# JOTTINGS

ON SOME OF THE OBJECTS OF INTEREST

IN THE

# TONEHENGE EXCURSION.

BY

EDWARD T. STEVENS, F.S.A.,

Hon. Director of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum,
Hon. Curator and Trustee of the Blackmore Museum,
Corresponding Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia,
Foreign Member of the Anthropological Institute of New York,
Author of "Flint Chips," &c.

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# ILLUSTRATIONS.

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Nos. 31 to 43 were lent by Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F.S.A.

Nos. 18 to 20; 52 to 85; and 75 to 77 were lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

# PREFACE.

THE following little work was written by my father, as a guide to an Excursion made by the members of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society in August, 1876.

It was originally intended merely for the use of members of the Society upon that occasion, subsequently, however, a limited number of copies were printed and disposed of to the public. As there have since been many enquiries for the book, I have had it reprinted, omitting allusions to the particular excursion for which it was written, with a view of rendering it, as far as possible, a guide such as may be used by those who make "the Stonehenge Excursion."

In the introduction to the first edition my father wrote:—"To the Society of Antiquaries of London I am indebted for the loan of many of the illustrations to the late Dr. Thurnam's valuable paper on "Ancient British Barrows."[1] Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., has lent me several of the wood-cuts used in his important work on "The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain,"[2] *the* book on the subject, a work that should find its place on the shelves of every one who takes the smallest interest in pre-historic Archæology. To Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., and Mr. Henry Brown

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xli., pp. 161—244; vol. xliii., pp. 285—552.
[2] Longmans, 1872.

(Salisbury) my especial thanks are due for the loan of many important illustrations."

I can only add my sincere thanks to the Society and those gentlemen, for the very kind manner in which they have placed at my disposal, illustrations so greatly enhancing the value of this work.

EDWARD STEVENS.

5*th September*, 1881.

# THE STONEHENGE EXCURSION.

## THE ROUTE.

The route, as far as Amesbury, lies along one of the prettiest of our Wiltshire valleys—the valley of the Avon. Within comparatively recent geological times, the Avon, periodically swollen by the drainage from the adjacent downs and from other causes, prevented also from spreading by the narrow limits of the valley, seems frequently to have assumed a torrential character. The force of this torrent has deepened the valley and scooped out the hill-sides that opposed its impetuous course, thus adding not a little to the picturesque features of the scenery. This scooping out of the side of the valley in the direction of the flow of the stream may be especially noticed at Little Durnford, Woodford, and opposite Heale House; but it really occurs at every spot where the course of the river sweeps across the valley directly towards a hill-side.

After we leave Amesbury, the homeward route—by way of Salisbury Plain—is of a totally different character, for it lies along the bleak chalk upland which divides the valley of the Avon from that of the Wyly. Such chalk downs are so characteristic of Wiltshire scenery that, according to the popular idea, the county is one vast Salisbury Plain; this of course is not the fact, but nearly three-fifths of the surface of the county really does consist of chalk and the kindred formations.

Although "Albion" may have received her name from the whiteness of her sea-wall towards France, yet the chalk formation is by no means confined to England, but occurs over a large surface in other parts of Europe; it is to be found from the north of Ireland to the Crimea, a distance of about 1140 geographical miles; and from the south of Sweden to the south of Bordeaux, a distance of about 840 geographical miles. But the chalk did not at any period exist as a continuous deposit over this vast region. The incipient chalk was, probably, first deposited in patches at the bottom of

marine basins or lagoons, and then became drifted over the bed of the cretaceous ocean; precisely as a similar formation is now taking place near the Bermuda Islands and the Bahamas. There, a soft white calcareous mud,—consisting of broken-up corals, the exuviæ of mollusks, and the fæcal matter of conchs and coral-eating fish,—is now being deposited in the lagoons. This incipient chalk may be seen in the Maldiva Atolls as it is washed out from the lagoons, through narrow openings, into the ocean; the waters of the sea being discoloured by it for a considerable distance. In the North Atlantic, the floor of the ocean, over an extensive area between Ireland and Newfoundland consists of soft mud, almost entirely composed, like the chalk, of minute forms of animal-life. A similar deposit, of the consistency of putty, occurs in other parts of the Atlantic—as, between the Faroe Islands and Iceland, and between Iceland and Greenland—minute shells (of foraminiferæ) constitute 95 per cent. of the entire mass. A lump of chalk contains remains of hundreds of such shells. If we think of this as we travel over Salisbury Plain, with chalk beneath and around us—mile after mile, we shall abandon the attempt to grasp the idea of number as applied to the minute organisms that have served to form our chalk hills, and shall content ourselves with the assurance that

"The dust we tread upon was once alive."

## TRACES OF EARLY OCCUPATION.

Traces of early occupation will be met at nearly every step we take. There are the earth-works at Old Sarum, as well as those known as Ogbury Camp and Vespasian's Camp. The defensive earth-work, called Durrington Walls, lies no more than about two miles to the north of our route; other earth-works, near Orcheston and Shrewton, are at distances ranging from two to four miles; and the fine earth-work—Yarnbury Castle—is only between four and five miles to the west of the "Druid's Head."

But we not only visit, or pass near, many defensive works of the early inhabitants of this district, our route takes us into the midst of a vast pre-historic cemetery—barrows (burial-mounds) of different forms dot the Plain in all directions, indeed in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge they are so numerous that there are about three hundred within the radius of

three miles. These burial-mounds belong almost entirely to two periods—the later Stone Age (Neolithic), and the Bronze Age; those to be referred to the Bronze Age being the more numerous.

At Highfield, about a mile from Salisbury, on the ridge that divides the Avon valley from that of the Wyly, and within sight of our route, are some earth-works of a later period, probably constructed subsequent to the Roman occupation. The site has been long under cultivation, and the works are only to be traced by the spade, they consist of shallow ditches and of "pits." The former were probably accompanied by banks, and these may have been crowned with palisades; the pits have perhaps been used as store-places for grain. In the United States, especially in the eastern states of the Union, remains of such defensive works are very numerous; in some instances, the holes left by the decay of the palisades were to be traced, whilst the pits ("caches") were still found to contain charred maize. Pits, similar to those at Highfield, have been examined near Amesbury: in the camp at Danebury-hill, near Stockbridge; close to the railway-station at Westbury; at Maiden Castle, near Dorchester; and elsewhere. Within the defensive works at Worle Hill, Weston-super-mare, are a number of carefnlly constructed "caches" having the sides built of rubble-stone, in some of these charred wheat and barley was found.

## NAMES OF RIVERS AND PLACES THAT LIE IN THE ROUTE.

The early settlers of the district have also left us enduring memorials of their occupation in the names of the rivers, the hills, and the villages that occur along our route. In such names are often preserved words which belong to a language that has ceased to be spoken in the district for centuries, they have long survived the overthrow of the people by whom they were bestowed, and have drifted down the stream of time on the tongue of successive generations of men—ignorant, for the most part, that what is to them but the name of a river, a hill, or a village—in some other language possesses a meaning indicative of the winding course of the stream, the position of the village, or some characteristic of the hill.

Many of the earlier settlers have left us no written records; their all too imperfect history has to be reconstructed out of

waifs and strays that have drifted down to us, and among these, the names they gave to the natural features of the country are very important; for the story of the migrations of a people, or of their overthrow by some intrusive race, are frequently to be found embalmed in the name of hill, or valley, or river-ford.

As a rule, a conquering people adopt from the conquered those names which designate the natural features of a country, such, for instance, as its rivers, its hills or mountains, its valleys, and its ancient tracts of woodland. The names of rivers, especially possess an almost indestructible vitality, so much is this the case that, throughout the whole of England, there is scarcely a river-name which is not Celtic. The towns or villages that stud the banks, for the most part, bear names imported by the Teutonic settlers in after times, but the river that flows by them, or the hill that rises above them, still retain their original Celtic appellation, and remain to attest the once universal Celtic occupation of the country.

Our route until we reach Amesbury lies along the valley of the *Avon*—the word *Avon* is a generic term for "river." The origin of this name may be found in the Sanscrit root *ap*, which signifies "water." The termination *on* being probably expressive of distinct unity—so that *Av-on* means literally "a river."

Another Celtic term for "water" is to be found in the name of one of the villages we propose to visit—Durnford (formerly Dur-en-ford), *i.e.*, the "water-ford." The root of this word is the Celtic *dubr*, or *dur*, which means "water." *Fordd* in Welsh signifies a road generally, and not necessarily what in this part of the country we understand by a "ford," namely a shallow, or *ford*able place in a stream.

The word *ford* is supposed to be a derivative of *faran* or *fara*, "to go," which fits in well with its meaning a "passage" only. The suffix *ford* occurs both in Anglo-Saxon and in Norse names, but with characteristic difference of meaning. The *fords* of the Anglo-Saxon husbandmen were "passages" across rivers for men and cattle; the *fords* of the Scandinavian sea-rovers were "passages" for ships up arms of the sea, as in the case of the fjords of Norway and Iceland, and the firths of Scotland. We have the word in this sense in Deptford, the "deep reach" on the Thames.

There are two villages close to Old Sarum bearing names

into which the word *ford* enters—Winterbourne *Ford* and Strat*ford*—the one is situated where those who travelled by the Roman road to Winchester *forded* the river Bourne—the other where was the *ford* of the Avon on the Roman road to Dorchester, the village has taken its name—Strat-ford—from being close to the ford of the "street," or Roman road.[1]

Nothing shows more conclusively the unbridged state of the streams in Saxon times than the fact that where the great lines of Roman road are intersected by rivers, we so frequently find important towns bearing the Saxon suffix—*ford*. At Oxford, Hereford, Hertford, Bedford, Stafford, Wallingford, and Chelmsford, considerable streams had to be forded.

The name of Stratford Le Bow contains internal evidence that the dangerous, narrow Saxon ford over the Lea was not replaced by a "bow" or "arched bridge," till after the time of the Norman conquest.[2]

During the latter part of the Excursion we shall find ourselves in the valley of the Wyly. There is a river *Gwili* in Cærmarthenshire, this is evidently the same word, and possibly its original form. The Welsh word *gwili* means "full of turns"—winding; but Welsh scholars tell us that the root of the word is to be found in *gwy*, which signifies a "flow or flood." We have the word itself in the river *Wye*. From the name Wyly we have *Wil-ton*[3], the ancient capital of the county —and *Wil-tun-schire*[4] (now Wiltshire), the county itself.

Between Wilton and Salisbury the Wyly receives the waters of the river Nadder. A natural derivation of the word *Nadder* would seem to be from the Welsh *neidr*, which means a snake or adder,—not an inappropriate name for a winding stream. This, however, does not appear to be the correct derivation, which is believed to be from the Welsh *nad*, "a shrill noise," or from *na-der*, "to utter a shrill cry." There is

[1] The Roman *strata*, or paved roads, became the Saxon *streets*.

[2] The bridge was built by Matilda, Queen of Henry I.

[3] A Teutonic element appears in the final *ton*, a word which does not necessarily mean a "town," but denotes any enclosure, great or small. In most cases, perhaps, our word "village" would be its most correct interpretation, as, for instance, in Durrington (in Domesday, Dur-en-ton), *i.e.*, "the village-by-the-river"—a place about three miles north-east of our route. But *ton* also appears in such words as *Garston* (gærs-tún) literally "grass-enclosure;" and in *Barton*, a name applied to the buildings enclosed within a rick-yard—originally *Bere-tún*, *i.e.*, "corn-enclosure."

[4] The word *shire* (Anglo-Saxon *scyr*) means a "share or division."

in Sanscrit a remarkable confirmation of the probability of such an etymology, for whilst *nad* means "to sound," *nada*, its derivative, means "a river."

Immediately on entering the Wyly valley we shall pass Fugglestone Church. It has been suggested that if *Fuggleston* be not a corrupt or shortened form of some personal name, it is perhaps from the Anglo-Saxon *fugel* (a bird or fowl) and that the place may have been named *fugel-ton*—"bird-village," from the *wild fowl* that frequented the neighbourhood of the Wyly and the Nadder, near the confluence of which streams it is situated.

After leaving Fugglestone we pass through the village of Quidhampton, in this word we have an interesting example of the gradual growth of a settlement. From the wood (*cuid*) cleared for the dwelling, to the homestead (*ham*) and thence to the village (*tún*). *Quidham*, however, may mean only the "homestead by the wood."

It seems probable, from the retention of so many Celtic names, that the Celts were not wholly swept away by the advancing Saxons, but that some, at least, were absorbed into the general mass of the inhabitants.

The names of places are liable to less phonetic abrasion than the other elements of a people's speech, and hence they serve to perpetuate dialects. From this circumstance, some light is thrown upon the affinities of the Celtic population of our county. It is found that the Celtic element in Wiltshire names approaches more closely to the Cornish or Armorican than the Welsh, and this shows that the Celtic tribes who inhabited this part of the country, though closely related to the Cymry or Welsh, were distinguished from them by certain dialectical differences which mark a diversity of race.[1]

## SALISBURY.

STARTING from Salisbury the object first to attract the attention of a visitor will probably be the Council Chamber, which stands at the south-eastern corner of the spacious Market-place. The present building was the gift of Jacob, Earl of Radnor, to the City of Salisbury, in 1795, and replaced a former structure partially destroyed by fire, in 1780. The old

[1] See Jones, "Names of Places in Wiltshire," in "Wilts Mag." vol. xiv., pp. 156—180, 253—279; vol. xv., pp. 71—98.

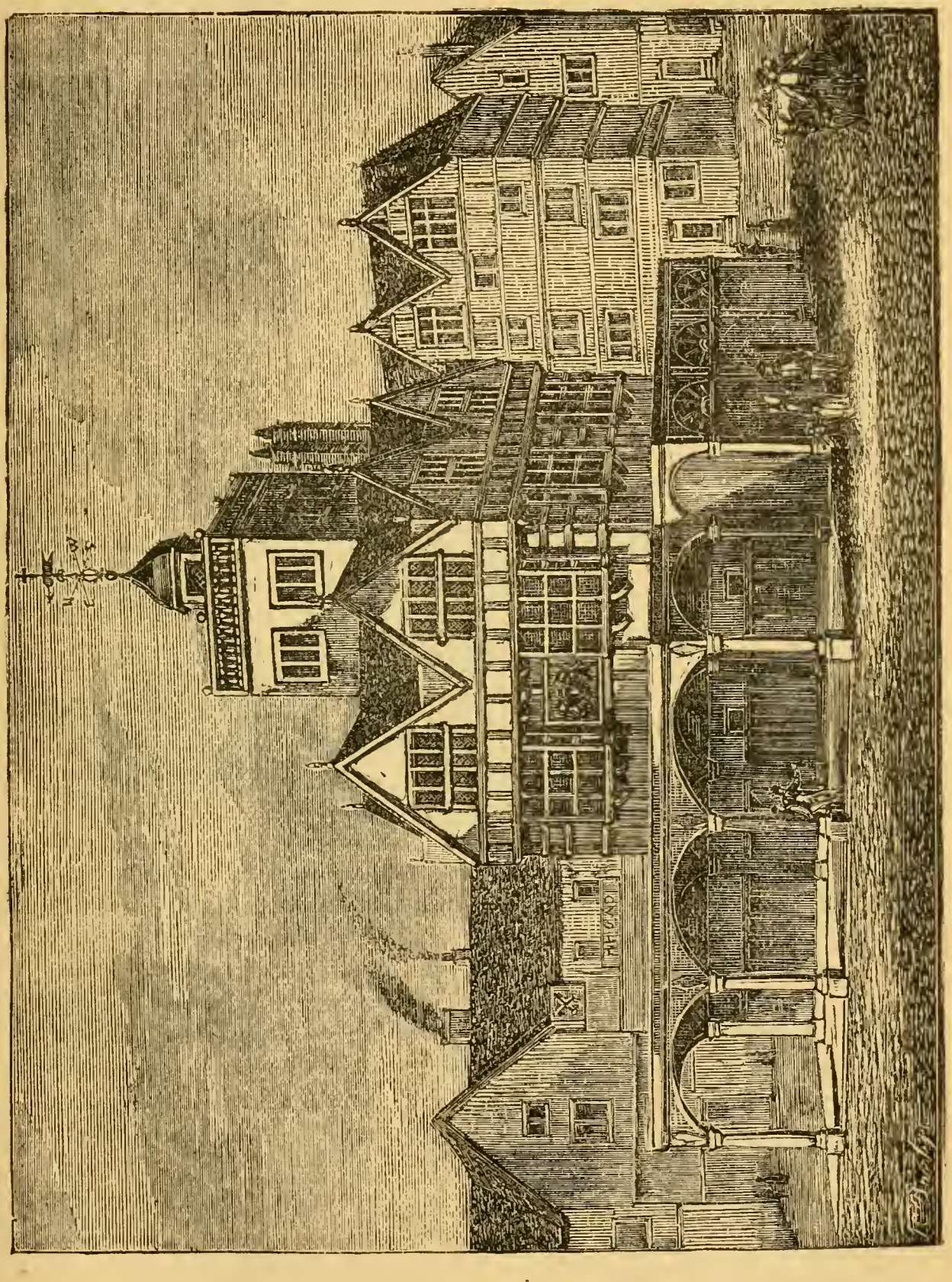


FIG. 1. THE OLD COUNCIL HOUSE, DESTROYED BY FIRE IN 1780.

Council House dated from 1579, when the then Mayor (Mr. Christopher Weeks) "drove the first pinne." An oil painting of this building is preserved in the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum; it was presented by Mrs. King Campbell. The lower part of the building was not enclosed but was open to the Market-place, the superstructure being supported on pillars. In the 17th century alterations were made in this Council House, the open space was enclosed, the building was enlarged on the eastern side, and a portico supported on pillars was added to the northern side. Two engravings in the Museum show some of these alterations.[1]

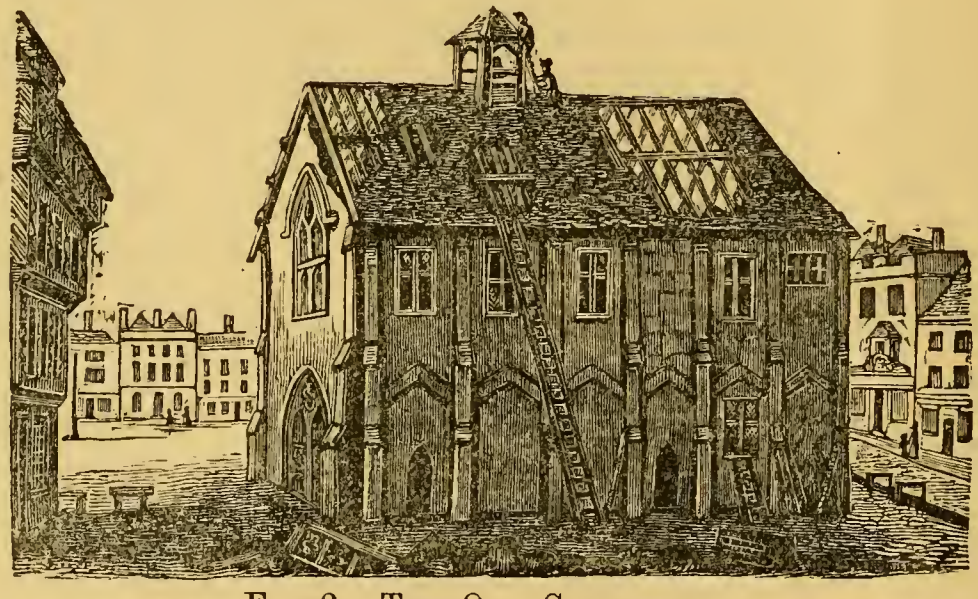


FIG. 2. THE OLD GUILDHALL.

Leland visited Salisbury about the middle of the 16th century, and thus describes the Council House:—"The Market-place in *Saresbyri* is fair and large, and welle waterid with a renning streamelet; in a corner of it is *domus civica*, no very curious piece of work, but strongly builded of stone." The Rev. Canon Jackson remarks upon this:—"Leland's '*Domus Civica*' must be the old Guildhall, of which there is a view in Hall's Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury.' The old 'Council Chamber' was built chiefly of timber, and of the date of 1573, 30 years after his visit."[2] (Figs. 1 and 2.)

It is probable that the building referred to by Leland was, as Canon Jackson suggests, the old Guildhall. Canon Jackson

[1] The engravings were presented by Mr. John Harding. There is an enlargement also on the western side shown in the engravings.

[2] "Wilts Mag.," vol. i., p. 158, *note.*

only refers to this woodcut, which was taken from a drawing "kindly communicated by a lady[1] and executed after an original sketch in the possession of W. Boucher, Esq., the Chapter-Clerk."[2] It may, therefore, not be without interest to mention that the "original sketch" in question is a rather large drawing in water-colours, and is now deposited in the Museum. It passed into the hands of Edward Davis, Esq., Mr. Boucher's successor, and at Mr. Davis's death it became the property of my Father, who gave it to me.

Although the old "Council Chamber was not built until 30 years after Leland's visit, yet he may have seen *a* Council Chamber in "the Market-place in *Saresbyri*," for a still older Council House had preceded the building to which Canon Jackson refers, and indeed had existed long enough to have fallen into decay in 1565.

In the cattle-market, rather to the west of the Council Chamber, not long since, was to be seen the "bull-ring," a relic of the so-called "good old times." The brutal sport of bull-baiting appears to have been practised, on various occasions, in almost every town or village throughout the kingdom, and especially in market-towns. The baiting of a bull, a bear, or a horse, in the open streets of London, however, was punishable by a fine of twenty shillings.[3]

Hentzner tells us,[4] that "the bull was worried by great English bull-dogs; but not without risque to the dogs, and it sometimes happens they are killed on the spot; fresh ones are immediately supplied in the places of those that are wounded or tired." This barbarous sport was even sanctioned by royalty, and we find that, on the 25th of May, 1559, Queen Elizabeth, soon after her accession to the throne, gave a splendid dinner to the French Ambassadors; after dinner was over they were entertained with the baiting of bulls and bears, and the Queen herself watched the *pastime* until six o'clock in the evening.

As might have been expected, a public bull-baiting often led to scenes of riot and confusion. An instance of this kind may be found recorded in the annals of the city of Chester. "A bull was baited at the high-cross, on the second of October

[1] The late Miss Wickins. [2] Hall's description.

[3] Stow's Survey, p. 666.

[4] "Travels in England," ed. 1757, p. 42. Hentzner visited this country in 1598.

(1619), according to the ancient custome for the mayor's farewell out of his office; it chaunced a contention fell out betwixt the butchers and the bakers of the cittye about their dogges then fyhtynge; they fell to blowes; and in the tumult of manye people woulde not be pacifyed; so that the mayor, seeing there was greate abuse, being citezens, could not forbeare, but he in person hymself went out amongst them, to have the peace kept; but they in their rage, lyke rude and unbroken fellowes, did lytill regarde hym. In the ende, they were parted; and the begynners of the sayde brawle, being found out and examined, were commytted to the northgate. *The mayor smotte freely among them, and broke his white staffe; and the cryer, Thomas Knowestley, brake his mase;* and the brawle ended.[1]"

The market-place at Dorchester formerly bore the name of the "Bull Stake," from the bull-baiting which took place in it; although bulls were also baited, near the town, at a place about a mile and a quarter distant on the Blandford Road, where there is still the stone pillar standing to which the animal was fastened. At Marnhull, in the same county, bull-baiting was annually held on the 3rd of May. The bull was "led in the morning into the Valley Meadow, where the Tenant of the Estate, by giving a garland, appoints who shall keep the Bull next year. This Estate once belonged to the Husseys, now to Edward Walter, Esquire.[2] Wells, Somerset, was notorious for bull-baiting, and the practice was only abolished there about 1840. The animal was driven through the streets, and hounded almost to madness, in this state it was tied to a large iron-ring in the market-place, and then baited. My grandmother passed her early days at Wells, and I have a vivid recollection of her account of the way in which the infuriated beast was hunted through the streets, and of the terror thereby caused to women and children.

There have ever been "benefactors" to bull-baiting; and we find that, in 1661, one George Staverton bequeathed property calculated to produce four pounds a year, to be increased to six pounds after the death of his wife and daughter. With this money a bull was to be purchased for the benefit of the poor of Wokingham, Berks; the bull was to be baited on St. Thomas's Day, and was then to be cut up and the meat distributed, "one poor's piece not exceeding

[1] MS., Harl., 2125. [2] Hutchins, "History of Dorset."

another's in bigness." In 1822, the corporation resolved to abolish the custom, accordingly, they went in procession and solemnly pulled up the bull-ring, which had, from time immemorial, been fixed in the Market-place. Great was the wrath of the populace at the loss of their "sport;" they did not lose their meat, for the corporation duly distributed that. Numerous breaches of the peace arose, and even so late as in 1835, the mob broke into the place where the doomed bull was kept—led it away and baited it in the Market-place, in defiance of the authorities. But the authorities of Chester were in advance of the corporation of Wokingham in putting down bull-baiting, for we find that, in 1599, Henry Hardware, the then Mayor, not only ordered "the gyauntes in the midsomer show to be broken. He also caused the bull-ring to be taken up."[1]

A few bull-rings have escaped destruction. There is one at Brading, Isle of Wight; and another at Hedon. The bull-ring remained in the Market-place at Salisbury until quite recently, for the most part unnoticed by the inhabitants. Unfortunately, during the Mayoralty of J. Read, Esq. (1872—1873), it obtruded itself upon public observation by causing a stumble to the Mayor's brother, as I am informed, and so it was removed.

We learn from Leland that, in his time, there were "many fair streates in the Cite *Saresbyri*, and especially the High Streate, and Castel Streate, so caullid because it lyith as a way to the castelle of *Old Saresbyry*. Al the streates, in a maner, of New *Saresbyri* hath litle streamlettes and armes derivyd out of *Avon* that rennith throrough them." This peculiar feature of the city is no longer to be seen, the "channels," on sanitary grounds, have all been filled up.

But, before Leland's time, "the Market-place in *Saresbyri*" was not so large as when he saw it. Winchester-street formerly extended to Castle Street, and consequently a range of houses faced the present Blue Boar Row, whilst another range faced the row of houses now known as Queen Street. In those days, Endless Street, Queen Street, Catherine Street, St. John's Street, and Exeter Street, passed under the common name of "High Street," a name now borne by a street in another part of the City. Our present High Street obtained the name it now bears in the beginning of the 15th century;

[1] Harleian MSS., quoted by Hone, "Sports and Pastimes," &c., xliv.

at an earlier time, Castle Street, Minster Street, and High Street were known under the common name of "Minster Street." Castle Street, however, had received its present name so early as in 1326.

About midway in the Blue Boar Row, on the northern side of the Market-place there stood until recently (1878—79) a small inn known as the "Saracen's Head." Tradition points to this spot as the scene of the execution of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham:—"The first to raise Richard (III.) to the throne, the last to feel his tyranny." Formerly the Blue Boar Inn occupied the site of the Saracen's Head, and Buckingham is said to have been executed, in 1483, on a *Sunday* morning, in the court-yard of the Blue Boar Inn.[1]

The discovery of a mutilated human skeleton (about 40 years since) beneath the brick-flooring of one of the rooms of the Saracen's Head, induced the belief that Buckingham was actually buried near the place where he suffered. Contradictory opinions as to the place of his interment prevail; some suppose that his remains were placed in St. Thomas's Church; others that they were buried in the Church of the Grey Friars (at the back of St. Ann Street); whilst many believe that Britford Church was the place of interment. Sir Richard Colt Hoare[2] states that in the chancel of Britford Church is an altar-tomb commemorating the "fate of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, generally believed to have been beheaded in Salisbury, in 1483, and buried in the Grey Friars there."[3] This tomb is shown in Fig. 3; it is clearly of a later period than that in which Buckingham suffered, and probably was not erected to his memory.

The Blue Boar Row had obtained its present name as early as in 1444, for there is preserved in the Salisbury Museum an indenture of that date, setting forth a contract for building:—"an hows with ynne the Boor azeynst the Market Place of Salesbury." The document is endorsed:—"for byldyng a howse in the blew bore."[4]

[1] It may not be generally known that the celebrated line:—"Off with his head; so much for Buckingham," pronounced with such effect by our stage Richards, is not in Shakspeare, bnt is believed to have been one of Colley Cibber's innovations.

[2] "History of the Hundred of Cawden," p. 54.

[3] A description of this tomb may be found in Brown's "Illustrated Guide to Longford Castle, and Clarendon."

[4] A paper on this subject may be found in the "Wilts Mag.," vol, xv., 329—336, contributed by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.

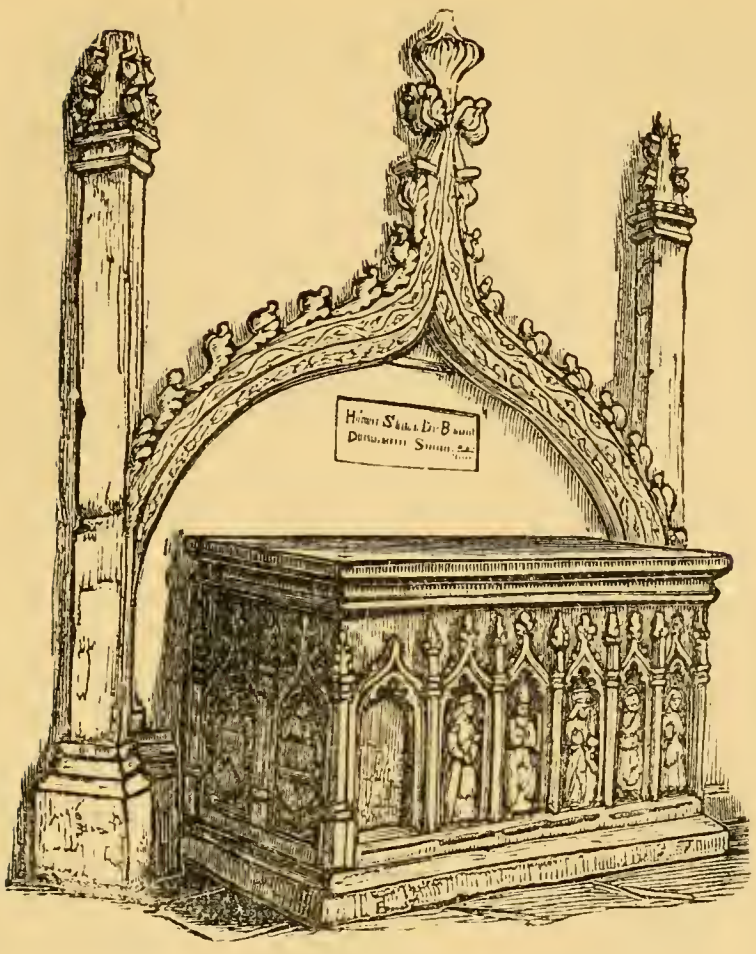


Fig. 3. Buckingham's Tomb.

The sign of the inn, that gave the name to the Row, was of course heraldic. The blue boar was a Yorkist badge, and was borne by Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV., who died in 1460. Mr. Nightingale thinks it possible that the name—the Blue Boar—may have had an earlier and different origin; for the *White* Boar was a popular Yorkist sign during the reign of Richard III., that king's cognizance being a boar *passant argent.* "After Richard's defeat, the *White* Boars were changed into *Blue* Boars, this being the easiest and cheapest way of altering the sign, and so the *White* Boar of Richard became the *Blue* Boar of the Earl of Oxford, who had lately contributed to place Henry VII. on the throne."

Nearly opposite the "Saracen's Head" stood the stocks, whipping-post and pillory.[1] We find that a pillory and whipping-post were "set up" at Salisbury, in 1658. The stocks were removed to the Canal, about twenty years since, and now, like the bull-ring, have disappeared. The pillory-

[1] See Naish's Map (1751) *f.*

post was not re-erected. The last instance, I have been able to find, of punishment in the pillory. was in 1831, and it took place in London.[1] The pillory, however, was not abolished as a punishment until the year 1837.[2]

After their removal to the Canal, the stocks were, I believe, only used once; a man having been ordered to be placed in them by the late William Andrews, Esq., one of the magistrates of the city. The stocks were used at Lichfield, twice in the year 1858, as a punishment for drunkenness; and a woman was put in the stocks, at Berwick-on-Tweed, about the year 1850. The "Cage," and the Ducking-stool, at Salisbury, formerly stood in Milford-street;[3] the "Pound" was in what we now call Love Lane;[4] and from it the name of the chequer —"Pound Chequer"—is derived.

The Market-place and some of the neighbouring streets were the scene of a smart skirmish between the royal and parliamentary troops, in 1645. Ludlow was at the time in possession of Salisbury, but Langford House was garrisoned by the royalists, and a body of royalists was approaching the city from the direction of Amesbury. As Ludlow rode down Winchester Street he, to use his own words, "heard a great noise of the horses in the street that leads into the city from Old Sarum, which caused me to return to the Market-place, where, finding many of the enemy's horse, I went by the back side of the town through a street called the Ditch,[5] to my guard, which was drawn up in the Close." He afterwards returned with about thirty troopers, and, entering the Market-place through the narrow passage near the Poultry Cross, "where," he says, "we were forced to march one by one," he charged the enemy and routed them. "About a hundred of them," he continues, "ran through Winchester Gate[6] to their main body, and about twice that number fled up a street called Endless Street, whom I pursuing my horse fell backwards with me by a check I gave him; but my own men being in my rear, I soon recovered on horseback, and continued the pursuit

[1] "Notes and Queries," 2nd series, vol. iii., p. 396.

[2] For a very complete history of the pillory, see "The Reliquary," edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., vol. i., pp. 209—224. See also "The Penny Cyclopedia," xviii., 159.

[3] Naish's Map, *d.*

[4] Ibid. This street formerly bore the name of Wynemand Street, it is mentioned under that name so early as in 1296.

[5] The Canal. [6] The Gate in Winchester Street was removed in 1767.

till I found the enemy to make a stand, the street, according to its name, being walled-up at the further end, and one of them, breaking back upon me and leaping the brook, but his horse losing his feet, threw him down; and he, perceiving himself to be at my mercy, desired his life," which was granted. This prisoner proved to be Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton; learning from him that the royalist force amounted to 900 men, Ludlow deemed it prudent to retreat in the direction of Harnham.

A rampart of earth was thrown up by the inhabitants of Salisbury, in 1310, it was intended to protect the city on the land-side, and extended from river to river; of this no trace now remains. Leland says of it:—"This diche was made of the tounes men at such tyme as *Simon*, Bishop of Saresbyri, gave licence to the burgeses to strengthen the toun with an embattled waulle. This diche was thoroughly caste for the defence of the toun, so far as it was not sufficiently defended by the mayne streame of *Avon*. But the waulle was never begon; yet, as I remembre, I saw one stone gate or 2 in the toun." Canon Jackson remarks upon this:—"Two gates in the Close."[1] Leland, however, describes the three gates in the Close, he says:—"the great and large embatelid waulle of the palace having 3 gates to entre it, thus namyd. The Close gate, as principale, by north into the toun, Sainct *Ann's* gate, by est: & *Harnham* gate, by south, toward *Harnham* Bridge." It is, therefore, probable that Leland's words are to be taken in their literal sense, and that he saw "one stone gate or 2 *in the toun.*" We have seen that Ludlow drove some of the royalists through Winchester Gate, in 1645, so that this gate was standing about a century after Leland's visit, and indeed was not removed until 1767. That Leland also saw "Castle Gate" seems certain, "for it lyith" on the way to "the castelle of *Old* Saresbyry," which he visited. Some remains of Castle Gate may be seen on the right-hand side as we pass up Castle Street, rather more than half-way up the street, the road-way becomes narrower at the spot where the gate stood; up to Castle Gate the street was known as "Castle Street," beyond the gate as "Above Castle Gate."[2] Mention is made of Castle Gate in the early part of the reign of Edward IV., it was removed in 1784.

[1] "Wilts Mag.," vol. 1, p. 159, *note.*

[2] Naish's map *b.*

# CHRONICLE OF EVENTS RELATING TO THE CITY OF NEW SARUM.

MANY of the events noted are of no historical importance, but nearly all possess a local interest. They are, chiefly, extracted from a work, published rather more than half a century ago,[1] my copy of which is supplemented by my Father's extracts from the Corporation Ledgers, &c. This pamphlet may not be in the possession of many; and to such the following extracts will possibly prove of interest; arranged as they are it will be easy to turn over the pages unread, if the excursionist desires to pass on to the account of our first stopping-place—"Old Sarum."

1227. Nicholas de Brookeby was elected the first Mayor.—Charter granted by Henry III. to incorporate the city, dated January 30th, in the eleventh year of his reign, at Westminster.
1278. Charter granted by Edward I.
1310. The Great Ditch was made for the defence of the city. It extended full four furlongs from the corner of St. Anne's Street, where it was connected with the river, either by another ditch or a wall, across Milford-street and Winchester-street, just without the old gate (removed in 1767), over Green Croft, where it remained almost perfect till the winter of 1769, when it was levelled by the poor of the city, at the expense of the owner of the College. It continued in a straight line northwards, across Mr. Wyndham's garden, where part of it is still to be seen (1824), to the upper corner of Swayne's Close, from thence it appears to have taken a direction due west, joining the cut behind Castle-street, above the turnpike-gate.
1329. The Parliament sat in the city.
1356. The Plague raged in the city.
1370. The price of wheat at four pence, and barley two pence, the bushel. —Labour two pence a day.
1378. The Parliament sat in the city.
1382. The Parliament sat in the city.
1384. The Town Ditch (the Canal) began to be made, but was never finished. A gallon of white wine sold for six pence, and a gallon of red wine for four pence.
1391. The Parliament sat in the city.
1431. The Spire of our Lady Church (the Cathedral) was set on Fire by lightning.
1434. The gates of the city began to be built.
1436. A cow sold in the market for one shilling, and a calf for one penny.
1443. The city gates first erected.
1450. The Bishop of Sarum was murdered at Edington by the Commons of Wiltshire, during the rebellion of Jack Cade.

[1] "A Chronology of Remarkable Events relative to the City of New Sarum, &c., from 1227 to 1823," fifth edition, printed and published by J. Easton, Salisbury, 1824.

1477. A wall erected round the Yarn-market Cross (Poultry Cross?)
1485. The Duke of Buckingham taken at the Brew in Wales, and beheaded in the Market-place, for rebelling against Richard III.
1486. Wheat three shillings the bushel.—Henry VII. came here, and was met by the Mayor and Corporation on Alderbury Common.
1491. Wheat at one shilling and eight pence the bushel.
1493. Wheat at four shillings the bushel.
1503. Richard Smart was burned in the Market-place for resisting the doctrine of transubstantiation.
1532. Wheat was ordered to be sold by weight.
1541. Spencer, Rosny, and Hewet, burned in the Market-place, on account of their religious principles.
1544. Good land let at one shilling per acre.
1549. A great religious uproar on Harnham Hill.
1555. Mandrell, Coverdale, and Spencer, were burned in Fisherton Fields, near the city, as martyrs in the cause of religion.
1557. On the 5th of March, Lord Stourton was executed in the Market-place for the murder of Mr. Hartgill and his son.
1563. The Plague was in the city.
1569. The County Gaol in Fisherton Anger, near the city was finished.[1] It had remained at Old Sarum till the time of Henry VII.
1573. The Elm Tree in the Market-place was cut down in order to erect the Council-House on its site.
1579. "The Council-House began to be built on the spot where the elm tree stood in the Market-place." I find against this an extract from the Corporation Ledger (C. fol. 58), in my father's hand-writing—"The first stone of the newe councell Howse was layde in the north est corner of the same Howse by Mr. Christopher Weekes, Maior of Sarum, the VIth day of July, 1579, and he also drave the first poste."—The Plague in the street leading to St. Edmund, and the election of Mayor, in consequence, at St. Thomas Church (Nov. 2, 1579).
1582. The Quarter Jacks at St. Thomas's Church were set up.
1584. The Council House was finished.
1594. A great dearth of corn, wheat being at nine shillings the bushel.
1597. The dearth still continuing, wheat advanced to twelve shillings. and barley to seven shillings, the bushel.
1603. James I. ascended the throne, and came to this city in progress; and by reason of the plague in London, he, with his Queen and Prince Henry, spent seven weeks at Wilton House; and fourteen days before Christmas returned to London. On the occasion of His Majesty's visit to the city, the Corporation presented a "Cuppe of silver, double gilted and covered, of the valew of twentie markes, or thereabouts, and twentie poundes in goulde therein, unto the King's Majestie; a purse with twentie poundes in goulde therein to the Queene; a purse with ten poundes in goulde to the Prince; and one fatt oxe of the price of eight poundes to the Earle of Pembroke. The fower and twentie (Aldermen) apparelled in scarlet gownes, and the eight and fortie (Assistants), and others, apparelled in cittizens gownes

[1] This was the Old Gaol, near Fisherton Bridge, see Naish's Map.

with their horses, and foot, and others, accompanyed Mr. Maior for the receipte of the King's Majestie."—The Bushel was set to the Standard.

1604. The Plague raged again in the city.
1608. A great scarcity of corn.
1610. The Market-place paved and railed.
1612. Charter granted (March 2nd) by James I.
1614. My father has again extracted from the Corporation Ledger (C. 243-244) the order for "newe erectinge and settinge uppe a convenient place for the Judges and Justices to sytte at the tyme of the Assizes." Accordingly we find that in
1615. The Council-House was enlarged on the east side.
1623. In the Corporation Ledger (C. 296) is the order for a "footlifte" to be provided for the Mayor to ride to Church with the Judges (October 30).
1625. The Green Croft was levelled.—The Coronation of Charles I. proclaimed.
1627. The inhabitants again suffered from the Plague, of which died, from the 29th of November to the 17th of March following, three hundred and sixty-nine persons. Bugmore Houses made a pest-house. (Corporation Ledger C. 336.)
1630. Charter granted (August 17th) by Charles I.
1631. At the summer assizes, a condemned felon threw a brick-bat at the Judge, Sir Thomas Richardson, Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas; which offence was immediately recorded, and judgment pronounced, that the culprit's right hand should be cut off, and fixed to the gibbet on which he was to be hanged; and which sentence of amputation was then executed in open Court.
1632. King Charles I. came to this city; when a boy, fifteen years of age, was drawn, hanged, and quartered, for saying he would buy a pistol to kill the King.—Henry Sherfield, Esq., Recorder of the city, in a fit of enthusiasm, destroyed the fine painted window in St. Edmund's church, which represented the Six Days' Work of the Creation, by reason of several errors in point of chronology, for which he was summoned into, and tried in, the Star Chamber, Feb. 6th, and fined £500.[1]
1635. A great Flood.—Charles I. came here.
1637. A very great Flood.
1638. Wheat at one shilling and threepence the bushel.
1641. The spire of our Lady church was set on fire by lightning.
1643. Prince Maurice, the Earl of Marlborough, and others of the King's forces, came to this city, and took the Mayor prisoner in his robes, for not assisting the King.
1649. Coronation of Charles II. proclaimed.
1653. On Sunday, June 26, the tower of St. Edmund's Church fell down just after the conclusion of the evening service.
1655. Old Haley, the plumber, roasted a shoulder of mutton and a couple of fowls upon the top of our Lady spire.—An insurrection at the

[1] See "The Proceedings in the Star Chamber against Henry Sherfield, Esq.," &c., &c. London, printed and sold by S. Noble in Long-Walk, near Christ's-Hospital, &c., &c., 1717.

Assizes by Colonel Penruddocke and Major Grove, with many others, for the King ; they took away the Judges' commission, and carried Mr. Dove, the High Sheriff, to Blandford ; but they were soon dispersed by Cromwell's forces. Several were hanged here ; and Colonel Penruddocke, with Major Grove, were beheaded at Exeter. The warrant for their execution, and also the cap in which Colonel Penruddocke suffered, are preserved by Charles Penruddocke, Esq., at Compton Park, near Salisbury.

1656. The Charter of the city was renewed, for its loyalty, by Cromwell ; and a Sword, with a Cap of Maintenance, brought in.—The inhabitants of the Close paid taxes to the city by Cromwell's order.

1657. The Corporation was invested with authority to admit persons into St. Nicholas Hospital, at Harnham, near the city.

1658. The Corn-Market was new railed, and a pillory set up.—Also a Whipping-Post erected near the Council-House.

1660. Thomas Abbott, Mayor. The happy Restoration of King Charles II. proclaimed, which gave rise to the Salisbury proverb of his being "restored by a Monk, and proclaimed by an Abbott."—The Sword of State broken at the Whipping-Post.—The Council-House was broken open, and the Silver Chains taken away belonging to the Town Musicians.

1665. King Charles II. and his Queen came here, in consequence of the Plague in London. Their Majesties went to Dogdean to see a football match ; they also ascended to the eight doors of our Lady church.—Two boys fell from the eight doors, and, pitching upon the leads of the church, were killed.

1666. The Plague raged here from March to Christmas, and carried off about six hundred persons. It appears that this city has been afflicted with the Plague (perhaps typhus fever), no less than six times, *viz.*, in 1556, 1563, 1579, 1604, 1627, 1666. Many of the inhabitants, in order to avoid the contagion, shut themselves up in their houses, thus effectually preventing any intercourse with their friends and neighbours, having, however, a small aperture cut in their doors to admit provisions, &c. ; an instance of which was to be seen in the street-door of Miss Botly, milliner, Silver-street, so late as the year 1817, when the door was removed. According to an entry in the Corporation Ledger, the Mayor, this year, on account of the Plague in this city, was chosen in the Close, by a grant from the King.

1670. The Bushel was cut.

1672. The Cathedral church was set on fire by the carelessness of the plumber, but soon extinguished.

1675. On the 13th of February, the Charter of the city was renewed by Charles II.—The river Avon began to be made navigable from Sarum to Christchurch, at the expense of the Bishop, the Mayor, and other gentlemen. A curious vellum book, containing a list of the subscribers, is preserved in the Muniment-room at the Council Chamber.

1679. The Poor riotously broke the Cut Bushel.

1681. Two new maces were bought.

1682. Bishop Ward founded a College in the Close for the widows of clergymen.

1683. A very high wind, which threw down the butchers' shambles, in the Market-place. The Duke and Duchess of York, Prince George and Princess Anne, came to this city, and lodged at the Bishop's Palace. The City spent five hundred pounds on them, and their trained Bands waited on them during their three days' stay.

1684. On the 23rd of December, the weather, particularly the snow, was so severe, that many persons perished by it returning from market.

An account of this storm,[1] perhaps the only original copy of the pamphlet extant, is preserved in the library of the Rev. Edward Duke, at Lake House. I give a few extracts: "On Tuesday, the 23rd of December, 1684, the weather being cold and freezing, there likewise happened a terrible, and certainly the most dreadful, storm hath in these nations been heard of in the memory of man. The carriers from London, to Exeter, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Bath, and Wells, &c., going as usually out from London on Saturday; and particularly the 20th of December, 1684, and in pursuance of their respective journeys, being on Tuesday, the 23rd, with their horses and passengers, to pass the Downs on this side Salisbury; such of them as escaped, do relate the manner of the storm in those parts to be as followeth, viz. That the wind being all day north-east, and violently cold, about two in the afternoon it began to snow very fast, and held on till two or three o'clock next morning, the wind continuing fierce, and blowing it in such heaps, that in some places the snow lay as high as a house-top, in others the ground scarcely covered; which so altered the roads, especially upon the Downs and Plains, that none of the said carriers could that night either find the way to their inns, or any towns where they might get shelter.

Mr. Mathews, the carrier of Shaftesbury, had his unfortunate lot within fifty-six miles of London, two miles on this side Stockbridge; who albeit he escaped with life, yet his hands are frozen up, that he hath lost the use of them, and two of his horses dyed with extremity of cold upon the Downs that very night. Mr. Collins, the Taunton carrier, and Mr. . . . . , the carrier to Bath and Wells, when first lost, judged they might want five or six miles of Amesbury. The Wells carrier had two of his company frozen to death, viz., his own son, a youth about thirteen or fourteen years of age; and a young man, a passenger, aged about twenty years; which

[1] London: printed by George Larkin, at the Lower-End of Broad-treet, next to London-Wall, 1685.

persons were not parted from the rest, or smoothered in the snow, but absolutely frozen to death, as they rode or walked along in company. This distressed carrier's bowels yearning when he saw his son grow stiff, and faint, got him up, and carried him till he dyed in his arms, and after he was dead carried him on horseback; until extremity of cold forced him to let him drop upon the Down and leave him.

Neither had Mr. Collins, who carries to Taunton and Tiverton less misfortune; a man and his wife, two hearty antient people, being of his passengers, and riding on single horses, although very healthful and well in the morning, and chearful in the afternoon, yet by the continued cold and stragling of the poor horses, or by their own growing feeble to manage them, lost sight of the gang, and wandred by themselves, till at length they lay down and dyed, one at the feet of the other.

Mr. Collins himself and servants, when within three miles of Amesbury, hapned upon a parish where they hired a guide for ten shillings, who undertook to lead their bell horse, and conducted them a mile and a half of the three; when, going faster than they could follow, Mr. Collins beg'd of him for God's sake to go no faster than they were able to come with the other horses.

But the guide, alledging his own life was in danger, kept on his pace, and got safe to the Bear Inn, at Amesbury, by nine o'clock at night; Mr. Collins, his servants and horses wandering till six in the morning, and then discovering an old barn, broke into it for shelter till day-light, one of his said servants is like to loose the use of his limbs, and Mr. Collins with the rest, meerly (under God) by violent labour and busling saved their lives."

Several other instances of death, from cold, during this storm, are mentioned in the pamphlet from which I have quoted.[1]

1686. March 7th, a Charter granted to the City by James II.

1688. The Mayor (Mr. George Clemence) was removed from his office, and Mr. Parsons appointed in his room; also several of the Corporation were removed, on account of their political principles at the time of the Revolution, but were soon restored again,—James II. came to Sarum with his army, to oppose the Prince of Orange, but soon returned to London. On the 3rd of December, the Prince of Orange arrived from Torbay, and marched on for London.—The

[1] It was re-printed by Brodie, (Salisbury) in 1841.

Crown on the top of the Council-house fell down.—Sept. 15, a Charter granted by James II., but this, with the Charter granted in 1686, was by proclamation, dated Oct. 17, 1688, called in and annulled.

1689. A great scarcity of wheat, being at ten shillings the bushel.

1695. A census taken—6678 inhabitants.

1697. Mary Doman did penance in St. Edmund's Church.

1704. On the 26th of November, a terrible Tempest of wind arose, which blew down the greater part of the large trees in the Close, and did great damage to the city, Close, and Cathedral church.

1707. A Charter granted to the city by Queen Anne.

1709. The Public Houses of the city were reduced to forty, which before were sixty.—Wheat at ten shillings, and barley at five shillings, the bushel.

1710. A new organ was erected in the Cathedral church by Mr. Renatus Harris.

1711. The Poultry-Cross repaired and beautified.

1713. The 12th of May, Peace was proclaimed in this city between Great Britain and France. July the 17th, an ox was roasted whole in the Market-place, being a day appointed for a public thanksgiving.

1723. Inoculation for the Small Pox first used in this city, which was then very hot. Out of thirteen huudred persons who caught the infection, one hundred and seventy died ; and out of one hundred who were inoculated, only one died.

1724. A very great Flood in February.—The Cathedral church was set on fire, at the west end, by the carelessness of the plumber, but soon extinguished.

1726. The greatest Flood ever known in the city ; the water having risen so rapidly in the Cathedral church during divine service, that a pulpit was erected in the Choir to preach, the water being nearly a foot high in the body of the church. At this period, Prayers were read in the Choir, and the Sermon preached in the body of the church.

1742. The spire of the Cathedral church caught fire by lightning.

1758. The vane of the Cathedral church fell from the top of the spire.—The Steeple of the belfry in the Close was taken down.—The Bath Stage Waggon, with its valuable lading, was burnt on Salisbury Plain, by the wheels taking fire.

1762. On placing a new Copper Vane on the spire of the Cathedral church, the workmen discovered in a cavity of the capstone, a small round leaden box, and within it a neat wooden one, containing only the remains of a piece of silk, or fine cloth, decayed almost to tinder ; supposed to be a relic relating to the Virgin Mary, to whom the Cathedral is dedicated.

1767. The new Infirmary commenced ; the Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Radnor, laid the foundation stone.

1771. This year were discovered in the gardens of the College, the mouldering bones of nearly thirty bodies, some central pieces of ancient shields made of iron with thin brass bandages fixed to them ; an iron sword, and the heads of several pikes of the same metal. The iron was much corroded, and easily crumbled between

the fingers, whilst the brass was as pure and perfect as when first composed. It is supposed that these are the remains of a battle fought between Cynric, King of the West Saxons, and the Britons; who were, after a bloody slaughter on both sides, defeated by him in the year 552, and brought into his possession the capital British fortress of Sorbiodunum, now called Old Sarum.

1778. The bells belonging to the Cathedral church were taken from the adjacent belfry, beaten to pieces, and sold, previous to the removal of the Belfry itself; and the Choir of the Cathedral church was enlarged.

1781. The Mayor having given his customary entertainment in the Council-House upon the occasion of being sworn into office, the 16th November, 1780; the following morning early, and soon after the company were departed, a fire broke out in the attic story, which raged with great fury, and completely destroyed that part of the building; but by the very prompt exertions of the inhabitants, the progress of that all devouring element was happily checked without further mischief, though its awful ravages at one period threatened the whole pile with total destruction.

1788. The new Council-House was commenced, on the site of the old Guildhall, the foundation stone was laid by the Mayor (Mr. Edward Hinxman), on the 16th of September.

1795. The new Council-House was completed on the 23rd of September. The whole building was at the expense of the Earl of Radnor, Recorder of the city, who made this munificent present to the Corporation.

1823. The Corn-Market was removed from the middle of the Market-place, to the open space within the rails in front of the Council-House.—In the afternoon of Saturday, the first of November, the parish of Fisherton, as well as several of the principal streets of the city, became suddenly inundated with the greatest Flood the oldest inhabitants could possibly remember, occasioned by very tempestuous weather of wind, snow, and rain; the water in Fisherton having, in some houses, been so high as three feet, and in the high-road considerably higher. At the Bull inn, the water reached the uppermost part of the kitchen dresser, and floated an eight-hogshead cask in the cellar. About nine or ten o'clock it began to subside. The high-road, however, continued impassable for pedestrians until Monday afternoon.

1841. About five o'clock in the evening of Saturday the 16th of January there was a great flood, caused by the melting of snow from an unusually-sudden thaw; unfortunately, the ground was so deeply frozen that none of the water was absorbed.

The south-western portion of the Close presented, on Sunday morning, the appearance of a large and unbroken sheet of water, which extended to the doors of the Cathedral, so that it was found impossible to hold the service. The water flowed freely through most of the houses in the Close, and I had to enter the King's House (now the Diocesan Training School)

by means of a bridge of planks; and was unable to reach my grandmother's house on the Canal without wading through the water. Fisherton-street was impassable for foot passengers for two days, most of the residents constructed dams at their doors; and, on Monday (January 18), as my Father and I drove along Fisherton-street, on our way to Shrewton, the water was even then above the axles of the wheels.

FIG. 4. OLD SARUM.

## OLD SARUM.

This is a very remarkable place; in some respects the most noteworthy in Britain. Selected at a remote period and fortified with appliances of a simple character, it was the principal stronghold of a district very rich in military earthworks; and at one time was the resort of those inhabitants whose huts or wigwams, and the symbols of their superstition, covered the adjacent downs; and whose sepulchral monuments (ascending to the Stone Age) point, by their contents, to a primitive, and by their number, to a long-continued population. The earlier

and later Britons, Celtic or Belgic tribes; the Romans; and the English; have each left us traces of their rule. The Celt, partly in the fragments of an ancient nomenclature, but chiefly in material works, curious and grand, but which are in no way connected with the later inhabitants of the country; the Romans, in those marvellous public ways, many of which are still in use; and the English, in those names, boundaries, and customs, which are associated with our religion, our laws, and our civilization.

Nevertheless, the mound of Old Sarum is a spot on which the descendant of the Welsh-speaking Britons has a peculiar right to feel pride. All around it savours of the remote antiquity of his race. The Norman fortress, the city, the cathedral church, have all vanished; their very ruins have perished, and the knowledge of their arrangements has only been recovered by the accident of a rainless summer. Even the traces of Roman and English residence within the vast inclosure are uncertain and obscure. The bare and gaunt banks and mounds, the skeleton of the past life, are all that is left, and here, as at Stonehenge, the memory of the Briton is once more predominant.

Old Sarum is a rudely circular and concentric earthwork of unusual height and area, and of more historic celebrity than is attached to any other mere bank of earth in Britain, however stupendous. Moreover, though really as much a natural knoll of chalk as Windsor, its sharp outline and obviously artificial finish invest it, to the ordinary observer, with the character of a work of man; and thus prodigiously enhance


Fig. 5. Section of Old Sarum.

the admiration with which it is wont to be regarded. Old Sarum is really a knoll of the upper and flint-bearing chalk series; of which advantage has been taken to scarp and elevate the highest and central part into a steep flat-topped mound, (A on Fig. 6) round which is excavated a formidable ditch, very broad and very deep. The section, Fig. 5, shows

what nature, as well as man, has done at Old Sarum. Beyond the ditch is a broad and comparatively level annular area, sloping slightly from the centre (B on Fig. 6) and in its turn girdled by a second and still more formidable ditch. Of this the counterscarp is a steep bank, outside of and beyond which is the natural slope of the base of the hill; forming what, in military phrase, would be the glacis of the place, and which on three

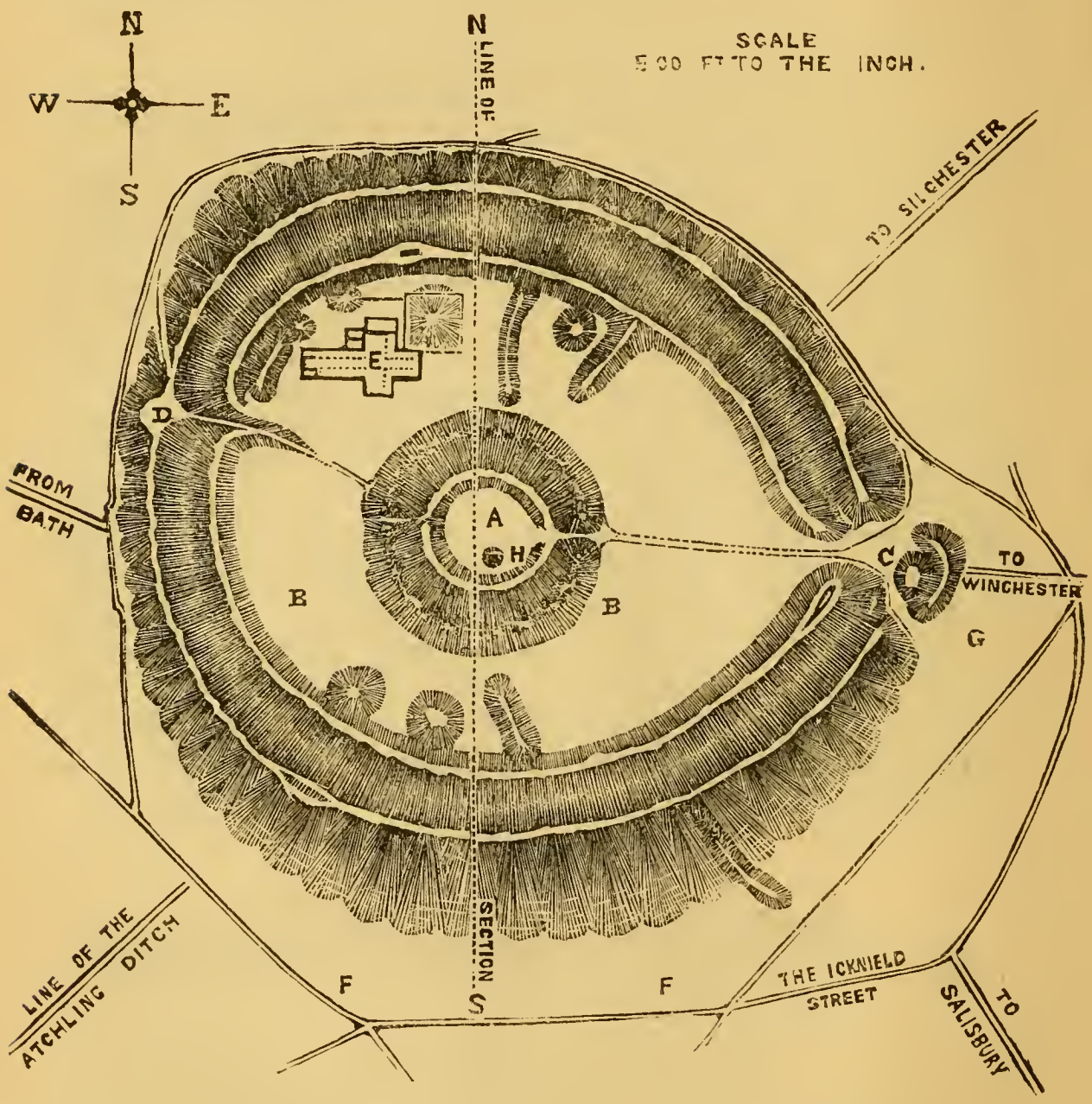



Fig. 6. Plan of Old Sarum.

A. Keep or Inner Ward.
B. Outer Ward.
C. Main Entrance.
D. West Gate.
E. Cathedral and Cloisters.
F. Precinct of the Burgh.
G. Church of the Holy Cross.
H. Great Well.

sides descends into the ordinary valleys of the district, but to the west is continued downwards until it dies into the meads of Stratford. The whole height of the knoll above the river (Avon) may be 300 feet, and perhaps 200 feet above the other valleys, and the fortified area is above 27 acres; so that the fortress is one of great strength and magnitude.

Commencing with the interior, the central mound (A Fig. 6) is, at its top, about 500 feet across. The sides are as steep as the rubbly chalk soil will allow, and the material, removed in scarping, seems to have been in part placed on the crest of the scarp, so as to raise the edge of the mound by an artificial bank, this bank rises to the height of about 20 feet above the central platform. This bank, or parapet, is about 100 feet above the bottom of the ditch, and about half that height above the level of the counterscarp. The ditch is about, at its broadest, 150 feet. This ditch was the inner fosse of the fortress, and surrounded its Keep or Inner Ward, or the castle proper.

The annular space beyond formed the Outer Ward (B Fig. 6), the girth of which was about 1,500 yards, and within which were the city and cathedral (E Fig. 6). This ward is not quite circular, but measuring from the inner to the outer ditch, averages about 370 feet. It is parted nearly equally on the north side by a bank, and on the south by a bank and ditch, the former being on the eastern side. These run as radial lines, but do not reach the interior ditch, neither does the cross ditch communicate with the exterior one. In fact the cross ditch, in its breadth, depth, and irregularity, much resembles a quarry: and very probably was opened to supply material for the hearting or substance of the castle walls. Besides these is another bank, pointing to the south-east, so that the whole area is divided into three sections, of which two lie in the eastern half. Of course, the object of these banks was to shut in the church, and to prevent the whole Outer Wall being taken by a *coup de main.* They are all evidently additions to the circular works, and probably of the Norman period. With these exceptions the surface of this ward is nearly level, but round its outer edge runs a low bank, and in places, in its rear, a slight ditch, no doubt caused by the removal of the wall.

Outside this ward is the outer ditch, about 106 feet deep from the crest, and about 150 feet broad. The bank, which

forms the outer edge of this ditch was evidently formed from its contents. It is about 40 feet above the bottom of the ditch, and about 15 feet above the level outside, and it is very steep. This forms the outer line of defence, and in modern warfare would be considered a weakness, as affording cover to the assailants.

Thus the fortress is composed of an inner or castle ward, (A in Fig 6), and an outer or city ward (B), with a bank and ditch defending each; and a third bank beyond and on the edge of the outer ditch. The outer ditch and bank are those attributed to Alfred. The diameter of the whole place is a mean of 1700 feet.

There are two entrances into the outer ward, (C) from the east-south-east, and (D) from the west-north-west, nearly opposite. These are formed by a direct cross-cut through the outer bank, and the filling up the ditch so as to carry a roadway, which enters the outer ward in a cutting, as a hollow way. At the eastern or main entrance (C) this way is shallow, and speedily dies out; but at (D) the western (called the Postern) entrance (though narrow), the roadway is much deeper, and runs far into the ward. In each case, the way forks at the outer bank, and in the angle is placed a barbican of earth, a sort of cavalier, commanding both branches of the road, as well as their combination. The eastern work is nearly rectangular, sharply defined, and has an independent ditch of its own towards the field. It is probably, in its present form, Norman. The original entrances seem to have been here, but the present arrangement is evidently late, and possibly altogether Norman.

The Inner Ward has but one, an eastern, entrance, opposite to that of the Outer Ward. This also is formed by a notch cut in the scarp, the ditch being filled up to carry a foot-way. This must also have been very steep. It was evidently always the entrance, the bank elsewhere being uncut. Fragments of masonry show it, in its present form (a bridge being substituted for the causeway) to have been the entrance to the Norman Castle.

At the entrance to the Inner Ward, on the scarp, are two masses of chalk-flint rubble, with occasional blocks or lumps of sarsen stone (and pieces of stone from the Upper Greensand), evidently the core of a gate-house and contiguous curtain once faced with ashlar. The enceinte wall seems to

have crested the mound all round, the present bank forming a ramp behind it. In the enclosure, on the north side are lines of foundation, obviously those of the principal buildings; and opposite is a bold depression in the soil, no doubt marking the place of the well (H on Fig. 6), which must have been deep, and was possibly large. The filling up of the ditch at the entrance is clearly modern.

This central mound may be original, but it is rather more probable that the British work resembled Badbury, which has no central citadel, and that this latter was added, and the ditch excavated in the eighth or ninth century, to make a fortified residence for the English Lord. This, however, must always be mere speculation. By whomsoever made, the Normans found the mound here, and built upon it a shell, of which the ditch was the defence, and the interior bank the camp.

The outer lump of masonry is on the line of the wall of the city ward, towards the north-east, marked with a line on Fig. 6. This is part of the curtain-wall of the city, and measures about 10 feet thick, 12 feet high, and 25 feet long. It is pierced by two holes 18 inches high by 12 inches broad, placed about 6 feet apart and 8 feet from the ground. They seem to have carried two beams, for what purpose it is vain to conjecture. The fragment is of chalk-flint rubble, with occasional chain courses of sarsen stone, rudely dressed. The inner face of the wall retains its original facing of dressed sarsen ashlar. Though placed, as indeed with such a weight, was prudent, 3 or 4 feet within the edge of the ditch, it was evidently a part of the general enceinte wall, described as having been 12 feet thick, and strengthened with twelve towers.[1] This could not have been less than 20 feet high, and about 1,566 yards long, a prodigious work, even without considering the radial walls dividing the city from the cathedral.

Besides these works, there was discovered, in 1795, a curious subterranean passage, which passed from the north-west quarter of the Outer Ward, outwards, towards the eastern ditch. It was cut in the chalk, 7 feet broad and from 7 to 10 feet high, the sides were found still to bear marks of the tool. The entrance had columns and door-jambs, evidently Norman; the roof was round-headed, probably artificial, as it is described as being only about two feet below the surface. There were steps

[1] Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., however, is of opinion that this fragment is Roman, and formed part of a rectangular building.

cut in the chalk, and but little worn. It was followed 114 feet, and there found to be choked up with rubbish. No doubt this was a private postern, opening on the glacis or in the ditch, such as exist at Windsor and in other fortresses on the chalk.

It may be observed, with respect to the outer defences, which have been attributed to Alfred, that they have the peculiarity of a high bank outside the ditch, very unusual in Celtic camps. Probably all Alfred did was to deepen this ditch, and throw up the outer bank; and probably also all the ditches were again scarped and deepened when the Norman city wall was built.

During the long drought of 1834, a very interesting discovery was made at Old Saram. The Outer Ward was at that time laid down in grass, and upon this was to be seen in brown outline the plan of the old cathedral, E on Fig. 6. It was placed in the north-west quarter, between the secret passage and the west gate. The plan was a plain cross, 270 feet long by 150 feet broad, with a flat east end: the chapter-house was formed by an additional bay at the north end of the north transept, see Fig. 7. There were double aisles to nave, choir, and transepts. On removing the soil the foundations were seen, and in them a cavity, probably the grave of Bishop Osmund, the founder, On the north side of the choir was a square of 140 feet, the site of the cloisters. Here were found also burial-grounds for clergy and laity.[1]

The excavations upon the site of the old cathedral were conducted by the late Mr. Hatcher and the late Mr. Fisher; a very good account of the dimensions of the building and other details is to be found in Brown's "Illustrated Guide to Old Sarum and Stonehenge," from which the plan shown in Fig. 7 is taken. There was a large Galilee porch set between two western towers; the nave was 150 feet long by 72 feet broad; the transept 150 feet by 70 feet; and the choir 60 feet long. On the north side of the transept was an oblong Chapter House, and on the west side of the north arm were a Sacristy and Treasury. Of the style and architectural ornaments of the church some idea may be formed, inasmuch as many fragments of sculptured stone, which had formed part of the old cathedral, are to be seen built into the western wall of the Close, in Exeter Street (Salisbury), below St. Ann's Gate. Some of these may have adorned the faces of the

[1] G. T. Clark, "The Earthworks of the Wiltshire Avon," in "Archæol. Journ.," vol. xxxii., pp. 290—309.

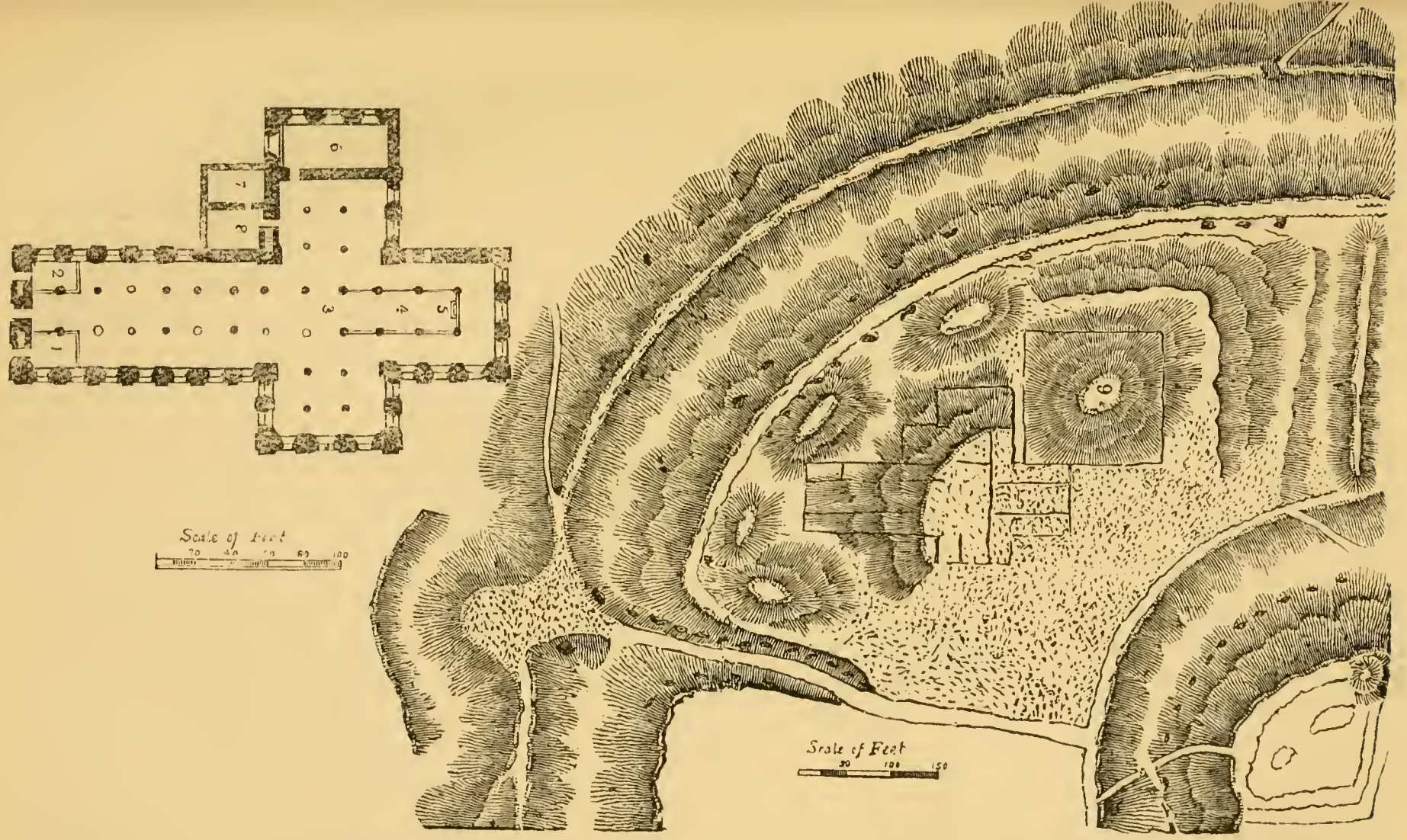



FIG. 7. CLOSE OF OLD SARUM, WITH PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL, RESTORED BY THE LATE MR. H. HATCHER.

1. BAPTISTRY.
2. GALILEE.
3. LANTERN.
4. CHOIR.
5. HIGH ALTAR.
6. CHAPTER HOUSE.
7. TREASURY.
8. SACRISTY.
9. CLOISTERS.

great arches; many of the designs consist of quatrefoils and rosettes; another variety is ornamented with small arches, having nail-head mouldings; there are also fragments of a kind of twisted moulding, such as is frequently to be seen as a border to the windows of Norman buildings.

"It is certain that the greater part of the earth-works at Old Sarum are of præ-Roman origin, and that Sorbiodunum is the Latinized form of the British name—*dun* or *dunum*, denoting an 'eminence.' That the fortress on this spot is the Sorbiodunum of Antoninus is very probable indeed."[1] The earth-works have been strengthened by successive conquerors or possessors until, from a mere hill-fort, the place became a strongly fortified mediæval city. In its general form, however, following the lines of the hill upon which it is placed, Old Sarum is but an improved Ogbury, its original plan of defence has been modified and improved, but not changed.

Why was Old Sarum retained as a defensive position when so many other camps—such as Ogbury, Chlorus' Camp, and Clearbury (the two last within sight) were abandoned? Perhaps this was due, in part at least, to the circumstance that Old Sarum laid in the direct line of traffic in early times; as many as six Roman roads are said to have led to Old Sarum, and, possibly, these roads only followed the lines of still earlier British trackways. Of the three Roman roads that entered by the eastern approach to Old Sarum, two are still very distinctly to be traced. One crossed the Bourne at the village of Ford, and passed by way of Bossington to Winchester; the other led to Silchester, and may be seen running parallel to the South-Western Railway, between Idmiston and Grately, for a distance of about four miles. The third road crossed the Avon at Stratford, crept up the opposite hill, passed near Bemerton Church, forded the Wyly by the Parsonage Barn, proceeded over the Hare-warren to Stratford Tony, Woodyates Inn, and Badbury, to Dorchester. A fourth road is said to have passed northward to the Roman station of Cunetio, near Marlborough. A fifth went to the north-east by way of the camps of Yarnbury, Scratchbury, and Battlesbury, to Bath; and a sixth passed southward to Ilchester.[2] It is, however, very curious that so

[1] Clark, *l. c.*, p. 298.

[2] Dr. Guest, however, lays down but four roads—to Winchester, to Silchester, a western road to the Severn traversing the great ridge wood, and that called Atchling Ditch, which leads direct to Badbury rings, near Wimborne.

few indications of Roman habitation occur near Old Sarum; beyond a few coins and other trifles, nothing whatever has been found within the fortress, and but very little in its suburbs. This remark, however, applies with equal force to relics of the still earlier races—the people of the Stone Age and of the Bronze Age. The palæolithic implement, shown in Fig 8, was found on the northern side of the Outer Ward at Old Sarum, Oct. 2, 1872, by Miss Adeline King, daughter of the Rev. C. King, vicar of Stratford. It is now preserved in the Blackmore Collection, to which it was presented by Miss A.

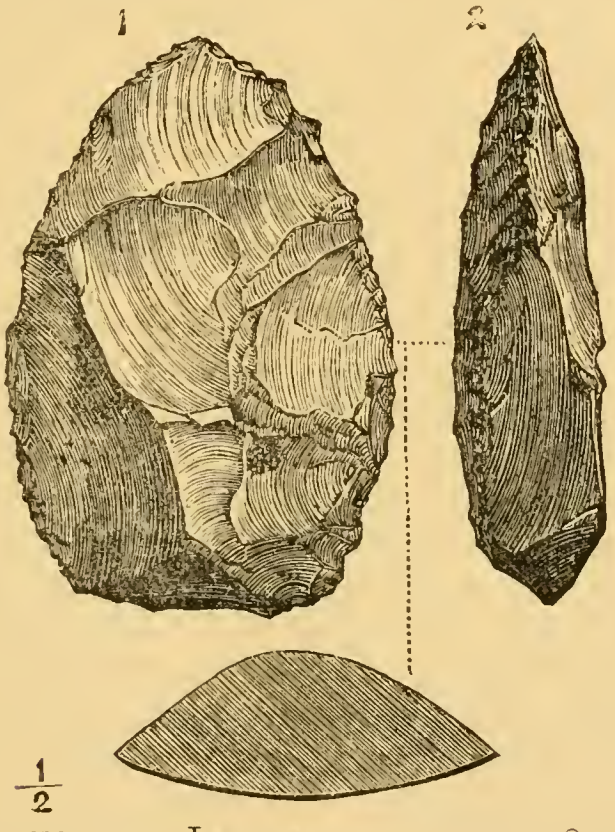



Fig. 8. Palæolithic Implement, found at Old Sarum.

King. If this implement could be proved to have been fashioned by any occupier of Old Sarum, a very high antiquity indeed might be claimed for this ancient fortress. Of course, however, this is out of the question. It is probable that the implement was taken to Old Sarum with other flints, and it may even have been built into the walls of the old city. At all events, I am not aware that there is any deposit at Old Sarum itself, from which it could have been derived, although it might have been brought from beds, close at hand, at Stratford.

"What the Belgæ did with Sorbiodunum during the century

and a half of their occupation, is unknown. This period of the history of our island is obscure, and yet to it has been attributed, by Mr. Fergusson, the adjacent monument of Stonehenge ; the work, at least in its present form, of a people accustomed to the use of tools of metal,[1] and with some notion of construction and of architectural effect. Sorbiodunum, recorded as Seoresbyrig, or Searbyrig, which Sir R. Hoare rather happily suggests, may mean the 'dry,' or 'waterless city,' played a part in the Belgic and Saxon struggles. In 552, Cynric, king of Wessex, no inconsiderable leader of the 'aspera gens Saxo,' here conquered the Britons,"[2] and obtained possession of Old Sarum.

In the early part of the eighth century, Ina, King of the West Saxons, endowed the Church of St. James, in Saresbyrig, with lands ; and his consort, Ethelburga, made a similar grant to the nuns, serving God in the Church of St. Mary, in Sarisbyrig.

871. The outer intrenchment is supposed to have been added, in this year, by Alfred, within a month after which he fought a great battle with the Danes at Wilton. The order given to Leofric, Earl of Wiltshire, runs thus :—"I, Alfred, King and Monarch of the English, have ordered Leofric of Wiltunshire, not only to preserve the Castle of Sarum, but to make another ditch to be defended by palisadoes ; and all who live about the said castle, as well as my other subjects, are immediately to apply to this work."

960. Ædgar convoked a witangemote at Old Sarum, to devise means for the defence of Northumberland against the invasion of the Danes.

1003. Svein, father of Cnut, in revenge for the massacre of the Danes in the preceding year, made a descent upon the southern coast, and ravaged the country as far as Wilton and Old Sarum, both of which places he is said to have burnt, and then to have retreated to his ships.

1036. In this year Cnut died at Old Sarum.

Finally, the place seems to have become a royal demesne of the Confessor, being so recorded in Domesday.

Before passing on to the establishment of Norman rule at Old Sarum, it may be interesting to mention that, here Wulf-

[1] The Belgæ were in their bronze age ; but it is not proved, as yet, that metallic tools were employed in the construction of Stonehenge.

[2] Clark, *l. c.* p. 298.

noth, brother of King Harold, "the last of the Saxons," closed his sorrowful life as a cowled monk. In his youth, he had been delivered by his father (Earl Godwin) as a hostage to the Confessor; who, for greater security committed him to the custody of William of Normandy, in whose Court he remained for many years a prisoner. On the overthrow of Harold, and the establishment of the Norman dynasty, Wulfnoth only obtained his liberty by becoming a monk, and as such died at Old Sarum.

"The Norman history of Old Sarum is an occupation of the older fortress, and the foundation of the early city. The invaders disturbed as little as possible the existing tenures and boundaries; they placed themselves in the English seats of property, and from them administered the old estates. The defences alone were often changed. To walls of wattle or rude masonry, and stockades of timber, succeeded works in substantial masonry, and all the newly invented appliances of a Norman fortress. At the time of Domesday, the Conqueror held some rents here; but the manor, a large one, was in the Bishop, a very important person; and, as being such, it may be well for us to glance at the principal circumstances connected with the establishment of the episcopal seat at Sarum.

The see of Wessex was founded by Birinus, in 634. It was subdivided, in 705, into the Bishopric of Winton and the Bishopric of Sherborn. In 905—9, five sees were created in the West Saxon Kingdom, to which a sixth, that of Wilton or Wiltshire, was shortly afterwards added, the episcopal seat of which was at Ramsbury. After an ineffectual attempt, in 1055, to remove this to Malmsbury; Bishop Herman, in 1075—8, with the consent of the King, combined Ramsbury with Sherborne, and translated the seat to Sarum.

1078. Herman, the first Bishop of Sarum, laid the foundation of the cathedral, which was completed, or nearly so, by his successor, Osmund de Seez, Earl of Dorset and Lord Chancellor, a nephew of William the Conqueror; who, being a wealthy baron in England and Normandy, endowed it richly by charter, in 1091, the year before its consecration. "Part of the land is described as 'ante portam castelli seriberiensis terram ex utraque parte viæ in ortorum domorumque canonicorum necessitate.' The gate referred to is that of the Inner Wards the canons' houses having been on the Outer. There was thus a castle twenty-five years after the Conquest; but

whether it was a Norman structure or that left by the English is uncertain, probably something of both." It was at Old Sarum that Bishop Osmund arranged the celebrated ordinary for "the use of Sarum."

1086. William (1st) was at Old Sarum in this year, and at Lammastide met his Witan in the celebrated Gemote which has been thus described. "Here in the vast open plain about the fortress assembled a host reputed at 60,000 men, composed of 'all the landowners who were of account over all England, be they the men of what man they might, and they all submitted to him, and were his men, and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men,' an oath by which the great King broke down the intermediate power of the nobles, and, with that sagacity which in him was iutuitive, avoided the rock on which the two great monarchies of the continent were destined to make shipwreck."[1]

1092. On the 5th of April in this year, the Cathedral of Old Sarum, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was consecrated by Osmund, assisted by Walkeline, Bishop of Winchester, and John, Bishop of Bath. Leland writes:—"Osmund, Erle of *Dorchestre*, and after Bishop of *Saresbyri* erectid his Cathedrale Chirch ther (i.e., in Old-*Saresbyri*) in the west part of the town; and also his palace, whereof now no token is, but only a chapel of our Lady yet standing and mainteynid." On the fifth day after the consecration of the cathedral, the tower was seriously injured by lightning. Roger, Osmund's successor, Justiciary of England and Treasurer, is said to have walled in the outer enclosure between 1102 and 1139. Old Sarum seems to have attained the height of its prosperity under Bishop Roger, who, like his predecessor, obtained the custody of the fortress. Unscrupulous and avaricious, Bishop Roger affords a typical example of the feudal Churchman, at a time when the Anglo-Norman Bishops were barons rather than prelates, when their palaces were castles, and their retainers vassals-in-arms. "Whatever he desired," says William of Malmesbury, "if it was not to be had by payment, was seized by force." Roger built the castles of Devizes and Sherborne.

1096. William Rufus was here in this year to meet his Council, and decide upon the celebrated wager of battle in which William, Earl of Eu, was worsted and tortured to death.

[1] Clark, *l. c.* p. 300.

About this period a change appears to have taken place in the name of the ancient city. In the early periods of our history, the money which circulated throughout the kingdom was struck at various towns, to which the privilege was granted by the sovereign. Comparatively few towns in Wiltshire have been the sites of mints, but among them is Old Sarum; although there are no written records to prove this, the evidence is that furnished by existing coins. The earliest known Sarum minted coins are of the reign of Ethelred II., (978—1016). On these the name of the city is written SEARBE; on the coins of Cnut the name is written SAEBER, SEBER, SER, SERE. No coins of the Confessor or of Harold, minted at Old Sarum, are known. Upon the coins of William I. and II. the name of the city is spelt SERE, SÆR, SÆRI, SERB, SERBR, SERBIR, SERBRI, SÆRB, SÆREB, SÆRBI. All of these are evident contractions of Seoresbyrig or Searbyrig, the names by which it was known to the Saxons. It is not until the time of Stephen that we find the first appearance of the modern name of the city, the inscription occurs upon a coin, preserved in the British Museum, and is SALIS. Upon coins of Henry II. the name of the place is indicated by the letters SAL, SALE, and SALER, all according with the modern orthography. After this period, the name of Salisbury does not occur upon any coins, nor is there any reason to suppose that a mint was ever worked at Salisbury at any later period, except, perhaps, during the troublous period of Charles I.[1]

1100 and 1106. In these years, Henry I. held his court at Old Sarum.

1116. Henry I. assembled his nobles here, and made them swear to recognise Prince William as his successor.

During the civil wars of Stephen, Bishop Roger was disgraced, and is said to have died of grief.

1154. At this time the castle was held by Henry II., it was in a ruined condition, and considerable sums were expended in repairing it.

Maude created Patrick (son of Edward de Sarisburie) Earl of Salisbury, and probably invested him with the Government of the castle; he died in 1167. In 1164—5, the Bishop was lord of the manor, and under him were thirty-three knights

[1] Hawkins, "Notices of the Mints of Wiltshire," in Salisbury Vol. Archeol Inst., pp. 237—239.

under the old feoffment, and three under the new. Earl Patrick held two knight fees, and a third by the tenure of guarding the castle.

"So long as the Bishops held the castle, either independently or for the Crown, the position of the Cathedral was sufficiently secure, but when lay castellans took their place, and were men powerful enough to ill-treat their neighbours, the clergy began to suffer, and to make the most of the natural disadvantage of so high and exposed a situation. They suffered 'ob insolentiam militis et ob penuriam aquæ'; the church was 'Castro comitis vicina,' and the vicinity was unpleasant.

"Under Bishop Herbert le Poer, who succeeded in 1194, the disputes between the soldiers and the clergy reached their height, and he decided to remove the cathedral to a spot of ground near the confluence of the Wyly and the Nadder with the Avon, rather more than a mile distant from Old Sarum."[1]

According to one tradition, the site of the new cathedral was determined by where an arrow, shot from the ramparts of Old Sarum, should fall; according to another tradition, the site was revealed to Bishop le Poer, in a dream, by the Blessed Virgin herself. Leland writes of the removal to New Sarum in these words:—"Sum think that lak of water caussid the inhabitants to relinquish the place; yet were ther many welles of swete water. Sum say, that after that in tyme of civil warres that castles and waullid towns were kept, that the castellanes of *Old-Saresbyri* and the chanons could not agree, insomuch that the castellanes upon a time prohibited them, coming home from Procession and Rogation, to re-entre the toun. Whereupon the bishop and they consulting together, at the last began a chirch on his oun proper soyle; and then the people resorted strait to *New-Saresbyri* and buildid ther: and then, in continuance, were a great number of the houses of *Old-Saresbyri* pulled down and set up at *New-Saresbyri*."

Merefield, a marshy spot but with an excellent foundation, was granted by Richard I. for the site of the new cathedral. Bishop Herbert died in 1219, but his successor and natural brother, Richard le Poer, obtained from Honorius III. the Bull necessary for the translation, in which the causes for the removal are set forth.

1220. On the festival of St. Vitalis (April 28) in this year, the first stones of the existing cathedral at Salisbury were laid

[1] Clark, *l. c.* p. 301.

by Bishop Richard le Poer and others. It is probable, however, that the citizens had commenced to remove from Old Sarum in the reign of Richard I., and that parts of the present city were occupied before the foundations of the cathedral were laid. The new cathedral was consecrated Sept. 30, 1258, Giles de Bridport being then Bishop of Salisbury.

There were six Bishops of (Old) Sarum :—

Herman, died about 1078.

Osmund, consecrated 1078 ; died Dec. 3, 1099.

Roger, consecrated Aug. 10, 1107 ; died Dec. 11, 1139.

Joceline de Bailul, consecrated 1142 ; died Nov. 18, 1184.

Hubert Walter, cons. Oct. 22, 1189; trans. Canterbury, 1193.

Herbert Poore, cons. June 5, 1194; died Feb. 6, 1217.

He was succeeded by his natural brother, Richard Poore, translated from Chichester, 1217 ; who removed the seat of the episcopal see from Old Sarum, and established it at Salisbury ; he was translated to Durham, 1228.

The tombs, and probably the remains, of the Bishops buried at Old Sarum, were removed to the new cathedral.

Bishop Herman's (supposed) tomb is on the south side of the nave, very near the west door ; it is a flat, coffin-shaped slab of Purbeck marble.

Bishop Osmund's tomb formerly stood in the middle of the Lady Chapel, but during Wyatt's alterations (1789—90) it was removed, and is now on the north side of the nave, between the north porch and the transept. It is a mean altar-shaped tomb, covered by a slab, inscribed with the date, anno MXCIX.—this is all that is left to do honour to the memory of the founder of the Cathedral at Old Sarum.

Bishop Roger's tomb is supposed by many to be that shown in Fig. 13, it is situated on the south side of the nave. Down the front of the robe of the effigy are the words, "Affer opem devenies in idem." Around the sides of the stone are letters, described by Mr. Gough as a mixture of Saxon and Roman characters. The literal translation of this inscription is as follows :—"Salisbury weeps to-day the fall of the sword of Justice, the father of the Church of Salisbury. Whilst he flourished, he sustained the wretched, and feared not the pride of the powerful, but was the punisher (literally 'club') and terror of the wicked. He took his origin from chiefs ('dukes' or 'leaders'), from noble princes (or 'from the first nobles'), and shed lustre on you like a precious stone."

FIG. 9.
WM. LONGSPEE.
1226.

FIG. 10.
WM. LONGSPEE.
1250.

FIG. 11.
BP. POORE.
1237.

FIG. 12.
BP. DE LA WYLYE.
1270.

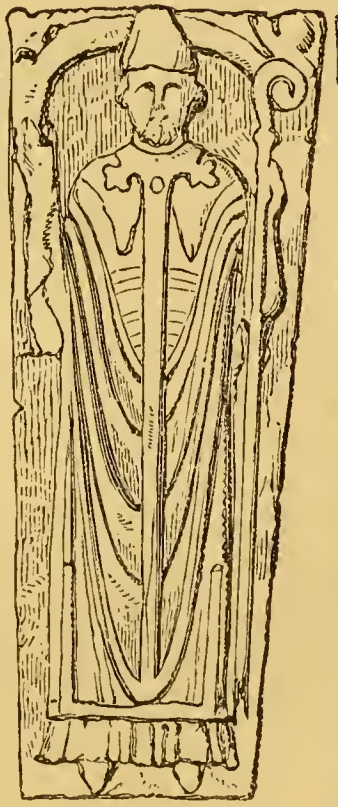


FIG. 13.
BP. ROGER.
1139.

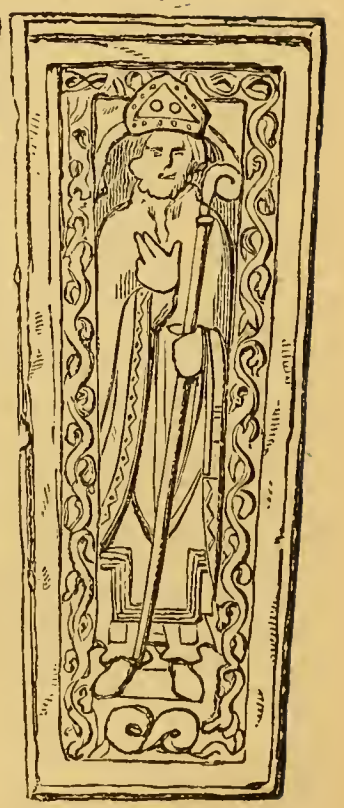


FIG. 14.
BP. JOCELINE.
1184.

The mitre of the effigy is remarkable in its form, differing as much from the usual mitre of the twelfth century as it does from any later examples. At this period it had the shape of an ordinary round cap, slightly indented in the middle. The rest of the episcopal costume is in perfect accordance with other monuments and drawings of the period, and consist of the alb, the dalmatic (with lateral openings), the chasuble, and the stole, the ends of which last are to be seen below the dalmatic. In the left hand is the pastoral staff in its primitive simplicity. The right hand is raised in the attitude of benediction.

Bishop Joceline's tomb is also on the south side of the nave; it is shown in Fig. 14. Upon the tomb is the monumental effigy of a Bishop, *in pontificalibus*, with a crozier piercing a dragon; it is surrounded with a border of birds and foliage. Joceline was a strong opponent of Thomas à Becket, and a supporter of the party of the King (Henry II). On the murder of Becket, he shared in the humiliations that befel the partisans of the King, he either resigned his Bishopric or was ejected from it, and became a Cistercian monk, in 1184. On the 10th of November, in the same year, he died. He appears to have been buried in the old cathedral, and, according to William de Wanda, his remains, together with those of Bishops Osmund and Roger, were removed to the present cathedral. The head of the effigy under consideration is not the original, this is evident from the form of the mitre, which is a richly ornamented example of the thirteenth century.

Bishop Herbert Poore, strictly speaking, the last Bishop of (Old) Sarum, was buried at Wilton. The monument to Bishop Richard Poore, the founder of Salisbury Cathedral, is shown in Fig. 11. It formerly lay under a canopy on the north side of the High Altar, whence it was removed by Wyatt, in 1789. The monument in its original state is shown in Fig. 15.

1227. Henry III. confirmed the "translatio de castro nostro Saerisberiæ ad locum inferiorem," and declared the city "quæ dicitur nova Sarisbiria, sit libera civitas." The taxation accounts of the reigns of Richard and John show New Sarum to have been but moderately populous, but it probably took some time to remove, for it was 44 Hen. III., 1260, before the new city was granted by the King to the Bishop "in capite," as parcel of the temporalities of the see, the citizens being the demesne men of the Bishop.

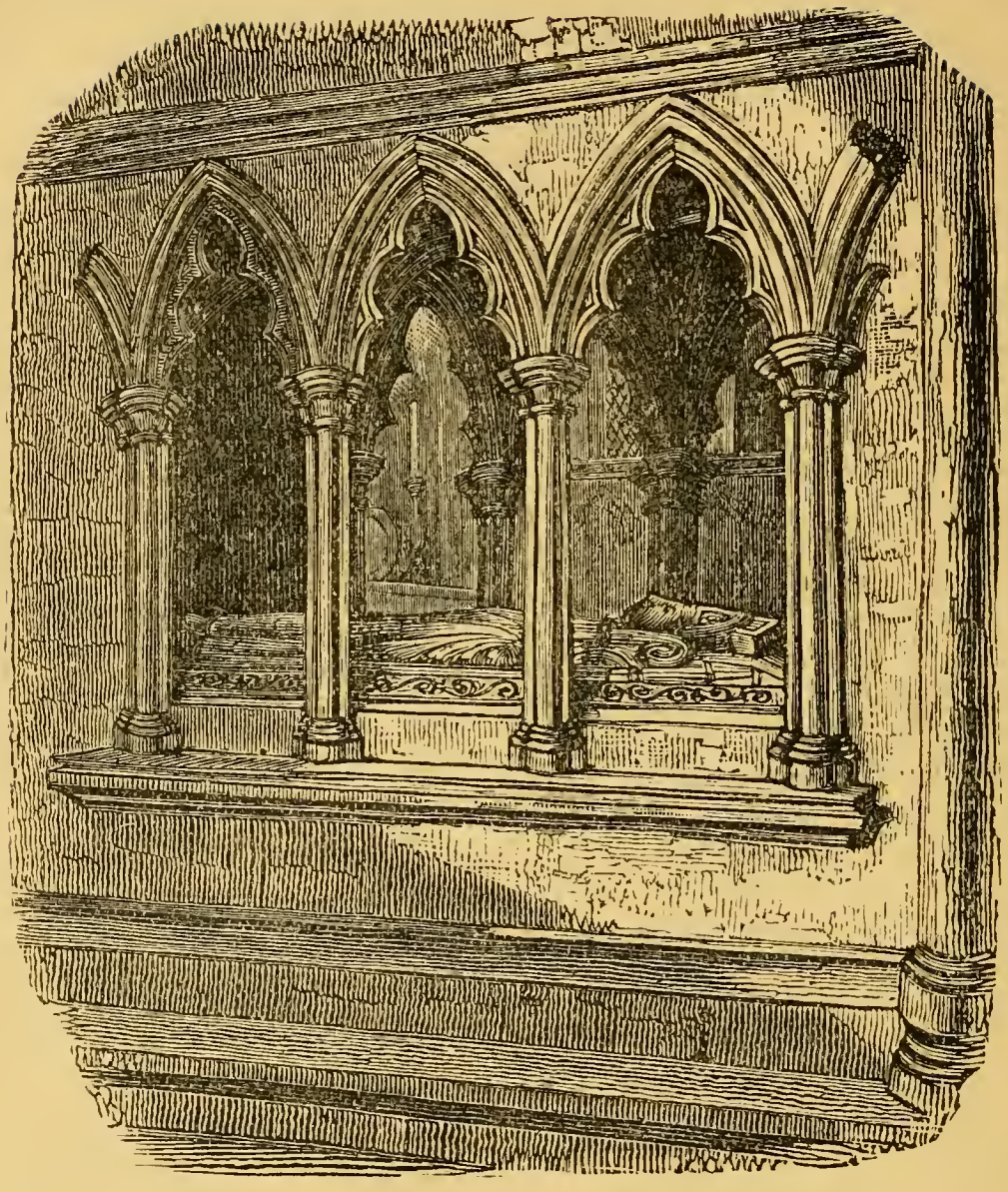


Fig. 15.

Bishop Poore's Monument, in its Original State, 1237.

Circumstances rendered the Castle of Old Sarum, "as a military post, of less importance than heretofore, and though the powerful Earls who bore its title were even more distinguished than their predecessors, their distinction was but little associated with their castle, which fell gradually into disuse. The Montacutes, indeed, continued to possess it; but the Nevills concentrated their power on the Midland and Northern counties, and Warwick, Raby, and Middleham were to them what Sarum had been to their precursors in the title. Finally, when arms yielded to the gown, and the great

minister of the great Queen chose, under her successor, Salisbury for his title of honour, he had more regard to the thriving city than to the ruined fortress, of which he was not even the possessor."

Patrick, son of Edward de Sarisburie, was created, by Maud, the first Earl of Salisbury. Earl Patrick died in 1167. His son, William, the second Earl, was father of the celebrated Countess Ela. She married William with the Long Sword, son of Henry II. and Fair Rosamond, who became Earl of Salisbury in her right, and held the castle of Old Sarum; where he died, in 1226. His tomb, now placed on the south side of the nave of Salisbury Cathedral, is shown in Fig. 9; it formerly stood on the north side of the Lady Chapel, but was removed to its present situation by Wyatt. The tomb was originally richly painted, and some of the colouring is still to be seen. This tomb should not be confused with that of his son, another William Longspee, which is on the north side of the nave, and is shown in Fig. 10. This younger William Longspee seems to have claimed, but never to have obtained, the Earldom. He joined the Crusaders, under Saint Louis, fell fighting, near Cairo, in 1250; and was buried in the Church of Holy Cross, at Acre.

1332. The King (Edward III.) granted licence to the Bishop, dean, and chapter of Salisbury to remove the walls of the cathedral and canonical houses within his castle of Old Sarum, and to employ the material in the repairs of the church and Close of New Sarum. No doubt, under this licence, the whole material was moved down to the ground level, or even below it, and probably the licence was held to include the outer wall also. At the same time, the Bishop, &c., had leave to build a certain chantry on a part of the old cathedral, and to use it.

1337. Edward's son-in-law, William Montacute, was created Earl of Salisbury. A suit was brought by Bishop Wyvil against the Earl, on a writ of right, as to his title to the castle. The matter was at first to have been tried by battle, and each party named a champion; but finally it was settled by a compromise, the Bishop paying 2,500 marcs, and the Earl quitting the castle to the See for ever. This probably severed the connection between the Earls and the Earldom, in the feudal sense.

Hitherto allusion has been made to that space at Old Sarum

included within the outer ditch and rampart; of which portion nearly one-fourth was occupied by the Cathedral and Close. But, outside the fortress, chiefly on the south-western side, stretched an extensive suburb, or Burgh. This burgh was enclosed with a wall, which commenced at the public-house (Old Castle Inn) on the eastern side of the road, thence it was carried to the foot or the rampart, which it skirted on the north, west, and perhaps south. It then diverged, leaving a considerable open space on the declivity, and finally abutted on the road leading to Stratford. The area of this inclosure was 49 aeres, 3 roods; and the joint extent of the fortress and burgh amounted to 72 acres, 1 rood. In the year 1295 (Edward I.), Old Sarum, as a burgh, first sent members to Parliament; their names were Hugh Sener and Peter le Wayte. It was not again represented until the year 1360 (Edward III.); from which time till the passing of the Reform Act, Old Sarum continued to send two "representatives" to take part in the Councils of the nation; the two last members for Old Sarum, James Alexander and Josias Dupré Alexander, were "elected" in 1830; and the deserted earth-works were disfranchised two years afterwards.

The burgage-tenures, or plots of ground, that conferred the elective franchise on those who possessed, or occupied, them were nine in number, and, in the whole, amounted to twenty-three acres, two roods. Three of them are situated about midway between the Castle and the village of Stratford, and abut on the Roman road. The middle one is called "Election-acre," in this still stands a tree—an elm, that is said to mark the site of the town-house of the ancient borough, it is popularly known as "Parliament Tree." The last remaining houses of the old city are said to have stood in this quarter; and, after the spot had ceased to be inhabited, the elections took place in a tent, erected beneath the "Parliament Tree." Of the other burgage-tenures, one was north of the east gate of the Castle, one was at the angle of the two roads entering Stratford from Salisbury, another was opposite to it, and is now converted into a garden, and the remaining three were near the river, in Kingsbridge Meadow.

In later times, the mode of returning two members to Parliament for Old Sarum was charmingly simple, there was not a single dwelling or inhabitant, upon the site of the old city, "but, just before the election, leases of, what were termed,

burgage tenements were granted by the lord of the manor to two persons, who thereupon became electors for the nonce, and after voting for the lord's two nominees surrendered their leases, and retired into private life until the next dissolution. Indeed, so absolute was the power of the lord, that he once threatened the Prime Minister of the day, who had done something to displease him, that at the next election he would return his black servant as one of the members.

"I myself remember," adds Mr. Lambert, "the occasion of the last election for this remarkable place, and a circumstance which added to the absurdity of the event was the application made by a wag, who, introducing himself to the returning officer as a representative of the London press, requested to be informed of the state of the poll!"[1]

When the castle proper was dismantled has not been ascertained. The views, occasionally exhibited of it, seem taken from the representation of Sherborne upon Bishop Wyvil's brass, in Salisbury Cathedral.

Leland visited the "Cite of *Old-Saresbyri*," and writes of it in these words:—"this thing hath bene auncient and exceeding strong; but syns the building of *New*-Saresbyri it went totally to ruine." Yet these ruins, in Leland's time, were considerable; for he writes:—"Ther was a paroch of the Holy Rode beside in *Old Saresbyri;* and an other over the est gate, whereof yet some tokens remayne." He also says:—"I do not perceyve that ther wer any mo gates in *Old Saresbyri* than 2; one by est, and an other by west. Without eche of these gates was a fair suburbe. And in the est suburbe was a paroch chirch of S. *John*,[2] and there yet is a chapelle standinge. There hath bene houses in tyme of mind inhabited in the est suburbe of *Old-Saresbyri;* but now ther is not one house neither within *Old-Saresbyri*, nor without it, inhabited. Ther was a right fair and strong castelle within *Old-Saresbyri* longging to the Erles of *Saresbyri*, especially the

[1] John Lambert, C.B., "Modern Legislation as a Chapter in our History," London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1865, p. 6.

[2] The Rev. Canon Jackson remarks upon this ("Wiltshire Magazine," vol. 1, p. 162, *note*):—"The presentations in the Salisbury registers are to 'St. *Peter's*, Old Sarum.' The last Rector was William Colville, presented A.D. 1412. There was one presentation by the Crown, in 1381, to the Free Chapel in the Castle of Sarum."

*Longespees.* I read that one Gualterus[1] was the first Erle, after the conquest, of it. Much notable ruinus building of this castelle yet there remayneth."

But the work of destruction went on with rapidity, and, about a century later, when poor Pepys visited Old Sarum, the very solitude of the place affrighted him; to use his own words:—"So all over the plain by the sight of the steeple to Salisbury by night; but before I came to the town, I saw a great fortification, and there light, and to it, and in it; and find it prodigious, so as to fright me to be in it all alone at that time of night, it being dark. I understand since it to be that that is called Old Sarum." This was on the tenth of June, 1668. Pepys then proceeded on his way to the "George Inn," at Salisbury, where he "lay in a silk bed; and very good diet."

## STRATFORD-SUB-CASTLE.

This village lies immediately beneath Old Sarum, on the western side, between it and the Avon. The village derives its name—Strat-ford—from being near the "ford of the street"—or Roman road to Dorchester, which here crosses the Avon.[2]

It has been erroneously stated that the Manor House at Stratford, now the residence of the Incumbent of the parish, was the birth-place of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham. The estate certainly belonged to his ancestors, the Pitts of Boconnoe (in Cornwall), and no doubt William Pitt passed many of his early days at Stratford, during the residence of his father there; but William Pitt was born in the parish of St. James, Westminster. His "political" birth, however, may almost be said to have taken place at Stratford, for he commenced his political career, in 1735, as one of the representatives of the borough of Old Sarum.

The parish church of Stratford is a debased perpendicular building, the western portion having been rebuilt in the reign of Queen Anne (1711). It contains one interesting relic of former days—an hour-glass stand, which is placed on the left-

[1] Walter D'Eureux, son of Edward "the Sheriff," and founder of Bradenstoke Priory, near Chippenham.

[2] Ante, pp. 16, 17.

hand side of the pulpit. (Fig. 16.) The hour-glass, by which bygone preachers regulated the length of their discourses,

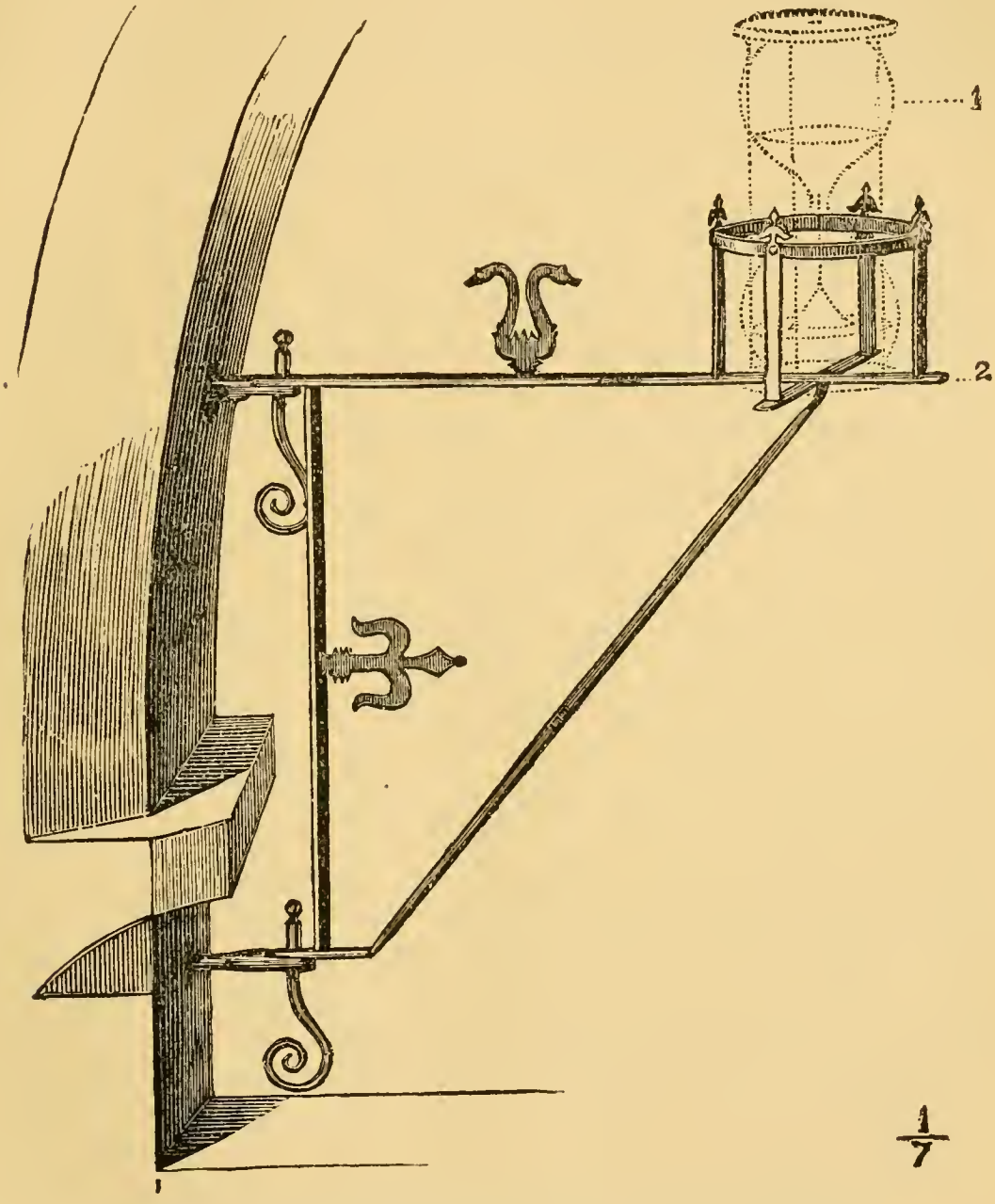



FIG. 16. HOUR-GLASS IN STRATFORD CHURCH.

is gone. That some succeeded but indifferently in finding matter upon which to discourse for the allotted sixty minutes, is probable ; among such were

> "— those guho guhen ther matter fails
> Run out ther *glasses* with idell tales."

Hour-glass stands were generally placed at the preacher's right-hand, but the rule has exceptions, as in the instance at Stratford.

The use of the hour-glass in churches seems to have been introduced, or at all events to have become more general, after the Reformation; when it, with a bracket or stand for its reception, formed a regular part of the pulpit-furniture. During the Commonwealth this use of the hour-glass was almost universal, this was the period, when

> "Gifted brethren, preached by
> A carnal hour-glass."[1]

The earliest notices of pulpit hour-glasses are of the sixteenth century. Among the accounts of Christ Church, St. Catherine's, Aldgate, under the year 1564, this entry occurs :—"Paid for an hour-glass that hangeth by the pulpitt when the preacher doth make a sermon, that he may know how the hour passeth away." In the Preface to the Bishop's Bible, printed by John Day, in 1569, Archbishop Parker is represented with an hour-glass at his right hand. In the churchwardens' accounts of Lambeth, under the year 1579, is the entry that 1s. 4d. was "payd to York, for the frame in which the *hower* standeth." There is also a very interesting and curious hour-glass stand, in Leigh church, Kent, which bears the date 15*7, unfortunately the third figure is missing.[2]

Usually these frames are of iron, but an hour-glass stand of massive silver existed, until some twenty years since, in St. Dunstan's church, Fleet Street, when it was melted down, and made into two staff-heads for the parish beadles.

That pulpit hour-glasses were in very general use seems certain. The preacher in the series of designs known as Holbein's "Dance of Death" has an hour-glass beside him, in his pulpit; and Hogarth, in his "Sleeping Congregation," has introduced an hour-glass at the left-hand side of the preacher. In some sermons, allusions are made to the hour-glass as a regular part of the appointments of the pulpit :—"for my own part," writes Dr. South,[3] "I never thought a pulpit, a cushion, and an *hour-glass*, such necessary means of salvation, but that much of the time and labour which is spent about

[1] Hudibras, Part I., canto iii., v. 1061.

[2] Engraved by Fairholt, in his paper on "Pulpit Hour-Glasses," "Journ. Brit. Archæol. Asso.," vol. III., pp. 301—301.

[3] In his forty-ninth sermon. Dr. South was born in 1633 and died in 1716.

them, might be much more profitably employed in catechising youth from the desk." And again, in his fifth sermon is the following passage :—"Teaching is not a flow of words, nor the draining of an *hour-glass*, but an effectual procuring; that a man comes to know something which he knew not before, or to know it better." Even the presence of such a silent monitor was insufficient to restrain such enthusiastic talkers as some of the Puritan preachers, who inflicted discourses of two hours or more in duration on their congregations. Instances are on record of jests, made by the preacher himself, on the length of such sermons. Thus, there is prefixed to a book entitled "The Tales and Jests of Mr. Hugh Peters" (1663), a portrait of that jester-preacher, he is represented as turning an hour-glass that he holds in his hand, and exclaiming :—"I know you are good fellows, stay and take another glass." A similar tale is told of Daniel Burgess, the celebrated Nonconformist divine, at the beginning of the last century. Upon one occasion, whilst preaching against drunkenness, he permitted himself to be so carried away by his subject, that the hour-glass had run out before his discourse was near its conclusion. Seeing this, he reversed the glass, at the same time saying :—"Brethren, I have somewhat more to say on the nature and consequences of drunkenness, *so let's have the other glass*—and then !"—the usual phrase adopted by topers at protracted sittings.

L'Estrange, in one of his fables, speaks of a tedious "holder-forth," who was "three-quarters through his second *glass*;" and the congregation, as might be imagined, being fatigued with his discourse, "a good, charitable sexton took compassion of the auditory, and procured their deliverance by saying, 'Pray, sir, be pleased, when you have done, to leave the key under the door,' and so the sexton departed, and the teacher followed him soon after."

The use of the hour-glass probably lingered on in country churches, but they ceased to be in anything like general use after the Restoration.

Roman Catholic preachers used the hour-glass as well as Protestant divines. There is extant an account of the fall of a house in Blackfriars, where a party of Romanists were assembled for worship; the event took place in 1623. The preacher, a priest named Drury, is described as "having on a surplice, girt about his middle with a linen girdle, and

a tippet of scarlet on both his shoulders. He was attended by a man that brought after him his book and *hour*-glass," which hour-glass he set on the table beside him when he commenced preaching.[1]

But there were those who denounced the use of the hour-glass in preaching, prominent among such were some enthusiasts who arose in Edinburgh, in 1681, and styled themselves the "Sweet Singers of Israel." Among other things, they renounced the limiting the Lord's mind by *glasses* (hour-glasses).

We now bid adieu to Old Sarum and its associations, and wend our way, along the pleasantly-wooded valley of the Avon, to Great Durnford.

After we pass Little Durnford, we may see on the opposite side of the Avon, the village and church of Woodford, visited by the Society in 1865. The church contains some Norman work, which, however, has been "restored." Leland writes :— "The Bishopes of Saresbyri had a proper place at Wodford. Bishop Shakeston[2] pullid it down bycause it was sumwhat yn ruine."

A little farther on we descend a steep hill, scooped out by the Avon in past geological ages, and before us lies

## HEALE HOUSE.

This is but a portion of the original mansion. It is one of the many hiding-places in which Charles II. found shelter after the battle of Worcester. To use the Royal fugitive's own words :—"I went directly away to a widow gentlewoman's house, one Mrs. Hyde, some four or five miles from Salisbury, where I came into the house just as it was almost dark, with Robin Philips[3] only, not intending at first to make myself known." Mrs. Hyde, however, immediately recognised him, having seen him some years before when he passed through Salisbury with his father. She was "so transported with joy and loyalty towards him, that at supper, though his Majesty was set at the lower end of the table, yet the good gentlewoman had much ado to overcome herself and not to carve to him first; however, she could not refrain from drinking to him in a glass of wine, and giving

[1] Clark, "The Fatal Vespers," London, 1657.
[2] Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, resigned 1539.
[3] Colonel Robert Philips, who at that time lived at Salisbury.

him two larks, when others had but one." After supper he made himself known to Mrs. Hyde, and it was arranged that he should leave the house on the following morning, as if intending to take his departure, and not return again till night. "So Robin Philips and I took our horses," says Charles in the narrative which he himself dictated to Pepys, "and went as far as Stonehenge; and there we staid looking at the stones for some time, and returned back again to Heale, the place where Mrs. Hyde lived, about the hour she appointed; when I went up into the *hiding-hole*, that was very convenient and safe, and staid there all alone some four or five days." At the end of this time, the arrangements for his escape to the coast were completed, and he left Heale House at two o'clock in the morning, going out by the backway. Charles is said to have beguiled the time at Stonehenge by counting and recounting the stones, and according to Colonel Philips, "the King's arithmetic gave the lie to the fabulous tale that these stones cannot be told alike twice together."

> "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."

In a play, the Birth of Merlin[1], the same idea is expressed. Merlin thus addresses his mother :—

> "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."

In reference to the *hiding-hole* at Heale, it may be mentioned that, in those days, country-houses were frequently provided with such secret chambers, in which refugees might live concealed from all but the master and mistress of the mansion; or known besides, at the utmost, to one or two

[1] This play has been ascribed to Shakespeare, the first edition known was published in 1662.

confidential servants. Usually these "hiding holes" were very straitened and inconvenient. Father Garnet, who suffered for his guilty knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason, remained for some time in such a secret chamber at Hendlip Hall, near Worcester, in company with another Jesuit, named Hall. But the smallness of the place at length compelled them to come forth, and they were carried off as prisoners by Sir Henry Bromley. Frequently, the approach to such chambers could only be gained by removing certain boards in the floor or the stair-case; they seem also to have been situated under the roofs of houses, for we find it directed that "if there be a loft towards the roof of the house, in which there appears no entrance out of any other place or lodging, it must of necessity be opened and looked into, for these be ordinary places of hovering" (hiding).

An ingeniously concealed "hiding-hole" was discovered a few years since, in a wainscoted summer-house, in the garden behind Mr. Morris' residence, in the Close, Salisbury. A spring was accidentally touched, and a panel immediately opened, disclosing a small cupboard with a shelf in it; this shelf is sliding, and, when removed, access is gained to a small door, only twelve or fourteen inches wide, on the right-hand side of the cupboard. This door is kept shut from the outside by the sliding shelf; it may also be fastened by the occupant of the hiding-place, on the inside, by means of an iron hasp and staple, which can be secured by an iron pin having a hole in its bent top; through this hole a cord was intended to be passed to fasten the pin to the staple. Behind the door is a very narrow, steep ascent, formed by the arch of the chimney of a hidden fire-place; this leads to the joists above the ceiling of the summer-house, and thence to the hiding-place, which is over the entrance door of the summer-house, and apart from its main ceiling. Here is a wooden platform, so contrived as to allow a person to sit or lie down; and through a chink, left in the carved ornamental facing of the building, it is possible for a person so concealed to see what is going on outside, and to observe the approach of anyone. At the time of the discovery of this "hiding-hole," there was found in it a mattress and a handsomely worked blue velvet pillow, both of which fell to pieces upon being touched. There was likewise found a drinking-horn, the metal rim of which had been removed, this vessel, being a veritable

"tumbler," was inverted upon the boards. There are other concealed chambers in the mansion itself. The earliest known lease of the property, granted by the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, is dated Oct. 4, 1660, and allusion is made in it to the surrender of a former lease.

## NETTON.

After passing Heale House, we come to the hamlet of Netton. An entry in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 508, gives much interest to this name. It is as follows:—"Now Cerdic and Cynric slew a British King whose name was *Natan-leod*, and 5000 men with him. Then after that the land was called *Natan-leaga*, as far as *Cerdic's* ford." According to Dr. Guest there never was a British king of the name of Natanleod, and he conceives that it was not a proper name, but a title of honour. The word is formed from the Welsh term *nawt*, a "sanctuary," and would, according to all analogy, be known to the Saxons as *Nat-e* (gen. *Nat-an*); *Leod*, though not found in Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, occurs in Anglo-Saxon poems with the sense of "Prince." The whole word would thus mean "Prince of the sanctuary," this according to Dr. Guest, was a title borne by Ambrosius, who died in the before-mentioned year (508), and of whom and the "sanctuary" more will be said hereafter under the head of Amesbury.

*Cerdic's ford* is supposed to be *Chard-ford*, a small hamlet below Salisbury. The territory called *Natan-leaga* (or the *Leas of the Nat-e*) consisted probably of the woodlands which stretched from the Avon to the Test and Itchin. At all events, scattered over this district, which includes not only a portion of Wilts but also of Hants, are to be found memorials of Britain's early chieftain—Natanleod. There is "Net-ley," near Southampton. The hamlet, "Net-ton," through which we are passing, and which is but a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *Nate-tún*, *i.e.*, "the village of the Nat-e." And then, on the south-eastern border of Clarendon Wood, not far from Salisbury, is (or was) a place called "Net-ley" coppice.[1]

Following the windings of the Avon we reach Great Durnford.

[1] See Jones, "The Names of Places in Wilts," in "Wilts Mag.," vol. xiv., pp. 262—264; Guest "Early English Settlements in Britain," in "Salisbury vol. Archæol. Inst.," p. 58.

## GREAT DURNFORD CHURCH

Has very rich Norman north and south doorways and chancel arch. The font also is Norman, with an intersecting arcade. There is a curious brass (1670) to the memory of Edward Younge, of Little Durnford, Mary his wife, and fourteen children. A copy of Bishop Jewel's "Apology of the Church of England," ordered by Convocation after the Reformation, is preserved in this church, chained to a desk.

Great Durnford House, now the residence of John Pinckney, Esq., was once a seat of the Hungerfords. Evelyn notes in his diary, July 22, 1654, "We dined at a ferme of my uncle Hungerfords, called Darneford Magna, situate in a valley under the plaine, most sweetly watered, abounding in troutes." Unfortunately the jack in the Avon have now greatly reduced the number of "troutes" in that river.

After leaving Great Durnford Church and crossing the Avon we come to Lake House, the residence of the Rev. E. Duke. Before doing so, however, some will perhaps visit

## OGBURY CAMP.

This earth-work is of very simple construction. It includes an area of about 62 acres, and is defended by an earthen bank, about 33 feet in height, without an accompanying ditch; there is an entrance on the eastern side. Stukeley thus describes it:—"On the east side of the river Avon, by Great Durnford, is a very large camp, covering the whole top of a hill, of no determinate figure, as humouring the height it stands on; it is entirely without any ditch, the earth being heaped up very steep in the nature of a parapet, when dug away level at the bottom. I doubt not but this was a camp of the Britons, and perhaps an *oppidum*, where they retired at night from the pasturage upon the river, with their cattle; within it are many little banks carried straight, and meeting one another at right-angles, square, oblong parallels, and som oblique, as the meres and divisions between ploughed lands; yet it seems never to have been ploughed; and there is likewise a small squarish work intrenched, no bigger than a large tent; these seem to me the distinctions and divisions for the several quarters and lodgments of the people within. . . . . This camp has an aspect very old; the prominent part of the rampart in many places quite consumed by time, though the

steep remains perfect; one being the natural earth the other factitious." Sir Richard Hoare confirms the accuracy of the above description, but considers that the "small squarish work" is of very recent date.

It is singular that so few relics are to be found in, and near, the camps of this neighbourhood. I have hunted over Ogbury, Chlorus's Camp, and Old Sarum, with the well-known archæologist, Mr. Evans, whose eye is perhaps the keenest in England for a worked flint, and yet, during the entire day, we scarcely found a specimen worth taking home.

On the opposite side of the Avon to Ogbury, capping the hill above Lake House, is a patch of Quaternary gravel, coloured yellow on the plan of the route. In this gravel palæolithic implements have been found; but, as yet, they have not been met with in any similar deposit higher up in the valley. The implement shown in Fig. 17 is from the

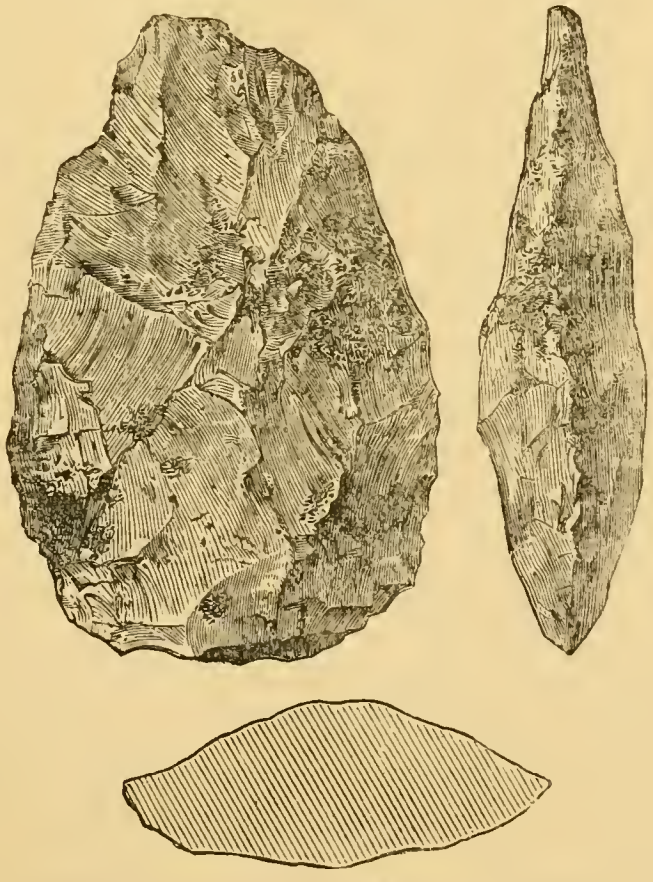


FIG. 17. PALÆOLITHIC IMPLEMENT, FOUND AT LAKE. ½.

Lake gravel, and was found by Mr. Tiffin, jun., of Salisbury, in 1865; it is now preserved in the Blackmore Collection. This spot seems also to have been a favorite resort with the people of the later Stone Age (Neolithic), for the surface-soil

is perfectly strewn with waste flakes and other rejected pieces of flint cutlery.

At a little distance, in the direction of Woodford, an Anglo-Saxon interment was discovered a few years since.

## LAKE HOUSE.

THIS mansion, with its many-gabled roof and its trimly kept yew hedges, is one of the most picturesque objects that lies in the route between Salisbury and Stonehenge. It is of the time of James I.

At an early period there seems to have been a religious house at Lake. And the first gift to Bradenstoke Priory by Walter, of Salisbury, its founder (William I.), included the "Capella de Lacha," with all its appurtenances; one Richard Cotele also gave a virgate of land in "Lacha." At the Dissolution, the land and tythes belonging to the chapel of Lake were leased by the Crown to Richard South of Ambresbury: were afterwards granted to the Partridge family; and, in 1599, were purchased by George Duke.[1]

The taste of its owners has filled Lake House with objects that merit a more careful inspection, than it will be possible for us to bestow upon them in the limited time at our disposal.[2]

Built into the wall of the porch, as we enter, may be seen an interesting alabaster tablet, very similar to one preserved in the Salisbury Museum, shown in Fig. 18. The Lake specimen differs from the Salisbury example in having the figures of St. Katherine and St. Helen in the back-ground, and in some few of the details. In the middle of the Salisbury example is the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, on either side are St. Peter and St. Thomas of Canterbury. The head of St. John, represented with long hair and beard, the eyes closed in death, rests upon a circular disc. Above is a small nude figure,[3] with the hands clasped, surrounded by an *aureola* of pointed-oval form, and supported by two angels. Beneath is the upper part of a figure, with upraised hands, probably Christ rising from the sepulchre. On the dexter side of the tablet is St. Peter, with a key and book; on the other side is a mitred figure vested in a cope, holding an archiepiscopal cross-

[1] R. C. Hoare, "Underditch," p. 137.

[2] It should be borne in mind that Lake House is a private residence which was kindly thrown open by Mr. Duke to those members of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Society who made this excursion in 1876.

[3] The figure is represented in a crouching posture in the Lake example.

Fig. 18. Alabaster Tablet (Salisbury Museum).

staff and a book.[1] This probably represents St. Thomas of Canterbury. The correct explanation of the constituent parts of this, and similar, tablets has been much discussed; probably the figures are intended to represent the persons mentioned, but the reason or meaning of their being put together in this particular way still remains to be discovered.

Many very interesting objects are to be seen in Mr. Duke's collection. Among these may be noticed two pair of handsome enameled fire-dogs. They are examples of a peculiar, although rather coarse, kind of enameling, usually on brass (not on copper), by the *champlevé* process, as practised in England during the reign of Elizabeth and in subsequent times. The process consisted of inlaying enamels, fusible probably at a low temperature, in the interstices of a pattern in relief. Several fire-dogs of this work have been preserved, and on some of these are the royal arms.[2]

Perhaps the most important feature in Mr. Duke's collection is the series of objects, exhumed by his late father, from some burial-mounds in the immediate neighbourhood. The great explorer of our Wiltshire barrows, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, refers especially to the examination of some tumuli on Lake Down by the late Rev. E. Duke, F.S.A. :—"I omitted," he says, "those (barrows) numbered 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. These claim a separate owner, under whose immediate inspection they were opened, and under whose fostering care the very singular and curious relicks which they produced, are cautiously preserved, at his venerable and picturesque old mansion-house in the adjoining village of Lake. These five tumuli were opened by the Rev. Edward Duke, in the year 1806, and I am happy to think that the zeal he shewed in his first antiquarian researches were so amply remunerated, as to induce him to resume them on some future occasion; for few barrows ever proved so interesting as Nos. 19 and 20. A great similarity attended the three first of these tumuli, No. 16, 17, 18, as they each contained an interment of burned bones, and each produced a small lance-head[3] of brass[4]; but though No. 20 had also a lance-head, the uniformity was most pleasantly broken by the discovery of four curious little articles of bone, which were intermixed with the ashes and burned bones. They are a perfect novelty, and had their meaning and use in

[1] In the Lake example, the staff terminates in a *fleur-de-lis*.
[2] "Arch. Jour." vol. xix., p. 291. [3] Dagger-blade. [4] Bronze.

British times; though in the more modern and enlightened period of the present day, we are at a loss to conjecture what that meaning and what that usage were."[1] Sir R. C. Hoare has figured the obverse and reverse of each of these objects.[2] They are rectangular pieces of bone, measuring barely three-quarters of an inch in length, rather more than half an inch in width, and are of no great thickness. They are flat on one surface and convex on the other, some of them are stained of a greenish hue from having been in contact with bronze, the surfaces are rubbed smooth, and a different design has been worked upon six of them, the other two being left blank. The designs consist of crosses, and of diamond-shaped figures. It has been suggested that they were used in playing some kind of game, or, possibly, in casting lots. These interesting objects were found in a cist, with burned bones; the cist, over which the tumulus had been raised was sunk to the depth of 20 inches below the surface-level of the ground. The late Rev. E. Duke was of opinion that these bone "tesseræ" had been enclosed in a wooden box; fragments of which were found in the cist. Barrow No. 21, of the Lake group, seems to have been raised over a female—some woman of distinction—if we may judge from the number and importance of the trinkets buried with her.[3] "The most remarkable of these, and unique in size, though not in pattern, was an ornament in amber, ten inches in height and above three in breadth; it is formed of eight distinct tablets, and being strung together, formed one ornament, as may be distinctly seen by the perforations at top and bottom."[4]

The late Dr. Thurnam has described these objects rather fully. "They occur," he says, "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 equi-distant 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

[1] "Anc. Wilts," vol. i. p. 212. [2] Ibid, Tumuli Plate xxxi.

[3] We should, however, bear in mind that, among modern savages, the warrior wears more ornaments than his wife.

[4] "Anc. Wilts," vol. i., p. 213.

metallic borer, worked most likely with a bow-drill. The plates are always accompanied by beads of the same material, and there can be no doubt that the two were 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 realised 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 smaller 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.[1]

"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 (see Fig. 19);[2] 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 and pass out again, each two adjoining perforations communicating right and left by a curvilinear canal (see Fig. 19). 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

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 506, Fig. 199. The size of this illustration is too large to admit of my using it in this work. It is given by Mr. Long, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 181.

[2] I am indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of London for the loan of this wood-block, and of Figs. 34 and 35.

two hundred beads; and when arranged in an easy curve, to have measured fifteen inches across, and twenty-five inches in length, in the lower curvature. When worn, it must have extended from shoulder to shoulder, hanging half-way down to the waist. 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."

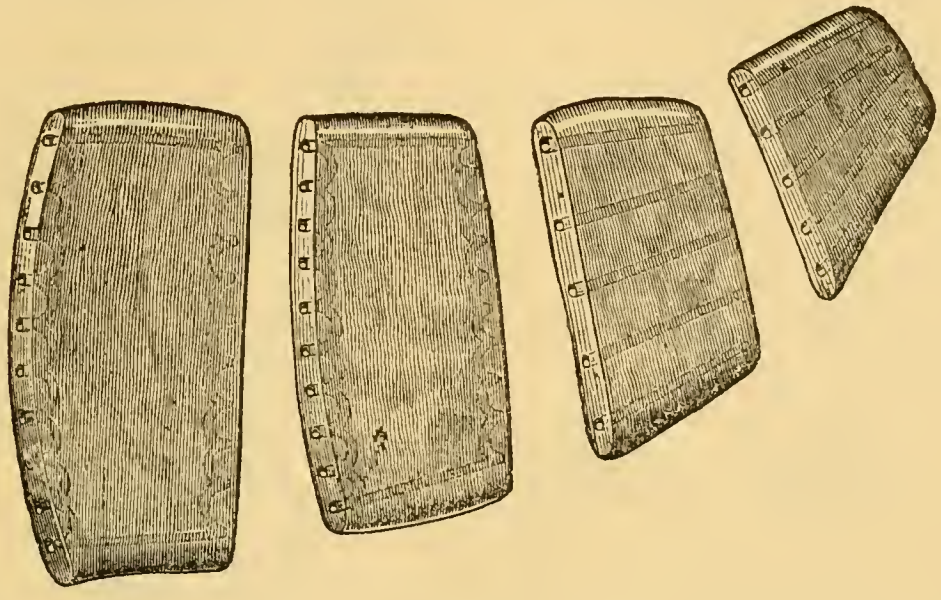


FIG. 19. AMBER DIVIDING-PLATES FROM HALF THE COLLAR SHOWN AS TRANSPARENT. FROM A BARROW AT LAKE, WILTS.[1] ⅔.

Examples of amber beads, of different forms, in the Lake Collection, are shown in Fig. 20. Ten buttons or studs of amber, Fig. 21, were found in a barrow at Lake. Indeed amber objects are of frequent occurrence in the barrows of Wiltshire; thirty-three interments are recorded by Sir R. C. Hoare,[2] with which ornaments of this substance were found. The amber, in every instance, is of the red transparent kind, which, as well as the pale variety, is found in England at Cromer (Norfolk) and on the Yorkshire coast.

The amber objects in the Lake Collection are in rather a frail condition, and, if handled at all, should be touched with great care. I feel sure that Mr. Duke will be thankful for any hints that may enable him to arrest the decay of these interesting specimens.

The most remarkable amber object, met with in this country, is a drinking-cup. It was found in a barrow at Hove,

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 505, Fig. 198.
[2] Six by inhumation, and twenty-seven by cremation.

near Brighton. The interment had taken place in an oaken coffin, and associated with the amber cup were found a double-edged drilled stone axe, and a bronze dagger. The cup is three and a half inches in diameter, two inches and a half in height, and about one tenth of an inch in thickness; its capacity is rather more than half a pint. It is perfectly smooth inside and out, and seems to have been turned on a lathe. Such an object

FIG. 21. AMBER ORNAMENTS. FROM LAKE, WILTS.[1] $\frac{1}{1}$.

may, possibly, have come by commerce into Britain; and, indeed, amber is one of the articles mentioned by Strabo as exported from Celtic Gaul to this county.[2]

With an unburnt body, in the barrow at Lake which yielded the large collar of amber, were two pairs of small circular discs of gold. Two of these, the size of flo-

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 503, Fig. 195.
[2] Evans, "Anc. Stone Impts. Gt. Brit.," pp. 402, 403.

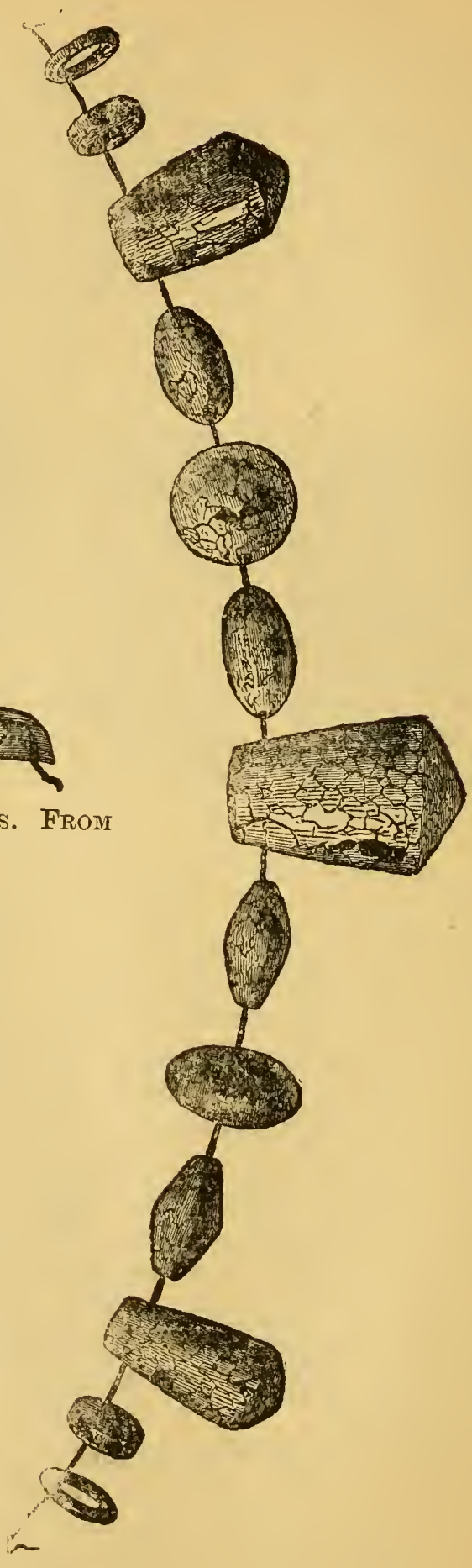


FIG 20. AMBER BEADS. FROM A BARROW AT LAKE, WILTS.[1] $\frac{3}{4}$.
[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 501, Fig. 194.

rins, are decorated with double circles of zigzags. The other two, quite plain, are much smaller. From the position in which they were found, in close proximity to the skull, they have been regarded as pendants for the ears.

Among the other interesting specimens preserved in the Lake Collection are fragments of charred woven-cloth, obtained from an urn in one of the Lake barrows. A similar specimen is in the possession of Miss Cunnington; it was found in one of the Upton tumuli, opened by her grandfather. Such examples of textile fabrics from burial-mounds are not at all common.[1]

There are also, in the Lake Collection, two grooved whetstones (found in a tumulus on Normanton Down), several bronze torques, and five bronze dagger-blades, all obtained from the neigbouring barrows. Nor is the series of pottery from these barrows at all unimportant, it includes an example of a cinerary urn with overhanging rim, much finer than either of the two figured by Sir R. C. Hoare. "The bold overhanging rim, which occupies one-fourth of the height of this urn, is profusely ornamented with impressed herring-bone and decussating lines; below the rim are two other rows of chevrons; whilst along the shoulder a single row of circular indentations is carried, made by the finger, or rounded end of a stick."[2] This specimen was found in 1806, and is especially noticed by Sir R. C. Hoare. Two other fine examples of this type of urn are in the Lake Collection.

An example may also be seen at Lake of the type of sepulchral urn provided with a border in place of a rim, this vessel is quite plain, and has bowed handles; it may have been obtained from either the Lake or the Durnford group of barrows.

Sir Richard Hoare has figured[3] an "incense cup," preserved in the Lake collection. The late Dr. Thurnam considered this specimen to be a double vessel, there is a division in the middle, so that either the obverse or reverse side could have been used.[4]

Nor should the visitor omit to notice a (very) small frag-

[1] There is preserved in the Blackmore Collection, a fragment of woven-cloth (charred) which was found in a tumulus in Butler's County, Ohio.

[2] Thurnam, "Anc. Brit. Barrows," in "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 345.

[3] "Anc. Wilts," vol. i., p. 213, pl. xxxi.

[4] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 361, *note*.

ment of the wooden handle of a bronze dagger, it is elaborately ornamented with minute gold pins, that have been driven into it so as to form a pattern; it was found in a tumulus on Normanton Down. Sir R. C. Hoare obtained a hafted bronze dagger from "Bush Barrow," Normanton, the blade was one of the largest found in Wiltshire (10½ inches long) and the wooden handle was ornamented with an infinity of gold pins of almost microscopic size, the ends of which formed a beautiful zigzag pattern.[1]

Many bone pins, some stained green from having been in contact with bronze; vitrified and jet beads; bronze armillæ and rings; and other personal ornaments are included in the Lake Collection. The torques, armillæ, and rings were found during some alterations to the road between Amesbury and Salisbury. A fragment of a spear-head, in the collection, is not from a local barrow, but was found in making the Kennet and Avon Canal, about the year 1810.

The three portions of a circle of metal, ornamented with (query "artificial") gems, is not a local specimen; it was found, in 1802, in a stream-work, called Trenoweth (in Cornwall), and was presented to Mr. Duke by W. Rashleigh, Esq., of Menabilly.[2]

In the Lake Collection is also preserved a highly-finished mould of syenite, which was intended to be used in casting bronze celts. The shape of the mould is that of a four-sided prism, and the cavities, worked into two of its sides, show that it was intended for casting socketed celts of two sizes; one of which was for casting celts provided with *two* loops. A second prism, the duplicate of this must have existed to complete the mould; notches are made in the Lake specimen (and no doubt existed in the other portion) in order to enable the workmen to adjust the two halves with precision. Socketed celts with *two* loops are not common, but there is evidence to show that socketed celts, provided with one or two loops, were in contemporary use with spear-heads of bronze of rather elegant—as one may say, advanced—forms. A very remarkable mould of hone-stone, found in Anglesea, serves to prove this; like the Lake specimen, it is a four-sided prism, but it has cavities on all four sides, three are for casting

[1] Thurnam, "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 459: Hoare, "Anc. Wilts," vol. i., p. 202, plate xxvii. 2.

[2] This specimen has been figured and described. "Archæol.," vol. xvi.

the heads of spears or darts, all of different types, and one is for casting socketed celts with two loops.

The mould in the Lake Collection was found near Nine Mile Water, in the parish of Bulford, almost opposite the tenth milestone from Salisbury to Marlborough, but on the opposite (north) side of the stream. The precise date of the find is not recorded, but, according to Mr. Edwards of Amesbury, to whom I am indebted for tracing out the history of this specimen, it was found prior to 1833.

## AMESBURY.

THE name of this place was originally *Caer Emrys* and afterwards *Ambresbury*, *i.e.* the "burgh" or town of Ambrosius. Ambrosius became a King in Britain in the year 464, and for 45 years carried on a successful struggle against the advancing Saxons. In the Welsh Triads, Amesbury is generally mentioned as *Caer Caradoc*, *i.e.* the town of Caradoc, a British chieftain, who, after the death of Ambrosius, appears to have been one of the most powerful in South Britain.

Amesbury remains as a memorial of the Primitive Christianity of Britain—"a glimmering spark, just visible through the murky darkness of intervening ages—proving that, whatever we may have subsequently owed to Augustin, Rome was not the first to kindle the torch of truth in Britain."

The Welsh Triads mention this place as the site of a great monastery in which "there were 2400 saints, that is, there were 100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation, perpetuating the praise of God without intermission." Hence, as Dr. Guest observes:—"The choir of Ambrosius was probably, in the middle of the fifth century, *the* monastery of Britain—the centre from which flowed the blessings of Christianity and civilization."

Amesbury is of much interest in legendary history as the place of Qneen Guinevere's penitential retirement.

> Queen Guinevere had fled the court, and sat
> There in the holy house at Almesbury
> Weeping, —*Tennyson.*

A Benedictine nunnery was founded here, about the year 980, by Queen Elfrida, to expiate the murder of her stepson Edward, at Corfe. In 1117, Henry II. expelled the nuns for dissolute living, and gave it to the great convent of Fontevrault,

in Anjou, whence it received a prioress and twenty-four nuns. It increased in splendour and in royal favour, and became a favourite retreat of ladies of royal or noble birth.

On the day of the Assumption, in 1283, Mary, sixth daughter of Edward I., in company with thirteen ladies of noble birth, took the veil here; and here, in 1292, died Eleanor, Queen of Henry III. Katharine of Aragon lodged within its walls on her first arrival in England, in 1501.

Florence Bormewe, the last abbess but one, resisted the attempts of Cromwell's emissaries to induce her to surrender her monastery into the King's hands. "Albeit we have used as many ways with her as our poor wits could attain, yet in the end we could not by any persuasion bring her to any conformity, but at all times she resteth and so remaineth in these terms. 'If the King's Highness command me to go from this house I will gladly go, though I beg my bread, and as for pension I care for none.'" One is hardly sorry to learn that the death of the abbess, almost immediately afterwards, saved her from further humiliation. The convent was surrendered by Joan Darell, the last abbess, to Henry VIII. Dec. 4, 1540.

After the Dissolution (in April, 1541) the monastery was granted to the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Protector Somerset, who made a residence out of the old buildings, and the Protector's son, Edward, Earl of Hertford, lived here. His second wife was Frances, daughter of Lord Howard of Bindon. Sir George Rodney was so enamoured of this lady, that on her marriage he came to Amesbury, wrote a copy of verses to the countess in his own blood, and then fell on his sword.

The property passed by marriage, sale, and inheritance, respectively, to the families of Ailesbury, Boyle, and Queensberry. William, fourth Duke of Queensberry, died in 1810; and, in 1824, his estate was purchased by Sir Edmund Antrobus, whose son is the present owner.

The Old Mansion, on the site of which the present House is erected, was formerly the residence of Charles, third Duke of Queensberry, and his charming Duchess—Prior's

> "Kitty, beautiful and young,
> And wild as colt untam'd."

In their hospitable mansion Gay found a peaceful home, and here he is said to have written the "Beggar's Opera." Johnson informs us that the Duke undertook the management of the

poet's little property, and dispensed it out to him according to his wants. In a letter to Swift after Gay's death, the Duchess writes:—"I have lost in him *the usefullest limb of my mind.* This is an odd expression, but I cannot explain my notion otherwise." She died in 1777; the Duke survived her but a short time.

Amesbury Church (repaired, in 1852, by Sir Edmund Antrobus) is supposed to have been that of the Abbey. It is a fine large cruciform edifice, of Early English character, with a low square central tower. There are some rich decorated windows to the south of the chancel.

Before we take our leave of Amesbury, something must be said about a branch of manufacture formerly carried on there—that of tobacco-pipes. Fuller, in his "Worthies of Wiltshire," says:—"The best tobacco-pipes for shape and colour (as curiously sized) are made at Amesbury, in this county. 'Gauntlet' pipes, having that mark at the heel, are the best. They may be called chimneys portable in pockets." Why they were called "gauntlet" pipes, we learn from Aubrey. "Amesbury," he says, "is famous for the best tobacco-pipes in England, made by Gauntlet, who markes the heele of them with a gauntlet, whence they are called gauntlet pipes. The clay of which they are made is brought from Chittern, in this county." A very fine example of such a "gauntlet" pipe, shown in Fig 22, was for many years in the Museum at Portsmouth; when that collection was dispersed, this pipe came into my possession, and is now deposited in the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum. On the heel are stamped, in a circle, the words AMSBVRY PIPES, in the middle of which is a right-hand gauntlet, and the initials G.B.; the date 1698 is impressed beneath the circle. The bowl also is ornamented, details of which are given in the engraving. The "gauntlet" pipe represented in Fig. 23,[1] is of unusual size; it was found at Cirencester by Professor Buckman, who presented it to Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith. The original measures 4 inches, from the heel to the mouth; the diameter of which is not less than 2 inches. On the inner surface of the bowl there are diagonal lines and patterns produced by minutely punctured work. The heel of this pipe, one inch and a half in diameter, is impressed with a small circular stamp, eight times repeated,

[1] Figured and described in "Archæol. Journal," vol. xxvi., pp. 285, 286.

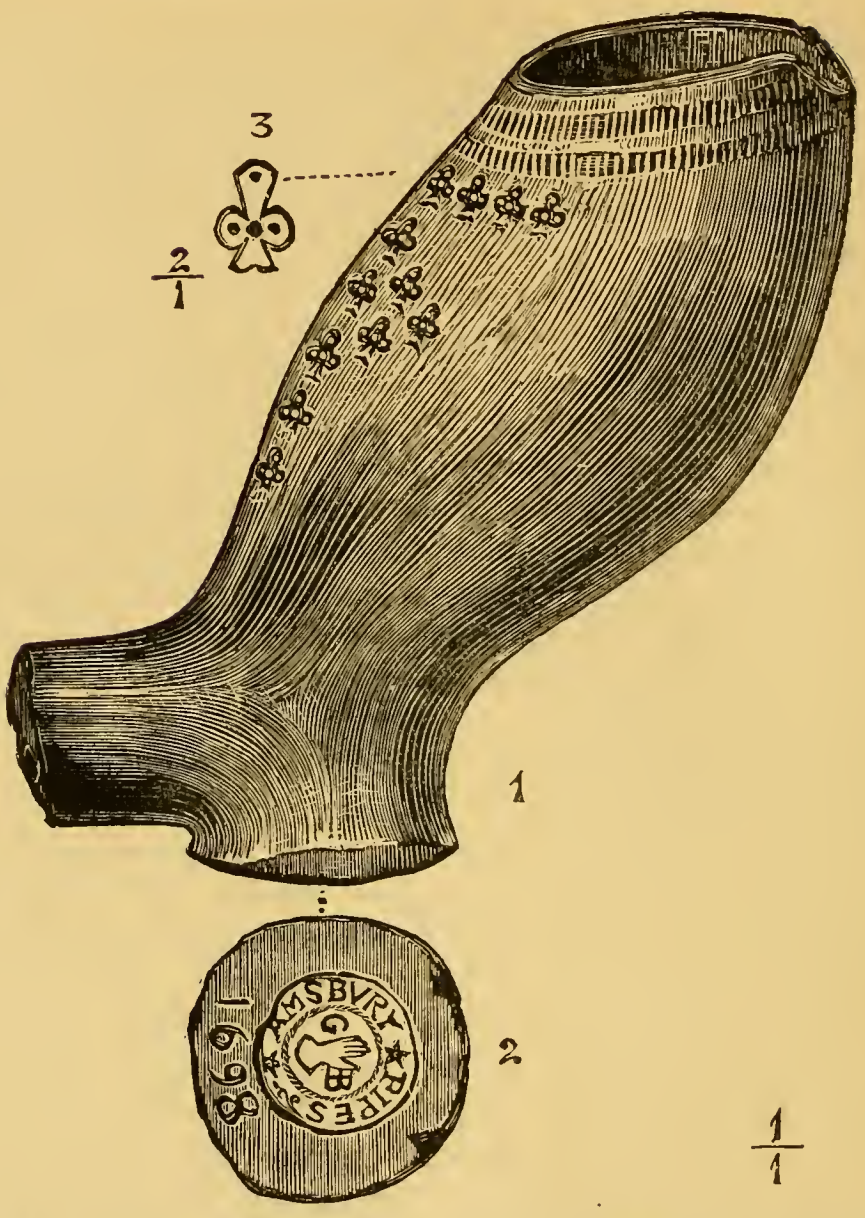



FIG. 22. "GAUNTLET" PIPE, MADE AT AMESBURY, DATE 1698.

and charged with a right hand, or "gauntlet," on an escutcheon. The pipe shown in Fig. 24, equals the Cirencester specimen in size; the tube is perfect, measuring 8½ inches in length. The bowl, elaborately ornamented with dotted patterns, is stamped repeatedly with the maker's name—JAMES FARE. This pipe was dug up at Wigan, in 1769. It was in the Portsmouth Museum, and came into my hands at the same time as the pipe shown in Fig. 22.

Fuller relates the ingenious defence of a tobacco-pipe maker who was sued for pirating the "gauntlet" mark, and alleged that the thumb of his gauntlet stood differently to the plaintiff's, and that the hand given dexter or sinister in heraldry is a sufficient difference. During the excavations

made at various times in the streets of Salisbury, for drainage purposes, a great many tobacco-pipes, as well as other objects, have been found; most of these are now preserved in the

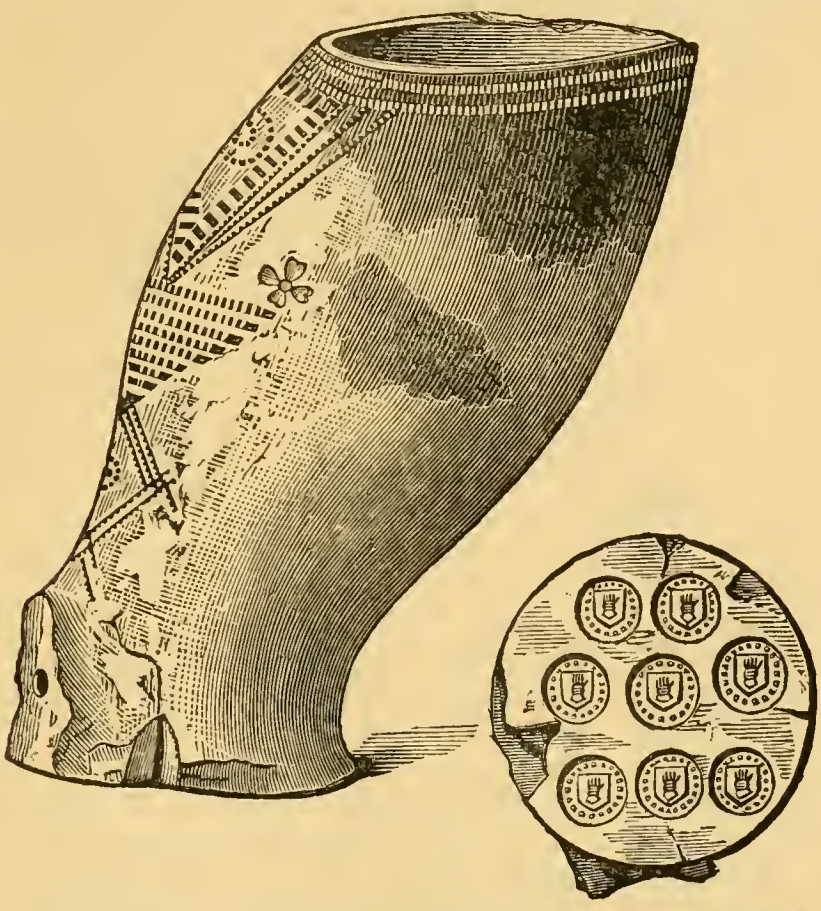


FIG. 23. "GAUNTLET" PIPE, FOUND AT CIRENCESTER, ENGRAVED RATHER MORE THAN HALF-SIZE.


FIG. 24. FOUND AT WIGAN, IN 1769.

Salisbury Museum. Among the tobacco-pipes, so found, are examples of several varieties of "gauntlet" pipes, the marks on the heels of these are represented in the upper row of Fig. 25; it will be observed that only one shows the right-hand. Other makers-marks, from specimens found in Salisbury are shown in Figs. 25—30.

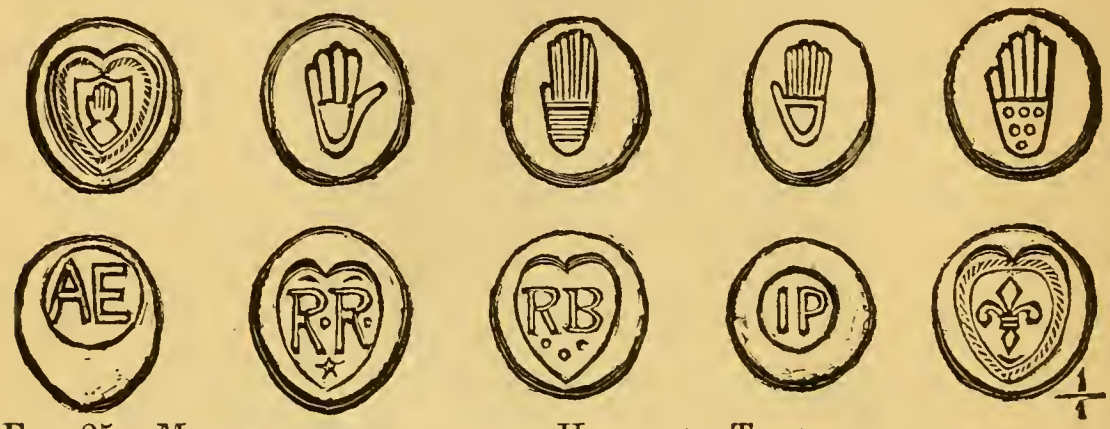



FIG. 25. MAKERS-MARKS, ON THE HEELS OF TOBACCO-PIPES FOUND IN SALISBURY.


FIG. 26. MAKERS-MARKS, ON THE HEELS OF TOBACCO-PIPES FOUND IN SALISBURY.

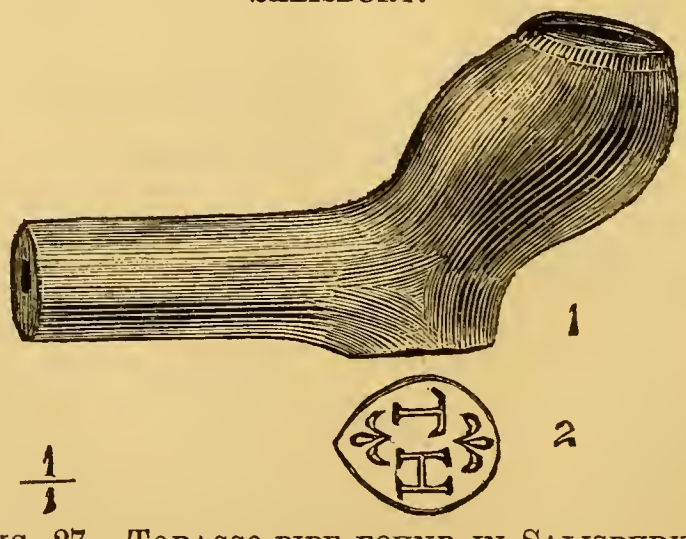



FIG. 27. TOBACCO-PIPE FOUND IN SALISBURY.

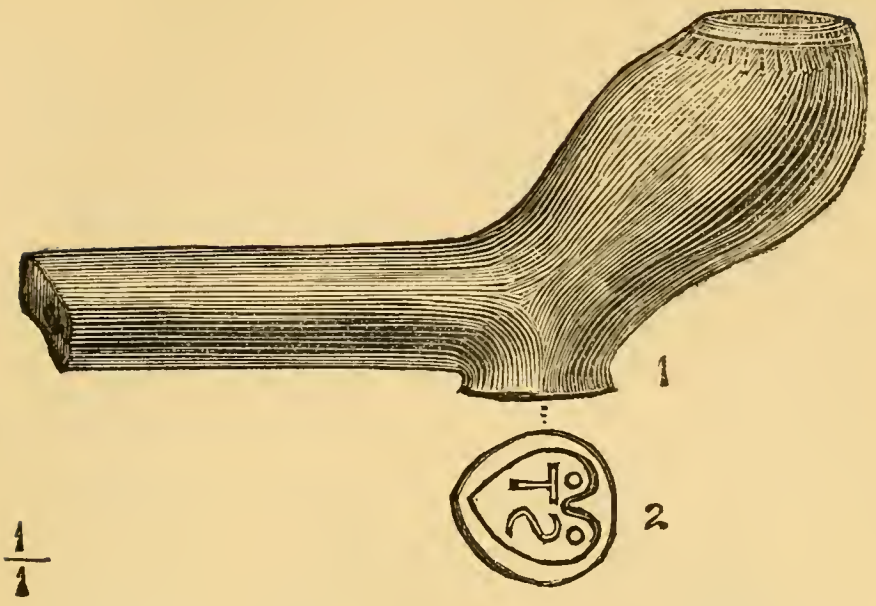



FIG. 28. TOBACCO-PIPE FOUND IN SALISBURY.

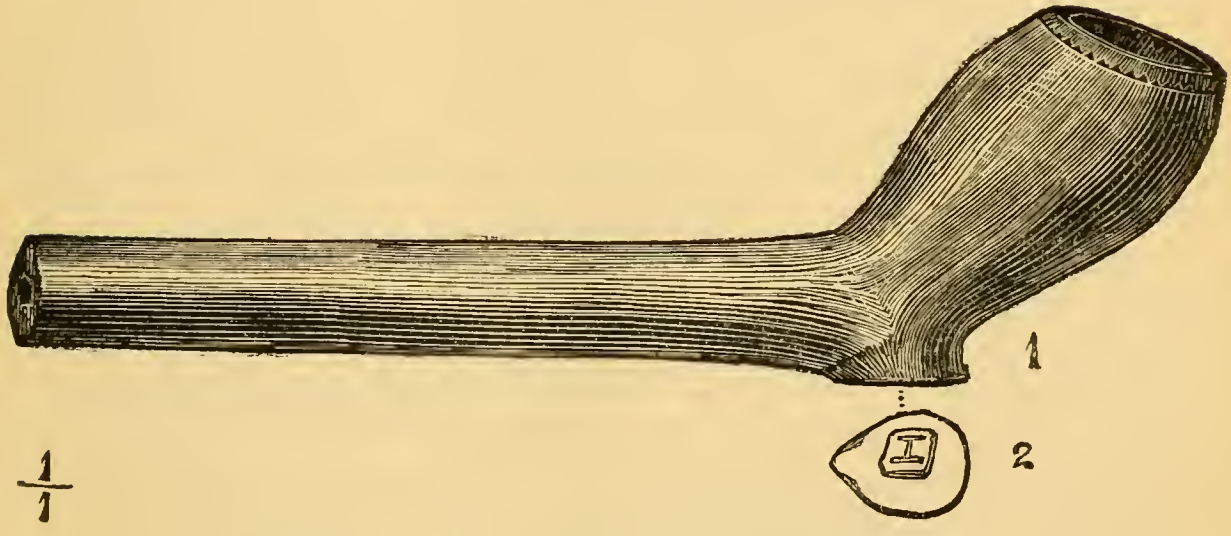



FIG. 29. TOBACCO-PIPE FOUND IN SALISBURY.

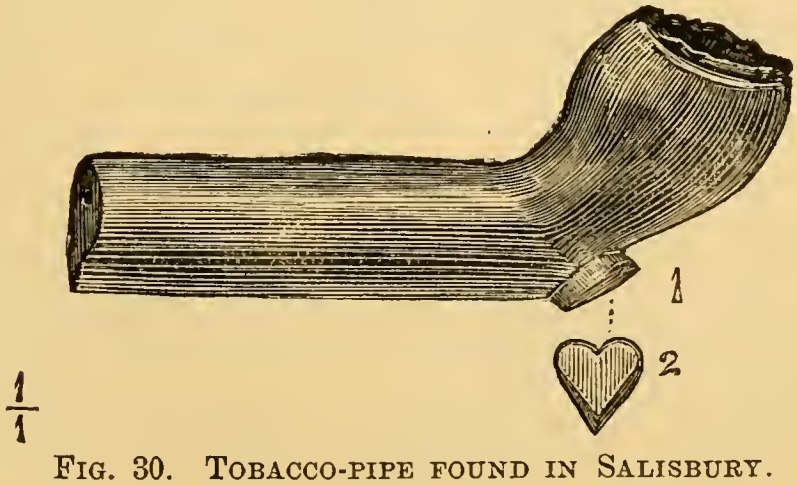



FIG. 30. TOBACCO-PIPE FOUND IN SALISBURY.

Little is known of the Gauntlets who carried on this manufactory at Amesbury. Aubrey alludes to a Mr. William Gauntlet, of Netherhampton, who was born at Amesbury. This family held a good position in the county, and their monuments, from 1672 to 1713, are to be found in Netherhampton Church, about a mile distant from the village of Quidhampton, through which we are to pass on our way back to Salisbury.

The habit of pirating the Amesbury "gauntlet" mark seems to have been not uncommon. The manufacture of tobacco-pipes was extensively carried on at Broseley, in Shropshire, from an early period; and a "Broseley" is still a familiar term for a tobacco-pipe in the north of England. Why Broseley should have been selected for this branch of manufacture has often excited surprise, for the clay of which the pipes are made is, and (as far as tradition can help us) always has been, obtained from Devon and Cornwall. At all events, Broseley became celebrated for its pipes, but we find that the "gauntlet" was considered to be such a warranty of excellence, that this trade-mark was pirated even there. In a list of pipe-marks used by the Broseley makers, during the seventeenth century, is to be found the device of a "gauntlet," with the initials S. D., probably Samuel Decon, who was alive in 1729. This pipe is in the collection of Mr. Thursfield, of Broseley.[1] In the whole of Mr. Thursfield's important collection, only three bowls bear dates, viz.—Richard Legg, 1687; John Legg, 1687; and John Legg, 1696. All three are therefore of earlier date than the Amesbury pipe shown in Fig. 22. Representations of some of the tobacco-pipes in Mr. Thursfield's collection are shown in Fig. 31; among them are to be noticed some, the date of which has been determined. The pipe represented by Fig. 32 has the date 1689, scratched on the bowl, instead of being stamped as usual on the heel of the pipe.


Fig. 32.

[1] Papers on Broseley pipes, written by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., and Mr. Thursfield, have appeared in "The Reliquary," Jan., 1863. I am indebted to Mr. Jewitt for the loan of the wood-blocks illustrating the Broseley tobacco-pipes. Mr. Thursfield's pipes were nearly all found in the rubbish from the base of Wenlock Abbey, in 1817.

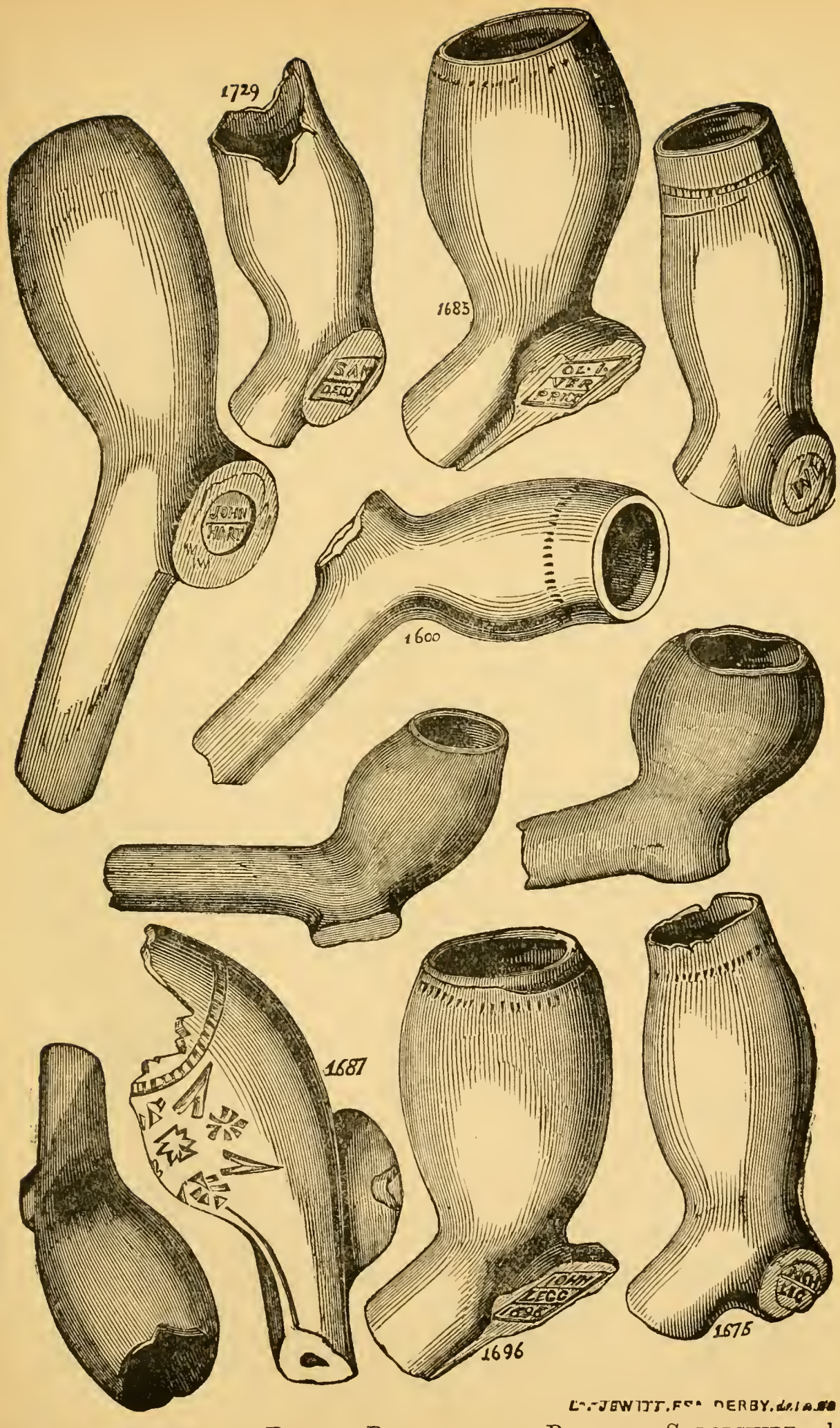



FIG. 31. OLD ENGLISH TOBACCO PIPES, MADE AT BROSELEY, SHROPSHIRE. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Pipemaking in the early days of its introduction was a very different matter to what it is now. Then, the greater part of the manipulation was performed by the master, and twenty or twenty-four gross was the largest quantity ever burned in one kiln. Each pipe rested on its bowl, and the stem was supported by rings of pipe-clay placed one upon the other as the kiln became filled; the result was, that at least 20 per cent. were warped or broken in the kiln. At the present time, the preliminary preparation of the clay is performed by men, but the more delicate part is almost entirely entrusted to the hands of women. The pipes are placed in saggers to be burned, after the Dutch mode; and from 350 to 400 gross, in one kiln, is not an uncommon quantity. The breakages at the present day amount to no more than one per cent.

Usually the old pipes are perfectly plain, with the general exception of a milled border running round the mouth, this was impressed by hand, not in a mould. It may also be remarked, that the bowls of many of the older pipes are *scraped* into form, after having been modelled.

About ninety years ago, the pipemakers began to stamp their names and residences on the *stems* of the pipes instead of the heels.

At one time, it was supposed that the size of the bowl of the pipe afforded a guide to the date—the smaller the bowl, the earlier the date. The smallness of the bowl in some early specimens is remarkable, and the fairy origin of such pipes was a popular belief in England, Scotland, and Ireland. A "Fairy Pipe," engraved of its full size, is shown in Fig. 33.

Fig. 33. "Fairy Pipe."

Fig. 34. Period of Elizabeth.

But it is not so much the *size*, as the *form*, of the bowl that helps us to determine the age of tobacco-pipes, although even

this cannot be entirely depended upon. The earliest form, which probably dates from the time of Elizabeth, is barrel-shaped. An Elizabethan pipe is shown in Fig. 34, the original was found by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, in a cutting on Abbey Hill, near Derby; and was given by him to the late Mr. Crofton Croker. As may be seen, this specimen bears on its heel a rose; it is believed to be of Shropshire manufacture, Another example of an Elizabethan pipe is given in Fig. 35,

FIG. 35. PERIOD OF ELIZABETH.

FIG. 36. PERIOD OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

in this and other instances, when not stated to the contrary, the size of the original is reduced in the engraving. The form shown in Fig. 36 is of the period of James I. and Charles I., and does not materially differ in shape from the preceding specimens. The pipes shown in Fig. 51 are to be referred to the reign of Charles I.

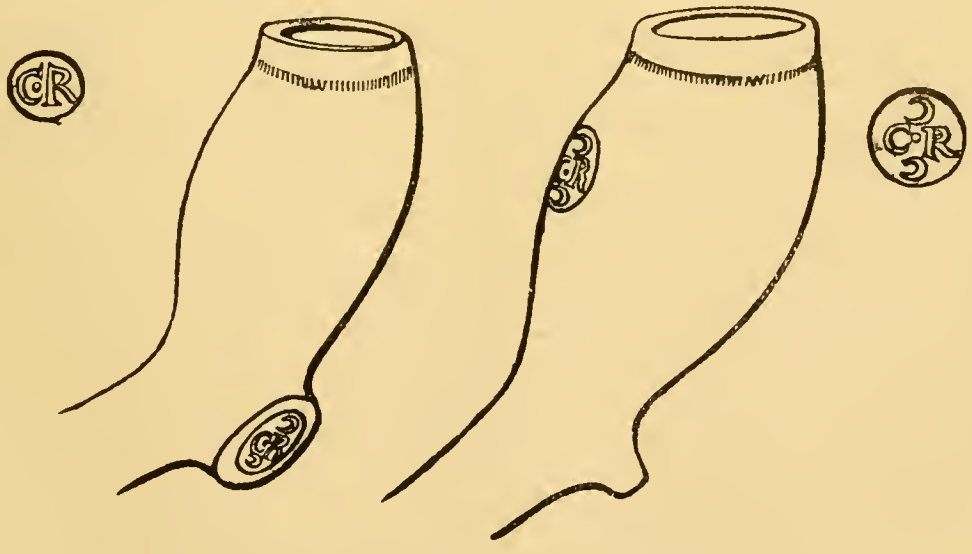


FIG. 37. PERIOD OF CHARLES I.

Of the pipes of this period, a large variety of shapes might be adduced. In Fig. 38, Mr. Jewitt has given four examples taken from engravings of the period. The dates are, 1, 1630; 2, 1632; 3, 1640; 4, 1641. No. 4 is of the same shape as those known to have been in use in the reign of Elizabeth; the same form continued in use through several reigns. The

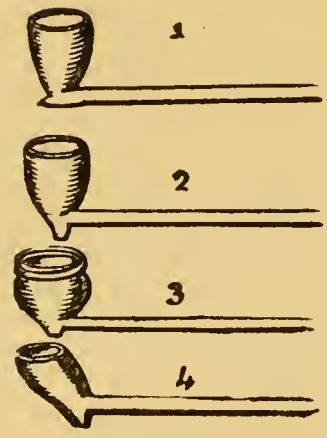



FIG. 38.
1, 1630; 2, 1632; 3, 1640; 4, 1641.

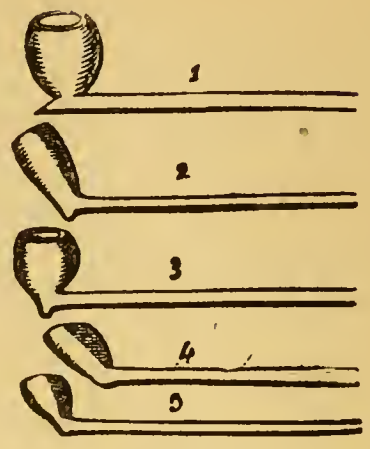



FIG. 40.
1, 1650; 2, 1666; 3, 1688; 4, 1688; 5, 1669.

usual shapes of the period, however, are those shown in 1, 2, and 3. During the time of the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles the Second, the form of the bowl became more bulbous, as shown in Fig. 39, the original was found in

FIG. 39. PERIOD OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND CHARLES II.

Devonshire. The examples given in Fig. 40, are copied principally from Tradesmen's tokens. One (2) will be seen to be of the form usually ascribed to William the Third's reign. The dates of these specimens are 1, 1650; 5, 1666 (Dunstable); 3, 1688 (Chipping Norton); 4, probably the same year (Southwark); 5, 1669 (Leeds). Pipes were made at Leeds from a peculiar vein of clay found there.

Pipes of the reign of William III. seem, more usually, to have had bowls of the elongated form shown in Fig. 41. This seems to be confirmed from the circumstance, that at the place where William's Dutch troops were stationed, pipes of the forms shown in Fig. 42 are most abundant. Barrel-shaped bowls, however, were still in use, as may be seen by the dated example shown in Fig. 32.

The long bowl continued in use to the middle of last century, and representations of them may be found on engravings of the period. It would seem that the form of the bowl gradually merged from the bulbous into the elongated form of the time of William III., and then passed on to the

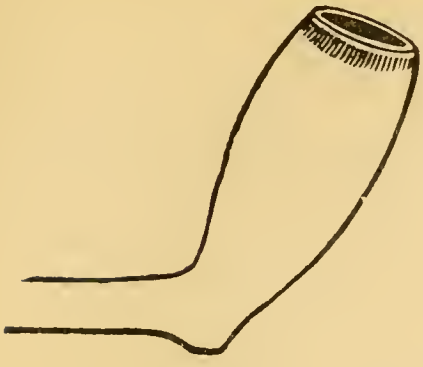


FIG. 41.

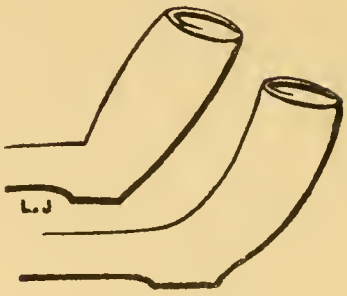



FIG. 42.

PERIOD OF WILLIAM III.

wide-mouthed shape of the present day. The heel also changed from the flat form—made to rest the pipe upon during use—to the long pointed "spur" now so common, and which is believed by some to have been introduced by the Dutch; it is, however, to be seen on one of the pipes represented in Fig. 37. It must be remembered, however, that the Dutch were originally indebted to England for the introduction of pipe-making into their country.

Sometimes the bowls of pipes were ornamented, but such specimens are extremely rare. Examples of ornamented pipes have already been given in Figs. 22 and 23. The pipe shown in Fig. 43 was found near Derby, and is in Mr. Jewitt's collection. In form it resembles the pipe shown in Fig. 36, and like it may belong to the reign of James I. or Charles I., the form of the letters helps to confirm this opinion.

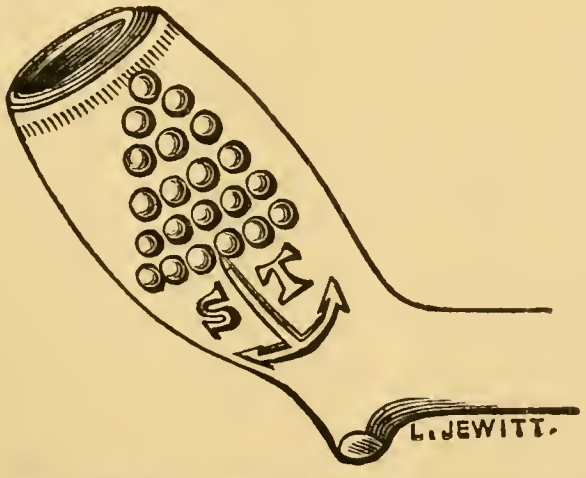



FIG. 43. PERIOD OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

It would not be difficult to enlarge on this subject, but the digression has probably been sufficient already. Let us then make our way to Vespasian's camp.

## VESPASIAN'S CAMP.

This name was imposed by Stukeley, it is locally known as "The Ramparts." The work crowns a densely-wooded hill, which forms the principal feature in the view from the House. The natural position is a strong one, and it is further protected on the eastern and southern sides by the Avon. The ancient lines of defence enclosed an area of 39 acres, and consisted of a single bank, now much mutilated on the eastern side, the defences on the western side are still bold and well-preserved. The camp, which is in the form of scalene triangle, may be a British work, possibly occupied and strengthened by the Romans when, under Vespasian, they were engaged in the conquest of the Belgæ.

It appears to have had two entrances—north and south—the former still remains perfect. The area of the camp is now divided by the high road which passes Stonehenge, and along which we shall proceed. Our next halt will be at

## STONEHENGE.

We scarcely see Stonehenge from the best point of view in going to it by the road from Amesbury, it is seen to far greater advantage if we approach it by way of the Down from Lake House. Approach it as you may, however, Stonehenge possesses the disadvantage of a reputation; and when seen for the first time, the feeling is usually that of disappointment. A feeling which gives place to wonder and astonishment as the bulk of the masses of stone is realised, and our minds begin to be exercised as to the way in which these vast blocks have been transported to Salisbury Plain, and as to the means by which they were raised to their present position. The wide expanse of Down that surrounds Stonehenge has a tendency to dwarf its proportions; "when viewed from a distance," says Mr. Fergusson, "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."[1]

Then, again, the visitor frequently arrives at Stonehenge with his mind impressed by the simple architectural beauty of

[1] "Quarterly Review," No. 215, p. 202.

Salisbury Cathedral—separated from it by some eight miles in space, but by what an immeasurable epoch in point of time and culture—there all was refinement, here is but the display of rude barbaric force; it is like leaving the haunts of civilization, and—in a few hours—meeting with the savage in his freedom. And yet, the powerful lever of religious fervour prompted the erection of both temples, it is to be seen in the huge stony masses of Stonehenge, and in the heavenward pointing finger of Salisbury spire. "Salisbury Cathedral," writes Dr. Johnson, "and its neighbour Stonehenge are two eminent monuments of art and rudeness, and may show the first essay and the last perfection in architecture."[1] But, Stonehenge and Salisbury Cathedral surely teach us more than this. Each testifies to the existence of a religious sentiment, that we would fain believe is present even in the lowest savage; and which, throughout the whole human family, differs but in kind and degree—as does "Our Lady Church" in the valley from the Titanic Temple on Salisbury Plain. Each structure is equally a prayer in stone, although the words of the one may be those of refinement and civilization, whilst those of the other are but the terse utterances of barbarism.

Upon no other subject, probably, have so many opinions been expressed, as upon Stonehenge. Its erection has been attributed by various writers to the Phœnicians, to the Belgæ, to the Romans, to the Romano-British, to the Saxons, and to the Danes. Nor would it be very surprising to learn that still another origin for it had been discovered, and that henceforth we are to regard Stonehenge as an assemblage of boulders that were drifting southward during the Glacial Period, falling in with an eddy, their ice-borne course was arrested, they settled down in a circle, the waters retired, and now these stranded masses afford us an interesting proof of the existence of extensive gyratory marine action, arising from the opposing forces of hot and cold currents during the Glacial Period!

Perhaps the greatest charm of Stonehenge is the mystery in which its origin and purpose are shrouded, and, in a certain way, evil will be the day that sees this veil lifted from it.

The vast plain around Stonehenge is thickly dotted with

[1] Letter to Mrs. Thrale, written Oct. 9, 1783.

tumuli, which contain (or contained) the unknown dust of men of whom history tells us absolutely nothing :—

> "Antiquity appears to have begun,
> Long after their primæval race was run."

To some extent, the gulf of this prehistoric past has been spanned by the bridge of investigation ; but, after all that has been written about Stonehenge, in many respects it still remains a sphinx-riddle to archæologists ; on the other hand, the popular mind *has* evolved its history, strongly tinctured of course with the marvellous. So sacred are these stones that, "it is generally averred hereabouts," writes Aubrey, "that pieces of them 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 Aubrey spoils all by adding the following explanation, "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 "historical" account of Stonehenge is to be found recorded by the great British-Mythologist, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who gave his work to the world before the year 1139. According to this, Aurelius Ambrosius, wishing "to commemorate those who had fallen in battle,"[1] sent for Merlin, in order to consult with him as to the erection of a monument to their memory. Merlin's suggestion was as follows :—"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, 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

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

not furnished with stones fit for the work." Merlin replied that they were mystical stones, and of a medicinal virtue; and so, at last, it was decided to fetch the stones and, if need be, bring them away by force, should the people of Ireland offer to detain them. After defeating the Irish, the Britons proceeded to Killaraus; and, as they were gathered around the "Giant's Dance," Merlin tauntingly said, "Now try your forces, young men, and see whether strength or art can do more towards taking down these stones." So they set to work, but all to no purpose. Merlin laughed at their vain efforts, and, at last, himself "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." Aurelius summoned all his people to celebrate the erecting of the monument, which was effected by Merlin, who "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."[1] This story held its ground for 500 years. A probable explanation of the legend of Merlin and the "Giant's Dance" has been suggested by Dr. Guest, according to this :— "Amesbury signified the burgh of Ambres or Ambrosius—and upon the authority of the Welsh triads, was once the seat of a great monastery, one of the three chief perpetual choirs of the isle of Britain," as already mentioned in my notes on Amesbury. In the older Welsh poems there are allusions to a conflict that took place about some *nawt*, or sanctuary. "It has been keenly contested that these allusions refer to the massacre of the British nobles by Hengist, and that the *nawt* was the heathen sanctuary of Stonehenge. . . 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, 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 Hengist

[1] The whole account, given in the words of Thompson's translation, reprinted from Sir R. Hoare, is given by Mr. Long, "Wilts Mag.," vol. xvi., pp. 9—11.

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. . . The choir of Ambrosius was probably *the* monastery of Britain—the centre from which flowed the blessings of Christianity and civilisation. 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," writes Mr. Long,[1] "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."

Both Aubrey and Pepys visited Stonehenge, but neither of them seems to have been favourably impressed with the Plain, which, on the other hand, delighted Evelyn,[2] who thus writes of it:—"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." Aubrey appears to have had the old Wiltshire saying in his mind:—

> "Salisbury Plain, Salisbury Plain,
> Seldom without a thief or twain."

"About six miles from Salisbury," writes Aubrey, "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." It was the steepness of the hills that alarmed poor Pepys, who, in his own words:—"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 6d. 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 going this journey to see. God knows what their use was: they are hard to tell, but yet may be told. Gave the shepherd-*woman*, for leading our horses,

[1] "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 13.
[2] In 1654. Pepys visited Stonehenge, June 11, 1668.

4d." And we have not advanced much in our knowledge of the original purpose of the monument since the days of Pepys, the story is still "hard to tell"—"but yet may be told." Some insist that Stonehenge was a monument erected in memory of the dead, others are equally persuaded that it was a temple. If a monument :—

> "Ill did those mighty men to trust thee with their story,
> Thou hast forgot their names, who rear'd thee for their glory :
> For all their wondrous cost, thou hast serv'd them so,
> What 'tis to trust to tombs, by thee we eas'ly know."

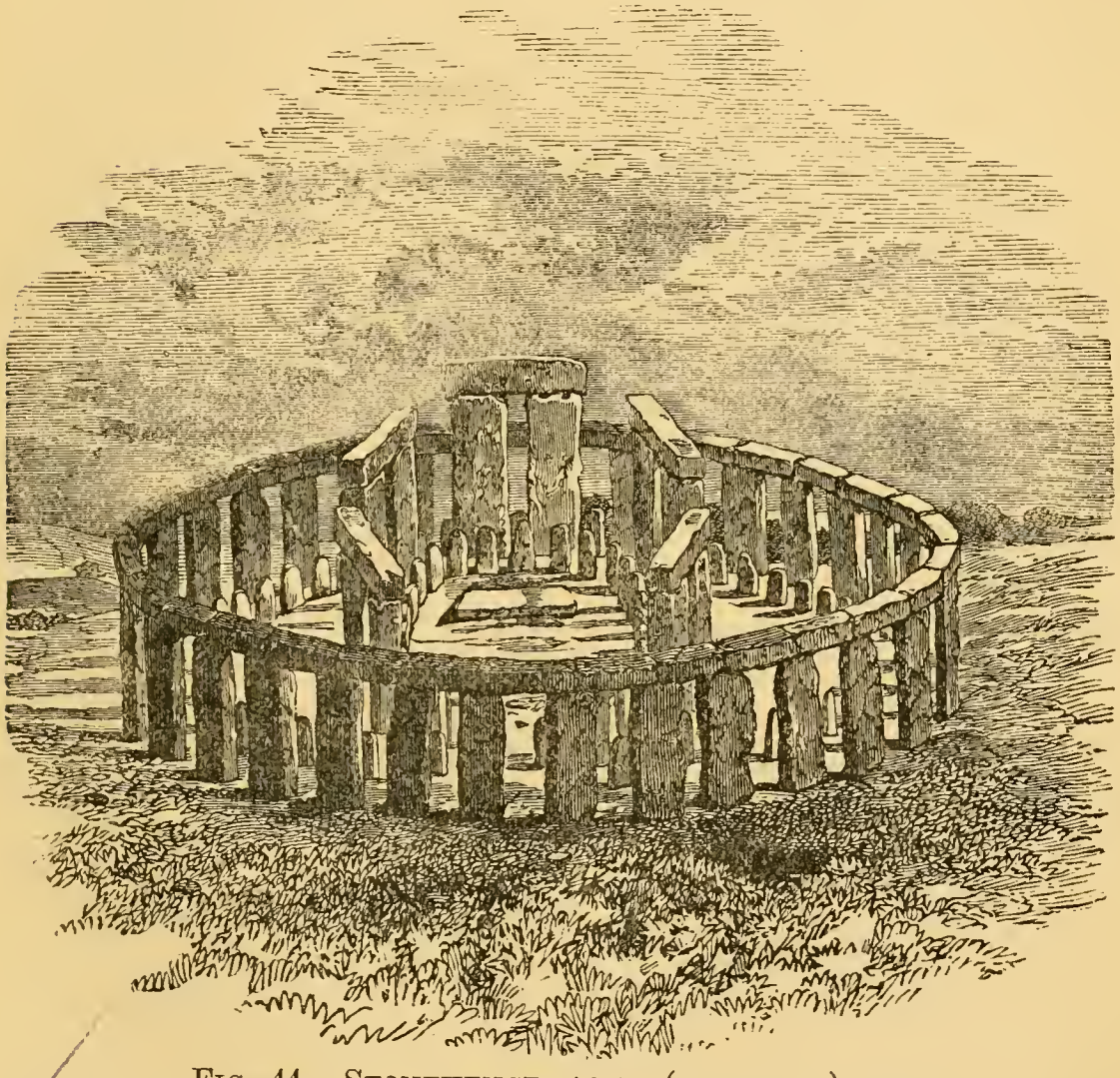


FIG. 44. STONEHENGE, AS IT (PROBABLY) WAS.

My own impression is that Stonehenge was a temple, and some of the evidence which has led me to this conclusion will be brought forward in the following pages.

In looking at Stonehenge we should remember that we are beholding a ruin, which has to be re-constructed in the mind's eye; Fig. 44 may help us to do this, no very difficult task, for

"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."

## DESCRIPTION OF STONEHENGE.

STONEHENGE stands in the middle of a circular boundary, 300 feet in diameter, formed by throwing up a slight bank with a shallow ditch outside. This bank is about 100 feet from the outer circle of stones. The bank cuts through a low barrow on the north-west side, and it embraces another low barrow on the opposite side, from which circumstance it appears that these tumuli were in existence *before* the surrounding earth-work at Stonehenge was formed. Two stones are to be seen on the edge of the embankment, but there are no indications of other stones having been similarly placed on the margin of this earth-work.

The entrance to Stonehenge is on the north-east, and is marked by a bank and ditch forming an avenue which leads directly to the temple. At a short distance from the entrance to the outer circle of stones, and within the area enclosed by the circular bank, lies a prostrate stone (21 feet in length), this is popularly known as the "slaughtering stone." This stone does not appear to have been fully trimmed into its destined shape, the row of holes worked across one corner was evidently intended to weaken the stone in a desired line of fracture—to enable an unsightly corner to be taken off, and so to render the form more symmetrical. Why this was not accomplished we cannot tell, but it militates against the late Mr. Cunnington's theory that it, at one time, stood erect.[1] These holes on the "slaughtering stone"[2] deserve rather more than a passing notice. They have evidently been drilled by artificial means, and with the intention of dividing the stone in the line of the indentations. At the present day, it is the custom with the stone-hewers on Dartmoor, to drill holes across a block of granite that they wish to divide. A sudden

[1] See Mr. Long's paper, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., pp. 56, 57. The roofing-stones of some dolmens appear to have been trimmed into shape *after* they had been placed in position, but that was evidently to save trouble, it would increase the trouble to trim a monolith into shape after it was erected.

[2] So called from a popular idea that victims were immolated upon it.

blow will then cause the mass to separate in the desired direction. On Dartmoor, the indentations are made by means of a chisel-shaped instrument termed a "jumper." A rotatory motion is communicated to the tool, the result of which, of course, is that the indentations are circular. The indentations,

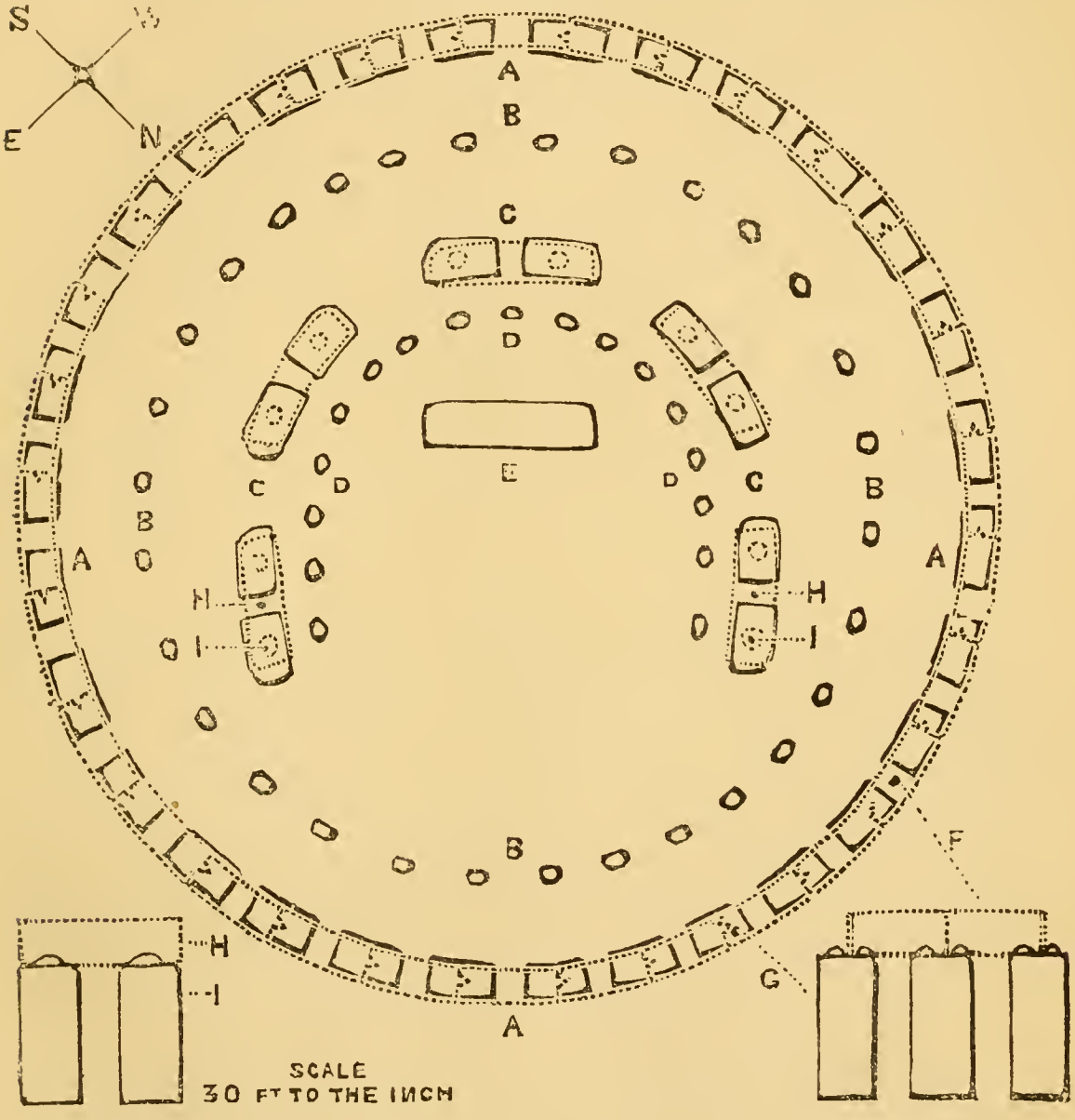



FIG. 45. GROUND-PLAN OF STONEHENGE, AS IT (PROBABLY) WAS.

however, in the "slaughtering stone" are oval, and this tends to show that the instrument used was sharp pointed (a pick), not chisel-shaped, and that the holes were produced by a series of taps or blows, and not by a rotating edge. This fact is of importance as bearing on the question of the material of which the "jumper" was made, and, by consequence, of the state of culture of the people by whom such tools were in ordinary use.

If the indentations had been circular in form, it might have been fair to have argued that the "jumper" used was in shape and material not very unlike that now employed on Dartmoor. But, as the indentations on the "slaughtering stone" are not of circular form, we are led to infer that the holes were produced by the process known as "pecking," and that the tool employed is as likely to have been of flint, as of bronze or iron.

To the north-east of the "slaughtering stone," and directly in the entrance line to the circles at Stonehenge, stands erect an *unwrought* sarsen monolith, 16 feet in height, popularly called "The Friar's Heel." A person standing on the so-called "Altar Stone," (E on Fig. 45) at the summer solstice, will see the sun (if it is to be seen at all) rise immediately over the "Friar's Heel," the top of which stone exactly coincides with the line of the horizon. The theory that the builders of Stonehenge worshipped the sun as a great life-giving principle, as a symbol of the Creator, receives some support from this fact. Unwrought monoliths, such as the "Friar's Heel," seem also, at some period, to have been universally regarded as symbols of the Creator.[1]

[1] "In the island of Skye in every district there is to be met with a rude stone consecrated to Gruagach or Apollo. The Rev. Mr. McQueen of Skye says that in almost every village the sun, called Grugach, or Fair-haired, is represented by a rude stone; and he further adds that libations of milk were poured on the 'grugach-stones.'" (Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," p. 210.)

It would be far beyond the scope of the present work to enter upon the subject of the worship of "Stones"—especially of earth-fast unwrought pillar-stones. It seems, however, to have very generally prevailed. In the West India Islands, Herrera mentions that, three stones were especial objects of worship to the natives—one was profitable for the crops, another was worshipped by women, and the third gave sunshine and rain when needed. Stone-worship still exists in India, chiefly among the non-Hindu races. The groups of standing-stones in India are, in many instances, set up for each stone to represent a deity. In Southern India, five stones are often to be seen in the ryot's field, placed in a row and daubed with red paint, these are considered to be the guardians of the field, and are called the five Pândus.

Instances of the "survival" of stone-worship are not wanting. There was an unwrought stone (λίθος ἀργὸς) at Hyettos, which "after the ancient manner represented Herakles; there were thirty such stones which the Pharæans, in like archaic fashion, worshipped for the gods. Theophrastus, in the fourth century B.C., depicts the superstitious Greek passing the anointed stones in the streets, taking out his phial and pouring oil on them, falling on his knees to adore, and going his way. Six centuries later, Arnobius could describe from his own heathen life the state of mind of a

Had the "slaughtering stone" ever stood erect, it would, as suggested by Mr. William Cunnington, F.G.S., have been impossible for a person, standing on the "altar stone" to have seen the sun rise over the "gnomon" (Friar's Heel).

The "Friar's Heel" occupies a distinguished position in the legendary history of Stonehenge. The story was told me, some years since, by my valued friend Mr. W. Hatcher, son of the well-known Historian of Salisbury. It is as follows.

The Devil is said to have determined, one evening, to do some work on the earth which should astonish and puzzle all beholders. A later version of the old story added that, he came to this resolution while vexed and annoyed at the circumstance that an Exciseman had in some way slipped through his fingers. It appears that the Devil had seen some huge stones standing in the garden belonging to an old woman, in Ireland, and these he determined to transport to Salisbury Plain—this being the most unlikely place, he could think of, on which such stones could be found.

His request to be allowed to remove the stones was refused by the old woman, until she was bribed by the assurance that, she should have as much money as she could count and add up while the removal was being effected. The bargain being completed, the Devil handed to her a quantity of pieces of money, some worth 4½d. and others 2¾d. Not being a good hand at addition, she had not accomplished the summation of the two first, when her negotiator shouted to her to stop, and on looking round she found that the stones were all removed. The purchaser had tied them into a neat bundle with a withe, and slinging this over his shoulder, he flew away with his burden in the direction of Salisbury Plain. But the load was a heavy one—even for *him*, the withe wrung his shoulder very uncomfortably, and, as he flew over Bulford water, he had to give it a hitch up—when, out fell one of the stones and plumped down into the water beneath—there it still remains,

"stone worshipper," and he tells us that, when he saw one of these stones anointed with oil, he accosted it in flattering words, and asked benefits from it. The following passage from Isaiah shows the existence of stone-worship among the Jews.

> "Among the smooth stones of the valley is thy portion;
> They, they are thy lot:
> Even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering,
> Hast thou offered a meat-offering."

according to popular belief, to attest the truth of the occurrence.[1]

No further mischance took place, but the Devil was right glad to relieve himself of his burden when he reached Salisbury Plain. He at once busied himself to set up the stones, and was at length so delighted at the progress he had made, that he exclaimed aloud, "Now I'll puzzle all men, for no one knows, nor ever will know, how these stones have come here." Unlucky chance—a friar, who was walking near, evidently a Wiltshireman, heard the foolish boast, and shouted out—"that's more than thee can tell," and then turned and fled for his life. At the moment, the Devil was poising a huge stone in his hand, and, enraged at the insolence of the Friar, this was sent whizzing through the air after the holy man—it struck him on his uplifted heel, but so holy a man was he, that it did not hurt him in the least. On the contrary, it was the stone that suffered, for the Friar's heel indented the stone, and there the impression is still to be seen—by the faithful—in confirmation of the story. Nothing daunted by the failure of his first attempt, the Devil was proceeding to hurl a second stone after the Friar—when, at that moment, the sun rose over the hills, the Devil was forced to flee and leave the stones as they stood—some put together, others lying about in confusion. The Evil One was so vexed at his discomfiture that he has never come back to finish his work. Hence the present scattered appearance of the stones.

Aubrey seems to have heard a somewhat different version of this legend, he also appears to have mistaken the "slaughtering stone" for the "Friar's Heel" stone. "One of the great stones," he says, "that *lies downe*, on the west[2] side, hath a cavity resembling the print of a man's foot: concerning which the Shepherds and Country 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."

The plan of Stonehenge seems to have consisted of stones so placed as to form two figures—a horse-shoe, surrounded by

[1] "As I remember," writes Aubrey, "there is a great stone that lies in the water at Fighelden as left by the way to Stonehenge."

[2] Query, "north-east."

a circle, as shown in Figs. 44 and 45. These figures are repeated—in one instance the stones employed are of local origin (A and C in Fig. 45,) in the other they consist of varieties of rock not geologically present in the district (B and D on Fig. 45). Nor is this the only distinction between the two sets of figures. The stones (sarsen) of local origin are all of them of considerable size, and have all been dressed and squared ;[1] whereas the foreign stones are comparatively small, and (perhaps) those which form the circle have not been worked at all.[2] Then again the idea in the construction of the two sets of figures is different. The foreign stones have all (with perhaps one exception) been set up on end as monoliths; but the local stones have imposts placed upon them, and these stones are secured in their relative position by means of a mortise-and-tenon arrangement—the idea is no longer that of the monolith, but that of the trilithon.

It is supposed that, originally, the outer circle consisted of thirty upright stones, and the same number of stones laid horizontally upon them so as to form a perfect continuous circle; these are all sarsen stones, such as are found in abundance in North Wiltshire.[3] Seventeen uprights, and six imposts retain their original position, see Fig. 46, and to judge from the uprights still standing, these stones must have stood about 12 feet 7 inches out of the ground, their average breadth 6 feet, and their thickness 3 feet 6 inches. Those in the circle resting on the uprights are about 10 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 8 inches in thickness. The upright stones have each *two* tenons on their upper surface, see details on Fig. 45 (F—G), which fit into mortise-holes cut into the under surface of the horizontal stones. The opening between the

[1] "With the exception of the "Friar's Heel" stone.

[2] Mr. Long and Mr. Cunnington express the opinion that the syenitic blocks *have been* worked, but that those of horn-stone have *not* been worked.—"Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 233.

[3] Aubrey says of these stones, "the tradition amongst the common people is that these stones were brought from Ireland, as aforesayd, by the conjuration of Merlin, whereas indeed they are of the very same kind of stones with the Grey Weathers, about fourteen 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." In another place he says, "they are 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 on Rowlers."


FIG. 46. GROUND-PLAN OF STONEHENGE, AS IT IS.

upright stones of the outer circle is about 4 feet,[1] and the diameter of the circle is 100 feet within the stones. The *two* tenons, to produce which much labour must have been expended, are towards the ends of the upper surface of each upright stone in the *outer circle;* only *one* tenon is present on each upright of the *horse-shoe*, and that is situated in the middle of the upper surface, see details in Fig. 45 (H—I) ; a difference which arose from the circumstance that while the imposts of the outer circle stretched as a continuous line along the top of the uprights, the imposts of the horse-shoe were never intended to be carried round the figure in a continuous line ; the five grand trilithons were intended to stand separate and apart from

[1] According to Mr. Long, the width of the opening between the stones numbered A 1 and A 2 on Hoare's plan is 4 feet 4 inches.

each other; it may be, each trilithon a symbol in itself, and all five teogther forming another symbol of well-known import, the horse-shoe or crescent.

Mr. Henry Browne (Amesbury) was of opinion that the imposts of the outer circle "had been fitted together, at their extremities, by corresponding projectures and hollows," as shown in Fig. 47.[1] This opinion is confirmed by Mr. Long,

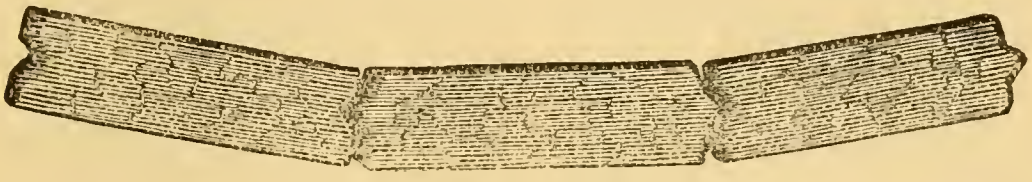


FIG. 47. PLAN SHOWING THE WAY IN WHICH THE IMPOSTS OF THE OUTER CIRCLE DOVETAIL INTO EACH OTHER.

who visited Stonehenge in April, 1876, in company with Captain Long, Mr. Cunnington and Mr. Edwards of Amesbury; and I have also noticed this arrangement.

At a distance of about 9 feet within the outer circle, stood some thirty or forty monoliths (foreign stone), arranged in a circle (B on Fig 45), each about 4 feet in height; very few of these are now standing upright, they are of rude and irregular shape, and probably are unwrought.

Within the inner circle stands (or stood) the most imposing feature of Stonehenge, the five great trilithons (C on Fig. 45). They are all sarsen stones (local), and are arranged in the form of a horse-shoe, with the opening to the north-east.

These great trilithons rise gradually in height towards the south-west. The first group, on the left-hand side of the horse-shoe as you enter, being sixteen feet three inches in height; the next, on the same side, seventeen feet two inches; and the central group, twenty-one feet six inches. Aubrey, in his "Monumenta Britannica," attributes the overthrow of this grand central trilithon to the researches made in the year 1620, by George, Duke of Buckingham, who, when James I. was at Wilton, "did cause the middle of Stonehenge to be digged, and this underdigging was the cause of the falling downe, or recumbency of the great stone there, twenty-one foote long."

The group next the central trilithon, on the north-western side, fell on the third of January, 1797. A strange concussion

[1] Copied from "Wilts Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 93.

FIG. 48. THE GREAT TRILITHON.

or jarring of the ground was felt by some men who were ploughing fully half-a-mile distant from Stonehenge; this was occasioned, as they afterwards perceived, by the fall of this trilithon.[1] It fell outwards, as may be seen by reference to Fig. 46, and it still remains where it fell. The immediate cause seems to have been a sudden and rapid thaw, which set in the day before the stones fell; but it appears that some gipsies had, in the preceding autumn, contributed not a little to the catastrophe by digging away the soil on the western side of this trilithon, in order to obtain more shelter for their tent.

"It was upon the top of the trilithon, immediately to the left (the south-east) 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.'"[2]

Within the horse-shoe figure formed by the great trilithons is a second horse-shoe figure composed of monoliths (foreign stone) (D on Fig. 45). There were originally 15 or more of these monoliths, of an average height of 8 feet, these stones also, like the great trilithons, gradually increase in height toward what was, perhaps, the most important and sacred part of the temple, where lies the so-called "altar stone" (E on Fig. 45). The monoliths composing the inner horse-shoe have evidently been wrought into their present pointed pyramidal form, one of them has a groove cut down its side, for what purpose is not apparent.

The "altar stone" (E on Fig. 45) is (or rather, was, when entire) sixteen feet two inches in length, three feet two inches in width, and one foot nine inches in thickness. It was completely broken in two by the fall of the impost of the great trilithon.[3]

On the left-hand side, as one enters the inner circle from the north-east is a recumbent stone (foreign) with two basin-

[1] Full details are given in Mr. Long's paper, "Wilts Mag.," vol. xvi., pp. 79—81.

[2] Mr. Long, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 62.

[3] In reference to the so-called "altar-stone" now at Stonehenge, it may be mentioned that Aubrey tells us, "Philip Earle of Pembroke did say, that an Altar Stone was found in the middle of the Area here (Stonehenge); 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 and Bull's hornes and Charcoales."

like cavities worked into the surface now turned uppermost (see Fig. 46).

The stone is remarkable from being the *only* foreign stone at Stonehenge in which a cavity has been wrought. It is usual to regard these two cavities as mortise-holes; but we are still very much in the dark as to the purpose to which this particular stone was applied, even as to the position it occupied in the original structure. If Stonehenge was erected at two distinct periods, the horse-shoe and circle of *foreign* stone probably formed the earlier temple. It may even have been erected elsewhere at some former period, and then transported to Salisbury Plain and again set up. An intrusive and conquering people may have brought these hallowed stones with them, and have added to the impressive appearance of their old temple, in its new situation, by repeating its features on a far larger scale, using local stone for the purpose. This idea was in Canon Jackson's mind, when he compared the horse-shoe and circle of foreign stone at Stonehenge to "the Casa Santa at Loreto, a small cottage said to have been the Virgin Mary's house at Nazareth, but now enshrined in a magnificent church; so these obelisks, possessing some great traditional value, were transported hither, and enshrined in a coronet of the mightiest Grey Wethers that Wiltshire could produce."

In Figs. 49 and 50, I have reproduced the chromo-lithographic plans of Stonehenge, given by Mr. Long,[1] substituting distinctive shading for colours. I cannot help thinking, however, that the triple arrangement of monoliths, represented (in Fig. 49) as standing before each of the great trilithons in the outer horse-shoe is incorrect; for some of the monoliths now standing depart from this arrangement, and occupy the interspaces, as may be seen in Figs. 46 and 50. Perhaps, the restoration shown in Fig. 45 is not very far wrong. I have ventured to omit the *foreign* trilithon shown in Mr. Long's plan, for reasons hereafter to be given.

In Fig. 49 may be seen, at a glance, the "Casa Santa" of Canon Jackson, represented in solid black; whilst the shaded stones form "the coronet of Grey Wethers." The present position occupied by the foreign, and the local stones, may be seen in Fig. 50.

But to return to the prostrate *foreign* stone with two cavities (shown in Fig. 46) near the first great trilithon on the north-

[1] "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 54.

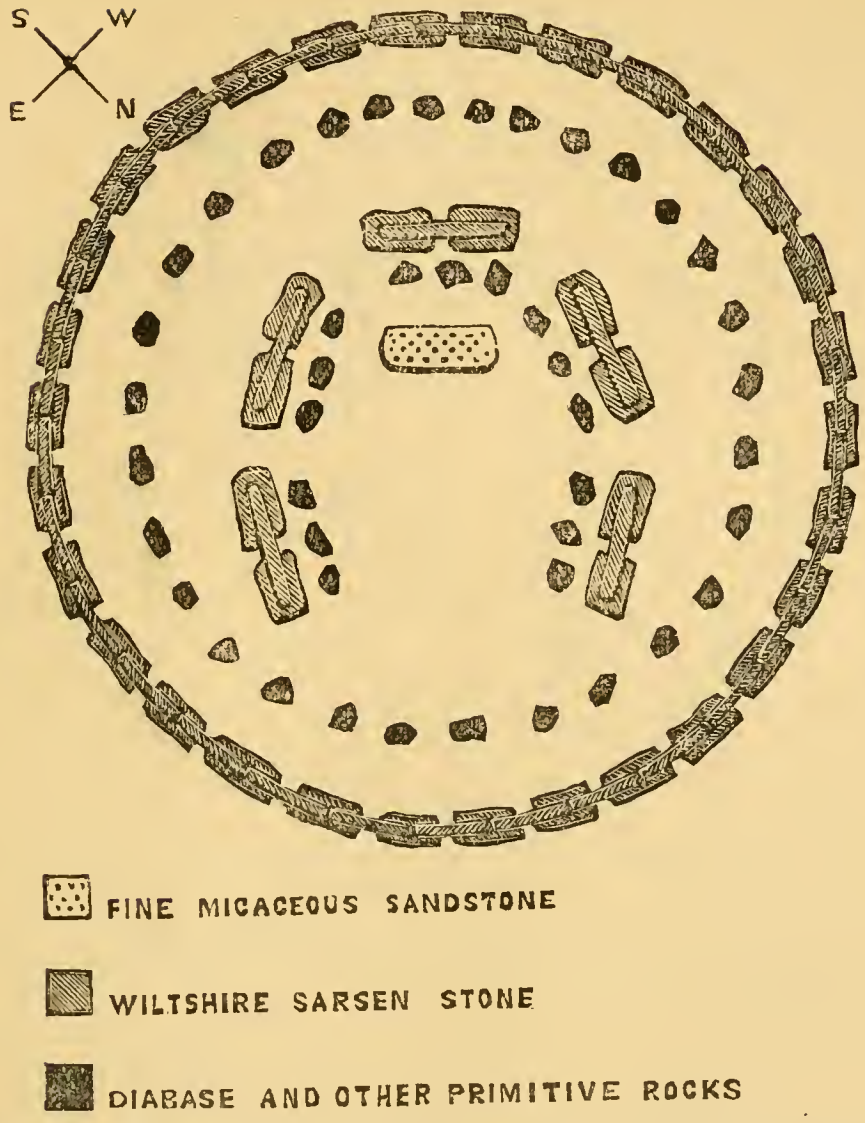



FIG. 49. STONEHENGE AS IT MAY HAVE BEEN; SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE FOREIGN AND THE LOCAL STONES. AFTER MR. LONG.

eastern side of Stonehenge. It is only on the *local* stones that mortise-holes exist. These two cavities in the prostrate foreign stone are too far from the ends of this particular stone, and too close together, to justify our comparing it with the imposts of the outer circle, or outer horse-shoe. Besides, is it not surprising that whilst this supposed impost has been preserved, no trace remains of either of the syenitic uprights upon which it rested? There is not, I believe, a single foreign stone with a tenon at Stonehenge, and yet, in the model of Stonehenge (restored) at Lake House, four such pillar stones are represented; in the ground-plan, shown in Fig. 51, there are six such placed at the entrance to the great horseshoe, and in Mr. Long's chromo-lithograph there are two such pillar-stones,


FIG. 50. STONEHENGE AS IT IS; SHOWING THE PRESENT POSITIONS OF THE FOREIGN AND THE LOCAL STONES. AFTER MR. LONG.

and all this rests upon the discovery of a single stone at Stonehenge, having two cavities worked in it. This stone, however, is quite as likely to have served for an altar as for an impost, and the cavities may have been intended to receive libations or offerings of some kind. Stones with holes worked in their upper surface still receive superstitious veneration in parts of Sweden. Near a town, called Linde, abutting on a forest-path which leads to Bohrs Forge, is an earth-fast stone (*jordfast sten*), popularly known as "The Elf-Stone;" it is nine feet in length, about seven in breadth, and four in height, and has upon its flat upper surface six small holes. The women of the neighbourhood, when a child is ill (or as they suppose "elf-struck"), visit this stone, smear the holes with fat or butter, and then place in them, as offerings, small dolls (called *troll-dockor*) made of rags. Near Tjursaker Court (or farm), in Our-Lady-kirk parish, near Enköping, is a mass of rock in which there is a cup-shaped cavity, it is known as "The Elf-Pot" (*elf-gryta*). The women of the neighbourhood make it a special errand on Thursday evenings to visit the "elf-pot," and "to anoint for the sick" (*smörja for sjuka*) with hog's lard, and

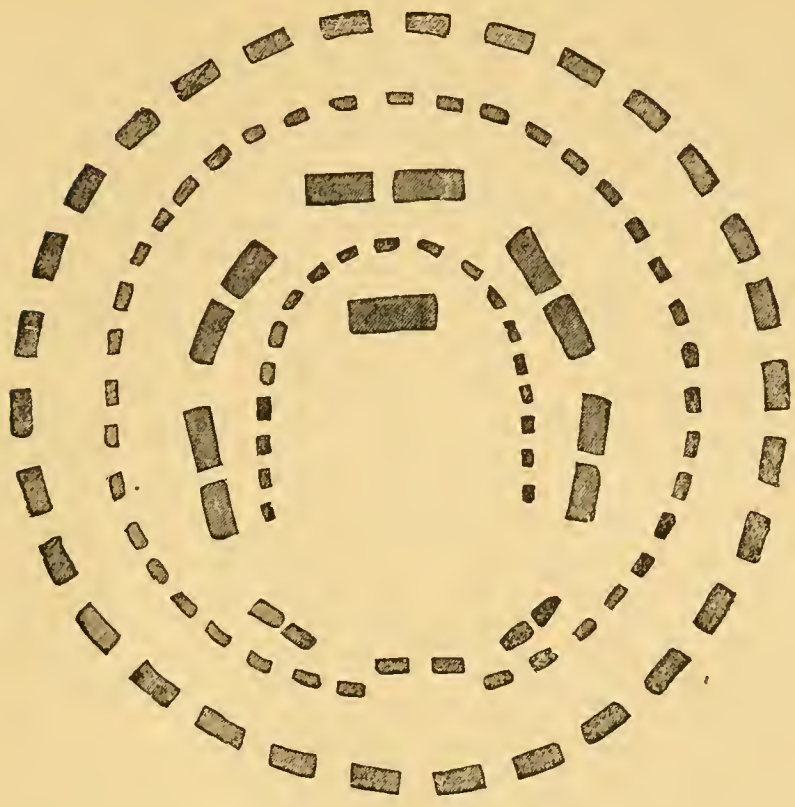


FIG. 51. GROUND-PLAN OF STONEHENGE (RESTORED).[1]

then to offer in the "elf-pot" a pin, or some other object, that has been used by the sick person.[2] I venture to suggest, therefore, that some further attention be given to this subject, before we jump to the conclusion that this foreign block of stone was an impost—and nothing more.

## THE PETROLOGY OF THE STONEHENGE STONES.

AMONG what are called the *lower* Tertiaries, are certain sands and mottled clays (known as the Woolwich and Reading beds, from being largely developed near those places) and it is from these beds that the "sarsens" (or *local* stones), used at Stonehenge, have been obtained. Sarsens are rarely found *in situ*, owing to the destruction of the beds to which they belonged; for they are merely masses of sand *concreted* together by a silicious cement—the looser portions of the deposit have been washed away, but the blocks—the sarsens—were too heavy to be removed by flood-waters, and so they have remained stranded, often in countless numbers, as near

[1] This differs but little from the restoration proposed by Dr. Smith. See Hoare, "Anc. Wilts," vol. I., p. 151.

[2] "Notes and Queries," 4th series, Feb. 12, 1870. Quoted from Hylten Cavallius, "Wärend och Wirdarne."

Clatford in North Wilts; occupying the lower level of the valley, and winding downward in a mighty stream with every sinuosity of those upland valleys in which they occur. Sarsen stones are sometimes found *in situ*, as at the cliffs of St. Marguerite, near Dieppe. Several years since I was told that masses of concretionary stone are found at some place near Virginia Water; the loose soil is tested with iron bars, and when a stone is struck, it is dug out, and used for building, and other purposes.

With regard to the foreign stones at Stonehenge they are chiefly of syenite (composed of quartz, felspar, and hornblende). A silicious schist, and greenstones have also been observed at Stonehenge. The "altar-stone" is a fine-grained micaceous sandstone. The foreign stones closely resemble the igneous rocks of the Lower Silurian region of North Pembrokeshire and of Caernarvonshire, although it does not at all follow that they were obtained from thence. Professor Tennant sees in them a strong resemblance to the greenstones and syenites of the Channel Islands.

A very remarkable feature at Stonehenge is the presence of these stones, which have evidently been brought from a distance, for, usually, megalithic structures are formed of material to be found close at hand.

That these masses of stone would not have been transported to Salisbury Plain except under the influence of some strong religious or superstitious feeling is almost certain; and as Mr. Cunnington has well observed:—"this goes far to prove that Stonehenge was originally a *temple*, and neither a monument raised to 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."

## WHAT TOOLS WERE EMPLOYED FOR WORKING THE STONES AT STONEHENGE?

Mr. Long has brought together a mass of information tending to show how the stones may have been transported from a distance to their present resting-place at Stonehenge,[1] and he also mentions the probable manner in which the stones were

[1] "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., pp. 110—116.

squared and the mortises and tenons wrought.[1] The opinion of William Smith (the geologist) and of Dr. Thurnam, that friction had been resorted to in, at least, finishing the mortises and tenons is cited. With reference to this, I would ask the visitors to carefully examine the mortise-holes of the fallen impost of the great trilithon, for in them are still, distinctly, to be traced the pitted markings of the pointed tool by means of which these cavities were formed. In comparatively modern times, the deepening of such holes in blocks of hard stone presented no insuperable difficulty to the stone-using people inhabiting the north-west coast of America. In the Blackmore Collection may be seen a series of stone mortars, from California chiefly; these are, for the most part, large water-worn boulders, in which cavities (very like those in the imposts at Stonehenge) have been wrought by means of a pointed stone tool. These mortars have been in use for crushing maize, and consequently the tool-marks are obliterated at the bottom of the cavity, whilst the friction of the stone pestle has worn away the tool-marks towards the mouth of the mortars, but at the sides the tool-marks are still to be seen, and they very closely resemble those to be seen in the mortises of the fallen impost at Stonehenge.

It is more than probable that Stonehenge was erected by a bronze-using people; but tools of bronze have been practically shown to be less efficient in working stone, than tools of flint,[2]

[1] I have elsewhere entered upon the subject of working hard varieties of stone with tools of flint, of bronze, and of iron. See "Flint Chips," pp. 495, 496.

[2] In the Museum of St. Germain (France) are some blocks of granite, upon which figures have been cut, similar to those to be seen on slabs of the same material, to be found in several of the dolmens in Brittany, such as Gavr' Inis. The figures in the St. Germain specimens have been wrought, by way of experiment, with an *ancient flint tool*, within the last eight or nine years. The *used* tool is placed by the side of the work accomplished by means of it. Other sculptures have been wrought with an *ancient bronze tool*, and this is also exhibited; the superiority of the flint tool for such a purpose is abundantly proved by the present condition of the two implements. A similar experiment was made in Scotland, by Mr. R. Paul, at the request of the late Sir James Simpson; and the result is still to be seen in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum. The material, in which the figures were cut, was hard Aberdeen granite; the tools used were a *flint pick* and a wooden malet. The flint pick was about three inches in length, an inch in breadth, and about a quarter of an inch in thickness. In the course of the work, the sharp tip of the flint, from time to time, broke off; but another sharp edge was produced by the fracture, rendering grinding unnecessary. (Simpson, "Brit. Archaic Sculpturings.")

and, it is quite consistent with what we know of the Bronze Age elsewhere, to suppose that the more efficient tool, whether of bronze or of flint, would have been employed by the "supposed" bronze-using builders of Stonehenge.

I may here mention that, it seems generally to be expected, that *numerous* chippings of the stones should be found in the immediate neighbourhood of Stonehenge; the idea, apparently, being that the stones were dressed into shape *on the spot*, a conclusion which is not yet established; and, in fact, is not supported by any evidence, either direct or by analogy. The blocks of Carrara marble which, in the present day, are transported from the Tiber to the artists' studio in Rome, are "divested previously of all unnecessary bulk." And, if we enquire as to the transport of the colossal stone figures of Assyria and Egypt, we shall find that the masses were not only squared, but also sculptured, before they were dragged from the quarry, with very slight mechanical assistance, and by manual labour.

Nor is it likely that the builders of Stonehenge would have dragged a needlessly bulky, or misshapen, mass of stone—mile after mile—merely to have the pleasure of dressing it into shape at the end of their laborious journey. Minor details may have been carried out at Stonehenge; but, probably, the stones were squared *before* they reached Salisbury Plain, and chippings, for the most part, have to be sought elsewhere.

Writers, usually, cite the removal of large masses of stone by people, who like the Assyrians and Egyptians, had attained to a comparatively high standard of civilization. It may be instructive, therefore, to seek for the example of a "stone-moving" people nearer the culture-level of the probable builders of Stonehenge. Such a people appear to have existed in Central America. Stephens visited some quarries from whence the material, used for the altars and large stone idols at Copan, was obtained. He expresses himself as being astonished at what had been accomplished. "How the large masses were transported," he writes, "over the irregular and broken surface we had crossed, and particularly how one of them was set up on the top of a mountain, two thousand feet high, it was impossible to conjecture. In many places were blocks which had been quarried out and rejected from some defect; and, at one spot, midway in a ravine leading toward the river, was a gigantic block, much larger than any we saw in

the city, which was probably on its way thither to be carved and set up as an ornament, when the labours of the workmen were arrested. Like the unfinished blocks in the quarries at Assouan and on the Pentelican Mountain, it remains as a memorial of baffled human plans.

The unfortunate taste to hand down his name to posterity, so common to tourists, seized upon Stephens, for, he says :— "On the top of the range was a quarried block. With the chay stone found among the ruins, and supposed to be the instrument of sculpture, we *wrote our names upon it.*" The pleasure to be derived from this act was not entirely unalloyed, for he adds, we can almost fancy with a sigh of regret :— "They stand alone, and few will ever see them." We could wish that few would follow his example, in thus defacing a page in the unwritten story of the past—whether seen or unseen.

The more advanced people of America, prior to the arrival of Europeans, were living in the Bronze Age, they had not discovered the use of iron as a metal. But these blocks of stone at Copan, most of them covered with elaborate sculpture, are supposed by Stephens to have been wrought with *stone* tools; he says, "the stone of which all these altars and statues are made is a soft grit-stone from the quarries before referred to. At the quarries, we observed many blocks with hard flint-stones distributed through them, which had been rejected by the workmen after they were quarried out. The back of this monument[1] had contained two. Between the second and third tablets the flint has been picked out, and the sculpture is blurred; the other, in the last row but one from the bottom, remains untouched. An inference from this is, that the sculptor had no instruments with which he could cut so hard a stone, and, consequently, that iron was unknown. We had, of course, directed our searches and inquiries to this point, but did not find any pieces of iron *or other metal*, nor could we hear of any having ever been found there. Don Miguel had a collection of chay or flint stones, cut in the shape of arrow-heads, which he thought, and Don Miguel was no fool, were the instruments employed. They were sufficiently hard to scratch into the stone. Perhaps, by men accustomed to the use of them, the whole of these deep relief ornaments might have been scratched, but the chay stones themselves

[1] Figured to face p. 153, vol. I.

looked as if they had been cut by metal."[1] With regard to Stephens' last remark, it is possible that the smoothness of the surface of these chay tools was nothing more than what is usually produced by the process of flaking; and it would seem that the elaborately sculptured monoliths and altars of Copan were erected by a purely stone-using people. If so, it goes far to set at rest the *impossibility* of Stonehenge having been erected during the Stone Age,[2] although my own impression (from other circumstances) is that the erection of Stonehenge may be referred to an early period in the Bronze Age, perhaps to a time when the use of stone overlapped that of bronze.

## THE AVÈNUES AND CURSUS.

NEITHER Webb nor Aubrey appear to have noticed the Avenues or Cursus, and Stukeley is entitled to the credit of having discovered both;[3] they are shown in the plan of the route. The cursus situated about half-a-mile north of Stonehenge, is in length 1 mile, 5 furlongs, and 176 yards; its breadth is 110 yards. At the distance of 55 yards from the eastern end the course is rounded off, as if the horses 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 bank has been broken down by the continual passing of waggons; to this spot Dr. Stukeley supposes the northern branch of the avenue from Stonehenge pointed. The avenue extends from Stonehenge, rather more than 1700 feet in a straight line, towards the north-east. The earth removed from the ditches is thrown inward. "The two ditches continue," says Stukeley, "perfectly parallel to the bottom (of the valley), 40 cubits asunder. . . . At the 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 its 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

[1] Stephens, "Incidents of Travel in Cent. Amer., &c.," Murray, 1842, vol. i., pp. 153, 154.

[2] The "soft grit-stone" at Copan is probably less difficult to work with stone tools than the stones at Stonehenge.

[3] See Mr. Long's account, pp. 89—91.

strait line immediately, as the former, but continues curving along the bottom of the hill, till it meets, what I call, the cursus."

## WHO ERECTED STONEHENGE?

It has been suggested that Stonehenge was erected by the Belgæ, who in the time of Julius Cæsar, are known to have occupied that part of Britain in which Stonehenge is situated.

They appear to have gradually expelled the British tribes who preceded them, and constructed successive lines of defence—Combe Bank, Bokerly Ditch, and Wansdike; possibly, however, these earthworks were not intended so much for purposes of defence, as to serve for boundary lines; of these Wansdike formed (probably) the last of the Belgic boundaries. It is a magnificent earthwork, and stretched from the woodlands of Berkshire to the British Channel.

"The builders of Stonehenge," writes Dr. Thurnam, "we believe 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."[1]

Our President, Sir John Lubbock, has expressed the opinion that Stonehenge "may be regarded as a monument of the Bronze Age, apparently not all erected at one time, the inner circle[2] of small, unwrought blue stones, being, probably, older than the rest;" and that it was "used as a Temple."[3]

Now that we have seen Stonehenge, we need not fear the unlucky fate that befell "a wander witt of Wiltshire," who "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," adds the writer, "all such Æsopicall cocks, as slight these admired stones, and other our domestick monuments, and scrape for barley-cornes of vanity out of forreigne dunghills might be handled, or rather footed, as he was."[4] I will not go

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

[2] Inner circle and inner horseshoe. [3] "Pre-Historic Times," p. 116.

[4] "A Fool's Bolt soon shot at Stonage," written about 1660, and published anonymously in "Langtoft's Chronicle."

so far as to recommend this as the best method for instilling a love of local antiquities into the minds of those who have hitherto stood aloof; but such treatment is richly merited by those who, from time to time, visit Stonehenge, and chip off pieces of the stones, or otherwise deface and injure them.

Again the carriages are on the move, this time with little noise, for we are rolling along over the green carpet of Salisbury Plain.

## SALISBURY PLAIN.

YEAR after year, the turf disappears before the plough, but rather less than a century ago no signs of tillage were to be seen around Stonehenge. "The plain on which Stonehenge stands," writes the Rev. William Gilpin, "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, villages; but all around is waste. Regions like this, which have come down to us rude and untouched 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 of 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."[1]

The popular idea still agrees with that expressed long ago by Camden, that these "burrowes or barrowes" were probably thrown up in memory of soldiers slain thereabouts," and for the same reason, because "bones are found in them." Aubrey and Stukeley both held a different opinion. "At Stonehenge," says Aubrey, "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 slain herabout in Battels ; it would require a great deale of time and leisure to collect so many thousand loades of earth : and the 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." "They (the barrows) 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 of them, seems to indicate some note of difference in the persons there interred, well known in those ages." The subsequent examination of barrows in Wiltshire and elsewhere, goes to prove the soundness of these opinions. "To the sanctity attaching to Stonehenge," writes Mr. Long, "the numerous and important 'monumental hillocks' on the adjoining plain bear testimony, but no one who looked carefully at

[1] "Observations on the Western Parts of England, relative especially to Picturesque Beauty," 1798 ; quoted by Mr. Long, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., pp. 138, 139.

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."[1] It is, however, to the late Dr. Thurnam that we are chiefly indebted for the classification of our Wiltshire barrows, and of the objects found in them. His two valuable communications to the Society of Antiquaries of London, on this subject, are published,[2] but, as they may not have been read by all who have joined this Stonehenge Excursion, I have given an outline of the information contained in them.

## WILTSHIRE BARROWS.

With scarcely an exception, the barrows of our Downs are all to be regarded as pre-Roman, and may therefore be spoken of in a general way as ancient British.[3] When tested however, by their outward form and by their contents, they are divisible into two great classes; viz., Long barrows and Round barrows, of which the first-named are the earliest in time.

In no county in England are long barrows so numerous as in Wiltshire. Round barrows are commonly found to occur in groups or clusters, but long barrows stand apart and are isolated. 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 at least two or three miles apart. As a rule, long barrows occupy the highest points on the down.

Several of the clusters of round barrows near Stonehenge are grouped around a single long barrow. But this proximity is no proof that these two classes of barrows are of equal antiquity. The examination of the long barrows discloses an entirely different method of sepulture, and indicates a much earlier epoch than does that of the round barrows. As a rule, however, the long barrows stand apart from those of circular form.

[1] Wilts Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 142.

[2] "Archæologia," vol. xlii., pp. 161—244; vol. xliii., pp. 285—552.

[3] "It is further to be remarked," writes Dr. Thurnam, "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 plains around Avebury and Stonehenge, the sacred places of an elder race."—"Archæologia," vol. xliii., p. 287.

## LONG BARROWS.

THE long barrows are for the most part immense mounds. varying 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 tumulus is a somewhat deep and wide trench or ditch, see Fig. 52, from which

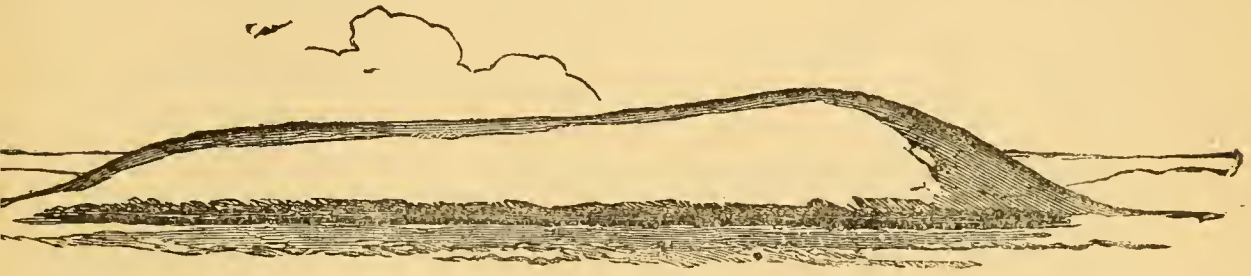


FIG. 52. A LONG BARROW (AFTER SIR R. C. HOARE.)[1]

trenches 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 presence of this feature affords an important means of distinguishing the truly ancient British long barrow from certain elongate grave-mounds of later epochs with which, judging only from a certain resemblance in their outward form, they may be confounded.[2] In by far the greater proportion of long barrows, the mound is placed east and west or nearly so, with the east end somewhat

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xlii., part 1, p. 172, Fig. 1.

[2] Oval barrows usually cover two or three interments by cremation, one near each end, and frequently a third near the middle. The accompanying objects do not differ from those to be found in round barrows, and this is the case when the interments in an oval barrow have taken place by simple inhumation. They are to be attributed to the *age of burning*, which in South-west Britain was essentially an *age of bronze*. Their erection is to be assigned to the "same people and epoch as the generality of the round barrows, and especially those of bowl form. They are, in fact, composite tumili, formed of two or three—generally three—circular grave-mounds, the whole surrounded by a slight ditch. The plan of their formation may be better comprehended by the aid of the diagrams," Figs, 53 and 54, from which it will be seen how two or three circles marked out side by side on the turf might, by the over-lapping of their edges and other manipulation, have been made to coalesce in a single tumulus of oval form. That this is no improbable view is the more evident from the consideration of the *twin* and *triple* composite barrows of bell-form, which are occasionally met with." In Figs. 53 and 54, "the dots in centre of the circles will represent so many places of primary sepulture."—Thurnam, "Archæologia," vol. xliii., pp. 296—298.

higher and broader than the other. Under this more prominent and elevated extremity, the sepulchral deposit is usually

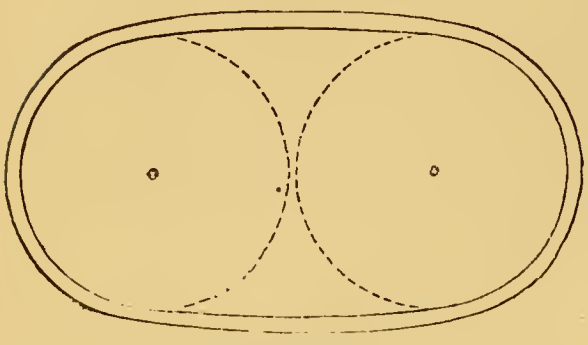


Fig. 53.

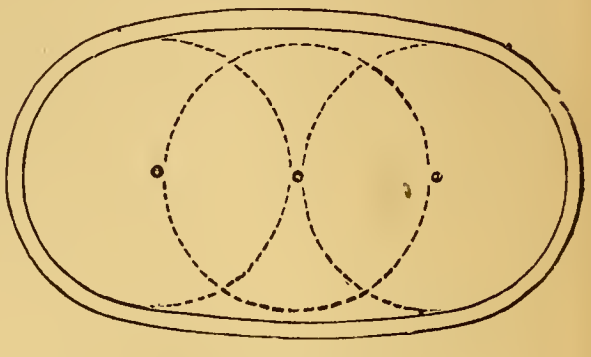


Fig. 54.

Diagrams illustrative of the formation of Oval Barrows.[1]

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 orientation, being placed pretty nearly north and south, and this is an arrangement found, by Dr. Thurnam, to obtain in about one out of six of our Wiltshire long barrows.

The position of some of the long barrows in relation to the very ancient earthworks known as Belgic dykes is indicative of the higher antiquity of the barrows. The earthwork (bank and ditch) which stretches across Salisbury Plain from north-east to south-west, and is laid down on the Ordnance maps as "Old Ditch" is especially prominent near Tilshead, about six miles to the north-west of our route, where is one of the largest of our long barrows, measuring 380 feet in length and 11 feet in height. On reaching the east end of this mound the ditch "makes a decided curve in order to avoid the tumulus," which as Sir R. C. Hoare justly observes, "is a certain proof of the superior date of the barrow."

Another example is on the southern border of Wiltshire near the villages of Martin and Tippet, where the course of a branch of Bokerly 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."

The upper strata of the long barrows of Wiltshire consist chiefly of chalk rubble and flint nodules; but these grave-mounds differ from the circular barrows around them, in having at the base, in almost all cases, a stratum of black or greyish

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 228, Figs. 4 and 5.

coloured, often unctuous, earth, in which the skeletons are found; this is probably due to the decay of the turf pared off from the site of the barrow, and from the space occupied by the lateral ditches on each side of it, and which may have been heaped over the interment, before the tumulus was raised.

*Remains of Funeral Feasts.*—Not far from the human remains, though at a somewhat higher level, but still for the most part in the stratum of black or grey earth, are often found the bones of oxen, those of the skull and feet being the portions of the skeleton most generally met with. These belong to a small short-horned species, the *Bos longifrons*. In the long barrow of Tilshead Lodge (No. 22), Dr. Thurnam found the skulls of two individuals of this species, one of which had six or seven cervical vertebræ *in situ* and entire, excepting the *atlas* and *dentata*, which were each in two pieces, cleanly cleft as if in the slaughter of the animal. In the same barrow were the *metatarsus* and *phalanges*, no doubt of the same ox, all *in situ*. In another barrow (No. 26) were part of a skull, and a great number of *metacarpi* and *metatarsi*, with every phalangal bone of the digits in place, and in several instances the carpal, tarsal, and sesamoid bones likewise. Altogether, the appearances justify the conclusion 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 to other deities. The appearances of the foot-bones, as well as those of the neck, clearly prove that the entire members, head and feet, had been cut off whilst held together by the tendons, ligaments, hoofs, and probably the skin. Antlers and bones of the red deer, as well as tusks and bones of the wild boar, trophies probably of the chase, are also found in the long barrows.

*Mode of Burial.*—The human remains belonging to the primary interments in the long barrows may be classed under two heads, according as they are the skeletons of one or at the most two bodies distinctly and separately interred, or as they are those of many bodies promiscuously piled together. As a rule, the former belong to the mounds of the less, the latter to those of the greater, elevation. In that of Winterbourne Stoke (No. 16) the single skeleton lay in the contracted posture on the right side. In that near Tilshead Lodge (No. 22) there were two skeletons lying not more than a foot apart.

The space occupied by each was so very small, that either very unusual means had been resorted to for doubling up the body, or the flesh had been suffered to decay before burial. The bones, however, were observed to be *in situ*, joint to joint, so that the ligaments at least had not separated when the bodies were deposited in their final resting place. Both skeletons lay with the head to the north, and on the right side. In the Figheldean long barrow (No. 23) the bones of a single skeleton formed a small pile, very little to the east of the centre of the mound, and in this instance they appeared to have been disarticulated by the decay of the ligaments before their final interment; the bones in many instances not retaining their proper relative position, the head of one tibia being in juxtaposition with the malleolus of the other, and *vice versa*. Much more usually, however, the human remains in the long barrows comprise numerous skeletons, which are "strangely huddled," or "thrown promiscuously together." The bones found by Dr. Thurnam in Tilshead East long barrow (No. 17) comprised the remains of eight skeletons singularly cemented together, within a space of less than four feet in diameter, and about a foot and a half in depth. So much were they mingled and so closely packed, that it is scarcely possible to regard this as the original place of burial; and it is almost certain they had experienced a prior interment, and had been removed to the spot, where they were found, after the decay of the soft parts and the separation of the bones. In the long barrow of Norton Bavant (No. 28) the pile of bones consisted of the remains of at least eighteen skeletons, which were comprised within an area of about 8 by 3 feet, and about 18 inches in depth. The idea conveyed by the exploration of this deposit is that of a prior interment. There was great commingling of the osseous remains; and it was noticed that many of the bones of the limbs were absent, judging as to their proper number from that of the skulls.

*Evidence as to Human Sacrifices.*—In a large proportion of the long barrows opened by Dr. Thurnam, many of the skulls exhumed had been cleft, apparently by some blunt weapon, such as a club or stone axe. Among the heaps of human remains Dr. Thurnam sometimes found *one* skull unmutilated, whilst all the others show marks of cleavage. From a careful examination of the fractures, it seemed evident to Dr. Thurnam that the violence was inflicted before burial, and in all

probability during life. "Such injuries," he says, "might, no doubt, occasionally occur as an accident of war; but it is scarcely possible they should have thus occurred with a frequency so great as the careful examination of these remains discloses. I hence conclude that the skeletons with cleft skulls are those of human victims immolated on the occasion of the burial of a chief. Everywhere such human sacrifices, among barbarous and half-civilised peoples, have been, and still are, common."

That traces of a kind of suttee[1] may be looked for in the earlier grave-mounds of the ancient Britons is probable, not merely from what Cæsar tells us of the immolation of slaves and dependants, but still more so from his statement that, if the circumstances of the death of a chief were suspicious, the wives were put to severe torture and killed by fire.[2]

In rare instances, in Wiltshire long barrows, cremation of an imperfect sort had been practised.

*Associated Manufactured Objects. Flint Implements.*—Very few objects of any kind have been found associated with interments in long barrows. The delicate and beautifully-chipped leaf-shaped flint arrow-head shown in Fig. 55, was obtained from the long barrow on Fyfield Hill, called the "Giant's Grave;" it was found close to one of the skulls. "As similar leaf-shaped flint arrow-heads, chipped to a great tenuity," says Dr. Thurnam, "have been found in two chambered long barrows, one in Wiltshire (Walker Hill) and one in Gloucestershire (Rodmarton), see Fig. 56, and as no barbed flint arrow-heads have so been found, I have ventured to designate this more primitive, though very delicate, form, *the long-barrow type of flint arrow-head*, it being the only description as yet found in them."

*Pottery.*—Very little pottery has been recovered from the long barrows, and that chiefly in a fragmentary state. But, "in 1866, in removing the pile of skeletons from the long barrow of Norton Bavant (No. 28)," says Dr. Thurnam, "imbedded among the human skeletons we discovered the greater part of a thin curious vase of a wide-mouthed semi-globular form, and which was capable of being partially restored, see Fig. 57. There are two ear-shaped handles pro-

[1] A wife who desired to be burned with her deceased husband was regarded as a *satî* or "good woman," and this word has passed into English as *suttee*.

[2] "Bell. Gall.," vi. 19.

FIG. 55. LEAF-SHAPED FLINT ARROW-HEAD, FOUND IN LONG BARROW, AT FYFIELD, WILTS.[1]

FIG. 56. LEAF-SHAPED FLINT ARROW-HEAD, FOUND IN CHAMBER IN LONG BARROW, AT RODMARTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.[2]

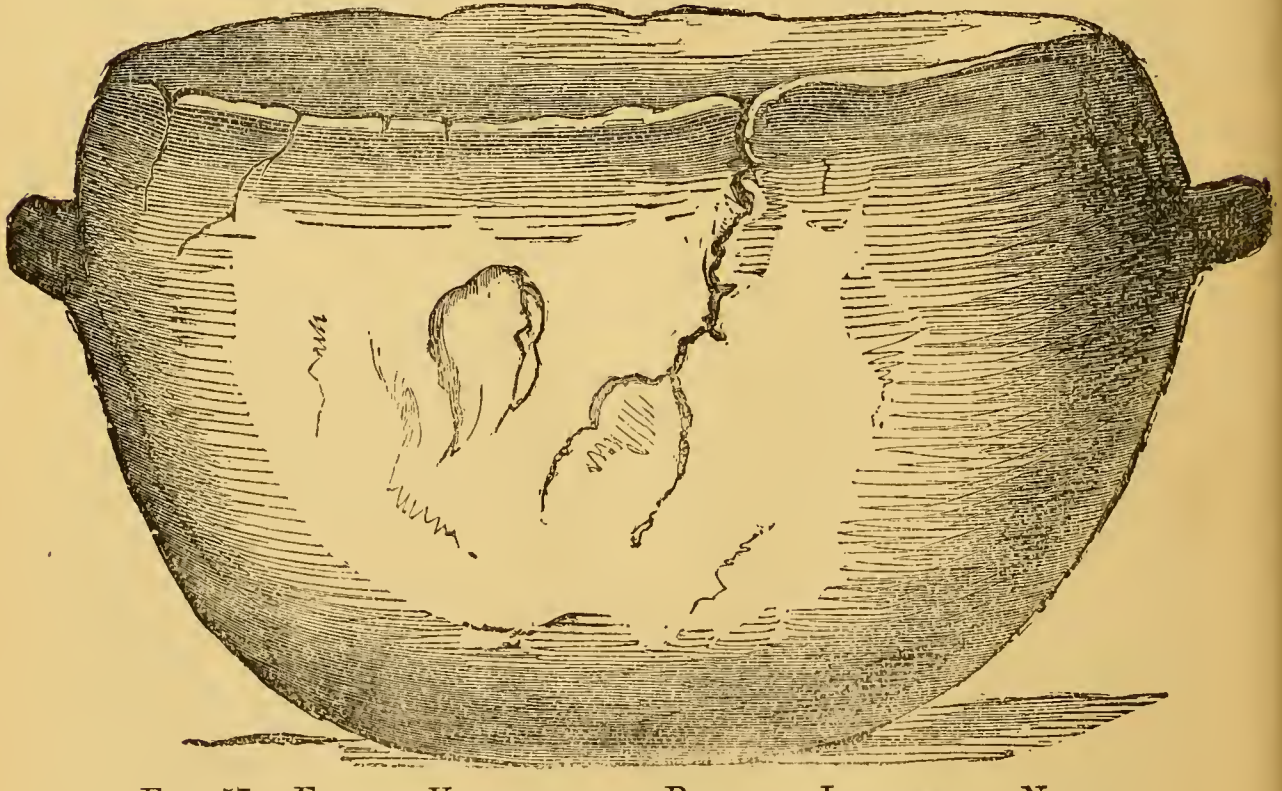


FIG. 57. FICTILE VESSEL, WITH PRIMARY INTERMENT, NORTON BAVANT LONG BARROW, WILTS.[3]

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xlii., part 1, p. 194, Fig. 3.
[2] Ibid, p. 230, Fig. 23.
[3] Ibid, p. 195, Fig. 4.

jecting from below the rim, and the vessel when complete would have held perhaps two pints." In the specimens of pottery obtained from long barrows that came under the notice of Dr. Thurnam, "there is not the slightest trace of ornamentation, either by pressure of cords or thongs, or by any other process; in this respect, the contrast being great with most of the pottery from the round barrows."

*Secondary Interments.*—The secondary interments not unfrequently met with in the upper strata, or near the summits of long barrows, are of great importance in enabling us to form an estimate of the probable relative date of these grave-mounds. The extended position of the skeleton and the character of the associated iron weapons, prove many of these secondary interments to belong to the Anglo-Saxon period. Some of the secondary interments, however, belong to the ancient British Bronze Age; the skulls of the individuals so interred are of the round type (brachycephalic), the same type as those found in the circular barrows, whereas the skulls found in the long barrows are remarkably long and narrow and are to be classed as *dolichocephalic.* 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," says Dr. Thurnam, "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."

## CHAMBERED LONG BARROWS.

Eleven Wiltshire long barrows differ from those already described in containing a chamber formed of slabs of stone, in which the interment has taken place. The absence of chambered long barrows in South Wiltshire and Dorsetshire 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 Wiltshire 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, as was to have been expected, the chambers formed of sarsen stones. The three other chambered barrows of our county lie on the oolite, and the chambers are constructed of slabs of stone derived from that formation, such as crop out upon, or near to, the surface, and could therefore be easily quarried.

Generally speaking, the chambered long barrows are not of such large dimensions as those without chambers; varying mostly from about 120 to 200 feet in length, and from 30 to 60 feet in breadth. The lateral ditches, which are so marked a feature in the unchambered long barrows, are for the most part but slightly developed in those which are chambered.

In the oolitic regions, where suitable stone is abundant, nearly all the chambered barrows are found to have been surrounded with a dwarf dry stone wall laid in horizontal courses, neatly faced on the outside, and carried up to a height of two, three, or four feet. In this way was produced a supporting wall which defined the limits of the mound, enabled entrances to be made in it, and converted it from a mere hillock into a monumental structure. Such supporting walls were used, from an early period, in the construction of the earthen tumuli of the ancient Greeks. Thus of that of Patroclus and Achilles, in the *Iliad*, it is said:—

> "They marked the boundary of the tomb with stones,
> Then filled the enclosure hastily with earth."[1]

So also among the less civilized people of Northern Europe, for we learn from *Beowulf* that the tumulus of the hero of the poem was "surrounded with a wall, in the most honourable manner that wise men could devise it."[2]

As the lateral walls of the chambered long barrows approach the broad and high end of the tumulus, they turn inwards by a bold but gradual curve; and so finally abut on the two large standing stones, which in the best marked examples of these chambers form the door jambs to the entrance, see Fig. 58.

[1] Iliad, xxiii. 255. Mr. F. A. Paley ("On Homeric Tumuli," in "Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc.," xi. 2) gives reasons for thinking that the tumulus of Patroclus and Achilles, here described, was not circular, but like our chambered long barrows, and the "ship barrows" of Scandinavia, of elongate form. See also my "Flint Chips," 385, &c.

[2] Beowulf, c. xliv.

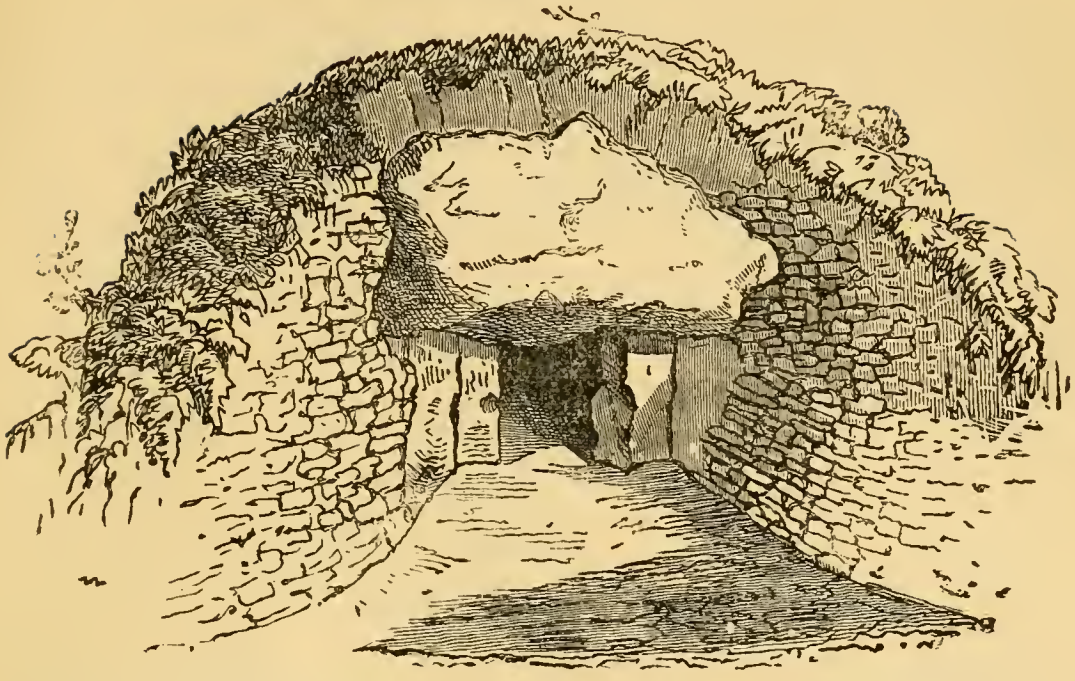


FIG. 58. ENTRANCE TO CHAMBERS IN LONG BARROW AT ULEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.[1]

The gracefully rounded double-convex curve of the walling in this situation has not inaptly been compared to "the top of the figure of the ace of hearts in a pack of cards."

On the Chalk Downs of North Wiltshire, where the sarsen blocks, of which the chambers are formed, are common on the surface, the base of the barrow has in several instances been surrounded by a series of such stones placed erect at regular intervals.

The chambered long barrows present three principal types, as regards their internal construction :—

. *a* Chambers opening into a Central Gallery.
*b* Chambers opening externally.
*c* Cists in place of Chambers.

Of the finest examples of the first class (*a*), the entrance to the avenue is, or was, by a well-built doorway, formed of two standing stones and a third stone laid transversely upon them, see Fig. 58, which three stones (*trilithon*) are, for the most part, of larger and more massive proportions than any of the others entering into the composition of the chambers. This doorway is found several feet within the skirt or general base-line of the tumulus, and fills up the bottom of the doubly-recurved, heart-shaped dry-walling already described. The entrance,

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xlii., part 1, p. 213, Fig. 9.

varying from two and a half to four feet in height, was closed by a large stone on the outside, which could be rolled away as required, and was itself covered up with the rubble-stone and earth of which the barrow was formed. The roofing of the central gallery, as well as of the chamber or chambers, was formed of large blocks of stone laid across, and resting upon, the side walls. Sometimes, however, the principle of the horizontal arch was resorted to.

In the second class of the chambered barrows of this part of England (b) there is no central gallery, but side-chambers, which open outwards, near the base of the barrow, though at some distance within the inclosing wall. These side-chambers are generally in pairs, the one nearly opposite the other, not far from the broad end, and near what may be called the shoulders of the barrow. Access to the internal chambers now under consideration was given by short and narrow passages formed of standing and horizontal stones; or more frequently by a mere continuation of the inclosing wall of the mound. These chambers or vaults are generally of a nearly square form. They are closed in front by two upright stones, naturally hollowed in the middle, so as, when placed side by side, to leave a sort of port-hole, through which the tomb might be entered in the creeping posture, see Fig. 59. The stones forming the opening were covered on the outside with large stones and these again by stone rubble, all of which had to be removed before the chamber could be re-entered, from time to time, when fresh interments took place.

The third type (*c*) can only be classed as chambered from their close relationship, and clearly contemporary origin, to those of groups *a* and *b*. Instead of chambers, properly so termed, they contain graves built up with stone slabs.

*Monoliths or Triliths at the Broad End of Chambered Barrows.*—In two of the classes *(b* and *c)* of chambered barrows, the inclosing wall, as in class *a*, curves inwards at the broad end of the tumulus, in a kind of ace-of-hearts form. But at the spot where the curve ends, in place of an entrance, are to be found large stones placed in various fashions. Sometimes a monolith, sometimes two standing stones with a third resting against, or it may be wedged in between them. In the fine chambered tumulus at Ablington (No. 18) there is a double or concentric range of dry walling inclosing the base, which, at the broad end, makes the usual double curve inwards. Exactly at

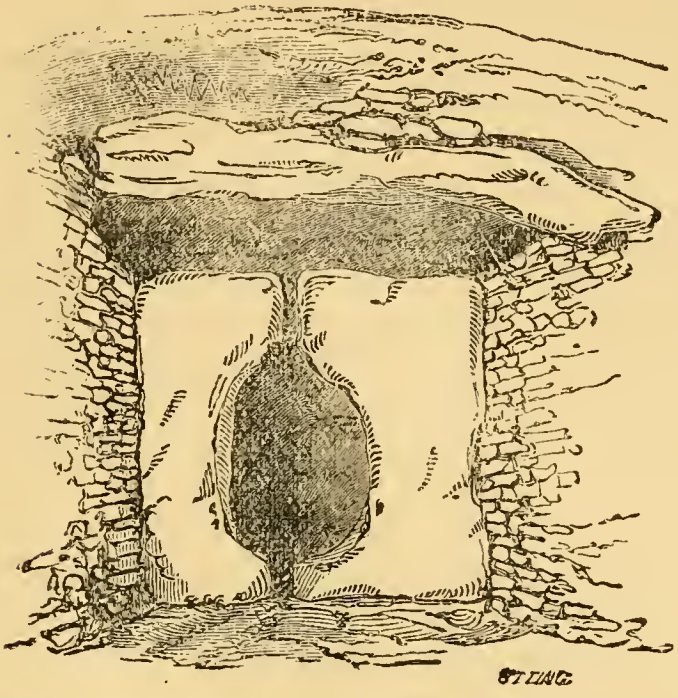


FIG. 59. TOLMEN ENTRANCE TO CHAMBER ON THE NORTH SIDE OF LONG BARROW AT RODMARTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.[1]

the point where these curves meet there is a large upright oval stone, six feet high and five wide, the bottom of which rests in the (natural) perforation of a second block,[2] by means of this support the monolith is steadied and kept in place, see Fig. 60. It would be idle to suppose that no symbolical

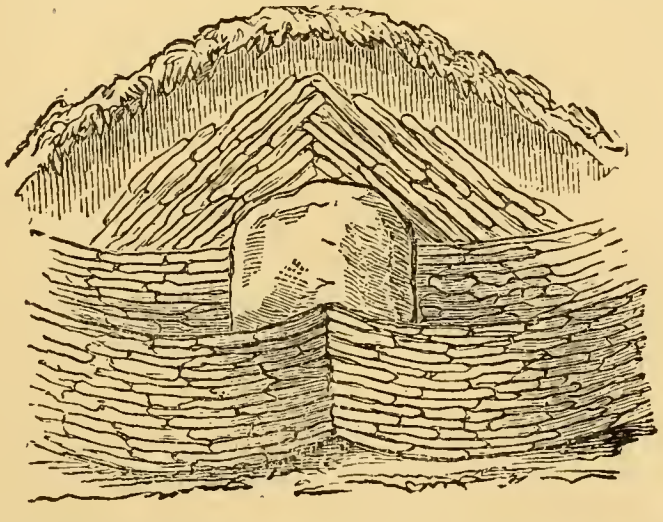


FIG. 60. MONOLITH, HEART-SHAPED CURVES OF DOUBLE WALLING, AND PYRAMIDAL PILING IN LONG BARROW, AT ABLINGTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.[3]

[1] "Archæologia,", vol. xlii., part 1, p. 217, Fig. 12.
[2] Such naturally perforated stones are often to be found in the Cotteswolds.
[3] "Archæologia," vol. xlii., part 1, p. 219, Fig. 13.

meaning was intended to be conveyed by this associated position of the monolith and tolmen. In some instances, a monolith was placed on the exterior of the mound, thus on the broad end of the long barrow at Gatcombe, Gloucestershire, is a massive monolith, called "Tingle Stone," and other examples are known. Monoliths, answering to these, were placed upon ancient tumuli in the Troad.[1] Some writers have supposed that these monoliths were intended only to render the tumulus a more conspicuous object, but this opinion does not explain the presence of monoliths and trilithons *within* the tumulus, where they would be completely hidden from the eye. On the other hand, if we attribute a symbolical and superstitious meaning to the monoliths present upon, and in, tumuli—as well as at Stonehenge, then we are in a position to understand why such stones were objects of worship. Long after the introduction of Christianity, the common people still regarded as sacred certain fountains, trees, and *stones*, and continued to visit them on certain days, and under particular circumstances.

Stones are mentioned in the decrees of various councils of Anglo-Saxon times, so late even as those of Edgar and Cnut, in whose laws such practices are denounced. "Heathenism," say the laws of Cnut, "is that men worship idols, and the sun or the moon, or rivers, fountains, or *stones* of any kind." St. Eligius (St. Eloy) in preaching to the Franks, early in the seventh century, said, "Let no Christian presume to carry lights or oblations to temples, or to *stones*, or to fountains, or to trees, or to cross roads." Some, at least, of the stones referred to, were, doubtless, the monoliths, triliths, stone

[1] The tumuli in the Troad, like our Wiltshire long barrows, are placed on commanding positions, and with the design of making the barrow a landmark. This idea is shown in Hector's challenge (Iliad, vii., 84—90) to some one of the Greeks to meet him in single combat. If Hector should prove victorious he undertakes to give back the body of the deceased to the Greeks, so that they may make for him a tumulus on the shores of the Hellespont, and that some one may say in times long afterwards, as he sails on the sea, "Yonder is the mound of some man who died long ago, and who was slain by Hector when he was showing valour in the fight." But this design of making the barrow a landmark was further carried out by placing a stone pillar on it. This is called στήλη, and is often mentioned. It was sometimes of large size, for we read (Iliad, xi., 370) that Paris, who was skilled in archery, takes his position behind the στήλη on the barrow of Ilus, and shoots at Diomede, wounding him in the foot. It was therefore of sufficient size to conceal the archer, and it is termed his λόχος, or place of ambuscade. See Paley, "On Homeric Tumuli" in "Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc.," vol. xi., part 2.

circles, and cromlechs of hoar antiquity, which had never ceased to attract devotees. They seem to be unequivocally indicated in a decree of a council held at Nantes, in Brittany —a country in which monuments of this sort are so common. By the 20th canon of this council, the "*stones* which are venerated in ruinous places and in the forests" are ordered to be dug up and thrown into such a place as to be concealed altogether from those who worshipped them.

Returning to our own country, it may be remarked that such monoliths as the "Hoar Stone" at Duntesbourne Abbot's (Gloucestershire), and the "Tingle Stone" at Gatcombe, and such a trilith as the "Three Stones" at Littleton Drew, distinguished, as they all are, by their position on conspicuous long barrows, are monuments which on many grounds must have been attractive to a superstitious and half-heathen people.

In illustration of this last remark, I may here refer to an ancient standing-stone, or menhir, called "Long Stone," in the parish of Minchin Hampton, Gloucestershire. It is seven or eight feet in height, and stands on a slight elevation, the remains, Dr. Thurnam thinks, of one of the chambered long barrows common in this part of Gloucestershire. Near the bottom of the stone is a natural perforation, through which, not many years since, children, brought from a considerable distance for the purpose, used to be passed for the cure and prevention of disease, and in particular for the relief of whooping-cough and measles. The stone in fact is a holed stone, a *men-an-tol* or *tolmen*, like those so called in Cornwall, which are resorted to by the peasantry for similar superstitious purposes.[1]

To my mind, the weight of evidence is very much in favour of the supposition that monoliths and trilithons were placed in, and upon tumuli—and constitute the temple at Stonehenge—*because* they possessed a symbolical meaning.

[1] Natural chasms in rocks or holes in the earth, of unknown origin, have been regarded as emblems of the celestial mother. There is much curious information on this subject in Godfrey Higgins' "Anacalypsis," where we are told that the early Christian preachers found the custom in Yorkshire, and tried to abolish it by cursing the sacred chasms, and naming them Cunni Diaboli. Lysons, in "Our British Ancestors," also gives some interesting observations on perforated stone entrances to chambered tumuli, &c., and quotes from a "Journey to the East," by Miss Ellwood, as follows :- "There is a sacred perforated stone at Malabar, through which penitents squeezed themselves in order to obtain a remission of their sins."

Nearly every one has his theory about Stonehenge—this is my theory, and it seems to me to receive strong confirmation from the discoveries made in the chambered long barrows of this district.

*Mode of Burial in Chambered Long Barrows.*—The method of burial in chambered tumuli is by the inhumation of the entire body, to the exclusion, almost absolute, of cremation.

The bodies had in general been placed round the sides of the chamber, in a sitting or crouching posture, or otherwise reclining in the same contracted position on the floor. In the chamber at Rodmarton there were the remains of as many as thirteen bodies, and in others there were from three to fourteen.

*Cleft Skulls.*—"In the year 1855," says Dr. Thurnam, "in one of the cists of the chambered barrow at Littleton Drew, I first observed portions of a skull of which the fractured edges were very sharp, suggesting the idea of having been cleft during life. Such cleft skulls have since been met with in the majority of the long barrows, both chambered and unchambered, which I have had the opportunity of examining." Leaf-shaped arrow-heads of flint, of delicate proportions and workmanship, of the type shown in Figs. 55 and 56, were met with in the undisturbed chamber at Rodmarton. It is curious that, in every instance, the points of these arrow heads were broken off when found.

## ROUND BARROWS.

The great majority of the ancient sepulchral tumuli of Wiltshire, as of the rest of England, belong to the class of Round Barrows. Most of these, there is reason to believe, belong to a period anterior to the firm establishment of the Roman power in Britain, about the last third of the first century of our era. It seems probable that it was not the usual practice of the Saxon-conquerors of Wessex to raise tumuli over their dead. In the true ancient British (or pre-Roman) tumuli of Wiltshire we have not to do with objects of iron, only with those of bronze and stone. Dr. Thurnam has divided round barrows into the following classes :—

1. Bowl-shaped Barrows.
2. Bell-shaped Barrows.
3. Disc-shaped Barrows.

1. The Bowl-shaped Barrow, see Fig. 61, is the simplest

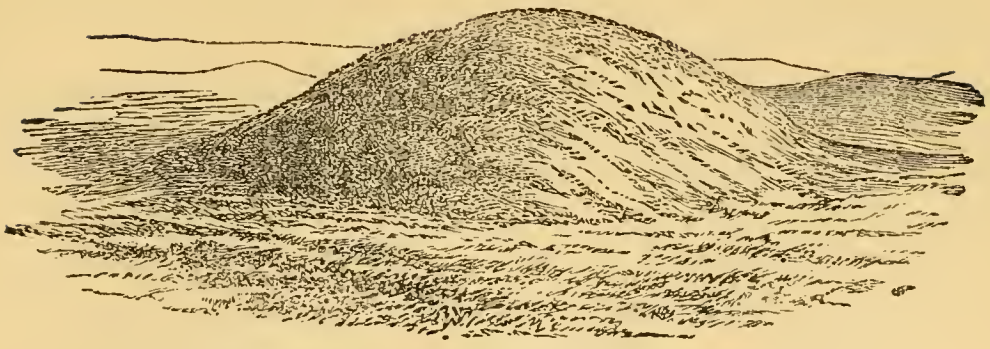


FIG. 61. BOWL-SHAPED BARROW.[1]

form of tumulus, and that most frequently met with. In height they vary from three to five feet. In diameter, the usual limits are between twenty and sixty feet, though in rare instances one hundred feet are reached and even exceeded.

2. The Bell-shaped Barrow, see Fig. 62, is an elegant form

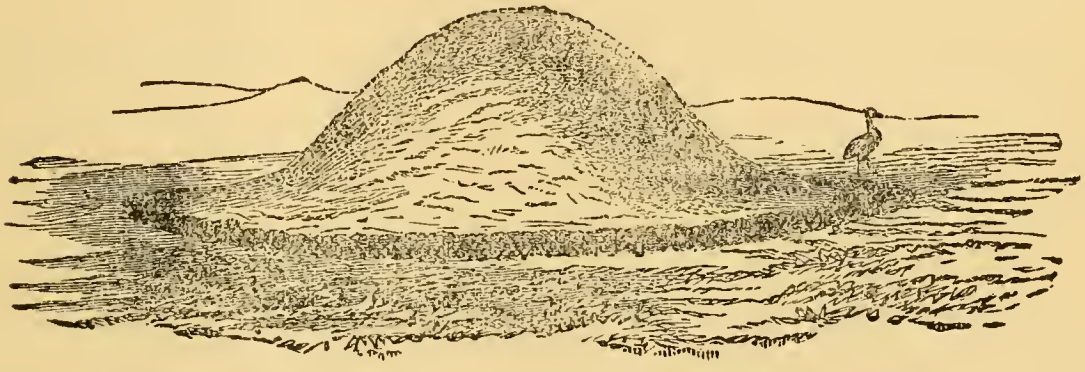


FIG. 62. BELL-SHAPED BARROW.[2]

of tumulus. 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 platform stands the tumulus, which is usually of greater size than the bowl-shaped barrow, and varies from about five to fifteen feet in elevation. It is likewise steeper in proportion to its size, and is consequently more conical in outline.

Many of the bell-shaped barrows have a diameter approaching to one hundred feet, which it may be remembered is that of the outer circle of stones at Stonehenge, but not a few considerably exceed this dimension. The bell-shaped barrow is by far more numerous and of more beautiful form in Wiltshire,

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 290, Fig. 1.
[2] Ibid, p. 292, Fig. 2.

and especially on the plain around Stonehenge, than in any other part of England.

In both bowl-shaped and bell-shaped barrows (primary) interments by simple inhumation and by cremation have taken place, in the proportion of one of the former to three of the latter.

3. The disc-shaped Barrow, see Fig. 63, is so named, by

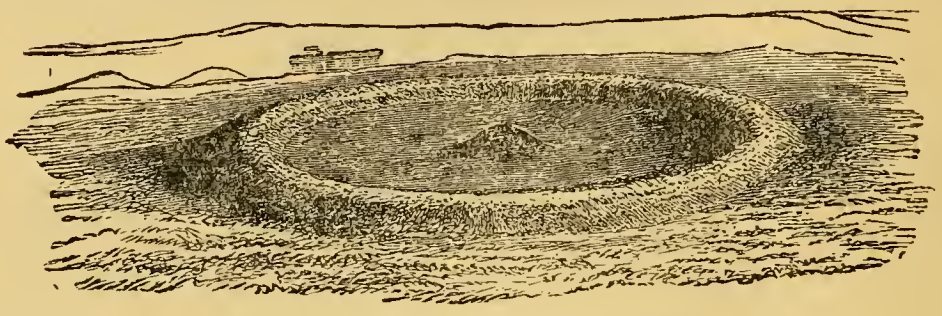


Fig. 63. Disc-shaped Barrow.[1]

Dr. Thurnam, from its resemblance to a circular flat dish surrounded by a deep rim. This form of tumulus consists of a circular area, on the same level as the surrounding turf, generally ahout one hundred feet in diameter, though sometimes much less, and sometimes nearly double the size. The inclosed area is surrounded by a ditch with a bank on the outside, both very regularly formed. In the centre there is usually a small mound of slight elevation, not more than one foot in height; sometimes there are two, or even three, such mounds, corresponding to so many sepulchral deposits. So insignificant are these central mounds that they are scarcely recognised as tumuli by the casual observer. The disc-shaped, like the bell-shaped, barrows are more common around Stonehenge than in any other part of Wiltshire, and in other parts of England are of very infrequent occurrence. We shall pass between two very good examples of the disc-shaped barrow about mid-way between Stonehenge and the "Druid's Head."

In three instances, Stukeley shows that a Roman road passes across or encroaches upon a disc-shaped barrow, proving that the barrow was pre-Roman. Stukeley's accuracy in this statement may be still verified in the case of one, if not two, barrows at Woodyates, Dorset, and in that of another near Beckhampton, North Wilts; but all trace of that on the line of the Roman road, near West Kennet, to which he refers, is now obliterated. The proof thus afforded of the prior date of

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 293, Fig. 3.

the tumuli is the more important, as of all forms of British barrows the disc-shaped is probably the latest.

Almost without exception the interments in disc-shaped barrows have taken place by cremation, the ashes being deposited in small dished graves scooped out in the chalk rock. From the profusion of ornaments of amber, glass, and jet, as well as the small size of the bronze blades found in disc-shaped barrows, it is supposed that they were the burial-places of women.

## METHODS OF INTERMENT IN ROUND BARROWS.

The Wiltshire barrows are constructed from the materials at hand—vegetable mould, chalk, and flints. The smaller barrows are generally formed of chalk, mould, and turf only. The larger ones have usually a stratum of chalk and one of mould at the base; above this a greater or less pile of flint nodules, at times of sarsen stones, and then a stratum of chalk, often several feet in thickness.

Generally speaking, the primary interments, those over which the barrows were originally raised, were placed in the centre, either on the natural level, or in graves excavated to a greater or less depth in the chalk below. The interments in Wiltshire round barrows have taken place both by cremation and by simple inhumation, in the proportion of about three of the former to one of the latter. In Dorsetshire, the interments by cremation are in still greater excess over those by inhumation; whilst in Yorkshire the proportions are nearly equal; although the excess is on the other side. Possibly, burial by simple inhumation may have been the more ancient method, but many observations show that the two practices must often have been strictly contemporary.

*Interments by Simple Inhumation.*—As a rule the body was placed on the natural level of the ground, or in a shallow grave, formed by peeling-off the turf and scooping out the surface of the chalk to the depth of a few inches, or at the most a foot. In some instances this grave, or "cist" is as deep as from six to ten feet, see Fig. 64. For the most part, the corpse was interred without the use of any kind of coffin. The body was often protected by a pile of flints, or as in the barrow at East Kennet, near Avebury, Wilts, by blocks of sarsen stone of considerable size, see Fig. 65.

*Contracted Posture of Skeletons.*—In Wiltshire round bar-

rows of the ancient British period, 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, as shown in Figs. 64 and 65. According to some writers,

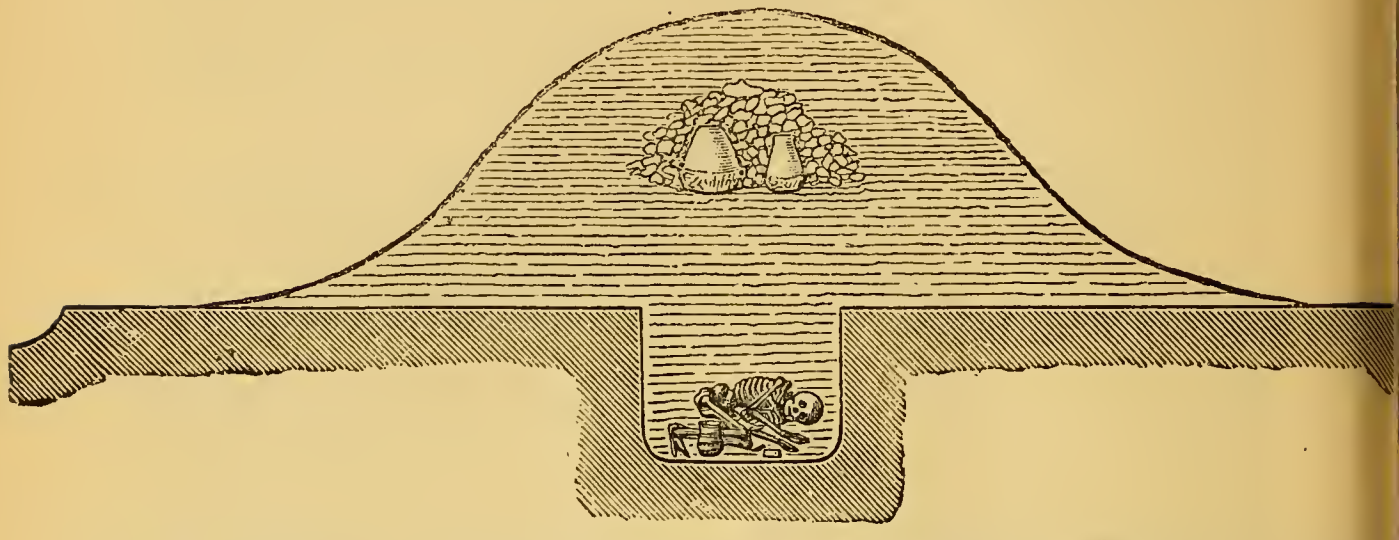


FIG. 64. SECTION OF BELL-SHAPED BARROW, AT WINTERSLOW, WILTS, WITH GRAVE FOUR FEET DEEP, AND SECONDARY BURNT INTERMENTS IN URNS INVERTED.[1]

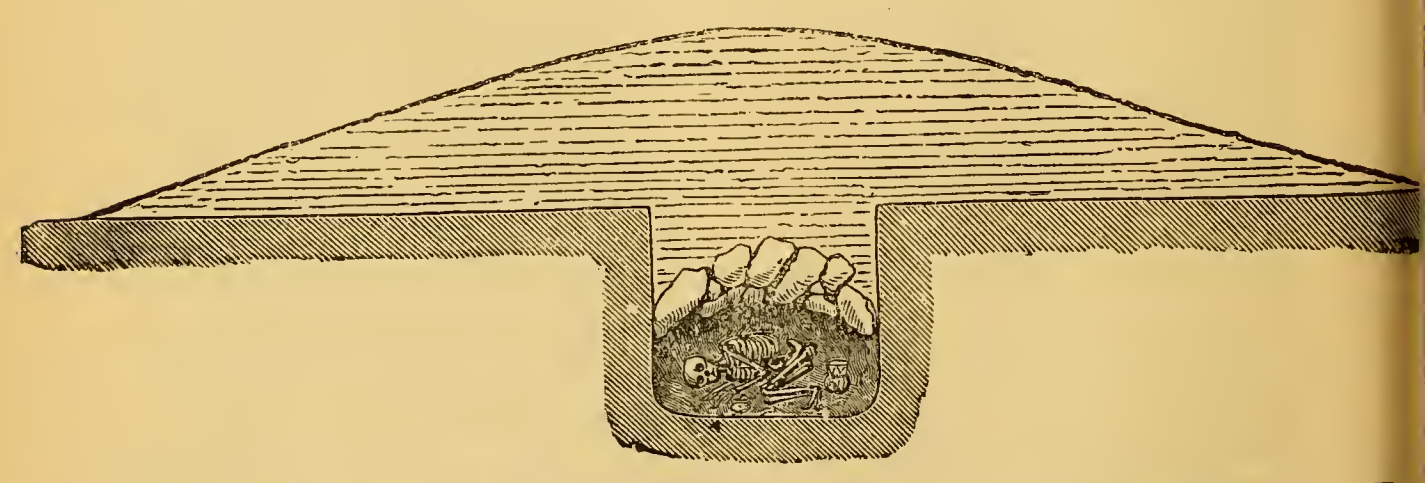


FIG. 65. SECTION OF BOWL-SHAPED BARROW, WITH GRAVE FIVE FEET DEEP, AT EAS KENNET, NEAR AVEBURY, WILTS.[2]

this doubled-up posture is regarded as none other than that of the unborn infant, which was imposed upon the dead, when about to re-enter the bosom of the universal mother. In fact, it has been held to have been symbolical of a belief, not only in a life to come, but likewise in that of the resurrection of the body.

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 322, Fig. 10.
[2] Ibid, vol. xliii., part 2, p. 315, Fig. 6.

In other parts of England the extended posture of the skeleton is very rarely found. According to Dr. Thurnam, Canon Greenwell met with but a single instance out of the large number of barrows he has opened. In 1849, Mr. Ruddock opened a large barrow near Cawthorn Camps, N. R. Yorkshire, in which were two skeletons extended side by side at the bottom of a grave eleven feet deep, see Fig. 66.

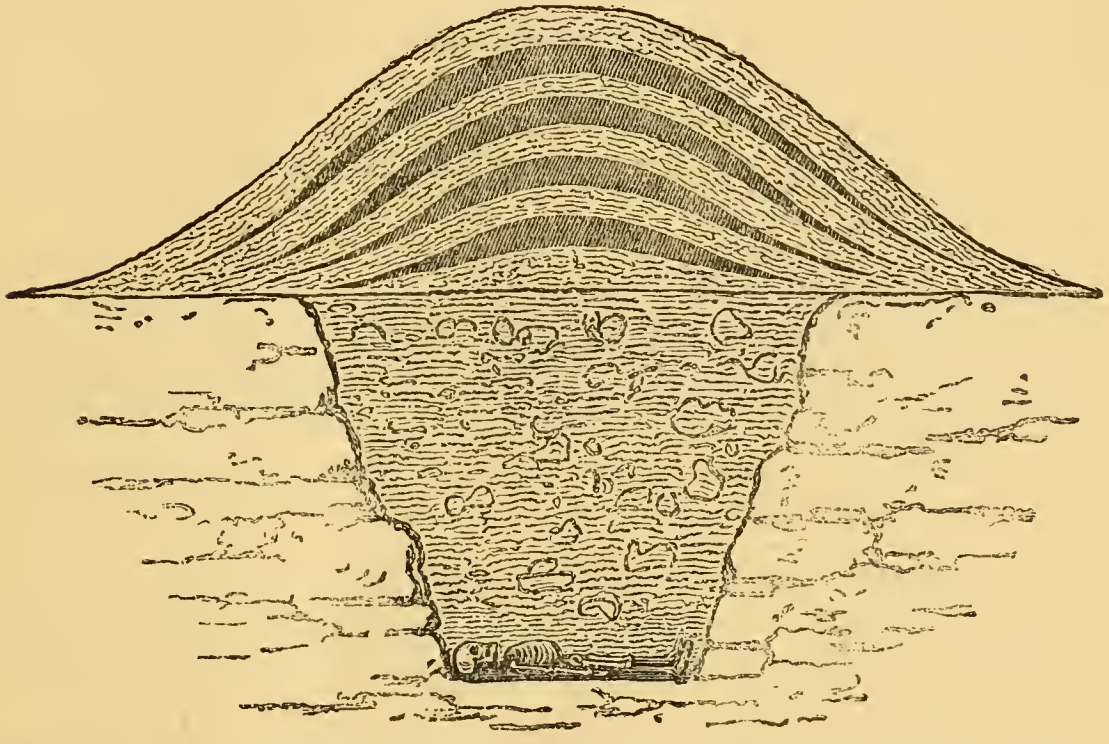


FIG. 66. SECTION OF BOWL-SHAPED BARROW NEAR CAWTHORN CAMPS, N. R. YORKSHIRE, WITH STRATA OF BURNT CLAY, GRAVE ELEVEN FEET DEEP, AND TWO SKELETONS EXTENDED.[1]

*Austral Aspect of Skeletons.*—The ancient Britons of this district deposited the body, for the most part, in the meridian line, with the head to the north, and consequently with a south aspect. Some few instances are recorded in which the head was placed to the east, south-east, and south-west, but in no instance has the head been found directed to the south, and the aspect, therefore, boreal.[2] The deviations from a southern aspect are more frequent towards the west than towards the east; pointing probably to the greater number of deaths in winter, when the sunrise is to the south of east. Interments with the head to the west, or orientated as in most Christian burials are very rare.

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 319, Fig. 8.

[2] The boreal aspect was the favorite one with the Pagan Anglo-Saxons, in later times.

*Interments by Cremation.*—When cremation was practised, the barrow was seldom raised upon the site of the funeral pile; it is probable that the rite of cremation was at times performed at a distance, and the incinerated remains alone brought for interment to the place of burial, say some hallowed spot, like the neighbourhood of Stonehenge. When not collected into an urn, the burned bones (carefully separated from the wood ashes) seem to have been wrapped in skins or some kind of cloth, before they were deposited in the shallow grave or "cist." This "cist" was scooped out of the chalk, to a depth frequently of no more than a few inches, or, perhaps, one or two feet, see Fig. 67; though sometimes they were sunk to a greater depth.

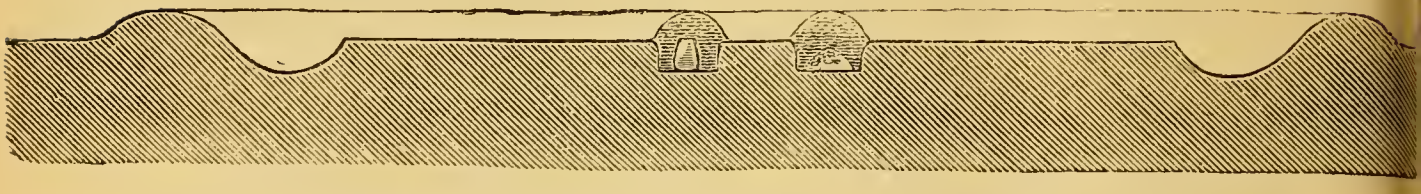


Fig. 67. Section of Disc-shaped Barrow at Winterbourne Stoke, Wilts, with Burnt Bones and Urn in Shallow Graves.[1]

*Urn Burial.*—In Wiltshire, the Ancient Britons, more frequently collected the burnt bones into cinerary urns, in the proportion of three to one. In Dorsetshire, this proportion is almost exactly reversed.

The urns were sometimes placed upright, at others in an inverted position, as shown in the secondary interments in Fig. 64, the inverted is the more usual position; urns of large size are almost invariably found inverted. The mouths of the urns are sometimes stopped with unburnt clay, firmly rammed in, or their contents are secured with closely packed flints. Sometimes the mouth of the urn was covered by a large flat stone. Very commonly, the urn, when deposited, was protected by being inclosed in a heaped-up pile of flints.

*Objects Deposited with the Dead.*—These consist of fictile vessels, implements and weapons of bone, stone, and bronze, personal ornaments, and the remains of animals. Our knowledge of the pottery of the ancient Britons is founded on the numerous examples obtained from the barrows. It is all more or less rude, formed of clay mixed with minute pebbles, with fragments of broken flint, or sometimes with pounded chalk or

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 325, Fig. 11.

shells. For the finer vessels, the clay has been tempered with grit or sharp sand. All seems to have been hand-made, there is no evidence of the use of the potter's wheel. The firing of most of this pottery has been very imperfect; it was probably first partly dried by exposure to the air, and then baked in the ashes of a fire lighted over and around it.[1] Some of the finer vessels may have been more carefully fired in a rude kiln of piled-up stones.

The surface ornamentation of our British pottery has been variously produced. In some instances the pattern was produced by the tip of the thumb of the potter—the impress of which and of the thumb-nail are plainly to be seen. Sometimes the pattern is due to the impress of a twisted cord. Much of the ornamentation has been accomplished by means of some pointed instrument, probably of wood or bone. Again, in the finer vessels, the ornament is entirely of a stippled or punctured nature, made with a fine pin, or with many pins inserted comb-fashion in the edge of a stick, perhaps even by means of a comb-like instrument such as that used by savages in tattooing. The patterns are chiefly such as can be produced by combinations of straight lines. Circles and animal forms are not found in the decorations of ancient British pottery, but curved lines and what may be imitations of vegetable foliage are met with in rare cases.

The true cinerary urn was probably made to contain ashes, and the "incense-cup" may likewise have been usually designed for funereal rites, both must be regarded as forms of sepulchral pottery. The decorated food-vessel and drinking-cup, though made for the living, were habitually buried with the dead, and hence pass over into the sepulchral class.

*Cinerary Urns.*—These are of every size, from the capacity of less than a pint to that of more than a bushel. Those from nine to ten inches in height are medium sized, those from one foot to fifteen inches are large, and above this height they are exceptionally large, and very rare. The largest urn, hitherto found in Wiltshire,[2] is barrel-shaped, and measures over twenty-four inches in height, see Fig. 68. It is preserved in the Blackmore Collection, at Salisbury, and was exhumed from a barrow

[1] The notorious "Flint Jack" invariably *fired* his "British Urns!" in this manner. The native American method is similar.

[2] Thurnam, "Anc. Brit. Barrows," in "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 344, 353, Fig. 28.

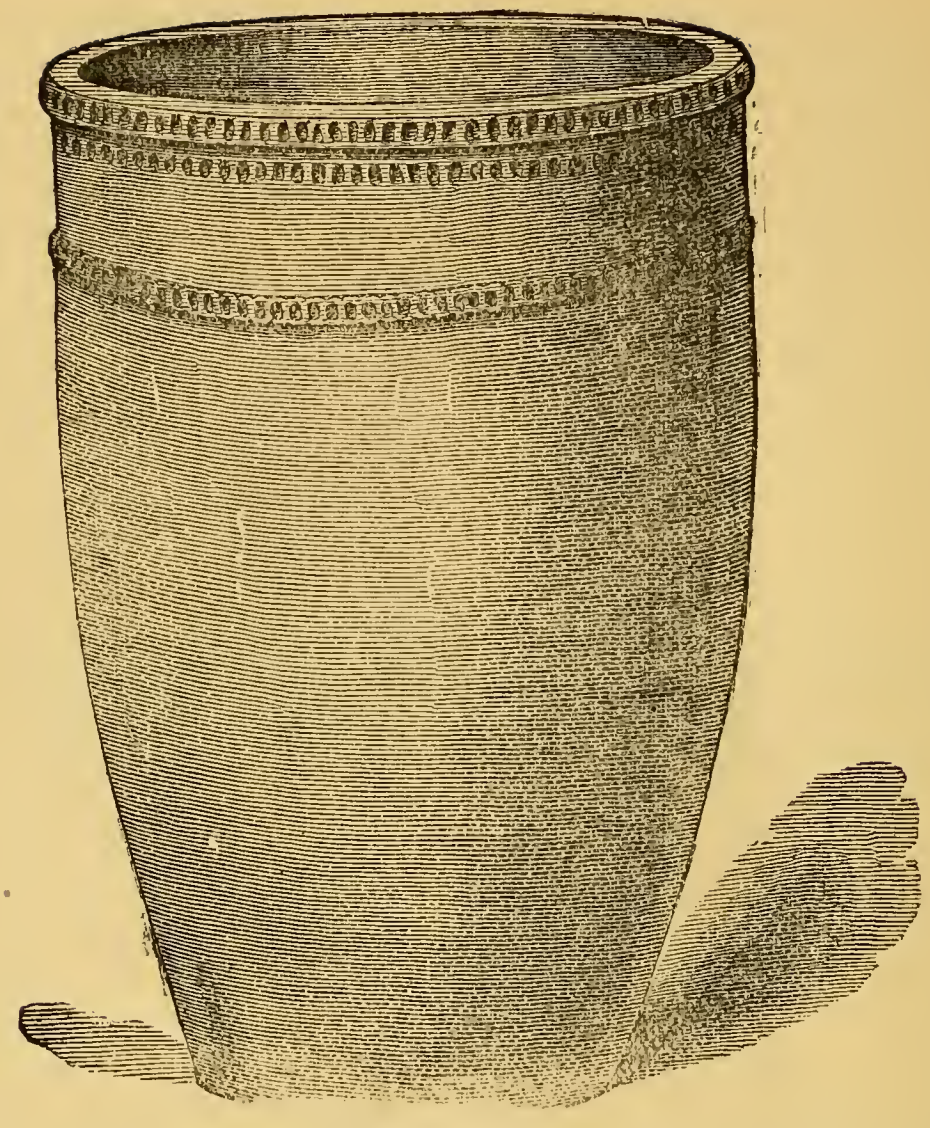


Fig. 68. Urn from Bowl-shaped Barrow at Bishopston, Wilts. Height 24½ inches.[1]

at Bishopston by Mr. F. Sidford, Dr. Blackmore, and myself, in 1867. The barrow was probably never of any great height, and the plough had nearly reduced it to the level of the surrounding soil; at length the plough-share struck the urn, fortunately without doing much mischief. Mr. Sidford is a staunch archæologist, and instead of breaking-up the vessel, in order to see whether it was brittle, a mode of proceeding by no means unusual, he left things as they were, and rode into Salisbury to secure our help; the result is that the largest urn at present found in Wiltshire has escaped destruction. The decoration of this urn is of the "thumb-nail" kind. Nearly

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 350, Fig. 28.

all the surface soil, which may at one time have coated this barrow had been removed by the plough, it resembled a heap of flints ready to lay upon a road, for they were not unworked nodules—all had been flaked, and they may have been intended to serve as a kind of relieving arch over the interment, such as that formed of sarsen blocks shown in Fig. 65. On removing the flints, we find that the urn had been placed in a shallow "cist" scooped out in the chalk; the natural surface of the chalk was sloping, so that the cist was not a hole, but formed a crescent-shaped protecting-wall around the urn, which was inverted over a large quantity of ashes, burnt almost to a powder, no objects were found associated with the interment. Barrel-shaped urns, although rather common in the barrows of Dorset, are rare in those of Wiltshire, only one, from a barrow within a third of a mile of Stonehenge, is figured by Sir Richard Hoare. It is the largest obtained by him entire, and measures over twenty-two inches in height.

Cinerary urns have been divided by Dr. Thurnam[1] into the following classes:—

*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.

Of These *a* are the most common. A cinerary urn found at Bulford, Wilts, is shown in Fig. 69. Some of the cinerary urns have cracked, perhaps in making, and occasionally neatly-bored holes occur on each side of the crack, evidently to admit of the passage of a thong or cord, by means of which the vessel might be held together.

*Incense Cups.*—The small fictile vessels, first named "Incense Cups" by Hoare, are a rather frequent accompaniment of interments after cremation. They are much less common in the barrows of Dorset than in those of Wiltshire. They seldom exceed two inches in height; their capacity ranging from about the twelfth to the fourth of a pint. The variety in form is very great. Dr. Thurnam has divided them in three principal classes.

*a.* The Simple Cup.
*b.* The Contracted Cup.
*c.* The Expanded Cup.

[1] "Anc. Brit. Barrows," *l.c.*, pp. 345—357.

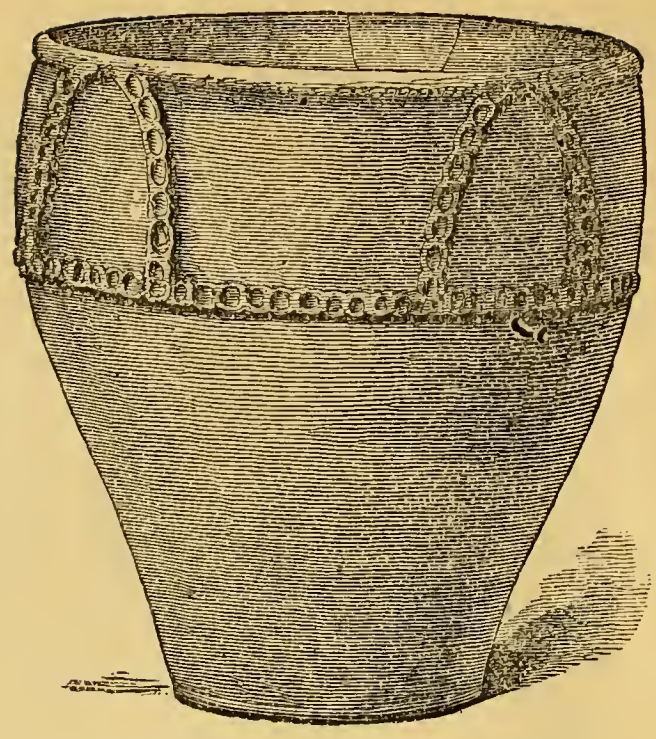


FIG. 69. URN FROM BULFORD, WILTS. HEIGHT 12½ INCHES.[1]

and he again subdivides these three classes.[2] Examples of the "Expanded Cup" are confined to the barrows of the south-west of England, and almost to Wiltshire; even there it is of rare occurrence, no more than five examples being known.

A very large proportion of these little vessels are pierced on one side only with two holes, from half an inch to two inches apart. It may be that a thong or string was intended to be passed through these holes, which would thus form a loop, and enable the vessel to be carried in the hand. In rare examples, these vessels have been provided with holes on *both* sides, the use of two thongs, one on either side, would have served more completely to keep the vessel upright when carried, the two loops in such a case would serve the purpose of the cross-handles to a basket.

A variety of the "Expanded Cup" has been named, by Dr. Thurnam, the "Basket Cup;" in these the sides are open and resemble basket-work. The best example of this variety is from Wiltshire, and is shown in Fig. 70. It was obtained, by the late Mr. Albert Way, from a tumulus at Bulford, four miles from Stonehenge.

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 350, Fig. 27.
[2] *l.c.* pp. 359—377.

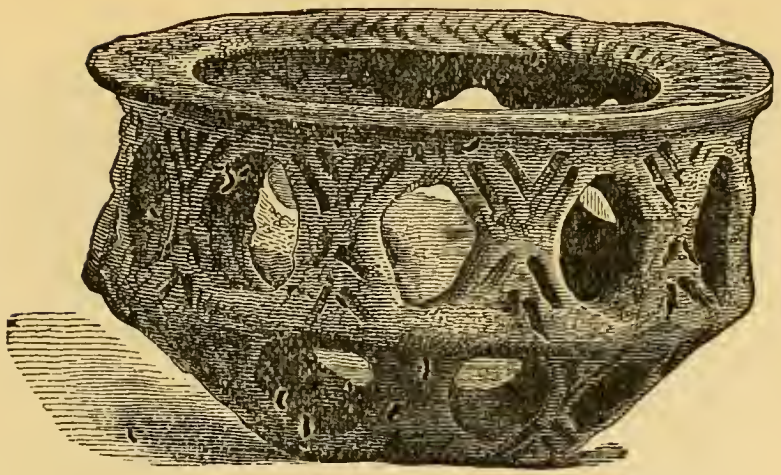


FIG 70. INCENSE CUP FROM BULFORD, WILTS.[1] $\frac{2}{3}$.

*Food Vessels.*—This form of fictile vessel is found with both burnt and unburnt bodies. Dr. Thurnam distinguishes four varieties of Food Vessels :—

*a.* Undecorated Urn-shaped.
*b.* Partially decorated Urn-shaped.
*c.* Decorated Bowl-shaped.
*d.* Decorated shallow Bowl-shaped.

Food vessels are rare in the barrows of Wiltshire and the South of England, there are no examples in the Stourhead Museum; but they become common as we go northwards, and in the barrows of Derbyshire and Staffordshire they are of frequent occurrence, and are still more so in Yorkshire. In Scotland they are likewise common, but are commonest of all in Ireland.

Food vessels, as well as "drinking cups," are generally found upright; they have probably contained food and drink placed in the tomb as offerings.

*Drinking Cups.*—The most handsome of the fictile vessels of the Ancient Britons 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 general capacity is from two to three pints, though a few contain less than one, and others as much as four pints.

Drinking cups are the accompaniment of unburnt bodies, and were placed in the grave near the head, or, more frequently

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 366, Fig. 50.

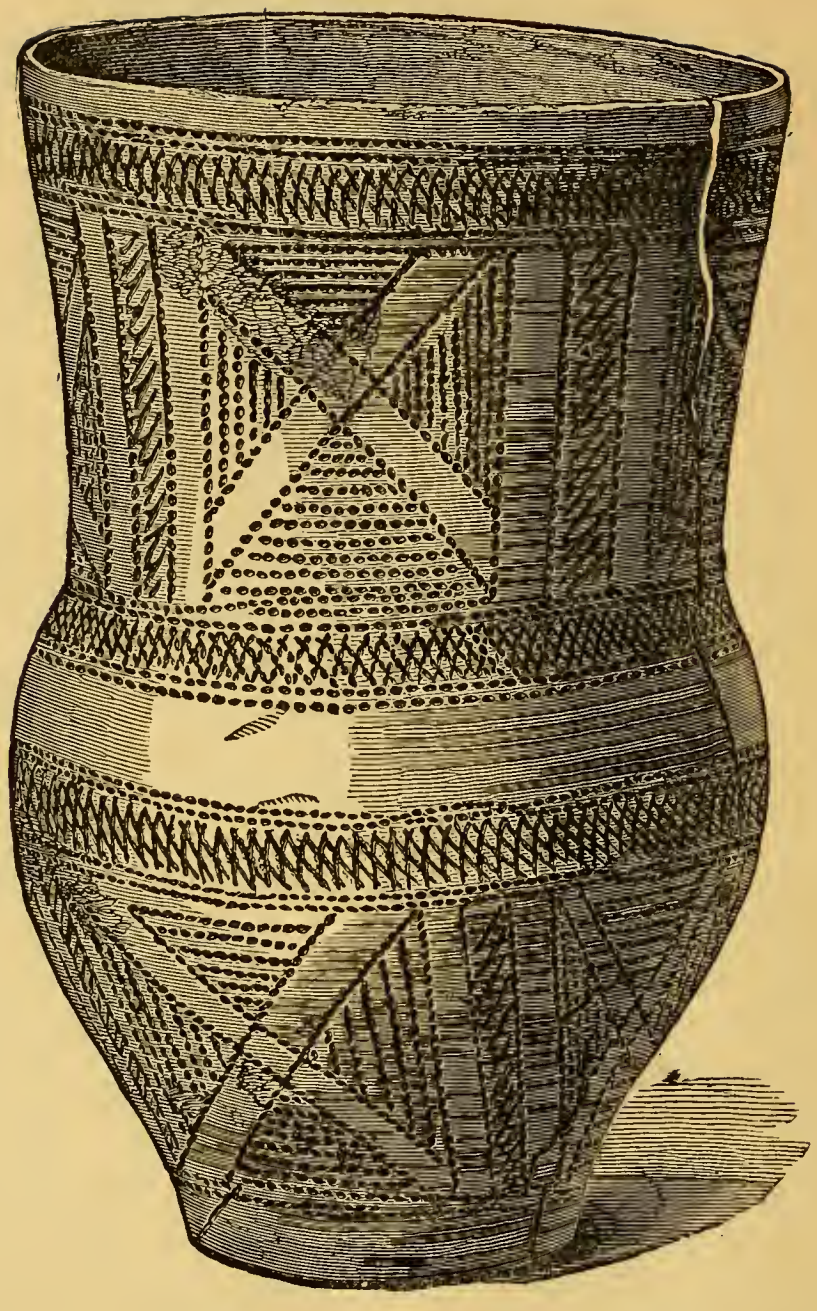


FIG. 71. DRINKING CUP, FROM EAST KENNETT, WILTS. HEIGHT 7½ INCHES.[1]

(in Wiltshire twice as often), near the feet. Drinking cups occur more often in the barrows of Wiltshire than in those of any other part of England. Dr. Thurnam has arranged Drinking cups in three classes :—

*a.* High-brimmed Globose Cup.
*b.* Ovoid Cup with Recurved Rim.
*c.* Low-brimmed Cup.

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 392, Fig. 83.

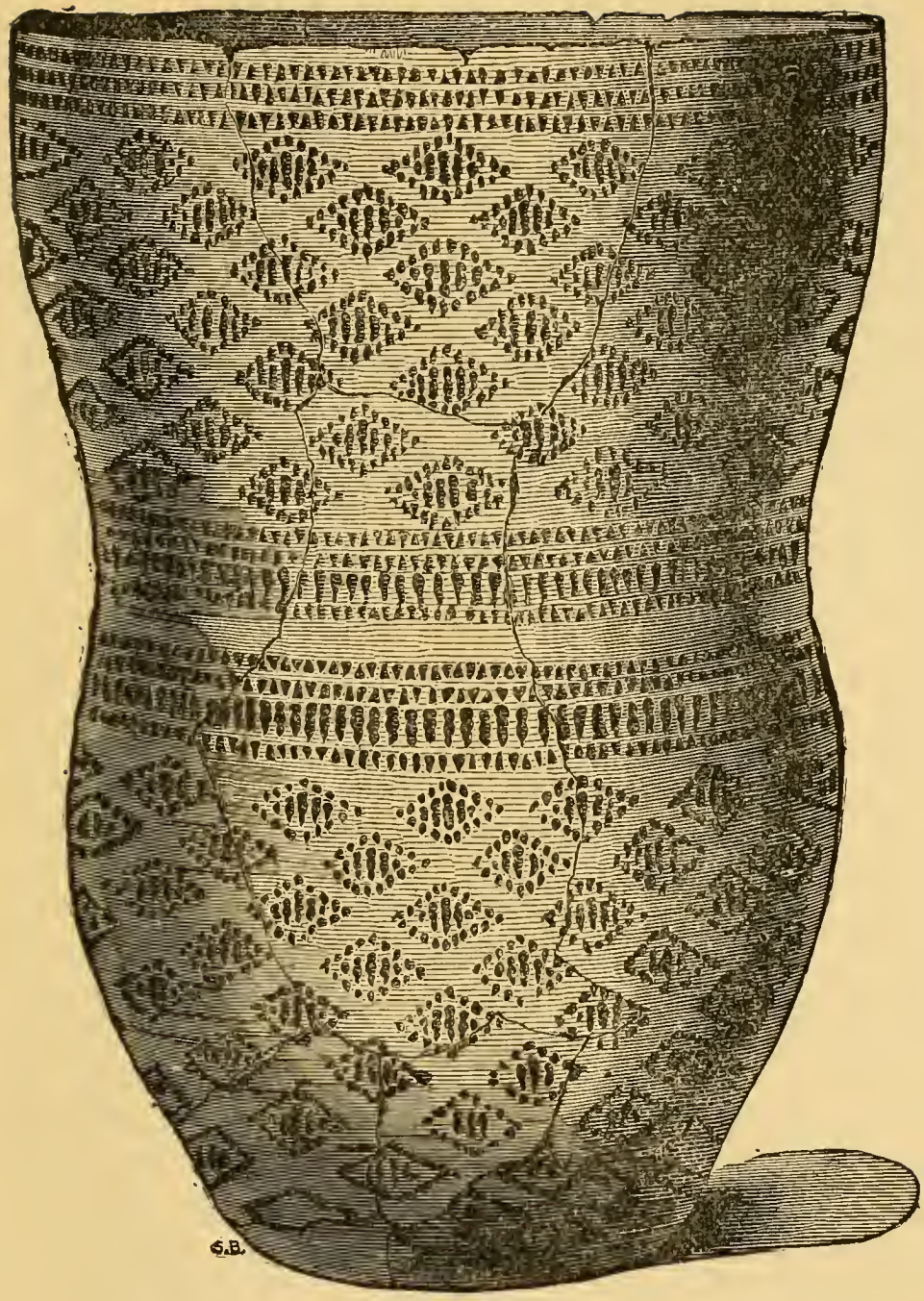


FIG. 72. DRINKING CUP, FOUND WITH SECONDARY INTERMENT, WILSFORD LONG BARROW, WILTS.[1]

The High-brimmed Globose Drinking Cup (*a*) is the prevailing type in South Britain, and to it four-fifths, probably, of the known examples belong. The ornamentation is profuse and elaborate, see Fig. 71. The Drinking Cup shown in Fig. 72 was found with a secondary interment in a long barrow at Wilsford, opened by Dr. Thurnam. The interment had

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xlii., part 1, p. 196, Fig. 5.

been by inhumation, in the contracted or crouched position, and close to the skull was found the drinking cup, it is, says Dr. Thurnam, "of the latest highly decorated type, such as are usually only met with in the most modern circular British tumuli; and have in no case been found with the primary interments of long barrows." The skull found with the drinking cup was of the usual broad type (brachycephalous) found in the round barrows, and not of the long type present in primary interments in long barrows. Such instances go to prove the greater relative antiquity of the long barrows, for no instance of a secondary interment of the long barrow kind has been observed in a round barrow.

*Stone Implements found in the Round Barrows of Wiltshire.*—The Round Barrows of this county are to be referred to the Bronze Age, and the presence of implements of stone in some of them does not militate against this; for implements of stone continued to be used for many purposes both in the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Of the stone implements found by Sir R. C. Hoare, in the large number of barrows opened by him, there were only four wedge-shaped hatchets; these were associated with unburnt bodies, and three of the specimens were found with the same interment, in a barrow at Upton Lovel. Of other classes of stone implements, there were found seven perforated hammers or hammer-axes, four with unburnt, three with burnt bodies. Five are true hammer-axes, with a cutting-edge at one end, and a rounded or flat-butt end at the other. Of the other two, one is of ovoid form, and the other, shown in Fig. 73, was found in a barrow, near Wilsford, a village through which we passed after leaving Lake House; this specimen is without a true cutting-edge. Only two other perforated axes are stated to have been found in barrows near Stonehenge, one is preserved in the British Museum, the other is in the Christy Collection. Sir R. C. Hoare found celts or dagger-blades of bronze associated with three of the stone hammer-axes exhumed by him, showing that bronze and stone implements were in contemporary use. Flint dagger-blades, although common in Denmark, are of rare occurrence in the barrows of this country. Leaf-shaped flint javelin-heads have in rare instances been found in the barrows of Wiltshire. Dr. Thurnam had the good fortune to find a set of four in an oval barrow at Winterbourn Stoke, about a mile and a half to the

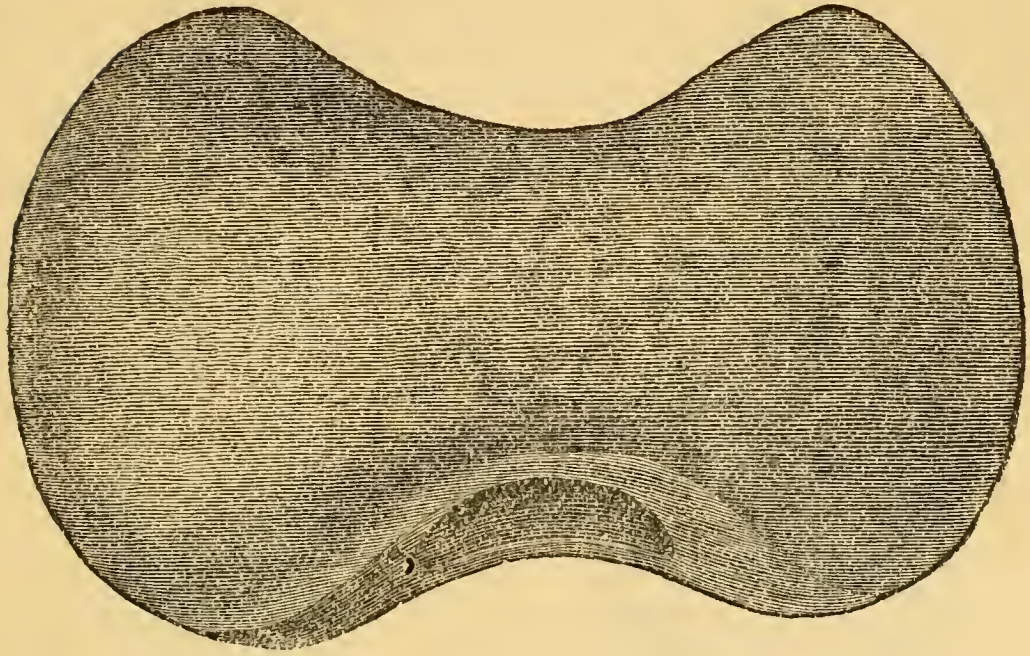


FIG. 73. STONE HAMMER-AXE OR MAUL. FROM WILSFORD, WILTS.[1] $\frac{2}{3}$.

left of our homeward route. These are very remarkable for the elegance of their form and workmanship, all the surfaces and edges being elaborately chipped, see Fig. 74. Three are of a delicate leaf-shape; the fourth is lozenge-shaped. They lay at the head of a doubled-up skeleton. Smaller leaf-shaped flints, evidently arrow-heads, are occasionally met with in the barrows, though very rarely in those of Wiltshire. Barbed flint arrow-heads are found both with burnt bodies and with interments after cremation. The beautiful specimen shown in Fig. 75 was found in a barrow at Woodyates, Dorset; and was figured by Hoare. It is remarkable for the great size and inward curvature of its barbs, thrice the length of the stem.

According to several finds, it would appear that from three to six arrow-heads constituted an outfit. With the four found with the Woodyates interment was a large bronze dagger-blade, again showing the contemporary use of stone and bronze weapons.

Flint flakes, and knives and scrapers of flint, occur in the barrows. In not a few barrows, in more or less proximity to the interments, flakes of flint and pieces of broken pottery,

"Shards, flints, and pebbles,"

are found in considerable numbers; the traces, it may be, of a

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 411, Fig. 97.

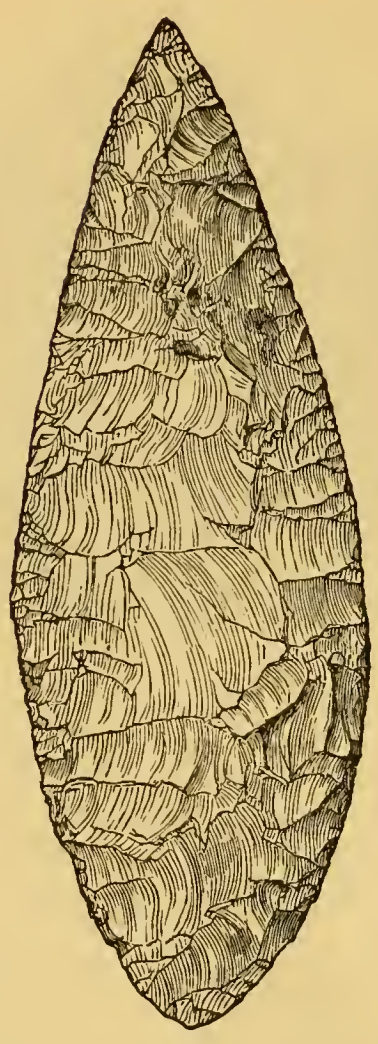


FIG. 74. LEAF-SHAPED FLINT JAVELIN-HEAD, FOUND IN OVAL BARROW AT WINTERBOURNE STOKE, WILTS.[1]

pagan custom, referred to in a well-known passage of Shakespeare.

Bone pins occur in the barrows as well as many objects made from bone.

*Bronze.*—The objects of bronze from the Wiltshire barrows very much exceed those of stone. All the bronze celts are of the

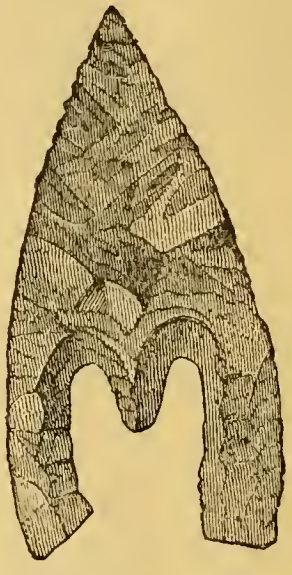


FIG. 75. STEMMED AND BARBED FLINT ARROW-HEAD. FROM WOODYATES, DORSET.[2] ½.

wedge-shaped (earlier) type; the specimen shown in Fig. 76 was found, associated with gold ornaments, in "Bush Barrow," Normanton, close to our route; it measures 6¼ inches in length, 2½ in breadth, and is only ⅜ inch in greatest thickness. It has side-flanges, and slightly thickens towards the middle, there being a sharp transverse line on both sides from which the bevelled surfaces slope, corresponding to the stop in the palstave type of celt. No other tumuli in England have been so productive of bronze dagger-blades as those of

[1] I am indebted to Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., for the loan of this woodblock. It is from his valuable work, "Anc. Stone Impts. of Gt. Brit.," p. 331, Fig. 274. It also appears in the "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 414, Fig. 101*c*.

[2] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 418, Fig. 107.

Wiltshire. They occur rather more frequently with unburnt bodies, than with burnt. With three of the smaller blades were the remains of sheaths of wood. With six of larger size were traces of similar sheaths, two of them lined with linen, "the web of which was still to be distinguished." One of these scabbards had been highly ornamented "with indentations which had certainly been gilt."

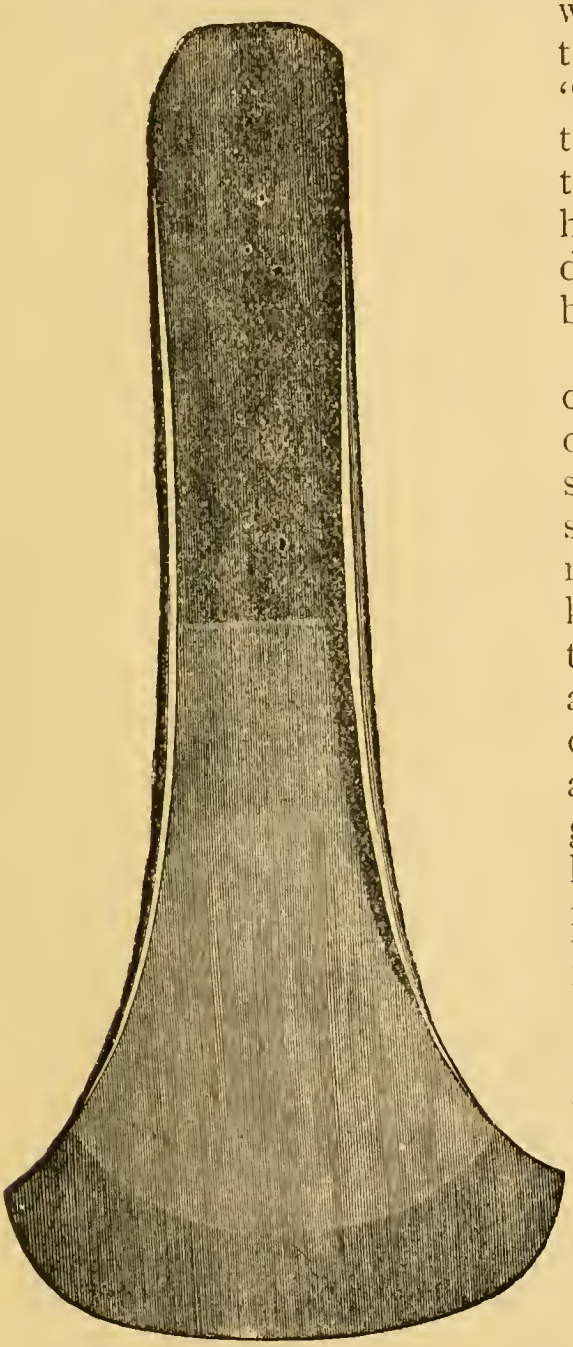


FIG. 76. BRONZE WEDGE-SHAPED CELT. FROM "BUSH BARROW," NORMANTON, WILTS.[1] $\frac{2}{3}$.

The remains of handles were often noticed, these were frequently of wood. In some instances, the handles had been strengthened by an oval pommel of bone. One miniature knife, in the Stourhead collection, is elegantly mounted in a handle formed of two pieces of amber, secured by two rivets and bound with four strips of gold. The bronze blade is only half an inch in length, and is fixed at a right angle with its handle, which is one inch in length.

The only perfect bronze dagger from a tumulus in Wiltshire is of the thin broad-bladed variety. The handle is of wood, held together by thirty rivets of bronze, and strengthened at the end by an oblong bone pommel fastened with two pegs. It is decorated by dots incised in the surface of the wood, forming a border of double lines, and circles between the heads of the rivets. It was found at Milston, about four miles to the north-east of

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 444, Fig. 147.

Stonehenge. The handle of one of the largest Wiltshire daggers (blade 10½ inches long), is a marvellous specimen of delicate workmanship. It is of wood, studded with an infinity of gold pins of almost microscopic size, forming a beautiful zigzag pattern; it was found in "Bush Barrow," Normanton.

Personal ornaments of bronze are of rare occurrence in British tumuli, and very few have been found in our county. A fine bronze bracelet encircling the arm of a skeleton was found in a barrow at Normanton, near Stonehenge. It is a broad flat band, profusely ornamented with vertical and horizontal lines, and with chevrons at the ends, which overlap. In the barrows of Wiltshire, the ornaments most frequently met with are of amber, of which we have seen such good examples in the Lake Collection.[1]

The implements and weapons of bronze found associated with primary interments in British round-barrows are, as we have seen, *wedge-shaped* celts and dagger-blades. *Socketed* celts, leaf-shaped swords, gouges, and chisels, although of frequent occurrence in "finds," are *not* met with in these barrows; and, on the other hand, wedge-shaped celts and dagger blades (such as those found in these barrows), are *not* present in the "finds." This circumstance has led many to suppose that the Bronze Age, like the Stone Age, is susceptible of subdivision into two periods. "I argue," says Canon Greenwell, "that these different sets of implements belong to quite two different periods in the use of bronze. The one to the early period, when bronze was extremely scarce, and stone was the general material in use for a variety of implements; the other and later period, that of these great 'finds,' in which have been discovered the sword, and the spear, and the celt, belonging to a time when stone, though yet to some extent in use, had been largely superseded by bronze."[2] Our Wiltshire barrows, according to this, belong to the earlier part of the Bronze Age, we may almost say to a period when the use of stone overlapped that of bronze; for, "there are periods of overlapping," says Mr. Evans, "when the one Age shades off into the other, and in the case of both bronze and stone antiquities it is very difficult indeed to assign to a given specimen a definite date, or to say that any one Neolithic implement was

[1] Ante, pp. 60—61, Figs. 18—20.

[2] "Proceed. Soc. Antiq.," 2nd series, vol. v., pp. 414, 415.

in use at a time when bronze was absolutely unknown."[1] Still these ages appear to have succeeded each other in definite order.

"As to the chronology of the Bronze Period in Britain, we are to a great extent at fault. We know that when this country was first invaded by the Romans iron was in use, and probably had been for some centuries, as we know to have been the case in Gaul and Germany. But though, at the time of the Roman Invasion, the Bronze Period may be said to have ceased in this country, it is almost impossible to say at what date it may have commenced, nor indeed absolutely at what date it ceased. No doubt there was an over-lapping of the Bronze into the Iron Period. Still it does appear to me by no means improbable," adds Mr. Evans, "that bronze celts may have remained in this country down to, at all events, within a century or so of the invasion of Cæsar. What may be eventually discovered as to the duration of the Bronze Period in Britain no one can foretell, but at the present time we can only say, from the number of objects found, and the different circumstances under which they have been discovered, that in all probability it extended over a period of several hundred years. We may by means of 'finds' to some extent assign different articles to different portions of the Bronze Period, but to how early a date the use of the small knife-daggers[2] and the plain celts may extend, is, to my mind, a problem which is not likely soon to receive a satisfactory answer."[3]

One thing seems tolerably certain, bronze implements were made in Britain, and were not (at all events, generally) introduced into this country ready-cast, by means of traffic or barter. Moulds for casting such implements have been found in Britain, as well as all the tools likely to have been required by the pre-historic bronze-founder, associated with the waste of manufacture, and imperfectly cast weapons. In a "find" of bronze objects, in the Isle of Harty (part of the Isle of Sheppey), were rough pieces of metal as well as cast implements. There was also a mould for casting socketed celts,

[1] Evans, "Proceed. Soc. Antiq.," 2nd series, vol. v., p. 393.

[2] Such as are found associated with primary interments in our Wiltshire round barrows.

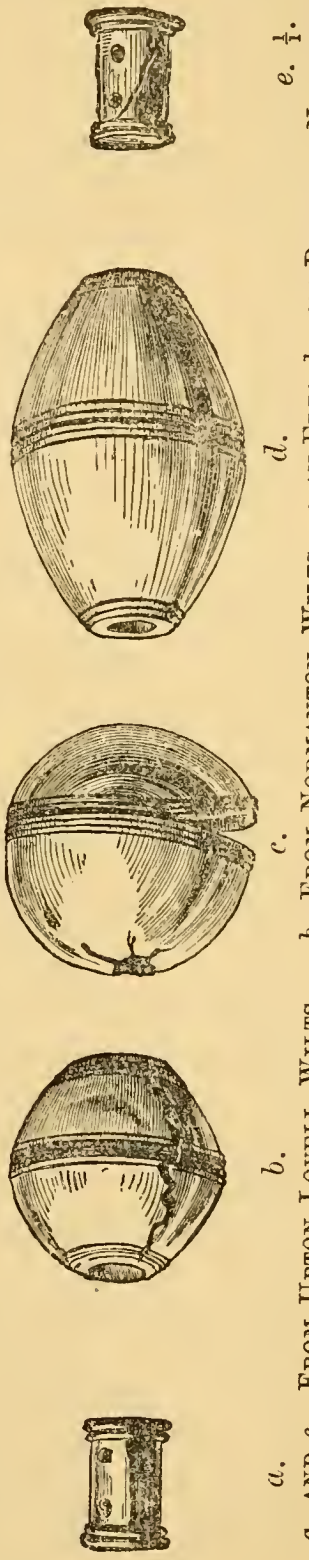
[3] "Proceed. Soc. Antiq.," 2nd series, vol. v., pp. 411, 412.

consisting of two halves, which fit together with a couple of dowels, also a celt that had been cast in this very mould, for there is a particular hollow on one face of the mould and a corresponding projection on the celt. Upon attempting to fit this celt into the mould the cutting-edge was found to be both too broad and too long—the celt had been hammered, and, as it were, tempered after it was cast. In the "find" was a bronze hammer with which this (probably) had been effected; the founder seems to have understood how to mix his metals, for the hammer is not cast of ordinary bronze, but of another alloy of copper and tin, so as to give it greater hardness. Even the whetstone, that may have served in giving the finished edge to the celt, was included in the "Harty find." The socket-hole of such a celt was (probably) formed by means of a clay "core," in some unfinished celts this core is still to be seen, the question arises how would these hard-burnt clay cores have been removed? This receives an answer from the presence of a pointed tool in the "Harty find," which was probably used as a pick to get out the cores after the celts had been cast, and this receives some support from the circumstance that the old founder had broken off the point of one of these tools, at a place exactly corresponding with the depth of the celt-socket.[1] Mr. Franks adds his testimony to the opinion that even ready-mixed bronze was not imported into Britain, but that the alloy was made in this country, as required from time to time. "It seems quite unquestionable," he says, "that the greater part of the bronze types found in Britain were made in this country; we find the moulds, the imperfectly cast weapons, and also the lumps of pure copper from which they were made, and it is therefore absolutely certain that the ancient brass-founders were using tin on the spot at the time that they made the implements."[2]

*Ornaments of Gold.*—Trinkets of gold were found in seven 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. All, as Sir R. C. Hoare believed, were formed by first modelling in wood, and

[1] See Evans, "Proceed. Soc. Antiq.," 2nd series, vol. v., pp. 408, 409.
[2] "Proceed. Soc. Antiq.," 2nd series, vol. v., p. 418.

covering the wooden nucleus, with a plate of gold, which was made to overlap, and then fastened by indentation. One large doubly-conical bead, made of two such plates, is ornamented with concentric rings, and perforated lengthwise, Fig. 77 *b*, it was found at Normanton, near Stonehenge. Other examples of gold ornaments are shown in Fig. 77.



*a* and *e*. From Upton Lovell, Wilts. *b*. From Normanton, Wilts. *c* and *d* from Bircham, Norfolk. *e*. ½.

Fig. 77. Gold Ornaments.

*Remains of Animals.*—Antlers and bones of the red-deer and the roe-deer occur in the Wiltshire barrows. Two antlers of roe-deer were found, with an interment, in a tumulus at Figheldean, with two bronze dagger-blades; they are right and left horns, which have not been shed, one of them is reduced in length, apparently with a knife. In this same barrow were likewise the left tusks of three large boars. These, with the associated human crania, were presented to the Salisbury Museum, by the late E. Dyke Poore, Esq.

Remains of domesticated herbivorous animals are rarely met with in the round barrows. Some skulls of oxen (*Bos longifrons*) have been found. In a few tumuli remains of dogs have been met with. In one barrow (Anc. Wilts I. 86), a horse had been buried near the summit, over an interment by cremation.

On comparing the fauna of the Round barrows with that of the Long barrows it does not appear that the one is separated from the other by any marked line. The group of mammalia is distinguished from that found in Quaternary deposits, such as that at Fisherton, by the absence of certain animals, and by the presence of *Bos longifrons*, dog, goat, and (perhaps) sheep.

[1] "Archæologia," vol. xliii., part 2, p. 525, Fig. 21[illegible]—27.

*Remains of Man.*—The type of human skull found in the Round barrows is of the short or round form (*brachycephalic*); not a single example of the really lengthened form (*dolichocephalic*), has been met with in a round barrow. The people of the Long-barrow Stone Age were of less than middle stature; those of the Round-barrow Bronze Age were tall. The mean stature, derived from 52 measurements, was five feet six inches for the men of the Long barrows, and five feet nine inches for those of the Round barrows.[1]

To sum up what has been said, in Dr. Thurnam's own words.

"The Long Barrows, in accordance with the geological character of the districts in which they occur, are either simple tumuli of earth, chalk rubble and flints, as in South Wilts and Dorsetshire; or they contain more or less elaborately built-up chambers, galleries or cists of large stones, as in North Wilts and Gloucestershire. Whether, however, they enclose megalithic chambers or not, the sepulchral deposits are almost invariably found at or near the broad and high end of the tumulus, which is generally directed towards the east. But, what is most important, in no case whatever have the primary interments yielded objects of metal, whether bronze or iron; though in several instances implements or weapons of bone and stone have been found with them. Among the latter are specially to be noticed certain delicate, well-chipped arrow-heads of flint, of a leaf-shape; and probably, as at Uley, axe-heads of flint and green-stone, both polished. I therefore think we do not err in attributing this form of tumulus, as it occurs in the south-west of England, to the Neolithic period, and to a period when the burning of the dead, though not unknown, was not a generally received or favourite method of disposing of their remains.

"The Round Barrows, whether simply conoid or bowl-shaped, or of the more elaborate bell or disc forms, are very much more numerous than the long barrows of the same district. They much more frequently cover interments after cremation than by simple inhumation; in the proportion of at least three of the former to one of the latter. As, however, the objects found with the burnt bones, and with the entire skeletons in this class of barrows, do not differ in character, but in addition to implements and weapons of stone (including

[1] Thurnam, "Mem. Anthrop. Soc.," vol. iii., p. 71.

beautifully barbed arrow heads of flint), not unfrequently comprise other implements of *bronze*, and also the finer and more decorated sorts of ancient British *fictilia*,—the so-called "drinking cups" and "incense cups"—we may safely conclude that all are of the same Bronze Age, during which, in this part of Britain, cremation, though not the exclusive, was the prevailing mode of interment."[1]

The following is a "summary," says Dr. Thurnam, "of the inferences which seem fairly deducible from the observed facts, as interpreted by the light of those scanty historical notices which have come down to us.

"I. The skulls from the primary interments in the long barrows of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and it is believed of south Britain in general, are of a strongly marked dolichocephalic type, having a mean breadth-index of ·71; which is much lower than that of any modern European people. No brachycephalic skull, with a breadth-index of ·80 or upwards, has been obtained from the primeval interments in these barrows. No objects of metal or decorated pottery are known to have been found with these interments, but only those of stone, bone or horn. We therefore refer these long barrows to the Stone Age.

"II. The skulls from the primary interments in the round barrows of the same districts, and it is believed of south Britain in general are of more or less brachycephalous proportions, having a mean breadth-index of ·81; much higher than that now found in the population of any part of England and Wales.[2] Objects of bronze, and very rarely of iron, and richly decorated pottery, are often found in them, with or without objects of stone. These round barrows therefore we refer to the Bronze Age, and to that of bronze and iron transition.

"III. The skulls from secondary interments in the upper strata of the long barrows are in most cases of similar brachycephalous proportions with those from the primary interments in the round barrows. They have, in a few instances, been found in connection with decorated British pottery, altogether identical with that of the round barrows. They are doubtless

[1] Thurnam, "Anc. Brit. Barrows of Wilts," read at the Opening of the Blackmore Museum. See "Some Account of the Blackmore Mus.," published by the "Wilts. Archæol. Soc.," part 1, pp. 38—40.

[2] See Table by Dr. Beddoe. "Mem. Anthrop. Soc.," ii., 350.

the remains of the same people as those by whom the circular barrows were erected; and for all intents and purposes may be regarded as round-barrow skulls.

"IV. It has never been pretended that there is any necessary connection between long skulls and long barrows, or round skulls and round barrows; and the dolichocephalic people who in this part of England buried in long barrows, may have elsewhere erected circular tumuli over their dead. The important question does not regard the form of their tombs, so much as the sequence of the two peoples in the order of time and civilization. As to this, it is contended that the long heads were the true primeval race; and that they were succeeded by a taller, more powerful, and more civilized people, who gradually extended themselves, and became dominant through a great part, perhaps nearly the whole, of the island.

"V. These British *dolichocephali*, or long-heads, are the earliest people whose sepulchral monuments can be shown to remain to us. The exploration of their tombs—the long barrows—show that they buried their dead entire, and almost always without cremation; that they possessed herds of small short-horned oxen—the *Bos longifrons*, or *Bos brachyceros*—that they subsisted largely by the chase of the red-deer and wild boar; that some of their customs were barbarous in the extreme; and in particular, that if not addicted to anthropophagism, they at least sacrificed many human victims, whose cleft skulls and half-charred bones are found in their tombs.

"VI. The brachycephalous people, or round-heads, who buried in the round barrows, were more civilized than the *dolichocephali;* and may be inferred to have brought with them the more common use, if not the first knowledge of bronze. The exploration of their tombs shows that burning the dead was with them the prevailing and fashionable, though not the exclusive mode of burial; and the appearances are consistent with what we are told of the funerals of the Gauls (their supposed congeners), by Cæsar and Pomponius Mela. From the same source, or the appearances in their tombs, we should infer that they had advanced from the nomadic, hunting and pastoral condition, to a more settled agricultural stage of culture; and that if they had not altogether abandoned the more barbarous customs of their ancestors, and in particular

that of human sacrifice, they had at least restricted them within narrow limits.

"VII. There is no proof, nor is it the least probable, that the brachycephalic extirpated the earlier dolichocephalic people. It is far more likely that they reduced them to slavery, or drove them in part into the interior and western parts of the island. When once reduced to obedience, they may have lived with them on friendly terms, and even mingled with them in domestic relations. In some districts, the *brachycephali* would probably entirely replace the earlier race; whilst in others, the *dolichocephali* would live on under the supremacy of their more powerful neighbours. A mingling of the remains of the two peoples in their later tombs must almost certainly have ensued.

"VIII. The two races, whose existence is made known to us by researches in the tumuli, are most naturally identified with the two peoples, strongly contrasted in their manners, whom Cæsar describes in well known passages of the twelfth and fourteenth chapters of the 5th book of his Commentaries.[1] According to this, the round-heads of the Bronze Age are the same as the agricultural people of the maritime districts, who are said by Cæsar to have migrated from Belgic Gaul; and the long-headed people of the Stone Age are the ancestors of the pastoral and less civilised tribes of the interior, reputed aboriginal, and who prior to the coming of the others—as to which event there is no certain note of time—must have occupied, and been dominant in the maritime parts, as well as in the interior of the island.

"IX. The origin and ethnic affinities of these two peoples can only be discussed conjecturally and tentatively in the present state of science. An often-quoted passage in the *Agricola* of Tacitus seems however to indicate part of the probable

[1] "Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa, memoria proditum dicunt. Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerant, et bello illato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere cœperunt. . . . Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti." (*B. G.*, v., 12, 14). Whilst it is seen that the Belgic tribes near the coast were comparatively civilized agriculturists, the people of the interior were much less cultivated, and still in the hunting and pastoral condition.

solution.[1] The great Roman historian points out, first, the dark complexion and curly hair of the western tribe of the Silures; and, secondly, the similarity of the appearance of the southern Britons to their neighbours in Gaul. And he adduces the very obvious argument, from these differences of physiognomy and appearance, that the Silures were descended from the Iberians of Spain, whilst the southern and south-eastern Britons were derived from the people of the opposite coast of Gaul. As evidence of this last position, Tacitus refers to the similarity of the religion, language, moral and mental temperament of the Britons and Gauls. It is not improbable that in this passage the Silures are named *κατ'ἐξοχῆν* as a principal tribe, and as representative of others not like themselves, confined to the extreme west of the island. By Cæsar, however, who knew nothing of the west of Britain, the Silures would be regarded as *interiores*, just as the regions producing tin were, and termed by him *mediterranei*. The *proximi Gallis* of Tacitus are clearly the same people as those of the *maritima pars* of Cæsar.

"X, The geographer Strabo is another important witness for a great difference in the features and personal characteristics of the Iberians and Gauls. In the course of his fourth book, he twice tells us that the Iberians differed entirely in their bodily conformation from the Gauls of both 'Celtica' and 'Belgica;' who he expressly says participated in the common Gaulish physiognomy.[2] It is evident, that if we interpret this observation of Strabo's by the light of that first quoted from Tacitus, we must picture the Iberians as a swarthy or *melanous* people, with dark complexion and curly dark hair. They would thus be strongly contrasted with the Gauls; who by the classical writers are uniformly represented as fair or *xanthous*, and moreover as of tall stature. Compared with the Gauls, the Iberians, like other southern Europeans, were probably a people of short stature. We derive no light from the remains in the barrows, as to the colour of the hair and the complexion

[1] Tac. Agric. xi. "Silurum colorati vultus torti plerumque crines (Jornandes adds, 'et nigri') et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt. . . . In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est."

[2] Strabo, iv., 1, § i.; iv., 2, § i. Τοὺς δε λοιπους Γαλατικὴν μὲν τὴν ὄψιν.

of the people buried in them: but they do enable us to ascertain a difference of stature. The measurement of the skeletons, and especially of the thigh-bones, from the long barrows and the round barrows respectively, clearly demonstrates that the *dolichocephali* of the former, as compared with the *brachycephali* of the latter, were a people of short stature. The mean height, as calculated from the measurement of 52 male skeletons or femora, was about 5 feet 6 inches in the one, and 5 feet 9 inches in the other, the average difference being no less than three inches.

"XI. The cranial type of the ancient Iberians has not yet been so conclusively ascertained as is to be desired. But the examination of the large series of skulls of modern Spanish Basques, at Paris, as well as of such Spanish and Portuguese skulls as exist in English and Dutch collections, altogether justifies the presumption that the Iberians of antiquity were a decidedly dolichocephalous people.

"XII. The British *brachychocephali* of the Bronze Age are to be regarded as an offshoot, through the Belgic Gauls, from the great brachycephalous stock of central and north-eastern Europe and Asia; in all the countries of which—France, Switzerland, South Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Russia, and Finland—the broad and short cranial type is still the prevailing one.

"The earlier British *dolichocephali* of the Stone Age were, we, think, either derived from the ancient Iberians, or from a common source with that people. Not only was Spain peopled by the Iberian race, but even in historical times, a considerable part of Gaul; and there is no improbability in the conclusion of its having occupied the British Islands likewise, as is, indeed, asserted by some ancient historians.[1]

[1] Dionysius and his paraphraser Priscian, say expressly that the Cassiterides were peopled by the Iberians:—"populos tenuit quas fortis Iberi." [Dion., "Perieg." v., 563; Priscian, "Perieg." v., 578.] The Cassiterides are termed by these writers *the Western Isles whence tin proceeds*—a mere paraphrase of the word Cassiterides. Under this last designation, as used by the ancients, not only the Scilly Isles, but the Damnonian promontory and coasts were generally included. The very ancient notice of the Cassiterides preserved by Strabo, represents the inhabitants as nomadic and pastoral, clothed in long tunics, covered by *black* mantles; a garb identical with that of the ancient Iberians of Spain, who are likewise described by the geographers, Diodorus and Strabo, as *melanchlæni*, or black robed. [Diod. Sic., lib. v., c. 33; Strabo, lib. iii., c. 3, § 7; c. 5, § 2.]

"XIII. As to the origin of the Iberians themselves, it is better to confess our ignorance, than to indulge in premature speculations. Some,—as Professor Vogt, would bring them from America, by way of a lost Atlantis, or 'connecting land between Florida and our own Continent, which in the middle tertiary (Miocene) period, was still above the water.' Others, as M. Broca, search for them in Northern Africa; others, in the more or less far East: whilst Professor Huxley finds in their crania, as in those of the other *dolichocephali* of Western Europe, Australian affinities, though without deciding on 'the ethnological value of the osteological resemblance.'

"XIV. In conclusion, I am content with having established, from archæological and osteological data, at least to my own satisfaction, the existence in this island of the west, of two distinct races in pre-Roman times. One of these, I may repeat, which had lost its supremacy, at least in the south of the island, being the earlier and dolichocephalic, was probably Iberic; the other being the later and brachycephalic, was probably Gaulish, or in other words, Belgic."[1]

According to Dr. Thurnam's opinion then, the round-headed people of the Wiltshire round barrows "are to be regarded as an offshoot from the Belgic Gauls," they were in their Bronze Age, in what may, perhaps, be called the "Early Bronze Age."[2]

Now, how does this affect the period of the construction of Stonehenge, if we suppose that there is any connection between Stonehenge and the barrows? Did the barrows come to Stonehenge, or Stonehenge to the barrows? Were the dead buried around an already existing temple, because the spot was hallowed by its presence; or was a temple erected at a place already rendered sacred by the burial of the illustrious dead?

It has been already mentioned[3] that the vallum which encircles Stonehenge cuts through a barrow, in which interment by cremation had taken place—a tumulus of the round-barrow class. This is held to prove that Stonehenge was

[1] Thurnam, "Anc. Brit. Barrows," in "Some Acc. Blackmore Museum," part 1, pp. 40—45.

[2] It is in reference to this that I remarked in a rather loose way, which may possibly mislead, "The Belgæ were in their Bronze Age" (Ante, p. 34, *note*). At the period of the Roman invasion the Belgæ were in their Iron Age.

[3] Ante, p. 84.

erected after barrows, which as we have seen, are of the "Early Bronze Age," nor is this all, for sufficient time had elapsed to admit of all respect being lost for the burial-place of those whose remains were deposited in these barrows.

Possibly, however, Stonehenge was erected at *two* periods[1] —perhaps widely separated in point of time—the vallum may only have been made when the sarsen-stone temple was erected around the far earlier temple of foreign stones; and, consequently, the mutilation of these barrows would only help us to estimate the relative age of the *sarsen-stone* temple and the barrows. The sacred neighbourhood of the foreign-stone "Stonehenge," at a far earlier period, may have been resorted to for burial, and hence the barrows may have come to (the old) Stonehenge, notwithstanding the apparent evidence to the contrary, afforded by the partial destruction of tumuli by the vallum.

There is something more, however, to be said in favor of the higher antiquity of the (foreign stone *and* sarsen stone) temple of Stonehenge, it is afforded by the presence of chippings of the Stonehenge Stones in round barrows. Mr. Long says, "the fact that chippings from the stones of *both* kinds have been found intermingled in two of the adjoining barrows should be borne in mind in discussing this question."[2]

In one round barrow (No. 16), Stukeley found "bits of red and blue marble chippings of the stones of the temple." Sir R. C. Hoare also found in this barrow "some fragments of sarsen-stones similar to those which form the great trilithons at Stonehenge," and, "on removing the earth from over the cist, we found a large piece of one of the blue stones (foreign) of Stonehenge,[3] which Sowerby the naturalist calls a horn stone." From this discovery, Sir Richard draws the inference that, Stonehenge existed before the barrows were constructed—and that "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."[4]

The finding of chippings of *both* kinds of stone, *together*, has

[1] Ante, p. 94. [2] "Wilts Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 64.

[3] Chippings of foreign stone have been found in three of the barrows near Stonehenge, viz., No. 16, No. 30?, and in No. 42. They have also been found in the waggon-tracks around the temple, but this does not prove much. See Mr. Long, "Wilts Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 66.

[4] "Anc. Wilts.," vol. 1, p. 127.

little bearing upon the contemporaneous erection of circles and horseshoes of both kinds of stone; it only shows that both kinds of stone had been dressed at the *same place*—not necessarily at the *same time.* "There may have been an interval of time, greater or less," says Mr. Long, "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]

And if we agree with Mr. Long, Stonehenge must have been erected either at a very early period in the Bronze Age by the round-headed people of the circular-barrows, or else by the long-headed, stone-using, folk of the long barrows. It may be well to remember that the long-barrow people were not unused to move masses of stone, for they formed chambers of stone slabs in their burial-mounds, wherever suitable material for the purpose was near at hand. Within these long barrows also were placed monoliths and trilithons, evidently with a symbolical meaning, and, it may be, intended to protect those buried there against evil spirits or evil influences.

Before we take leave of the barrows around Stonehenge—of this enormous cemetery not so much of the common people as of their chiefs and leaders, there are one or two considerations that should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. The greater number of these tumuli are "round barrows," in which the interment has been by cremation, the dead were burned, together with weapons, ornaments, and such personal belongings as were judged to be likely to be of service to them in another world. This very act of burning to us appears to destroy their utility to the deceased, but it was the *soul* of these things, not their material presence that was supposed to be of use to the *soul* of the dead man or woman.

In the story of Periander, we are told that his dead wife, Melissa, refused to give him an oracular response, for she was shivering and naked, *because* the garments buried with her had *not been burnt*, and *so were of no use;* wherefore, Periander plundered the Corinthian women of their best clothes, burned them in a great trench, with prayer, and then obtained his answer. So that an act of destruction of the material seemed, in this instance, to be necessary for the liberation of the *soul*

[1] "Wilts. Mag., vol. xvi., p. 67.

or *essence* of the clothing, the only thing of service to the ghost. When this destruction was not effected by fire, it is possible that the weapon or object was at times broken, purposely, so that its soul might accompany the soul of its late master or mistress to the spirit-land. This may help to explain the presence with some interments of weapons, apparently, broken before they were deposited in the burial-mound or cromlech. Among the Algonquins, it was generally believed that the souls, not only of men and animals, but of hatchets and other inanimate objects, had to cross the water to the Great Village, far away where the sun sets. The Fijian believed that:—"If an animal or plant die, its soul immediately goes to Bolotoo; if a stone or any other substance is broken, immortality is equally its reward. . . . . If an axe or a chisel is worn out or broken up, away flies its soul for the service of the gods." A later writer on Fijian belief says:—"Every object is supposed to have its 'kelah.' Axes and knives, as well as trees and plants, are supposed to have their separate 'kelahs.' The Karen with his axe and cleaver, may build his house, cut his rice, and conduct his affairs after death as before," that is by means of the "kelah" of his axe and other implements. Nor is this idea so absurd as would at first appear. The psychological condition of mind which can believe in the appearance of ghosts, does not conceive of them as naked, but as clothed and armed, as when the deceased were in the flesh. When the ghost of Hamlet's father appears, we are told that

> "Such was the very armour he had on
> When he the ambitious Norway combated."

"Such"—but not "the very armour"—it was the phantasmal appearance of the armour, the *ethereal soul* of it. It has been reserved for modern spiritualists to arm their "familiars" with material objects, so that they may administer real buffets in the dark.

This belief in the possession of a soul by all things, animate and inanimate, is almost an essential in a people who can develop or appreciate myths; for, in them, personality and life are ascribed not to men and beasts only—but to things—rivers, stones, trees, weapons, and all things, are treated as living and intelligent beings, are talked to, propitiated, or punished, according to circumstances.

The burning, or breaking of a weapon or other object, does

not seem, in every instance, to have been deemed necessary in order to release the spirit of the object so injured, or, as we may say, killed. Savages, in nearly every part of the world, bury uninjured weapons with their dead, in the belief that the *soul* of the weapon, not the weapon itself, will accompany its former master to the great spirit-land. To give an instance, a dead Fijian chief is buried with his club close to his right-hand, so that he may defend himself against the opponents he will meet as his soul travels on the road to Mbulu. But, we read of a Fijian taking such a club from a companion's grave, and saying, by way of explanation, to a missionary who stood by, "The *ghost* of the club has gone with him."

We may believe that the objects found in our Wiltshire tumuli were placed there, in the full belief that their *ghosts* would accompany the *ghosts* of those with whose remains they are found associated, to the far-away spirit-land where the sun sets.

If this was the case with such things as weapons and ornaments, it was equally so with the wives or slaves, supposed by Dr. Thurnam, to have been sacrificed at, or about, the time of the burial. "When a man of rank dies and his soul departs to its own place, wherever and whatever that place may be, it is a rational inference of early philosophy that the souls of attendants, slaves, and wives, put to death at his funeral, will make the same journey, and continue their service in the next world." It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this belief, which is almost universal. Among the savage Kayans of Borneo :—"Slaves are killed in order that they may follow the deceased and attend upon him. Before they are killed, the relations who surround them enjoin them to take great care of their master when they join him, to watch and shampoo him when he is indisposed, to be always near him, and to obey all his behests. The female relatives of the deceased then take a spear and slightly wound the victims, after which the males spear them to death."

## THE GREAT BUSTARD.

Salisbury Plain, over which we are passing, was at one time a favourite resort of the Great Bustard, the largest and most noble of our British land birds.

Like the Red Indian, it has been "improved away" from its former haunts. Cultivation increased, the Downs were broken

up, from its large size the bird was a prominent object to sportsmen—these, and other causes, have, unfortunately, led to its extinction; and now, it is only at long intervals that a few stragglers from other countries make their appearance in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge.

In former days they were to be seen in, what may be called, small flocks. The Rev. W. Chafin, writing rather more than fifty years since, mentions that once, between Andover and Salisbury, he put up twenty-five bustards at one time. In 1785 or 1786, Mr. Swayne saw *several* bustards standing on a hill on the Down, about half a mile from Tilshead Lodge,[1] very near our route. In 1777, Gilbert White was told by a carter at a farm on the Downs, near Andover, that twelve years previously he had seen a flock of eighteen bustards. Pennant says:—"in autumn these (bustards) are (in Wiltshire) generally found in large turnip fields near the Downs, and in flocks of fifty or more."[2]

"Though Salisbury Plain in Druid times," writes the Rev. William Gilpin,[3] "was probably a very busy scene, we now (1798) 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 of them have been 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

[1] "Wilts. Mag.," vol. ii., p. 212.
[2] Smith, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. iii., p. 132.
[3] "Observations on the Western Parts of England," &c., 1798, quoted by Mr. Long, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., pp. 139, 140.

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 stratagem 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 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."

Nor was such a prize unworthy of all this trouble, for a full-grown male, in good condition, weighs from twenty-five to twenty-eight pounds, and measures forty-five inches in length; the female is not so large, seldom exceeding thirty-six inches in length.

Shy as is the bustard, it has proved itself to be, at times, exceedingly bold and pugnacious, and has been known to attack those who came near it with the most determined ferocity. A case in point occurred in June, 1801. A man, whilst riding near Tilshead (about seven miles to the north-west of Stonehenge), saw a large bird flying, about sixty yards over his head—this proved to be a bustard. "The bird alighted on the ground immediately before the horse, which it indicated a disposition to attack, and, in fact, very soon began the onset." The man dismounted, and endeavoured to secure the bird, "after struggling with it nearly an hour he succeeded." He brought it to Mr. Bartley, of Tilshead, to whose house he was going, and sold it to him for a small sum. At first the bird was shy, and refused to take food; but, ultimately it became more tame and would even take its food from the hands of those it knew. It remained in Mr. Bartley's possession from June, 1801, until the following August. It was judged to weigh upwards of twenty pounds; its height was about three and a half feet, and it measured between the extremity of its wings (when extended) about five feet. In

August, 1801, Mr. Bartley sold this bird to Lord Temple, for thirty guineas.

About a fortnight subsequently to the taking of this bird, another bustard, believed to have been the mate of Mr. Bartley's bird, attacked Mr. Grant, a farmer of Tilshead (as he was returning from Warminster Market), near Tilshead Lodge. Mr. Grant was riding a high-spirited horse, the animal took fright and became unmanageable, so this bird was not captured. A nest, containing two eggs (rotten), supposed to have belonged to these two birds, was found in a wheat field, on Market Lavington Down.

The bustard *certainly* bred on Salisbury Plain about nine years before this; for, in 1792, a traveller was crossing the Plain between Devizes and Salisbury, and came upon a bustard. The bird started up, and tumbled about as if wounded and unable to rise; the man rode after it a little way, but the bird gained on him, and he returned to the road. Whilst he was doing so, he saw a young bustard in a wheel-track, this he caught and took with him to Salisbury, where he gave it to Mrs. Steedman of the Red Lion Inn. This bird became very tame.

Like a ghost, the bustard, every now and then, returns to haunt its former abode. So recently as in August, 1849, Mr. Waterhouse, of the British Museum, a well-known naturalist, was returning from Stonehenge, when, to his astonishment, a Great Bustard rose from the Plain, and flew off with a heavy, but tolerably rapid flight.

In former days, it was the custom of the Mayors of Salisbury to provide a bustard as a prominent dish at the annual civic banquet. There are two stuffed specimens of the Great Bustard to be seen in the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum; these birds (male and female) were shot, within the last six years, on Salisbury Plain, within four miles of the route we are taking. The female bird was shot, at Maddington, Jan. 23, 1871, and was presented to the Museum by E. Lywood, Esq. The male bird was shot, three days after (Jan. 26), on land occupied by Erlysman C. Pinckney, Esq., at Berwick St. James, about three miles from Maddington; and is deposited by Mr. Pinckney, in the Museum—where may it long remain, for it is a magnificent specimen. The hen bustard was killed by Stephen Smith, a "bird-keeper" to Mr. Lywood; Smith had no shot, he saw three bustards together, picked up

the first round stone that came to hand, loaded his gun with it —fired—and hit the hen in the wing, a good shot under all the circumstances, for she was flying at a distance of about 300 yards. The two other bustards escaped for the time, but the male bird was killed three days later, as I have mentioned. As the bird shot at Berwick fell, the survivor wheeled round, as if seeking to learn what had happened to its companion. The sportsman, however, was too eager—he went forward to pick up the bustard he had killed, and the other bird, being scared, flew away.

Mr. Pinckney had his bustard cooked, and I am told that it resembled hare in flavour. The hen bird was cooked at my house, it was young, and very tender and good—many persons partook of it, some thought that it tasted like golden plover.[1] The crop of this bird was nearly empty, but in it were found two small pieces of *worked* flint; if any inference is to be deduced from the presence of these chips, it would be, that the bird had lived in some district where flint is not geologically present, and where, consequently, *every* fragment of flint, as in parts of Brittany, has been brought by human hands, and shows signs of human workmanship.

We have reached Camp Hill, but we must not expect to see earth-works, such as those we have elsewhere visited to-day. This place seems to have obtained its name from the circumstance that a camp was pitched here, in 1775, just before the American war, for the purpose of exercising the Light Infantry, then a new branch of the service. At Camp Hill, we make a sharp bend to the right, in the direction of Wilton. Had we proceeded along the direct road to Salisbury for another half mile, we should have seen a long, narrow valley on the right-hand side of the road, and for some distance, running nearly parallel to it. This is

## THE TOURNAMENT GROUND.

One of the five steads, selected by Richard I., in which tournaments might be held in England. The King seems to have desired that English Knights should have places in their own country where they could meet to practise feats of arms,

[1] For accounts of the Bustard, see Smith in "Wilts. Mag.," vol. iii., pp. 129—145; Swayne, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. ii., p. 212; Long, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. xvi., p. 140.

instead of having to resort to the continent for the purpose, as heretofore.

Accordingly, by a letter patent, dated Ville L'Evesche (Normandy), August 22, 1194, he authorised his justiciary, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to make arrangements for holding tournaments in several places, namely, *between Sarum and Wilton*, between Warwick and Kenilworth, between Stamford and Warringford, between Brackely and Nixeberry, and between Blye and Tykehill. The prelate was directed to provide two clerks and two knights at each place, to receive the oaths of those who were desirous of displaying their skill; and certain fees were established for the exercise of this privilege, namely, for an earl twenty marks, for a baron ten, for a knight (with lands) four, and for a knight (without lands—an adventurer) two marks. All were to swear, that they would not tourney before they had paid the fees to the King; and if they found any tourneying without having so paid, they pledged themselves to take him into custody, and to deliver him to the King's bailiff, that he might abide the decision of the Royal Justiciary.

## THE WYLY.

As we descend into the valley of the Wyly, through an avenue of trees, we catch peeps of Wilton and Wilton Church. Leland tells us that—"Wyle renneth thorough the toun of Wilton, divided into armes. And here cummith into Wyle, a river called *Nadder*,[1] alias *Fovington* water, bycause it risith about Fovington (Fovant)."

At the end of the avenue, may be seen the arch leading to Wilton House, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. We turn to the left on reaching Fugglestone St. Peter and pass the Church.

[1] It has been doubted whether the derivation of *Nadder*, given at p. 5, is correct. Mr. Swayne suggests that the names of such rivers as the *Adar* (in Mayo), the *Adour* (in France), and the *Adur* (in Sussex) have their origin from the Welsh *dwr*, "water;" and that the name *Nadder* (or No*der*) may also have been derived from the same word. Pritchard gives a list of forty-four ancient names containing this root in Italy, Germany, Gaul, and Britain. The word itself occurs in the *Dour* in Fife, Aberdeen, and Kent: the *Dore* in Hereford, and the *Duir* in Lanark. In a compounded form it is present in the Glas*dur*, or grey water, in Elgin; the Ro*ther*, or red water (Rhuddwr), in Sussex; the Cal*der*, or winding water, in Lancashire (twice), and in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Lanark (three times), Edinburgh, Nairn, Inverness, and Renfrew.

## HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, FUGGLESTONE.

The Leper Hospital of St. Giles, at Fugglestone, formerly stood within the present Park Wall, at a little distance, on the right-hand side of the road, after we have passed Fugglestone Church. No part of this building now remains. It was originally founded by Adelicia, second wife of Henry I., for the reception of lepers, and was placed at some distance from Wilton, as was customary with buildings devoted to that purpose. The original site of the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-fields was well away from the City of London, at the time of its erection.

The whole of the Hospital buildings were summarily swept away some fifty years ago, and the land was enclosed in Lord Pembroke's Park. The foundation was removed westward, and still exists in the form of some humble cottages, lately, however, much improved.

In 37 Hen. VIII. (1545—6), there was a chapel covered with lead: and John Dowse, clerk, was Master. Its lands were worth £5 13s. 4d. a year. Four poor persons were relieved. The Crown Commissioners in 1 Edw. VI., mark in the margin of their Report, "Thys to contynewe." Aubrey says "there was this inscription over the chapel door. '1624. This hospitall of St. Giles was re-edified by John Towgood, Maior of Wilton, and his brethren, adopted patrons thereof, by the gift of Queen Adelicia, wife unto King Henry the First.' This Adelicia was a leper. She had a windowe and dore from her lodgeing into the chancell of the chapell, whence she heard prayer. She lieth buried under a plain marble gravestone; the brasse whereof (the figure and inscription) was remaining about 1684. Poore people told me that the faire was anciently kept here."[1]

Adelicia, second wife and relict of King Henry I., was daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine. She had the Castle of Arundel in dower from the King, and on her remarrying William de Albini, he became, in her right, Earl of Arundel.

The inmates of the original foundation are still supported by the grant of land given by Queen Adelicia. The Corporation of Wilton are trustees of the Charity, and appoint the Prior, as well as the brethren and sisters.

[1] "Nat. Hist. of Wilts," p. 73; quoted by Canon Jackson.

Down to the time of the removal of the old Hospital, the spirit of the Royal foundress was supposed to haunt the locality: most Wilton persons, whose recollection extends back so far, will remember that those who passed near the Hospital, after dark, went in fear and trembling, lest they should meet the *Leprosy Queen.*

## BEMERTON.

AGAIN leaving the main-road, we pass through Quidhampton,[1] and reach the village of Bemerton, interesting from being associated with recollections of George Herbert.

Until 1859, there was no monumental record, at Bemerton, to the memory of George Herbert. For according to Izaak Walton:—"He lies buried in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a gravestone without any inscription."

We are now about to visit a church erected as a Memorial to him, at no great distance from Herbert's own church. The foundation-stone bears the following inscription:—

This stone was laid on the
9th of April, 1859,
by Elizabeth, wife of Sidney,
1st Lord Herbert of Lea;
A devoted Promoter of this work.

On the west wall of the church is a brass plate, and engraved upon it is as follows:—

To God most High.
In memory of his servant,
George Herbert, M.A.,
of the antient race of the Earls
of Pembroke. A renowned Poet,
a chaste Priest, a good citizen,
formerly Public Orator in the
Univy. of Cambridge, and
rector of this Parish.
This Church as a monument
of so excellent a man
was erected by subscription.
A.D. 1861.

Leaving the Memorial Church, we proceed to George Herbert's Church, it stands opposite the Rectory, which he nearly,

[1] Ante, p. 6.

if not quite, rebuilt. Over the chimney-piece in the hall, he caused the following inscription to be placed :—

"TO MY SUCCESSOR."

"If thou chance for to find
A new House to thy mind,
And built without thy cost ;
Be good to the Poor,
As GOD gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost."[1]

Herbert repaired (or rebuilt) his Rectory at Bemerton, when in the thirty-sixth year of his age (1630). Priority may, therefore, be claimed for the wording of these lines over those which appear in Fuller's "Holy and Profane State," published in 1642. Fuller writes in his character of the Faithful Minister:— "A clergyman, who built his house from the ground, wrote on it this counsel to his successor,—

'If thou dost find
An house built to thy mind,
Without thy cost,
Serve thou the more
GOD and the poor ;
My labour is not lost.' "

The church was always a very humble building ; it is only forty-five feet in length by eighteen in width.[2] The south and west windows (Decorated) are assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The east window is modern, the old sittings have been removed. The decorated windows, font, and bell are, probably, the only objects now left that once met the eye of Herbert. Herbert's pastoral work only extended over the brief space of rather more than two years, yet during that short time he had so won the affection of his parishioners, that, we are told, "some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when his saint's bell rung to prayer, that they might also offer their devotion to God with him, and would then return back to their plough." Herbert's health gradually declined, but, while any portion of strength

[1] The original inscription does not exist, but a copy of it (at least of the wording) has been placed, on the outside wall of the Rectory, over the front door ; I believe by the present Rector, the Rev. W. P. Pigott.

[2] "Notes and Queries," Series ii., p. 460.

remained, he continued to read prayers twice every day, as his custom had been. At length he passed calmly away, and in the Register of Bemerton, is the following entry:—"Mr. George Herbert, Esq., Parson, of Ffoughlston and Bemerton, was buried 3 day of March, 1632."

He was born, April 3, 1593, in the Castle of Montgomery, Wales. His name appears among the Scholars of Trinity, College, Cambridge, May 5, 1609; he became a Fellow; and obtained the distinguished post of Public Orator, Oct. 21, 1619. George Herbert relinquished those honors to which this post was usually the stepping-stone, and entered the Church; he accepted the Prebend of Leighton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626. He partially rebuilt the church of Leighton, and caused the pulpit and reading-desk there to be placed on opposite sides of the church, and to be made of equal height; in order to show that "preaching ought not to be esteemed above praying, nor praying above preaching." About 1627, his health, never very good, gave way, and signs of consumption began to show themselves. He was recommended change, and sought it at Dauntsey, in Wiltshire, the residence of Lord Danby. There lived at Bainton, in the same county, a kinsmen of Lord Danby,—Mr. Charles Danvers—the father of nine daughters, of whom Jane was his favourite. Walton tells us that, Jane "became so much of a Platonick as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen." Certain it is, that some mutual friends brought them together; and, within three days of their first interview they were married.

About three months after the marriage, Dr. Curle, being elevated to the See of Bath and Wells, resigned the rectory of Bemerton, which accordingly passed from the Patron, Lord Pembroke, to the King; but when the Earl asked the living for Herbert, his request was granted. Herbert set out for Wilton, but the cure of souls lay heavy upon his mind, and he was in doubt whether to accept, or decline it. Lord Pembroke, feeling unequal to combat his scruples, sought the advice of Laud, then Bishop of London; and Walton tells us that:—"The Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did. And Mr. Herbert, being so habited, went with his

presentation to Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately; and he was also the same day (April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and *more pleasant than healthful*, Parsonage of Bemerton." Being left in the church to toll the bell, as the law required him to do, he wearied the patience of his friends at the door, and one of them, looking in at the window, saw the new rector prostrate before the Altar. They afterwards found that he had been setting rules for the government of his pastoral life, and was making a vow to keep them.

Mrs. Herbert, the widow of George Herbert, was afterwards the wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam (Gloucestershire), she survived her second husband about fifteen years. She died in 1653, and was buried at Highnam.

According to tradition, an aged fig-tree against the wall of the Rectory, and a medlar in the garden were planted by George Herbert.

Leaving Bemerton, we proceed to Salisbury, on our way passing near some brick-fields and beds of gravel. These formations contain flint implements that were fashioned by the hand of man long before Stonehenge was erected, before a single tumulus was raised on Salisbury Plain, before our hill-tops were crowned with defensive earth-works, even before the valleys themselves were sufficiently deepened to render the hills such strong natural defensive positions as they afterwards became.

It has been already mentioned that, at a comparatively recent geological period (Pleistocene), the Avon must at times have assumed a torrential character—this was also the case with the Wyly and the other rivers of the district. The brick-earth at Fisherton, which in Harding's and Baker's pits has a thickness of about 30 feet, is the sediment from the turbid flood-waters of the ancient rivers Wyly and Avon.

Fig. 78 represents a section in Baker's pit, exposed in 1864, from a sketch made at the time by Dr. Blackmore. There is very distinct stratification in these beds, all of which have a general dip towards the Wyly. In Fig. 78 *a* is vegetable mould; *b* clay and gravel; *c* a sandy vein, largely consisting of material derived from the waste of the upper greensand, a deposit that occurs higher up the valley; *d* brick-earth: *e* a dark vein containing minute land shells (*Pupæ muscorum*) in great abundance; *f* brick-earth; *g* a dark brown vein (vegetable?);

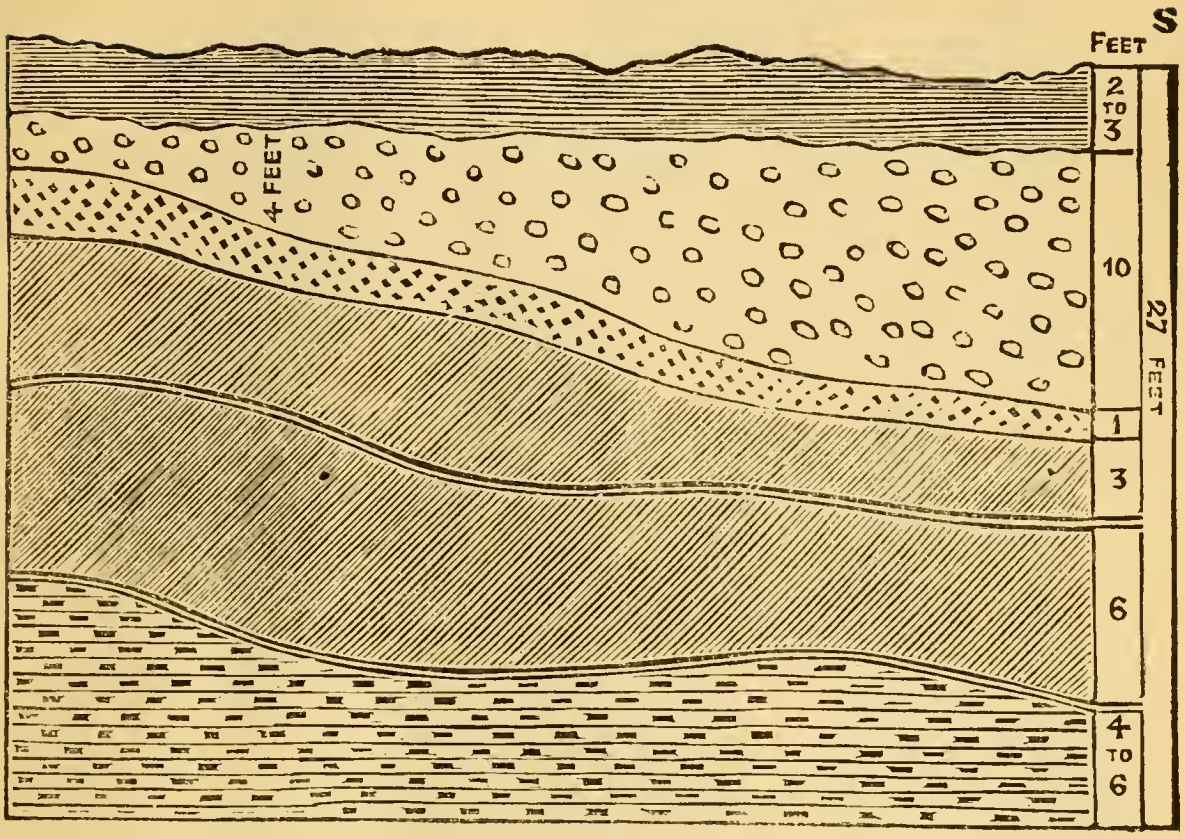



FIG. 78.

*h* brick-earth, containing flint implements (Palæolithic). Remains of animals (mammalia) are found in the beds *d*, *f*, and *h*, but they are more numerous in *h* and close under *g*.

Many of the remains belong to species that are now either locally, or absolutely, extinct; among these are the cave-lion, cave-hyæna, reindeer, musk-sheep, woolly elephant (mammoth), and rhinoceros. Associated with these remains are implements of flint of the earliest type at present known (Palæolithic). The implement shown in Fig. 79 was found at Fisherton, in undisturbed brick-earth, *beneath* remains of the mammoth. Such implements are met with, but seldom in the brick earth, but in certain beds of gravel in the neighbourhood (coloured yellow on the plan of the route) they are comparatively abundant. Implements from the sheet of gravel above Bemerton are shown by Figs. 80 and 81; and the very fine implement represented by Fig. 82 is from a similar deposit of gravel, at Milford Hill, on the other side of Salisbury. All these implements are figured half size: the specimen from Highfield, Fig. 4, is unusually small.

These (Quaternary) gravels are of fluviatile origin, not

FIG. 79. FISHERTON. $\frac{1}{2}$.

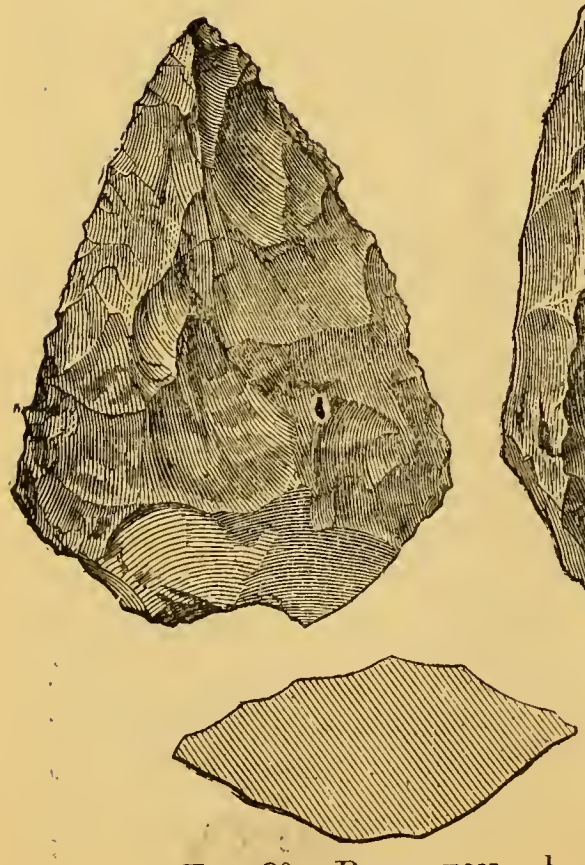


FIG. 80. BEMERTON. $\frac{1}{2}$.

FIG. 81. HIGHFIELD. $\frac{1}{2}$.

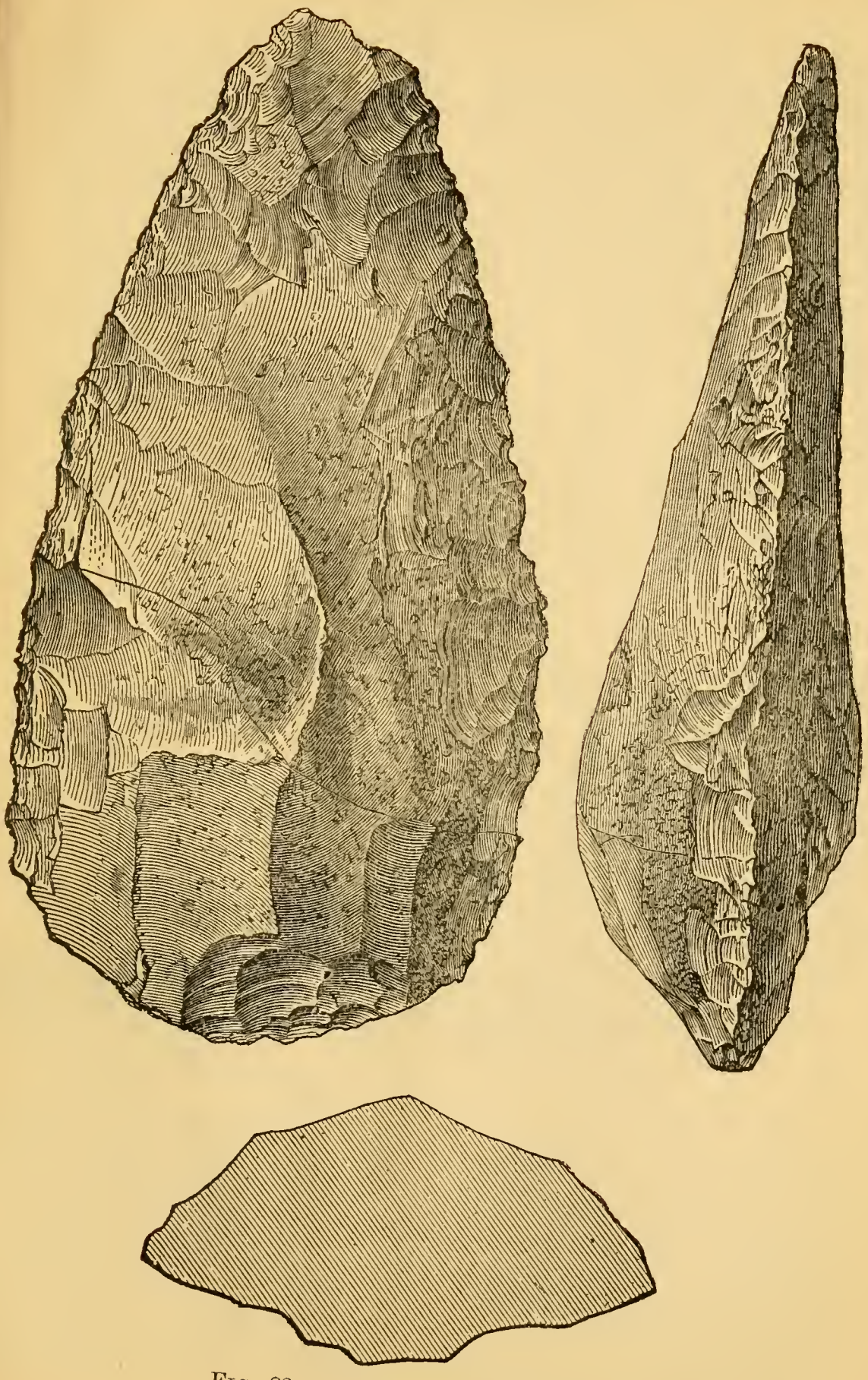


FIG. 82. MILFORD HILL. $\frac{1}{2}$.

marine like the Tertiary gravels previously mentioned. Composed as they are of moderately large-sized stones, they could only have been deposited at the *bottom* of the ancient rivers, but as these gravels are now at an elevation of about 80 feet above the present level of the rivers that flow by them, it seems to follow that the valleys have been eroded to their present depth *since* the gravels were deposited.

The time requisite for the excavation of a valley to the depth of about 80 feet, chiefly by river action, if it could be calculated by years, is believed to afford us the minimum age of the implements found in these gravels. In the *later* deposit —the brick-earth—implements associated with extinct animals have been found, as already mentioned.

The relative position of these deposits may be seen in Fig. 83, which represents a section, half-way across the valley, at the point where we shall re-enter the main-road from Wilton,

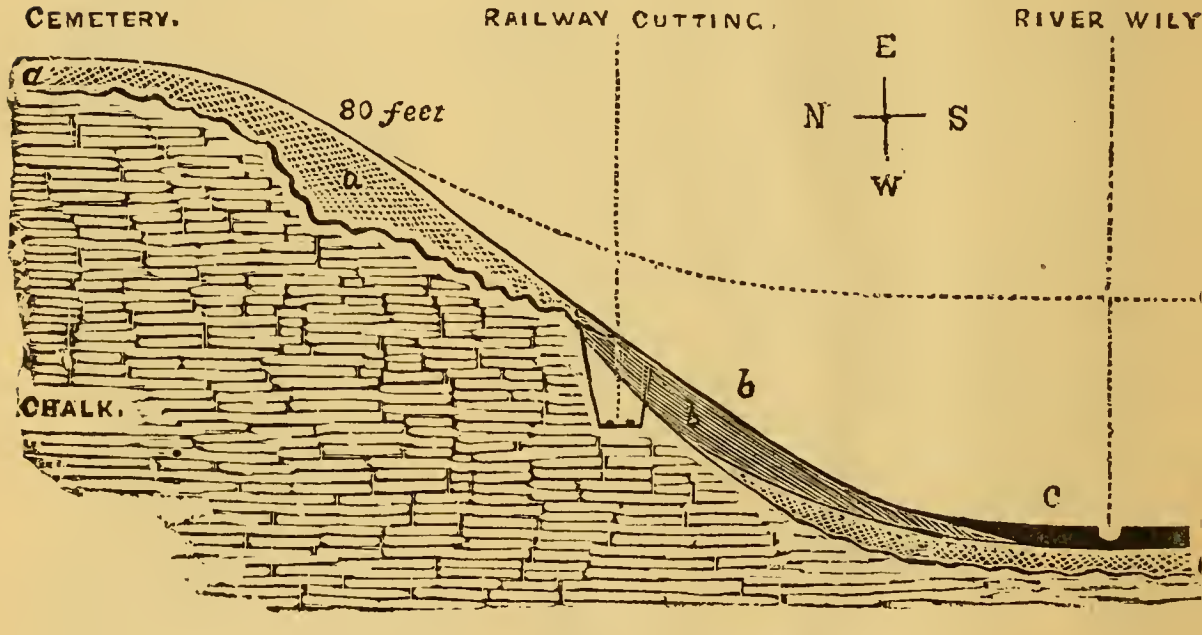



FIG. 83. SECTION AT BEMERTON.

after we leave Bemerton. In this section, *a* is the high-level Quaternary gravel containing (Palæolithic) implements; *b* the brick-earth; *c* the alluvium; and *d* the low-level Quaternary gravel. The dotted line, *e*, indicates the (probable) bottom of the valley when the gravel, *a*, was deposited, this gravel is now at an elevation of about 80 feet above the level of the Wyly.

In some districts, much light has been thrown on the habits of primæval man by the examination of ancient deposits found

in caves; this branch of investigation is locally denied to us, for caves are not formed in the chalk. The objects found go to prove that some of these caves served as dwelling-places for men who, like the people who fashioned the implements shown in Figs. 80, 81, and 82, were contemporary with the mammoth and other animals of the Quaternary period. Implements of flint and bone, mingled with bones of animals that have served for food, form the floor of some of these caves, the whole being cemented into a solid mass by stalagmite. Caves that have yielded such evidence have been examined in England, Belgium, France, and elsewhere; but some of the more interesting and best known discoveries of this kind have been made, in caves and under rock-shelters, in the sides of the valleys of the Dordogne and Vezère, Central France. To judge by the remains found in these caves, the reindeer formed by far the larger portion of the food of the people who lived in them, and this animal evidently must then have roamed in enormous herds over Central France. The severity of the climate at the time may be inferred from the presence of this and other sub-arctic animals.

Some of the flint implements resemble those found in the Quaternary gravels of England and France, such a specimen is shown in Fig. 84, it is from the cave of Le Moustier, Dordogne. In some of these caves, associated with remains of the characteristic Quaternary fauna, are found flint implements and arrow-heads of types *not* hitherto met with in the Quaternary gravels; examples of such are shown in Figs. 85, 86, and 87, the flint tools known as "scrapers" are present in large numbers. All the flint implements, like those from the Quaternary gravels are, without exception, made by the process of flaking, hitherto no trace of artificial rubbing has been discovered upon any of them.

Harpoon-heads, needles, and other objects were made by these cave-dwellers from bone, and the antler of the reindeer; Figs. 88, 89, and 90, furnish examples.

The most remarkable remains left behind by man in these refuse-heaps are the sulptured reindeer antlers, and the figures engraved on fragments of schist and on (mammoth) ivory. Perhaps the most striking figure that has been discovered is that of the mammoth, Fig. 91, engraved on a fragment of its own tusk. The peculiar spiral curvature of the tusk and the long mane, which are not now to be found in any living

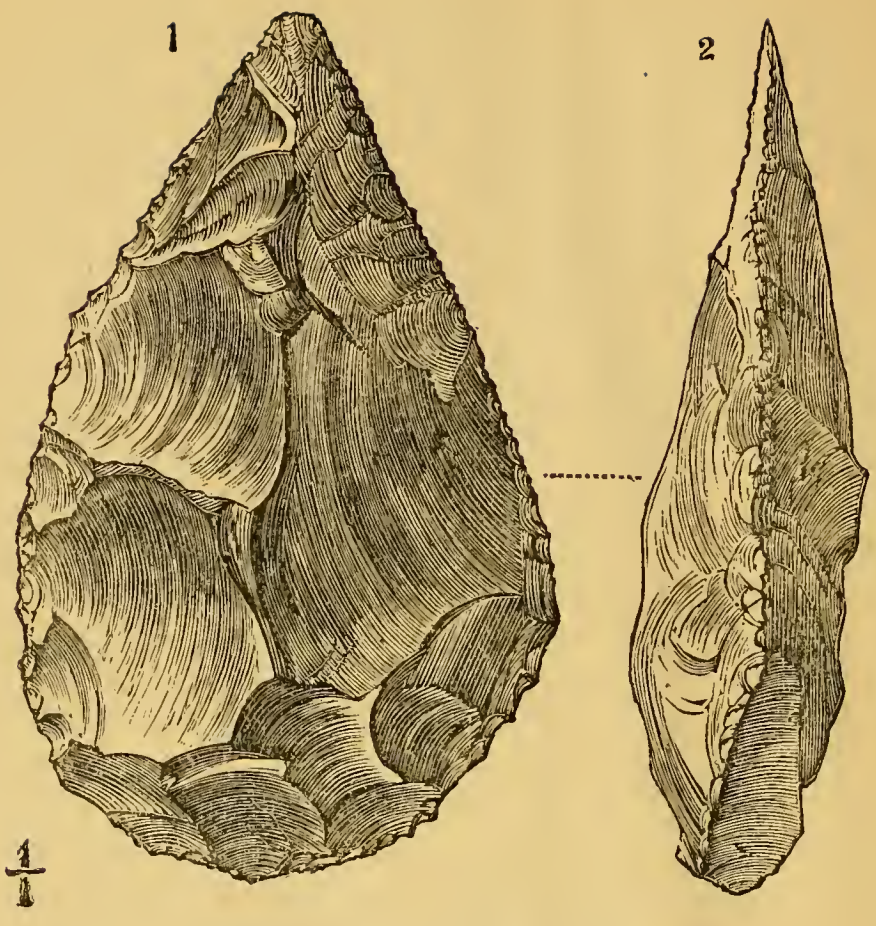



Fig. 84. Le Moustier.

elephant, prove that the original was familiar to the eye of the artist, and these peculiarities are so faithfully rendered that it is quite impossible for the animal to be confounded with either of the two living species. In Fig. 92, the natural curvature of one of the tines has been taken advantage of by the artist to engrave the head, and the characteristic recurved horns of the ibex.

Most of these repesentations of animals are merely scratched in outline upon pieces of mammoth tusk, reindeer antler, bone, or stone; but some are actual carvings, such as the specimen shown in Fig. 93. The attempt to copy any natural object was most unusual in the earlier culture-periods of the Old World, if we may judge from the remains that have reached us. Still, the animal-sculptures, such as those figured, furnish us with evidence that man, even at a very early period, possessed an innate love of art that lifted him far above the level of the brute creation.

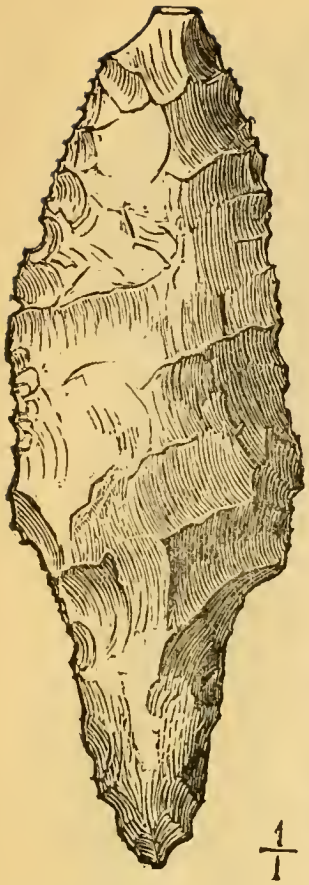


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Fig. 85.
Laugerie Haute.

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Fig. 86.
Laugerie Haute.

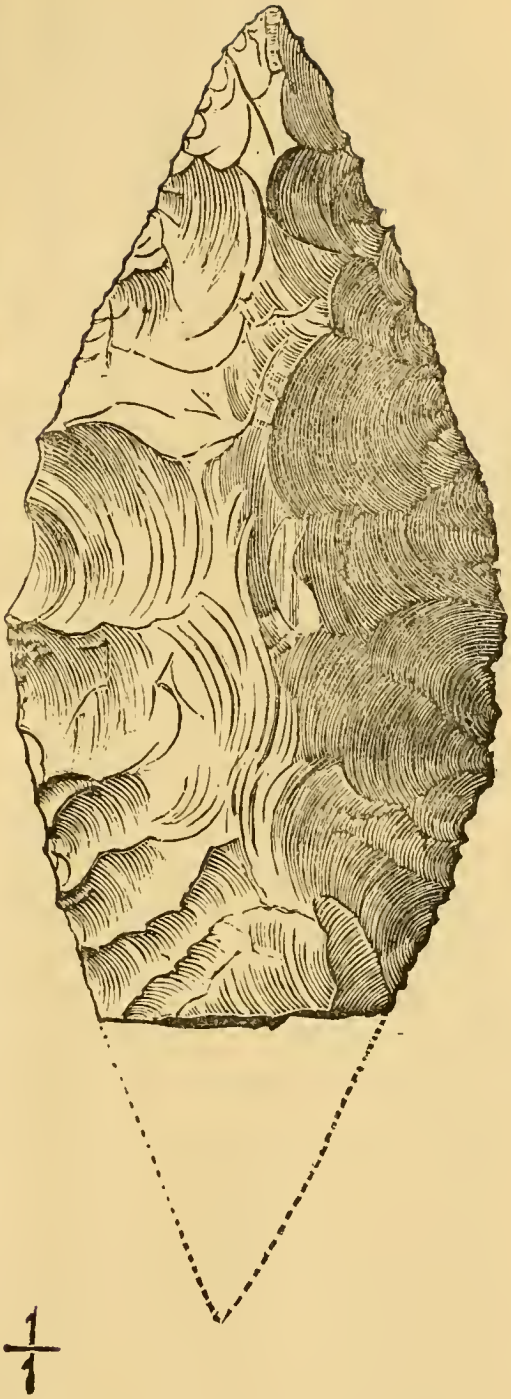

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Fig. 87.
Laugerie Haute.

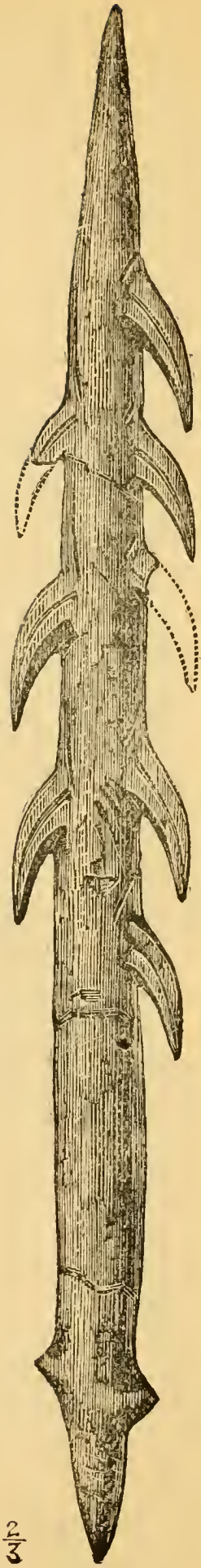

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Fig. 88. La Madelaine.

FIG. 89. FIG. 90.
LA MADELAINE.

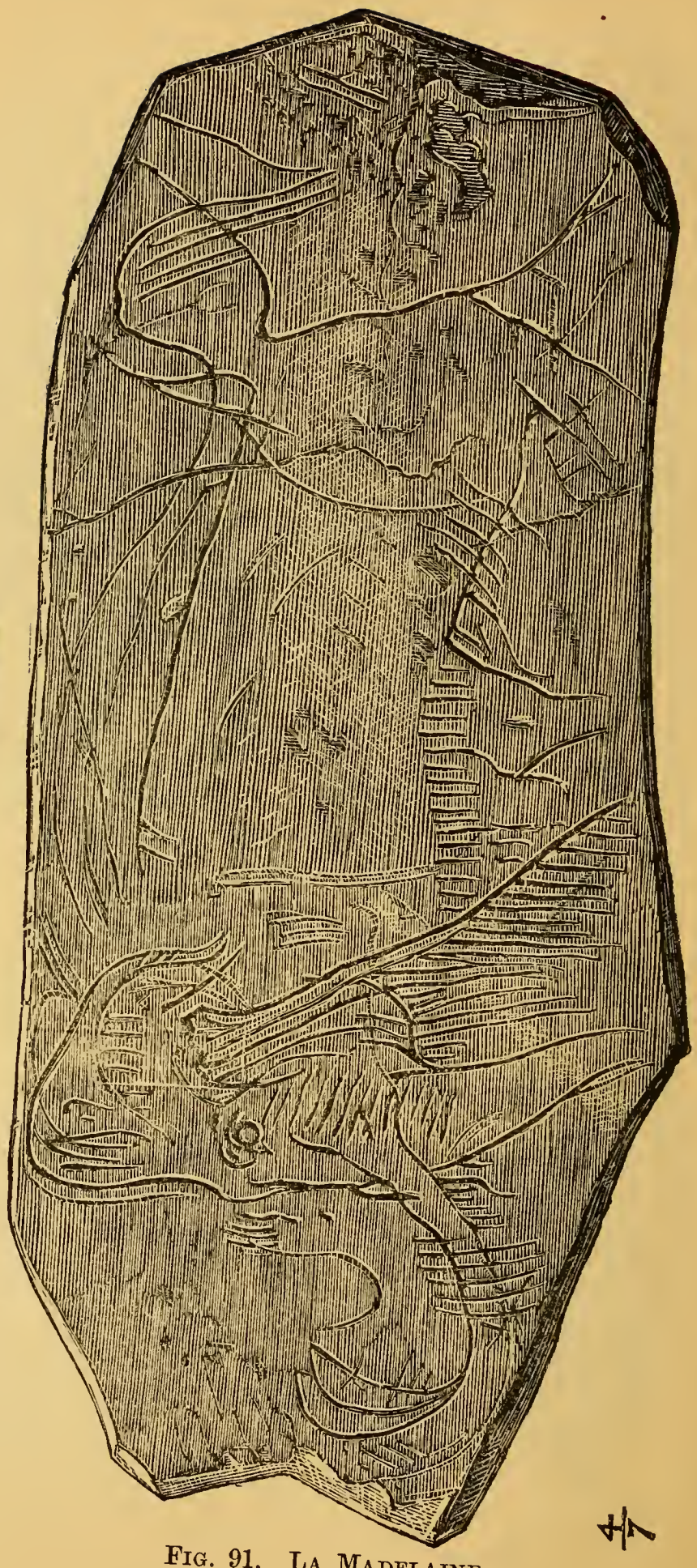

FIG. 91. LA MADELAINE.

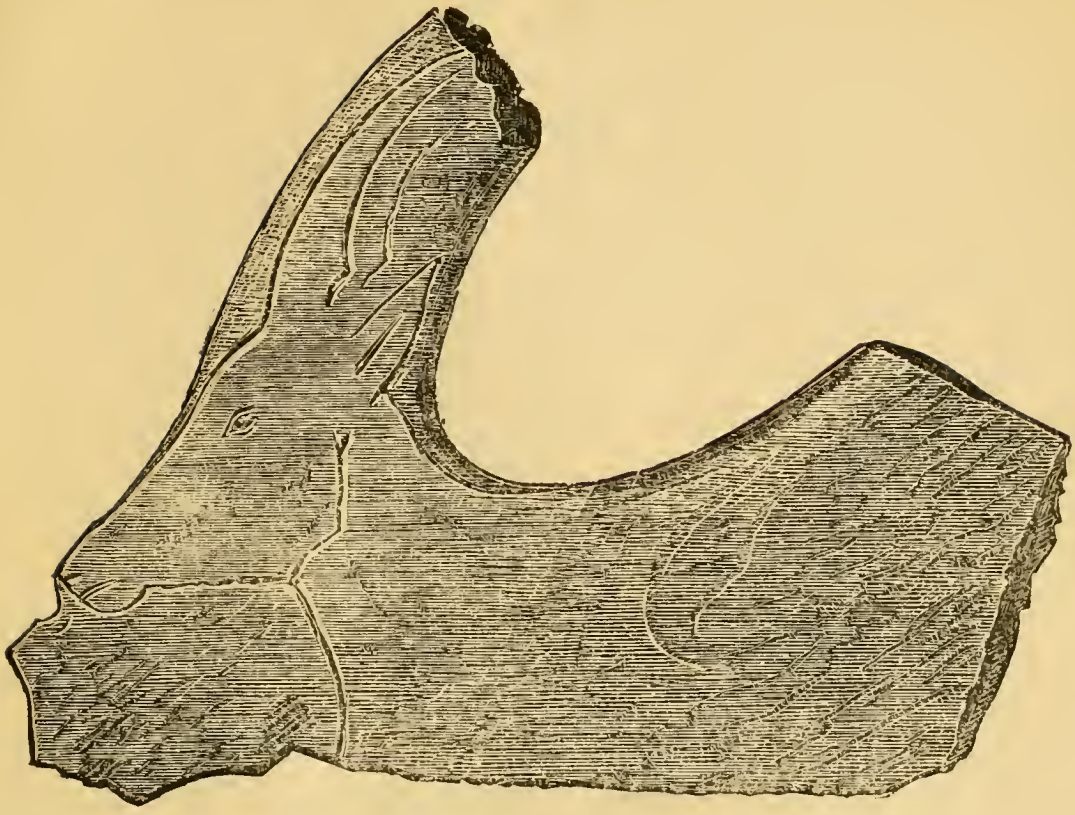

FIG. 92. LAUGERIE BASSE.

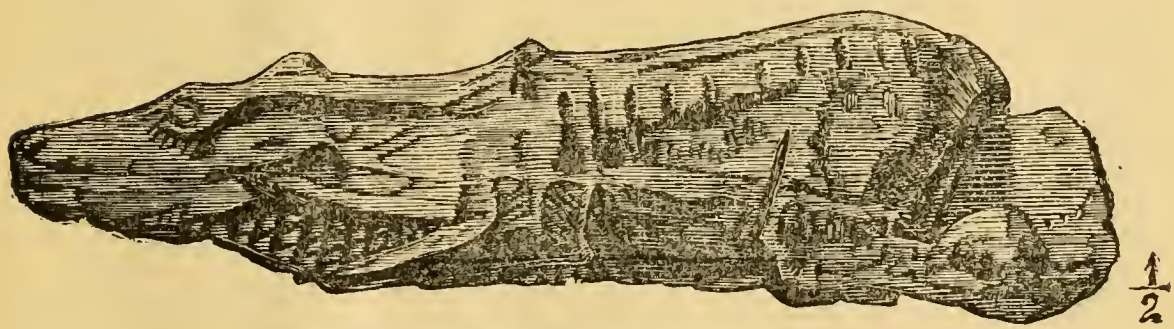


FIG. 93.

## FISHERTON ANGER.

AFTER a drive of about a mile we reach Fisherton Anger (properly "Aucher"). Although regarded as a suburb of Salisbury, it is in reality more ancient than the city itself. It is mentioned in Domesday as *Fiscartone*, and was held in the time of Edward, the Confessor, by Godric. "Ther was a village at Fisherton, over Avon," writes Leland, "or ever *New-Saresbyri* was builded, and had a paroche chirche there, as it hath yet." The old church, mentioned by Leland, reputed to have been one of the most ancient in the diocese, has been

destroyed. (See Fig. 94.) We shall pass the new church, erected on a fresh site; it is in the style of the close of the 13th century.

In 1324, a chantry was endowed by Stephen le Criour and Matilda his wife, in the church of St. Clement, Fisherton Anger. The endowment is in Bishop Mortival's Register. In 1547 (1 Edw. VI.), John Powell, aged 36 years, was Incumbent. Clear value £5 18s. 2d. per annum. "Mem.—The said Incumbent is no priest, but a layman, and had this chantry given unto hym for and to his exhibition to the schoole. Continuateth to the schoole *quousque* with the accustomed wages."

At Fisherton was also a "Hermitage." In the register of Bishop Chandler, at Sarum, of the date of 1418, is a curious document relating to it. This document was a Commission of inquiry previous to a License being granted to the candidate. The actual place of abode appears to have been a nook of the church itself. The substance of the document, in English, is as follows:—

"John (Chandler), Bishop of Sarum, &c. To Godfrey Crukadan and Sir Nicholas Godwyn, Canons of our church, greeting. Whereas our beloved in Christ, John, Hermit, of the Hermitage of Fisherton, near Sarum, hath prayed us that we would allow him, being desirous by a life of continence and chastity to attain to a better life, to be shut up in a narrow place of hermitage at the end of the chapel of Fisherton, and there serve God; we, knowing the nature of human frailty, and that the Devil, the enemy of mankind, often causes the pious resolution of a moment to be followed up by regret; but not knowing the said petitioner nor the circumstances of the said chapel and hermitage, nor how far we may be interfering with the rights of owners and parishioners, &c., command you to make inquiry into these things; whether the said John is of good life and conversation; whether he is likely to follow up his vow; whether he was ever betrothed or married; whether any damage would be done to owners or parishioners, by the shutting up of the said John. Let inquiry be made on the oath both of clerks and laymen. Then, should no impediment be found why the said John should not be shut up as he desires, let him be so shut up as he wishes in the place aforesaid; bestow on him a blessing; do whatever else is right and proper, and report the same to us."[1]

[1] Canon Jackson, "Wilts. Mag.," vol. x., pp. 280, 281.

FIG. 94. FISHERTON OLD CHURCH.

As we pass down Fisherton, we cross a bridge (Summerlock bridge) carried over a small rivulet, which flows out of the Avon and quickly enters the united streams of Wyly and Nadder. On the left-hand side of the bridge there stood, until within the last few years, the picturesque group of buildings shown in Fig. 95.

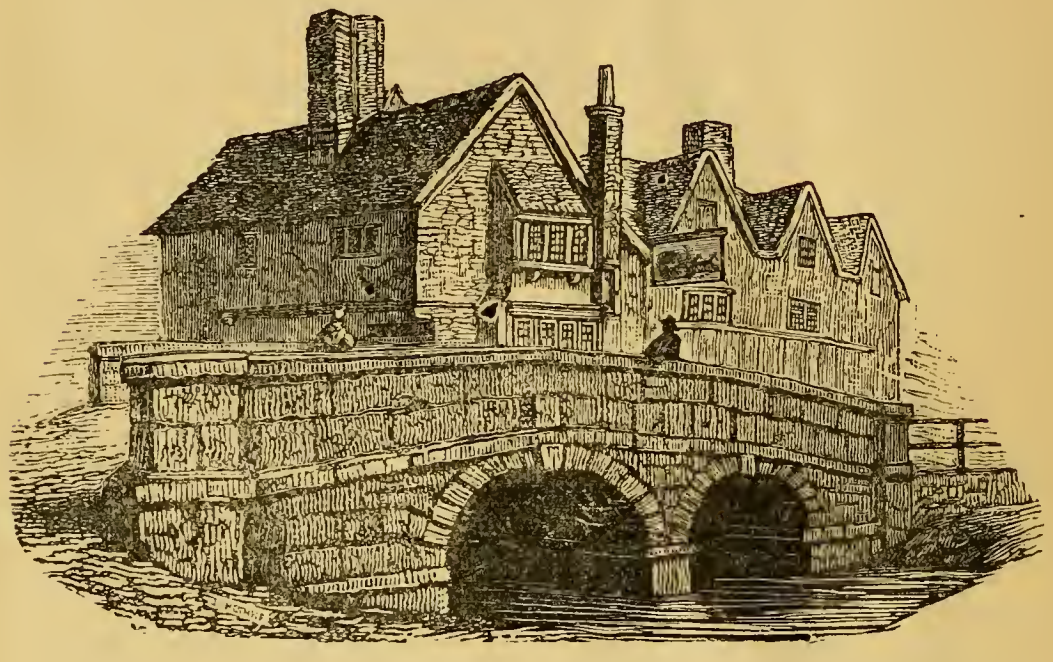

Fig. 95. Old Buildings in Fisherton, now destroyed.

"In this *Fisherton*," writes Leland, "now a suburb of *New-Saresbyri*, was, since the erection of the new toun, an house of *Blake Frères* builded not far from *Fisherton* Bridge." The bridge alluded to is that carried over the main stream of the Avon, near the Salisbury Infirmary. The old stone bridge was destroyed a few years since, and is replaced by one of iron.

## MONASTERY OF THE BLACK FRIARS, FISHERTON.

Some remains of this building were discovered in digging for foundations for the Messrs. Williams' malthouses, between the Infirmary and the Market House. The skeletons found were orientated, but whether the skulls laid to the east, or to the west, was not observed, indeed very little notice was taken of the discovery.

The Religious Houses in Salisbury were two small establishments.

1. The Dominicans, Black Friars, or Friars Preachers. They came from Wilton, and settled at Fisherton. Their conventual church is mentioned. (Hatcher, p. 90.)

2. The Franciscans, Grey Friars, or Friars Minors. They also had a conventual church. (Hatcher, p. 57, 90.)[1]

In 1348, Elias Howes directs his body to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at Salisbury; similar requests were made by other persons in 1361, 1401, and 1410. The convent of these Friars Preachers, at Wilton, was situated in what is now known as West Street. Part of the community removed to Fisherton, prior to 1335. The building at Fisherton is said to have been founded by Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury (1272—1278).

The Black Friars and the Grey Friars were mendicant monks.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, two men, in different places, about the same time, conceived the idea of founding a new religious society on the principle that all the members should subsist wholly upon alms. Francis of Assisi organised an institution of Mendicant friars in Italy, and from him, their founder, they became known as "Franciscans." A short time afterwards, Dominic, a native of Castile (Spain), formed another fraternity of the same kind in the south of France, and they, after their founder, were called "Dominicans." Both these communities bound themselves to possess no property (either individually or in common), but to depend for their livelihood entirely on begging, and never to acquire, even in this way, more than was sufficient for the supply of a single day. The see of Rome, at first, declined to countenance the movement, but it was so generally regarded with favour by the people, that, in 1203, Innocent III. found himself obliged to sanction the society of the Franciscans; and, in 1216, his successor, Honorius III., confirmed the order of Dominicans These societies rapidly obtained extensive popularity. The Mendicant monks found ready access to all classes of society, even the humblest. They knocked at every door, entered every cottage, accommodated themselves to the manners, and even the prejudices, of the working classes. To extend their influence still more widely, they adopted the plan of admitting the laity to a connection with their society under the name of

[1] Canon Jackson, "Wilts Mag.," vol. x., p. 305.

*Tertiaries*, such persons being bound by no monastic vow, but simply pledged to promote, as far as possible, the interests of the order to which they had become attached, while they themselves were living in the world and engaged in their ordinary occupations. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there was scarcely a place in which the Dominicans and Francircans had not their Tertiaries, and thus the Mendicants exceeded in influence all other monks.

One of the first symptoms of the reforming spirit which displayed itself in England was hostility to the begging-monks. From the first, Wycliffe was their avowed adversary; and they were the fiercest enemies of the intrepid English reformer.

In England, the Dominicans were popularly known as "Black Friars," on account of the colour of their dress; the part of London where they first established themselves still passes by the name of "Blackfriars." In accordance with the great object for which the order was established, they were called "Preachers;" they possessed special privileges, and were allowed to preach publicly everywhere without license from the bishops.

The Dominicans were incessantly at variance with the Jesuits on the one hand, and the Franciscans on the other.

## MONASTERY OF THE GREY FRIARS, SALISBURY.

The Franciscans, by way of showing their humility, styled themselves *Fraterculi*, "Little Brothers," and so, in England, became known as *Minores* or "Minors." The Friars Minors came to England in the reign of Henry III., and their first establishment was at Canterbury. In the affair of the divorce sought by Henry VIII., the King was violently opposed by the Franciscans, and, accordingly, this order was the first that was banished from the kingdom at the time of the Reformation.

It has been asserted, though without apparent foundation, that the Convent of Friars Minors was established at Old Sarum, and then removed to Salisbury. William of Worcester ascribes the establishment to Bishop Poor. Henry III. was a liberal benefactor to the Friars Minors of Salisbury. In the Rolls of the Placita Coronæ, under the date 1260, reference is made to a felon, who took sanctuary in the church of the Friars Minors at Salisbury. When at the Blackmore Museum you are actually standing upon the grounds of the Old

Monastery of the Grey Friars, and a building near, still passes by the name of "The Friary."

In 1873, some discoveries were made by Mr. Lovibond in digging for foundations for his malt-house, close to the Blackmore Museum. Several skeletons were found, in ranks parallel to each other, and in every instance the feet were towards the west—*not the east.* Such a position of the body is, perhaps, a little remarkable at the early period to which these interments may be referred; for the Grey Friars' Monastery, at Salisbury, appears to have been erected about the year 1231. It existed for rather more than three centuries, and was destroyed for the sake of the building materials, in 1544.

It has been generally supposed that interments, both of the clergy and the laity, were with the feet towards the east until June, 1614; when the sacerdotal privilege of burial with the feet towards the west was granted in the *Rituale Romanum*, sanctioned by Pope Paul V. This custom is said to have originated in Italy, but not to have commenced even there before the 16th century. The doctrine suggested by such a position is, that the clergy were to be honoured with a resurrection prior to that of the secular dead; their Master was to appear in the east, and the risen clergy were to advance with Him to the judgment of the general multitude. A somewhat similar idea appears to have existed even within the present century; for, so lately as in 1859, the clergyman of a parish in Derbyshire died, and was buried with his head towards the east; the reason given being, that at the resurrection he might be ready to face his people. This position of the body is occasionally indicated upon the monument; thus there is the brass of a priest, modern of course, in St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, placed with the head towards the altar.

I should be glad to learn whether, at an early period, interments east of the chancel usually took place with the feet towards the altar, and consequently towards the west. In my own experience, I only remember to have noticed one such instance; it was at Winterborne Stoke, very close to our route to-day. At all events such a custom, if it ever obtained to any extent, appears to have passed away from general recollection; so much so, that in Wales, the east wind is popularly known as "The wind of the dead men's feet."

All the skeletons found by Mr. Lovibond, near the site of the Grey Friars' Monastery, had been buried *without* coffins.

Perhaps this, almost literally, taking nothing out of the world with them, was adopted by the Franciscans as a meet termination to their life-vow of poverty.

The interment of bodies without coffins, however, seems not to have been at all exceptional even in comparatively modern times. Thus Lewis, in his "History of Thanet," gives a note by the Vicar of St. John's respecting his fees:—"For burial in a sheet only—6d." This is dated A.D. 1577. Again, from the same authority, the fee at Birchington and Ville of Woode (A.D. 1638) was for:—"Noe coffin'd grave—6d." In early times, it was frequently the practice to make a dying request to be buried near the Church of Lady's Island (Barony of Forth) without a coffin. This was regarded as an act of humiliation and devotion on the part of the deceased. The St. Clairs, of Roslin, were all buried without coffins until the latter part of the 17th century; when Sir James St. Clair was buried in a coffin, with great pomp. The Traceys, the Doyles, the Dalys, and others buried their dead without coffins in the graveyard of the Augustinian Abbey of St. John, near Ennisworthy, county Wexford, until about the year 1818. And the Rev. John Bernard Palmer, first Abbot of the Cistercians in England since the Reformation, was buried in the Chapter-House at Longborough, without a coffin.

Close to Fisherton bridge, and between it and the Infirmary, is a small weather-beaten piece of masonry, this is all that remains of the *first*

## FISHERTON GAOL.

In the oldest times about which we have any information, the chief gaol of Wiltshire was at the Castle of Old Sarum.

We know by record that there was a gaol delivery at Old Sarum, so late as in 1435. How much later a prison was kept up there does not appear; probably not long, for thirty-three years afterwards, we find prisoners of importance at New Sarum. Early in the year 1469, Sir Thomas Hungerford, and Courtenay, heir of the Earl of Devon, having taken part against King Edward IV., were committed to the Sheriff's prison at Salisbury, and being condemned to die, were drawn from their prison through the city, and out of the city to the gallows at Bemerton,[1] and there hanged.

[1] The site of the gallows, in 1751, was at the spot where the road forks, one leading to Devizes, the other to Wilton: *m* in Naish's map.

In 1568, it was determined to erect a new County Gaol at East Harnham, in full view of the grounds of the Bishop's palace. This intention was abandoned, owing to a remonstrance from Bishop Jewel, who, amongst other arguments, used the following, "that it muste needes be very incommodious unto the poor prisoners, beeinge utterly sequestred from all manner of relife of the whole Cittie, *from whence thei have evermore hitherto had theire present and greatteste aide, and without whiche thei are like to famishe.*" But the Bishop's real objection is no doubt contained in the following passage:—"As for mine owne poore parte, it wilbe sutche annoiance unto me, beinge placed within one flight-shoote of my house, and directely be-fore my studie, and chamber windowe, that this yo$^{r}$ determination takinge place, I must needes be forced to seeke somme other lodginge, having none other house of mine owne in al the world. Whiche injurie I am wel assured, it was never y$^{r}$ minde to seeke againste me." He further adds: "And leste yo$^{u}$ should thinke, there is none other place conveniente for that purpose to be had, but onely that of Harnham, I wil take upon me presentely to deale for an other place in Fisherton, sutche as I doubte not, but yo$^{u}$ yourselves in yo$^{r}$ owne judgementes, and in al respectes wil thinke to be many waies more conveniente, then the other." The letter ends:—"From Sarum ii Janrii, 1568.

"Yo, poore frende

"Jo: Sarum."

Fisherton was chosen as the site for the new gaol, and the magistrates deputed two of their number to manage the business (Christopher Willoughby, Esq., of Knoyle, and Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat).

A piece of land at Fisherton was purchased, of Mr. A'barowe, for £150. The first Fisherton gaol was 53 feet long by 28 feet broad. There was an upper story, a woman's prison, and a keeper's house adjoining; the walls of the gaol were 23 feet high; the inner walls of the convict's department were of burr-stone without any ashlar; there were seven windows 3 feet by 2 feet. The iron bars of each window weighed 21lbs. at 3d. a lb. For the burr-stone the old castle of Sarum was plundered, 80 loads at 8d. a load being hauled away; but, before this could be done, labourers were employed at 6d. a day for 12 days to make a road passable for carts from Old Sarum to

Fisherton. The ashlar stone was fetched from Chilmark; the earth and mortar from Harnham, the lime and water-sand from Milford. The tiler was paid 10d. a day, and the tiles came from Whiteparish and Cranbourne. The work went on very slowly, for the great difficulty was to get in the money. Rate-paying was new; the first poor-rate in Wilts seems to have been about the year 1553, and the rate for the Gaol, being in 1568, was perhaps a very early taste of county-rate. In fact, this first County Gaol at Fisherton, 53 feet long by 28 feet broad, was literally 10 years in building; begun in 1568 and finished in 1578.[1]

We have reached Salisbury, ——— and the "Stonehenge Excursion" has come to an end.

[1] Canon Jackson, Wilts. Mag., vol ix., pp. 82—87.

Bennett Brothers, Printers, Journal Office, Salisbury.

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| 109—Ditto, North Aisle Choir ... ... | | | * | | |
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| 111—Ditto ... ... ... ... | | * | * | * | * |
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| 113—Close Gate looking North ... | | | * | * | * |
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| 1232 | Ditto, View in | | * | |
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