*Bot.*), xiii. 216.
Lily of the Valley (*Bot.*), xiii. 213.
*Limacinea* (*Conch.*), ix. 278.
Lime, deposit of Roman, xiii. 279.
Limes, at Bowood, x. 158. Cutteridge, xiv. 35. Longleat, x. 158.
Limestones, analysis of the, xiv. 109.
Limpley Stoke, dedication of Church, xv. 103.
*Limaria* (*Bot.*), xii. 79.
Linch *or* Linchet. *See* Lynchet.
Lincoln Registry, the, xvi. 308.
Ling (*Bot.*). xi. 221.
Lisle, John, Commissioner of the great seal, xiii. 158,
*Listera* (*Bot.*), xiii. 208.
*Lithospermum* (*Bot.*), xi. 237.
Littlecote, xii. 21. Chapel, x. 290. Calton of, ix. 225. Darell of, *ib.* Closed against the Society, xi. 133.
Littleton, xiii. 116. Woods, *ib.* 323.
——— Drew, xiii. 22; xiii. 116. Meaning of name, xii. 284; xiii 56. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
——— Paynell *or* Parnel, xii. 17; xiii. 111. Becket of, ix. 225.
Littlewood, Rev. S.. xiii. 310. *Exh.*, x. 39.
Llangollen, lynchets at, xii. 190.
Loans to the Crown under the Privy Seal, xiv. 200.
*Lobipedidae* (*Ornith.*), xii. 70.
Locke, Wadham, *don.*, ix. 209; xiii. 343.
Locket, Crapaudine, xii. 249.
Lockridge, xii. 18.
Locksley, xv. 285.
Lockswell, xv. 249. Meaning of name, x. 292.
Logetting, a fashionable game, xiv. 214.
Lokyngton. *See* Luckington.
*Lolium* (*Bot.*), xiv, 306.
Lombardic Architecture, xiii. 99.
Long family, the, ix. 155, 227; xiii. 280, 323; xvi. 269. Legend of, xiii, 328. Ramifications of, *ib.* 327. F. S., *exh.*, ix. 35. H. L., xvi. 76. On Stonehenge, xvi. 129. Sir James, xii. 293, 302, 305. R. C., *don.* x. 328. R. P., xiii. 310. Sir Walter, xiii. 304.
—— W., M.A., F.S.A., on Stonehenge and its barrows, xvi. 1. 339.
Long Meg, and her daughters, ix. 270.
Longbridge Deverell. *See* Deverell.
Longespée, William, &c., xv. 214.
Longevity, instances of in Wiltshire, xii. 208.
Longford, xiii. 118.
Longleat, literary treasures of, by Canon Jackson, xv. 337. Papers, 1553—1588, by ditto, xiv. 192, 237. The park, x. 143, 156, 158. Priory, x. 292. Thynne family, ix. 230.
Lonsdale, W., xiv. 111.
*Loranthaceae* (*Bot.*), ix. 253.
Loosestrife (*Bot.*), xii. 327.
Lop-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 303.
Louse-wort (*Bot.*), xii. 82.
Lousy-oak, the, xiv. 159.
Lowell, P. A., xi. 82.
Lowes, meaning of word, xvi. 142.
Lowestoft, xvi. 314.

Digitized by Google

Lowndes, E. C., xii. 147; xv. 352.
Lubbock, Sir J. xiii. 222. On Stonehenge, xvi. 137.
Lucas, J., speech on scaffold, xiii. 183.
Luck of Muncaster, the xv. 236.
Luckington *or* Lokyntone, xii. 22; xiii. 117; xv. 223. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Luddington. *See* Liddington.
Ludgershall *or* Lutegarsale, xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 370. Chantry, xii. 378.
Ludlow, W., xv. 332.
Lukis, Rev. W. C., xiii. 274. Notes on barrow-diggings at Collingbourn, x. 85. On the stone avenues of Carnac, xiii. 32.
Lundy Island, xvi. 156.
Lung-wort (*Bot.*), xi. 237.
Luteshill, xv. 223.
Lustrum, the, xvi. 304.
*Luzula* (*Bot.*), xiv. 71.
Lycett, J., xiv. 114, 115, 117, 120.
*Lycopsis* (*Bot.*), xi. 234.
*Lycopus* (*Bot.*), xii. 93.
Lydeway, ix. 189.
Lydiard *or* Liddiard, xv. 268. Meaning of name, xiv. 261.
——— Millicent, xii. 19. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 382.
——— Tregoz *or* South Lydiard, xii. 21; xiii. 112. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. St. John family of, ix. 229. Tregoz family of, ix. 230.
Lye-hill, geological section (woodcut), xi. 177.
Lyell, Sir C., xiv. 111.
Lyke-wake, ix. 134; x. 96.
Lyme Regis, Coprolites at, xiv. 111.
*Lymnæacea* (*Conch.*), ix. 280.
Lynchet, linchet, or linch, meaning of word, xv. 88. Mr. Poulett Scrope on origin of, xii. 185.
Lyncombe, meaning of name, xiv. 173.
Lyneham, xii. 21; xiv. 159. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
*Lysimachia* (*Bot.*), xii. 327.
*Lythrum*, *Lythraceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 68.
M'Coy, Professor F., xiv. 113.
Maclean, J. C., xiv. 155.
Maces of Corporation of Devizes, ix. 23.
Mack, Edmond, xiii. 150, Sentenced to death, xiii, 168.
Mackay, A., *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Mackintosh, D., F.G.S., his theory of lynchets, xii. 186, 188.
Mackniel, Mr., xiii. 307, 314, 315. *Exh.*, 316.
Madder (*Bot.*), ix. 258.
Maddle, game of, xi. 34.
Madington *or* Maddington, xii. 14; xiii. 115. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Tooke of, ix. 230.
*Mær* or *Ge-mære* (Angl. Sax.), meaning of word, xv. 86.
Mæsknoll, meaning of name, xiv. 344.
Magna Charta, transcript of, x. 33.
Magpie, superstition respecting the, xiv. 330.
Maiden Bradley. *See* Bradley.
——— Newton. *See* Newton.
Maintenance, meaning of the word, xiv. 212.
Maiseyhampton, visited by Society, 1873, xiv. 140.
Male fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 213.
Malmesbury *or* Maidulfi urbs, xii. 23; xv. 85. Moffat's history of, ix. 6. Forest marble of, xiv. 118. Hundred of, xiii. 116. Charters, ix. 7. Ecclesiastical buildings, x. 293. Dedication of Churches, xv. 103. St. Paul's Church, xii. 378. Chapels, *ib.* 377. Inventory of Monastery, xii. 375. Bunce of, ix. 225.

Digitized by Google

Dyer, *ib.* Elkington, *ib.* 226. Stump, *ib.* 230,
Mammalian Drift of Wilts, the, xiv. 115.
Mann, Rev. S., *exh.*, xiii. 316.
Manning, Mr., xv. 25, 37.
Manningford, xiii. 111. Benneger. of, ix. 224.
——— Abbatts *or* Abbas, xii. 16. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— Bruce *or* Braose, xii. 16. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— Bohun, xii 16. Dedication of Church, xv. 103.
Mannings, G., *exh.*, ix. 27,
Mantell, Dr. G. A., xiv. 113, 114. R., xiii. 306. R. N., xiv. 113.
Manton, N , xiii. 184.
Manus Christi, xv. 176.
MSS. ancient, x. 33, 37. At Longleat, xv. 342.
Marble, Forest, ripple marks and tracks in, xiv. 111. At Cirencester, (wood-cut,) xi. 331.
March, proverbs respecting, xv. 47. 53.
Marden *or* Mereden, xii. 15. Meaning of name, xiv. 261; xv. 86. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 381. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22.
Mar-green, meaning of name, xv. 86.
Marjoram (*Bot.*), xii. 94.
Markets, grant for holding, xvi.258.
Markings, incised (woodcuts), Crinan Moss, ix. 269. Northumberland, *ib.* 268. Stonehenge, *ib.* 272, 273.
Marl, analysis of, xiv. 116.
Marlborough, xii. 18. Waylen's History of, ix. 7. Geology of, ix. 177; xiv. 117. Drift near, *ib.* 118. Ecclesiastical buildings, x. 295. St. Katharine's Chantry, xii. 377. St. Martins's Church, obits., xii. 381, 382. St. Mary's, dedication, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii, 364. Chantries, *ib.* 379. St. Peter's, dedication, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chantries, *ib.* 379. Monastery of White Friars, Inventory, *ib.* 359. Hospital of St. John, *ib.* 374. The Castle, x. 295. White Horse, xiv. 27. James Ley, Earl of, x. 317; xiii. 296. Benneger of, ix. 224. Cornwall of, *ib.* 225. Weare *or* Browne of, *ib.* 230.
Marriage registers, xvi. 301.
Marshfield, meaning of name, xiv. 262; xv. 86.
Marsh-wort (*Bot.*), ix. 240.
Marston Maisey, *or* Meysy, x. 173; xii. 20. Meaning of name, xv. 86; xvi. 249. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Hospital, x. 296.
——— South. *See* Highworth.
Marten, Martin, Marton, *or* Merton, meaning of name, x. 172; xi, 9; xv. 86, 89 (note). Horsey of, ix. 227.
——— *or* West Martin (Damerham hundred), xii. 12. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chapel, x. 297.
——— (Kinwardstone hundred), Chapel, x. 259.
Martin family, the, ix. 228. J., xiv. 111.
Martin, the (*Ornith.*), ix. 217.
Martinsell Hill, visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22.
Mary, Queen of Scots, letters respecting, xiv. 196, 242.
—— Princess, x. 64.
Maskelyne *or* Maslen, xvi 319.
——— Professor N. S., xiv. 114.
Master, Rev. G. S., *don.*, xiii 344; *exh.*, x. 35. On Roman remains



Digitized by Google

found at Holbury, xiii. 17, 33, 276. T. W. C., xiv. 145.
Matcham, G., ix. 13, 26; xvi. 337; x. 13. On Stonehenge, xvi. 134.
Mat-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 283.
Mathew family, the ix. 228.
Matilda, Queen, ix. 32.
Maton, S, *exh.*, x. 39.
*Matricura* (*Bot.*), x. 188,
Maud Heath, xv. 137.
Mauduit family, the, x. 315, 319; xv.338. Meaning of name,xiii.53.
Maw, G., xiv. 118.
May family, the, ix. 228.
May month of, proverbs respecting, xv. 49, 51, 67. Its unhealthiness, xvi. 335.
Mayer, J., F.S.A., *don.*, x. 328.
Maynard, Sergeant, xv. 33.
Mayor family, the ix. 228.
Maypole, a, xi. 33.
Maysmor, Mr., *exh.*, ix. 26.
Meadow-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 293.
Meal-tree (*Bot.*), ix. 256.
Medallion, Roman, found at Corinium, xiv. 188.
Medals, old English, ix. 26; x. 34, 37.
Medburn, xiii. 112.
Medlicott, H. E., *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Meek, A., xv. 125. *Exh.*, ix. 23; xv. 139.
Meetings, Annual, 1863, Devizes, ix. 1; 1864, Devizes, *ib.* 205; 1865, Salisbury, x. 1; 1866, Devizes, *ib.* 219; 1867, Hungerford, xi. 121; 1868, Devizes, xi. 344; 1869, Chippenham, xii. 133; 1870, Wilton, xiii. 1; 1871, Devizes, *ib.* 220; 1872, Trowbridge, *ib.* 285; 1873, Swindon, xiv. 121; 1874, Devizes, xv. 117; 1875, Devizes, *ib.* 350.
——— Lord Nelson on frequency of, x. 3. Mr. Goddard on ditto, xiv. 125.
Megaliths, how transported, ix. 130 (note).
*Melampyrum* (*Bot.*), xii. 81.
Melbury Hill, xi. 266.
Melchet, xiv. 274.
Melic-grass, *Melica* (*Bot.*), xiv.,292.
Melksham, xii. 29. Hundred of, *ib.* Fossil skull of ox found at, xiv. 111. Works on the waters, xiv. 110. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Hawkesworth of, ix. 227.
Melton Mowbray, xvi. 317.
Memoranda, benefit of keeping, xii. 291.
*Mentha* (*Bot.*), xii. 90.
*Menyanthes* (*Bot.*), xi. 230.
Merborough, xvi. 312.
Merchant Adventurers, the, ix. 142.
Mercury, *Mercurialis* (*Bot.*), xii. 346.
Mere, x. 172. Meaning of name, xiv. 261; xv. 86. Lynchets near, xii. 185. Hundred of, xii. 26. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Chantries, x. 297; xii. 374, 378. Baron of, ix. 224.
Merewether, H. A., Q.C., ix. 14; xii. 148; xv. 125. *Don.*, xv. 237.
Merfield, meaning of name, xv. 86.
Merganser (*Ornith.*), xii. 165.
Merlin, xvi. 18, 19, 132. Legend of, *ib.* 10.
Merriman. T.B., *exh.*, ix. 26. Executors of late, *don.*, xi, 244.
Merton Hospital, x. 296. *See also* Marston.
Mervyn family, the, ix. 228.
Methuen, Rev. H. H., xi. 1, 11. Paul, xiii. 300. Rev. T. A., xi. 25.
Meyer, C. J. A., xiv. 118.
Meysey. *See* Maiseyhampton, Marstone, *and* Ogbourne.
Mezereon, *Mezereum* (*Bot.*), xii. 341.
Michael the monk, xv. 242.
Michaelmas day, superstitions respecting, xv. 63.

Digitized by Google

Michells Kingston. *See* Kington St. Michael.
Middle-hill binding, xiv. 134.
Middleton. *See* Milton.
——— Bishops, (Durham,) xvi. 317.
Migehal', xv. 268.
Mildenhall, xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chapel, x. 306.
Miles, Rev. Thomas, History of Stockton, xii. 105, 192.
Milestones, disused, on the downs, xi. 266.
Milfoil (*Bot.*), ix. 72.
——— Yarrow (*Bot.*), x. 186.
Milford Hill, ix. 208 ; x. 223 ; xii.6. Flint implements found at, xiv. 118.
Millet-grass, *Milium*, (*Bot.*), xiv. 284.
Mills, number of in Wiltshire, xv. 123.
Milne-Edwards, Professor H., xiv. 112, 114.
Milston, xvi. 150. Dedication of Church, xv. 103.
Milton, Middleton, *or* Mylton Lilborn *or* Lisleborn, x. 328. Meaning of name, xii. 14 (note). Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Gunter of, ix 226.
Minety, meaning of name, xii. 91 ; xiv. 262. Dedication of Church. xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Benefactions, xii. 383.
Mint (*Bot.*), xii. 90.
Mistletoe (*Bot.*), ix. 253.
Moffatt, G., xiv. 186.
Moles, a plea for the, by Rev. A. C., Smith, xv. 135, 308 (with woodcuts).
*Molinia* (*Bot.*), xiv. 293.
Mompesson, Mr., xiii. 125.
"Monday's-hold," meaning of word, xv. 229.
Money wort (*Bot.*), xii. 328.
Monks' well, the, visited by Society, 1872, xii. 310.
Monkton, free Chapel, xii. 376.
——— Deverell. *See* Deverell.
——— Farley *or* Farleigh, xiv. 105 ; xv. 223, 224. Dedication of Church, xv. 103. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Rectory, xv. 223. Priory, x. 297.
——— Winterbourne. *See* Winterbourne.
*Monocotyledones* (*Bot.*), xiii. 200.
*Monotropa* (*Bot.*), xi. 223.
Montagu, Admiral, *don.*, xiii. 104, 223, 342.
Montgomery, Mr., *exh.*, x. 34.
Monument, Roman, sepulchral, xiv. 186.
Monumental inscriptions, xi. 76.
Moody family, the, ix. 228.
Moon, the, superstition as to its effect on the weather, xv. 58, 60.
Moon-rakers, x. 116 (note); xiv.326 ; xvi. 267.
Moon-wort (*Bot.*), xiv. 319.
Moor family, the, ix. 228.
Moore, C., F.G.S., xiv. 116, 119. On the geology of Swindon, xiv. 137. On Stonehenge, xvi. 70.
Moore Abbeston, Chapelry, x. 318.
Moor-hen (*Ornith.*), xii. 70.
Morbihan, lithograph of, xiii. 90.
Mordaunt family, the. xv. 338.
Morecombe, xv. 258.
Morgan's Hill, visited by Society, 1863, ix. 19.
Mormond, White Horse of, xiv. 29.
Morrice, Rev. Preb. xi. 135.
Morris, Professor J., xiii. 307 ; xiv. 112, 113, 114, 115. J. W., on Stonehenge, xii. 130.
Morrison, A., xiii. 22.
Moschatel (*Bot.*), ix. 252.
Moses, Rev. J. Townsend, on geology of, xiv. 109.
Motto, Queen Elizabeth's, xiv. 208.
Mouse-barley (*Bot.*), xiv. 306.



Digitized by Google

Mouse-ear (*Bot.*), xi. 238.
Moving colossal stones, method of, x. 52.
Mud-rush (*Bot.*), xiv. 85.
Mug-wort (*Bot.*), x. 190.
Mullein (*Bot.*), xii. 75.
Müller, Max, on Stonehenge, xvi. 119.
Mulllings, B., *exh.*, xv. 139. R., xiv. 134; *don.*, xiii. 223; xv. 237; *exh.*, xiv. 154. R. S., xi. 259.
Mummers, Christmas, xi. 33.
Munday family, the, ix. 228. T., *exh.*, xi. 139.
Mural painting, Corinium, xiv. 191. Idmiston, x. 38. Potterne, xvi. 278. Stockton, xii. 110, 113.
Murder, distinguished from manslaughter, xiv. 209.
Murhill, meaning of name, xv. 86. Geology, of, xi. 321.
Murrell, meaning of name, xv. 86.
*Muscaris* (*Bot.*), xiii. 219.
Museum, the Blackmore, xi. 122.
——— Corinium, xiv. 154.
——— Devizes, site, xiii. 222; ground-plan, *ib.* 224. Building, *ib.* 286. Completion, xiv. 123, 132. Cost, xv. 120. Opening, *ib.* 130. Regulations, *ib.* 116.
——— Salisbury, x. 6, 7.
——— Temporary, at Devizes, ix. 23; xv. 136. Hungerford, xi. 138. Salisbury, x. 32. Swindon, xiv. 154. Trowbridge, xiii. 316.
Musical instruments, ancient, x. 35.
Musselwhite J., *exh*,, ix. 27.
Mutton, how to preserve, xiii. 326.
*Myostis* (*Bot.*), xi. 238.
Myrtle, Bog *or* Ditch, *Myrica* (*Bot.*), xiii. 193.
Mystery plays, xii. 263.
*Mytilacea* (*Conch.*), ix. 281.
Nadder, valley of the, visited by Society, 1870, xiii. 19.
*Naiades* (*Conch.*), ix. 281.
Names of early English occupiers, xii. 148.
Names curious, xvi. 321. *See also* Surnames.
——— of places in Wiltshire, xii. 289; xiii. 43.
——— ditto near Devizes, ix. 19.
——— local, rules for determining derivation of, xiv. 157.
*Napeta* (*Bot.*), xii. 97.
Narbone *or* Narborne family, ix. 228.
*Narcissus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 213.
*Nardus* (*Bot.*), xiv. 283.
*Narthecium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 68.
*Natatores* (*Ornith.*), xii. 152.
Navel-wort (*Bot.*), ix. 78.
Neate, Miss, *don.*, xiv. 120.
Neckham, Abbot, xvi. 14.
Necklace, Amber (woodcut), xvi. 181. Stone (lithograph), ix. 115.
Needlework, old and curious, ix. 26; xiv. 155; xv. 138.
Neeld, Sir John, xii. 147. Mr. Joseph, his prediction concerning the Society, xiv. 133.
Negroes' names, xvi. 322.
Nelson, Earl, xvi. 346; *exh.*, x. 33. President, Devizes meeting, 1863, address, ix. 5; speeches, 15, 20; Salisbury meeting, 1865, address, x. 3; speeches, 14, 31.
——— Viscount, anecdote of, x. 175. Relics of, x. 33.
*Neottia* (*Bot.*), xiii. 208.
*Neritacea* (*Conch.*), ix. 281.
*Neritoma* (*Geol.*), xiv. 113.
Neston, xiv. 343, 344. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Manor, x. 265.
Netheravon, xii. 13. Dedication of Church, xv. 104.
Netherhampton (Cadworth hundred), xii. 10; xiii. 113. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 31.
——— (Elstub hundred), Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Nethermore, xv. 248.
Netley, meaning of name xiv. 263.

Digitized by Google

Nettle (*Bot.*), xii. 349.
——— Dead (*Bot.*), xii. 99.
——— Hemp (*Bot.*), xii. 100.
Nettleton *or* Netelton, xii. 22. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
Netton, xiv. 262.
*Neuroptera* (*Entom.*), ix. 25.
Nevil, Testa de, xv. 223.
Neville, Sir H., xi. 64. Bishop R., xiii. 238.
Newbrough family, the, ix. 228.
Newdick, Mr. xvi. 237.
Newnton, Long, *or* Newentone, xii. 24; xvi.342. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
——— North, xiii. 111. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— South, *or* Newton, *or* Neweton, xii. 13, 115; xiv. 339. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
——— Tony *or* Newton, xii. 7. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Newton, Maiden, old river bank near, xii. 192.
New year's eve, superstitions respecting, xv. 64.
Nicholas family, the, ix. 228; xi. 36. Mr. Baron Robert, xiii. 126, 160; xiv. 45. Anecdote of ditto, xi. 39.
Nichols, J. G., xv. 120.
*Nidum*, Roman station of, xiv. 181.
Nightingale, J. E., *exh.*, x. 36; xv. 139. Miss, *exh.*, x. 36.
Night-jar (*Ornith.*), ix. 221.
Night-shade (*Bot.*), xi. 240. Antidote to poison of, *ib.* 241.
——— Enchanter's (*Bot.*), ix. 71.
"Night-Walker," a, xiii. 114.
Nine men's Morris, game of, xi. 34.
Nipple-wort (*Bot.*), x. 202.
Noad, Dr. H. M., xiv. 117.
Nodder, meaning of name, xiv. 164.
Noell, Mr., xv. 33.
Nonæ Roll, the, xi. 55.
Nonjurors, the, xiv. 135; xvi. 328. In Wiltshire, ib. 337.
Nonsuch House, Bromham, trees at, x. 150. Visited by Society, ix. 19.
Norfolk, Thomas, Duke of, xiv. 196. Letters to Queen Elizabeth, *ib.* 197. To Sir J. Thynne, *ib.* 198, 199.
Norman Architecture in Wiltshire, xi. 130.
Normanton Ditch, xi. 342.
Norridge *or* Norrege, xii. 28. Free Chapel, x. 298; xii. 376, 380.
Norrington House, x. 31.
Norris, H. K., *exh.*, ix. 26.
Norton (Kingsbridge Hund.), dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
——— Bavant, xii. 28; xiii. 114. Chapel, x. 298. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
——— (Cheshire), xvi. 329.
——— (Durham), xvi. 331.
November, proverbs respecting, xv. 56.
Nownton *or* Nunton, dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Noyes, J., xv. 120.
Nuisances, inspection of, xiii. 122, *et sqq.*
Nutcombe family, ix. 228.
Nutley, J., xiii. 253; xiv. 38.
Nythe, xiv. 181.
Oadenham, xiii. 118.
Oak (*Bot.*), xiii. 196. Large specimens, *ib.* At Blacklands, x. 147. Longleat, 146. Savernake, *ib.* Spye Park, 148.
——— and ash, proverb respecting the, xv. 54.
Oaksey *or* Okesy, xiv. 273. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Chapel, x. 298; xii. 376.

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Oare, xiii. 111. Meaning of name, xiv. 264. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22. *See also* Draycot.
Oat-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 290.
Oat-like grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 291.
Obit *or* mind-day, xv. 176. How observed, xiii. 235.
Ockingham. *See* Wokingham.
O'Conner, Mr., *don.*, xi. 120.
October, healthiness of, xvi. 335. Proverbs respecting, xv. 55.
Odstock. xiii. 118. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Offa, King of Mercia, xiv. 345.
Ogbourne, Ugbourne, *or* Okeburne, Kemble of, ix. 229.
——— St. Andrew, xii. 19. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Registers, xvi. 306. Monastery, x. 299.
——— St. George, xii. 19. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii.364. Chantries, x. 229; xii. 375, 379.
——— Meysey, xii. 19.
Ogbury Camp, visited by Society, 1865, x. 17.
Okely Wood, Tisbury, earthworks at, xi. 343.
Okesheye *or* Okesey. *See* Oaksey.
Okingame. *See* Wokingham.
Oldbury Hill, barrow on, xiii. 103.
Oliph family, the, ix. 228.
Oliver's Camp, visited by Society, 1863, ix. 19.
Olivier, Col. xvi. 283; *Don.*, xv. 132. Rev. D., on Wilton Church, xiii. 14, 93.
*Ongaraceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 69.
Oneberry (*Bot* ), xiii. 200.
*Onopordum* (*Bot.*), x. 198.
Oolite beds, Wiltshire, xiv. 113. Compared with Yorkshire, *ib.* 116. Mollusca of the, *ib.* 114.
*Ophioglossum* (*Bot.*), xiv. 319.
*Ophrys* (*Bot.*), xiii. 205.
Oppel, Dr. A., xiv. 115.
Orage *or* Orache (*Bot.*), xii. 334.
Orchesfounte. *See* Erchfont.
Orcheston St. George, xii. 27; xiii. 115. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
——— St. Mary, xii. 14; xiii. 114. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Benefactions, xii. 382.
*Orchis*, *Orchidaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
Organic remains in Wilts, Miss Bennet's catalogue of, xiv. 111.
*Origanum* (*Bot.*), xii. 94.
Orkney, stone vessel found at (with lithograph) xii. 125.
Ornaments, ancient British (with lithograph), ix. 115; x. 18; xvi. 179.
*Ornithogalum* (*Bot.*), xiii. 217.
Ornithological specimens and collections: Mr. Blackmore's, x. 38. Earl Nelson's, *ib.* 34. Mr. Rawlence's, *ib.* 38. Rev. A. C. Smith's, *ib.* 34. Mr. Tugwell's, xv. 133.
Ornithology of Wilts, Rev. A. C. Smith's, ix. 45, 211; xi. 160; xii. 44, 152.
*Orobanche*, *Orobanchaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 73.
Osborn, meaning of name, xiv. 167.
Osbourne. *See* Ogbourn.
Osier (*Bot.*), xiii. 187.
Ossuary theory, the, xvi. 228.
Osmund, Mr., *exh.*, x. 39.
Oswestry, meaning of name, xiv. 158; xv. 97.
Ottley, Mr., *don.*, xv. 237.
Otterington, South, registers, xvi. 308.
Ouse, meaning of name, xiv. 167.
Overleigh. *See* Everley, xii. 364.
Overtevente. *See* Teffont.
Overton, xii. 12, 18; xiv. 344. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Benefactions, xii. 382.

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Over-Wroughton *or* Werston, xii. 21.
Owen, Professor R., xiv. 111, 112.
Owl, superstition respecting the, xiv. 330.
Owners of land, names of places derived from, xv. 88.
Ox, humerus of the (woodcut), xi. 284.
Oxbourne. *See* Ogbourne.
Oxenleigh, meaning of the name, xiv. 168.
Oxey, free Chapel at, xii. 380.
Ox-eye (*Bot.*), x. 189.
Oxford, meaning of name, xiv. 167. Mr. Thomas Smith at, xi. 86.
Ox-tongue (*Bot.*), x. 205.
Oyster-catcher (*Ornith.*), xii. 53.
*Paganalia* xvi. 304.
Paigle. *See* Cowslip.
Paintings, ancient, x. 33, 34.
——— mural. *See* Mural paintings.
Palace Garden, the, Westbury, xiii. 296.
Palestine, relics from, ix. 24.
Palgrave, W. G., xvi. 125.
Palmer, Dr., *exh.*, xi. 138. On the peat deposit of the Kennett valley, xi. 137.
Palmson-Eve, xv. 175.
Pane, the, Cirencester, xiv. 145.
*Parietaria* (*Bot.*), xii. 348.
*Paris* (*Bot.*), xiii. 200.
Parish Clerk, salary of a, 1587, xiii. 330.
Parker, J. H., C.B., F.S.A., x. 9, 14, 19, 25, 31; xvi. 346. On Stonehenge, xvi. 131. W. K., xiv. 120.
Parliament, payment of members of, xii. 265.
Parochial Histories scheme, the, xi. 1; xiii. 303; xiv. 127, 132; xv. 307. Originated by Prebendary Wilkinson, ix. 7. Difficulties in, xiii. 76. Canon Jackson on, xii. 142.
*Paronychiaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 74.
Parry. *See* Gambier-Parry.
Parsley (*Bot.*), ix. 239. Beaked, 250. Bur, 248. Fool's, 246. Hedge, 249.
Parsnep, Wild, (*Bot.*), ix. 247. Cow, 249. Water, 243,
Parsons, Dr. H. F., *don.*, xv. 112. *Exh.*, xiii. 317. W. F., xii. 129, *Exh.*, xiv. 155. Mr., *don.*, xii. 258.
Parvise *or* Vice, Cirencester, xiv. 146.
Pastoral staff, x. 32, 33.
Patney. dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Paveley, Reginald de, xiii. 295.
Pavement, tesselated, at Cirencester, xiv. 142. Littlecote, xi. 138. Pitney, xv. 138. West Dean, xiii. 34.
Paveshore, x. 299.
Pax, a, found at Avebury, xiv. 230.
Paxcroft, xiii. 331.
Payne, meaning of name, xiii. 54.
Peace, Rev. P., *exh.*, ix. 23; xv. 139.
Peacock, Rev. E., *don.*, xv. 352. On some old coppers, x. 323. On Southwick Court, Cutteridge, and Brook House, xiii. 308; xiv. 31. On the Wiltshire Downs, xi. 262.
Pearce, J. C., xiv. 111, 112, 113.
Peat ashes, xi. 280. Value of, *ib.* 281.
Peculiars, Wiltshire, xvi. 254.
*Pedicularis* (*Bot.*), xii. 82.
Peewit (*Ornith.*), xii. 52.
*Peine forte et dure*, what it was, xiii. 257.
Pelican family (*Ornith.*), xii. 170.
*Pelicanidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 169.
*Pellitory* (*Bot.*), xii. 348.
Pembroke, the Earl of, xiii. 300; xvi. 144.
*Penates* found at Devizes, ix, 29.
Pendragon, Uther, xvi. 10.
Pennell Hill *or* Penuels, near Calne,

Digitized by Google

[illegible]
[illegible]
152.
Pepper Saxifrage (Bot. [illegible]
Pepys, S., at Stoneheng[illegible]
Percy, Dr. T., xiii. 117[illegible]
Periostomella (Conch.[illegible]
Periwinkle (Bot.), xi. [illegible]
Perpendicular architec[illegible]
xi. 166, [illegible]
Perry-Keene, Major, [illegible]
Persicaria (Bot.), xii. [illegible]
Pernun=Pevnun, x. 24[illegible]
Pertwood or Pertew[illegible]
Dedication of Ch[illegible]

Digitized by Google

Pinkney, meaning of name, xiii. 54.
Pinneger family, the. *See* Benneger.
Piscina, Post-Reformational, x. 322.
Pit dwellings, Mr. Stevens on the, xii. 148.
Pitton, Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Pit-poole, xvi. 143.
Places in Wiltshire, Canon Jones on names of. *See* Jones.
Plague, the, in France, xi. 102, 105.
Planetarium, a supposed, ix. 21.
Plantain, *Plantago*, *Plantaginaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 330.
——— Water, xiv. 72.
Plants, directions for drying, x. 235.
Plate, old, x. 36, 37; xiv. 5. Church, Avebury, xiv. 231. *See also* Inventories of Church goods, xii. 354. Seizure of, *ib*, 358, *et sqq*.
Plaitford *or* Platford, dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Playing cards, ancient, x. 33.
Playster, Chapel,
Playteford. *See* Plaitford.
Plenderleath, Rev. W. C., x. 3; xiii. 223. *Exh.*, *ib.* 317. Curiosities and statistics of Parish Registers, xiv. 133; xv. 135; xvi, 301. White horses of Wiltshire, xiii. 306; xiv. 12.
Pleydell family, the, ix. 228.
Plot, on Stonehenge, xvi. 41.
Plover, the (*Ornith.*) xii. 45.
*Poa* (*Bot.*), xiv, 293.
Pochard (*Ornith.*), xii. 163.
Polebarn, meaning of name, xv. 210.
*Polemonium*, *Polemoniaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 231.
Pole-tax, the, xiv. 134.
*Pollicipes* (*Geol.*), xiv. 112.
Polton. *See* Poulton.
*Polygonatum* (*Bot.*), xiii. 214.
*Poligonum*, *Polygonaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 335, 338.
Polypody, *Polypodium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 310.
*Polystichum* (*Bot*)., xiv. 313.
Pomeroy, xv. 223.
Pond-weed (*Bot.*), xiv. 77.
Poole *or* Pole Keynes, xii. 24. Meaning of name, xiv. 265, Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Poor Man's Weather-Glass. *See* Pimpernel.
Poore, Lady, *exh.*, x. 34.
Porch-House, the. *See* Potterne.
Poplar, *Populus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 192. Value of the, x. 158.
Portland strata in North Wilts, xiv. 137.
Porton, xii. 8. Chapel, drawing of, x. 38. Dedication, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Port-reeve, office of, xi. 151.
*Portulaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 73.
Portwarde *or* Portway, Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Posture of skeletons in barrows, on the, xvi. 165.
*Potamogeton*, *Potamogetonaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 77.
Potatoes, proverb respecting, xv. 52.
Potterne, x. 299; xii. 17; xiv. 273. History of, by Canon Jones, xv. 134; xvi. 245. Meaning of name, xvi. 247. The Church, *ib.* 274. Dedication, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Porch-House, xi. 19. Photograph of, xi. 1; xvi. 266. Mr. A. C. Smith on, xv. 134; xvi. 287. Ruth Pierce of, xvi. 272. The Potterne Troop, *ib.* 283. Visited by the Society, 1874, xv. 135.
Pottery, ancient British: Marten, xi. 139. Stonehenge (with woodcuts), xvi. 167. West Kennett (woodcuts), x. 133. Winterbourne Stoke, ix. 23.
——— Roman, Corinium, xiv. 190. Devizes, ix. 27. Heddington, *ib.*



Digitized by Google

Holbury, xiii. 36, 276. Welford, xi. 138.
Poticary family, the xii. 203.
Poulett-Scrope. *See* Scrope.
Poulshot, Pauleeholt, *or* Powlesholde, xii. 29 Meaning of name, xvi. 251. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Rectory, xv. 223.
Poulton *or* Pulton, xii. 19, 20. Meaning of name, xiv. 265. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 362. Priory, x. 300. Weare *or* Browne of, ix. 231 ; xvi. 311.
Poultry Cross, origin of name, x. 290.
Poverty, ancient and modern, compared, xv. 123.
Povey. W., *exh.*, xiv. 154.
Powlesholde. *See* Poulshot.
Powne, Mr., *exh.*, xiv. 154.
Powysse. *See* Pewsey.
Poynder, T. H. A., ix. 206. *Don.*, xv. 121. W. H., *don.*, xiv. 346.
Pratincole (*Ornith.*), xii. 47.
Pratt, S. P., xiv. 112.
Prayer-book, conformity to enjoined at Quarter Sessions, xiv. 208.
*Presbyteratus* x. 261.
Preshute *or* Preteschet, xv. 269. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Anchoritess, x. 300.
Prestwich, J., xiv. 115, 119.
Presidents of the Society, list of, x. 24.
Preston, Rev. T. A., xiv. 236. *Don.* xv. 112. Report of Wiltshire Herbarium, xv. 110.
Price, Rev. D., xii. 213.
Price of wheat as a standard of payment, xi. 304.
Prideaux, Attorney General Edmund, xiii. 163. Letter to Thurloe, xiv. 51.
Priest, a dishonest, xii. 383.
Primrose (*Bot.*), xii. 325. Mr. Flower's notes on the common, *ib.* 351.
*Primula, Primulaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 325.
Prints, old, x. 36.
Prior, Dr. R. C. A., *don.*, xv. 237.
Prisoners' Plea, the, xiii. 256.
Privileges, Papal, granted to Stanley Abbey, xv. 244.
Privet (*Bot.*), xi. 225.
Privy Seal, loans to Crown under, xiv. 204.
Probin, J., xiv. 10.
Profit, selling at unlawful, xiii. 114.
Provender family, the, xi. 203.
Proverbs, weather, xv. 42. Old English, xvi. 319.
Provis, J., xiv. 110.
*Prunella* (*Bot.*), xii. 97.
Pruning trees, Rules for, x. 140.
*Pteris* (*Bot.*), xiv. 318.
*Pterocera*, catalogue of the, xiv. 118.
*Pulicaria* (*Bot.*), x. 184.
Pulley family, the, ix. 228.
*Pulmonaria* (*Bot.*), xi. 237.
Pulpit. Bishopston, x. 25. Cirencester, xiv. 148.
Purbeck Stone, xv. 182. In North Wilts, xiv. 137.
Purification, the. *See* Candlemas Day.
Purnell collection, the, xiv. 186.
Purslane (*Bot.*), ix. 68.
Purton *or* Purytone, xii. 23. Meaning of name, xv. 82. Saline water at, xiv. 117. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 362. Benefactions, xii. 382.
Purveyors, duties of Royal, xiv. 211.
Purvis, Rev. R. F., *exh.*, x. 35.
Pyle, R., xiii. 124, 152.
Pyper, Rev. R., xiii. 310.
Pyramids, the Egyptian, xvi. 112.
Quakers, persecution of the, xvi. 271.
Quaking Grass, (*Bot.*), xiv. 297.
Quarley Hill, xi. 343.

Digitized by Google

Quarrer, meaning of word, xv. 169.
Quarries, mode of working freestone, xi. 324.
Quarter Sessions, charge to be given at, xiv. 208.
Queensbury, Dukes of, xvi. 239.
Quemerford *or* Queinford, xv. 269. Meaning of name, xiv. 173. Dedication of Church, xv. 100. Blake of, ix. 224.
*Quercus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 196.
Querns, ix. 26. Professor Buckman on the materials of, ix. 291.
Quidhampton and Quidham, meaning of names, xiv. 265. *See also* Wedhampton.
Quoits *or* Coyts, game of, xiv. 212.
Rachment, meaning of term, xvi. 357.
*Radiata* (*Zool.*), xiv. 113.
Rag-wort (*Bot.*), x. 193.
Rail (*Ornith*), xii. 68.
Railways, line of, x. 27. Geology of two Wiltshire, ix. 167. Of Great Western, xiv. 113.
Rain, portents of, xv. 44, 69. Proverbs respecting, xv. 62.
*Rallidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 68.
Rampion (*Bot.*), xi. 218.
Rampire xiv. 344.
Ramsay, Professor A. C., xiv. 116.
Ramsbury, xvi. 250. Meaning of name, xv. 82. Hundred of, xii. 18. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Darell aisle, x. 301. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantry, xii. 377. Benefactions, xii. 381. York family of, ix. 231. Visited by Society, 1867, xi. 135.
Ramsons (*Bot.*), xiii. 218.
Randall, Mr. J. S., on the Box quarries, xi. 320.
Range *or* renge-table, meaning of term, xvi. 357.
Randen, misreading for Camden, *q.v.*
Rascal, original meaning of the word, xv. 156, 182.
*Rasores* (*Ornith.*), xi. 160.
Ratenrewe, the, Cirencester, xiv. 226.
Ratfyn, xiv. 273.
"Raton," meaning of the word, xiv 226.
Rattle (*Bot.*), xii. 83.
——— Red (*Bot.*), xii. 82.
Ravenhill, W. W., records of the Rising in the West, xiii. 14, 119, 252 ; xiv. 38 ; xv. 1, 235. On Sir Walter Long, xiii. 304.
Ravenshaw, Rev. T. F., *exh.*, xv. 239.
Rawbridge, meaning of name, xvi. 249.
Rawlence, J., *exh.*, x. 37.
Razor-bill (*Ornith.*), xii. 169.
Read, C. J., *exh.*, ix. 35.
Rebellion, registration during the Great, xvi. 316.
Redbreast, the, superstitious respect for, xvi. 329.
Red horse of Warwickshire, the, xiv. 29.
Redish family, the, ix. 229.
Redlinch *or* Redlynch, meaning of name, xv. 88. Dedication of Church, xv. 104.
Redman, W., *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Reed (*Bot.*), xiv. 285.
—— Grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 280.
—— Mace (*Bot.*), xiv. 74.
Reeves, Lieut. Col., xiii. 146.
"Register," an official so called, xvi. 315.
Register, a family, xiv. 2.
Registers, parochial: All-Cannings, xi. 27 ; Chippenham, xii. 311 ; Etchilhampton, xi. 189 ; Stockton, xii. 209, 215. Mr. Plenderleath on curiosities and statistics of, xiv. 133 ; xv. 135 ; xvi. 301. Falsification of, *ib.* 32, 38, 39.
——— of Deeds, monastic and others, xv. 344.
Registries, Diocesan, xvi. 313.
Regraters, meaning of the word, xiv. 215.
Repertorium Wiltoniense. xii. 4.



Digitized by Google

Report for 1863, ix. 1; 1864, *ib.* 205; 1865, x. 2. 1866, *ib.* 219; 1867, xi. 121; 1868, *ib.* 344; 1869, xii. 133; 1870, xiii. 12; 1871, *ib.* 221; 1872, *ib*, 285; 1873, xiv. 122; 1874, xv. 118; 1875, *ib.* 350.
Reptiles, British fossil, xiv. 111.
Restoration, destructive, x. 317.
Resurrection, supposed symbol of the, xvi. 232.
Retainors, meaning of word, xiv. 212.
Revell, *or* Revel Wick, Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
Rey, meaning of name, xiv. 265.
Reynalds family, the, ix. 228.
Reynolds, S., *exh.*, xv. 138. Mr., xv. 134.
Rheumatism, a charm for, xiv. 325.
*Rhinanthus* (*Bot.*), xii. 83.
Rhynoospora (*Bot.*), xiv. 82.
Richard I., charter to Stanley Abbey, xv. 281.
——— III., his autograph, xv. 347.
Richmond family, the, xv. 135. G., R.A., xvi, 287, 311. *Don.*, xv. 133. *Exh.*, xv. 137.
Rickman, on Stonehenge, xvi. 81.
Ridge *or* Rigge, xiii. 114.
Ridgways, ix. 126.
Rigden, R. H., x. 1, 14.
Riley family, the, ix. 229. E., xiv. 117.
Rings, decade, x. 35, 39. English, *ib.*, 34, 36. Episcopal, *ib.* 33. Greek, *ib.* 35. Hebrew (wedding), xiii. 15. Indian (talismanic), x. 35. Posey *or* Poesy, x. 39; xiv. 7. Stone (with lithograph), ix. 115. Trinity, ix. 26, 27.
Ringwood, x. 223.
Ripple-marks in the Forest marble, on the, xiv. 111.
Rising in the West, records of the, by Mr. W. W. Ravenhill, xiii. 14, 119, 252; xiv. 38; xv. 1. Notes and corrections to, xv. 235.
Rivers, Marcellus, xv. 30.
Road *or* Rudes, xv. 247. Meaning of name, xiii. 333.
—— Hill, dedication of Church, xv. 100.
—— Roman, in Chalke Valley, x. 27. Near Salisbury and Andover, xi. 343.
—— Water, history of, in Wiltshire, xiv. 109.
Robber, death of a, on the downs, xi. 267.
Robertsmen, meaning of word, xiv. 213.
Robinson, T., xiv. 229.
Rochester. Wilmot, Earl of, xiii. 124.
Rockley, Roucleigh, *or* Roucle, xii. 19; xv. 248. Large stone near, xi. 342. Preceptory of Templars at, x. 301. (*Misread* Bonleighe, xii. 368.)
Rodborough, xiv. 161.
Rodborne *or* Rodbourne, xii. 24. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Pulley family of, ix. 228.
———— Cheney *or* Chaynes, xii. 19. Origin of name, xiii. 56. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Richmond *or* Webb of, ix. 228.
Rodmarton, origin of name, x. 172. Registers, xvi. 330.
Roger, Bishop of Sarum, ix. 32; xvi. 255.
Rogers family, the, ix. 229.
Rogue, how punishable, xiv. 210.
Rolle, a contraction for Rudolf, xv. 90.
—— Lord Chief Justice, xiii. 126, 159.
Rolleston, Professor, xvi. 16.
Rollestone, Rowlestone, *or* Rolston, meaning of name, xv. 90. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Rolt, Sir E. B., xv. 323.

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Roman embankment at Cricklade, xii. 126.
——— remains at Corinium, xiv. 190; Holbury, xiii. 276; Wilsford, ix. 24.
——— station at Stockton, xii. 107.
——— villa (destroyed) near Bromham, ix. 19. Dean, xiii. 83.
——— wall, Cirencester, xiv. 149.
Roman-Catholics in Wiltshire, xvi. 337.
Romans, the, not the builders of Stonehenge. xvi. 96.
Rombold's Moor, Megalithic circle at (lithograph), xiii. 91.
Romsey Abbey, xiii. 320.
Rood Ashton. *See* Ashton.
*Rosaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 58.
Rose, the (*Bot.*), ix. 63.
Rosmar, Count of, xi. 178.
Ross of Potterne, Old, xvi. 246.
*Rotalinæ* (*Geol.*), xiv. 120.
Rotten Row, meaning of word, xii. 288. *See also* Rattenrewe, xiv. 226.
Roughbridge, meaning of name, xvi. 249.
Roulston, Yorkshire, white horse, xiv. 29.
Roundells, xv. 139.
Roundway *or* Rundeway, xii. 18. Meaning of name, xvi. 249. Battle of, xii. 297.
——— Park, large fir tree in, x. 152.
Rous family, the, ix. 229. W., xv. 220.
Rowde *or* Rowdes. xii. 17. Meaning of name, xiii. 333; xiv. 265. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Liberty of, *ib.*
Rowe, Richard, xiii. 178.
Rowleston. *See* Rolleston.
Rowler *or* Roughley, xiii. 118, 227. Meaning of name, xiii. 228; xvi. 249. Manor, x. 302.
Rubbedeston *or* Robson, xii. 19.
"Rubbling," ix, 118.
Ruberg *or* Rugebergh, hundred of, xii. 17; xv. 84; xvi. 248.
*Rubiaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 258.
Rudlow Chapel, x. 303.
Ruff (*Ornith.*), xii. 63.
Rugebergh. *See* Ruberg.
Rugeley, meaning of name, xvi. 249.
Rumbold, J., *exh.*, x. 39.
*Rumex* (*Bot.*), xii. 335.
*Ruscus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 215.
Rush (*Bot.*), xiv. 68.
—— the flowering (*Bot.*), xiv. 73.
Rushall *or* Ruteshal, xii. 16; xiii. 112; xv. 248, 269. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Rushmere, meaning of name, xiii. 49.
Ruskin on sun-worship, xvi. 124.
Rustyback (*Bot.*), xiv. 317.
Ruth Pierce. *See* Pierce.
Ruyton, xvi. 331.
Rutland, Francis, Earl of, xiii. 233. Duke of, xv. 215.
Rybury, xi. 6; xiv. 344; xv. 76.
Rycardeston *or* Richardson, xii. 19.
Rye-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 306.
Sack-pottle, xv. 137.
Sacramentals, meaning of the word, xiii. 239.
Sadler family, the, ix. 229.
Saffron (*Bot.*), xiii. 219.
Sage (*Bot.*), xii. 93.
*Saggittaria* (*Bot.*), xiv. 72.
St. Aldhelm, Churches dedicated to, xv. 106.
— Amand family, the, xi. 17.
— Andrew, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Anne, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Anne's Hill. *See* Tanhill.
——— Gate, Salisbury, xi. 287.
St. Barbe, Rev. R. T., xii. 109, 110, 114, 193, 214.
— Bartholomew, Churches dedicated to. xv. 107.

Digitized by Google

St. Catharine, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Clement, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Cyriac, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Denis, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Dionis Backchurch, xvi. 315.
— Edith, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Edmund, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
———— of Pontigny, xv. 133.
St. Edward, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Faith, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— George, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Germans, Earl of, *exh.*, ix. 23.
— Giles, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— Helen, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— James, Churches dedicated to, xv. 107.
— John the Baptist, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
— John the Evangelist, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
— John family, the, ix. 229.
— Joseph of Arimathea, legend of, ix. 65.
— Lawrence, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
— Leonard, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
— Lo, Geoffrey de, xiii. 229.
— Loe, Mr., xiii. 146.
— Margaret, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
— Margaret's, near Marlborough, Daniel of, ix. 225.
— Mark, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
— Martin, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
St. Mary, Churches dedicated to, xv. 108.
———— Bourne, Flint implements found at, xi. 106.
———— Magdalene, Churches dedicated to, xv. 109.
St. Matthew, Churches dedicated to, xv. 109.
———— Friday Street, London, xvi. 321.
St. Maur, the two families of, xiii. 230; xv. 142.
— Melor, Churches dedicated to, xv. 109.
— Michael, Churches dedicated to, xv. 109.
———— Basisshaw, London, xvi. 306.
St. Nicholas, Churches dedicated to, xv. 109.
— Osmund, xvi. 254.
— Oswald's, Durham, xvi. 329.
— Paul, Churches dedicated to, xv, 109. Superstitions respecting his day, xv. 64.
— Peter, Churches dedicated to, xv. 109.
———— Cheap, London, xvi. 322.
———— Cornhill, London, xvi. 329.
St. Sampson, Churches dedicated to, xv. 110.
— Stephen, Churches dedicated to, xv. 110.
— Swithun, Churches dedicated to, xv. 110. Superstitions respecting his day, xv. 62.
— Thomas, Churches dedicated to, xv. 110. Superstitions respecting his day, xv. 63.
———— à Beckett, Churches dedicated to, xv. 110.
*Salenidæ* (*Geol.*), xiv. 116.
Salisbury *or* Sarisberie, xii. 6. Meaning of name, xiii. 49. Meeting of Society, at, x. 1. Geology of, xiv. 112. Fossils and fossiliferous Drift, *ib.* 111, 115. Pit dwellings,

Digitized by Google

xii. 148. Charters, x. 37, 39. Tokens, *ib.* 326. Streets, xv. 331. Old House, xv. 329. Mayor and Corporation, *exh.*, x. 32.

Salisbury Cathedral, description of, x. 10. Ancient drawings and models, x.34. Date of spire, xi. 131. Hungerford Chapel, xi. 334. Chantries xii. 370, 377. Obits, xii. 380. Restorations, x. 5, 11. The Close, gates of, xi. 287. Large elms in, x. 140; xii. 350.

——— Bishops of, are *ex officio* Prebendaries, xvi. 245. Bishop, *exh.*, ix., 32. Dean and Chapter, *exh.*, ix. 33.

———Dedication of Churches, xv. 104. St. Edmund's Church, Jesus chantry, xii. 378. St. Martin's obit, xii. 381. St. Thomas's chantries, xii. 372; obits, *ib.* 381. Monastic foundations, x. 304, 305. Black Friars, xii. 360. White Friars, *ib.* 361. St Nicholas's Hospital, *ib.* 373.

——— Beckingham family of, ix. 224. Edmund, *ib.* 225. Ela, Countess of. *See* Ela. Estcourt, *ib* 226. Gardener, *ib.* Hawkes, *ib.* 227. Hide, *ib.* 226. Hooper, *ib.* 227. Knowle, *ib.* Lawrence, *ib.* Riley, *ib.* 229. Sutton, *ib.* Webb, *ib.* 231

*Salix*, (*Bot.*) xiii. 189.

Salkeld family, the ix. 229.

Sallow, (*Bot.*) xiii. 189.

Salmon, T. S., Poem on Stonehenge, xvi. 189.

Salthorpe *or* Salthrop, xiii. 112; xv. 272.

Salvia, (*Bot.*), xiii. 93.

Sambourn, origin of name, xiv 166.

Sammes, Aylett, on Stonehenge, xvi. 95.

Samolus (*Bot.*), xii. 330.

Sandpipes (*Ornith.*), xii. 62.

Sandwich (Kent), meaning of name, xv. 75.

Sandwort (*Bot.*), ix. 74.

Sangar, Gabriel, xiii. 329.

Sanicle (*Bot.*) ix. 239.

*Santalaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 342.

Sapperton. *See* Sopworth.

——— *or* Salperton, Gloucestershire, visited by Society, 1873, xiv. 142.

Sargent family, the, xiii. 236.

Sarsen, meaning of word, xvi. 69, 224. Theories as to, xi. 274. Examples of, x. 104; xvi. 72. Largest in Wiltshire, x. 59.

Sarum, old, x. 17; xi. 343; xii. 6; xv. 269. Ecclesiastical buildings at, x. 303. St. John's Chapel, xii. 376. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 17.

Saucere family, xiii. 335, 336. Meaning of name, *ib.*

Saunders, Mr., xiii. 313.

Savage man, xiii, 29.

Savernake, xiv. 273, 344. Forest, x. 136, 141. Boar hunting in, xv. 148. Dedication of Churches, xv. 104. St. Katharine's, xvi. 320.

Saw-wort (*Bot.*), x. 196.

Saxifrage, *Saxifragaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 80.

Saxon Church, Bradford-on-Avon. *See* Bradford. Mural cross, Down Ampney, xiv. 128.

Saxons, the, not builders of Stonehenge, xvi. 98.

Saxton, Nicholas, xiii. 141.

Scabious (*Bot.*), ix. 267.

——— Field (*Bot.*), ix. 266.

——— Sheep's (*Bot.*), xi. 218.

*Scala mundi*, xvi. 222.

Scale fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 317.

Scarth, Rev. Preb., xiv. 343. On Stonehenge, xvi. 91.

*Schlerochla* (*Bot.*), xiv. 296.

*Scirpus* (*Bot.*), xiv. 83.

*Scolopacidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 60, [illegible]

*Scolopendrium* (*Bot.*), xiv. [illegible]

Sconce, old meaning of, [illegible] 244.

Digitized by Google

Scorpion grass (*Bot.*), xi. 238.
Scoter (*Ornith.*), xii. 162.
Scotland, the thistle of, x. 198.
Scott family, the, ix. 229. Rev. J. J., *exh.*, x. 34. Sir Walter, on Stonehenge, xvi. 128.
Scraptoft, registers, xvi. 308.
Scratchbury, xiv. 342. Meaning of name, xv. 96.
Scrope *or* Scroope family, the, ix. 230; xii. 304; xvi. 343. J. xiv. 5. W. Poulett, *don.*, xv. 121.
——— G. Poulett, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c., xiv. 111, 116, 118, 119; xvi. 340. History of Castle Combe, ix. 7. On the origin of the terraces on the chalk downs, xii. 185.
*Scrophularia* (*Bot.*), xii. 81.
*Scrophulariaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 75.
Scudamore family, the, ix. 229, 230.
Scull-cap, *Scutellaria* (*Bot.*), xii. 96.
Seagry *or* Segre, xii. 33; xiii. 117. Meaning of name, xiv. 266. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Seals, ancient, ix. 26. Found at Bemerton, x. 37. Horningsham, ix. 24. Potterne, x. 299. Belonging to the Vicar of Corsham, xi. 138. W. Paynell, ix. 27. Town of Wokingham, xi. 60. Made of bone, xiv. 7.
Sea-Salter, Kent, Registers, xvi.329.
Sealed Knot, the, xiii. 125.
Searle, Daniel, xv. 36.
Sedge (*Bot.*), xiv. 86.
Sedge-hill, xiii. 113. Dedication of Chapel, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Sedgwick, Professor A., xiv. 110.
Sedilia, Bishopston, x. 25.
Seend, xii. 29. Meaning of name, xv. 82. Lower green sand at, xiv. 113. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Selfe, H., *exh.*, xi. 139. J., xi. 83, *et sqq.*
Self-heal (*Bot.*), xii. 97.
Selk, meaning of name, xiv. 266. Chapel, x. 306.
Selkley, hundred of, xii. 18, 364. Meaning of name, xiv. 266.
Selwood Forest, xiii. 323.
Sem, river, meaning of name, xiv. 166.
Semelton, xiii. 116.
Semington, dedication of Church, xv. 104. Inscription in Porch, xiii. 336. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
Semley, xii. 11; xiii. 113. Meaning of name, xiv. 166. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
*Senecio* (*Bot.*), x. 192.
Sepulchre-light, xii. 382.
Sepulture, ancient modes of, ix. 132.
Serencote. *See* Shernocote.
Serjeant of a Hundred, office of, xiii. 283.
*Serratula* (*Bot.*), x. 196.
*Service-tree* (*Bot.*) ix. 67.
Servington family, the, ix. 229.
Sesostris, Statue of, xvi. 134.
Settlement of a pauper, xiii. 255.
"Setting," xi. 97, 98. A setting dog, *ib.* 96.
Sevenhampton, xii. 19. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Chapel, x. 306. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Benefactions, xii. 383. Warneford of, ix. 231.
Sexes, proportion of the, xvi. 332.
Seymour family, the, xv.141. Queen Jane, xv. 144. Protector, xv.144. Sir Thomas (Lord Sudely), xiii. 321. H. K., xi. 136.
Shadrach, Mesheck, and Abed-nego, curious carving of, xii. 201.
Shakespeare, early editions of, xv. 337. On Stonehenge, xvi. 187.
Shalborne *or* Shaldeberne Westcourte, Chapel, x. 306; xii. 375. Is a parish Church, xii. 380.
Shalford. *See* Stratford.

Digitized by Google

Shambles, the, Chippenham, xii. 262.
Shapcote, Colonel Robert, xiv. 43.
Shapwick Registers, xvi. 328.
Sharncote *or* Cernecote, xii. 20. Meaning of name, xiv. 268. Dedication of Church, xv. 104. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Sharnton. *See* Sherrington.
Sharpe, D.. xiv. 115. S., xvi. 113.
Shaston, x. 172 ; xv. 86.
Shaw, Mr., *exh.*, x. 37.
—— near Melksham, xii. 19. xiv. 344. Meaning of name, xv. 81. Dedication of Church, xv. 104.
St. Leonard's Chapel, x. 306.
—— House, Thomas Smith of, xi. 82, 204 ; xi. 308.
Shear-water (*Ornith.*), xii. 177.
Sheep, exportation of made felony, xiv. 210. Restrictions in number kept, *ib.* 214.
Sheepridge, xii. 7.
Shefford, Great, barrow at, xi. 137.
Sheldrake (*Ornith.*), xii. 160.
Shelley family, the, xi. 35.
Shells, fossil, found at Fisherton, x. 226.
——— land and freshwater, found in Wiltshire, Mr. Vyze on, ix. 87.
Shepherd's needle (*Bot.*), ix. 250.
Sherfield, Henry, xiii. 231.
Sherfield English (Hants), x. 173; xiv. 274.
Sheriff's turn in Wilts, by Canon Jackson, xiii. 107.
Shernootte. *See* Sharncote.
Sherrell, meaning of name, xv. 85.
Sherington *or* Sharington, Sir William, xiii. 334. Origin of name, xvi. 353.
Sherrington *or* Sharnton, xiii..115 ; xiv. 338. Meaning of name, xiv. 266. Dedication of Church, xv. 105, Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Benefactions, xii. 382.
Sherston *or* Sersthon, xiii. 117 ; xv. 273. Meaning of name, x. 172 ; xv. 85. Roman coins found at, xi. 344.
——— Magna, xii. 22. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 386.
——— Parva *or* Pinckney, xii. 23. Free Chapel, x. 307 xii. 380.
Shield-fern (*Bot.*), xiv. 311.
Shilton. *See* Chilton.
Shire, meaning of term, xv. 85.
Shockerwick, meaning of name, xv. 81.
Shopland, J. R., C.E., xiv. 124, 133, 154.
Shotover Hill, near Oxford, xiv. 30.
Shove-groat, xiv. 214.
Shoveler (*Ornith.*), xii. 160.
Shrew-ash, the, xiv. 324.
Shrewton, xii. 13. Meaning of name, xiii. 57. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Shuter family, the, ix. 229, 296.
Sidbury, British camp at, xi. 343 ; xiv. 342.
Sieve, story of a, xv. 348.
Signaculum, x. 258.
Signal Office, the Chief, U.S.A., *don.*, xiv. 120.
Silbury Hill, ix. 135. Reports of digging at in 1867, xi. 113. Implements found in (woodcuts), xi. 115, 117. Quarterly Review on, xii. 247. Poem on by Southey, xvi. 89. Flora of, ix. 159.
Silicious bodies of the chalk, greensand, and oolites, xiv. 112.
Silver barrow, meaning of name, xiv. 342.
——— plate, old, ix. 23 ; x. 34, 35.
*Silybum* (*Bot.*), x. 202.
Simnel cake made at Devizes, ix 43.
Singer, J. W., collection of mediæval jewellery, xiii. 15.
Skeletons, posture of in barrows, xvi. 230. At West Kennett, x. 134. Winterbourn Stoke, xvi. 211.
Skelton Castle, xvi. 309.

*h*

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Skrine, H. D., *don.*, xiii. 223.
Skulls found in barrows, xvi. 155.
Sladen, Rev. E. H. M., xiv. 27. *Don.*, ix. 209; xi. 244, 350; xii. 131. *Exh.*, ix. 24.
Slaughterford, xii. 22, 138. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Stokes of, ix. 229.
——— Valley, geology of, xi. 316, 316.
Slaughtering-stone, the, xvi. 225.
Slide-thrift, game of, xiv. 214.
Sloper, G. E., *exh.*, ix. 25. S. W., *exh.*, *ib.*
Sloperton Cottage, visited by Society, 1863, ix. 19.
Slowgrove, xiii. 323.
Smalbone family, the, ix. 229.
Small-reed (*Bot.*), xiv. 285.
Smew (*Ornith.*), xii. 164
Smith, Rev. A. C., xii. 145; xiii. 303, 305, 314. *Don.*, xv. 236. *Exh.*, ix. 24, 33; x. 34.
Papers on—
Avebury, excavations at, 1865, x. 209.
Cuckoo, peculiarities in life-history of, x. 22, 115.
Downs, map of Wiltshire, ix. 17.
Earliest inhabitants of Wiltshire, vestiges of, ix. 17, 97.
Earthwork enclosures on downs, xi. 135, 245.
Moles, plea for, xv. 135, 308.
Ornithology of Wilts, the, ix. 211; xi. 160; xii. 44, 152.
Potterne, old Porch House at, xvi. 287.
Stones, method of moving colossal, x. 52.
Traditions, charms, and superstitions, Wiltshire, xiv. 131, 320.
Weather proverbs and weather fallacies, Wiltshire, xiv. 141; xv. 42.
——— C. Roach, *don.*, xi. 350; xii. 131, 385; xiii. 233; xv. 237. Dr. J., on Stonehenge, xvi. 43; R., x. 210. R. T., *exh.*, x. 39. Thomas, diary of, xi. 82. Tom, xvi. 120. T. B., *exh.*, ix. 27. Life of Sir Thomas Lawrence, ix. 194. W., xiv. 110, 112. Memoir of, by Professor Phillips, xiv. 112.
Smithcote, chapelry, x. 307.
Smock, marriage in a, xvi. 330.
Smuggling in Wiltshire, xiv. 327.
Smyth family, the, ix. 230.
Snake, the smooth (*Coluber lævis*). x. 35.
Snake wood (*Bot.*), xii. 338.
Snapdragon (*Bot.*), xii. 78.
Sneeze-wort (*Bot.*), x. 186.
Snell family, the, ix. 229.
Snipe (*Ornith.*), xii. 60.
Snowdrop (*Bot.*), xiii. 213.
Soames, Rev. C., *exh.*, xv. 138.
Society, the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History, origin, ix. 16, History from 1853 to 1863, ix. 3. List of Presidents, x. 24.
Soft-grass, (*Bot.*), xiv. 288.
Soils, chemical analysis of, xiv. 109.
*Solanum*, *Solanaceæ* (*Bot.*), xi. 240.
Soldiers' Ring, the, Damerham, xi. 266.
Soler, Soleret, meaning of words, xvi. 291.
*Solidago* (*Bot.*), x. 183.
Solomon's Seal (*Bot.*), xiii. 214.
Somerford, xiii. 116; xv. 224.
——— Keynes, xii. 20. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii, 363.
——— Maltravers, Matreface, Broad *or* Great, dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
——— Mauduit, Mawditts, *or* Little, xii. 23. Origin of name, xiii. 57. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Somerset, Protector, x. 69; xiv. 105; xv. 215.

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*Sonchus* (*Bot.*), x. 206.
Sonning, Berks, xi. 53.
Sopwith, Sopworth, *or* Sapperton (?), xii. 22. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, *ib.* 368.
Sorrel (*Bot.*), xii. 335.
Sotheron Estcourt. *See* Estcourt.
Sottewell family, the, ix. 229.
Southbroom, xvi. 316. Meaning of name, xv. 82. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Called the Green Church, xii. 365. Church plate and bells, *ib.*
Southey on Silbury, xvi. 89. On sun-worship, *ib.* 124.
Southwick, xiii. 116. Manor, *ib.* 294. Chapel, x. 307.
——— Court, Rev. E. Peacock on, xiv. 31.
Sowerby, J., xiv. 110. On Stonehenge, xvi. 69. J. D., xiv. 110.
Sowing, proverb, respecting, xv. 57, 58.
Spain, parish registers in xvi. 305.
Spalding, old club at, xii. 268.
*Sparganium* (*Bot.*), xiv. 75.
Speculum vitæ, xv. 343.
Speed, J., xvi. 21. Dr. J., *ib.* 23.
Speedwell (*Bot.*), xii. 85.
Spelling, a guide to contemporary pronunciation, xi. 288; xvi. 321.
Spencer, meaning of name, xiii. 54. J., on hedges and hedge-rows, xii. 317.
Spenser, E., on Stonehenge, xvi. 188.
Spert family, the, ix. 229.
*Sphærodus* (woodcut) xii. 250. 251.
Spicer, J. W. G., xiii. 286. *Don.*, xiii. 223. *Exh.*, xv. 139. Mrs., *exh.*, xv. 138.
Spikenard, Ploughman's (*Bot.*), x. 184.
Spike-rush (*Bot.*), xiv. 82.
*Spiranthes* (*Bot.*), xiii. 207.
Spleen-wort (*Bot.*), xiv. 315.
Sponge, fossil (woodcut), ix. 170.
Sports, village, xi. 33.
Spurge (*Bot.*), xii. 344.
Spurge-laurel (*Bot.*), xii. 341.
Spurrey (*Bot.*), ix. 75.
Spye Park, Mr. C. H. Talbot's notes on (with illustration) xv. 136, 320. Large trees at, x. 139, 147; xii. 350. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 19. 1874, xv. 136.
Squared word, a, found at Corinium, xiv. 81.
*Stachys* (*Bot.*), xii. 101.
Staff, ancient pastoral, x. 32.
Staffard, Bishop John, xiii. 238.
Staindrop (Durham), xvi. 314.
Stallard, Mr., *exh.*, x. 39.
Stamp duties, xvi. 325.
Stancomb, W., xv. 215. *Exh.*, *ib.* 139.
Standon family, the, ix. 229.
——— *or* Standen, meaning of name, xv. 82.
——— Chaworth *or* North Standen, xii. 15. Chapel, x. 309; xii. 379.
——— Hussey *or* South Standen, Chantry, x. 308; xii. 379.
Standlynch *or* Stanlynch, x. 169. Meaning of name, xv. 88. Chapel, x. 309.
Stanford (Chalke) hundred, meaning of name, xv. 84.
Stanlegh *or* Stanley Abbey, x. 292; xii. 22. Mr. W. de G. Birch upon, xv. 239. Seals of (collotype), *ib.*
Stanshaw, Stokes of, ix. 229.
Stanton, Ven. Archdeacon, xii. 140; xiii. 16, 304.
Stanton *or* Staunton, meaning of name, xv. 82.
——— Bernard, ix. 24; xii. 16; xiii. 111. Meaning of name, xi. 9. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— Drew (Somerset), xiv. 344.
——— Fitzwarren, xii. 19. Meaning of name, xii. 289. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
——— St. Quintin *or* Stawton,



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24, 289; xiii. 117. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Stantonbury, xiv. 344.
Stanwell. *See* Stowell.
Stapelthorn, meaning of name, xv. 87.
Staple, hundred of, xii. 23, 362; xiii. 114; xv. 84. Meaning of name, xv. 87.
Staple, merchants of the, ix. 137.
——— Hill, x. 172. Meaning of name, xv. 87.
Stapleford, xii. 13; xv. 273. Meaning of name, xv. 87. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Stapleton, x. 172; xii. 12.
Star of Bethlehem (*Bot.*), xiii. 217.
Starkley *or* Sterkeley hundred xii. 23; xiv. 273.
Starling family, the, ix. 230.
Star-wort, Water (*Bot.*) xii. 347.
Station, Roman, at Baydon, x. 104.
Statistics, value of, xvi. 335.
Staughton, Great, Hunts., xvi. 329.
Staunton. *See* Stanton.
Staverton, xv. 72, 209. Meaning of name, *ib.* 210.
Stawell. *See* Stowell.
Stawton. *See* Stanton St. Quintin.
Steele, W., Recorder of London, xiii. 162.
Steeple Ashton. *See* Ashton.
——— Lavington. *See* Lavington.
——— Langford. *See* Langford,
Stephen, King, at Devizes, ix. 34.
Sterkeley. *See* Starkeley.
Sterling, meaning of the word, ix. 140.
Sternhold family, the, ix. 229.
Stert, xii. 16; xiii. 111. Meaning of name, xv. 81. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Geological sections of neighbourhood (woodcut), ix. 173, 175.
Stevens, E. T., x. 3. 24; xiv. 120; xv. 124. *Don.* xii. 385; xv. 238. *Exh.*, x. 34. On the pit-dwellings at Salisbury, xii. 148. On the Stone Period, xiii. 23.
——— J., notes on some worked flints, xi. 106. T. O., *exh.*, x. 37.
Stichcomb *or* Scutescombe, xii. 18.
Still-yard *or* Still-house, ix. 140.
Stoc *or* Stow (Teut.), xv. 78.
Stockbridge, lynchets near, xii. 190.
Stockley, payment to Heytesbury almshouses, xi. 304.
Stockton. xii. 12; xiv. 338. Rev. T. Miles's history of, xii. 105, 192. Charter relating to (with lithograph) xii. 216. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Benefactions, xii. 382. Manor House (with photograph), xii. 133. Terraces of ditto (with woodcuts), *ib.* 189, 190.
Stodfolde, old hundred of, xii. 16. Meaning of name, xv. 82, 84.
Stoke, meaning of name, xv. 78. *See also* Beechingstoke.
—— Verdoun, xii. 11; xiii. 13. Chapelry, x. 310.
Stokes family, the, ix. 229.
Stokesleigh, xiv. 344.
Stonage, xvi. 2, 24.
Stone age, the, xiii. 342. Mr. Stevens on the, xiii. 23.
Stonecrop (*Bot.*), ix. 76.
Stonehenge, xvi., 302, 339. Meaning of name, *ib.* 1, 254. Hoare's map of, *ib.* 1. Old drawings of, ix. 23; x. 34; xv. 139. Aubrey's ditto, xvi. 32, 36. Other engravings and plans, *ib.* 45, 46, 54, 58, 93. Measurements, *ib.* 61, 91. Incised markings at, ix. 268. Owners, xvi. 237. Depredations, xi. 348. British Quarterly Review on, xii. 242. Notes, xii. 130. Queries, xi. 112. Replies to ditto, *ib.* 243. Sunrise at, xi. 347. Proposed work at, ix. 207; x. 4, 5, 18. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 19; 1876, xvi. 62.

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**Stonehenge** and its barrows, by W. Long. M.A., F.S.A., xvi. 1.
**Stones**, religious and medicinal value attached to certain, xvi. 223.
**Stonesfield**, mollusca, of, xiv. 117.
**Stone-wort** (*Bot.*), ix. 240.
**Stonley**. *See* Standlinch.
**Stork**, legend of the, xii. 59.
——— the white (*Ornith.*) xii. 58.
**Stour**, river, meaning of name, xiv. 166.
Stourton family, the, ix. 230. Lord xiii. 331.
Stourton, xii. 26. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
——— and Stourhead, meaning of names, xiv. 166.
Stow, John xvi. 24.
Stowell, meaning of name, xv. 83.
Stowford, meaning of name, xv. 72.
Straburg, old name for Trowbridge, xiii. 292; xv. 212.
Stradling family, the, ix. 230.
Straford *or* Caneford, xv. 253, 273.
Stranger's Farm, Dauntsey, meaning of name, xv. 89.
Stratford sub Castro *or* Dean's, x. 310; xii. 6. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 17.
——— Tony, *or* Shalford, xii. 10. Meaning of name, xv. 89. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Stratton St. Margaret's, xii. 19; xiv. 141. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Priory, x. 310. Kemble of, ix. 227.
Streams, names of, how preserved, xiv. 275.
Stuart, Lady Arabella, xv. 159.
*Struthionidæ* (*Ornith.*), xii. 74.
Studley, meaning of name, xv. 82, 210.
——— near Calne, xii. 25.
Studley, near Trowbridge, xv. 209.
Dedication of Church, xv. 105.
Stukeley, Dr., extracts from common place book, xi. 341. On Stonehenge, xvi. 41.
Stump family, the, ix. 229. 230.
Sturmy family, the, ix. 229.
Sturry Brook, meaning of name, xiv. 166.
Stylman, J., xiii. 328.
Stylus, Iron, xi. 118.
Sudpett, mis-reading for Tidpit, *q.v.*
Suffragan Bishops in Wiltshire, xvi. 255, 262, 264.
Sulphur-wort (*Bot.*), ix. 247.
Sumerford. *See* Somerford.
Sumptuary laws of Queen Elizabeth, xiv. 215.
Sun, worship of the, xvi. 122, 124.
Sunday, old custom respecting, xiv. 232. Penalty for enacting labour on, xi. 142.
Sunflower, the, ix. 162.
Surnames, formation of, xiv. 133. Origin of some, ix. 10; xiii. 43. Permanance of, xi. 32. Fewness of in England, xvi. 332. Variety in spelling, *ib.*320. Old Wiltshire, xiv. 204, *et sqq.*
Surrenden, Surrendell, *or* Cerendon, xii. 22; xiii. 117. Meaning of name, xiv. 267.
Sutton family, the, ix. 229; xvi. 342.
Sutton Benger, xii. 24; xv. 274. Meaning of name, xii. 289. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Benefactions, *ib.* 383. Ernley of, ix. 226. Visited by Society, 1869, xii. 149.
——— Great, Veney *or* Fenny, xii. 29; xiii. 114. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Benefactions, xii. 381. Slate tablet found at, x. 111.

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Sutton Little, xiii. 114. Chapel, x. 311; xii. 376.
——— Mandeville *or* Maynfelde, xiii. 112. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Swallow (*Ornith*,), ix. 213.
Swallow, River, origin of name, xiv. 267.
Swallowcliff, xii. 28; xiii. 113; xv. 224. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Swan, mute (*Ornith.*), xii. 160.
Swanborough, Hundred of, xii. 15, 363; xiii. 111.
Swayne, H. J. F., *exh.*, x. 35. R., xv. 25. W., ix. 155.
Swedish Archæological Society, xvi. 86.
Sweet-gale (*Bot.*), xiii. 193.
Sweet-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 295.
Swift (*Ornith.*), ix. 219.
Swill brook, origin of name, xiv. 267.
Swimmers, the (*Ornith.*), xii. 152.
Swinbrook, ix. 10. Meaning of name, xv. 82.
Swindon, xii. 21. Geology of, xiv. 137. Purbeck strata at, xiv. 113. History and antiquities, by Mr. R. Jefferies, xiv. 180. Dedication of Churches, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Benefactions, *ib.* 382. Annual meeting at, 1873, xiv. 121. Great Western Works, visited by Society, *ib.*
Sycamores at Everleigh, x. 157.
*Symphytum* (*Bot.*), xi. 235.
Syrencote meaning of name, xiv. 268.
"Tables," a game so called, xiv. 212.
Tæsan-mæd, xv. 96.
Talbot family, the, ix. 230. Variation of the name, xvi. 319.
——— C. H., xv. 352. *Exh.*, *ib.* 138.
Papers on—
Bromham, xv. 323.
Lacock Abbey, the existing remains of, xii. 146, 221; xvi. 351.
Agreement concerning ditto, xvi. 350.
Spye, the old house at (with anastatic illustrations, xv. 136, 320.
Talebearers, fine for harbouring, xiii. 113.
Tamisia. *See* Thane.
*Tamus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
*Tanacetum* (*Bot.*), x. 190.
Tan-coat, meaning of name, xiv. 268.
Tan Hill, meaning of name, xi. 7, 287; xv. 89.
Tankard, wooden peg, ix. 25.
Tanner, Bishop, family and writings, xiii. 59. Mrs., *don.*. xii. 385; xiii. 104, 223.
Tansy (*Bot.*), x. 190.
Tapestry, old, x. 36, 38, 39.
Tate, G. R., M.D., ix. 271. R. xiv. 118.
*Taxus* (*Bot.*), xiii. 198.
Tayler. Dr. G. E., xiii. 315. Mr. and Miss, *exh.*, *ib.* 317.
Taylor family, the, ix. 230.
Teal (*Ornith.*), xii. 161.
Teale, Rev. Prebendary W. H., ix. 12. *Exh.*, ix. 24.
Teasel (*Bot*), ix. 264.
Teddington, registers, xvi. 329.
Teffont, meaning of name, xiv. 170; xv. 94.
——— Evias *or* Evyas, xii. 28; xiii. 114. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Chantry, x. 311.
——— Magna *or* Over Tevente, xii. 29; xiii. 114. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Tempera painting, x. 43.
Templedown, Roman Camp, xi. 343.
Temys family, the, xiii. 334.
Tennant, Professor, on Stonehenge, xvi. 73.
Tennis, game of, xiv. 212.
Teow's mead, xv. 96.
*Terebratella* (*Geol.*), xiv. 116.

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Tern (*Ornith.*), xii. 172.
Terraces on the chalk downs, Mr. Poulett Scrope on origin of, xii. 185.
Terrell, Colonel, xv. 31.
Terriers, All Cannings, xi. 29. Etchilhampton, *ib.* 188. Trowbridge, xv. 226.
Terry, Rev. J., xii. 209.
Terumber bequest, the, ix.155; xiii. 293.
Teseworth, xv. 274.
Test Valley, Flint implements found in, xi. 109.
Testa de Nevil, xv. 223.
Testwood *or* Testewood. *See* Whiteparish.
*Tetraonidæ* (*Ornith.*), xi. 167.
*Teucrium* (*Bot.*), xii. 103.
Thame *or* Tamisia, xv. 278.
Thames basin, the, xiv. 119.
*Thesium* (*Bot.*), xii. 342.
Thistle (*Bot.*), ix. 162; x. 198. Carline, *ib.*, 195. Milk, *ib.* 202. Sow, *ib.* 206.
Thistlethwayte family, the, ix. 230.
Thorn-apple (*Bot.*), xi. 242.
Thornborough, Richard, xiii. 142.
Thornbury, xiv. 161.
Thorne, J., xiv. 27.
Thorngrave and Thornhill, hundred of, xii. 21; xv. 84. Meaning of name, xv. 84.
Thornley, R. S., *exh.*, ix. 26.
Thorp, John, xiii. 185.
*Thorp* (*Teut.*), xv. 79.
Thoulston, xii. 28. Scudamore Chapel, x. 311.
*Thrincia* (*Bot.*), x. 203.
Throat-wort (*Bot.*), xi. 219.
Thunderbolt at Steeple Ashton, xiii. 326.
Thunderbrook, meaning of name, xiv. 268.
Thurloe, Notes on rising in West, xv. 38.
Thurlow, Lord, story of, xv. 68.
Thurnam, J., M.D., F.S.A., ix. 18; xiii. 306, 311. Sketch of his life and career, xiv. 234. His death, xv. 120. *Don.*, xi. 350; xiii. 223. *Exh.*, ix. 25; x. 37; xi. 138; xiii. 317.
Papers on—
Barrows, long as distinguished from round, xiii. 309, 339.
Flint blades found in tumuli, x. 22.
Javelin heads, leaf-shaped, xi. 40.
Skulls, ancient British, xvi. 157.
Stonehenge, x. 18; xvi. 3, 18, 67, 109. An incised marking at, ix. 268.
Thyme, *Thymus* (*Bot.*), xii. 94.
——— Water (*Bot.*), xiii. 201.
*Thymalaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 341.
Thynne *or* Thinne family, the, ix. 230. Sir John. letters to, xiv. 199, *et sqq.*
Tichborne, Alderman R., xiii. 184.
Ticheldean, large stone near, xi. 342.
Tidcombe *or* Tyltcome, xii. 15. Meaning of name, xiv. 172. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Tidpitt, Free chapel at, x. 311. (Misread Sudpett) xii. 376.
Tidworth, x. 168; xii. 7. Meaning of name, xv. 79. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
Tiffin, Mr., *exh.*, x. 38.
Tilers, laws affecting, xiv. 215.
Tiles, encaustic, Amesbury, x. 38. Clyffe Pypard, xv. 138. Heddington, ix. 24. Milton, x. 328 Poyntington, xiii. 19.
Tilshead, Tidelside, *or* Tydolfeshide, xii. 18; xiii. 114, 115; xiv. 342; xv. 224. Meaning of name, xv. 87. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 366. Registers, xvi. 307.
——— Ditch, xvi. 106.
Timbrell, T., xv. 215.

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Tinhead *or* Tenhyde, xiii. 116. Meaning of name, xv. 87. Gardener of, ix. 226.
Tining, meaning of word, xv. 74.
Tipler, old meaning of word, xii. 270.
Tisbury, xii. 28; xiii. 114. Meaning of name, xv. 96. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Chantry, x. 312; xii. 374. Laurence of, ix. 227. Visited by Society, 1870, xiii. 21. Earthworks at Okely Wood, xi. 343.
Titanic acid, the occurrence of in clays, xiv. 117.
Tite, W., M.P., *exh.*, xi. 139.
Titherington (near Heytesbury), dedication of Church, xv. 105.
——— *or* Titherton Kellaways *or* Kelways, xii. 22. Ancient Church, x. 312. Dedication, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Titherton *or* Tytherton Lucas, xiii. 118. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Stokes of, ix. 229.
Tithes in 1671, xv. 227, 228.
Tithingman, office of, xi. 151.
Tithings, when instituted, xv. 84, 85.
Tiw, Tiwesthorn, xv. 96.
Toad-flax (*Bot.*), xii. 79. Bastard, *ib.* 342.
Toad-stone, xii. 251.
Tockenham *or* Tokkenham, xii. 21; xiii. 112; xv. 224.
——— Wick, dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
——— Pinckney, origin of name, xiii. 67.
Todmarton, x. 172.
Tokens, tradesmen's, x. 323; xi. 81.
Tollard Royal, xii. 11. Meaning of name, xiii. 60. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Wood of, ix. 231.
Toll-keepers fined for overcharge, xiii. 111, *et sqq.*
Tomb of Sir N. de Villars, the, xiv. 128.
Tooke family, the, ix. 230.
Toope, Francis, of East Knoyle, xiii. 141.
Toot-hill, meaning of name, xiv. 268.
Tooth-wort (*Bot.*), xii. 76.
Topp family, the, xii. 117, 198, 199.
Torque, xi. 10.
Tory, local meaning of word, xiv. 172.
——— Chapel, the, Bradford, x. 362.
Tottenham House, xv. 158. Park, x. 141.
Touchet, Bishop Edmund, ix. 230.
Townsend, Rev. J., xiv. 109.
Trackway, British, x. 27.
Tracts, old, x. 37.
Trafalgar, formerly called Stanlinch, x. 169.
*Tragopogon* (*Bot.*), x. 204.
Trained bands, the xiv, 244.
Transitional architecture in Wilts, xi. 132.
"Translator" a, xiv. 136.
Treason, definition of, xiii. 170. To be charged against at quarter sessions, xiv. 209.
*Trebuchetas*, xiv. 224.
Trees, forest, of Wiltshire, x. 165. Growth of, *ib.* 154. Gigantic, *ib.* 163.
Tregoz family, the, ix. 89; xi. 196. *See also under* Lydiard Tregoz.
Trenchard family, the, xiv. 86.
Trender hill, giant on, xiv. 30.
*Treow* (Angl. Sax.), meaning of word, xv. 97.
*Triglochin* (*Bot.*), xiv. 74.
*Trigonia* (*Geol.*), xiv. 120.
Trilithon, the fallen, xvi. 79, 225.
*Trilliaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiii. 200.
Trimmer, J., xiv. 116.
Trincia (*Bot.*), x. 203.
Trinity, the Holy, Churches dedicated to, xv. 110.

Digitized by Google

*Triodia* (*Bot.*), xiv. 292.
Triticum (*Bot.*), xiv. 304.
Troll. *See* Trowbridge.
Trollope, Mr. *exh.*, xiii. 317.
Tropenell family, the, x. 265. T., xiii. 302.
Trowbridge, Trubridge, Troll, *or* Trowle, xii. 29; xiii. 118; xv. 209, 212, 224. Origin of name, xiii. 292. Bodman's history of, xv. 208. Canon Jones on Early Annals of (with plan of town) xiii. 304; xv. 208. Terrier, *ib.* 226. Dedication of Church, *ib.* 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. List of Rectors, xv. 230. Terumber's Chantry, x. 240; xii. 378. Brotherhood of Corpus Christi, *ib.* Long of, ix. 227. Reynolds of, *ib.* 228. Talbot of, *ib.* 230.
True-love (*Bot.*), xiii. 200.
Truth, pursuit of scientific, xi. 125. Caution in ditto, *ib.* 127.
Tuderystone. *See* Titherton Kellaways.
Tugwell, W. E., his ornithological collections, xv. 183. Mr., of West Wood, xiii. 312.
Tulip, wild (*Bot.*), xiii. 216.
*Tumbrellus* xiv. 224.
Tumuli in Devonshire, Mr. Kirwan on, xiii. 17.
Tûn, Tune, *and* Tyning, meaning of words, x. 241 (note); xv. 74.
Tunstall, registers, xvi. 309.
Turley House, near West Wood, xiii. 301.
Turnsale, xv. 169 (note).
Tusser's five points of good husbandry, xii. 322.
Tussilago (*Bot.*), x. 181.
Tway-blade (*Bot.*), xiii. 208.
Twin Barrows, the, xiv. 342.
Twyford, lynchets near, xii. 190.
Tyburn ticket, a, xii. 384.
Tyderley family, the, ix. 230.
Tylor, A., xiv. 119. Mr., on the culture of primitive man, xvi. 123.
Tyltoomb. *See* Tidcombe.
*Typha*, *Typhaceæ* (*Bot.*), xiv. 74.
Tysoe, red horse of, xiv. 29.
Tytherton, Tytherington. *See* Titherton.
Ubbelegh, xv. 248.
Udney, hollowed stone found at, (lithograph) xii. 125.
Uffington, white horse, xiv. 16.
Ugborne. *See* Ogborne.
Ugford *or* Ugeford, xv. 278. Dedication of Church, *ib.* 105.
*Ulmus*, *Ulmaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 350.
*Umbelliferæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 238.
Underditch *or* Wonderditch, hundred of, xii. 6, 366. Meaning of name, xiv. 269.
Upavon, xii. 15. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Succursal at, x. 313. Whiteparish Chapel, xii. 376. Cheney of, ix. 225.
Upham, Upper, xi. 136. Goddard of, ix. 226. Yate of, *ib.* 231. Visited by Society, 1867, xi. 136.
Uppingstock, xi. 120,
Upton Lovell *or* Ubbeton, xii. 27; xiii. 115; xv. 72. Gold ornaments found at (woodcut) xv. 183. Church plate and bells, xii. 366.
——— Scudamore, xii. 28; xiii. 114; xv. 72. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Chantry, x. 313. Benefactions, xii. 381. Payment to Heytesbury Almshouses, xi. 304.
Urns, sepulchral (with lithograph), ix. 133.
—— cinerary, Collingbourne (with lithograph), x. 17, 93. Near Stonehenge (with woodcuts), xvi. 165, 168, 169.
*Urtica*, *Urticaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 348, 349.
Usk, meaning of name, xiv. 167.
*Utricularia* (*Bot.*), xii. 324.
Uxbridge, meaning of name, xiv. 167.



Digitized by Google

*Vaccinium* (*Bot.*), xi. 223.
Valerian, *Valerianaceæ* (*Bot.*), ix. 263.
Valiant Sparrow, the, ix. 49.
Vanadium, on the occurrence of in Wiltshire pig iron, xiv. 117.
Vane, Sir Henry, xv. 34.
Varieties in spelling proper names, xvi. 320.
Vases. *See* Cups *and* Urns.
Vasterne Chapel, x. 280.
Vaughan family, arms of the, x. 238.
Vaux, W. S. W., F.R.S., on coinage of Great Britain, xvi. 127.
*Verbascum* (*Bot.*), xii. 76.
*Verbena*, *Verbenaceæ* (*Bot.*), xii. 104.
Vergil, Polydore, xvi. 20.
Vernal-grass (*Bot.*), xiv. 281.
Vernditch *or* Verndyke, xiv. 338. Meaning of name, *ib.* 269.
Verney, Lady, xvi. 26.
*Veronica* (*Bot.*), xii. 85.
Vertue, George, on Stonehenge, xvi. 42.
Vervain (*Bot.*), xii. 104.
Vespasian's Camp, xvi. 185.
Vestments, Ecclesiastical, Salisbury Cathedral, x. 38; xi. 335. Steeple Ashton, xiii. 330. *See also* Inventories of Church goods, xii. 354.
"Vice," *or* Parvise, Cirencester, xiv. 146.
Vilett of Swindon, xiv. 135.
*Vinca* (*Bot.*), xi. 227.
Violet, water (*Bot.*), xii. 326.
Vize, Rev. J. E., on the land and fresh-water shells of Wiltshire, ix. 20, 87. List of ditto, *ib.* 279.
Voelcker, Dr. A., xiv. 116, 117.
Voracity, examples of, xvi. 323, 329.
Vortigern, xiv. 270. Meaning of name, xiv. 22.
Vyse Green Church. *See* Southbroom.
W. silent before oo in Wiltshire, xi. 50.
Wace, xvi. 13.
Waddon. *See* Whaddon.
Waders, the (*Ornith.*), xii. 44.
Wadwick, meaning of name, xiv. 269.
Wages in XVI. century, xv. 169. Ditto in XVIII. century, xi. 87, 89, 93, 98, 210, 211.
Wagon, old use of word, xv. 148.
Wagstaffe, Sir J., xiii. 125.
Wake, William, xiii. 120; xiv. 41. Budgell's story of him, xiv. 44.
Walcot, xiv. 274.
Walcott, Rev. M. E. C., Inventories of Church goods and Chantries in Wiltshire, xii. 354.
Walker, Mr., Histories of South Wraxall and Great Chalfield, ix. 7.
Walker's Hill, meaning of name, xiv. 220 (note); xiv. 271. Mr. Matcham on, ix. 21. Opened in 1860, x. 23.
Wall-barley (*Bot.*), xiv. 306.
Waller, Sir W., xii. 294, 304.
Wallingford, xiv. 274.
Wallington, Colonel, xv. 135.
Wallis, Mr. Sampford, on Stonehenge, xvi. 43.
Wall Mead, meaning of name, xiv. 170.
Wallop, xiv. 274. Meaning of name, xiv. 270.
Wall-rue (*Bot.*), xiv. 316.
Walrond family, ix. 231.
Walsingham, Sir F., xiii. 300.
Walter of Salisbury, xi. 178; xv. 214.
Waltham, Bishops, xvi. 262.
Walton, Izaac, xv. 338.
Wanborough *or* Wamberg, xii. 81; xiii. 112. Roman camp, xi. 319. Coins found, *ib.* Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Chantries at, x. 314. Smalbone of, ix. 329. —— Lower, xiv. 181.
Wansdyke, xi. 11; xv. 95; xvi.

107. Meaning of name, x. 343. Formation of, xiv. 342. Mentioned by Stukeley. xi. 342.
Wansey, Major H., xiii. 128.
"Want," Wiltshire meaning of word, xv. 309.
Wapentake, the Berkshire, xiii. 106.
Wapley *or* Wappelegh, xv. 247, 288.
Wardour *or* Verdure, xii. 28. Meaning of name, xiv. 163.
——— Castle, visited by Society, 1865, x. 31. Ditto, 1870, xiii. 20. History of, *ib.*
——— Valley, freshwater beds in, xiii. 32. Fossil insects in, xiv. 111, 112.
Warleigh, x. 170; xiv. 272; xiv. 165.
Warming-pan, ancient, ix. 23.
Warminster, xii. 28. Meaning of name, xiv. 165. Hundred of, xii. 28, 365. xiii. 114. Lynchets near, xii. 185. Dedication of Churches, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 365. Benefactions, xii. 383. St. Laurence's Chapel, x. 314; xii. 382. Norrege Chapel, xii. 376, 380. Scott of, ix. 229. Payment to Heytesbury almshouse, xi. 304.
Warmwell, R., xv. 334.
Warner, Rev. R., xvi. 102. On Salisbury Plain, *ib.* 141.
Warnford family, the, ix. 231.
Warnhams, Geological sections at (woodcut), ix. 179, 180.
Warton, Dr. Thomas, sonnet by, xvi. 188. Mr., History of Kiddington, *ib.* 87.
Wash, meaning of the name, xiv. 167.
Washbourne, Wash-pool, meaning of names, xiv. 271.
Washington, Sir Lawrence, xvi. 287. Mr. Lawrence, *ib.* 288.
Wassenberg, xv. 88.
Wassern, meaning of name, xiv. 168.
Waster, meaning of word, xiv. 213.
Watch, places for keeping, xiv. 218.
Rules respecting ditto, *ib.* 219.
Watches, ancient, ix. 27; x. 34; xv. 138.
Wattle, fireproof, xvi. 295.
Wax, its use in painting, x. 43.
Way, the late Mr. Albert, xv. 120.
Way-bennet (*Bot.*), xiv. 308.
Waybread (*Bot.*), xii. 331.
Wayfaring-tree (*Bot.*), ix. 256.
Waylen, E., *exh.*, ix. 26; xv. 139; J., ix. 7, 25.
Weanlings, xiv. 214.
Weapons, ancient, ix. 25. Mediæval, *ib.* 25, 26. Restrictions on use of, xiv, 212.
Weare *or* Browne family, the, ix. 230; xvi. 311.
Weather proverbs and weather fallacies, by the Rev. A. C. Smith, xiv. 141; xv. 42.
Weaver, H., *exh.*, ix. 27.
Weavern Mill, the, xiv. 271.
Weazel-snout (*Bot.*), xii. 100.
Webb family, the, ix. 231; xvi. 311.
——— G., *exh.*, xiii. 317. ——— J., on Stonehenge, xvi. 82, 84. *See also* Richmond *or* Webb, ix. 228.
Webbe, Bishop George, xiii. 329.
Wedhampton, xiii. 111. Meaning of name, xiv. 160.
"Weed, the Wiltshire," x. 100.
Wekeliscote, xiii. 112.
Welford, Roman pottery found at, xi. 138.
Wellington, Duke of, anecdote of the, x. 174.
*Wellingtonia Gigantea*, x. 160.
Wellow (Somerset), xiv. 344.
——— West, x. 167; xii. 7.
Welpley. *See* Whelpley.
Welshway *or* Wyllewey, xiv. 330.
Were, river, xv. 210. Meaning of name, xiv. 165.
West family, the, xi. 197.

West, Mr. Ravenhill's Records of the Rising in the, xiii. 119, 252; xiv. 88; xv. 1.
Westbury, xii. 26; xiii. 295; xv. 259, 297. Fossils found at, xiv. 137. Hundred of, xii. 26, 367; xiii. 116. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Chantries, x. 286, 315. Obit., xii. 382. Haywood Chapel, xii. 376. Registers, xvi. 323. Visited by the Society, 1872, xiii. 309. John de, xiii. 296. R. Bethell, Lord, ib.
Westcots, xv. 265.
West Dean. See Dean.
Westeharnam. See Harnham.
Westhorp or Westrop, xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xv. 79.
Westport, xiii. 304. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 368.
Westropp, H. M., on Stonehenge, xii. 130.
Westwood, xii. 25; xiii. 116, 301. Dedication of Church, xv. 105. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Visited by Society, 1872, xiii. 311.
——— Upper, geology of, xi. 321.
Wetherall, Mrs., x. 329. Don., xv. 132. Bequest to Museum, x. 217.
Wexcombe, xii. 14.
Weymouth, Lord, xv. 339.
Whaddon, xii. 8; xiii. 302; xv. 223. Meaning of name, xiv. 269. Old Church, x. 317. Dedication, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Visited by Society, 1872, xiii. 315.
Wheat, price of, as a standard of payment, xi. 304.
Wheat-grass, xiv. 304.
Wheaton, Mr., exh., x. 37.
Whelpley or Welpley, xiv. 274. Free Chapel, x. 317; xii. 376.
Wherwellsdown, xii. 26, 366; xiii. 115. Meaning of name, xv. 84.
Whichbury, meaning of name, xiv. 158, 272. Dedication of Church, xv. 106.
Whimbrel (Ornith.), xii. 61.
Whiskey, Derivation of word, xiv. 167.
Whitaker, meaning of name, x. 242. W., xiv. 115, 116, 117, 119, 120. On the occurrence of chalk-rock near Salisbury, xiii. 92.
White horses of Wiltshire, the (with lithograph), by Rev. W. C. Plenderleath, xiii. 393; xiv. 12. White horse Hill, xiv. 26.
Whiteleaf, the white cross at, xiv. 30.
Whiteparish, xii. 9. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Free Chapels, xii. 377, 380. Benecourt or Berncourt, x. 357; xii. 379. Test Wood, x. 318; xii. 379. Barrett of, ix. 224.
——— Chapel, Upavon, xii. 376.
Whittonmede, xiv. 272.
Whorl-grass (Bot.), xiv. 293.
Whortleberry (Bot.), xi. 223.
Whorwellsdown. See Wherwellsdown.
Whyr or Wher, meaning of name, xiv. 273.
Wic (Teut.), xv. 75.
Wick, meaning of word in composition, xiv. 158.
Wickens, Mrs. E., exh., x. 341
Widcombe, xii. 21; xiii. 112. Chantry, x. 319.
Widgeon (Ornith.), xii. 161.
Widhill manor, x. 312.
Widows, tax on, xvii. 326.
Wiet-gate, meaning of name, xiv. 273.
Wight or Wigt, Isle of, xv. 273.
Wilcot, dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 363. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22.
Wild, B., exh., ix. 27.
Wild Birds' Protection Bill, xiii. 287.

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Wildman, J., xiii. 124.
Wilkes, Mr., *exh.*, ix. 26; x. 39.
Wilkins, J., *exh.*, ix. 27.
Wilkinson, Rev. Preb. John, *don.*, xi. 244. Report of diggings at Silbury, in 1867, xi. 113.
William III., cause of his death, xv. 318.
Williams, Rev. Dr. Rowland, x. 27.
——— S., xiv. 109.
Williamson, Sir A., xiv. 232.
Willoughby, W., xiii. 176.
Willow, weeping, how introduced into England, x. 159.
Willow-herb (*Bot.*), x. 159.
Wills, Mr. *exh.*, xi. 139.
Wilsford, Great, xii. 6. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 367. Lake Chapel, x. 289. Benefactions, xii. 391.
——— Little or Wyllesford, church plate and bells, xii. 366.
——— North, dedication of church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Wilton, Rev. E., his collections, xiii. 222. *Exh.*, ix. 23; xi. 138. On Bishop Tanner, xii. 59.
——— The late, sketch of his life, xii. 59 (note).
Wilton, xv. 248, 277. Meaning of name, xiv. 164. Borough of, xii. 10. Annual meeting at, xiii. 1. "Lieger Book," xi. 343. Church, Mr. Olivier's account of, xiii. 14, 93. Dedication, xv. 106. Plate and bells, xii. 366. Ancient ecclesiastical buildings, x. 319. Minster, xii. 374. St. Giles's Hospital, xii. 378. St. John's ditto, *ib.* Becket of, ix. 225. Gray of, ix. 226.
——— House, history of, xiii. 6. Large cedar at, x. 154.
Wiltshire, agriculture, Mr. Davies on, xiv. 109. Archæological and Natural History Society, the work of, xv. 118, 127, 131. Magazine, rarity of early volumes of, xv. 131.
——— Archæological interest, objects of, xv. 109.
Wiltshire barrows, how differing from those of other counties, x. 93. Birds, list of, xii. 179. Bishops, early, xvi. 250. Books on, xiv. 107. Boundaries, x. 166. Botanical districts (with map), xii. 255; xv. 110.
——— Churches, names of, xv. 96.
——— clergy, grievances of, xii. 210.
——— drift, the mammalia, xiv. 115.
——— earliest inhabitants, ix. 97.
——— flora. *See* Flora. Ferns, xi. 349.
——— geology, xi. 124, 315; xiv. 107, 116. De Luc on, *ib.* 109. Provis on, *ib.* 110.
——— goods, inventories of, xii. 345.
——— heraldic notes, ix. 223. Hundreds, xii. 6.
——— iron ore and its working, xii. 146.
——— largest town in, xv. 209. Life, duration of in, xiv. 334.
——— map of downs, ix. 17. Military divisions of, xiv. 246. Mills, number of, xv. 123. Mineralogy, xiv. 107.
——— name of, its origin, xiv. 164. Names of places in, xii. 289; xiv. 159. Celtic element in ditto, *ib.* 283. Frisian, xv. 83. Teutonic, *ib.* 71. *See also* Longleat papers, No. 7, xiv. 204. Nomina Villarum, xii. 1. Nonjurors, xvi. 337.
——— Palæontology, xiv. 107. Peculiars, xvi. 254.
——— railways, geology of, ix. 167.
——— road water, xiv. 109. Roman Catholics, xvi. 337.
——— shells, land and fresh-water, ix. 37.

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Wiltshire traditions, charms, and superstitions, xiv. 320. Trees, forest, x. 135.
Wily. *See* Wyly.
Wimbledon, custumal of manor of, xv. 126.
Wimborne, Ashley of, ix. 224.
Winfield, Wynfield, *or* Wyncksuilee, xii. 25; xiii. 237. Meaning of name, xiv. 272. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Winsley *or* Wynesley, xii. 25; xiii. 118, 301. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 365.
Winterbourne, xv. 90. *See also* Abbodeston *and* Rolleston.
——— Basset, white horse, xiv. 28. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Browne of, ix. 224.
——— Cherbury, Sherborough, Gunmore, Gunner, *or* Maiden, x. 38; xii. 8; xv. 276. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 369. Shuter of, ix. 229.
——— Dauntsey, x. 38; xii. 8. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 370.
——— Earls, x. 38; xii. 7. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
——— Monkton, xii. 19; xv. 248, 274, 275, 276. Milbarrow, near, xi. 342. Coins found, *ib.* 344. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chapel, x. 297.
——— Parva *or* Asserton, x. 207; xii. 377; xiii. 115.
——— ScrEveton, xii. 14.
——— Stoke, Barrow at, x. 23. Ivory armlet found at ditto (woodcut), xvi. 179. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
Winterslow, xii. 7, 8. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 362. Thistlethwayte of, ix. 230.
Wishford, meaning of name, xiv. 166. Magna and Parva, xii. 13.
Wisk, meaning of name, xiv. 167.
Wittenham, Wythenham, *or* Rowley, xii. 25; xiii. 227. Meaning of name, xiii. 50; Manor, x. 302.
Withihull, xv. 274.
Withy (*Bot.*), xiii. 189.
Wittey, S., xiii. 286; xiv. 122.
Witty-tree (*Bot.*), ix. 257.
Woden, the worship of, xv. 95.
Wokesey *or* Bokesey, xii. 24.
Wokingham, Town of, xi. 60. Seal of ditto, *ib.* 60. Church, *ib.* 71, 74 (with woodcuts).
Wolfhall. *See* Wulfhall.
Wolsey, Cardinal, xv. 347.
Wonderwitch. *See* Underditch.
Wood family, the, ix. 231. John, on Stonehenge, xvi. 43. Mr., *exh.*, xv. 188.
Wood, as a building material, xvi. 288.
Woodborough, xii. 16; xiii. 171; xv. 76, 95. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Visited by Society, 1863, ix. 22.
Woodcock (*Ornith.*), xii. 63.
Wooden Churches, xvi. 287.
Woodford, meaning of name, xv. 80. Church, x. 17. Dedication, xv. 106. Plate and bells, xii. 366. Visited by Society, 1865, x. 17. Magna and Parva, xii. 6.
Woodhay common, xi. 274.
Woodhill *or* Woodhull Chapel, x. 321.
Woodpecker (*Ornith.*), ix. 48.
Woodruff (*Bot.*), ix. 258.
Woods, H., xiv. 111.
Woodward, H., xiv. 113. S. P., xv. 115.

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Woodyates Inn, xi. 265.
Wool trade, the, ix. 137.
Woolbedington, meaning of name, xv. 95.
Wooldridge, Mr., *exh.*, ix. 139.
Woollavington, meaning of name, xv. 95.
Woollen, burial in, ix. 157.
Woolley, xv. 72. Meaning of name, xiii. 50.
Woolverton, analysis of cornbrash, xiv. 109.
Wooton, meaning of name, xv. 80.
——— Bassett, xii. 20. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chapels, x. 280, 321. Englefield of, ix. 225. Kirton of, *ib.* 227.
——— Rivers *or* Ryvers, xii. 14. Geological sections at (woodcut), xi. 178. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 364.
Woremarsh, meaning of name, xiv. 273.
Worsley, meaning of name, xv. 92.
Worth, hundred of, xii. 19.
Worton, xii. 17. Meaning of name, xvi. 249. Dedication of Church, xv. 106.
Wound-wort (*Bot.*), xii. 101.
Wraxall, or Wroxhale, visited by Society, 1872, xiii. 313.
——— North, xii. 23; xiii. 117. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Chantries, x. 321; xii. 376.
——— South, xii. 25; xiii. 118. Walker's history of, ix. 7. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Ground-plan of ditto (lithograph), xiv. 100. Plate and bells, xii. 365. Chapels, x. 321; xii. 380; xiv. 100.
——— Manor House, xi. 133; xiii. 301.
Wren (*Ornith.*), ix. 50. Superstitious respect for, xiv. 329.
Wright, Dr. T., xiv. 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120.
Wrokesham. *See* Wraxall.
Wroughton, R., xiii. 139. Mr., xv. 147.
Wroughton, xii. 12 (note); xiii. 112. Meaning of name, xvi. 249. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 364. Chantry, x. 278. Richmond of, ix. 228.
Wulfhall, Sturmy of, ix. 229.
——— and the Seymours, Canon Jackson on (with lithograph and plan), xv. 144.
Wurth. *See* Highworth.
*Wurth* (Teut.), xv. 79.
Wyatt, his restorations of Salisbury Cathedral x. 10.
Wych Hazel (*Bot.*), xii. 350.
Wyke House, Staverton, xiii. 303.
Wylleford. *See* Wilsford.
Wylye *or* Wily, xii. 13; xiii. 115; xiv. 339. Meaning of name, xiv. 164. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 367.
——— River, why so-called, xii. 108.
Wynckssilee. *See* Winfield.
Wyndham, C. W., *exh.*, x. 36. Mr. Justice Hugh, xiii. 161, 253. H. P., on Wiltshire, extracted from Domesday Book, ix. 5.
Wynkyn de Worde, xv. 338.
*Wyrth* (Teut.), xv. 79.
Wyvelsford, xii. 16.
Wyville, Bishop Robert, xvi. 260.
Yaffle, the, ix. 46.
Yappingall, the, ix. 46.
Yarnbury, meaning of name, xiv. 273.
Yarrow milfoil (*Bot.*), x. 186.
Yate family, the, ix. 231.
Yatesbury, meaning of name, xiv. 276; xv. 77. Dedication of Church, v. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 369.
Yatton, meaning of name, xiv. 276 (note).

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Yatton Castle. *See* Castle Eaton.
——— Keynell, Yetone, or Jethun, xii. 22, 290; xiii. 118; xv. 248, 261, 262. Meaning of name, xii. 289. Geological Sections, xi. 328. Dedication of Church, xv. 106. Church plate and bells, xii. 368. Benefactions, xii. 381.
——— Keynes, *or* West Yatton, Chapelry, x. 322. Church plate and bells, xii. 363.
Year, the legal and ecclesiastical, xvi. 318.
Yeldehall. *See* Church House.
Yerbury family, the, ix. 155.
Yerbury, W. J., and E., x. 244.
Yew (*Bot.*), xiii. 193. Specimens at Longleat, x. 126. Edington, ib.
Yew-ridge, Chapelry, x. 280.
York family, the, ix. 231.
Yoxford *and* Yoxall, meaning of names, xiv. 167.
*Zannichellia* (*Bot.*), xiv. 80.
Zeals *or* Seles, xii. 26. Chapelry, x. 322. Dedication of modern Church, xv. 106.
Zillwood, Mr., on Stonehenge, x. 20.
Zoological collection, Lord Nelson's, x. 34.

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# Wiltshire Archæological & Natural History

1876.

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THE SOCIETY was established in 1853, for the collection of information relating to the Archæology and Natural History of Wiltshire, with a view to the completion of a history of the county.

A General Meeting is held in a different part of the county each year. A Magazine has been established as a medium of intercourse, and 16 volumes (comprising 48 numbers) have been issued, in addition to Canon Jackson's edition of Aubrey's Wiltshire Collections, and a Report of the Blackmore Museum. Premises in Long Street, Devizes, have been purchased by the Society, and fitted up as a Museum and Library for the reception and preservation of objects of Natural History, Antiquity, Drawings, Models, MSS., Works of Reference, &c., &c., and there the Society's present Collections are, and any future additions thereto will be, available to its Members.

The General Meetings have all been very numerously attended; the following being the localities which have been visited:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| DEVIZES, 1853. | SWINDON, 1860. | CHIPPENHAM, 1869. |
| SALISBURY, 1854. | SHAFTESBURY, 1861. | WILTON, 1870. |
| CHIPPENHAM, 1855. | MALMESBURY, 1862. | TROWBRIDGE, 1872. |
| WARMINSTER, 1856. | DEVIZES, 1863. | SWINDON, 1873. |
| BRADFORD, 1857. | SALISBURY, 1865. | DEVIZES, 1874. |
| MARLBOROUGH, 1859. | HUNGERFORD, 1867. | SALISBURY, 1876. |

The Terms of Membership are:

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| FOR LIFE MEMBERS | ........................ | 10 | 10 | 0 |
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| DITTO | ..........Entrance Fee | 0 | 10 | 6 |

Members, from the time of their admission, are supplied with the Magazine gratis; while to Non-Members it is charged *5s. 6d.* per Number.

The names of intending new Members will be received by the General Honorary Secretaries, or by the Financial Secretary, Mr. WILLIAM NOTT, Devizes, of whom any information as to the objects or rules of the Society may be obtained.

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# Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

## RULES.

I.—This Society shall be called "*The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.*" Its object shall be

1. To collect and publish information—

On the Antiquities of Wiltshire; including Ancient Monuments, Architecture, Manorial History, Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, Records; and all other matters usually comprised under the name of Archæology.

On the Natural History of the County; its Geology, Botany, Ornithology, &c.

2. To preserve, by the formation of a Library and Museum, illustrations of its History; viz., published works, manuscripts, drawings, models, and specimens, &c.

II.—The Society shall consist of a Patron; a President, elected for three years; Vice-Presidents; general and district or local Secretaries; and a Treasurer elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the report of the Committee for the past year, of reading papers and reports, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which meeting a fortnight's notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—Members shall have the privilege of introducing friends to all Meetings of the Society, in such numbers and on such terms as the Committee for the time being may fix at a preliminary meeting.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call Special General Meetings of the Society, upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such Special Meeting, and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The property of the Society shall be deposited at Devizes, and shall be vested in thirteen Trustees, in trust, for the purposes of the Society; and shall not be disposed of or made applicable for any other purpose, except with the consent of five-sixths of the subscribers; and shall not be disposed of or severed, so long as any Society exists in the county, having in view objects similar to those of this Society; and whenever the number of the Trustees shall be reduced to five, the vacancies shall be supplied at a general meeting.

VII.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers shall be *ex-officio* members), who shall have the management and application of the funds of the Society; and meetings of the Committee shall be held monthly, or quarterly, as may be found expedient, for receiving reports from the Secretaries and Sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business: three of the Committee shall be a quorum; Members may attend the Committee Meetings after the official business has been transacted.

VIII.—The Chairman at Meetings of the Society shall have a casting vote, in addition to his vote as a Member.

IX.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings All manuscripts and communications, and the other property of the Society, shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

X.—Candidates for admission as Members, shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present, balloting, shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

XI.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society, without ballot, being proposed by two Members, and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XII.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings and Sixpence on admission to the Society; and Ten Shillings and Sixpence as an Annual Subscription, which shall become due on the first of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XIII.—Donors of Ten Guineas, or upwards, shall be Members for Life.

XIV.—At General Meetings of the Society, the Committee may recommend persons eminent for their literary, or scientific acquirements, to be balloted for as Honorary, or Corresponding Members.

XV.—When any office shall become vacant, or any appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only to the next General Meeting, when they shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XVI.—The Treasurer shall receive all subscriptions and donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee: he shall keep a book of receipts and payments, which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it: the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting, by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVII.—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society, except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members, at least, shall be present Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVIII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society, and considered by the Committee of sufficient interest for publication, will be printed (with the author's consent), in such manner as shall be determined by the Committee to be the best for the purpose, for gratutious distribution, or otherwise, to the Members of the Society; and for such price to the public as may be agreed upon.

XIX —No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society; nor any topics of a similar nature admitted into the Society's publications.

XX.—That any person contributing books, or specimens, to the Museum, shall be at liberty to resume possession of them, in the event of the property of the Society ever being sold, or transferr otherwise than to any similar society in the county Also persons shall have liberty to depr books, or specimens, for a specific time only.

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Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society, from the 1st January [illegible]
both days inclusive.

DR.

| | RECEIPTS. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1875. | To balance brought from last account ............ | 240 | 14 | 8 |
| | „ Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from Members.............................. | 164 | 6 | 3 |
| | „ Ditto received for sale of Magazines .......... | 17 | 16 | 7 |
| | „ Ditto for Jackson's Aubrey .................... | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| | „ Ditto Net proceeds Devizes Meeting 1874, in addition to 11s. 6d. credited on last account.. | 20 | 7 | 0 |
| | „ Ditto received for admissions to Museum ...... | 3 | 15 | 6 |
| | | £449 | 10 | 0 |

| | [illegible]MENTS. | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1875. | By sundry payments, including Postage, [illegible] Advertising, &c. ............ | | | | | | |
| | „ Ditto Printing and Stationery [illegible] | | | | | | |
| | „ Cash paid for Books ...[illegible] | | | | | | [illegible] |
| | „ Ditto Printing, En[illegible] account of M[illegible] balanc[illegible] | [illegible] | 19 | [illegible] | | | |
| | „ Ditt[illegible] .. | 46 | 2 | 10 | | | |
| | | | | | 108 | 2 | [illegible] |
| | „ Fur[illegible] at Museum .. | 8 | 9 | 3 | | | |
| | „ Miscellaneous Expenses at ditto .... | 2 | 9 | 6 | | | |
| | „ Attendant at ditto 53 weeks .... ... | 18 | 11 | 0 | | | |
| | „ Insurance ............ ....... | 0 | 3 | 7 | | | |
| | „ Land and Property Tax............ | 1 | 2 | [illegible] | | | |
| | „ Commission, &c. .................[illegible] | | | | | | |
| | „ Balance in hand* ........... ....[illegible] | | | | | | [illegible]2 |
| | | | | | [illegible]9 | 10 | 0 |

* There is a balance of £184 [illegible] due to the Treasurer on the Museum Building Account.

WILLIAM NOTT,
*Financial Secretary.*

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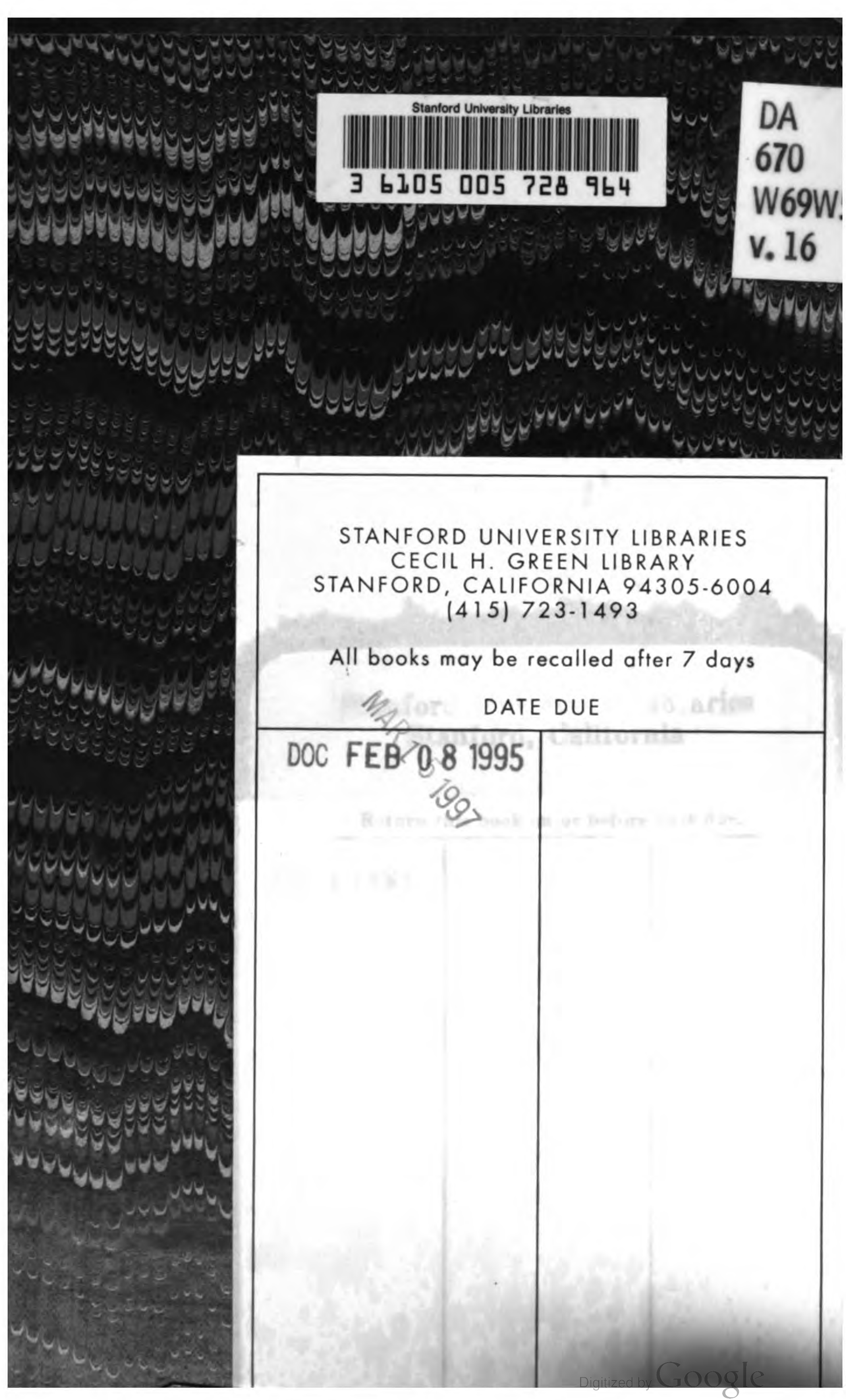
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