

Edward Chaddock Lowndes.

CASTLE COMBE.

Scrope.

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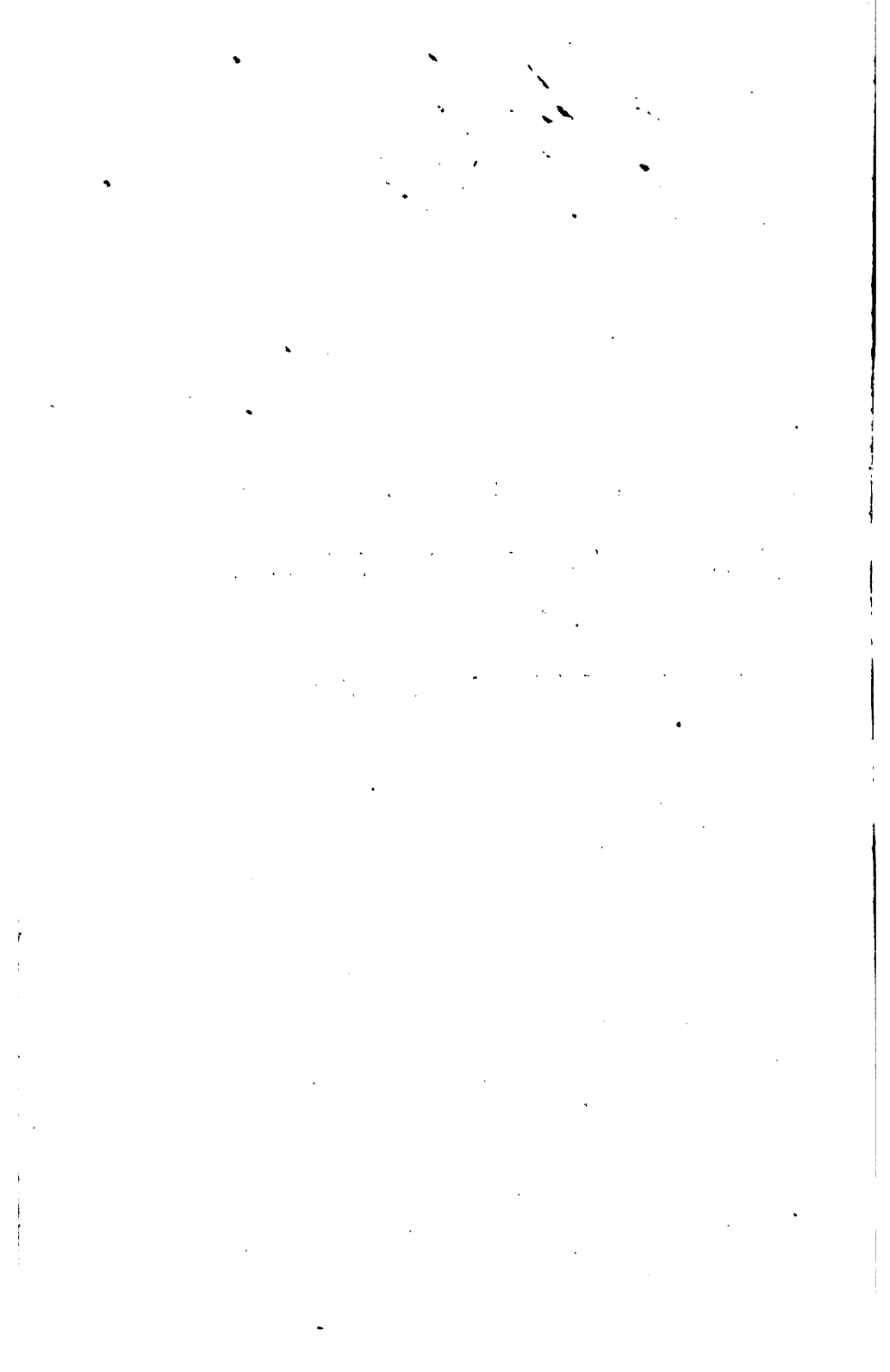


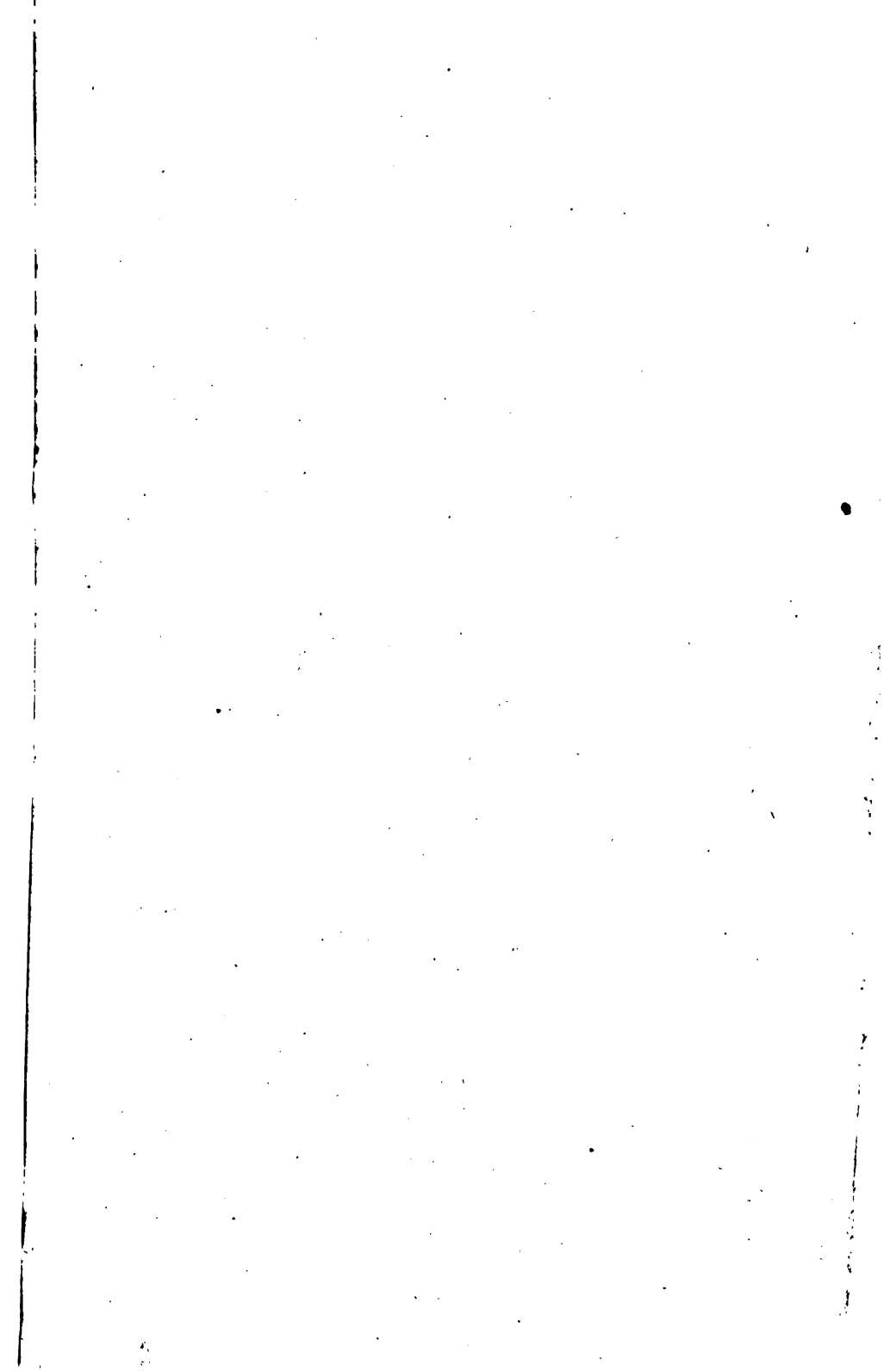
G. Powell Troke —
Geologico — Politico — Economico
sed amico amantissimo
et viro benevolenti
optimis votis!

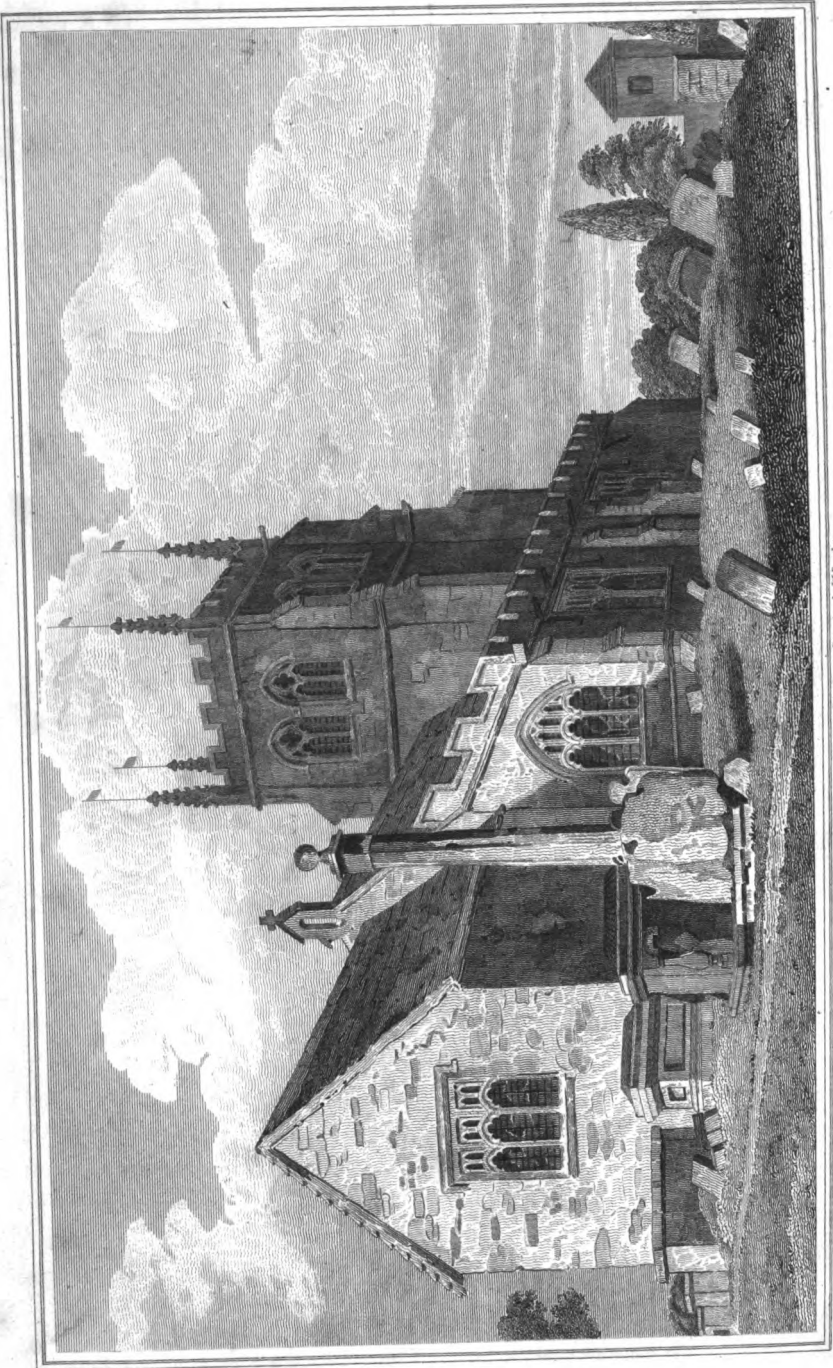
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G. P. Troke

THE
PAROCHIAL
HISTORY OF BREMHILL,
IN THE
COUNTY OF WILTS,
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE
ORIGIN AND DESIGNATION OF THE VAST CELTIC
MONUMENTS IN THE VICINITY.







Engraved by S. B. from a Drawing by W. Burdett.

BRIDGEMAN'S CATHEDRAL.

London: Published by J. Murray, Dec. 3, 1847.

THE
PAROCHIAL
HISTORY OF BREMHILL,
IN THE
COUNTY OF WILTS;
CONTAINING
A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT, FROM AUTHENTIC AND UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS,
OF THE
CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF STANLEY
IN THAT PARISH;

WITH OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON THE
Origin and Establishment of Parochial Clergy,
AND OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES OF
GENERAL PAROCHIAL INTEREST,
INCLUDING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ORIGIN AND DESIGNATION OF THE
STUPENDOUS MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY IN THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD,
AVEBURY, SILBURY, AND WANSDIKE.

By the Rev. W. L. BOWLES, A.M.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
PREBENDARY OF SARUM, AND ENDOWED VICAR OF THE SAID PARISH.

Nor rude nor barren are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers.

Warton.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1828.

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TO
LORD ARUNDEL,
BARON ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR,
COUNT OF THE SACRED ROMAN EMPIRE.

MY LORD,

As an high and honoured character in the county of Wilts, interested and versed in its local antiquities, and in gratitude for liberal hospitality and personal kindness, I inscribe to you this volume.

But I have yet a stronger motive which dictates this public expression of my regard and esteem:—Under the same BANNERS of the CROSS at the battle of Graun, in Hungary, one of your Lordship's heroic ancestors and an ancestor of my own fought side by side. Your Lordship's ancestor received, on the field, his creation of Knight of the Sacred Roman Empire from Rodolph the 2d; his standard-bearer in the same battle, Sir Rowland Bowles, had the addition of the Crescent* granted to his arms. When Sir Thomas, this

* When Lord Byron defended *Art*, as the highest source of

first Lord Arundel, an English volunteer, took with his own hand the standard of the infidel, the noble Baron of Wardour and his brave Wiltshire comrade professed one and the same religious creed. Their descendants, living in the same County, and mostly in the same neighbourhood, have diverged as far asunder as to their conscientious and religious opinions, as in stations of life. You, my Lord, believe in OTHER INFALLIBILITY besides that of the WRITTEN WORD OF GOD; I as firmly and as conscientiously believe in NONE OTHER UPON EARTH. At the same time, I am sure I do you but justice when I express my conviction, that the descendants of those warriors who, in a distant land, fought side by side, under the same banners, on account of the same profession of faith, would still be found ready to contend,—as far as “contending” in a Christian sense may be lawful,—if not for the same faith, yet as ardently, in an age resounding with the reciprocities of religious bitterness and strife, for apostolic charity.*

poetry, against NATURE, the motto to his pamphlet was,

“ I'll play at BOWLS with the Sun and the Moon !” †

little thinking that this motto was the best illustration of his critical principles.

* It was said some time since in a public paper, that Lord Arundel was at the castle of *bigotry* and *superstition*, Wardour. I happened on that very day to be in his company; when he laughingly said, “ Here am I publicly accused of being a *bigot*, when I have two *heretic parsons to dine with me!*”

† Sun and moon in heraldry.

The antiquarian portion of this volume, I hope, will not be unworthy your notice: some opinions, which in the course of the work I have frankly, but, I hope, not intolerantly, avowed, I know cannot be yours, but on points so material

Veniam petimus, damusque,

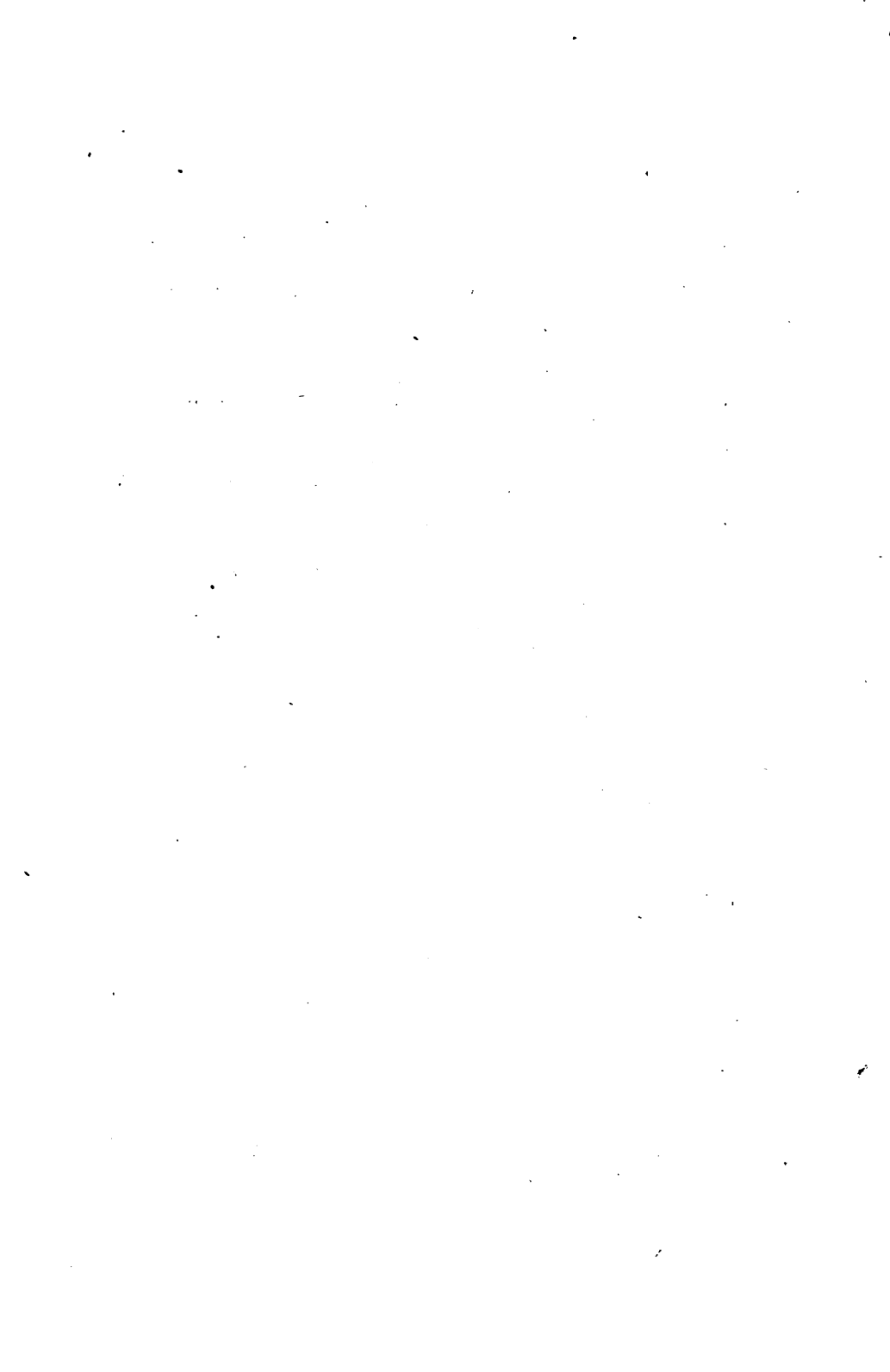
leaving the result to a world in which there shall be no shadow of uncertainty.

In the mean time I remain, with the greatest regard and esteem,

Your Lordship's sincere friend and servant,

WM. L. BOWLES.

Bremhill, Oct. 25, 1827.



INTRODUCTION.

BREMHILL, in the county of Wilts, having some claims, from its local antiquities, to historical notice, I had promised my friend, sir Richard Hoare, who is so ably and indefatigably, and so honourably to himself, employed in illustrating the antiquities of his native county, to give such an account of this parish as my long residence, and peculiar connection with it, enabled me to do. The subject has led me into a far more extensive field than that of mere dry topographical detail.

The object of chief interest was, undoubtedly, Stanley abbey, founded in a hamlet of this parish, by Matilda, the empress, daughter of Henry the First. By the sight of a great number of original grants and charters I have been able to throw more light on the origin of this ancient monastic foundation than can be found in any prior history, the general accounts of it being more scanty and

obscure than those of any other royal monastic foundation.

Writing on the subject of antiquities, I could not pass over those singular Celtic monuments in the vicinity, Avebury, Silbury, Wansdike, &c.

Respecting Wansdike,* I have been gratified by finding my opinions confirmed by such authority as that of the late Thomas Warton. In his History of Kiddington, he says, "Wansdike is the last frontier rampart of the encampments of the Belgæ northward. Here a stand was made between the contending barbarians. Nor is it suspected, that many of the numerous encampments in Wiltshire are, probably, the effects of obstinate wars between the insular Britons and the continental invaders."

Warton's specimen of a parochial history is the most interesting work of its kind. "I must acknowledge," he says, "I wished to contribute

* Mr. Duke has attempted to prove that this great rampart was merely a *foss-road*! an opinion which I shall not attempt to refute.

Since my pamphlet on the subject was printed, a strong corroboration of my ideas has been pointed out by an intelligent resident near the spot, that there is a remarkable line of direct communication levelled from Oldbury Camp to Avebury. On the subject of the Temple of Teutates, I may refer to a very able letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1827, by Mr. Miles.

this account of a parish with which I am most nearly connected, and therefore likely to be best acquainted." I may say the same respecting a parish in Wiltshire with which I am in the same manner connected. But I have more reasons than Warton for offering this contribution to the public. It appears almost a paramount duty in resident clergymen, when sir Richard Hoare has so nobly set the example of the commencement of a COUNTY HISTORY, to furnish the proportion of information which they must naturally be presumed more correctly to possess; added to which, unlike the parish of which Warton treated, and which he described as "not fertile in curious information," the parish of Bremhill has, I think, some peculiar claims on the attention of the antiquary and parish-historian.

It embraces *three* especial objects of literary investigation—Celtic, Roman, and Monastic antiquities. Respecting the Celtic antiquities, Avebury is probably the most magnificent monument of the kind in the world. The Druidical stones of Carnac in France, filling so large a space, are indeed prodigious, but the temple of Avebury shews vastness and more elaborate design.

I have, for the first time, endeavoured to shew its origin and designation, as raised to the chief Celtic deity Teutates. I have given my reasons for thinking St. Ann's Hill, commonly called TANHILL, the highest hill in the vicinity, to be the Hill of TANARIS or TARANIS, the Celtic god of thunder, looking down on the temple and mound of his messenger, Taut, Teutates, or Mercury. I have shewn, that the earliest Christians changed the names of places dedicated to Pagan superstitions into the names of their own saints, which resembled the nearest in sound the names of those places of Pagan idolatry. So, the Hill of Tanaris became that of St. Ann, pronounced Tan-hill—as St. Awdry is pronounced commonly, Taudry, and St. Antony, Tantony; but the most curious corroboration of the circumstance, that the earliest Christians applied the names of Pagan deities, or Celtic names of places to their *own saints*, has been suggested to me by my friend Mr. Skinner.

In Celtic, *Cad-a-Ryne* is simply the strong hold of the waters. This the missionaries of Pope Gregory * changed to *St. Catharine!* hence Catharine-street, Salisbury. Catharine-hill, Winchester, en-

* According to his particular injunctions in other cases.

circled with its mound of defence, was originally Cad-a-Ryne, or strong hold above the water.

Respecting Avebury, visionary and fanciful as Kircher may be esteemed, at all events he never saw, we may conclude, this vast Celtic temple, or investigated its form, or even thought of its origin; and yet the form is precisely that of the symbolical representation of the Deity in the ZODIAC, which Kircher has published (see *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*) as the Zodiac of whom? of HERMES; the earliest zodiac, except that of India, in the world.

The temple at Avebury being in form the same as the mystic emblem of the Deity in the zodiac of Hermes, and this very Hermes, or Thoth, being Taut, or Mercury, the chief and greatest deity of British Celts; let us enquire from whom is this Thoth derived? From the mysterious PHTHA of the Ægyptian mythology, the SON of the INEFFABLE ETERNAL, represented by the vast coil of the serpent GNEPH, or Emph; whence the conjunctive appellation Em-Ptha; the globe, the two branching extremities, and the wings, making together the symbolical representation of the TRIUNE DEITY.

Whatever conclusions may be drawn, I have no hesitation to affirm, that the higher we penetrate

into the regions of ancient mythology, the purer it becomes, as more clear from the pollutions of human associations.

“Osiris, Isis, and Anubis, haste” back to the darkness from whence they sprang: the attributes of the fabulous deities, which the “thoughts of men, continually evil,” identified with obscenity, put on a far more exalted character; and the further we penetrate into the history of the origin of man, the nearer at last we find ourselves approaching to the original precincts of revealed glory and truth. This is the origin of the Logos and Trinity of Plato derived from Ægypt, and patriarchal traditions.

But Thoth, being called by Lucan Teutates, we may ask, where did Lucan get the name? From the Celtic; and in the Cornish Dictionary, (see Borlase, who was not aware of the analogy,) Mercury is called Du Taith, unde Tu-taites!* I may add, that TOTTENHAM, in the Forest of Savenake, six miles from Avebury, and close to the mound at Marlborough, is simply the country of Taute—Totterdown, in the neighbourhood, Taute-down. But when so many mounds and hills of this

* Deus-Taütus—Dieu-Taith—Teutates.

description bear the name to this day of TAUTE, how came it that the chief mound adjoining this magnificent temple, has the name, not of Taute, but of Silbury?

The reader will probably recollect, that on the top of this hill was found by Dr. Stukeley an interment, with a fragment of iron, supposed to be part of a British bridle. The circumstance of iron being found puts it beyond a doubt that this interment was subsequent to the formation of the temple and mound.

My conjecture is, that in the contests with the Roman legions, some distinguished British chief, as the highest honour he could receive, was buried on the top of this sacred mound, and that it then changed its name from the Mound of Taute to the Chief-Barrow, or Sil-bury.* Sil, Sel, are derived from Sûl, the sun.

* My friend Mr. Warner has given a new and very striking hypothesis respecting the origin of Stonehenge, of which, not being in my province, I have said little; his idea is, that the Belgians, having conquered the Celts, as far as Wans-dike, in rival magnificence, but of more polished character, built Stonehenge, as if to eclipse the other. I think this idea as just as it is curious. Cæsar, indeed, says the Belgæ (Germani) had no temples, but worshipped what they saw, the sun, the moon, and fire. But a rival spirit may have induced

Such are the objects which this parish and the monuments in its vicinity present to our notice, and which I have undertaken, as an humble offering to our county history. As life is stealing away, he who has ever felt that

Fame is the spur that the pure spirit doth raise;

(MILTON)

must sigh, to think not only how "little can be known," but how little in comparison with his first ardent hopes, he has performed. I should have been happy if I could have offered a more worthy work, or added a larger contribution to the splendid history of this county.

Although, indeed, an occasional writer of some years standing before the public, I have been interrupted in the pursuit of many literary objects congenial to my feelings, by having had, for the last fifteen years of life, scarce *breathing-time* from self-defence, in consequence of my conscientious opinions, candidly I hope, but not unmanfully, avowed in the life and edition of a great English poet.*

them to build this temple, and it is a strong corroboration, that it was raised to THE SUN (their chief deity), as Avebury, in my opinion, was to MERCURY, the chief god of the Celts.

* If there should be any doubt respecting one point,—the

Many of my opponents, and among them the most liberal, generous, and accomplished of them all, have sunk into the grave. The last of them, the truly learned and lamented editor of the Quarterly Review, "vitam in vulnere ponit,"—peace to his manes.*

If I have spoken diffidently of a great portion of life, forced from other literary pursuits by this long controversy, I can only say, with some pride, that I felt the necessity of self-defence the more necessary, because, if one-hundredth part of the charges brought against me were true, that I were little better than a compound of envy, hatred, and malice, I could never hope that one kind spirit, after I "go hence and am no more seen," would "*bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.*" †

I would not omit adding, from feelings of respectful gratitude, that for the opportunity of thus setting before the reader whatever he may find

mysterious publication of Pope's Letters by *himself*, they will be removed by a bare inspection at the Bodleian Library of the correspondence with Cure, the hand-writing of which cannot be mistaken. The hand-writing is *his own*, apparently but very slightly disguised.

* See Preface to Ford's Work.

† Lycidas.

interesting in those pages, I am solely indebted to the patronage of John, late Archbishop of Canterbury,

“ Ille ————

Ludere QUÆ VELLEŒ calamo permisit agresti.”

I fear it will be thought by some that I have been too minute in the description of a place so humble as the Vicarage-house and garden of this parish. But one of my objects, besides miscellaneous information on parochial subjects, was, in the present age of clerical obloquy, to exhibit the clergyman and his abode in their proper moral position in English society; and with respect to the description of my own house and garden, naturally connected with the subject, it will be considered that in a very few years, when the present possessor shall sleep

Where ends the chancel in a vaulted space,

With the departed vicars of the place;

every vestige of the house as it now stands, and the garden as it appears, may be swept away. I was therefore not unwilling that some future incumbent might know what was the state of the Parsonage-house and garden in 1827. Perhaps very soon

The spade may cover all my “ care” has plann’d,
And laughing “ carrots” reassume the land. POPE.

It not unfrequently happens that a new incumbent considers all decorations in a garden, detached from asparagus and cauliflower-beds, superfluous ; on the contrary, it as often happens that another,

“ Thinks alteration charming work is,” *

and appears busy with his spade the moment he takes possession ; doubtless, determining,

* I may mention a circumstance connected with this subject, gratifying as well as affecting to myself, respecting the alterations in parsonic residences.

The father of the writer was rector of Uphill, in Somersetshire, near Weston-super-mare, which he held with the rectory of Brean adjoining. In a most retired situation, as forlorn as a solitary parish near a desolate coast could be, his leisure was employed by planning the walks, planting shrubs and trees, and decorating a space of about an acre and a half of ground round the parsonage-house. I remember, though then a child, the planting of every tree, and though I had not seen the garden, except at a distance, for upwards of forty-five years, could walk round it blindfold, supposing it to have remained in the same form as when I left it.

Being this present year on a visit to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, I availed myself of a note from him to the present rector.

The house was shut up, but with the Bishop's note I took the liberty of going round every walk, and remarking every tree in the garden ; and, although so many years had passed away, I found the garden, except with the alteration time has given, precisely as it was when I left it, a testimony to my father's memory and taste, and, let me add, to the taste of the present rector, which I have double gratification in recording.

“ His predecessor lov'd devotion,
But of a *garden*—had no notion !”

On this account, if I shall be thought to have said too much—and I have been somewhat solicitous myself not to do so—I hope I shall find a pardon in every liberal breast.

It only remains for me publicly to return thanks to all those from whom I have received kindness or assistance in this work.

To my brother, CHARLES BOWLES of Shaftesbury, for deciphering the Malmesbury and Stanley Abbey Computus, and, through him, to JOHN CALEY, Esq. for the seals of Malmesbury and Stanley Abbeys. To my friend the Reverend JAMES INGRAM, D. D. President of Trinity College, Oxford, for pointing out some correspondent circumstances in the Druidical remains in Oxfordshire. To the Rev. Dr. BANDINEL, of the Bodleian Library, for pointing out all the passages relating to Stanley Abbey in the Monkish MS.; and to the Rev. Dr. BLISS, his coadjutor at the Bodleian, for the readiest kindness and civility, and sensible and affable communications. To my friend, JOHN DUNCAN, Keeper of the Ashmolean Library, multos devinctus per annos. To JOHN BOWYER

NICHOLS, for his great care and attention in bringing out a work of which the manuscript was almost illegible.—A few errata must be expected.

As I was anxious to ascertain the fact, whether the greater elevation of the Wansdike, immediately opposite and in sight of Avebury, were a subsequent addition, I employed the most certain means of establishing the fact, the spade.

The reader will observe, that I grounded my first conclusions on the authority of Mr. Leman; but I thought it best to judge with my own eyes, and shall now communicate the result of my search.

The line opposite the great Celtic Temple is double the height of any other part of the vast entrenchment. It is here, and all along opposite Oldbury, upwards of forty feet, measuring from the lowest part of the trench. At the height of about thirty-seven feet there is a layer of mould on the chalk, of about a foot in thickness; and on this, at the back of the vallum, is a layer of chalk again of about two feet, sloping to the level ground on the back of the vallum.

It was this circumstance which induced Mr. Leman to suppose the addition to the height was made subsequently to the original work.

Though it was contrary to my hypothesis, I hastily admitted this most material fact; but on accurate personal examination, the reader will judge of my satisfaction, when I was convinced that the whole of this vast height of the vallum, opposite the Celtic camp and temple, was the original formation, so elevated on this spot, as requiring a most vigilant occupation, and the strongest defence. Thus my first opinion received an additional and unexpected confirmation.

I account for the layer of earth on the top of the chalk within a few feet of the dorsum, and the chalk again on the layer of earth, from this obvious cause: When the labourers had raised the vallum nearly to the height of forty feet, they took off the turf to the extent of thirteen or fourteen feet on the other side; with this turf they *bound*, if I may say so, the chalk, and when this was done they added again about a foot of the chalk, as, after the turf was taken up, it lay beneath their working-tools.

To give the reader an idea of the subsequent ad-

ditions, supposed to have been made at two different æras, to the elevation of this mighty mound, in the particular part where it crosses the wild range of our Wiltshire Downs, between Heddington and Sevenake-forest, the best way will be to set before him a sketch, with the additions supposed to have been made to its original elevation.

Sketch of the appearance of Wansdike, with the supposed additions of a later period.

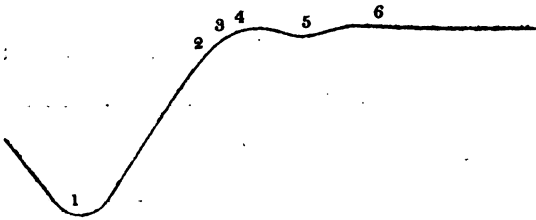


Fig. 1, bottom of trench ; 1, 2, elevation, or inclination of the vallum, upwards of forty feet in height, all chalk ; 3, layer of decomposed turf, or black mould, above a foot and a half in thickness ; 4, a foot and half of super-added chalk on the apex, above the mould ; 5, the hollow on the southern side of the bank, from whence the turf was taken ; 6, natural line of down.

Now, with this sketch before us, observe that, if additions were made to this vast embankment in subsequent æras, the appearance of any such additions are only to be found near the very top, and are trifling indeed, as compared with the original elevation. The layer of turf towards the apex, ex-

tending to the southern side of the bank, till it comes to the level of the natural ground, would doubtless have been laid on at the first construction of the dike; because it would be necessary to bind the chalk, when rising above the surface of the natural ground, on the south. This layer is about a foot and a half.

The hollow from whence it was taken is visible all along the line on the south. When the turf was taken up, the chalk would remain in this hollow, from which a layer of about a foot and a half more was thrown up on the turf-layer. The whole of this may well be supposed to be ONE WORK, and the process seems no more than natural, in digging and constructing originally this vast embankment. At all events, the additions to its first height can only be supposed to commence with the structure of chalk above the turf of not more than three or four feet.

I have therefore no hesitation whatever, on the closest inspection and examination with the spade, to state my full conviction, that I admitted a wrong conclusion when I stated as a fact, on the authority of Mr. Leman, that the additions to the height of the Wansdike, opposite the great Celtic temple

at Avebury, and camp at Oldbury, were the work of a different æra and period; and I as decidedly state my conviction, that this mighty rampart was originally raised to its present elevation. Thus my views have received, on subsequent personal examination, strength and corroboration from that very circumstance which I thought the only conclusive one against them, but which, as a friend to truth, I was bound to state.

My final conclusion is, that the mighty line over the downs, leading from Morgan's Hill to its western termination, was the great original work of the Belgæ; that the road in a straight line from Bath, joining the Wansdike on Morgan's Hill, was the exclusive work of the Romans, though there joining the Wansdike it received that name; that the connected dike from Bath to the Bristol Channel,* was a work subsequently added by the later Saxons, which continuing the line to the Severn, received or retained the name of the original and more gigantic rampart of their forefathers.

* Mr. Skinner considers this line a Roman work.

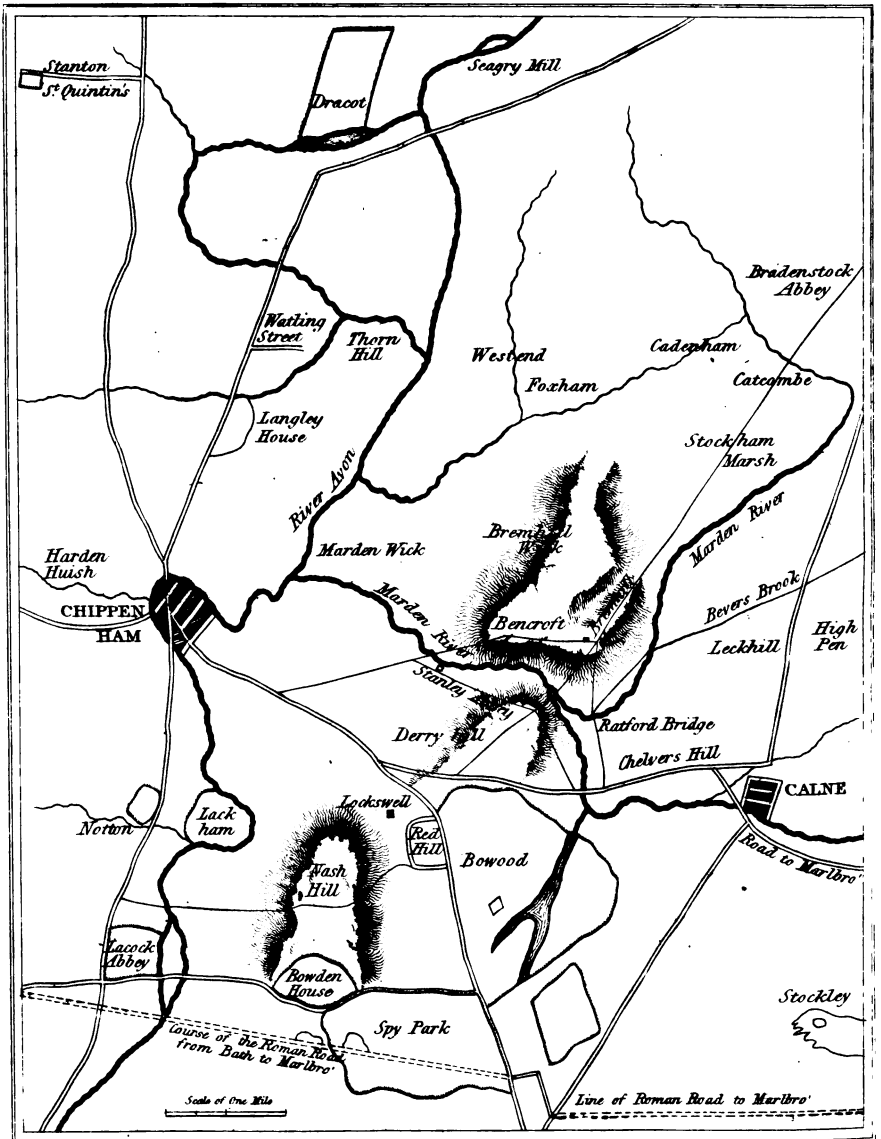
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ERRATA.

Page 6, l. 24, *r.* it is said Robert of Gloster built St. James's church, Bristol ; it was a priory.—P. 23, note, it will be necessary to explain what is meant by four sixpences. The woman and man were allowed by the overseer two shillings each a week, and was ordered sixpence a week more, and it was two weeks to the Petty Sessions.—P. 33, l. 21, for larger *r.* as large as.—P. 34, l. 1, for larger *r.* not less.—P. 39, l. 9, for minus *r.* minus.—P. 40, l. 1, *dele* in Britain.—*ib.* l. 13, It will be admitted, what Cæsar says of the Celts must also be applied to Britons, as to their objects of worship.—P. 57, l. 4, for domains *r.* domain.—P. 65, l. 3 of notes, for *Ciaro r. Cicero*.—P. 74, l. 2, for Hillmarton to the north *r.* to the east.—P. 76, l. 11, for south-east *r.* south-west.—P. 112, l. 6, for toll *r.* toll-free.—P. 129, l. 3, for scattered *r.* scattered villages.—P. 143, l. 8, for hath *r.* have.—P. 157, *dele* Speaker of the House of Commons.—P. 175, l. 7, for brevity *r.* levity.—P. 212, l. 5, for *lacrimæ r. lagrime*.—P. 223, line last, for composition *r.* compositions.—P. 224, l. 6, for the monument on *r.* on the monument.—P. 237, head line, for *BARBARIC r. BARBERINI*.—P. 249, l. 26, for tour of Calne *r.* tower of Calne.—P. 268, l. 14, *add*, in lieu of the penny a day.





Rev. J. Skinner del.

PARISH OF BREMHILL, AND ITS VICINITY.

THE
HISTORY OF BREMHILL.

CHAP. I.

Domesday-Book—Analysis of that ancient Survey as far as it relates to this Parish—Village Churches at that time and the present.—Past and present state of Population.

THE Parish of BREMHILL, in the deanery of Avebury, is situated partly on a commanding eminence, and partly in a luxuriant and extensive vale. It consists, by admeasurement, independent of a small rectory annexed (called Highway)—of nearly six thousand acres, chiefly of rich pasture and arable land.

In that most authentic record, Domesday Book, it is called Breme, where it is described as among the lands belonging to the abbey of Malmesbury.

As it will be the basis of some particular remarks in what follows, I extract the whole description from Wyndham's translation, correcting only some obvious errors.

“The same church (Malmesbury) holds Breme.

It was assessed T. R. E.* at thirty-eight hides. Here are thirty plough-lands (*carucatæ*), and seventeen hides in demesne, and there are seven plough-lands; twelve servants (*servi*), thirty-two villagers (*villani*), and thirteen bordarers (*bordarii*), occupy twenty plough-lands. Two mills pay thirty shillings. Here are twelve acres of meadow. The wood is three miles long and two furlongs broad: it was worth, when the abbot took possession, fourteen pounds, now sixteen. Here are seven plough-lands. Edward holds of the same manor four hides, and Teodricus four hides. Here are seven plough-lands, and there are so many with two villagers (*villani*), nine borderers (*bordarii*), seven cottagers (*cottarii*), and four servants (*servi*).

“There is a mill among them of the value of sixteen shillings. Here are ten acres of meadow and four acres of thorns. The wood is one furlong square. They are both worth one hundred shillings. They who held these lands in the time of king Edward could not be removed from the church. Teodricus holds of the land of the *villani* one hide, which the abbot gave him; Edward also holds of the king two hides of this manor, and Gislebertus of him; a certain English abbot took these hides from the demesne of the church, and gave them to a certain bailiff, and afterwards to a military man (*taino*), who could not by any means be removed from the

* In the time of king Edward.

church. It is worth forty shillings a year. *Willelmus de Ow* also holds of the same manor one hide, which the abbot gave *T. R. E.* to *Aleston*. It is worth six (shillings).”

Such is the account of this parish in that ancient and most authentic record, which was completed in the year 1086, in *William the Conqueror's* reign, who ordered the same specific survey of every parish in the kingdom.

Before I conduct the reader through the different hamlets of *Bremhill*, in their present state, I shall make some observations on the survey here given.

In the first place we may remark that nothing is said of any church, or of any land or tithes belonging to such a functionary as a parochial presbyter.

Out of three hundred and twenty-four parishes in *Wiltshire*, only twenty-four with churches are enumerated in *Domesday Book*; of these, two are quite in ruins, and one of them was held by *Nigellus*, a physician.

The names of the places where there were churches, are thus specified :

Wilton, the bishop's residence before the cathedral was completed at *Sarum*.

Calne.

Chippenham.

Brilford.

Rushall.

Aldebourne (Aubburn).

Corsham.

Melksham.

Coombe (Castle-combe).

Ottone, Q. ?

Westberie.

Winterbourne.

Nigravne, Q. ?

Collinbourne.

Werde.

Burbece.

Pewsey.

Avebury.

Hastrede, Q. ?

Hasebury, Q. Yatebury ?

Sherston.

Marlborough.

Downton.

Purton.

Of this number four belonged to foreign abbies ; and only one, Aldebourne, appears as having a priest as well as church. The others belonged chiefly to the king, bishops, or abbeyes. Whatever services were performed, the presbyter performing them had a precarious stipend, paid by those who held the land.

It must at the same time be remarked, that neither the churches of Salisbury nor Malmesbury are included ; but bishop Osmund, who established the new ritual, *secundum usum Salisburiensis*, died in 1099, thirteen years after the Domesday survey

was finished. At the time of the survey the first cathedral must have been in its infancy; for the decree of removing sees from obscure places was not published till the year 1076, and Hermon, the last bishop of Wilton, died in 1078. Though it is said by William of Malmesbury that he began to build a cathedral on his new episcopal seat at Sarum, it is obvious he could have done little towards this great work, which was afterwards completed by Osmund the Norman.

The abbey of Malmesbury stood at the head of the lands held under it, and therefore there could be no occasion to specify its existence further.

Presuming that there were but few parish churches at the time of this survey, how can we account for the fact, that almost every parish, in two hundred years after, had a church and a clergyman? When we cannot appeal to facts, we must be guided by the most probable inferences.

There is no mention of a church at Maiden Bradley in this county in Domesday, but particular mention is made of the mother church, in a grant from Hubert in 1199. Now the duke of Buckingham, Walter Gifford, received this demesne as a compensation for his services to William in the battle of Hastings. That he was a very pious man, according to the piety of the day, we have this testimony (Hoare's Wiltshire, Hundred of Mere):

“He was buried in Normandy, in a church BUILT

BY HIMSELF; for the fact is thus recorded in his epitaph:

Templi Fundator præsentis et ædificator,
Religiosorum præcipuè monachorum
Cultor, multimodè profuit ecclesiæ.

The inference I draw is this, that a soldier, such as this Norman was, having possession of one of the great forfeited estates of England, would naturally expend some of his great property, from feelings common to the Norman warriors, in establishing a place of worship and building a church in this country, as he did in Normandy. In the same manner, and with the same feelings, William of Normandy and his immediate descendants strewed the kingdom with abbeys; and wherever the Norman barons settled, having dispossessed the English, they built and endowed churches to conciliate the favour of the saints to whom these churches were dedicated, through whose intercession they might have a long and prosperous possession. The monasteries were first founded, parish churches followed, built and endowed by the earliest Norman possessors, or their immediate descendants. So the son of Henry the First, the brave half-brother of Matilda the empress, built St. James's church at Bristol, and was there buried.

I shall say more on this subject when we come to the parish church; but we may observe, from Domesday Book itself, how false is that generally received

tradition, that William created the vast solitude of the New Forest by destroying thirty villages with their churches, when there was not, I believe, a single church in the whole district.

Following the account in Domesday Book farther, I shall next endeavour to give an analysis of the method, pursued in that ancient survey, of estimating the quantity of the land in the parish.

There is still some difference of opinion respecting the exact quantity of a "hide" of land. Wyndham informs us that "a hide varies according to the value of the land, and that a hide would be as much as would be worth twenty Norman shillings by the year."

Turner lays down "a hide" as universally a hundred and twenty acres, and quotes, as authority, a sentence in which a hide is called "sexies viginti acras;" a hundred Saxon acres has been thought to be as much as a hundred and twenty Norman acres.

Reckoning therefore a hide as generally a hundred and twenty of our acres, we shall find the quantity of land in the parish nearly amounting to the same measurement as at present; that is, between five and six thousand acres. But in the last survey some lands are included lying in other parishes; and in Domesday Book I find a small parish enumerated separately, called Cadenham. There is no parish of this name in Wiltshire, to my knowledge, but there is a farm in this parish which

still retains the name, being an estate of about four hundred acres, formerly belonging to the Hungerfords. Part of the mansion remains, with the arms over the door, now a farm house.

As to the quantity of a carucate I cannot satisfy myself. What Selden lays down has the authority of Saxon and law dictionaries, and is admitted by Turner—that a carucate (plough-land) of which there are thirty, according to Domesday survey, in this parish, would be as much as could be tilled by one plough in a year, per diem; that is, worked every day.

Now, how much land does the reader imagine four oxen with one plough, worked through the year, every day except Sundays, would plough? Nearly an acre per diem, about three hundred acres in the year; thirty times three hundred would be nine thousand acres!

When, therefore, it is said that a carucate is as much land as would be tilled by one plough in a year, per diem, it was probably intended, and should so have been defined, that the “per diem” related only to the usual season of ploughing, about four months in a year.

This valuation would nearly correspond with the present estimate, supposing a carucate in general to be the same quantity as a hide.

Thus, then, reckoning the carucate in general the same as the hide, only distinguished as land under the plough, let us look at the mode in which

it appears to me the survey of Domesday proceeds.

First it lays down the measurement at which the parish was assessed T. R. E. in the time of king Edward. Breme, in the time of king Edward, was assessed at thirty-eight hides. Then the more accurate measurement follows, according to this survey of the Conqueror. "Here are thirty carucatæ, and seventeen hides in demesne, of which seven are carucatæ." That is, forty-seven carucatæ instead of thirty-eight hides, as it was valued T. R. E.

Then follows the specification according to this scale:

20 carucatæ, occupied by villani, bordarii, &c.

4 hides, Edwardus.

4 hides, Teodricus.

14 hides, villani, &c. carucatæ.

Edwardus, 2 hides.

Teodricus, 1 hide.

The woods, meadows, &c. will make up the rest of the admeasurement, and this estimate brings the parish nearly to the present measurement—5875 acres.

From the account of Domesday Book, in Warner's interesting history of the Abbey of Glastonbury, page 113, the supposed origin of the name, considered as the book of DOOM, from its severity, it appears, is a vulgar error. It derived its name from the Liber Judicialis, or Dom Boc, of king Alfred.

I have been at some pains, whether right or

wrong, in giving this analysis of one of the parishes described in Domesday, first, because there is much uncertainty on the subject; 2ndly, because the measurement, by this method, is pretty nearly ascertained; and because, by the same mode, any one who reads the account of his parish in Domesday Book may form a tolerably accurate idea of its extent and value at the time of that ancient record.

We are next called on to make a few remarks on this census of the working population, though it is uncertain at what exact time the census of this parish was taken.

The abbot of Malmesbury was lord; the cultivators of the land were

Cotarii	.	.	.	7
Bordarii	.	.	.	22
Villani	.	.	.	34
Servi	.	.	.	16
				—
				79

There were then, at this time, seventy-nine persons cultivating and living on the land.

The cotarii, from their smaller number, it is probable were a kind of superintendants, as well as obliged to contribute their own services; for I confess I am not satisfied with any of Mr. Wyndham's definitions of these classes. Villani and servi he calls "villagers and servants;" surely nothing can be more vague than either appel-

lation. All of these classes might be called "villagers;" the servants were not more regarded than the swine they fed, being slaves fixed on the property; and to show their abject degradation, Mr. Turner mentions a circumstance from the Saxon laws, by the expressions of which he conceives that some of these slaves were yoked with the oxen—"Let every man know his own team, of MEN, horses, and oxen." But the inference can hardly be admitted, as the horses or oxen, with their usual drivers, might be called the "team."

The villani were next above the "servi," being only *less servile*. The *bordarii* furnished the meat, corn, fowls, and every thing required for the lord's table. Mr. Wyndham calls this description of rural occupants by the very indefinable term *borderers*. *Bord-land* signifies lands which lords keep in their hands for the maintenance of their *board* or tables, and this definition might lead us to form an opinion of the occupation of *bordarii*.

The *cotarii* held by what was called a *free socage* tenure, and *soc* implies a degree of freedom. Rapin considers all but villani and servi as freeholders; but I cannot admit this, when a *copyholder* at this day has no right to give his vote at elections as not being a *freeholder*. The *villani* are so called as being attached to and irremovable from the village, not merely as *villagers* inhabiting a village, for all these classes were in that sense *villagers*. It should be remarked that the very name, cottiers,

remains at this day in Ireland ; the term is the common word descriptive of such petty leaseholders. The coliberti had a still higher degree of freedom, though far from the station and character of the "*liber homo*." We may believe that a "*liber homo*" was not found in the whole parish ; for, in fact, the estimation in which those inhabitants who are specified should be held, would be, not in what proportion they were *free*, but in what degree they were *not slaves* ; all among the Anglo-Saxons who were not *free* being, in a more or less degree, servile. But the coliberti were next the freemen, and the cottarii next to the coliberti. The stern and irascible William changed the lords, but it is not likely that he made any alteration among those who were employed as labouring occupants.

Of these four descriptions of occupants the parish consisted at the time of Domesday survey, and we have seen that the whole number amounted to seventy-nine. When we take into consideration the quantity of plough-lands, and the extent of the parish, it seems extraordinary that the occupants should be so few. There were, at that time, occupied on the lands seventy-nine persons in the whole. But the wives, and families are not included, for even the slaves had their families, as we find by various manumissions. Reckoning on an average a wife and three children to each, the population of the parish at that period might be considered as about four hundred. The same extent of cultivated

land now supports upwards of thirteen hundred ; at the last survey, 1821, the estimate was fourteen hundred and upwards, and we have at least, of late years, four christenings to one funeral.

The village labourer is now the most exemplary, the most industrious, the most soberly-religious, the most uncomplaining class of the community, and, owing to the poor-laws, the worst paid ; but how far superior is his lot to that of the wretched slave in Saxon or Norman times, over whom his lord had a petty sovereignty to imprison or brand at his discretion. In that noble and stern vindication of an Englishman's first and fundamental rights, the Magna Charta, we know it is said, " NULLUS LIBER HOMO CAPIETUR," &c. NO FREE MAN shall be TAKEN or imprisoned, &c. The clause, *nemini justitia negabitur*, did not appear to reach him, as this clause applies to the king, when his own lord was king over the *slave*. Of this degraded race we find however only 16; villani 34; bordarii 22; cotarii 7, as we have before stated.

It might be interesting for a moment to compare the present state of an agricultural parish with its state in those days of servitude in the country, and of tyranny in the castle and on the throne. The lordly abbot seldom appeared here, except when he had to pass a day or two at his grange.

Edwardus, whoever he might have been, or Teodricus, had here, probably, no hospitable mansion,

though it is not unlikely that this name gave the title to the hamlet called Tytherton, or Teodrick's Town, where is now a Moravian establishment.

How different was the condition of the servus from him who now,

“Jocund drives his team afield.”

The English agricultural labourer, when “bells knoll to church” for one day in the week, seems independent and important. The grey-haired rustic appears, with perhaps a grandchild by his side, in the place where “the rich and poor meet together,” to kneel down before their common Father. Look at him on this day, and you would think he never felt poverty or depression. He takes his seat among three or four hundred of his fellow creatures, and appears humble, but not abased, among those whose situation in life is above his own, with the feelings of a Christian in a Christian land. But, in the time of this survey, with any feelings of devotion, he must have gone twelve miles to the abbey at Malmesbury, unless when the itinerant priest collected his straggling worshippers round the village cross.

The mode in which parish churches were served, where there were any, cannot be better explained than by a charter granted by Joceline bishop of Salisbury to the monks of Notley, near Thame in Buckinghamshire, in confirmation of the grant of the church at Maiden Bradley, by Walter Gifford :

“ Sicut PERSONÆ et Domini habeant illius ecclesiæ plenam et liberam, et expeditam administrationem, ita quidem ut canonicus sacerdos, de congregatione illorum, sicut eis sede apostolicâ, in præfatâ ecclesiâ ministret, et curam habeat animarum.”

The monks had often the tithes granted by the bishop, and were required to select, as from the “*apostolic seat*,” one of their number to minister in the church.

A question of interesting inquiry, connected with the foregoing observations, would be, where, in their long and last repose of the grave, did

“ The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep ?”

Cuthbert, the eleventh archbishop of Canterbury from Augustine, we know was the first who procured burial places in towns: “*Cœmeteria ubique in Angliâ fieri constituit*,” in the eighth century; but through the whole country a village spire was now rarely seen; and its usual sacred and affecting accompaniment, the church-yard, was more rare.

In Weever, and other books of the kind, we have long descriptions of the ostentatious monuments of the mighty; but nothing is said, or comparatively nothing, of

“ The name and date spelt by the unletter’d muse ;”

or the text on the stone which now, in the various country church-yards,

“ Teaches the rustic moralist to die.”

Certainly neither churches nor church-yards, nor

the "village pastor's modest mansion," marked the rural landscape *generally* through the country at that time. The slave, who it appears was yoked sometimes with the oxen or horses, may have been sullenly committed to earth without any sacred rite in that last depository of human sorrow, where, in the pathetic language of Job, "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

At the time of Domesday survey the dead were not even buried in their parishes; for in the national synod, held at London 1102, it was ordained that "the dead shall be buried in their parishes." 18th article. But the village decent funeral, the sublime and affecting service, the picturesque and consecrated temple in the remotest places, the church-yard "strewed with many a holy text;" these hallowed and interesting associations with village society were, at that time, in most parts of the country, unknown.

I conclude these observations, suggested by the account in Domesday Book, relating to the ancient condition of the peasantry, as compared with the present, with a comparison of the wages, and some of the prices of agricultural produce, on the farms where these *villani* and *servi*, literally *slaves* and *villans*, laboured.

Money, it is true, at that time, had the same appellation of pounds, shillings, and pence, as at this day; but wages of labour, it is probable, there were

none, or comparatively none, seeing most of the rent was paid in kind, of which we have a remarkable instance in this very survey.*

But we will take the estimate from an authentic document of the accounts of the duke of Cornwall, first published from the original by sir R. C. Hoare, in his History of Mere. When we find two oxen sold for seventeen shillings and four pence, we must bear in mind that one Norman shilling was as much in value as three of ours; when we find that thirty hens were sold for three farthings each, we must bear in mind the same proportion. The price of a sheep was one shilling, that is, three of ours. Wheat was six shillings a quarter; that would be, according to our scale, two shillings and three pence a bushel.

Now, at the time of this valuation, every thing must have borne a greater price, reckoning by money, than at the time of Domesday; for the prices of articles above set down, bear date somewhat more than two hundred years afterwards, in the reign of Edward the First, 1299.

But, at that time, what were the wages of the labourer? The ploughman's wages were about five shillings a year, fifteen shillings by the present scale; a maid, for making "pottage," received a penny a week!

These particulars, at this time, may not be unim-

* Rents in kind, paid to the earl of Salisbury.

portant, as they decide, in some measure, the comparative comforts of the poor in the reign of Edward the First. I leave the fact to the consideration of those who talk of the present deprivations under which the labourer sinks.* In those happier times he could not purchase a bushel of wheat under nine weeks' labour; † granting that he received, *in produce*, sufficient for bare subsistence. More than a bushel of wheat can now be purchased by the lowest wages of husbandry in a week; and every child in a poor man's family, which he cannot maintain himself, be they more or fewer, is maintained for him. But the religious houses were, at the time of these items, so numerous that they were within the distance of ten or twelve miles of most parishes. The abbeyes supported the neighbouring poor, as with their immense endowments, now in the hands of lay lords, they well might. In fact there was no other way of dispersing the immense superfluity of rents

* In this parish, I believe, there is not a single labourer without a pig, and plot of ground for garden.

† A penny in those days would be, according to the present standard, threepence; but the price of wheat must be regulated also by the same standard, and therefore the proportion would be the same. Mr. Wyndham has paid great attention to this valuation of labour and prices; his evidence is taken from Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*, fifty years later. The account, therefore, of the prices of farm produce and labour, in the document of the duke of Cornwall's accounts, published by sir R. Hoare, is the more valuable.

in kind. This is not said to detract from the utility of such institutions in the then state of the country, or in the spirit of vulgar invective against lazy and luxurious monks: for however ease and prosperity might have vitiated their general character in after-times, at the period we are speaking of, piety, learning, and charity, found their only asylum in the convent; and as to industry, the wildest region was reclaimed, and the lands in their hands the best cultivated of any in the country.

To proceed with the survey of the Domesday Book.

The wood which is spoken of as three miles in length, is that wood which terminates the long wide range of Pewsham forest to the north. This is extra-parochial, and in the time of Henry the Third, from Lockswell to Melksham, was so thinly inhabited and wild, that it only contained seven inhabitants; at least “*septem hominibus ibi manentibus*” are spoken of in a grant of this period to Stanley monastery.

This tract is now distinguished by the beautiful woods of Bowood, the picturesque and ancient demesne of Spye Park. Immediately opposite Spye Park is the fine seat, commanding the most extensive view in the county, belonging to Mrs. Dickinson at Bowden Park; and let me add, in an age when genius finds its estimation, in the immediate neighbourhood is the cottage of our living Catullus—Thomas Moore.

The "wood" in this parish, mentioned in the survey, belongs partly to the marquis of Lansdowne, and partly to Dr. Starkey, who succeeded to the property of sir Edward Baynton, and to the demesne of Stanley abbey.

This wood descends almost to the verge of the spot where the abbey of Stanley was situated, founded in this parish by the empress Matilda, and her son Henry the Second; having been transferred from Lockwell, in the forest, about four miles distant. This forest was among the possessions of Henry the First, and was granted to his daughter Matilda after the premature death of his only son. Almost immediately under the hills which terminate its sweep to the north, arose the pinnacles and smoke of the royal abbey. The hill, over which, through part of the forest, the road winds from Bath to London, is still called Derry Hill. The name, I have no doubt, is derived from the first royal possessor: "De Roy Hill."

Three mills are spoken of in the Domesday account. There is reason to think, from every appearance, that one of these mills was situated in the very spot, at the bottom of the hill, on the river Marden, where there is now a mill for cloth. A mill near Stanley, called Stanley mill, is probably the situation of the second. The place of the third I have not been able to find. This last mill, it is said in the ancient survey, was "inter eos;" that is, for the exclusive use of the villani, &c. the others being for the lord and the abbey of Malmesbury.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The marquis of Lansdowne is the lord of the manor, and proprietor of the greater part of the parish. The farms are generally of between a hundred and fifty and two hundred acres each. Much of the land, from feelings of benevolence in the noble owner, is let out in small portions, so that there are few of the poorer inhabitants without a garden to their cottages in the whole parish. Of the various farms, more or less divided, twenty-five belong to the marquis, which were chiefly purchased, at several times, by the first marquis.

No great proprietor of lands is now resident in the parish; the cotarii, bordarii, villani, and servi, have quietly, in the course of years, and by the gradual improvement of society, subsided, some, into independent English freeholders farming their own estates—some, renting tenants—all supporting numerous agricultural labourers and their families.

Owing to early marriages, and consequent rapid increase of population, there is here, as in almost every place in England, a superabundance of labourers, so that labour can no longer, if I may say so, find its level and attain its fair price. That most lamentable state has in consequence taken place, in which a man with three children, under the *regime*

of the poor laws, instead of feeling the proud and conscious comfort that he is bringing up his children, humbly but honestly, with the fruits of his own toil, receives, without any regard to his moral character, as a dole from the parish, just so much as will give to his wife and to each child, including his own earnings, a gallon loaf, with the proportion of two for himself; and this dole, losing all ideas of independence, he calls "his pay." This circumstance tends to deteriorate his character—how materially every reflecting gentleman in the country knows and feels—operates even as a bounty on idleness, paralyses all the better affections of the heart, treads down all consciousness of humble and contented worth, and spreads on every side immorality and cheerless poverty; yet many labourers bear up against these pressures, quietly perform their daily toil, are most anxious for the education of their children, and though under the unfeeling superintendance of a hard overseer, who would sometimes leave them to starvation but for the exertions of the magistrate or resident clergyman,* still the condition of the English agricultural labourer at this time, in every thing that can affect the heart of man, is as much superior to

* It may serve to show the advantage of a resident clergyman, even if, for want of landed proprietors near the spot, he happens to be in the commission for the peace, to instance one fact. An old man, upwards of eighty-five, was confined to his bed with sickness. He had no one to attend

the villanus or servus of 1086, as the nobleman or English gentleman exceeds in knowledge or humanity the feudal or ecclesiastical lord of that day. But the most deplorable and most hopeless evil of these benevolent but improvident poor laws, is the state of the unmarried female population. The population rapidly increases, from the bounty these laws give both to immorality and improvidence, and girls from fifteen to thirty, or till they are married and have a family, work in the fields with the men. In the winter months five out of

to him but his wife, nearly seventy years old. The overseer was required to grant these poor people, in this calamitous situation, two shillings and sixpence a week each. No entreaties could prevail—no feelings of Christian compassion had any place. I then, as magistrate, made a formal *order* for an allowance. Obedience was rudely and peremptorily refused. I had no power of *ordering relief* further than to the meeting of the next petty sessions—*four* sixpences then would have been the whole! Upon the overseer's refusal, he was summoned to the sessions, and fined forty shillings for disobedience. Would it be believed that that sum was found afterwards charged to the parish by the man who would not advance four sixpences of the parish money to a dying fellow creature! The moment the fraud was discovered an appeal was made to the quarter sessions, and this obstinate overseer condemned to pay all costs! FORTY POUNDS my expenses, and probably twenty his own!

I shall only observe that, generally speaking, an overseer is proportionably inhuman according to his progress in democratical and anti-church-and-state principles! but this is very far from being the character in general of the excellent English agriculturist.

six of those young women, however prudent or industrious they may be, have absolutely no employment whatever! If they go to the overseer, he must either employ them, or grant them an allowance. It is a most mournful fact, that thirty or forty, some naturally well disposed, young women, make a compromise with the overseers, and struggle through the long winter on eighteen-pence a week!* and yet we hear of nothing but the starving manufacturers, who, in their prosperity, earn from fifteen to twenty-five shillings a week, all of whom, in the hour of distress, are turned for subsistence on the land, which, like the fabled Atlas, bends already with its own weight.

I trust the generous reader will make an allowance for this almost involuntary warmth of expression, prompted and called forth by the subject, parochial agriculture, and that cancer of the state, which feeds on itself, and spreads as it feeds—the poor-laws!

The farms, one with another, are generally let at this time, under the great pressure which agriculture sustains, at about thirty-four shillings per acre; but these lands are so let in consequence of their

* When it is said that thirty or forty young women receive through the winter, from the overseer, eighteen pence a week, the reader must take into the account that they prefer taking this pittance, and finding work for themselves. A magistrate has no power to interfere when the overseer finds employment, but too often he will neither do this, nor, unless upon compulsion, grant the small dole I have mentioned.

being now tithe-free, the tithes of this portion of the living* having been commuted by act of parliament in 1774 for land and money payments.

But, beside this thirty-four shillings, which the tenant—the land being mostly rich and well cultivated—pays to his landlord, he pays, in the shape of poor-rates, nearly fifteen shillings an acre; and though this is not the place to enter into arguments on political economy, it seems that the circumstance has never been sufficiently pressed upon the public notice, that he who has such peculiar and exclusive burdens on his industry, cannot, upon any principles of common justice, be considered as *in pari passu* with those who are exempted from such burthens.

The agricultural interest pays to the poor, throughout the kingdom, upwards of four millions, now ascertained from authentic documents, and the whole manufacturing population, for its factories, steam-houses, power-loom-houses, &c. &c. pays not one million! And though it be true that the amount of what the land pays to the poor be increased by the custom of paying the labourer's wages in part out of the rates, yet without adequate protection, such protection only as such exclusive burdens require, neither the poor, those who are strictly so,

* The living consists of Bremhill, nominatively a vicarage, but endowed with great tithes, and the rectory of Highway annexed, consisting of about 800 acres, five miles distant, but held under the same presentation and institution.

the sick and the old, nor the labourers themselves, can receive support.

I shall further observe respecting the possessors of these lands at the time the Domesday survey was made, that the abbot of Malmesbury had a grange here, near the church. The old walls, probably as ancient as the church, extend some way, at the entrance of the parish, mantled over with the ivy of centuries. The walls bound to the north the farm-yard and home-stalls now in the possession of Richard Sadler Smith. This farm, at the suppression of abbeys, was purchased of Henry the Eighth by sir Edward Baynton, who also purchased the whole of the estates belonging to Stanley abbey, of both which abbeys he had been the receiving steward.

This part of the property of Malmesbury abbey, consisting of a farm of about one hundred and seventy acres, was purchased of the last sir Edward Baynton, whose ancestors had a seat here, by the present possessor's father, who has since built a new and commodious house.

Some of the land belongs to general Crew, in right of his wife, descended from the Hungerfords.

The illustrious family of the Hungerfords had also two seats in the parish, one at Studley, and the other at Cadnam, or Cadenham, situated about four miles from the church, in the hamlet of Foxham, where is a chapel, built for the convenience of the family, of which more will be said afterwards. There

have been no resident gentry here since the families of the Hungerfords and Bayntons; the one has become extinct, and the other in this parish has sold a considerable part of the property.

Of two illustrious abbeys, the abbot of one of which was lord of these lands, where the other was afterwards founded, the first, Malmesbury-abbey, from the time of the dissolution has become the humble parish church, still preserving the traces of its original majesty. The Norman abbey in this parish has entirely disappeared. The lands belonging to each of these establishments, which maintained the neighbouring poor, are severed; but the mansion of the clergyman and the parochial church yet smile, sheltered and in peace, amid the rural landscape.

The hideous Henry smote to the dust the last of these monastic piles; and our modern reformers evince the same spirit towards all that remains of utility and national interest in the church establishment, as anxious for further spoil: but granting their wish, would it add one comfort to the poor? No! for all the tithes of a parish would not pay *half* the poor rates; they would go into the sordid coffers of such an oppressor as I have described, exonerating his land from part of its poor rates and tithes, which lands were purchased subject to both, and depriving the parochial poor of the only friend who stands between them and their oppressor!

By an equal "strangeness of mutation," one distinguished *reformer* is lord of the manor of Glastonbury, *twelve* hides; another, of a spirit indeed less humane, now possesses the largest farm which once dispensed the charities of Malmesbury Abbey.

The language of adulation, in verse or prose, is as far from my heart, as I know it would be unwelcome to those whose unostentatious and silent works of charity shrink from notice; but I should feel it as almost an offence against truth and justice, if I could conclude these notices of the past and present condition of the English peasantry in the neighbourhood, without one testimony to the benevolence I have so often witnessed.

Go, to assemblies of the rich and gay,
 The blazing halls of grandeur, and the throng
 Of cities, and there listen to the song
 Of festive harmony; then pause, and say
 Where is *she* found who in her sphere might shine,
 Attracting all? Where is *she* found, whose place
 And dignity, the proudest court might grace?
 Go, where the desolate and dying pine
 On their cold bed; open the cottage door;
 Ask of that aged pair, who feebly bend
 O'er their small evening fire, who is their friend?
 Ask of these children of the village poor? *
 For this, at the great judgment thou shalt find
 HEAVEN'S MERCY—LADY, MERCIFUL AND KIND.

* Seventy-four children educated, clothed, and, when these lines were written, dining in the conservatory.

CHAP. II.

Singular View of Wansdike, passing over that highest elevation of the Downs called Tan Hill; including Illustrations of the Origin and Designation of those stupendous Celtic Monuments adjoining, AVEBURY and SILBURY HILL.

There are no antiquities in the parish prior to the Roman æra; but that vast and ancient rampart, the Wansdike,* is distinctly visible on the edge of the opposite hill, from its junction with the Roman road, striding, at the distance of ten miles, over the highest elevation of the southern downs, called St. Anne's, commonly, Tan-hill.

The question has been often asked, whether this vast mountain rampart, extending so many miles, was constructed prior to the Roman establishment in Britain, or since that period? for it must have been since, if it were the work of the Saxons after the Romans had left the Britons to their fate.

Before I offer my own thoughts on this question, I shall transcribe a passage from sir Richard Hoare's valuable work on our county antiquities. He says, page 87, Ancient Wiltshire, "My friend, Mr. Leman,

* Woden's-dike, from the Saxon deity.

had often stated to me that the first bank and ditch were constructed by the Belgæ before the Roman æra ; and that the said bank and ditch were elevated to a greater height by a subsequent nation, perhaps the Saxon. Judge, then, of our mutual satisfaction when very lately we found this opinion most fully confirmed by a section made across it in two different places, where the strata of soil and chalk, forming the original edges and subsequent elevation, were evidently to be distinguished."

Whether this were so or not, its first foundation, at least, must have been prior to the formation of the Roman road on this part, and therefore could not have been the work of the Anglo-Saxons ; for had it been their work, of course the Roman road could not, in any part, have been constructed on its elevation.

Much of the confusion which has prevailed among those with whom such inquiries have any interest, are easily obviated by a few plain facts, ascertained and incontrovertible. The later Saxons availed themselves of the prior Roman road from Bath to Verlucio (the exact site of which station* is now by sir Richard Hoare ascertained) ; and the Romans availed themselves of a very small part of the prior Belgic rampart, when it came in the way of their direct line, over part of Morgan's Hill, in the road from the Severn to the Thames.

* Near Wanshouse, belonging to C. L. Phipps, Esq.

Camden considers the work as the boundary between the Belgæ and the Mercian Saxons. As far as regards the more ancient part of the line, this could not have been so, for the reasons given.

That it was afterwards used as a rampart between these people there can be little doubt; and as little doubt can now exist that the ancient rampart extended from the bottom of Morgan's-hill to beyond the hill called St. Anne's, vulgarly Tan-hill. The line extends from hence to near Hungerford, having been traced by sir R. C. Hoare.

But I hope in what I shall further say on this ancient and extraordinary work, taking into consideration the remains of Celtic monuments immediately opposite, to throw some further light upon both, if not to give some additional interest to the inquiry, notwithstanding so much has already been said on the subject.

We have some doubt whether this mighty rampart was, in fact, raised at two different æras. We may suppose that the most ancient line opposite Avebury did not extend to the west far beyond Morgan's-hill; for the Roman road ran in a direct line from Bath to this spot, where the junction is very visible.

Granting that the original line over those hills, immediately opposite the great temple of Avebury, was constructed by the first Belgic invaders of Britain, let us advert to the scene immediately on the north, and in the vicinity of this line of defence,

the vallum of which is constantly to the south. *Here* was the line and rampart of the invaders. *There*, almost in front, stood the most ancient and sacred monuments of the aboriginal Celtic superstition—the vast and mysterious temple at Avebury, the gigantic Silbury, the tumuli clustering at its feet. In Stukeley's time the remains of a Celtic temple were visible on what are still called "Temple Downs;" and there yet remain Kistvains; Cromlechs; the lofty mound at Marlborough, only inferior in magnitude to Silbury; and, just on the other side of the rampart, the hill called St. Anne's, vulgarly, Tan-hill. In the vale in a direct line to Stonehenge, was a mound, thirty-five feet high, at Marden, about midway, since levelled.

I must now call the reader's attention to those deities which were the peculiar objects of Celtic worship. The names are recorded, and the terrific rites spoken of by Lucan. They were, Teutates; Hesus; Taranis, Tanaris, or Tanarus, certainly so called in Britain. The altar found in Cheshire,*

* See Camden's Cheshire for this confirmation of so remarkable a fact.

According to Bochart, Tainar, from which Tænarus is derived, is a Phœnician word Tinar, and signifies a rock, or precipice, in which sense it occurs in the Chaldee Paraphrase. But it is a remarkable coincidence, that in the same manner as we find Taranis and Tanaris alternately transposed, so the Syrians or Syro-Chaldeans wrote tiran, and tirano, for tinar, &c.

"Tiranis, Jupiter à Gallis sic dictus, cui humano sanguine litabant, &c. à Taran quod Britannis nostris tonitru sonat, ut videturi"—Cluveri, lib. i. Ant. Germ. cap. 9.—INGRAM.

with the inscription J. O. M. TANARO, decides how the name was pronounced in Britain.

Lucan thus introduces the names of the deities :

“ — Feris altaribus Hesus—
Et Taranis, Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.”

“ Hesus, with his dreadful altars; and Taranis, or Tanaris, whose altar is not less terrible than the altar of the Scythian Diana.”

Diana, every one knows, was a personification, among the Romans, of the moon; but who was the Scythian Diana, whose altars were so terrible? the Diana of Tauris Chersonesus, the subject of the most sublime and affecting tragedy of antiquity, the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides.

Thus then we come in contact with the Celtic deities Hesus and Tanaris.* But Lucan mentions Teutates† also; and there was another deity of the Celts, equally authenticated, which was Belinus, or the sun. Now, do we not remember the extraordinary passage in Diodorus Siculus? “ In an island, larger than Sicily, opposite the Celtic continent, is a round temple, where Apollo (or the sun) is worshipped with hymns and songs,” &c.

This passage has been, and I think only can be, applied to Stonehenge, as it speaks of the “ round temple ” to the north of the Celtic continent, in an island larger than Sicily. There is no other island except Britain immediately “ opposite the Celtic

* The Bell or Baal of the Scriptures.

† The Ægyptian Thoth.

coast larger than Sicily," to the north; and there is only one island where there is this day to be seen such a round temple. The existence of the druids and the bards in Britain, is ascertained from Cæsar and Tacitus.

Here then we put our foot upon another fact, that the worship in this "round temple" was of Apollo, or the sun. Now I have already spoken of the gods of the Celts, Hesus, Teutates, Belinus or the sun, and Tanaris. Hesus, it is undoubted, was the Celtic Mars, with more terrible associations. The name Tanaris or Taranis is supposed to be derived from the Phœnician Taran, which Stukeley says is a word signifying thunder. If Belinus was worshipped at Stonehenge, can it be doubted but that the monuments to the north of Wansdike were dedicated to some others of the most distinguished Celtic deities? who were these? Teutates, whom Cæsar calls Mercury, the greatest of the deities of Britain; and Tanaris, the Jupiter Fulminans of the Celts, to whom high places were constantly sacred.

We have seen, that the Wansdike, in its course, passes within view of the greatest ancient druidical monument in the kingdom, the magnificent Celtic temple at Avebury, on the Marlborough Downs. Immediately in front appears the vast mound, called Silbury-hill, supposed to be spoken of in the Welsh Triads as the third great work of the kingdom, connected with the mystical and gigantic stones of Avebury. The Wansdike strides on, over the

highest elevation on the downs, about three miles distant, in a direct line from Avebury, where an annual fair is kept, established time out of mind, and called generally Tan-hill fair, being a supposed corruption of St. Anne's-hill.

The fair is certainly on St. Anne's day, new style; but it is singular that a fair should be held on this distant spot. The first Christian churches, we know, were built on the foundation of heathen temples, as that of St. Paul on the foundation of the temple of Diana; the name of Tanaris is easily converted to St. Anne, as Dionysus (Bacchus) was changed to Dionysius, or St. Denis; the temple of Mars to the church of St. Martin.

But there cannot be so strong a proof of the early Christians adopting heathen names, or applying Christian names in place of heathen, as the circumstance of our Easter having the name derived from the feast of the Saxon Goddess "Eoster," celebrated in April.—Speed, page 203. In fact, we have frequent examples of such adaptations in the early Christian churches, according to the nearest similitude of their names, as Mithras was converted to Michael.

I mention these facts to obviate the objection of hasty condemnation, that because the fair was held on St. Anne's day the place must have been originally St. Anne's-hill. The temples of Jupiter Tonans were generally on the most elevated spots, and hills of this kind are often found dedicated to St. Anne, from the

prior name. The transition is as easy as obvious. There were some rude remains of an ancient structure on St. Anne's-hill, Surrey, the favourite residence and cultivated abode of Mr. Fox. These remains have been converted into the walls that bound the arable lands; and here was a monastery dedicated to St. Anne. But the real name, as applied by the Roman church, might have been St. Tan, not St. Anne. At this day the hill Soracte, near Rome, is converted to *Saint Oreste*, to which *saint* a chapel is dedicated!

Fairs were the *feriæ*, or holidays, of the Romans. The question then is, whether the common name for this hill, over which the Wansdike winds—in front of which, to the north, stood the immense mysterious stone-circles of Avebury—with the gigantic mound of Silbury (all Celtic), whilst the southern apex of the hill carries the sight over Marden, another Celtic temple, whose mound has been spoken of, on to Salisbury Plain and Stonehenge—whether, after all, *Tan-hill* is not the proper name, and that of St. Anne given subsequently.

I have said, that among the deities of the Celtic mythology, Tanaris, or Taranis, was conspicuous.

Will not the reader anticipate me, when I suggest, that this hill is by the common people properly called, when from tradition, time out of mind, they pronounce it Tan-hill, that is, the hill of Tanaris?*

* "Tan," some writers say, signifies "fire." Might not the

From sir Richard Hoare's splendid work, I shall again transcribe a passage, before I proceed to my concluding remarks :

“ A large fair is held on the 6th of August, by the name of Tan-hill fair.” To which is added the following note: “ This eminence is better known among the common people by the name of Tan-hill, than by the probably corrupted one of St. Anne's-hill.

“ We learn from Tacitus that the Belgæ had a celebrated temple, bearing the name of Tan Fana; and if we allow the original Wansdike to be a work of that nation, may we not suppose that they had some religious place of assembly, or some hill altar on this eminence.” I think indeed we may; and as sir Richard, in tracing the course of the Wansdike, takes his metaphor from sportsmen, I think, moreover, my excellent and accomplished friend never *hit* upon the *scent* more decidedly than when on Tan-hill, though he immediately trains off to Walker's-hill!

I cannot omit another most singular circumstance in connection with what has been written concerning these august relics of Celtic superstition. We have mentioned the temple at Avebury; Silbury; the hill called St. Anne's, which I have ventured to consider as originally Tan;* but I have not men-
blaze of the gigantic wicker-image, filled with human victims, as described by Cæsar, have been seen on this hill, from the hills above Stonehenge.

* In the oldest almanacks it is always called Tan-hill fair.

tioned, that there is now a British trackway very visible, from Beckhampton to this conspicuous hill. Nor can I omit to mention a singular spot, also described by sir Richard Hoare, close to a British trackway surrounded by Celtic works, which he says goes by the "fanciful" name of Glory Anne! What possible connection could such a "fanciful" name have with such a spot? But if we suppose, in connection with the other temple of Tanaris, it was called by the Romans "Gloria Tanari," would it appear so "fanciful?"

I must now say a word about the Tanfana of Tacitus. Lucan has mentioned the fera altaria of Hesus, Tanaris, and Teutates. What are these altaria but such as those of Avebury and Stonehenge, of which Lucan had received the tradition? And what is the Tanfana of Tacitus? evidently in Latin Tanaris Fanum!

The British trackway led directly to the hill which, in a straight line over Marden (another Celtic temple) looks on to Stonehenge. To this extraordinary spot the whole assembly annually proceeded, headed by the priests, as to the locus consecratus of Cæsar; and Tan-hill fair is the remains of this annual assemblage, with the altered character of modern times!

Having thus stated my own views relative to the prior name of this commanding and elevated site dedicated to the *Zeus Βρογταιος* of the Celts, which

opinion I am convinced will receive confirmation the more it is examined, I take this opportunity to offer my own views, after so much discussion, on the most ancient Celtic temple, and magnificent mound immediately opposite. This is the mound of the immense Silbury, and the vast but unbewn monument, which though shattered, disjointed, and bereft—yet in many places,

Spirat adhuc imperiosa minus.

I shall here, as usual, before I proceed, put my foot on acknowledged facts and data.

Let us then first ask, who of all the Celtic deities was most honoured in Britain at the period of and prior to the Romans?

Not the god of thunder, nor the terrific deity of war, nor he who was worshipped under the name of Belinus, as the great and illustrious sun; but, as it should seem, a minor deity, the messenger of the thunderer. This messenger had in Britain (for Cæsar records the singular circumstance) the highest place and station among the Celtic deities. He is called by Cæsar, Mercury; by the Britons, Teutates, as Lucan has ascertained; by the Ægyptians *Thoth*.* “Hunc (Mercurium) Ægyptii *Thoth* appellant.” Cicero de Natura Deorum.

Now before we proceed, let us inquire why this god, so much inferior to Jupiter in Grecian and

* Teutates, diro placatus sanguine. LUCAN.

The derivative of Teutates is obvious: Thoth—Tot—Teut.

Roman mythology, should be thus distinguished in Britain, so distinguished that the fact is particularly recorded by the only person who had the best means of knowledge ?

Was it because he was the director of roads ? the god of traffic and merchandize ? These attributes surely could not give him so exalted a station as that he should be considered above the Thunderer himself, or the glorious Sun, those prime objects of all aboriginal veneration, one from its being the greatest object of glory, the other of terror ? Why then had Mercury or Teutates his high and singular distinction in Celtic and Druidical Britain ? I have no doubt it will be admitted, because he taught the Druids their sacred mysteries, their learning, and, above all, their knowledge of an immortal life, derived obscurely from its sacred sources in the East.

I think it will be granted further, by every one who reflects on the subject, that the Teutates of Britain was the Thoth of the Egyptians, recognised by his kindred attributes, particularly those of divine knowledge.

Now as we have seen the chief honours and the highest station in Celtic Britain given to this deity, reason must convince us of the cause, and universal consent, besides the words of Cicero, will show us the connection between this deity and the Egyptian Thoth or Hermes.

I proceed to other observations founded equally on as clear facts. First, I must state that it can hardly be for a moment admitted, that there should be no monument of veneration through the land, to a deity confessedly entitled to honour before the Thunderer.

Is it likely that the Druids should have left no positive record of their veneration to the god who taught them their highest mysteries, and connected those mysteries with eternity? Is it likely that neither veneration or gratitude should have left the most adored of the deities without altar, temple, or monument?

Let us then only suppose that such monuments must somewhere have been raised to the honour of this god, what would these monuments have been? The stone and the lofty mound. For I need not say that the aboriginal representation of Mercury was a stone; but a fact is present, a most singular and conclusive one respecting this circumstance. Pausanias expressly says that thirty stones distinguished places consecrated to Mercury, the exact number of the larger inner circle at Avebury. But why a mound? We have only to turn to Livy, where we find not only the promontory, but that very kind of mound which is called by Livy *TUMULUS*, dedicated to him: "Quod ubi ingressus Scipio in *TUMULUM*, quem *MERCURII* vocant," &c.

The very same kind of artificial mound, which Livy calls tumulus, we find dedicated to the god Mercury. This is a most remarkable fact, nor need we go far to ascertain the reason. He bore the messages from the king of the thunder to earth, and these hills were places, either natural or artificial, on which he might be supposed to alight ;

New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.

His action, as he is generally represented, is that of a god new-lighted from heaven, with one foot just touching the earth, and with the other as yet almost in the act of flying.*

Here then we have, in a small compass, the hill of the Thunderer, and the great artificial monumental mound, where his messenger, in his flight from heaven, might be supposed first to alight close to his own temple.

We have stated on what account Mercury received so distinguished a rank and foremost station among the Celts. Because, originally derived

* It is singular that of this peculiar and graceful action, and his association with mounds and hills, nothing should have been said by Spence, nor do I recollect the circumstance mentioned any where, but the authority of Livy puts it beyond a doubt.

Homer and Virgil describe him thus alighting on Pieria and Atlas. Homer, book v. Virgil, iv.

Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis.

Pope's paraphrase of Homer ;

He shoots from heaven to high Pieria's steep.

Milton has finely copied the image.

from the Egyptian Hermes, or Thoth, he taught the Druids their knowledge, and the most important part of that knowledge, the ideas of this life, connected with immortality, from obscure patriarchal traditions.

Now here we come into immediate contact with the most ancient emblem of the most important part of Druidical knowledge, the serpent. None can deny, after sir R. Hoare's survey, that this gigantic temple consisted of stones so placed as to resemble the coil, and head and tail of the serpent. None can deny that all antiquity confirms this shape and appearance as the most ancient emblem of eternity. None can deny that the Egyptian Mercury taught this, as the most sacred mystery! None can deny, who read Livy, that mounds were dedicated to this god; and putting all these things together, leaving all vision, and adhering to facts, can we have any doubt of the origin of this great and mysterious temple, and the vast mound adjoining? The most singular circumstance to me appears, that a man so learned as Stukeley should have come so near this conclusion as the idea of the Dracontine temple, and yet not have proceeded to its most remarkable and decisive corroboration. I must proceed a step further. The caduceus of Mercury was entwined with two serpents.

Much has been said about this caduceus or rod of Mercury. "Mercury saw two serpents fighting," says one learned mythologist; "he beat them with

his rod, and they twined round it!" A little common sense would far better instruct us.

It was one of the most important of this god's offices to bring souls to Hades, and to restore them, and by this very wand ;

Hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias sub tristia Tartara mittit.

Now what is a serpent the emblem of? We have said, through all antiquity, of eternity. Why? for two reasons: every year it casts its old skin, and its circle or coil represents successive time, without beginning or end: but here are two serpents; what do they represent? Plain truth would answer, the serpent who casts his skin, and the serpent restored—death and vital restoration. One serpent denoted the power with which this deity,

Pallentes animas evocat orco;

the other, with which,

Sub tristia Tartara mittit :

and of this vital restoration the Druids, who especially worshipped Mercury, had more knowledge than the Greeks and Romans.

For the same reason that Mercury had the power over death, he is described as having the power over sleep; for sleep, among the ancients, is called "con-sanguineus Lethi."

On more minutely observing this wand entwined with serpents, I will not add that they form openings in their folds, which are oblong, and in form of an

egg, as this might be considered fanciful; but the egg was, of old, an emblem of another life; for this reason, to-day the inert matter is inclosed in the shell, to-morrow it bursts out and lives; the snake's egg had more value as this representation, because the snake itself, for the reasons given, was the chief emblem of renovation; and the serpent was held in the greatest veneration by the Britons, who considered Mercury, so distinguished with the serpents on his potent rod, as their greatest deity.

But what are the wings of this deity on his cap, his feet, and his serpentine rod? emblems that connect death with restoration. This is at least my mythology, without the learning of Banier, and which, I think, reflection will justify; though, as far as I know, both the reasons and the application have never yet been pointed out.

The reason I have given for the association of promontories and lofty mounds (tumuli) to the

Magni Jovis et deorum nuncium,

appear to me obvious, from considering his flying action as the messenger of Jupiter to the earth. But it must not be forgotten, that another cause for this association is his being born on the top of a mountain,

——— *Quem candida Maia*

Cyllenes gelido conceptum vertice fudit.

VIRGIL.

Quem montibus olim edidit.

OVID.

Every consideration leading us to admit that the

Celtic Teutates was originally the Egyptian Thoth, it will be remembered that the science of astronomy formed part of his mystic books; and that his books on this subject were publicly carried in processions to his honour.

Mr. Maurice has adduced many reasons for considering Avebury as connected with ancient astronomy. My observations will go some way to confirm his opinions, Thoth being the original Teutates; indeed this whole supposition seems to me far more consistent and coherent than any other hypothesis, and has far greater number of authentic facts for its support.

The stones which compose the innermost circles were twelve, according to the months; the outermost were thirty, the number of days in the month; many other circumstances of the kind might be easily adduced in corroboration of these views.

Upon the whole, I have very little doubt that the more we investigate this point, the greater light will be thrown on my supposition, that this mysterious monument was dedicated to Teutates, the great teacher of the Druids' knowledge and mysteries; that the mounds of Marlborough, Marden, and Silbury, were raised to this most distinguished of the British deities; and that these mounds, and the most elevated spot dedicated to the god of thunder, and the magnificent temple, &c. were all component parts of one mighty monument, of which we see only imperfectly its vastness,

whilst all the details are lost in the night of years. Enough, however, remains, comparing together the united testimony of authentic history, for us to form a decided opinion of its origin. I shall now leave every reflecting mind to judge of the following, which appear to me almost irrefragable inductions:—

1. The Celts had their chief deity, Mercury, distinguished above all the rest; a fact ascertained from Cæsar: “Deum maximè Mercurium colunt.” The Britons and the Celts, I need not add, are considered by Cæsar as the same.

2. The Britons had their temples of stone worship; a fact which I think could not be denied by any one who looks on Stonehenge with the passage of Diodorus in his mind.

3. It being admitted that this “round temple” was dedicated to one of their deities; a temple still more ancient and stupendous, we might naturally conceive, would be dedicated to the more distinguished and most honoured deity.

4. What deity was this? Teutates, whom Cæsar calls Mercury. Hitherto we are on facts, and the most inevitable inferences seem to follow these facts. Cæsar says of this god, among the Celts there are “*plurima simulacra.*”

5. If we may naturally admit that the most ancient elaborate temple was dedicated by the Britons to *some* deity, that deity, it is equally natural to

conceive, would not be the second or third in their estimation, but the *first*: it further follows that some of the ascertained circumstances which mark the worship of this deity, would not be here omitted; and Livy speaks of the mound, which he calls by the name of the Tumulus of Mercury.

6. An obvious reason would occur for such an elevation being peculiarly appropriate to him. This I have endeavoured to show from his character as messenger of Jupiter.

7. A temple dedicated to the Thunderer would be on the highest elevation. The highest elevation is near, dedicated to Tanaris; and near also appears the temple to Teutates, dedicated to the messenger of that deity, who in Britain is placed before the god he served.

8. There must be some reasons for this superiority; then let us see what facts we can produce. Will it be denied that the Druids derived their knowledge from the East, or that Mercury was derived from the great Egyptian Hermes?

But if Teutates was so distinguished among the Britons as to invert the very order of the Roman divinities, on what account could it be? because from him the Britons derived their highest knowledge.

9. If Teutates and Thoth were ab origine the same, and the Britons worshipped him on account of their learning, what learning, may we further admit, could they derive from him which entitled him

above the rest of the gods to such honours and so high a rank? That learning which Thoth taught the Egyptians, astronomy, and the idea of immortality. What are Cæsar's own words respecting the first? "Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi et terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ, de DEORUM IMMORTALIUM VI ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt."—"They argue much on the stars and their motion, of the magnitude of the world and the earth, of the nature of things, of the power of the immortal gods, and this they deliver or teach their youth."

Their knowledge in this respect seems to go far higher than those who described them as barbarians. Whence then were those sublime doctrines derived? from Teutates, or the traditions of Thoth? But, besides the knowledge of the stars and their motion, what was a still higher object of their contemplation? the power of the immortal gods. Look at the form of Avebury as it originally stood, and ask whether its serpentine circle has not been from all antiquity the emblem of eternity.

10. There being two most magnificent but rude temples to the Celtic gods in Britain, the conclusion seems almost inevitable, that the most august and the earliest should be erected to that god whom the British honoured the first and the most; that the temple at Avebury, undoubtedly the most ancient, should be raised to that god, distinguished by the curious coincidences we have mentioned, and

accompanied by that singular tumulus, or immense artificial mound, which we find given to this god in Livy; and let it be added, in corroboration of all I have said respecting the mound to Teutates or the Tumulus of Mercury, that almost every British hill whose steep declivities rather resemble the shape of an artificial mound than of an abrupt and natural hill, is called Toot, or Tout, and Tout-hill, quasi Teut. Many hills in Dorsetshire are so called.

Lastly, the first temple being constructed of unhewn stones to the first deity, the second temple to the second deity, Belinus would be of a later age, and of more polished character, as marked by the hewn, regular, and mortised stones of Stonehenge. Pausanias records that thirty stones are sacred to Mercury, and the larger inner circle is exactly that number. All these remarkable circumstances could not have met, I think, without establishing the point that this temple is the temple of Teutates, and the mound close to it, is Mercurii Tumulus; and let it not be forgotten that the very kind of mound, almost as large, is found, surrounded by mystic stones, at New Grange in Ireland.

Sir Richard Hoare very sensibly observes of this stupendous mound, that "no doubt it was one of the component parts of the grand temple at Avebury, not a sepulchral mound raised over the bones or ashes of a king or arch-druid."

I am decidedly of this opinion, for the reasons

already given; but Stukeley mentions the circumstance of an interment being found on the top, and a deposit of a fragment of what appeared to be, and probably was, an iron bit, or part of an old British bridle, used probably at the time when they employed in war their scythed chariots. Respecting this remarkable circumstance, I agree with sir Richard Hoare that it could not possibly have been an interment coeval with the mound, for iron could not have been in use at a period so remote as the whole structure at Avebury implies. We remember the lines of Juvenal:

*Aut regem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus :*

it seems obvious to remark that in the Roman contests with the Britons, some distinguished warrior, having signalized himself against the legions of the Cæsars by his chariots, at last, "excussus de temone," might have been buried, as the highest honour, on the top of the vast tumulus dedicated to the most renowned god of his country. *

I must now revert to the original Belgic construction, and to the subsequent elevations on this ancient muniment—the Wansdike. Its greatest elevation, nearly forty feet, is opposite the sacred precincts and the noblest temple of Druidical and Celtic worship, probably in the world. The Roman

* The barrows of the dead surround the vast tumulus, as Mercury was to wake them with his wand to resurrection.

road, running in a straight line from Bath, was added by them to the Wansdike. The existence of the very ancient part has been proved on that range on which its highest elevation now appears. The Belgæ, long before the Romans, constructed this ancient part when they drove back the aboriginal Celtic possessors of the Wiltshire downs to their stronger holds, the hills surrounding their temples, and among them Oldbury, the most impregnable. Here all their forces were collected, and they stood, as it were, sternly at bay with their enemies. From hence they made successful incursions, till the Belgæ, finding it hazardous or impracticable to extend their conquests further, and perpetually harassed themselves, threw up this last line of defence along these northern downs, the limits of their conquest.

It must appear obvious to every one who casts an eye on the scene, that the rampart running all along the edge of such elevated and precipitous ground was intended for no common defence.

It is raised to its highest elevation, immediately opposite Avebury, which is seen in front in the line of northern hills.

It is obvious also, on inspection, that the parallel fortification on Oldbury hill must have been raised in defence, for the hills themselves seem in a most extraordinary manner, even now, to stand, as it were, after the lapse of so many centuries, frowning in dark defiance on each other.

The hill of Oldbury slopes all the way down to Avebury, and the slightest hostile movement must have been perceived, and would have been met from that impregnable fortress. It is clear, also, that to this mountain sanctuary the Britons, in times of peculiar danger, resorted, as many burials are found within the lines.

It is certain the Belgians did not penetrate further to the north; it is certain they dispossessed the inhabitants of the south; and the opposite side of the hill, with the impregnable Oldbury in front, guarded the most sacred precincts, monuments, and temples of the Celts.

If the Belgæ, thus, as it were, presenting their stern line opposite, could not force the Britons from their most sacred and illustrious temples, they cut off, by this work, the hill of the terrible Taranis, connected with the Celtic superstitions, and bounded by this bulwark. The Britons were contented with the northern districts, defended in the immediate vicinity of their altars by Oldbury, and bounded by the range of hills on the north of Wansdike, among which were those which strike the traveller this day, after so long a succession of ages—the serpent-temple, and the mound of Teutates.

This theory has, at least, the support of facts, as far as appears by actual examination of the mountain line of defence which Wansdike exhibits, op-

posite the strongest and last hold of the Celtic Britons.

Round this patriarchal temple, as in its sacred precincts, are innumerable mounds of the dead, all reposing, as it were, under the shadow of that magnificent mound which looks down upon them. Here were the graves of the most illustrious of the nation; with the vast hill of Teutates standing in its lonely grandeur amidst the consecrated places.

This line, then, after the Belgæ drove back the Celts, stood between them; and the Belgæ neither did, nor durst, proceed further, this mighty rampart at the same time protecting them from incursions.

In the absence of authentic and positive history, we must draw our inferences from circumstances.

I therefore think it most probable, (though the Druids from Salisbury Plain, unable to oppose their invaders, withdrew into the close woods of their last sacred asylum, Mona, where they made their final stand for their lives and laws which has been so splendidly recorded by Tacitus), that Wansdike was the limits of the Belgic possessions in this county to the north,—that it was thrown up as a defence from Morgan's hill to the extent of Wiltshire on the east,—while the Celtic Britons still remained in possession of the more sacred edifices, and were not expelled till the Romans finally prevailed over both nations; and that then the Druids

of Avebury, and all who remained of their order, made—

The last spot their graves,
in the last retreat of their freedom in Mona.

This is my own decided opinion, on investigation of these mighty but obscure monuments of past ages and the dead; the reader will judge of its probabilities from the only existing records, the lines of Belgic and British defences on Wansdike and Oldbury—the scattered remains of indisputable Celtic monuments to the north—the name and annual fair on the range called Tan-hill—the gigantic mound and the mysterious stones of Avebury.

It may be proper to make one more observation respecting Tan-hill, St. Ann's-hill fair, or Tanaris feriæ, and the custom among the Roman Catholics of translating the old heathen names into the names of their own saints, and adopting those names from their own calendar which approached nearest in sound to the names of the heathen deities which were thus supplanted. The feriæ of Tanaris became the fair of St. Ann; the feast of Mithras was changed to the feast of St. Michael, the Roman Catholics in this part of England searching the calendar, and altering the day, as it was afterwards altered on the introduction of the new style. For the account of the feast of Mithras see Brucker's History of Philosophy, vol. vi. p. 160. Gregory, called the Great, ordered the custom to

be observed in England, that, at the annual feast of the dedication of churches, the people should build booths round the church, and there feast themselves, in lieu of their ancient sacrifices. Our wakes are remains of these feasts.*

A singular confirmation of all that has been said respecting the temple dedicated to Teutates, is found in Oxfordshire. Here are the Roll-riche stones, the same kind of monument as Avebury—the great forest of Whichwood—nearer is the great mound at Tadmerton, the derivation of which is the same as Teutates—Thoth—Tad—Teut. Here is GREAT TEW; and here also TARAN-HILL (Tarn-hill) the hill of Taranis.†

We are told the temples at Stonehenge and Avebury could not be druidical, as the druids worshipped in woods. Now Stonehenge was within two hours walk of Woodford, Boscombe, the immense sweep of forest extending from Clarendon to the sea; and Avebury was at nearly the same distance from the vast woody tract of Pewsham, Melksham, and Chippenham forests, all abounding with mistletoe. The woods were for *secret rites*, the temples for *public assemblies*; and a temple to

* The annual custom is still kept up of the villagers in the neighbourhood assembling on Palm Sunday on the top of Silbury, to eat figs and drink cider, a remnant evidently of remote antiquity.

† I am indebted to my friend, the learned and excellent President of Trinity College, Oxford, for this remark, as for the quotation from Bochart.

the sun would hardly be built where the *sun never shone*. How many *learned* objections would a little reflection and common observation obviate. The domains of the marquis of Lansdowne, in part of Pewsham forest, is in old charters called *Bone-wood*, from the tradition of its sacred associations. There is also the most extraordinary spring at Lockswell, afterwards the site of the abbey of Drownfont.

It might be mentioned that the Egyptian temples of Thoth were approached by an avenue of sphinxes, as this at Avebury had an avenue of stones. The mound is pyramidal, and covers exactly the same extent of land as the great pyramid.

With respect to that peculiar Celtic deity of whom I have said so much, Cæsar not only informs us that he was worshipped among the Celts above all the Gods, "*præcipuè colunt Mercurium*," but that there were "*plurima simulacra*" of this principal deity.

Where would these "*simulacra*" be placed? On the top of those mounds, where the winged messenger of Jupiter might be supposed to alight. Such a "*simulacrum*," or vast image, with his serpent-rod pointing to his temple, we might conclude, would be on Silbury-hill, where this image might be also conspicuous as the director of the track-ways. On mounds where there was no such "*simulacrum*," a stone was placed, as at Agglestone in Dorsetshire. This name is probably derived from the stone, and the *agger*, or mound, an unhewn

stone being, as we have observed, the first representation of Mercury, afterwards applied to Mercurius Terminus.

I conclude what I have said on this subject with the following important remark, leaving all to the consideration of the reader.

The more I reflect on the many extraordinary and peculiar circumstances connected with the character of this deity, the messenger of the "DEUS OPTIMUS MAXIMUS" of the Romans, the more I am convinced that he may be considered as an adumbration of the great Hermes Tresmegistus of the Egyptians, derived obscurely from the first promise to man of the great Lawgiver and Deliverer from death; and that the Teutates of Britain, connected with sacrificial sufferings and immortality, is an adumbration of this mysterious and thrice-great teacher of Egypt; and that both, in the obscurity of remote ages, testify to the truth of the Mosaic history, and distantly point to that Being who led "CAPTIVITY CAPTIVE, AND BROUGHT LIFE AND IMMORTALITY TO LIGHT."

I have given my own views of these mystic and august monuments of other years, which, hitherto shrouded in their dark magnificence, have seemed to smile in scorn at the presumption of human curiosity as to their origin and designation.

I flatter myself I have done something to remove this veil.

No one is more aware of the deceptive nature of argumentative hypothesis, but in the views I have

given, I do not fear to say, there is no hypothesis, because upon the strictest rules of all evidence, even in the first stage, if there were no singular coincidence to establish it, it would be *more credible* that in a country where there were temples to any deity, the greatest deity would have his temple, than that he should be without one; and, if this be admitted, it must follow that the greatest deity would undoubtedly have the most august and ancient temple.

When we add to this evidence, at least *more credible* than the contrary, that not only two or three, or four, circumstances, should be brought to confirm this idea, but that so many minute and totally unconnected circumstances, from so many various, and, as it were, accidental sources, should all meet together so marvellously, and all agree, separately and unitedly, to illustrate and confirm one idea; in my opinion such unique testimony as this, on such a basis, amounts to proof only short of mathematical demonstration.

I think we might, then, consider Avebury and Silbury as the temple and mount of Teutates, the greatest deity of Celtic Britain, and consider TAN-hill, the apex of the county adjoining, as the hill of the Jupiter the Thunderer. This hill connects the temple of Teutates at Avebury and the temple of the Sun at Stonehenge; and Silbury is the hill on which Mercury, on his passage to the earth, might well be supposed to alight, as he is described

in Virgil and Homer, and which is the very counterpart of the *Tumulus Mercurii* of Livy.

But might it not be said, "*Quorsum hæc?*" How much better would a Christian minister be employed in fixing his thoughts on the only great and true God."

Most assuredly, if I thought by such inquiries I had neglected what is due to Him to whom alone all praise is due, I should indeed feel sorrow and shame, as a Christian, a clergyman, and a man; but, even in *these* days of illiterate fanaticism, I do not think any acknowledgment necessary. I have brought out from their distant obscurity, in some degree, objects of historical inquiry, which have hitherto raised astonishment, but baffled conjectures as to their origin and designation.

These monuments, like the altar to the "unknown God at Athens," in the sight of a Christian, only tend to make him deplore the deviations of human reason, and to bless with more fervent devotion that light, which, unlike the obscure hints of immortality, which were feebly conveyed by mystic emblems, now shines full on the Christian's lowly path, and throws its unperishable radiance on the silence and the darkness of the grave.

If the reader be tired with a long disquisition, interesting, perhaps, only to an antiquary, this part of my subject may be best concluded by a familiar picture, seen every day in these solitary districts.

THE SHEPHERD OF THE WILTSHIRE DOWNS AND HIS DOG.

*From the Village Verse Book **

With his lean dog, and both grown old,
 The shepherd watches here all day ;
 Thro' his white locks the wind blows cold,
 And thus methinks I hear him say :—

“ The grey-stone circle is below,
 The village tower † is at our feet ;
 We nothing hear but the sailing crow,
 And the wandering flocks that roam and bleat.

“ Far off, the giant Wansdike hies,
 O'er vale and mountain striding on,—
 Yonder, the dusty whirlwind flies ;
 Sarum's far spire is seen and gone. ‡

“ Though solitude around is spread,
 My dog, alone we shall not be :
 And when the turf is on my head,
 Thou only wilt remember me !”

* In which the objects of rural life are applied to excite in young minds, and particularly village children, the first feelings of humanity and piety; by the Author. Sold by W. Baily, Calne.

† Of Calstone.

‡ How is it vanished, in a hasty spleen,
 The Tor of Glastonbury.

Crowe's Lewesdon Hill.

NOTES TO CHAP. II.

ON THE CELTIC DEITIES.

Cæsar says that the Celts worshipped Mercury, Jupiter, Mars, and Apollo.

Among the deities of the Celts enumerated by Cæsar, besides these, was the goddess called by him Minerva. How striking the corroboration, that among the altars found at Bath are two inscribed "Minervæ Suli;"—this puts it beyond a doubt who the goddess was. I believe there is no other existing memorial. The British goddess Sul was Cæsar's Minerva. Hence Bath was denominated "Aquæ Salis,"—the Aquæ Solis of Antoninus. There is also a hill near Bath called Sulisbury. Cæsar says, Apollo was worshipped for curing diseases, evidently because this attribute was ascribed to him among the Romans; but common sense would inform us that this could not be the chief cause of the devotion paid to him in Britain. From the same authority we learn, that Minerva was worshipped on account of her teaching the first principles of arts; but the history of the Britons, and recollections of Minerva's known attributes, will rather suggest to us that she was venerated as the symbol of female valour, of which Boadicea is so striking an example. Sammes is puzzled about the name Andraste, the British goddess of victory. Pallas and Minerva were the same, and why not Sul and Andraste? To this goddess Boadicea offered her thanks after her victory over the Romans, in these remarkable words: "I yield thee thanks, O Andraste, and being a woman, I call upon thee, O woman." The altars inscribed *Deæ Suli Minervæ*, at Bath, afford a striking instance of the Romans applying the name of their own deities to the deities of Britain; as the altar is which

was found in Cheshire, with the inscription, *Jovi Optimo Maximo Tanaro*.*

Keister attributes the erections of Stonehenge, &c. to the northern nations, and not the Celts, for this, amongst other reasons, that no such temples are found in Gaul; whereas he himself adduces the strongest reasons for there being none. In the 5th century a council of the church ordered all those superstitious stones to be entirely destroyed.† He says also, that near Stonehenge there are no wells, as there would be if Celtic; but there is the fountain of the river Kennet near Silbury hill, and near Stonehenge the clearest river in England.

It has been said that the name of the Saxon goddess, *Eoster*, was changed into our *Easter*, which was done to reconcile the heathen worshippers gradually to a more holy object and application; but the name *Eoster* may be traced originally to that of the eastern *Astarte*, which name became the western *Eoster*, and at last, when the original appellation was forgotten, the Christian *Easter*.

BELGÆ AND CELTS.

Mr. Davis, in his Celtic researches, says—"When the Romans conquered Britain, they found the country possessed by two nations, the Belgæ, originally Celtæ," &c.

That Cæsar found the inhabitants of Britain so divided is undoubted, for he says so; but that the Belgæ were originally Celtæ may well be doubted, for he says just the contrary. In the first sentence of the first chapter he says: "*Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes, quorum unam incolunt Belgæ; aliam Aquitani; tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua CELTÆ, nostrâ Galli appellantur;*" and what does he add immediately after-

* See Camden, in Cheshire.

† Concilium Arelatense, 2d, an. 452. Si in alicujus episcopi, &c. Fontes vel SAXA venerentur, si hoc eruere neglexerit sacrilegii reum se esse cognoscit.

wards—"Hi omnes, linguâ, institutis, legibus differunt." Book ii. sec. 4. And as to the origin of the Belgæ, he says as decidedly, "Plerosque Belgas ortos Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci amœnitatem ibi consedissee, et Gallos, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse;" exactly as they did in Britain.

The Belgæ were, in fact, the earliest Saxons, called by the Romans, Germans, and distinguished as far as possible from the Celts. Cæsar informs us they worshipped in his time only what they saw, the sun—moon—and fire. Tacitus adds to these deities, Hertha, the earth. The wild and fanciful northern mythology was introduced by the famous Odin, who emigrated from the shores of the Euxine to Scandinavia, about 80 years before Julius Cæsar, and the wild mythology as now exhibited in the Edda supplanted the simpler deities of the aboriginal Saxons.

MERCURY AND HIS ATTRIBUTES.

I had nearly forgotten one particular more, and that very essential. We have spoken of the twelve stones, and the thirty, which Pausanias (I quote from Plot's History of Oxfordshire,) mentions as sacred to Mercury. Maurice* has remarked the connection of this number of stones with the months and days of the months, but I have a far more decisive proof. If the reader looks at Montfaucon, he will find plates in which Mercury is represented with a ram.

Montfaucon makes no observation, I believe, to illustrate this circumstance, and therefore I must be again my own mythologist.

We have seen why Mercury was winged, but why is he associated with an animal apparently so incongruous?

* See Mr. Britton's excellent summary of all the various opinions in his Beauties of Wiltshire, vol. III.

Look again, reader, into Cicero, de Naturâ Deorum, book 3rd; this passage will strike you, bearing first in mind what has been already said: "Hunc (Mercurium) Ægypti Thoth appellunt, eodem nomine anni PRIMUS MENSIS, inter eos, vocatus." Now, in Montfaucon, Mercury appears with a ram, as we have said, and also a cock.* Why the ram? because the ram was the sign of the FIRST MONTH in the year, called THOTH. There is also a goat, the sign of the month when, the shortest day being completed, the great circle of the year began again.

But of what is the cock the emblem? ORIENT LIGHT.

I take this opportunity of adding a few words on the purse in the hand of this God, as he is generally represented. The purse most appositely denotes the mode which mercantile voyagers, led by views of gain, to various regions, took, to interest those with whom they sought commerce, by representing their presiding deity, as that deity through whose means alone they might gain wealth! this being once admitted, the sublimer mysteries followed; and there is an obvious connection by which this knowlege was transmitted,—from Egypt to Phœnicia,† from Phœnicia to Britain. I cannot but remark that Mr. Bullock found at Mexico the exact counterpart of the pyramidal mound of Avebury, and the reader will probably be surprised to hear that its traditionary name is TESCUCO, while the place surrounded by barrows is called OTUMBA, both apparently Indian names, and both apparently from one source.

* See Kircher's Egyptian Zodiac. The Egyptian civil year began on our twenty-ninth of August, the natural year in March. Mercury is said, in Ciaro, to be the offspring of Heaven and the day.

† In the fragment from the Phœnician Cosmogony of Sanchoniatho, preserved by Eusebius, this remarkable corroboration occurs: "These things are written in the Cosmogony of TAAUTUS."—Eusebius.

FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN SCULPTURE FOUND AT BATH.

I am indebted to my friend sir George Gibbs, for a striking observation on one of the inscriptions. The inscription is as follows :

DIIS MANIBUS, CAIUS, CALPURNEUS RECEPTUS SACERDOS DEÆ
SULIS, VIXIT ANNOS SEPTUAGINTA QUINQUE, CALPURNIA
TRIFOSA THREPTE CONJUNX FACIENDUM CURAVIT.

It is obvious from this name, Calpurnia Trifosa Threpte, that at this early period there were some Christians in Britain ; for the first name is Roman, the second scriptural, and so far Christian. The letters T H in Threpte are not visible, but have been supplied from supposition, and added to EPTE. It seems to have been the Celtic name, and I may take this opportunity to say, that the name of Sulinus on another inscription appears to be that of a citizen of the city of Sul, as my friend suggested.

Nor must we omit, having before spoken of the serpent as an emblem of eternity, that the same emblem was always used to signify " RESTORATION " in general, and it is here applied particularly to restoration to health, when the limbs have been stricken with paralysis, which is a kind of half-death.

On account of restoration of health, the serpent is always seen round the staff of Esculapius. Serpents are also infolded in the hairs of that large head, generally considered as that of Medusa, but which it appears to me is evidently the head of the CELTIC APOLLO, among these sculptured relics.

I conceive that this head was placed in front of a temple, the symbol of heavenly heat and vital restoration, and that through the intercession and medium of the titular Minerva, this vital influence was supposed to be communicated to the waters of her favourite city ; and that thence she derives her name, Minerva-Sul.

The name given to the wife of the Roman priest of the goddess Sul, might lead to a far more interesting inquiry.

The face I have spoken of has a beard on the upper lip; and therefore it has been said it cannot be that of Apollo; but the very circumstance is the strongest proof that it is the Celtic Apollo, Belinus, for a beardless Apollo, in the opinion of the Britons, would be contrary to every idea of majesty and beauty. Among the Britons, Cæsar informs us, "*the upper lip is never shaved.*"

We may here observe how remarkably the truth of history is confirmed by these inscriptions and this rudely sculptured stone. Cæsar speaks of the Celtic gods—Apollo—Mars—Jupiter—Mercury—and Minerva. Here are two of them—Apollo-Belinus—Sul-Minerva. At the distance of twenty-eight miles are the hill of Jupiter-Tanarus, and the temple of MERCURIUS-TEUTATES. The following inscription to Apollo, was found in Aquileia—APOLLINI BELENI.

Respecting the curious circumstance pointed out to me by sir George Gibbs, of the scriptural name added to the Roman name of Calpurnia, the wife of the priest of the goddess SUL, we know that Claudia, the wife of Pudens, spoken of by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, was a British woman, of noble birth, and belonging, as is universally supposed, to the court of Nero.

That she was a British lady, I need not appeal to the well-known lines of Martial:

"CLAUDIA, CÆRULIIS cum sit Rufina, BRITANNIS,
Edita, cur Latii pectora plebis habet?"

This circumstance of the name of Trifosa found on an heathen altar, may be considered as giving some further corroboration to the opinion supported by the present learned and amiable bishop of Salisbury, that St. Paul himself might have visited Britain.

That Claudia was a British lady, a convert, and a friend to St. Paul, is decided; for some objections about her age I think of no weight.

How natural, then, is the supposition, that first moved to commiseration by the desolate situation of the apostle, when, as he pathetically says, "No one stood by him;" and his lofty and conscious fortitude, more than human, before "the lion," (2d Tim. ch. iv. 16, 17), as he himself calls the tyrant before whom he stood, she might have been induced, from female sympathy, to interest herself in his fortunes; that thus both herself and her husband Pudens might have received their first knowledge of salvation, becoming such characters as they were afterwards described; and, above all, remarkable for what the Romans themselves called "faith."

How natural is the further supposition, that, after this holy intercourse with the persecuted apostle, whose life, perhaps, she may have secretly been the means of saving on his first trial, she should have spoken to him of the distant land of her fathers; that she should have described the dark idolatries of its inhabitants; that she should remember she had there sisters, brothers, or parents; and that thus the apostle might have been induced to extend his perilous journey beyond Spain, to see those of whom she spake.

I confess all this appears to me so natural, that it adds very much to the probability of the opinion supported by the Bishop of Salisbury. Upon another point, I shall rather, perhaps, speak of the pleasingness of the error, than the probability of the fact, that the first scene of the apostle's mission was the neighbourhood of Avalonia; that Claudia's friends and relations were here living; that among these was the identical Calpurnia, become Trifosa, and a Christian, though married to the priest of Sul. That Claudia was so called from some connexion with Claudius seems admitted; and this supposition would have stronger grounds of support, if we conceive with my friend Mr. Skinner, that a temple of Claudius was at TEMPLE-CLOUD, as the etymology seems to prove.*

* *Templum Claudii*, Temple-Cloud. This is the remarkable name of a village near Camerton. That this part of the country

I trust the feelings which have suggested these hasty ideas will be pardoned. But at all events, the circumstance of the scriptural name found on the altar of a heathen priest, is not only curious, but it appears to furnish an indubitable proof of the existence of Christianity in these remote regions, at this early period, in this spot.

Among the fine collection of antique statues at Lansdowne-house, there is a chair of a priest of Apollo, with the serpent of health on the back.

With respect to the head of the British Apollo at Bath, the serpents are entwined in the hair; but why is there a wreath round the head, and of what does it consist? The wreath surrounding the head of a Roman Apollo would doubtless be that of laurel. Do we ask of what is this wreath composed? The wreath surrounding the head of the Celtic Apollo would be oak mixed with acorns, and such it is.

TEMPLE AT AVEBURY, AND SILBURY-HILL.

My ideas of the temple in its complete state are these:

That it was serpentine, for sir Richard Hoare has examined the places where every stone stood. That it was dedicated to Teutates, the great god of Celtic Britain, I think I have proved; and can we doubt that the vast mound was a component part of its united plan? It must be further observed, that Silbury-hill stands exactly in the middle of a line drawn between the two extremities; and as the Parthenon at Athens was surmounted with the statue of the goddess, the hill of Teutates, I imagine, bore one of those "simulacra" of this deity, placed in front of his temple; that the great mounds in the neighbourhood of Marden and Marlborough bore each a simula-

was the scene of triumph under the army of Claudius is undoubted, from an inscription in Camden.

crum of the kind, for Cæsar says there were "plurima" in Gaul, and no places could be so appropriate as such mounds. The whole structure of Avebury, with the mound, has thus a vast coherent propriety of design, and unity of rude magnificence; at the same time being the "consecrated place of assembly."

In my first observations on the adjoining hill of Tanarus, I considered the temple of Avebury, from its immediate vicinity, as the temple of Tanaris; but subsequent reflection and investigation have convinced me that it was dedicated to the greatest, not the *secondary*, deity of Celtic Britain, long before I had seen the very just remarks on the subject in the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1827.

The Egyptian Hermes (the Phœnician TAAUTUS, and Celtic Teutates) is said to have invented the zodiac; *unde*, the twelve stones for the *months*, and *thirty* for the *days* of the months; but is it not still more conclusive, that the very *form* of the temple at Avebury is seen in the centre of the zodiac which Kircher describes as being from the second Hermes.* The *second* Hermes, it is generally understood, copied the sacred books of the *first*.

* Doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of this ancient zodiac, but Kircher's veracity has been established by Bailly, the celebrated French astronomer.

CHAP. III.

Bremhill—its situation, boundary, and general appearance.

Studley—a Roman speculatory outpost to Verlucio.

From this excursive disquisition we return to the home-scenes of the parish of Bremhill, and I shall now proceed to delineate its principal outward features, and mark its divisions, boundary, &c.

The word Breme in Saxon signifies "sharp," and possibly may have been applied to the hill, which, on whatever side it is approached, has a peculiarly sharp and steep ascent, though at a distance the elevation seems inconsiderable; and this idea is corroborated, when it is found that advantage has been taken of this very circumstance. Running through all its extent, on the verge of the hill, is a kind of circumvallation, on which, from every side, any invasion might be repelled. As the word Breme signifies steep, it may here be proper to mention, that on every side of the hill this peculiarly sharp elevation is found at the apex, which has evidently been formed into a surrounding rampart of earth-work.

The whole of this ridge was no doubt occupied by the unconquered Britons prior to the Roman con-

quest, and was in their acceptance of the word a dunum, or earth fortification; an inferior ridge of hills, on which are situated the hamlets of Charlcot and Spirthill, is still called Under-down, possibly the nether dun or fortification to the east as the first is to the west. The main rampart or steep embankment on the top of the hill, sweeping on every side along it for four or five miles, and commanding views of the country to a great extent, originally could only be approached by narrow defiles and causeways, when the whole of the country below was forest and marshes. Such a rude rampart is exactly described by Cæsar: "Oppidum Britannæ vocant, cum sylvas impeditas, vallo atque fossâ muniunt." There is indeed no appearance of a direct fossa, but it is obvious the brow of the hill extending each way was formed into a steep line of defence, which will appear more plainly when the reader looks at the situation of the parish, with the parts surrounding, as accurately mapped by the rev. Mr. Skinner, well known for his various and particularly antiquarian knowledge.

The Parish of Bremhill includes six Hamlets—namely, Foxham, the farthest to the north; Tytherton, below the hill called Wick (the Vicus of the Romans, from a colony at Studley), to the north-west; Spirthill and Charlcot, situated on a ridge of a hill, extending towards Swindon, called Under-down (the lower British entrenchment); Stanley, at the bottom of the hill, in the road to

Chippenham, where is a farm-house on the site of Stanley abbey, still called by that name; and STUDLEY, on the other side of the Calne river, to the south, whose hanging cottages appear on the edge of an eminence, commanding a view of the whole vale to Bath, the hills of Somerset, Badminton, and the rich and extensive landscape sweeping on towards the vale of the Severn.

Besides these six hamlets there is a separate parish annexed to the vicarage, called Highway, situated immediately under the Marlborough Downs, at the distance of about five miles, which is a rectory, having a separate church, although the parishes are united, as we have before observed.

The hill on which Bremhill itself stands, with its picturesque church and parsonage, is seen from the great western road which leads through Chippenham and Calne from Bath to London.

The long line of the woods of the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the road from Chippenham to Calne, appear on the right; and the village of Bremhill, pleasantly situated on an eminence about three miles distant, to the left. This view, from the top of the hill, where the road gently ascends to its elevation, winding through part of the ancient forest of Pewsham to an eminence called Derry-hill, continues nearly all the way to Calne, with a succession of cottages belonging to Studley, part of which hamlet is in Bremhill and part in Calne parish.

The parish of Christian Malford bounds Bremhill

to the north-west, Sutton and Langley Burrell to the west, Hillmarton to the north; it is in the hundred of Chippenham, and the deanery of Avebury. Extent from Foxham to Studley, the northern and south-west extremities, about seven miles.

Let us now cast an eye more attentively over the general scenery.

The views are various of hill, wood, and vale. At the west, from the top of the hill, called Bencroft, you see the Calne or Marden river quietly and as it were lingeringly proceeding through green and level pastures, to the majestic but irregularly winding Avon. The woods formerly overhanging the solitary abbey of Stanley, are seen to the left. The tower of Chippenham emerges above the trees in front; the hills above Box and Bath terminate this view; whilst the course of a picturesque canal, marked with the smoke of a passing barge, catches the eye immediately below. The home view, from the parsonage garden, to the south, is made interesting by the tower of Calne rising over hanging woods in front, beneath the undulating range of chalk hills towards Devizes, over which runs the immense Wansdike, of which we have spoken. Immediately beneath this ancient British boundary, on the declivity of the Downs, appears a White Horse, which some years ago was cut out under the direction of an inhabitant of Calne, and which a learned wight "of antiquarian lore" sagely pronounced, in a work on the antiquities of the county, to be Saxon!

To the right appears a line of picturesque trees above Bowden-hill ; more to the west, the rich umbrage and long extent of Bowood plantations ; to the east, the range of chalky cliffs which form the termination of Marlborough Downs, with the different villages peeping from their edges, called after the name of the cliffs, Cleve.

The woods, grounds, and large mansion of Compton* appear conspicuous in the landscape to the south-east, but the view on the north of the hill is far more extensive, and might be thought almost magnificent—part of Somerset, Gloucestershire, and Berkshire spreading in hazy distance below. This prospect is the more striking, as from the general appearance of the country you are not aware that you are approaching the verge of an eminence so commanding. Immediately below appear the neat buildings of a Moravian establishment ; farther on, towers and spires start into light as the sun falls on them ; whilst the hanging woods and picturesque hill of Draycot stand more prominent. Malmesbury abbey, formerly the august mistress of the whole scene, is seen among the distant woods, while the north-east horizon is darkened with the scarce-discerned line of lord Bathurst's woods at Cirencester. The road from Bremhill to Tytherton leads to the verge of this northern hill. On the left side of the road a rude upright stone is placed to commemorate the name of Maud Heath, who, in the

* Belonging to J. Walker Heneage, esq.

time of Edward the Fourth, left funds for the maintenance of a causeway from this hill to Chippenham, of which more will be said in another place. It might not be improper here to add that the late marquis of Lansdowne had a drive from Bowood along the picturesque and varied verge of this hill, a circuit of nearly nine miles.

Such is the external sketch of the parish. It will be perhaps the clearest method to describe the outlying hamlets, beginning with Studley on the south-east boundary, and from thence leading the reader through the other hamlets as they stand connected, we might end our walk with the churchyard and parsonage-gardens.

Of the hamlets already enumerated, namely, Studley, Stanley, Tytherton, Chalcot, Spirthill, and Foxham, Studley is most remarkable for the remains of British and Roman antiquity. Soon after the conquest of the Belgic territories in Britain by the generals of Claudius, the Romans established themselves on this line of the country from *Aquæ Solis*, Bath (or rather, as it has since been ascertained, *Sulis*), induced by the commanding situation of the hill-rampart already made, and the iron works, of which abundant traces remain.

The hill, commanding so great an extent of country, particularly towards the Severn, was situated near the station marked by Antoninus as the first station after Bath on the western road to London. Sir Richard Hoare, by actual survey, has

established the fact, that the long-lost Verlucio was situated not above four miles from this spot, and as this eminence commands such an extent of country to the north-west, we may conclude it was occupied by the Romans as a kind of out-post of observation to their great station, Verlucio. Connected with another post of observation beyond Tetbury, communications might be made with the Severn.

A field of about forty acres, on the highest point, commanding views to the west and north, is full of the scoriæ of iron, worked originally by the British, and here also is much British pottery. Added to which, as I can testify, that at any time, in digging about three feet below the surface, large Roman bricks may generally be found.

That Studley was a principal Roman station is proved also by the prodigious number of Roman coins almost daily, at this time, dug up in the immediate neighbourhood.

Mr. Britton thinks little dependence can be placed on the testimony of a "few isolated coins," but I am able to state such facts as I believe must put the question beyond all doubt. When the reader reflects that more than fourteen hundred years have elapsed since the Romans occupied this island, he will be surprised to learn that at this day, and chiefly from one large field called Red-hill, or as I conjecture Rade-hill, which is dug for garden ground, in little more than twelve months from the time, having offered an affixed price for every coin, I

have had not less than two hundred, I believe, brought from the same spot, and generally as they are turned up by the spade. These are mostly the coins of Constantine, with various and some very curious reverses. Among these, one beautiful silver coin, apparently as fresh as from the mint, was brought, with the head and inscription as defined as that of George the Fourth could be—**VESPATIANUS**. Another coin, equally defined, was found on the north of the hill, with the name **TRAJANUS**. Suetonius informs us* that the legions of **Vespasian** overcame *two* most valiant nations: these were the Belgæ and Britons, which may account for the **Vespasianus** beyond a doubt. From the position still called **Vespasian's camp**, near **Amesbury**, it is probable he extended his conquests to this part of the county, which would corroborate all that has been before said of the two "*valedissimæ gentes*"* one being the Belgæ, to the south of **Wansdike**, on **Salisbury Plain**, and the other the Britons, who remained unconquered, round their temples to the north.

The antiquity of the connection between the colony at **Studley** and **Verlucio** is further proved by a silver coin of **Augustus**, lately found, as fresh as just cast, and executed with the highest finish and beauty; the reverse, a bull, butting; the legend round the coin "**Augustus Divi Filius**," which shews it must have been struck after the deification of **Augustus's**

* Sir R. Hoare.

great uncle, the conqueror of the island, Julius Cæsar. This coin is in the possession of the marchioness of Lansdowne, having been found not far from Bowood, where was also a Roman villa, about half way between Heddington and Studley.

The lands about Studley are chiefly garden grounds, the produce of which is taken to Bath market, which is the cause of so many coins being found;* and I have often excited a more attentive interest among the poor labourers who find them, when, in discoursing at church of the "fashion of this world passing away," I have drawn an illustration from their own fields; for the very same question might now be asked, in respect to these coins, which was asked in the days of our Saviour: "Whose image and superscription is this? and they said unto him, Cæsar's."

The same image, the same superscription, of the same race of the mighty of the earth are before their eyes, in the last relic of human glory,

shrunk into a coin.—POPE.

At Bowood remains of Roman residences have been found; and a tessellated pavement at Bromham.

Of the Saxon period there are here no monuments; but from the residence of the Danes in the neigh-

* The great quantity of coins found in one spot can be only accounted for on the supposition that all those from Verlucio and the neighbourhood, on some sudden emergence, were here hastily buried. Among them was found a beautiful small bronze head of Minerva, in possession of — Loscombe, Esq. of Pickwick Lodge.

bourhood (at Chippenham) they no doubt were aware of the many advantages of this situation.

The following remark occurs in the Saxon Chronicle :

“ Anno 878. This year, about mid-winter, the Danish army *stole* out to Chippenham, and rode over the lands of the West Saxons, where they settled, and drove many of the people over the sea ; and of the rest, the greatest part they rode down and subdued to their will, *all but Alfred the king.*”

I must refer the reader to some interesting remarks on this subject in Turner's Anglo-Saxons.

MANSION OF THE LAST OF THE HUNGERFORDS.

We may now revert to more modern instances, that thus, indeed, the “fashion of this world passes away.” In this hamlet a solitary but large stone arch, which formed the entrance to the mansion, still entire, and the traces of the terraces, yet standing, mark the place of the last residence, in Wiltshire, of this noble family of the county. Part of the long-extending avenue also remains, but a few summers will probably obliterate this last indication of a house of illustrious origin, rank, and wealth, now with its vast possessions alienated—its home extinct.

Studley, heretofore the scene connected with

mighty conquerors and great feudal families, has nothing more remarkable than these remains of the victors of the world, and the last residence of the most distinguished family in the county.

The Hungerford estates* became from time to time reduced by sale, until there at length remained only in England this manor of Studley, otherwise called Studley Hungerford, with about nine hundred acres of land, part lying in the parish of Calne, but part in this parish. What remains of the old habitation is occupied as a farm-house. The hon. lieut.-gen. Crewe, only son of lord Crewe, of Crewe-hall, in Cheshire, is now the possessor of the remaining estates, by virtue of his marriage with Henrietta Maria Anne Hungerford, since deceased.

I conclude this section with one observation, connected with what has been said of the coins found in the neighbourhood.

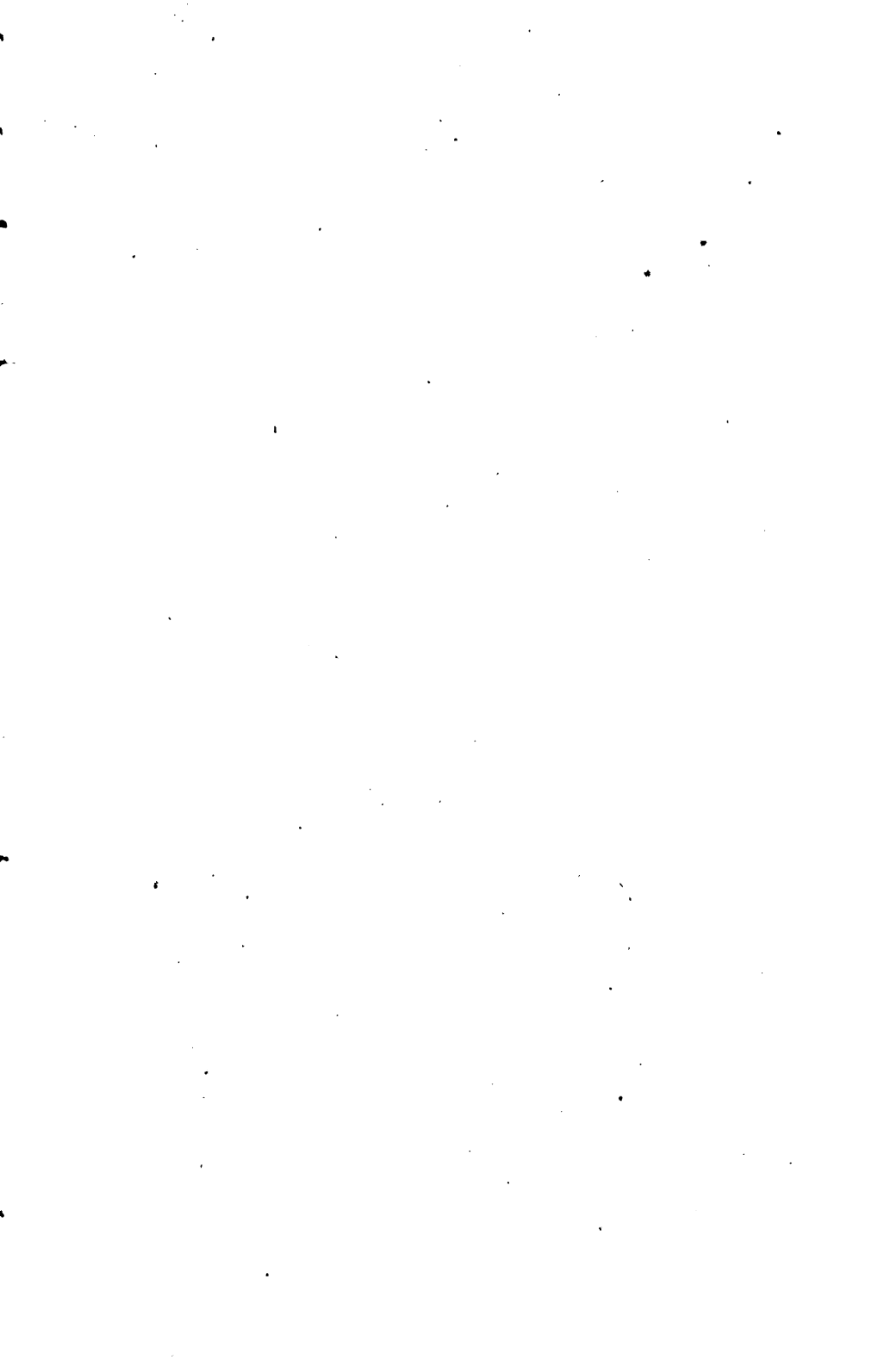
The name universally given, by the inhabitants of the spot, to the Roman coins here found, is "monks."

I have no doubt the origin of the name is derived from the *monks*, who, till the suppression of the abbey, inhabited the adjoining abbey of Stanley.

Of this district and its abbey I now proceed to speak. The subject will lead us to contemplate a more interesting scene. The spot where it stood is now marked by the extent of broken ground,

* The chief seats of the family were at Heytesbury, Farley-Castle, &c. (See Hoare's *Stemmata*.)

the remains of fish-ponds, a few pieces of columns and Norman tiles found on digging, and part of a stone coffin, once the last depositary of the proud abbot, and which now serves the inglorious office of a pig's trough!! So "the fashion of this world passes away."





STANLEY ABBEY.



MALMESBURY ABBEY.

SEALS.

CHAP. IV.

Stanley—the abbey—its prior situation at Lockswell, in the forest of Chippenham—its first name—discovery of the fine spring, or sacred well, which marked the spot—MS. grants and charters—curious MS. by a Monk of Stanley abbey in the Bodleian Library.

Descending the hill from Studley, we come to the hamlet of Stanley, which has now no other distinction than the name of its abbey, founded by the empress Matilda. She had been married to the emperor of Germany, whose sudden death was connected with mysterious circumstances. It was said that, under feelings of remorse, in consequence of his father's murder being imputed to him, he rose at midnight from the bed of the English princess, and wandering away, under a supposed vow of voluntary penance, was never seen again.

A superstitious feeling, derived from the disposition of her grandfather, William the Conqueror, and such accumulated calamities by the loss of her brother and husband, might have tended peculiarly to impress on her mind devotional feelings. Nor can there be a stronger proof of this, than the circumstance recorded by Hoveden, that she came to England, bringing with her the imperial crown, and, what was no less precious, "*the hand of St. James!*"

As this abbey was founded for monks of the Cistercian order, it may not be improper here to say something of that particular community of the church of Rome. This order was founded in the eleventh century, by Robert, called Saint Robert, a Benedictine, and abbot of Moleme, in the forest of that name in France. In this abbey of Moleme, by the pope's permission, he settled, with twenty-one others, (who had been monks also of Moleme,) in a place called Cittaux.

It was a wild and uncultivated tract of wood when these enthusiasts, with the consent of the lords of the soil, formed small wooden cells. They settled there on the 21st of March 1098, on St. Benedict's day.*

This was the rude beginning of an order which, in the time of Matilda, was the most powerful of all religious communities. She had been resident abroad, and was more disposed to religious enthusiasm, probably, as we have observed, from the circumstances of her early life.

This order, from its superior strictness, was so respected, that from 1098, when the first rude dwellings in the wildest forest were inhabited, to 1119, in the short space of twenty-one years, eleven Cistercian monasteries were founded in France alone. Fifty years after its institution there were 500 abbeys, and a hundred years after, 1800.

It is remarkable that the first abbot of the ori-

* Hist. des or. Reliq.

ginal order in France was an Englishman, and in England alone about fifty-one monasteries of this order were founded prior to that of STANLEY.

Of this almost forgotten, but once illustrious abbey, I am able to give more authentic information than has yet appeared, having access to unpublished, and some valuable documents, which belonged to the family who purchased the possessions from Henry the Eighth, from whom descended the late sir Edward Bayntun, of Spye-Park.

This volume contains copies of nearly 60 charters and grants, which were never seen by Dugdale, or any historian. It was purchased at the sale, after the death of the late owner of Spye-Park, for a mere trifle, and they who sold it were probably ignorant of its contents, as many were who have since examined it.

Before we proceed to illustrate, from this most valuable document, the history and local antiquities of Stanley abbey, it will be proper to advert to all that is generally known of it.

This is contained in Dugdale, Leland, and Tanner. The information which Dugdale has given is taken from the Register of Lacock, in Bibl. Cottonianâ, namely, that in the year 1151 the abbey of Stanley was first founded at Lockswell, removed from Quarrie (Quarariâ), in the Isle of Wight; that after three years it was translated from Lockswell to Stanleigh, or Stanley.

By Leland we are informed that Matilda, the

empress, first founded a religious house (domum), in a place called Lockswell; that afterwards Henry the Second removed the brothers (fratres transtulit) from Lockswell to Stanley, where he founded the abbey of Stanley, and gave the lordship to them.—Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 60.

Tanner's Notitia contains the following notice:—

“ LOCKSWELL.

“ This place, in the forest of Chippenham, was given by Henry, son of y^e duke of Normandy, &c. &c. &c. afterwards King Henry y^e Second, to the monks of Quarre, upon condition that they should settle there a convent of Cistertians, which they did anno 1151; but three years after, that prince and his mother, Maud y^e Empress, remov'd the religious from thence to

“ STANLEIGH,

“ Where they built and endow'd to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary an abbey for thirteen white monks, whose revenues were valued 26th Henry the Eighth at £177. 0s. 8d. per annum, Dugdale; £222. 14s. 4d. Speed. The site was granted 28th Henry the Eighth to Sir Edward Bayntun.”

This is the substance of all the knowledge we generally have, I believe, of the foundation and the history of Stanley abbey.

The documents for the foundation of this know-

judge are, first, the charter of Henry the Second, son of the duke of Normandy, published by Dugdale, "ex officio armorum" (the Herald's College); secondly, the charter of Henry the Second, and his mother Matilda, published in the Monasticon; thirdly, a charter of Richard the First, published also in the Monasticon. I am not aware that there exists any other published authentic document respecting the history of Stanley abbey; the light, therefore, which I hope to throw on the earliest foundation at Lockswell, and this abbey, will be derived from personal investigation, and from authentic copies of all the original grants in the possession of the Bayntun family, by whose ancestors the lands belonging to both abbeys were purchased from Henry the Eighth. The most important of these grants are, first, the charter of Henry, son of the duke of Normandy (afterwards King Henry the Second), copied in the Monasticon. Secondly, a grant from Henry duke of Normandy, of a hyde of land at Lamburne, which Hugh Plugener gave to the monastery at ST. MARY AT DROWNFONT, in the manor of Chippenham.

This grant has never yet been published; upon this, therefore, it will be proper to make a few remarks.

In the first charter Henry is entitled the son of the duke of Normandy, and Earl of Anjou, and, therefore, it must have been granted before the death of his father. In the second grant, Henry

is entitled duke of Normandy, and earl of Anjou (Andegavia). In the first grant Henry, "son of the duke of Normandy," gives the lands at Lockswell to the monks of St. Mary "de Quararia, in Insula," &c. to build there "capitalem abbatiam pro salute" of his father, Geoffrey duke of Normandy, his mother's, and his own, and for the WELFARE of the KINGDOM OF ENGLAND. This grant was in his father's lifetime, *before* the year 1150, as in that year his father died, and Henry succeeded to the title of earl of Anjou soon after.

In the second charter of confirmation by Henry, *after* he was duke of Normandy, we find a hyde of land in Lamburn, given by Hugh Plugener to the *Monks of Drownfont*. There is no published account of Drownfont, nor any thing in any publication said of the monks of Drownfont, and, therefore, it was my first object to ascertain where this Drownfont was situated, as well as to trace the origin of this forgotten name, and I flatter myself I have completely succeeded in both.

It will be remembered, that the land first granted in Wiltshire was for the foundation of an abbey at Lockswell. I therefore naturally concluded, that in the neighbourhood of Lockswell (now Lockswell-heath, at the back of the Marquis of Lansdowne's plantations at Bowood,) there must be some remarkable spring or fountain; for the second unpublished charter gives so much land to the monks of St. Mary de DROGONIS FONTE.

In the grant, conjunctively from Matilda and her son, of a meadow in the forest of Chippenham, near Lacock-Bridge, this Abbey Drownfont is called *Abbatia de DROGONIS FONTE*. In further investigation of the place, and the origin of the name, I was convinced that the abbey, which had existed for three years in Lockswell, and then vanished, like Aladdin's palace, must, from the name, have been built near that spring or fountain at Lockswell, which must be yet in existence.

The reason why it was called the abbey "de Drownfont," and "de Drogonis Fonte" will be equally clear, when, in turning to the first and earliest grant, we find this remarkable passage, "Ego filius, &c. Ducis Normanniæ" have given Lockswell (*Locwellam*) with all the rights and customs which my mother and myself gave to *DROGO* my mother's chamberlain—to the Monks of Quarre; "terras cum consuetudinibus et libertatibus, quas mater mea et ego dedimus *DROGONI, MATRIS MEÆ CAMERARIO*." It will therefore, I think, clearly follow that Drogo, Matilda's chamberlain, having the first possession of Lockswell—the name of the abbey, as long as it there continued, was that of St. Mary de Drownfont, or de *DROGONIS FONTE*. To this abbey the grants are made *primarily* of Henry and Matilda. There is a confirmation to the same abbey from William earl of Salisbury, son of Patrick, the founder of Bradenstoke abbey in the neighbourhood. All the other grants, from Richard the First, dated Mes-

sina, when he went to the crusades (printed in the Monasticon); from Edward the First, dated Dumferling, where he kept his Christmas after the conquest of Scotland; from Henry the Third, &c. are to "STANLEY ABBEY."

The site of the earliest abbey at Lockswell, the name, and the origin of that name, I flatter myself then I have been the first to discover.

It is a magnificent spring, rising on the very top of the hill, which is on all sides surrounded with wild and romantic scenery. It appears in the spot from which it bursts nearly three feet broad; and to shew the idea of its sanctity, many years after the removal of the abbey to Stanley, this pure stream was thought so important to the inhabitants of the abbey, that, with great labour and expence (as appears from the MS. of a monk of Stanley, in the Bodleian Library), it was conveyed by an aqueduct from Lockwell, between four and five miles distant, to Stanley.

The reader will imagine my gratified feelings on first seeing this singular and beautiful spring rushing into day from beneath the foundation of a farm-house, that stands, most probably, on the very site of the old building, and then winding its precipitous and solitary way till it is lost among the wildest glades of the ancient forest of Chippenham.

Perhaps a few more circumstances relative to my discovery of this venerable spot may be excused,

It was some time before I ascertained that there was any particular spring of water in the Heath, still called Lock's-well; but I was convinced that some spring must exist there, from the termination of the word Lock's-well, (LOCWELLAM); from the express words in the original grants to the abbey, there founded, in which it is called Drownfont; and more explicitly, in *two* of the grants, Fons Drogonis, the origin of which name, from Drogo, the chamberlain of Matilda, I have already traced.

I therefore made more particular inquiries, and having heard that there was a very large spring-head, nearly on the apex of the hill, and behind a farm-house (belonging to Dr. Starkey, the inheritor, in right of his wife, of the Bayntun property, and of the ancient possessions of Stanley abbey), I lost no time in visiting it.

This spring, rising immediately behind a lone farm-house, and in a very unfrequented part, is not discernible from the bye-road that leads, near this farm-house, through the forest to Lacock; but, having had accurate information, I was much gratified on first discovering in this beautiful and solitary stream, its pristine connection, and name.

It will be seen in Polwhele's History of Cornwall, that this Drogo (the origin of the family of Drew) had considerable possessions in the western counties, all, like the possessions in the forest of Chippenham, probably derived from the bounty of his illustrious mistress.

In the place we have described, in this county, which had his name, there are several springs, beside the principal, all comprised in an area of about thirty or forty feet. A considerable pond, or reservoir, has been formed, possibly originally for the use of the abbey.

The spot itself is picturesque, skirted with woods, and exhibiting the interspersion of wild glens and brakes, and surrounding hills. The home-view, with water, the scattered trees, the hanging banks, and track-way, winding at a distance among the woods, with occasionally here and there a groupe of cattle, resembles very much some landscapes of Berghem.

I carefully examined the nearest adjoining grounds, with a view of tracing marks of the original foundation of this fleeting monument of the piety of our ancestors, but was disappointed. Probably some relics will be found on digging near the spot, but, it must be remembered, that the Cistercian abbeys, of which so many were founded about the same period in various parts of England, were, in those early times, built of wood; that this abbey was so constructed is the more probable, as it was raised in the midst of a forest, where such materials were at hand, and removed about four miles distant in-so short a space of time. According to all accounts it continued at Lockswell not more than three years. No traces are now discernible, and the stream alone, once famous

and hallowed, has flowed for centuries through the wild bourne, as disconsolate and forgotten.

An account of this spring was sent, at the time of its discovery, to that excellent repository of antiquarian research, the Gentleman's Magazine. This account has been reprinted in the last splendid edition of Dugdale. As these are before the public, and as the substance is here given, I trust I need not solicit the reader's indulgence for a few lines which the subject occasioned:—

ON LOCKSWELL SPRING.

Pure fount, that, welling from this wooded hill,
Dost wander forth, as into life's wide vale,
Thou, to the traveller dost tell no tale,
Of other years, a lone, unnoticed rill,
In thy forsaken track, unheard of men,
Making thy own wild music through the glen.

Time was when other sounds, and songs arose,
When o'er the pensive scene, at evening's close,
The distant bell was heard, or the full chant,
At morn, came sounding high and jubilant ;
Or, stealing on the wilder'd pilgrim's way,
The moon-light Miserere died away,
Like all things earthly—

Stranger, mark the spot—
No echos of the chiding world intrude—
The structure rose, and vanish'd—solitude,
Possess'd the woods again—old Time forgot,
Passing to wider spoil, its place and name.
Since then, ev'n as the clouds of yesterday,
Seven hundred years have well nigh pass'd away :
No wreck remains of all its early pride,
Like its own orisons, its fame has died.

But this pure fount, thro' rolling years the same,
 Yet lifts its small still voice, like penitence,
 Or lowly pray'r. THOU, pass, admonish'd hence,
 Happy, thrice happy, is thro' good or ill,
 CHRISTIAN, thy heart respond to this forsaken rill.

It is well known, that the situation of monastic buildings was selected near wells, which were consecrated, in the early ages of the church, as they were equally venerated in Druidical times.

I shall now set before the reader the number of grants to this abbey, from the book I have described.

The first grant, in which the name of Drogo, Matilda's chamberlain, appears, Dugdale copied from the Heralds' College; and from this alone he gained the information of the foundation of the first Cistercian abbey at Lockswell.

This first grant of Henry to St. Mary, of DROWN-FONT, is as follows:—

*Carta Henrici ducis Normanniæ & comitis Andegaviæ filij
 de fundatione hujus Cænobij.*

“Henricus ducis Normanniæ & comitis Andegaviæ Filius, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus, justiciarijs, & omnibus fidelibus, Franciis et Anglis, salutem; sciatis me dedisse et concessissæ Deo & sanctæ Mariæ de Quadraria in insula de Wich, in perpetuam elemosinam, LOCWELLAM, ad faciendam ibidem capitalem abbatiam pro salute & incolumnitate Domini Gaufridi Normanniæ ducis et Andegaviæ comitis, necnon pro salute dominæ imperatricis matris meæ, & meæ, & pro statu regni Anglorum, & pro animabus Henrici regis avi mei,

& M. reginæ, omniumque predecessorum meorum defunctorum. Et ideo volo & firmiter precipio quòd prememoratæ abbatie monachi predictum locum habeant liberè & quietè, & honorificè & plenariè, cum omnibus illis libertatibus & consuetudinibus quas domina IMPERATRIX mater mea & ego dedimus et concessimus domino DROGONI dominæ matris meæ Camerario, sicut nos donum illud eidem DROGONI cartis nostris, quas predicti monachi habent, dedimus & confirmavimus. Testibus Roberto decano Saresberie, magistro Matheo, Gregorio Day, Humfrido de Bohun, Huberto de Vallibus, Humfrido filio Otonis constabularij, Willielmo filio Hamonis, Riolfo de Sessuns, Petro Botello, apud Divisas."

All the grants which follow are from MSS.

A charter of confirmation from Henry duke of Normandy, of a hyde of land in Lamburne, which Hugh of Plugenor gave to the monastery of Saint MARY of DROWN-FONT, in the manor of Chippenham :—

"Henricus dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ et comes Andegaviæ omnibus archiepiscopis episcopis comitibus baronibus et omnibus amicis et fidelibus suis Normanniæ et Angliæ salutem; sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse donationem de una hida terræ in Lamburna, quam Hugo de Plugenor dedit Deo et monachis Sanctæ MARIE de DROWNFONT, in manerio de Cheppeham, Deo servientibus; quare volo et firmiter precipio ut donatio illa rata sit et inconcussa. Ne quis eis damnum vel molestiam malignam inferre presumat, terram illam liberam et quietam ab omni servitio seculari, Hugoni predicti illis in elemosinam perpetuam concedo, cum pasturis et pertinentijs. Testibus Willielmo Cummin, magistro Radulpho Petro abbatie Malmesberie, magistro Anfredo, Guarino filio Gi-

raldi Camerario, Gocellino de Bail, Willielmo de Lana-bua, Nigello de Brac, apud Divisas.”

This deed is in the possession of Edward Bayntun, esq.

This was granted by Henry before he was king. The following is *conjunctively* from Matilda and her son :—

A grant from the empress Maud, and Henry duke of Normandy her son, to the brethren of Saint MARY DE DROGONIS FONTE, of a meadow in the forest of Cheppeham, to pasture, and make hay ; and as much land as is worth twenty shillings a year, near Laycock-Bridge, and three pence a day as long as the same shall be inhabited by religious people :—

“ Matildis imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, et Henricus ejus filius dux Normannie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciarijs, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis, totius Angliæ, salutem ; sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse Deo et SANCTÆ MARIE DE DROGONIS FONTE, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus pro anima regis Henrici patris nostri, necnon pro statu regni Angliæ, et pro salute nostra, in perpetuam elemosinam pratum forestæ de Cheppeham, ad pasturam et fænum faciendum, et viginti solidatas terre quæ est juxta pontem de Lacoc, que pertinet ad foeudum de Ruda, quamdiu Ruda erit in manu nostra, et preter hoc concedimus finaliter predicto loco tres denarios in die de firma nostra de Cheppeham, quamdiu locus ille gente religiosa inhabitabitur. Testibus Willielmo Cancellario, et Herberto Capellano, et Alexandro de Buhun, et Richardo de Haia, et Hugone de Doura, et Walkelino Meminot, et Huberto de Vallibus, et Manessers Biset, et

Willielmo filio Hamonis, et Warinó filio Geraldi, et Willielmo de Ansgervilla, apud Rathamagum.”

This deed in the possession of Edward Bayntun, esq.

A charter of confirmation from William earl of Salisbury to the ABBEY DROGONIS FONTIS, of as much land as his father held in fee in Hedfelda, near the forest of Chippingham, which belonged to the manor of Wilcot, and which he gave by charter to the said abbey.

“ Reverendo patri suo et domino Jocelino Sarum episcopo,* et omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filijs et fidelibus, omnibusque baronibus et liberè tenentibus et hominibus et amicis suis, comes Willielmus Sarum, salutem in Christo: universitati vestræ, omnibusque tam futuris quàm presentibus, notum sit, me concessisse Domino et Loco Drogonis Fontis, in forestâ de Cheppeham, qui est membrum matris ecclesiæ de Quadrariâ in insulâ, pro salute mea, et uxoris meæ comitissæ B. et parentum et amicorum nostrorum, et pro animabus patris mei comitis P. et matris meæ comitissæ E. et fratris mei P. et omnium predecessorum nostrorum, quantum terræ pater meus habuit de feodo suo in Hedfelda juxta Forestam de Cheppeham, quod propinquat ad manerium de Wilcata, et predicto Loco in perpetuam elemosinam dedit, et quòd bene, et in pace et liberè, et quietè et honorificè, et sine omni reclamatione in perpetuum terram illam teneat, et sine omni servitio quod nisi amodo a me aut heredibus meis exigatur, et ne aliquis nisi Fratres Drogonis Fontis inquietet aut vexit aut gravet. His testibus: Waltero de Calna, Eustachio filio Helie, Willielmo filio Gaufredi, Hugone de Bernerijs, Milone de Danteseia, Philippo fratre meo, Willielmo Capellano,

* Joceline bishop of Salisbury died obscurely in a Cistercian abbey, 1184.

Richardo de Candeuere, Willielmo filio Warini, magistro Rogero Bemurdo camerario, Rudulfo de Affrica, Nicholas de Hispania, Baldawino buttellario, Ricardo coco, Waltero preposito.”

In possession of Edward Bayntun, esq.

The above is a confirmation from William, the son of Patrick, the founder of Bradenstoke abbey, in the neighbourhood.

Pro salute Patris mei P. is evidently Patris mei Patricii. His mother, the second wife of Patrick, the first earl of Salisbury, was Ela,—pro salute matris meæ E. I cannot ascertain the name of his own wife. The initial here given is comitissa B.; in Dugdale’s Peerage his wife is said to have been Alianore de Vitrei. His daughter Ela married William Longspee, natural son of Henry, by Rosamond, who founded, after his death, Lacock nunnery.

A grant from William earl of Gloucester to the monks of Stanley, to be toll free in the town of Bristol.

“Willielmus comes Glocestriæ, Senescallo suo, et omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis Francis et Anglis, salutem; sciatis quòd pro salute domini mei regis, et patris mei et matris meæ et animæ meæ, et Hawisiæ comitissæ uxoris meæ et Roberti filij mei, et aliorum liberorum, et omnium predecessorum meorum, in perpetuam quietem clamavi monachis de Stanlea juxta Chippeham, thelonium de omnibus quod ad proprios usus ecclesiæ suæ emerint in villâ meâ de Bristou, et hanc quietantiam eis presenti cartâ confirmavi, ut predicti monachi eam liberè et pacificè habeant sine vexatione. Gilberto Capellano, Hamone de

Valonijs, Reginaldo filio Simonis, Roberto Bibois, Henrico Crasso, Jord' de Hameled.*

In possession of Edward Bayntun, esq.

This William, earl of Gloucester, succeeded his father Robert, natural son of king Henry the First, who died anno 1147, (12th Steph.) Matilda's noble and high spirited brother, who shook the throne of Stephen. This is a grant for the monks of Stanley to enter Bristol toll free; his father Robert, Matilda's brother, having his castle at Bristol, part of which remains. He founded St. James' church,* and is buried there. The widow of this William was afterwards married to king John.

A charter of confirmation from king Richard the First to the abbey of Stanley, of Codington, and Wapelee, which was given to them by Ralph the son of Stephen.

“Richardus, Dei gratiâ, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciarijs, vicecomitibus, prepositis, ballivis, castellanis, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius terræ suæ salutem; sciatis nos concessisse et presenti cartâ nostrâ confirmasse Abbatîæ de Stanlee, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, rationabile donum quod eis fecit Radulphus filius Stephani, scilicet Codington et Wapelee, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis quæ pater noster bonæ memoriæ Henricus predicto Radulpho filie Stephani pro homagio et servitio suo dedit; quare volumus et precipimus quod predicti monachi habeant et teneant donum predictum bene et in pace, liberè et quietè et

* Originally a priory.

honorificè cum omnibus pertinentijs suis in bosco, et plano, vijs, semitis, pratis, pasturis, mauriscis, aquis, vivarijs, stagnis, piscariis, molendinis, et omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, sicut carta supradicti Radulphi filij Stephani rationabiliter testatur. Teste Rogero de Pratellis, dapifero nostro, Richardo de Camvill, Willielmo Giffart, et pluribus alijs. Datum per manum magistri Rogeri Malicatuli, clerici nostri, apud Massinam, tertio die Aprilis, anno regni nostri secundo. DUGDALE.

This grant is singular, from the place whence it is dated, Messina, where king Richard took the command of the fleet and army in the crusade to the Holy Land. He probably consented to this act of beneficence and piety before he proceeded on his religious and romantic enterprise, thinking thus to conciliate the favour of Heaven; and the monks were not backward, it may be conceived, to avail themselves of the moment of religious and beneficent enthusiasm.

Those grants which throw most light on the circumstance of the removal of the abbey at Lockswell (de Drogonis fonte) to Stanley, I have here arranged according to their order and date.

1. Grant of the land at Lockswell by Henry before he was duke of Normandy.
2. Confirmation when duke.
3. Maud and Henry, ditto.
4. Henry when king of England.
5. William earl of Gloucester.
6. Richard, at Westminster.
7. Ditto, at Messina.

8. William earl of Salisbury, son of Patrick, the founder of Bradenstoke abbey, and father to Ela, who founded the nunnery of Lacock.

The reader will see the connection of the founders of Bradenstoke, Stanley, and Lacock, within a few miles of each other, by the following table :

WALTER DE EUREUX, earl of Rymar: he was given, by Will. I. the lordships of Saresburie and Ambresburie.══
┌──┐ EDWARD, took the sirname of Saresburie, sheriff of Wiltshire.══
┌──┐ WALTER, founder of Bradenstoke abbey, 1142.══
┌──┐ PATRICK, 1st earl of Salisbury, ob. 1167; mar. 1st, Maud; 2nd, Ela.══
┌──┐ WILLIAM earl of Salisbury, ob. 1196.══Alianore de Vitrei. ┌──┐ ELA; mar. William Longespee.

We have seen that Abbatia Drogonis Fontis at Lockwell and that at Stanley, were founded by Matilda and her son Henry, afterwards Henry the Second. His son by the fair Rosamond, the celebrated William Longespee, married the daughter and heiress of William earl of Salisbury, whose grant appears. Lacock nunnery was founded by her after his death. Bradenstoke was founded by Patrick, and Walter his son, descended from the same family of Devereux, the name of the first earl of Salisbury, who came with William from Normandy, and was in the battle of Hastings.

In the earliest of these grants the name of the abbey is constantly Drownfont, and De Drogonis

Fonte : when it was removed to Stanley, it appears from the deeds that Stanley had the important name bestowed on it of the Empress's Stanley, *Stanleia Imperatricis* !

Of the EMPRESS's Stanley the remembrance has died ; of her abbey, nothing appears except some broken capitals found in digging, and Norman tiles, a few finials stuck in the barn walls, and part of the stone coffin which I have mentioned.

Besides the list of the more important grants which elucidate the removal of the abbey from Drownfont to Stanley, it perhaps may be proper to add the following, the most remarkable of which are those of Edw. I. and II. and Hen. III.

1. A confirmation from Robert de Wesneville to the abbey of Stanley, of land in the parish of Chippenham, and also of land in the manor of Hekeham, which William de Wesneville, his uncle, gave to Gernerus Mansellus.

2. A charter of confirmation from Reginald de Pavelle to the abbey of Stanley, of a moiety of a grove in Hulwerta.

3. A confirmation from Robert de Osevilla to the abbey of Stanley, of a moiety of a grove, which was given him by Reginald de Pavelli, and separated by a jury from the said Reginald's part.

4. A grant from Robert, son of Martin, to Hugh Hosatus, of land in Blachedona.

5. A confirmation from Johanne de Oseville to the abbey of Stanley, of part of a wood in the Moore,

between the wood of the monks of the said abbey and the wood of William Bauvilain, from the marsh to the hill towards the east, and to a croft called Huppleg.

6. A charter of confirmation from Godefridus, of Stanley, to the abbey there, of all the land in the town of Stanley, which his two concubines, Margareta and Juliana, gave to the monks there, and which came to them by inheritance of their father Nigellus.

7. A charter of confirmation from Walter de Pavilly to the abbey of Stanley, of a moor, between the moor of the monks of the said abbey and the wood of William Bealvilein.

8. A charter of confirmation from Ralph de Bello Campo * to the abbey of Stanley, of a rent of six shillings a year, issuing out of lands in the manor of Wesbury, held by Jeffery Burnell.

9. A confirmation from Thomas de Abbamaera to the abbey of Stanley, of pasture for three hundred wethers, or three hundred ewes, Wodemanneshull and Walemerset.

10. A confirmation from king Henry the third to the abbey of Stanley.

11. A charter from Stephen de Frie and Julian his wife, daughter of Osmond le Rede, to John de la Roche, of part of a meadow called Broad Mead.

12. A confirmation from Alexander of Stadley to

* Beauchamp.

the abbey of Stanley, of part of a meadow, which Robert Norman gave to the said abbey.

13. A charter from William Noreis and Johanna his wife, to Richard Suren, of a burgage in Chippenham.

14. A charter from Lawrence of Stodley to the abbey of Stanley, of an acre of arable land in a field called Northley, extending towards the east on the land of the said Lawrence, and towards the west on the land of the monks of the said abbey.

15. A charter from Roger Bubbe to the abbey of Stanley, of three acres and a half of land in Stanley field.

16. A grant from Roger Boubbe, of Stanley, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

17. A grant from Richard Horn, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

18. A grant from Giles, of Chynerdene, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

19. A grant from John de Baule to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

20. A grant from Adam Harding, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

21. A grant from Edward Avary, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

22. A grant from Richard le Veske, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

23. A grant from Robert de la Hebrygge to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

24. A grant from Adam Hulle, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

25. A grant from Richard Godman to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

26. A grant from John Atte Barre to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

27. A grant from Philip le Ganter, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common

of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

28. A grant from Richard Tabler, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

29. A grant from Edmund lord Gocelin, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, viz. from the entrance of the abbey to a close called Affledmore, and from the marsh called the More to the top of the hill which divides the said wood and More.

30. A grant from Nicholas de la Huse, lord of Coghedan, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood near the said abbey, called the More, viz. from the entrance thereof to Affledmore, and from the marsh under the wood to the top of the hill, which divides that wood and the wood of lord Edmund Goceling.

31. A grant from Henry Andren to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, viz. from the entrance of the abbey to the top of the hill.

32. A grant from Roger Seman, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, without the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

33. A grant from Henry Falier, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of

pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

34. A grant from Robert Ynekyng, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

35. A grant from Humphry Payne, of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

36. A grant from Richard Elys,* of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right of common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

37. A grant from John Child,† of Chippenham, to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

38. A grant from Walter Skydemor to the abbey of Stanley, of all his right to common of pasture in the wood called the More, near the said abbey, on the south part thereof.

39. A confirmation from Margaret, the daughter of Nigellus, to the abbey of Stanley, of all her land which she had in the town of Stanley.

40. A grant from king Edward the First ‡ to the

* The same name is common in this parish.

† The same name at Calne.

‡ Dated "Dunfermling," in Scotland, 5th of November, thirty-second year of his reign.

abbey of Stanley, of two hundred and eleven acres of waste land in the forest of Pewsham.

41. A grant from Robert Unckying.

42. A confirmation from Henry the Sixth, at which the whole of the grant of Edward the First is recited, and confirmation added. Dated the 19th year of his reign.—Signed BATE. To which is added, “*Examinatur per Johannes Bale et Thomam Kirkeby, Clericos.*” After the deed, “*pro uno marco soluto in Hanaperio.*”

43. In the charter of Henry after he was king, speaking of the state of dilapidated possessions under Stephen, calling him “*ablatoris mei,*” he gives a part of his manor of Ferendon, called Wurda, to the Cistertians of Stanley.

Nothing can more clearly show the wild and uninhabited state of the country in these days, than a circumstance mentioned in the grant of Richard the First. It has been observed that he gives the “*dominium nostrum,*” our domains de Hedfeld on each side of the river, with the “*septem hominibus ibi manentibus,*” with the seven men there inhabiting. This grant is dated the first year of the reign of Richard.

The two grants from Richard the First are in the new edition of Dugdale.

The grant dated Messina is the more remarkable, because it is known that, intent on collecting money for the crusades, Richard made his ecclesiastical preferments venal; but as far as regarded this abbey,

probably from respect to the memory of his father and grandmother, he signs, as we have noticed, this grant in favour of Stanley abbey amidst the splendid armament that attended his first expedition to Syria. It is also remarkable that as one deed will be found granted by Edward the First in the midst of the triumphal career of his arms in Scotland, given at the ancient palace of the kings of the conquered country, so this from the chivalric Richard is dated at the place where he first joined with romantic ardour his impatient and puissant fleet.

“Richard (says that most accurate and interesting historian, Turner,) hastened from Salernum, and arrived at the Faro of Messina, where he passed the night in a tent near the straits of Scylla; assembling his fleet, he set sail for Messina, and passed the port with such a triumphant flourish of trumpets and clarions, that all the city was alarmed, and came out with Philip to contemplate and admire the gallant array and splendid pomp of the king of England.”

At this place, in this interesting moment, and amid these glorious and warlike circumstances, his pious remembrance is turned to his paternal abbey in a remote parish of Wiltshire. But perhaps a less exalted cause might be assigned; that the monks took the advantage of pressing suits on the powerful at moments when their minds were most elated, and that there were never wanting advocates who would avail themselves of all these “*mollia tempora fandi.*” This may appear more probable when it is found

that the deed of Richard the First is signed in the presence of his chaplain, who perhaps might have had a charge of the kind from the monks of Stanley.

A deed of Edward the First, dated at Dunfermling, in his return from having laid waste Scotland from "sea to sea," contains very curious particulars illustrative of the state of this neighbourhood at the time of the date. Bowood, as I have before stated, is called Bone-wode, doubtless from the tradition of its being the sacred wood of the Druids, about six miles from Avebury. In the same deed the rivulet Pewe is mentioned. This rivulet is now *sine nomine*, but the name of Pewsham forest (extra-parochial) is evidently derived from the name of this rivulet.

In the charter of confirmation from Reginald de Paveile, of a moiety of a grove in Hulvert, mention occurs of the old Roman road to Devizes: "Totam illam partem quæ est subtus viam antiquam quæ tendit a Stodleia ad Divisas."* Among the witnesses are the names, now existing, Walter Croc (Walter Crook), Rogero Caillewei, from which name the small parish of Kellewys, † I have no doubt, is derived.

I have already stated in what manner Matilda came into possession of the lands in Chippenham

* The word Divisas proves the origin of the name of this town. It was the first settlement of the Belgæ beyond the line of the Wansdike, which was the great line of *divisa regna*.

† In which is situated the quarry known to geologists by the name of Kelleway's Rock.

forest. Henry the First gave to her all his possessions over which he had any power, and doubtless among these was the wild tract known at that time as the forest of Chippenham; and it may here be observed that, so far from the representation being just that the monks were idle drones, these very grants prove that they were the first cultivators of the waste portions of the country, and the first promoters of manufactures, as the taper of learning in the solitary cloister was the only one that cast any light at that benighted period of the human intellect. The wild forests of Wiltshire, as well as the vast swamps of Lincolnshire, were cultivated by these ascetic inhabitants of the cloister. The hum of industry and the voice of prayer were heard, by turns, wherever they fixed their abode, as the sounds of labour and the Moravian hymns now echo in the wilds of Saldanha. The waste moorlands which the monks first brought into cultivation, are now the most productive lands in the country.

In the grant from William earl of Gloucester, Bristol is called "villâ meâ." His father, the half-brother of Matilda, and illegitimate son of Henry the First, came to England with a few followers to dispute the throne with Stephen. "In 1139 (says Turner) Matilda sailed to England, and landed at Arundel with few attendants. Her brother the earl of Gloucester had only 150 knights, and with this small force began that warfare which nearly pushed Stephen from his throne. Stephen, with the cus-

tomary courtesy of true knighthood, gave his rival a safe conduct to his castle at Bristol."

The deed of the son, that the monks of Stanley shall be toll free of Bristol, is dated there, and witnessed by Richard abbot of St. Augustine, with others. The word for toll is *THELONIUM*, of all they shall buy in "my city of Bristol."

Robert the father died 1147, 12th of Stephen; this William died 1173, 20th of Henry II. Walter of Calne occurs in the grant to the abbey de Drogonis Fonte, by William earl of Salisbury.

The name of Mansellus occurs in a confirmation of a grant from Robert de Washeville; Mansel is still a common name in this parish.

Harding, the name of a poor family in the neighbourhood, also occurs, "Harding de Chippenham."

Hartham* is called Hertaham in confirmation of a grant of part of a wood by Robert de Osewillâ.

A grant to Hugh Hosatus from Robert of Marden of land in Blechedon; is said to be on account of a BLACK HORSE which Hosatus had given him, and a PALFREY for his wife, "unum palfridum uxori meæ," which shews the value of the land at the time, as all these grants of moorland, which the monks brought into cultivation, evince the nature of the country.

In my opinion this abbey was removed from

* Hartham Park, in the parish of Corsham, is now in possession of Henry Joy, esq. At Hartham House died the celebrated author of *Phædra* and *Hippolitus*; he was buried at Biddestone, but there is no memorial.

Lockswell to Stanley, in consequence of a religious vow on the part of Matilda on her son's accession to the throne of England, for in this year it was removed.

She had nobly, aided by her half brother the brave earl of Gloucester, contended, with various fortune, with ardent courage, and romantic adventures, for the crown of her father.

Her son was now rising in youth and fortunes. In 1150, by the death of his father, he became earl of Anjou and duke of Normandy. After her escape from Oxford, Matilda seems to have declined, personally, further contest, probably waiting till the prince her son should be better able to contend. He had just married the daughter of the duke of Poitou, and was now possessed of four great principalities, and thus, with fortune at command, youth and spirits on his side, he landed in England, to contend for that crown for which his mother had contended so long and so bravely.

According to the religious ideas of the age, the strongest sense of which we have seen Matilda constantly manifested, and which at last made this very son a slave to the most abject superstition, is it not most probable that, before the last arduous attempt of shaking the throne of Stephen, by a new religious foundation she should seek to conciliate the favour of "*the Holy Mother of God?*"* This may be

* Her own expression.

presumed from the date of the foundation of the abbey of Lockswell, 1151. It was dedicated to Saint Mary; it was founded the year before young Henry appeared on the scene in person; it was situated in the neighbourhood of the first battle, Marlborough, and in the direct road to Gloucester castle at Bristol. The translation of the abbey to Stanley, I have no doubt, then, was in consequence of a *vow* that St. Mary should have a more august and worthy temple to her honour, when, by her *favour*, Henry should have gained his lawful throne, and it was removed the very year when Stephen died. Thus we see the abbeys of Lockswell and Stanley emerge into the history of England.

In a miscellaneous volume, marked K. D. 11, *i. e.* Kenelm Digby, XI., there is a regular chronicle of English affairs, from Brute the Trojan to the year 1271. Tanner and others attribute this work to a monk of Stanley.

On the extreme edge of the exterior margin of the last leaf but one, is this fact recorded: “✠ *Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleie in Wiltesyre a domino Waltero de Wile* tunc Sarisburiensi episcopo, cujus anima, per misericordiam Dei, in pace requiescat.*”

This notice appears opposite the year 1270. Thus it appears that the first grant of Richard was now carried into effect, and a new chapel dedicated 1270,

* Walter de Wiley died 1270.

which Tanner describes as the year in which the MS. ends. The death of Boniface archbishop of Canterbury is recorded in that year, with the following particular remark concerning Stanley, and corroborative of the benefaction of Richard the First: "Eodem anno (1270) intravit conventus de Stanleye in Wiltes novum rectorium, die beati Johannis Baptisti."—"The same year the convent of Stanley entered their new refectory."

This was in the reign of Henry the Third, by whom was given a confirmation of the grant from Richard, the benefit of which does not appear to have been reaped by the monks till this confirmation was given by Henry.

All the other grants are confirmed also by this deed.

The grants of Richard are recited, and all the preceding grants to the date of this confirmation.

"Has donationes eis factas, scilicet ab aliis quam a prædicto domino Ricardo rege, avunculó nostro, predictis abbati et monachis de Stanlegâ concedimus et confirmamus.."

The fruits of this confirmation are almost immediately seen, by the monks building a new chapel and refectory.

Dr. Bandinel, who was so kind as to point out the above passages relating to Stanley abbey in this rare but small volume, in a hand not very easily deciphered, expressed his opinion that it was not written, as Tanner conjectured, by a monk of Stanley,

because Stanley is constantly spoken of as Stanley abbey in Wiltshire, which would scarcely be done by a resident at the abbey; but it should be recollected there are two abbeys of this name, one in Yorkshire, and this might account for the designation used by a monk of the establishment.

The circumstance of an abbot being deposed for attending a convention in Ireland, is very curious, though we cannot explain the occasion; but the most remarkable circumstance is the work of conducting the spring at Lockswell, where the abbey was previously situated, to this place.

This fountain, held sacred, and issuing from the top of an eminence, in the heart of a deep forest, was the first cause of this sacred edifice being raised near it.

The abbey, originally built of wood, being now removed into the vale, at the distance of three miles, the ancient hallowed spring only was wanting. The idea of the possibility of its being brought to the spot had, probably, been often entertained; but, it appears, the abbot had doubts of the event, as it is said, "timide inceptit," he began this great work fearful of its practicability; but it was finished, and the holy waters conducted from the site of the former abbey at Lockswell to that of Stanley, by "the *help of John*," &c.!

Some remains of this singular work would no doubt be discovered on digging, but at present the spring bursts unconfined from its lofty source, and is lost in the devious woods.

There is one document, which is interesting, and of some importance as conveying to us a probable idea of the comparative wealth and eminence of Stanley abbey in the reign of Henry the Third. When Henry was preparing his first expedition into Gascony, he obtained pecuniary aid from the prelates and dignitaries of the church, particularly from the rich abbots and priors. The contributions in Wiltshire are thus recorded in the Testa de Nevill, p. 148 (639 orig.) :

The abbot of Malmesbury	.	xx marks.
The prior of Bradenstoke	.	v
The abbot of Stanlegh	.	x
The prior of Avebury	. .	iiij
The prior of Farlegh	. .	iiij
The prior of Clafford	. .	iiij
The prior of Corsham	.	iiij
The prior of Okeburn (Gt. Ogbourn)		xxx

Thus we see that the abbot of Stanley contributed in the proportion of one-half of the sum given by the abbot of Malmesbury, and one-third of the sum derived from the priory of Ogbourn, which is said to have been the richest cell to the monastery of Bec among all those founded in England. The five remaining priories fall considerably short in their contributions. Stanley must have risen rapidly into opulence and importance, for in some charter rolls of the preceding reign it is enumerated among the possessions of Bradenstoke priory, which seems

to have much declined in importance after the separation of Stanley from it.

To give an idea of the immense possessions of the church when there were *no poor rates*, and which possessions are now *all in lay hands*, Tanner informs us that Henry II. founded the first house of Carthusians in England, Witham in Somerset; refounded Waltham; augmented Newstedde in Nottinghamshire, Ivy-church, Wiltshire, Marton, Yorkshire, and Newstede, Lincolnshire, for Gilbertine canons; Stoneley in Warwickshire for Cistercian monks; and the alien priory of Hagh in Lincolnshire. In his reign were founded 28 Benedictine, 27 Austin, 16 Præmonstratensian, one Carthusian, two Gilbertine, five Clunian, monasteries; two collegiate churches, 29 hospitals, 10 preceptories, 26 alien priories, and, what is more remarkable, 19 Cistercian abbeys, notwithstanding it was contrary to a canon made at a general chapter held A. D. 1151, wherein the erection of any more abbeys of that rule was expressly forbidden, because there were above five hundred of them in Christendom.

The extracts relating to this abbey in the Bodleian MS. are as follow:

“ Fulco filius Warini fugit Julii 2^o, in abbatiam Stanlegh, in Wiltshire, et ibi obsessus est, cum sociis suis, fere ab omni provinciâ, et a multis aliis qui illuc convenerant, quatuordecim diebus, sed in pace ecclesiæ salvus exivit, et reconciliatur in anno sequenti 1202.”

It is impossible to say to what this entry alludes, but some criminal had evidently taken sanctuary in this convent.

“ 1204. Eodem anno depositus est R. abbas Stanlegh, a capitulo Cestertiensi, eo quod duxerit conventum, in Hiberniâ, absque licentiâ capituli.”

“ Hoc eodem anno electus est conventus novus in Stanlegh in Wilts, cum abbate proprio, scilicet venerabili viro Radulpho 10 cal. Aug. et in Hiberniam missus, in provinciam Ostercensis ad locum qui vocatur sancti salvatoris quem eis dedit bonæ memoriæ vir Wilhelmus Marschallus, comes de Pembroke, cum aliis terris plurimis.”

“ 1205. Dominus Thoma de Colestune, prior de Stanlegh, factus est abbas ejusdem loci.

“ Nicolaus Mendom, abbas de Stanlegh, factus est abbas, B.

“ Dominus Wilhelmus abbas de Quarraria, dimissit abbatiam suam coram abbato in capitulo apud Stanlegh.”

“ Hoc anno (1214) perfectus est aquæ ductus de Lokeswelle versus abbatiam de Stanley in Wilts, a domino Thomâ de Colestune, abbate ejusdem domus, et illud opus timidè incepit; sed, Deo* et Domino Jesu Christo sibi auxi-

* What a triumph to Dr. Milner would it have been, if, by such assistance, the good prior had been enabled to conduct the water three miles *up*, instead of *down*, the hill! It is remarkable that St. Mary should have been omitted, and St. John have appeared the great aider, on this occasion.

liente et bono Johanne Evangelistâ, bene et optimè com-
plevit, cujus memoria in benedictione sit æterna. Amen.”

“ 1268. Decessit dom'nus Wilhelmus Chinnoc, decimus
abbas de Stanlegh in Wiltshire, cujus memoriæ in bene-
dictione sit in æternum.”

“ 1247. Ingressus est conventus de Stanlegh novum mo-
nasterium.”

Thus we find the abbey had been entirely rebuilt.

“ 1266. Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleye in Wiltshire,
a domino Waltero de Wyle, tunc Sarum episcopo.

Having spoken of the affiliation of the founders
of this abbey and the founders of Bradenstoke and
Lacock, I may add here that the once powerful
Hugo de Burg is a witness to the confirmation of
Henry the Third.

The fate of Hugo le Burg is singular; in one
reign enjoying the greatest share of earthly pros-
perity, in the next the wretched and hopeless in-
mate of a prison. He was many years confined in
the Tower; and is supposed to have poisoned at
Marlborough the famous William Longespee. It
appears after William's sudden death he proposed
his nephew as a husband to the richest lady in the
kingdom, Ela, the mourning wife of the son of
Henry; her answer and her conduct were equally
dignified and affectionate. From this time she re-

tired, a devoted widow, from all the splendours of the world, and built the abbey of Lacock, where she is buried.

Thus, as I have observed, there was a kind of religious and family affiliation between the abbeys of Bradenstoke, Stanley, and Lacock, being situated about five miles from each other.

The fates of these neighbouring abbeys are not less remarkable. Of one, Bradenstoke, the refectory remains, and part of the building entire. It is now an inhabited farm-house, belonging to Mr. Methuen of Corsham, whose father purchased the property. A singular circumstance might be mentioned, that a picture of the Virgin, painted on paper (a cartoon) remained, through numberless possessors, and through all the changes of fortune and storm of the reformation, uninjured, although the house had, for all that period, been inhabited only by the renting farmers of the estate; and although so little care had been taken of this picture, before which so many devotees had bowed. If Dr. Milner wanted a miracle, he could not find a better than this to his hand, at least in the county of Wilts.

By my recommendation, "*per varios casus et tot discrimina rerum,*" this picture was rescued from the chance of future injury, and is now safe under the hospitable roof of a Protestant gentleman, late member for the county.

Of Stanley abbey, removed from Lockswell, on

the accession of Henry the Second, to the Empress's Stanley, we have observed that scarce a wreck remains. The "vivaria cum stagnis" are mentioned in the confirmation from Henry the Third. The traces of these, to a great extent, remain, and also part of the abutment of a bridge over the river, in the road which led from Bradenstoke to Stanley and from Stanley to Lacock.

It only remains to add, that a few beautifully painted Norman tiles, and some fragments of pillars of polished Portland stone, are now in a garden seat, built as a small oratory, in the parsonage garden at Bremhill, the last asylum of their departed splendour and perished fortunes.

The ivied chimneys of Lacock yet smoke,* and the cloister where the foundress lies is entire. The chantry, arches, and cloisters, remain as they were when the nuns paced to their primes at the sound of the morning bell.

Such are the fortunes and fate of these devotional structures.

The sum given for the greatest part of the possessions of Stanley abbey, was £1200, as appears by the following document, with which the collection concludes :

* The possession and residence of — Talbot, esq. son of the late Davenport Talbot, esq. by lady Elizabeth Talbot, one of the daughters of the late earl of Ilchester. This lady subsequently married captain Fielding. Here is deposited one of the originals of the Magna Charta !

“ This bill, made the 14 day of Feb. the 28th year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry VIIIth, witnesseth that I, Thomas Pope, esq. treasurer of the augmentation of the revenues of the king's crown, have received of sir Edward Baynton, knight, vice chamberlain to the queen's grace, two hundred threescore and six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence sterling, to the king's use, in parte of payment of one thousand and two hundred pounds, for the purchase of part of the lands belonging to the late monastery of Stanley in the county of Wiltshire.

“ In witness whereof I have put my seal the day and year aforesaid. Per me, THO. POPE.”*

* Thomas Pope was founder of Trinity College in Oxford.

Part of the antient aqueduct spoken of in page 119 was discovered very lately by a heifer falling into the drain.

About a mile from Lockswell spring is a farm-house belonging to lord Lansdowne still called Spittle Farm, evidently from its having been an Hospitium to the first abbey. We might here also notice an extraordinary circumstance, namely, that there is at Wick (the Roman Vicus, where a fine silver coin of Trajan was found) a situation still called in writings CÆSAR'S!

CHAP. V.

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAROCHIAL CLERGY.

THE circumstance mentioned in the last chapter, of a few of the broken fragments of the regal abbey at Stanley having been deposited in the garden of the humbler parsonage, might not unprofitably lead the mind to the more particular consideration of the present establishment of parochial clergy.

It is generally admitted that, in the earliest periods of the church, parish and diocese had the same signification. Eusebius speaks of the parish of Antioch, meaning the church and surrounding district, Παρ-οικια. Bingham and other writers on ecclesiastical antiquity have decidedly established this point.

The diocese was the seat of the bishop; with the district round, Διοκησις, and so also was the parish, or Παρ-οικια, both expressions denominating a city with its adjacent towns and villages.

The lesser divisions of the diocese afterwards retained the name. These divisions had also the name of "tituli," whence the word "titles to orders" in the present day is derived.

When Augustine was sent by the pope to this country, about the year 596, it is said he found already seven bishops in the British churches. These bishops, consecrated by their own arch-

bishops, denied all subjection to any other church; but Ethelbert king of Kent being converted by Augustine, and Sebert king of the East Saxons converted through him, the temple of Diana was succeeded by the church of St. Paul, and the temple of Apollo by that of St. Peter at Westminster.*

A kind of dubious contention soon afterwards took place; the idols of paganism disputing, if we may be allowed the expression, the ground, with the symbols of the cross.

Religion and civilization, as it were hand in hand, were now slowly advancing in England. The church of York, under the auspices of Edwin king of Northumberland, was built of stone instead of wood. The influence of the gospel began to pervade the dark and remote districts of the kingdom. Morals and law spoke with more definite authority, and a stronger instance of their predominance cannot be found than in the words of the old chronicler: "A woman with her child might walk through England, from sea to sea, without fear of injury." Works, also, of public beneficence attested the influence of the same spirit.

The profession of Christianity was still further extended, in the north of England, under the mild, charitable, and truly Christian Oswald, anno 633, who had been taught in the school of adversity, and in prosperity did not forget the lesson exile and sorrow had taught him. He had been banished to Scotland, where Iona, or Icolmkill (the holy island)

* According to the particular instructions of Gregory.

first shone in the morning light of knowledge. In Scotland he received the rudiments of the Christian faith, and procured from thence an instructor. With what success they both laboured is recorded by an immense number of those said to be baptised in seven days ; but, without admitting this, it may be safely inferred that a very great number rejected idolatry, and were admitted into the pale of the rude but early church.

Honorius archbishop of Canterbury, it is said, first made the divisions now called parishes. All the lands in the country had at least their names and limits when the Conqueror issued orders for that singular survey Domesday Book, called in the Saxon Chronicle *Rotulus Wintoniæ*, because it was presented to the king when he held his court there, being there also afterwards deposited.

Presbyters were fixed, it is further said, by Ina, among the West Saxons (anno 694), and when Withred was king of Kent. That any number of presbyters were fixed may be well doubted from the nature of the inhabited country ; but whatever few places of worship there might be at any distance from the cathedral, the ministers were sent out from the cathedral towns in the nature of itinerants, and what they received for their services was arbitrary, and at the discretion of the episcopal clergy and convents.

We now come to a more authentic period, illustrated by the genius and knowledge of Bede, when our information on this subject is more accurate.

In his celebrated letter to Egbert archbishop of York, his amiable, learned, and illustrious friend and contemporary says: "In some woody and almost impassable parts of the country, seldom bishops come to confirm, or any priest to instruct the people;" that remote places were not without spiritual instruction is plain from the passage in which it is said: "*veniente in villam clerico vel presbytero, cuncti ad ejus imperium confluerint.*" — "When a clerk or priest comes to a village, at his command, all people flocked together."*

How few parish churches were then generally built we have already stated. The Saxon Chronicle, which ends in the reign of Stephen, is entirely silent as to the foundation of any; and, from the minuteness with which the founding of Medhamstead abbey † is recorded, I think that even the founding of an upland church, if it had happened, would have been recorded.

I might refer to the Saxon Chronicle for the more specific account of the first foundation of one of those magnificent and beautiful structures that now tower amid our cities. But the same rude yet faithful chronicle that is so particular in its details of the ceremonies attending the first foundations of these sumptuous works of piety, shows us also how little the genuine spirit of Christianity was felt. This

* See what has been observed on this subject in p. 3.

† Peterborough cathedral. It would be unjust to pass over, without our highest encomiums, those beautiful illustrations of the English cathedrals by Mr. Britten.

year (642) Oswald king of the Northumbrians was slain by Penda: "His holiness and miracles were displayed on manifold occasions throughout the island, and his *hands remain still uncorrupted* at Bamburgh."

An observation here occurs which appears to me not unimportant. We find very few monasteries founded after the twelfth century; the great majority, which rose through the kingdom "like exhalations," were founded between the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and in all county histories and authentic records, we scarce find a parish church, with the name of its resident rector recorded, before the twelfth century. The first notice of any village church occurs in the Saxon Chronicle, after the death of the Conqueror, A.D. 1087. They are called, there, "upland churches." "Then the king did as his father bade him ere he was dead; he then distributed treasures for his father's soul to each monastery that was in England; to some ten marks of gold, to some six; to each *upland* church sixty pence." Ingram's Saxon Chronicle. Gibson's note on the passage is, "*unicuique ecclesiæ rurali*." These rare rural churches, after the want of them was felt, and after the lords of manors, built, endowed, and presented to them, spread so rapidly, that in 1200 in almost every remote parish there was an "upland church," if not a resident minister as at this day.

The convents, however, still remained in their pristine magnificence, though declining in purity of morals and in public estimation. In place of new foundations of this august description, the—

“ Village Parson's modest mansion rose,”

gracefully shewing its unostentatious front, and, at length, humbly adorning almost all the scattered of the land.

With respect to the convents, avarice and corruption grew out of luxurious ease. In 1381 the intrepid rector of Lutterworth * hurled his thunder on the papal domes, but this being before the art of printing was known, it rolled comparatively harmless over those spiritual palaces. The more unassuming daughter of piety, in the mean time, grew in the national esteem, as her sumptuously arrayed sister declined. In the fourteenth century, by contemporary poets and writers, the “ Parsonne” generally was spoken of with respect, as much as the lordly abbot, and the monks, were decried. The character of the former, by Chaucer, is well known, but this character will appear more interesting when viewed in contrast with those which he held up to ridicule, and the portraits so vividly portrayed, will shew also the general estimation of either character at the time Chaucer wrote. First, enter

THE MONK!

A MONKE there was, faire for the maystery,
 An out-ryder, that loved venery ; †
 A manly man to ben an abbot able,
 Full many a dainty horse had he in stable ;
 And when he rode, *men might his bridle hear*
Gyngeling in a wylsting wind as clear,
And echo as loud as doth the chapel bell.

* Wycliff.

† Hunting.

I saw hys sleeves *purpled* at the hande,
 * With grice, and that the finest of the lande ;
 And for to fast his hood under the chin,
 He had of *gold yrought* a curious pin.
 A *love-knot* in the greater end there was,
 His head was bald, and shone as any glass.

THE FRERE.

Full sweetly heard he confession,
 And *pleasant* was his absolution ;
 He was an easy man to give penance.
 Therefore instead of weeping and prayers,
 Men muste *give silver to the poor freers !*

He was not a cloisterer,
 With a *thread-bare* coat as a *poor frere*,
 But he was like a mayster or a *POPE*.
 Of double worsted was his seamy cope,
 So rounded was as ball out of press,
 Somewhat he *lisped* for his wantonness,
 To make his English sweet upon his tongue,
 And in harping, when he had sung,
 His eyen *twinkled in his head aright*,
 As doth the stars in a *frostie night*.

Let these spiritual lordlings pass, and how doubly
 interesting appears the

THE "POORE PARSON OF A TOWN."

A good man there was of religion,
 And he was a *poor parson* of a town ;
 But richer he was of holy things and work ;
 He was also a *learned* man and clerk.

Benign he was, and wønder diligent,
 And in adversity full *patient*.
 And such he was proved, oft-sythes,
 Full lacke were hym to *curse* † for his tithes.

* Fur.

† The parson of that period had no other way of securing

The fate of the sumptuous elder establishments have sometimes moved a sigh, when we recollect—the early industry they promoted; the learning, and the piety they encouraged; and also the charities they dispensed. But they were smitten in their pomp and pride; and the magnificent ruins through the kingdom, now only add to the beauty of the landscape, wherever their grey remains are contemplated. May the other, the Protestant establishment of the Church of England, which stands as the hand-maid to the laws through all the remote villages of the land, and in cities holds up her mitred front, dignified, but sober, flourish as long as the state, whose protection she so amply repays!

his tithes than “*cursing*” ad formulam those who withheld them, and this will shew of how little consequence, in comparison of other means of enrichment, tithes were, when such lords of the church, as Chaucer has so graphically set before us, left the tithes as *beneath their notice*, for the precarious subsistence of a “poor Parsonne” of a town, and this but in very few cases.

CHAP. VI.

Reflections on the foregoing—Bede the first who paid attention to religion in obscure country places—progress and establishment of parish churches.

SOME reflections excited by the fall of the splendid abbeys and religious houses, before the establishment of the humbler parsonage, will here naturally arise; and some further observations respecting these useful and interesting appendages to our rural abodes may be excused, more particularly as there is so much ignorance on the subject, and as my own situation may plead an excuse for the detail.

In the Saxon and Norman period of our history, the religious feelings of the community were directed to the foundation and establishment of those vast edifices of early piety which rose in opposition to the barbarous magnificence of the feudal castle.

Rapacity which defied imperfect laws, and a lawless petty domination, made the castle a seat of terror and robbery. The Norman baron ruled his subordinate district, and was little less powerful than his monarch, and certainly more oppressive. The haughty character of the turbulent chieftain was well represented by the sullen gloom of his moated and jealous abode. The country-

man dreaded the incursions of his lawless foresters; his halls echoed the noise of boisterous revelry, and his banners, waving from the solitary battlements, flouted, as it were in disdain, the miseries of the subject serfs.

But, where the abbey or convent rose, turbulence and oppression seemed almost awed to disdainful peace. Here learning, such as it was, had her first and only asylum; here only, silent art was cultivated, in illuminating missals, and other books belonging to the service; here, only, history composed her chronicles and rude memorials. By the monks, the wild tracts of land granted by various charters, and surrounding their august walls, were brought into culture. By them chiefly were manufactures introduced, and in their quiet abodes grief and penitence found a sanctuary. The morning and vesper hymn, heard, afar off, among wildering woods, announced the knowledge of God and a Saviour, however that knowledge was encumbered with superstitious rites. At the convent, the rich found their inn, and the neighbouring poor their subsistence. As these venerable buildings, which in the time of the Saxons were thinly scattered, arose in greater number and in rival splendor to the baronial castle, the country became, after the Normans, to a certain extent, civilized.

The instability of worldly station and power; the uncertainty of worldly wealth; the consciousness that, he who to-day saw thousands and ten

thousands bending to his nod, might, to-morrow, be deserted by those "his former bounty fed," and himself in need of the charity he bestowed—these, and many other causes of the kind, operated in a rude age to make the great and powerful turn their thoughts to the contemplation of eternity.

William the Norman was prone to superstitious terrors; the thought of building Battle abbey rose when he sat in his tent at midnight, among the thousands of the slain on that field of blood which won him a kingdom.* His children partook of the same feelings. The most afflicting of earthly sorrows weighed down the heart of Henry the First, after he lost his only son, who was drowned, in the prime of life. Matilda, his daughter, in her long and desperate conflicts for the crown with Stephen, was naturally led to seek refuge in melancholy aspirations to Heaven—through all her fortunes—in prosperity or adversity. Her son, Henry the Second, became a slave to these feelings in his later days. We have seen, that before he was of age he joined with his mother in granting the lands in the forest of Chippenham to the monks of Drogo's Fount; and I have thought myself warranted to make the reflection, that the removal of that abbey, built in a far more sumptuous manner, at Stanlea Imperatricis—the Empress's Stanley—was owing to a religious vow, that she would thus shew her gratitude to God, when the con-

* "Grave of the last Saxon," a poem, by the author.

tested crown should belong to her son. From this time she removed from the busy stage of the world, and her ambitious career probably closed in religious peace, as history is silent respecting her last days.

Those among the great and powerful who were animated by such feelings, had no other mode of manifesting them than by founding, and munificently endowing, such sumptuous sanctuaries as that of which I have spoken.

At this period the want of a parish church was scarcely felt, when the population was so scanty, and the convents were nurses of religion and charity. In those times I have shewn that the cathedral church was the parish church, if I may say so, of the whole diocese.

I have shewn that from this residence of the bishop, *itinerants* were sent out to officiate wherever there were inhabitants, and these were paid by the general administrator, in the cathedral town, the bishop receiving all tithes, except where tithes were in possession of convents. These itinerants were sent out into the country, in all directions, before parochial churches were built.—The reader has been directed to an interesting account in Bede of the enthusiasm with which, in the wild parts of Yorkshire, these missionaries of the cathedral were received. In some places a tree, perhaps in others a rude cross, was the consecrated scene of village instruction. This was in the eighth century.

The great and truly venerable Bede was the intimate friend of Egbert, then archbishop of York. From his advice and direction, I have no doubt what are called the "CONSTITUTIONS OF EGBERT" were framed, by which the episcopal missionary was first made independent; that is to say, he was no longer paid precariously at will, but for his trouble a *fourth* of the tithes were given. The bishop still kept *one* part; one portion being set apart for the repairs; a third for the poor; and a fourth for the officiating missionary.

Before I proceed, it might be proper—as so much has been made of this circumstance, which, from ignorance or malice, has been so often repeated by the enemies of the Church Establishment in our days, to state briefly some particulars which will, I hope, set this matter in a fair light:—

First—at that time *tithes* were the *smallest* part of what the priest received. *Oblations* of all kinds were far more productive when the priest had the consciences of almost all the rich in his hands, and when such immense estates were possessed by the convents.

Secondly—the priest had *no taxes* of any kind to pay; no house to furnish and keep in repair, or to build.

Thirdly—he had no wife and children, for whose welfare, after he was dead, he must feel a husband's and parent's anxiety.

Fourthly—instruction cost him nothing, and he had no son to educate at Oxford—

With such expense

“As pinches parents blue!”

Let us then compare his situation under the present state of civil society:—

First—he receives no oblations, showered into his hands by superstition, and all lands which fed the poor are alienated.

Secondly—not one clergyman in *ten* (I think I may say in *twenty*) has one *fourth* or one *fifth* of *tithes* at all. The clergyman visits the sick—the clergyman is at his post—the clergyman, standing between the rich and the poor, is, in remote parishes, (of course there are exceptions,) the poor man’s only friend. Yet the *tithes*, the great *tithes* I mean—, are paid at the highest value, in most cases to some distant *lay impropiator*. Between Bath and Marlborough, every living is in other hands than those of the clergyman.*

Thus not only all the lands are taken away, but most of the *TITHES*; and the clergyman might well say, give me back *half* you took from me, excuse me from paying poor rates—government taxes of all kinds—keep my house in repair—educate my children—provide for my wife and children only some independent comforts when I am dead,

* Bath-Easton, Bath-ford, Box, Corsham, Chippenham, Overton, Preshute, and two churches in Marlborough, are small vicarages. Corsham is scarcely worth two hundred a year to the vicar, but the rector, a gallant and amiable admiral, whose *parish* is the Atlantic or Mediterranean, Sir H. B. Neale, receives, probably, *three thousand!*

and most cheerfully would I pay the repairs of the whole church, as I do now of the chancel, and the parsonage house—keep *all* the sick, aged, and needy poor, give the bishop *half*, instead of a quarter, and pay the first fruits and tenths—“*bonâ fide, ad valorem,*” into the bargain!

This is the proper way of meeting the objection, but, though there are so many well-informed gentlemen in the House of Commons, and many who would be inclined to answer, or glad to hear these charges answered, the obvious refutation has not been satisfactorily brought forward in that assembly.*

Having observed thus much, in passing, on the celebrated “*CONSTITUTIONS of Egbert,*” by which one-fourth of the actual tithes were granted to the officiating priest, instead of an uncertain stipend from the bishop or convent, I shall now make a few more remarks on what has been said of the state of the earlier parish churches in Britain.

“*Parochia dicitur locus, in quo degit populus, alicui ecclesiæ Baptismati deputatus, & certis finibus limitatus,*” is a most accurate definition; but, in how many places, were “*ecclesiæ Baptismatis*” constituted in the eleventh century?

To the Normans the country was indebted for a more enlarged policy; for religious establishments so multiplied, that in most districts the poor, for

* There being now only the *shadow* of a CONVOCATION, the clergy have no *representatives* in the House of Commons, except the members of the two Universities.

four or five miles, could resort to a convent for subsistence. Hoveden is the first historian, I believe, who gives an idea of any clerical parochial residences in the time of the Normans. I must not omit that Weever adds (from whom I quote), parish churches were built at a far earlier period, long before the time of Honorius, but the very same page disproves the assertion, for, it is said in the year 490, when Dubritius was made archbishop of South Wales, "*divers churches,*" with their endowments, were appropriated to *him*, the said Dubritius, and his successors!

The expression "*divers churches*" gives no idea of parish churches; and to whom were the tithes appropriated? not to any resident clergyman, "*ubique per Angliam,*" but to him "*the said Dubritius, and his successors!*" After the small but regular subsistence had been granted by the bishops, and most *unwillingly* by the convents, the itinerant minister became a kind of curate, called "*the vicar.*"

There were two kinds of these vicars, the one endowed by the bishop, with a certain portion of the products of the land, the other employed by the convents. The obligation indeed was imposed on the convents to employ their *curates* after the same manner, and with the same liberality; but their *vicar* had only what was called "*Portio congrua,*" that is, as much of the tithes as the abbot thought fit.

In this parish we find the first presentation by the bishop to have been in 1299, when a church was probably built, and the desultory service from the abbey discontinued, after some contention with the abbots, on the part of the bishop. In the thirteenth century we find, all through England, a minister regularly and generally instituted, to his particular parish. So gradually grew up our parochial establishments, from the increasing idea of their moral and civil utility.

We see the gathering of the storm that afterwards swept away the more ancient and illustrious establishments from this remonstrance of the Commons, in the fifteenth year of Richard the Second:

“The spiritual patrons of benefices, namely, the religious men, through divers colours and pretences, *mischievously* apply and appropriate the same benefices, and grievously throw *down the houses and edifices* of the same to the ground, and cruelly take away and destroy Divine service, hospitality, and other marks of charity, which were accustomed to be done in the said benefices, to the poor and maimed,” &c.

When the “*spiritual patrons*,” that is, those of the convent, thus became equally traitors to duty, religion, and charity, it is no wonder that the lords of the convent were exposed to satirical scoffs and public scorn. Among such sounds, the deep voice of Wycliff was now heard, denouncing abuses, and heralding, but still afar off, the dawn of the

approaching Reformation. William of Wykeham, to whom I am indebted for holding the pen, and other illustrious prelates, founded seats of education instead of cloisters for oscitancy; and thus struggling, step by step, the English parsonage establishment, from the umbrage of the ambitious convent, stöle into more interesting light, and moral beauty.

Long before the Reformation the fostering munificence was gradually withdrawn from the abbeys. The taper spire, or embattled tower, marked every retired village; nor must we ever forget, that the first sounds of that storm which fell on the ancient establishments, and at last shivered them to fragments, issued from the rectory.* Still, before the Reformation, the parsonage house was as cheerless as the Cenobite's cell.

The more readily to account for the slow progression of an establishment so useful, it must always be remembered, that soon after William the Conqueror's accession, and during the reign of his immediate successors, as I have shewn, such was the public ardor towards monastic devotion, that most of the *advowsons*, or right of presentation to parochial churches, through the kingdom, became the property of conventual societies.

Whatever might have been the painful and precarious revenue of a parish priest, even this was often monopolized by the monks of the neighbour-

* The present amiable bishop of Lichfield is in possession of Wycliff's Parsonage of Lutterworth.

ing convents, so that in the course of nearly three hundred years from the conquest, a very great part of the property, which would have supported a resident minister, was absorbed by those who thus neglected the duties, whilst they grasped with avidity the enormous wealth of the church.

A *perpetual* vicar was at length appointed by the bishops, (Henry the Fourth,) with a *permanent* and adequate allowance, which was the *first step* to the resident clergyman, with full rights, where those rights had not been before vested in the abbeys or convents. The provisions for a vicar (that is for him who performed the church duties, and resided among his parishioners,) now was as follows, ample enough it will be allowed :—"every week, *twenty-one loaves of bread, forty-two gallons of convent ale, seven loaves of the finest bread, of the same weight as those made for the canons, twenty-three smaller loaves, fifteen marks of silver *every year*, six cart loads of hay, seven bushels of oats weekly for his horse; he was to have a house and curtelege, and two quarters of wheat from the prior's granary." This endowment was in 1308, and it is no great wonder that, with such allowance, the vicars became more generally resident!—(Lysons's view of the condition of parochial clergy.)

* *Twenty-one loaves of bread, and forty-two gallons of ale, is something like Falstaff's bill, "sack, 5s. 8d.—bread, a half-penny!"* Such a vicar might be considered the prototype of Pope's parson—

"Much *bemus'd* in beer!"

Our blithe country vicar, with "his curtilege," (small garden-plot,) regardless of his baronial prelate, or the princely abbot, might now be said to be in the condition so facetiously described by poor Tom Warton—

—— Content he *taps* his barrel,
 Exhorts his neighbour not to quarrel;
 Thinks that church-wardens hath discerning,
 Both in good *liquor* and good learning.

He who now had an independent and ample "*provisæ frugis* in annum copia," though only "*fifteen marks of silver*," owed this liberal allowance, part of which must have been for the poor, to the bishops, and to the views entertained of the importance of the service of a resident functionary. But even here, on the part of the convent, the attempt was often made, not unsuccessfully, to get rid of the scale of *produce* for that of a *fixed stipend*. Thus, however, *resident* vicars were *first* established by the bishops, whilst the convents sent out a weekly or monthly priest, with a *stinted* allowance of five marks per annum, where there were no resident vicars, called capellari, or assisting curates.

It was not before the year 1439, (Henry the Sixth,) that the vicar was placed in permanent respectability and property above the convent missionary; and it was provided that he should never have less than *twelve marks*, making his vicarage, according to the value of money in 1704, (when Ken-

nnet wrote,) upwards of seventy pounds, now possibly about the value of, in our currency, one hundred and twenty.

In looking back, for a moment, on the reigns of Richard and John, we shall perceive other obvious causes, besides that of the grasping monastery, for the little attention paid to the humbler parish church. The parish church might well be forgotten in Richard's reign, when all thoughts were devoted to the crusade; and when Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and his "venerable" squire, the archdeacon of Menevia (St. David's) Geraldus, beat up for recruits through the wildest districts of Wales. In the reign of King John the public attention was occupied by the stern and inflexible barons on one hand, and the crafty ambition of the Roman Pontiff on the other. But, in the reign of Henry the Third, regular institutions being given, we find the injunction issued, "that *all* clergymen shall reside at their benefices!"

The great tithes, however, were still in the hands of most of the convents.* The fruits of this misapplication were, not long after, so visible, that it led the way to that universal language of contempt and satire with which the cloistered clergy were assailed. At length that cry "reformation," "reformation," in morals as well as doctrines, never

* So late as Henry the Eighth the convents were in possession of one-third of all the impropriations in the kingdom. Statutes 27, 28, and 31 Henry VIII.

ceased, till it was taken up, and echoed from the press through the greatest part of Europe. It was not LUTHER, but the OPEN Bible, and the ART of PRINTING, which produced this great work. These, united at an æra of awakened energies, of which they were the cause and consequence, let in a light on the discomfited conclave of human infallibility, which, till the press itself becomes the corrupted herald of darkness, as it once spread knowledge and light—never can be quenched.

Since that time the resident parochial priest has become a silent, but not unimportant member of the state, and the state finds the advantage of having such a character placed in every part of the kingdom, with such an independence that he may never be induced to become a traitor to the Gospel he holds in his hand, or to the state which gives him that independence. The advantages of a resident clergy, becoming so important, the bishop tacitly relinquished his claims, and, almost simultaneously, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the opulent landed gentry bequeathed part of their possessions. The incumbent, appointed by the bishop, or by the possessor of the chief estate, (who, in consequence of endowment, was allowed this privilege,) became *rector*, independently, “& loco episcopi.” This was the origin of parishes with independent jurisdictions, and of that order established through the remotest villages,—the generally learned and exemplary parochial clergy.

I have stated that the bishop, on relinquishing

his rights, only stipulated to have one fourth of tithes, instead of the whole; one part going to the resident minister; a third towards the maintenance of the poor, and the fourth to the repairs of fabric. I have shewn that advantage has been taken of this circumstance by adversaries of the church establishment, to throw an odium on the clergy, as if they had become possessed, in the present days, of *more* than their share. To this charge it may with justice be replied, the circumstances of the times are entirely different:—First, the clergy were not married at that time, nor had families to provide for out of their income. Second, the *tithes* were the smallest part of a clergyman's remuneration, which consisted of oblations, &c. Third, as they had no family for which to provide, so they paid *no taxes*. Fourth, there were no poor laws, to which the clergy now pay their proportion, as to all other taxes: But we have been told, from some in "HIGH PLACES," that the clergyman ought to pay the "*first fruits*" ad valorem; that is, the whole value of the living the *first year*; and that he ought also to pay, every year, the full TENTHS of his income! I shall, therefore, speak more particularly of these two circumstances. Let us, under the present state of things, take a clergyman of four hundred pounds a year; (and five thousand livings were not worth more than *fifty* pounds a year, till the late act of Parliament;) we will suppose the clergyman has had an university education, and, perhaps, has been a fellow of a college.

At length, and in his *fortieth* year,
 A living drops, *four hundred* clear ;
 With breast elate, beyond expression,
 He hurries down to take possession.

But stop! let the *king* first have the whole *four hundred* for *first fruits*! Forty pounds for a living of four hundred is to be an *annual* charge, according to benevolent, liberal, and arithmetical political economists!

I believe few are insensible of the advantages of an educated class of men dispersed through the kingdom; and it must be therefore desirable that they should be found at their post as soon as possible after presentation. But possession, at all events, must be delayed for one year, till the *king** has put in his "*flesh-hook*," that is, received the *whole* of the first year's profits of a preferment so long waited for! The next year our incumbent of forty has something more to pay; debts have been contracted unavoidably in his education; these it is likely may be *double* the annual value of the living. He cannot, at least, be settled in his parish under three years; and a curate must be paid in the mean time, as well as the *tenths*!

In the third year then, we will count his gain—

Deduct curate	-	-	-	-	£70
Tenths,	-	-	-	-	40
House and other taxes,	-	-	-	-	30

£140 deductions from £400!

* This right was given up by queen Anne.

But now come building and repairs! Dilapidations have been paid by his predecessor's desolate widow! These will not go far; perhaps the new incumbent may, in consequence of utter poverty, and from a benevolent disposition, have relinquished his claims.

Two years more of income must be expended, before he can look round him and say, "what a convenient house! how neat!" Thus *four years* are past without residence. But furniture is required, and if he has been so *imprudently* honourable, after a tedious engagement in which he sighs his best years away, to become a "Benedict," *three hundred more* at least will be required.

The education of a clergyman has not only been expensive; but, being in orders, all possibility of adopting another profession is denied. I have spoken of those with *some* preferment; how many are there with accomplished minds, pining in the solitude of their curacies, and, in that situation, shedding the only ray of worldly comfort, as of heavenly hope, on the poor and friendless around them!

But to go on with our "fat rector." His house is built or repaired—it is comfortably furnished—he is married—thinks he can afford a *one horse* chaise, though scarce an apothecary, or even an eminent *stay-maker* in London is without his carriage!

The horse and the chaise are to be *bought* first and *taxed* afterwards, and thus the assessed taxes must be added to the deductions from his £400

per annum; but our rector now serves his own church, and then his account may stand thus—

Tenths, ad valorem	-	-	£40
House and window tax, &c.			20
Other assessed taxes, horses, ser-			
vants,	-	-	20
Land tax	-	-	15
* Poor rates,	-	-	40
Way rates,	-	-	5
			<hr/>
Deduct	-	-	140
			<hr/>
Remains,	-	-	£260
			<hr/>

But now another bill for brewing,
Threatens inevitable ruin.
For children more expences yet,
And *Billy* now for school is fit.

We are to suppose he is now *blessed* with a family of six or seven children, for as the Edinburgh Review sagely observes, “the same *passion* which animates the *Arminian*, and burns in the breast of the *Baptist*, is apt to people the *parsonage* with chubby children!”

Over these, (to be serious,) his wife and himself silently getting into years, often sigh, particularly

* If the vicar paid one-fourth to the poor formerly out of his living, he pays now often nearly *one-half*. I pay for house, garden, and twelve acres of land, valued at forty-two pounds a year, eight rates per annum, at a shilling in the pound, £16. 16s.! The same proportion for all land and tithes.

perhaps when they look on a dutiful and accomplished daughter—

For if there be a human tear,
From passions dregs refined and clear,
'Tis that which pious fathers shed
Upon a duteous daughter's head.

These children, and this “duteous daughter,” if the father is suddenly taken away, will be all left to destitution! Oh! well do I remember an accomplished character, of the highest talents and hopes, married in early life, becoming the parent of many children, now left to struggle with adversity! his small living was sequestered a few years after possession; some books, and music, and an old poney, were his only “*subsidia senectutis*.” This last faithful friend was the subject of a song. His master describes his feelings on returning home, after serving his church, to a family, whose looks he can ill bear to encounter; a home where he was once met with smiles,

“Ere grave preferment came his peace to rob!”

In fact, no creditors *pressed* on a hopeless curate. The following were some of the verses addressed to his old grey pad:—

Hasten thy pace my bonny grey pad,
Hasten thy pace my bonny grey pad;
Tho' cares have almost worn away
My life, full well I remember the day,
When thy haste would have made my poor heart glad;
Hasten thy pace, my bonny grey pad!

I have forgotten the remainder, but poor —— died

soon after his *preferment*, the value of which he estimated, without taking into the account taxes, poor rates, dilapidations, repairs, way rates, county rates, first fruits, procurations,* and *tenths*! Spare your sarcasms, political oeconomists! To make the clergyman pay all taxes, and rates, and then demand "*first fruits and tenths, at their full value,*" is rather *too liberal*! And how much would be the "tottle † of the whole," when besides this, *three-fourths* of the living is taken away for the poor and BISHOP? Out of £400, £500 minus, to support a family of children! I have merely stated a few plain facts respecting the circumstances of the parochial clergy, leaving what is said to the consideration of every dispassionate mind, and I cannot conclude the subject but with feelings of some interest, when I remember—

(Myself grown thoughtful in the vale of years,)

the anxieties of a father ‡ and mother,

NOW TO THE GRAVE GONE DOWN.

* Procurations were at first a charge on convents, in lieu of maintenance of the visiting archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon; but an archbishop was not allowed to bring *more than fifty horses*, nor an archdeacon more than *seven*!

† The expression of an eminent calculating senator.

‡ W. T. Bowles, rector of Uphill, Somersetshire; Bridget, daughter of Dr. Grey, Prebendary of St. Paul's, author of *Memoria Technica*, *Ecclesiastical Law*, &c. They gave birth to seven children, of whom the writer was the eldest son.—My object has been to state fairly many of the circumstances of the parochial clergy, which have been basely misre-

presented; but it has chiefly been owing to the higher orders of her community that the Church of England in learning and eloquence has become the most accomplished and illustrious daughter of the Reformation. Such were Jewel—Jeremy Taylor—Saunderson—Bull—Usher—Cumberland—Stillingfleet—Sherlock—Louth—Douglas, &c. The circumstances respecting the revenue, as well as the character of such men, to whom I might add many now living, have been as basely misrepresented, for obvious purposes, as the circumstances of their humbler brethren.

The sentiments I have expressed on the subject are the sentiments of conscientious conviction; and I am sure my conviction would have been the same, if I should have died in this honoured community as prosperous as I entered it—that is, with regard to *professional* income—

“Passing rich with *forty* pounds a year.”

It may be said, in answer to some observations in the foregoing, that the marriage of the clergy is *optional*, and therefore any distresses on account of family ought not to be alleged! True! but a clergyman's wife and daughters are of the greatest service to the village poor. It may be also said, that if *preferment*, in any instance, involves an incumbent in distress, he had better have remained a curate? Undoubtedly, if his preferment be a living of only two hundred a year.

CHAP. VII.

Tytherton—Moravian Establishment—tribute to a late minister—Foxham—singular charity of Maud Heath—sundial, &c.

But it is time to leave these reflections, and we shall now proceed below the hill, by the side of the canal, from the hamlet of Stanley to that of Tytherton, distinguished by a Moravian settlement, an interesting Christian community which has, in many respects, the advantages of a religious establishment; and in extensive parishes like this, where there is no officious intrusion, such an establishment might be considered as subsidiary to the church of England.

What the convent was, in its humble and nascent state, this society exhibits. The minister is a kind of "pater familiæ." Industry, peace, and the spirit of religion are predominant. The industrious and tranquil members of this community neither differ, nor profess to differ, as to "credenda," from the church of England: they speak of her with the greatest respect, and this feeling is always repaid by reciprocal regard on the part of our clergy, throughout the kingdom. To Mr. Britton's account of the United Brethren, in

“The Beauties of Wiltshire,” I must refer for further particulars respecting this society, established in my own parish, as I can vouch for its accuracy.

Their places of worship are never without that instrument, the solemn diapasons of which are stigmatized by John Knox as “ungodly and unprofitable piping!” The part of the parish which the united brethren inhabit has a peculiar air of comfort. The buildings consist of a chapel, with a neat connected residence for the minister, and another connected building appropriated to a young ladies’ boarding school. These are educated without regard to particular creeds, but all morally and religiously. The Moravian brethren have been established in this parish upwards of an hundred years; an act of Parliament having passed in their favour, chiefly by the exertions of archbishop Wake, ancestor of the wife of the present incumbent. Before the buildings is a neat iron-fenced green, and at a small distance a house for females employed in fine needle work. I conclude these observations with a sigh of affectionate remembrance to the late Lewis West, the minister, whose large family is now separated, with whom the writer lived in intimacy for the space of seventeen years.*

As I was present at the funeral, an account of the peculiar ceremonies of this rite among the brethren, may not be unacceptable.

* As the whole family were proficient in music, a *monthly* concert was established at the parsonage.

The garden-green before the chapel is surrounded by those invited, the neighbours of their own fraternity, old and young, and the young ladies of the school all similarly dressed in white, with a simple black ribbon. As soon as the coffin is brought from the house, the officiating minister reads the opening verses of our funeral service,* after which he gives out the first stanza of a hymn—

Our aged friend is gone to rest.

This is sung in unison by the young women, and the effect is very impressive. The coffin is then borne into the chapel; the clergy of the established church invited, go the next in order, then the Moravian ministers, and afterwards the congregation. A sermon is preached, and, in the same order as before, the coffin is borne to the burial ground. The whole of this area is surrounded on one side by the women of the establishment, and the young females; on the other by the minister, friends, and fraternity. The whole join in an affecting hymn, after which the coffin is deposited in the earth, and a few prayers are read.

At the afternoon-service in the chapel, there are prayers and an appropriate anthem. The minister

* "I heard a voice from Heaven," finely set for four voices, by C. B. Wollaston, was performed, accompanied on the organ.

then gives a narrative of the life of the departed brother, and the whole is concluded by the congregation, rich and poor, taking bread together, and, what is difficult to mention with appropriate seriousness, drinking *tea!*

The place devoted to receive the last remains of those who die among the congregation, is a square enclosure, to which a walk leads from the sisters' house and the minister's; it is surrounded by a few firs and shrubs. The sisters are buried by themselves, and another portion of the consecrated ground is allotted to the brethren. A small square stone is laid on the ground, the top somewhat elevated; no inscription appears except H. H. S. S. for single sister; or M. H. M. S. married sister "departed;" or on the brothers' side, W. G. M. B. or S. B.—married or single brother "departed."

No distinction is made between rich or poor, minister or brother.

The reader, perhaps, will excuse my concluding this account with some lines written almost *impromptu*, on the eldest of the daughters saying she had spent her happiest days in this place, and besides, "*here* was her father's grave:—

"MY FATHER'S GRAVE!"

"My father's grave," I heard her say,
And saw a stealing tear,
"Oh, no! I would not go away,
"MY FATHER'S GRAVE IS HERE!"

“ A thousand thronging sympathies,
 The lonely spot ~~so dear~~, *endear*
 And every eve, remembrance sighs,
 “ MY FATHER’S GRAVE IS HERE !”

“ Some natural tears, unbidden start,
 When spring’s gay birds I hear,
 For all things whisper to my heart,
 “ MY FATHER’S GRAVE IS HERE !”

“ Young hope may blend her colours gay,
 And brighter scenes appear,
 But no! I would not go away—
 “ MY FATHER’S GRAVE IS HERE !”

Having conducted the reader from the furthest south-west part of the parish—Studley, to Stanley, and from thence to Tytherton, leaving the Moravian burying-ground, we shall now proceed to the extreme boundary of the parish to the north.

Here is an out-lying hamlet called Foxham, probably “Foss-ham,” a populous district of the parish adjoining Christian Malford. It is distant four miles from the parish church, but not more than a mile from that of Christian Malford.

A large farm-house in this hamlet is the sole remains of Cadenham, a seat of the Hungerfords, before spoken of. The crest, a wheat-sheaf between two scythes, are scattered over the doorways and windows.

Sir George Hungerford, speaker of the House of Commons temp. William III. appears to have been

the last possessor, whose eldest son, by the daughter of the duke of Somerset, dying in the bloom of youth, is buried in the chancel, to whose memory is erected a splendid marble monument.

As the parish church was at so inconvenient a distance—there being a long, intervening hill—a private chapel was built and endowed conjointly by the Bayntuns and Hungerfords, for the sake of having a nearer place of worship for their families. This was endowed in the reign of James the First, as appears by the date of a deed of agreement between sir George Hungerford, his son sir Edward Baynton, and lady Lucy Baynton, and Mr. Essington.

Certain lands near Chippenham were assigned to Essington, on condition that he should pay *four* pounds per annum for the maintenance of "*a minister*!" But there is no obligation on the minister of Bremhill, and the parishioners being under no legal obligation to repair the chapel, service has been obliged to be discontinued till funds can be raised for its repairs and for regular service.

From Foxham, passing by the hamlets of Charlcot and Spert-hill, in which there is nothing remarkable, except the view along the edge of the hill into the extensive vale, on either side—we shall turn back towards Tytherton, to speak of the singular paved foot-way, passing through Tytherton from the top of the hill called Wick-hill, and termi-

nating on an eminence above Chippenham. By this path we shall now ascend to the church and the parsonage.

Respecting this ancient paved foot-way ; nothing can more decidedly prove the almost impassable state of the roads in the reign of Edward the Fourth, than this benefaction for the accommodation for foot passengers, bequeathed by a woman of the name of MAUD HEATH, of Langley Burrell, the intervening parish between Bremhill and Chippenham. Land and houses were bequeathed by her to trustees in 1478, to keep this paved foot-path in constant repair. It passes through Langley Burrell-common to Bremhill, from Chippenham. The tradition is, that this Maud Heath had acquired her property by carrying her farm-produce between Bremhill, her own parish, and Chippenham ; and, having thus acquired property, left in perpetuity a sum to be applied to the sole purpose of keeping in repair the accommodation of a more clean and convenient foot-way.

The trustees are generally the clergymen of Bremhill and Langley, and the chief possessors of land in the neighbourhood. As the funds have accumulated, and the purposes for which they are to be applied are definitively described, there is now some difficulty in the application. Whatever has become of other charities, that of this benevolent spinster still flourishes, and, as one of the trustees, I hope to live to see a monument, more worthy of her name,

erected on the hill which overlooks the extensive vale.

On the apex of Wick-hill now stands a plain upright stone, with the following lines in commemoration of the donor:—

From this Wick-hill begins the praise,
Of MAUD HEATH'S gift to these HIGH-WAYS.

On the eminence which overlooks the town of Chippenham another plain stone is erected, with the following inscription:—

Hither extendeth MAUD HEATH'S gift,
For where I stand is CHIPPENHAM clift.

But there is a somewhat more superb monument recording her singular bequest, half-way between Bremhill and Chippenham, on the banks of the Avon, remarkable for the beauty of the brief Latin inscription. In the inscription on the side of the dial, facing the rising sun, the passenger is called on, generally, to remember the fleetness of the passing moment—

Tempus volat.

On the side fronting the meridian sun is the inscription to remind man, the passenger to another world, of his duties in *this*.

Dum tempus habemus, OPEREMUR BONUM.

The inscription fronting the setting sun, as addressed to the evening traveller, is both novel and affecting—

REDIBO—TU NUNQUAM.

As few who pass the road are capable of feeling

the force of the admonition, from the inscription being in Latin—at a late meeting of the trustees, the writer of this account ventured to offer his services to render the sentiments of the inscription into the “vulgar tongue” *pro bono publico!* The following poetical paraphrase is now engraving on the pillar below the dial:—

MORNING SUN—*Tempus volat.*

Oh! early passenger, look up—be wise,
And think how, night and day, TIME ONWARD FLIES.

NOON—*Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum.*

Life steals away—this hour, oh man, is lent thee,
Patient to “WORK THE WORK OF HIM WHO SENT
THEE.”

SETTING SUN—*Redibo, tu nunquam.*

Haste, traveller, the Sun is sinking now—
He shall return again—but NEVER thou.

Leaving behind the humble but interesting Moravian burial ground, and the sun-dial, which admonishes us that

“Life is but a passing shade!”

Reader, as we slowly ascend the hill by this ancient paved path-way, and avail ourselves of one of those rustic seats so well described by Pope,

“Whose seats the weary traveller repose,”

Let us—for to pass this village without noticing its natural history would be unpardonable—let us take up one of the stones before us, with which

the high-way is being repaired; it is full of small but distinctly marked sea-shells! break it, and a greater profusion of these small marine shells start out. The shelly limestone with which the roads round Tytherton are mended, is quarried near Kelloway's-bridge, and has thence obtained from geologists the name of the Kelloway's rock. It is found in beds of considerable thickness enclosed in, or in geological phrase, subordinate to the great Oxford clay formation, which composes the surface of the vale of the Avon from Malmesbury southward, as far as Melksham. It has been much noticed from the circumstance of its containing these peculiar and characteristic shells not yet met with in any other spot. Bremhill *hill* itself, which projects like a promontory into the vale of Avon, is formed of beds of the limestone rock. The road on the other side Calne abounds with what is called coral-rag by geologists, from its containing, and sometimes being, to a considerable extent, entirely composed of fossil madrepores, amongst which some large and very beautiful specimens may be collected.—(See Conybeare and Phillips, pp. 187-9.)—The petrified shells that chiefly abound in this quarry, are classed in Phillips's and Conybeare's geological work as—

Chambered univalves.

Ammonites calloviensis.

Sublævis,

Kœnigi.

Nautili & Belemnites.

Bivalves not chambered, Rostellaria.

Bivalves.

Cardita deltoidea,	Chama digitalis,
Gryphæa incurva,	Pecten fibrosus,
Plagiastoma obscura,	Avicula inequivalvis,
Terebratula ornithocethalus.	

The gryphæa are that kind of large shells of the petrified oyster, of which there exists no living specimen.

The belemnites, unlike the heavy genus of the oyster tribe, exhibit elegant and polished spicula, resembling the flint heads of arrows. Nay, before science became so much more accurate and conversant with the works of nature, these have been thought to be the artificial flint-heads of the arrows of the aboriginal Britons. They are now known to be the shells of fishes, and these before us, with those above specified, are peculiarly distinguished by geologists.

But let us cast our eye on the overhanging hedges. This beautiful wandering and winding plant is commonly called the mandrake, and its enormous root bears a great resemblance to that of anthropa mandragora. It is not that plant, but the bryonia dioica; nothing can be more elegant and light, and beautiful, than its innumerable small stars and tendrils fantastically festooning the thorns. In more scientific terms, the bryonia dioica, commonly called the mandrake, is a plant with annual stems, climbing by means of tendrils; leaves divided into five angular lobes; flowers dioicous (that is, male and

female flowers distinct, but on the same plant); the female are distinguished from the male flowers by having a berry formed under the flowers, which the male has not; berry, red when ripe; root large, fleshy, white, perennial. The roots (says Smith in Rees' Cyclopaedia) have been made to assume the shape of the human figure, and shewn as the roots of the mandrake, *anthropa mandragora*; this latter is not a native of England, but of the south of Europe. The leaves are large and veined, rising from the crown of the root, deep green, veined, and of a foetid odour; from among these arise three or four slender stalks, each supporting a single flower; the fruit is a soft berry of a yellowish colour, about the size of a nutmeg.

The true *anthropa mandragora* is not a native of England, but the *bryonia dioica* undoubtedly is. Throughout the country it is called by all "the *mandrake*;" and as its enormous root resembles, fantastically, the human shape, having the appearance of head and legs, we may conclude that this is the original poetical English mandrake, of which such a superstitious use has been made. I wish my countrymen and friends, Sir Edward Poore, or Lambert of Boyton, were with us, as they would more accurately distinguish these two plants; but it is evident to me that this is the mandrake of our elder poets. Its root, as I have said, has the appearance of a human being, and imagination has embodied the resemblance with

that of a man, or child, buried by witchcraft. Our old poetry is full of allusions to this idea, but in none is the idea more strikingly set before us than by Ben Jonson in his song of the witches—

I sat all night upon a stone,
Where I heard the mandrake groan ;
I plucked it up, though it grew full low,
And when I had done the cock did crow.

* Shakspeare *adds* the terrible voice :

And shrieks like *mandrakes* torn out of the earth.

Ben Jonson again—

The venom'd plants
Wherewith the hills, where the sad mandrake grows,
Whose *groans* are *death-full* !

“*Sad*” as this plant is thus, from ancient associations, represented, nothing can be more beautiful than its flowers, and those small tendrils which just wave above our heads, as we pass on to Maud Heath’s pillar on the apex of the hill.

I wish I could shew that beautiful small red flower that in spring shoots as if ambitious of shewing itself through the green under the unfrequented hedges—and

Makes so gay the solitary place,
Where no eye sees it.—COWPER.

* The lines in Columella probably relate to the real *mandragora*—

“*Quavis SEMIHOMINIS, vesano gramine, foeta,
Mandragoræ parient flores.*”

And this is, probably, the true *insane* root of which Shakspeare speaks, “the *insane* root which takes the reason prisoner!”

It is now gone with its sisters, the violets; but we want not beauty, for look, as far as the eye can see, in July, the whole bank is radiant with the purple bloom of a geranium, as beautiful as any of the five hundred of the same species which the Historian of the county in his sumptuous green-house can boast; which smile there in rows, and seem to look consciously on each other like fine gentlemen and ladies, despising the rustic, but beautiful, peasant-flower of the fields. This geranium, so abundant in our hedges, is called botanically, I believe, *geranium campestre*, and it unites the elegance of the cultivated geranium with the simplicity of the hedge-primrose. There is also the geranium *columbinum vulgare*, flore minore cœruleo. And now, reader, "you are welcome to Maud Heath's stone."*

We will here, at this corner of the road, turn short to the left, and winding a small circuit, cross, by the village path-way, the glebe-lands, which are sprinkled with wood like a small park. From hence we look down on the village, and the church, and parsonage; and from this stile the old massy grey tower of the church is seen most prominently among the elms before us.

* And "so you are welcome to Tottenham High-Cross." Walton's Angler.

CHAP. VIII.

Tower—character of such accompaniment to the English landscape—porch—chancel—some account of Dr. Townson—historical reflections.

SOME observations on the general picturesque appearance in the English landscape, of a peculiar feature in our sacred edifices, may be here premised. In open and extensive down countries, the airy spire, seen at a distance, in the haze of morning, appears to have had its use in directing the traveller when lost.

Salisbury spire is seen in almost every direction, at nearly thirty miles distance.

Tetbury, in Gloucestershire; and the various steeples in the levels of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, present the same pleasing variety in a flat, uniform country. The spire also has an equally pleasing effect when seen above a group of trees, provided they are not of the fir kind.

Shenstone has sketched such a picture very pleasingly in his sweetest poem, "the School Mistress—

"In every village, *mark'd by little spire,*

Embower'd in trees, and hardly known to fame," &c.

The massy square tower, with buttresses and

battlements, has a more solemn effect in a rich and cultivated country, and gives a peculiarly interesting character to eminences that are not sufficiently elevated or aspiring, to become picturesque themselves. A slender spire, or battlemented tower, harmonize equally well, when partially discerned above surrounding woods*—

Towers and battlements it sees,
Bosom'd high in tufted trees.

But a tower ought to be rich in masonry, or sufficiently massy to have an air of antique dignity to suit intermingled glades, trees, and meadows.

In a critical work I have spoken of the poetical effect of trees, which not only give an interest to buildings, as works of art, but without which buildings would have an appearance almost as naked and uninteresting as a mere architectural elevation.

Seen as an accompaniment to the landscape in wooded plains, or rising abruptly from the bosom of the picturesque landscape, at morning and evening—and associated with so many feelings of interest, the massy tower or the tapering spire, add a beauty and grace to the English landscape throughout the land.

In some obscure book, four lines which I never have met with since, made an impression on me, when very young, and being connected with sim-

* Nothing can equal in picturesque beauty the towers and churches in Somersetshire. Banwell church, as a parochial edifice, is, perhaps, the most perfect in the kingdom.

ple but affecting tenderness, and relating to this subject, I transcribe them from memory :—

Adieu to thy spire, dear Antonia, adieu,
 Retiring so fast from my sorrowful eyes ;
 And oft I look back, till it meets not my view,
 And now it is sunk, perhaps never to rise !

But we can now look nearer at this sacred building before us. Besides the square massy tower, it consists of a large porch, above which, now devoted to silence and the bats, the small village school was held before the Reformation. The ceiling was lately dismantled of two centuries of white-wash, and the figures, which had been so splashed over, that it was impossible to know what was intended, stand out in elegant stone carving, an emblematical lamb among the vines ! The united roses of the houses of York and Lancaster, ascertain that the porch was an addition to the church, in the reign probably of Henry the Seventh. The windows of the side aisles, north and south, are of the kind called Tudor arches ; the large window, at the end of the chancel, was a mere common square window, looking as if it belonged to a barn rather than to a church. This has been formed into a window more in unison with the rest of the building, by adding Gothic compartments of handsome stone work on the top.

But the elegant small turret with which the church-roof terminates on the top, must not be forgotten ; a small opening is left for the bell,

which rung the early villager to prayer before he began work. Though the bell has been silent for centuries, and the aperture only remains, the form of the small projection where it hung gives a graceful finish to the roof. This projection was surmounted by a small cross.

Before we enter the building, let us look down on the stone that lies directly under our feet, in the porch. In the year 1818 the Rev. Edward Lambert, of the family of Lamberts of Boyton, who married the eldest sister of the writer of this account, having expressed a wish to be buried at Bremhill, was here deposited. I regretted afterwards that this spot was selected, for in digging the grave a stone coffin was found laying across the porch, east and west, containing possibly the bones of the founder or some benefactor. This stone coffin was unfortunately broken, but the bones, of course, carefully deposited in the place of their ancient sepulture.

The *old seats* of free-stone, on either side the porch, are deeply worn. These seats are therefore evidently of an age long prior to the porch itself.

The door is very old, and surrounded by curious carved work; and, as it slowly opens, we remark on either side of the aisle, large pillars, with small capitals, which are, probably, Norman. These pillars are four on each side, the capitals varying, and, apparently, coeval with the ancient font.

Between the aisle and chancel stands an entire

and elegant rood-loft, beautifully carved; with lattice work, bending over in a small arch above, on the centre of which stood, before the Reformation, the rood or large crucifix of wood, with a row of saints on each side as thus described in the old ballad:—

Oh! hold thy peace, I pray thee,
 The house was passing trim,
 To hear the fryars singing,
 As we did enter in,
 And then to see the *rood-loft*,
 So bravely set with saints—

The Virgin, and St. John stood on each side.— There is a small stair-case for the priest to ascend; and the under arch, beneath this small gallery, is curiously studded by what were evidently intended to represent *stars*, so that the arch being painted blue, and the stars of gold, the coping might represent the firmament, above which appeared the cross.

We must now enter the chancel: it contains some remarkable memorials of those long passed away. Among these the most striking is the marble sculptured monument to the son of Sir George Hungerford, who married a daughter of the duke of Somerset. As an account of this monument, and the whole elegant Latin inscription, may be seen in Sir Richard Hoare's interesting opusculum relating to the *stemmata*, & *fata*, of this once illustrious family, now extinct, it need not

be here given. Many of this distinguished family, as will be seen in sir Richard's memorials, were buried here, and one of the last of the name, lies covered with a plain stone, the arms sculptured in marble, on the left hand of the communion table.*

Among the other monuments in the chancel there is a carved stone, just midway on the floor, before the communion rails; this is of great antiquity, and denoted some dignitary in the church, or unknown benefactor, as the stone is marked with the remains of a foliated cross. The other plain monuments are to Wilson, vicar in queen Anne's reign, and his wife, who left a plate for the communion; to Dr. Benjamin D'Aranda, Dr. Frampton, and Nathaniel Hume, my predecessor, many years canon-residentiary and precentor of Salisbury cathedral; and here also, when the hand that holds the pen is cold, will, perhaps, be seen the only memorial of the writer. But the grave-stone to which I shall particularly call the reader's attention is that which is placed over the remains of John Townson, D.D. Among many others in this county, during the reign of illiterate and persecuting puritanism, he was expelled from this vicarage and his stall in Salisbury cathedral. It appears from his epitaph that he long survived that unfortunate æra when such men as Jeremy Taylor, Hammond,

* The grave of Walter Hungerford, member for Calne.

Saunderson, Chillingworth, were equally exposed to the persecution of illiterate and uncharitable fanatics. But Doctor Townson, after twelve years of exile and sufferings, came to close his eyes among his old parishioners. It appears that he lived seven and twenty years among them after being thus restored. Nor must it be concealed, that a name has been preserved as a proof of the *persecution* of the Church of England, of a dissenting minister dismissed in 1660, the circumstances being totally concealed that it was in consequence of the restoration of the legitimate and lawful incumbent!

As there are some circumstances in the life of Dr. Townson more especially connected with the origin of that schism which dispossessed so many of the loyal and episcopal clergy in the seventeenth century, it will not, I hope, be thought irrelevant to the subject of this parochial history, if I here take a slight, I trust not unfaithful sketch, of some of the most prominent causes which led to those disastrous consequences, as they may be exemplified in his life.

John Townson was son of Robert Townson, who succeeded to the bishopric of Salisbury, 1620. Wood informs us "that the father died in a *mean condition* on the 5th May 1621, and was buried over against St. Edmund's chapel, in St. Peter's church, Westminster, leaving then behind him a widow, named Margaret, and FIFTEEN *children!*"

Wood says nothing of the causes of this "mean condition," but it will be enough to acquit him of any extravagance, or improvident conduct, merely to say he had *fifteen* children, and died *the year after* he was consecrated bishop of Salisbury! It is probable, with so many children, he came to the *see* with no private fortune; for, with such a family, what could he have saved from his deanery of Westminster? On his first entrance on his episcopal office, before he received a farthing from his new preferment, he would have to pay to the king, as first fruits, without any regard to the circumstances of his *own* fortune, ONE THOUSAND three hundred and eighty-five pounds! No mean sum in those days, when perhaps he, with so large a family, was before encumbered, having no other preferment than his deanery, to which he had been preferred from a fellowship in Queen's College, Oxford.

It is probable also, a large sum might have been at that time paid for the *dilapidations* of the deanery. These things, and a thousand other circumstances of the kind, are not taken into consideration by those who, with as much knowledge as charity, call the church "the daughter of the horse-leech!"

I will venture to say no situation can be more deplorable, taking the circumstances of station and education into consideration, than that of the father of *fifteen* children, relinquishing all other preferment, with no private fortune than that of a

churchman, made bishop of Salisbury in *one* year, and leaving pennyless a wife and fifteen children the next; and the coldness with which Wood speaks of this Prelate's "mean condition," when the causes of such mean condition must be obvious, is more consonant with the historian's characteristic brevity, than with those sentiments of sympathy which the case is calculated to produce.

However, the bishop died in poverty, and his widow and children had the world before them, the views of prosperity closing, almost at the very moment they appeared to smile; when a widow with so large a family was left to unexpected desolation over a father's dust, who had just attained his highest post of preferment.

The first year of the possession of the see not having been completed, much expence having also necessarily been incurred before possession could be taken, the king, who appeared to interest himself, may have remitted the *first fruits*; certain it is, that John Davenant, brother to Margaret Townson, widow, was promoted to the vacant see, in consideration of the hardship, as it should seem, which had fallen on his brother-in-law's family.

These children were left to him as a legacy, for whom, in the desolate state of their father's affairs, he was expected, as far as his patronage extended, to provide, with an express injunction from the king, actuated by a consideration of the case, "that he should not take to him a wife."

It appears that he faithfully and affectionately discharged the duties expected of him. John, one of the sons of his brother-in-law, became prebendary of Highworth, in the cathedral of Salisbury, and vicar of Bremhill, in the year 1640, from which benefice he was ejected, for refusing the solemn league and covenant, and to which he returned in 1660, at the Restoration. Walker, in "Sufferings of the Clergy," makes a quære, whether this Townson, who was ejected from the prebend of Highworth, was the same as the Townson ejected from Bremhill? There can be no doubt of this: the inscription on his tomb is, "rector of Bremhill, and prebendary of Highworth," his patron being one and the same.

I shall now revert to his uncle, the bishop. At the very head of the long series of conscientious, episcopal, and loyal clergy who were subsequently deprived of all means of subsistence, appears the name, as if casting an ominous shade on all who *follow*, of the amiable man indeed, but metaphysical Calvinist under a *mitre*—JOHN DAVENANT! *—In Walker's History of the Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 62, is the following notice:—

"SALISBURY.—John Davenant, D.D. bishop." Walker adds these observations:—"Though this

* Davenant's elaborate *metaphysical necessity*, guarded as it is from anti-nomianism, is as remote from the guarded declarations of the 17th article, as it is from the language of the Scriptures.

right reverend prelate died in 1641, yet he had a taste of the miseries and *sufferings* which were then coming in fuller measure upon the church. His successor drank much deeper of the bitter cup."

I must add that the *sufferings* and *miseries* of which he had a *taste*, and the "*bitter cup* of which his successors drank," both were, in a great measure, prepared by himself, and by those who, in the Church of England, rigidly professed the same comfortless, or presumptuous creed. If both he, Hall bishop of Norwich, and others equally unaware of its bitter fruits, had not first planted this *upas* tree of unconditional Calvinistic decrees, and watered its roots in its first growth, it might not afterwards have branched out its noxious ramifications with so wide and so disastrous a shade on the whole Church of England. Davenant himself had only a "*taste* of its *bitter* fruit," but those to whom he, in their hour of need, was a friend and munificent patron, lived to reap that baleful harvest which himself had contributed to sow. He was a divine of the school of Aristotle, in the university of Cambridge, whose disciples made the word of God a system of elaborate metaphysics. In this school he was a most profound theologian, the Protestant Doctor Subtilis, or the Bradwardine of the seventeenth century. He, therefore, was esteemed the fittest arguer and divine to attend the famous Synod at Dort, at

which the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy was to be determined. Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich; Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; and Ward, master of Sydney Sussex college, Cambridge, were selected to assist at the same controversial convention, a proof how little justice those of a contrary opinion could expect, when only Calvinistic disputants, and those the ablest, were brought into the arena from England.

Every one knows the sequel; and this with truth may be said, that the Council of Trent, in point of charity, exhibited a spirit far more congenial to Christianity than the Synod of Dort!

The points between the Church of Rome and the Protestants were discussed at the Council of Trent; the points between the Arminians and Calvinists at the Synod of Dort. The Protestants were not convinced by the arguments of the Doctors of the Church of Rome; nor were the Calvinists, at the Synod of Dort, able to convince such obstinate heretics as the learned and truly Christian Grotius, and the amiable old Barnevelt. The fruits of this celebrated Synod were well worthy that learned and merciful *Doctor*, whose *doctrines* were then discussed; when those of a contrary opinion were condemned unheard; when Barnevelt, among other charges, for perverting the religion of his country, at 72 years of age, was brought to the scaffold, and Grotius who raised a monument to Christianity, which will last till "his day of judgment," whose cause he has so eloquently vindicated.

cated,* narrowly escaped a violent death from these triumphant discussors of the "*truth, as it is in Calvin!!*"

If such were the fruits produced by this tolerant spirit, immediately after the dissolution of this famed assembly, who can wonder that the baleful effects should be witnessed in England after the ascendancy was gained by such spirits as Hugh Peters and Bare-bones!

That many of this persuasion were good and holy men, there can be no doubt. We cannot give a stronger proof of it than the conduct of Davenant to his sister and children. That part of her epitaph in Salisbury cathedral, which speaks of his kind protection and hospitality to her, who, with so numerous a family, had no earthly home—is striking, and even affecting:—

"Depositum Margaretæ Townson, Roberti Reverendissimi Hujus Ecclesiæ Episcopi *relictæ*, necnon Domini Johannis, qui nunc eidem præsidet (apud quem XIII annos *vidua DOMUM SOLATIUM-que invenit*), SORORIS," &c.

Obiit—1634.

This monument, Mr. Cassan says, "appears to have been erected 1664;" that is, four years after the restoration of Charles the Second. Davenant lived seven years after his grateful and affectionate sister, but, probably, the increasing troubles of the times, and the progress of feelings hostile to episcopacy,

* Grotius, "de Veritate," &c.

and, perhaps, a heaviness of heart, which seems to be implied by a writer who speaks of Davenant's death, prevented his placing a monument to her in his own cathedral. One daughter married an ancestor of the present excellent lord Malmesbury, through whom the writer of this account claims a distant consanguinity, which, as well as the circumstances of the parish, may justify him in pursuing more particularly a subject, he hopes, not generally uninteresting.

Another nephew of Davenant drank of the same cup of adversity: Edward Davenant was ejected from the treasurership of the cathedral, and vicarage of Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, with a family of *twelve children*. He also, with his relation in this parish, lived over the day of persecution, and was restored to his living, surviving nineteen years. He is buried in the chancel at Gillingham, and died 12 March 1679-80.—Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury.*

This description of piety (if it is not blasphemy to call the piety of Praise-God-Barebones by that hallowed name), would not have prevailed so as to destroy all the land-marks, for a time, of the Christian church, but for friends and foes equally injudicious; *friends*, who in the station of bishop

* From him I take the arms of the family of Davenant and Townson:—Davenant, three escallops Erm. between seven cross crosslets O. mantle G. doubled Arg.—Townson, G. five cross crosslets fitchée in saltire, between four escallops O.

Hall and bishop Davenant fostered, by their own unsuspecting protection, its growth; and *foes*, who, like Laud, saw its progress, but knew not how to oppose it, except by endeavouring most rashly to crush the serpent that only from opposition enveloped him more strongly in its folds.

The *friends*, sincerely pious, but of Calvinistic tenets, never suspected hypocrisy or malice in the shape of *piety*, much less murder! Laud opposed, but without judgment or charity, those men whom such rash opposition made more dangerous, till both himself and his king, and the church he venerated, fell in one common destruction.

However Laud might have made himself obnoxious, the piety and learning, humility and christian kindness, of bishop Hall, might have pleaded for him. Davenant, as we have seen, was appointed bishop of Salisbury 1621; four years afterwards king James died, 1625, and very soon afterwards that storm began to increase, which, in the course of little more than twenty years, swept away the church and the throne.

In the remonstrance of the Commons, 1628, against the introduction of **POPERY** and **ARMINIANISM**, which latter was called "a curious way to bring in Popery," we see the spirit and temper of the times. "Two diseases, says Pym, (in a committee of the house,) there be, one old—Popery; and the other new—**ARMINIANISM**!"

In fact, all that was not ultra-Calvinism was Ar-

minjanism, prelacy, Popery! Three things, in the externals of religious decency, were held in especial abomination, a surplice, a cope, and the book of common prayer! Among the national sins, the greatest, in the opinion of all puritans, were, stage plays, dancing, &c. "Every step," says the grim Prynne, "in a country dance, is a step to hell!" and in his *Histrio-Mastix*, "God's judgment is especially denounced against such abominations as stage plays," in the language which has been nearly the same from the time when the stern Tertullian wrote his book "*de Spectaculis*."* He was then a Montanist, as bishop Kay has proved, that is under the *false inspiration* of the "lying spirit!" But St. Paul, we know, quotes from a Greek *play*, not only without reprobation, but as approving the sentiment of the pagan *play-writer*, even when speaking of the resurrection of the dead!† Such is the difference between sober and scriptural Christianity, and rampant Puritanism. To these objects of Puritanic aversion, in all ages, were now joined "ungodly and unprofitable piping upon organs!"

Cathedrals were at length silenced; bishops, deans, and chapters, dispossessed, and their lands sold. Davenant, as we have seen, died with a taste only

* See the passage which Gibbon quotes, vol. ii. p. 307, and which he justly calls "infernal!" This, however, has been closely copied by some religionists of the present day.

† "Evil communications corrupt good manners."—From Menander.

of the *first fruits* of these devotions. Hall lived to publish "his hard fare," when his library, his house, and his goods, were sold. Together with the dignitaries of cathedrals, the chief of the most exemplary and conscientious clergy were now ejected from the livings, subject to the severest penalty for having a *prayer-book* to console their solitary hours, or for saying grace, and yet the Presbyterian Walker accuses the Independents "of *tolerating all accursed sects!*"

The Church of England at this time was obnoxious to *three* parties—those of the Church of Rome, the severe Presbyterians, and the Independent—Rhapsodists! When the Doctors of Geneva triumphed, the clergy were obliged to take the COVENANT, by which they were bound to destroy, "*root and branch,*" episcopacy! John Townson, whose mother had been supported by a BISHOP'S hospitable kindness, and who had no bread but from the same bountiful hand, could not be expected, with a good conscience, to take this "solemn covenant!"

In opposition to the intolerant Presbyters, the Independents rejected human learning, but Cromwell knew how to avail himself of the powerful aid of Miltons, Marvels, Whitelocks, &c. These men soon found that "new presbyter was but old priest wrote large,"* but the downcast Church of England fared no better under the Independents; for the "*tryers,*" as they were called, of Cromwell, for approval or

* Milton.

rejection of parochial ministers, were far less respectable than the Presbyterians, but not far behind as inquisitors. The powers granted to these commissioners were greater than those exercised by any bishop; and the words "not approved" were sufficient to send from house and home a clergyman and his family. A specimen of this examination will sufficiently explain its character. The answers, one would imagine, would satisfy the great soul of the most profound Calvinist that ever lived:—

Commissioner—Is faith mediate or immediate?

A. It is immediate, as God's gift, but ordinary it is mediate, by the word and otherwise.

Q. Do you believe Christ before you know him, or know Christ before you believe him?

Com.—How do you extricate yourself?

A. Because I have a zeal for his glory, and sorrow for sin, a reluctancy against sin; and I apply the merits of my Saviour to myself, saying, as Thomas did, my Lord and my God!

The most orthodox divine could not have answered better; but now comes the point.

Q.—Is he *your Lord* and *your God* only? Christ died for all, and shall not all have the benefit of his death?

A. I know that Christ's death is sufficient for many, but surely it is not effectual to *all*. If to *all sorts* of people, not to all people, &c.

Yet the commissioners gave no other answer than "*not approved*;" and if such a minister was

not approved, what could Jeremy Taylor expect? The commissioners for "*ejecting* scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers," consisted, in these times of *toleration*, both of Presbyterians and Independents. They were appointed 1654. After ejection the unfortunate clergy were forbid, under the severest penalty, from keeping a school, by which means they might endeavour to gain a small subsistence.

What became of Townson, after his rejection, we have no means of knowing. He probably became an exile, and returned with the king. These clergymen, in many instances, were succeeded, I need not say, by the most illiterate of the community. As the subject may be not uninteresting to the incumbents of the county, I shall here add

A LIST OF THE NUMBER OF CLERGY DISPOSSESSED
IN THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

Among those who were first ejected was the chaplain to bishop Davenant, at the time of his death. His living was Poulshot, 1644.*—The number of parochial clergy, in this county alone, dispossessed and ejected, was fifty-eight, some of whom lived to be restored, not including prebendaries, &c. The names of the parochial clergy ejected are as follows:

Albright, Langston R.

Alexander, Collingbourne Kingston V.

* However prejudiced Walker may appear, no one can deny, or ever has denied, these plain facts.

He survived the usurpation, but did not claim his living.

Ailsbury, B. D. Kingston Deverill, and Berwick St. Leonard. He was frequently carried before the committees, says Walker, and imprisoned at London; once he was seized officiating in a neighbouring church, where the soldiers cut the "common prayer book" in pieces. He had at this time a wife and eight children, with whom he retired to Cloford, in Somersetshire, where he had a small estate of about £12 per annum, notwithstanding which he must have perished with his family, had he not been supported by the charity of Sir George Horner.*

Bayley, Francis, Woodborough R.

Bing, Robert, Allcannings R.

Bishop, Allen, Ashton Keynes V.

Bland, —, Laverstock V.

Bowen, Robert, Great Wishford R.

Bushnell, Walter, Box V. He published an account of his persecution.

Chaffin, Thomas, D. D. Fovant R.

Charnbury, —, Mere V. Castle-coombe R. Lived to be restored.

Clark, —, Maningford Abbas R.

Cleverly, —, Beeching-stoke R. Lived to be restored.

Collier, Henry, Steeple Langford. He had a wife and eleven children. Rector of Crudwell.

* Ancestor of colonel Horner, of Mells Park.

Creed, —, D.D. Boyton R.

After the Restoration Thomas Lambert had this living, related to Ailmer Bourke Lambert, lord of the manor.

Forster, Nathaniel, Allington. Lived to be restored.

Forward, —, Fisherton Salisbury R.

Good, —, Woodford and Wilsford.

Green, —, Stockton.

Grove, William, A.M. Poulshot.

Hern, John, Garsden. Imprisoned, died very poor, leaving behind him ten children and a widow.

Hickman, Thomas, Upton Lovel. See petition in Walker, p. 276.

—, —, Ham Rectory.

Hobbs, —, Boyton and Sherrington.

Hyde, E. Grinstead near Sarum.

Hyde, Thomas, D.D. Milleston. Lived to be restored.

Joy, Benjamin, A.M. Fittleton.

Jessop, —, Steeple, Langford. Left a widow and eight children; the children relieved by the parish.

Kent, Richard, Fisherton Anger.

Lawrence, Thomas, D.D. Bemerton and Fuggleston R.

Lee, Samuel, Poulton.

Marsh, Samuel, D.D. Patney R.

Miller, Woodstone, Berwick. Plundered, and driven from his wife and seven children.

Morley, George, Mildenhall, R.

Nash, —, Burbage.

Mathew, Nicholas, Dean R.

Parry, William, Deverill Longbridge.

Pelling, D.D. Stallbridge. The anecdote relating to this person is so peculiar, that I am tempted to give it as I find it in Walker, from whom this account is taken. I suspect, however, that Strabridge means Stalbridge, Dorsetshire. “Plundered, turned out of doors with his whole family, but immediately restored. The manner of his being reinstated was this:—passing along the street, with his wife and children, just as the order for his ejection was executed on him, he fortunately met with a Colonel of Parliament, who had been his old friend and acquaintance; to whom the Doctor, upon inquiry, makes his case known, that he had been ejected for not taking the *covenant, sends for the fellow who had been ordered to tender it to him, (and who on his refusal had turned him out of doors,) and taking the copy of it from him gives it to the Doctor, and bids him put it in his pocket, which he accordingly did; whereupon the Colonel left him, and going to some men then in power, assured them, upon his own knowledge, that Dr. Pelling had *taken the covenant*, and so gets an order for reinstating him in his living, which he was afterwards permitted to enjoy.” He was

* Solemn league and covenant to destroy episcopacy root and branch.

father to the learned Dr. Pelling of Petworth, Sussex.

—, —, Pewsey.

Pichener, —, Winterbourne Summer.

Proby, —, D. D. Broughton. Lived to be restored.

Prior, Christopher, D.D. Collingbourne.

Reed,* —, D.D. Luggershall.

Ryly, Christopher, B.D. Newton Toney. Wife and children. Died before the Restoration.

Shipman, William, Whaddon R.

—, —, Stanton St. Quintin.

Still,† Henry, Christian Malford. A descendant of Still, the munificent bishop of Bath and Wells, in whose gift the living, now valued at £1000 a year, is. Still, the bishop, was long supposed to be the author of the first comedy in the English language, "Gammer Gunton's Needle;" but Mr. Britton has brought many substantial reasons to disprove this.

Swadden, Henry, Sutton Magna. Repossessed before the Restoration.

Thornborough, Giles, Orcheston.

Thornbury, John, Levington and Hilperton.

Toogood, a tailor, the parish clerk, put in his place at Hilperton, near Trowbridge.

* By mistake, this name in Walker is entered as belonging to Westmorland.

† The church, gardens, and parsonage house, at Christian Malford are in the best style of appropriate character and decoration. The present incumbent, John Beadon.

Townson, John, D.D. Bremble (Bremhill).

Tutt, Robert, A.M. Barford St. Martin. He was sequestered, says my authority, 1663! This is, probably, a mistake for 1643.

——, ——, Crudwell R.

Waterman, ——, Wotton Rivers.

Walker, Robert, Chilmark.

White, John, Cheriton. At the time of his ejection he preached his funeral sermon—1st Samuel, 12 chap. 3d verse—“*Behold here I am; witness against me before the Lord, whose ox have I taken; or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed, or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes withal?*” He lived to be restored, and died in the 81st year of his age. From the general character of the clergy, at this period, exposed to obloquy and persecution, I am persuaded there are very few of this list who could not say the same.

Whitney, James, D.D. Donhead St. Andrew. Sequestered in the year 1643 by the committee at Salisbury; supported, with his wife, by charity till the Restoration, when he was repossessed. His successor, as the sequestrator, was one Legg, the son of a butcher, who had been servitor at Magdalen College, Oxford. Walker tells a story of his making a *bad* pun, on his having “a *bad* Leg!” that is, being turned out by a person of that name.

Wilson, ——, Bishops Stone.

This name ends the list of those who were dispossessed of parochial benefices in Wiltshire, under the Presbyterian and Independent hierarchies. It should be mentioned, that *one-fifth* part of the profits of their livings was granted to keep them from absolute starvation, but this was hardly ever paid.

It is no wish of mine, at any time, to call back the mind to circumstances of religious persecution, but the names I have selected are taken from a very numerous and dispersed list, which list includes all who suffered through the kingdom, together with the members of cathedrals and universities. As a matter of curiosity, the list I have taken may not be unacceptable to those who are now in peaceable possession of the parochial benefices, that they might know something of the *nomina et fata* of their predecessors. I shall only observe, if an ostentatious parade has been made of the sufferings for religion of *PETER and JACK, Martin has had his share, with as much reason to complain, and far less outcry. But, no doubt, "*Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra!*" But nothing can justify the retribution by which, on St. Bartholomew's day, so many conscientious ministers were *indiscriminately* dispossessed of their livings on the return of Charles the Second, notwithstanding their absurdity of condemning the academical *cap* as *idolatrous*, because it

* Swift's "Tale of a Tub." Peter, Jack, and Martin, signify the Church of Rome—of Geneva—and of England.

was *square*, and the sacramental bread to be equally *idolatrous*, because it was *round*, and their unmitigated intolerance! I take this opportunity of saying, without wishing to become the defender of Laud, whose *trial* is his best defence—that the circumstance mentioned by Neal of his taking “*off his cap, and giving God thanks,*” when the cruel judgment on Prynne was pronounced in the star-chamber, is an utter falsehood; at least I cannot find any hint of such a circumstance in any authentic history of the period. It has been copied deliberately by *Godwin, iterated by reviews and magazines, and is triumphantly repeated when the intolerance of Laud is the theme! I firmly believe it has no other origin than the invention of Neal, but I shall be glad to find it otherwise. I know not that this circumstance has ever been pointed out before. I take this opportunity also of recording an instance of Laud’s humanity, which, I believe, Mr. Southey has not noticed.

Mr. Noy (attorney-general) in star-chamber—“I shall desire your lordship that he shall be *close prisoner*, and neither have *pen*, nor *ink*, nor *paper*, nor go to church; and I shall afterwards proceed on him for this here. I think, in my conscience, he hath neither grace nor modesty.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury—“My lords, he hath undergone a heavy punishment. I am truly

* History of the Commonwealth.

sorry for him; and, Mr. Prynne, I pray God forgive y^u for what you have done amiss.

“I confess I know not what it is to be *close prisoner*, (he knew not long after) and to want books, pen, ink, and company. Certainly a man alone in that case, who knoweth how he might be instigated? I shall, therefore, be an humble suitor to your lordship, that he may have the privilege to go to church.” Sayth Mr. Prynne with a low voice, “I humbly thank y^r grace,” &c.

Mr. Prynne desired the archbishop of Canterbury “that he might have the books which his officers seized upon in his study, and the archbishop did seriously protest they were seized without his privity, and that he had direction to seize no books but those questioned in court; but would give a warrant, under his own hand, to re-deliver them.”—Rushworth’s Collections, p. 248.

How little did Prynne remember this, who seized all his papers, when it became the archbishop’s turn to suffer? And I fear some passages in his Diary were basely interpolated, on purpose to excite odium. At all events, there is no comparison in the sufferings of the two characters, for Prynne’s conduct was *offensive*, and Laud’s what he considered necessary for defence of the throne and the altar, and of his own life, and if one lost his *ears*, the other lost—his *head*!

The grave of Townson has led me into a long

disquisition; but, I trust, in these times, not unimportant. I shall conclude with his epitaph:—

“Here lyeth y^e body of John Townson, D^r in Divinity, late rector of this parish, and prebendary of y^e prebend of Highworth, in y^e church of Sarum, who departed this life y^e 24th day of July, 1687, aged 77 years, 3 months, and 14 days.

“This stone was laid on by his wife.”

I shall only add, that this benevolent man having himself experienced many years of sorrow, built and endowed an almshouse at Calne, after his return to his parish. This almshouse was founded for eight poor women, each tenement containing two poor women. The almshouse was founded in 1682.

The inscription over the entrance, opposite the church-yard, is as follows:

“To the glory of God and the good of the poor was this house erected by John Townson, D. D. son of Robert, late Bishop of Salisbury,—1682.

Let your light so shine before men that they may see your works, and glorify (not you, but) your Father which is in Heaven.*”

* The stress upon “good works” I have no doubt was occasioned by the abuse of the doctrine of faith without works.

A farm, still called “Townson’s,” of about thirty or forty acres, is situated a mile from Calne; and if, upon investigation, these lands should be restored, as I trust on enquiry they will, it will rejoice every friend of humanity, and be another triumph to him, who, through “evil report and good report,” carried into execution the benevolent views which dictated the enquiry into the abuses of public charity.

CHAP. IX.

Parish Register — Parochial Psalmody — One Hundredth
Psalm—Dr. Dowland.

WE cannot leave the sanctuary of the departed without turning over some leaves of that book which contains the memorial of deaths, births, and marriages, since 1558, in the parish, where

“To be born or die,
Of rich or poor, forms all the history.”

These faithful records, it is well known, were enjoined to be kept in every parish when Cromwell was vicar general, 1538 (13 Henry 8); as the law was at first as much as possible evaded, another injunction followed, 1547, (Edward 6,) and which was enforced still further by a law 1603, (James 1.) Every incumbent was required to complete his register from the first Act taking place, or at least from 1558 (Elizabeth). The register of this parish does not commence before the year 1590.

The following is a copy of the first leaf:—“A PERFECT REGISTER-BOOKE made of all the CHRIS-TENINGS—MARRIAGES—BURRIALLS, that have been made in the Parish of BRIMHILL from the yeare of our Lord 1590, to this present yeare 1659, brought and made by Jeffry Pinnel, & Robert Jen-

kins, Gent. and now church-wardens of the parish aforesaid.

James Crumpe, minister.

Jeffry Pinnel,
Robert Jenkins, } Church-wardens.
Robert Davis, Clerke."

Upon these names I shall observe, that opposite the parsonage windows stands a beautifully wooded park-like knoll, now in possession of the marquis of Lansdowne, forming part of the picturesque grounds of Bowood. The name of this knoll is Pinnell's, probably so called from the name of its possessor, in the year this register commenced, though it is extra-parochial. The name of the other church-warden is Jenkins; there are many parcels of land still called "*Jenkins's*." It will shew the general respectability of the church-wardens at this period to state, that the name of Bayntun and Hungerford often occur. Jenkins is the name of an ancestor of the present vice-chancellor of Oxford, and head of Baliol college.

The first name under the head Christenings, is that of Robert Prater:—

Christenings, 1591.

"Robert Prater was baptized twenty-eight day of March."

The most distinguished names of those who follow in silent succession, to be baptized and buried, are the lords of the manor—Bayntuns, Hungerfords, with others whose names are well known in

the neighbourhood and elsewhere, some rising in the world, and some sinking, to be heard of no more!

Of the Hungerfords we may say,

“*Stemmata quid faciunt? Quid prodest, Pontice, longo *
Sanguine censeri?*”—JUV.

I believe not one of the family remains in this county at least, and the chapel so called, in Salisbury cathedral, belongs now to the noble possessor of Longford Castle.

The first memorandum of the Bayntuns occurs in 1593. “Edward Bayntun, son of Henry Bayntun, esq. was baptized the 5 day of September.” This Henry Bayntun, ancestor of sir Edward the purchaser of Stanley estates and the possessor of Spye-Park, then lived in the mansion-house immediately adjoining the church, which has been before spoken of as entirely destroyed, the farm being sold separately. This farm now belongs to Richard S. Smith. The family seat in the church remains, and the ivied wall surrounding the homestead. The farm belonged to the abbot of Malmesbury, and was a grange, or lodge.

Name of Angel first appears in the same year:—

“† Sprigwith” Angel was baptis’d 3d day of February.

* This line is literally quoted over one of the Long family in Box church, “quid prodest sanguine LONGO censeri?”

† Benedict John Angel is a gentleman of large property at Studley, where he has built a large handsome mansion.

* Lucy Guy—7 day of Jan.

William Gaby, son of Wm. Gaby, 7th of October.
1594.

Edin Angel baptized 18th May.

Charles Bayntun, son of Henry, baptized 19th Jan.
1595.

Lucy Bayntun, daughter of Edward Bayntun,
gent. baptized 31 August.

1596.

Elizabeth Bayntun, daughter of Edward Bayntun.
1597.

Anne Jenkins, daughter of Robert Jenkins, bap-
tized 31 day of May.

1600.

Edward Hungerford was baptized the 7th day of
July.

1602.

Thomas Hungerford baptized 3^d of May.

Robert Jenkins, 31 of Jan^{ry}.

1647.

No christenings.

The Restoration took place in 1660, and the
entries are written in a different hand, the last under
the Commonwealth being

W^m. Willshire, baptized 21 August, 1659.

CHRISTENINGS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

1665.

The lady Ann Bayntun, daughter of the honour-
able Edward Bayntun, knight of the noble Order

* Names of respectable families of Chippenham.

of the Bath, and my lady Steward, the ninth day of November.

1681.

Charles Hungerford, esq. son of Sir George Hungerford, knight and baron^t. And the lady Frances.*

The only entry I think it necessary further to make, is that of an account of money for one year paid to the poor:—

For the year 1692.

“These are the names of them under-written that are in poverty, and are relieved by the parishioners of Bremhill parish.” This is the first regular entry under the poor law.

The recipients seem to be old men and poor widows—the amount for one year—22 persons, 2*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* monthly.

The rates are now, 1827, upwards of *two thousand* per annum, owing chiefly to the appalling and demoralizing system of paying labourers' families from the rate. Their wages are thus kept as low as possible, and those who *buy* corn pay towards the labourers' wages of those who raise *it*!

It is a mistake to suppose the convents and clergy were obliged entirely to keep the poor. In the laws of king Edgar it is enjoined that the priests, and also the people, *shall distribute alms to the poor*. By the laws of king Alfred it was ordered the poor should be maintained by the par-

* Lady Frances Seymour, daughter of the duke of Somerset.

sons and rectors of churches, and ALSO BY THE PARISHIONERS!

Supervisors chosen.

Sir George Hungerford, Foxham.

Thomas Mansel,* Bremhill.

Edward Wakeham, Spirt-hill.

Oliver King, Tytherton.

Church-ward^e.—Sir George Hungerford, knight.

John Key, gen^t.

Entry at the end of the book,

“The lady of sir Edward Bayntun did freely give the communion cloth to the parish of Bremhill, 18th Nov^{ber} 1667.”

Edward Carpenter, clerk at that time.

The sacrament duly administered.

May 13, 1706.

Mr. John Wilson, vicar of Bremhill, buried in the chancel.

Marriages.

Of the slovenly appearance, and want of any entry, and the mutilations of the book, in the years when, under the Independents, marriage was a mere civil contract before the magistrates, we may only say—“Hiatus valde deffendus!”

There is nothing particularly worthy of notice in this part, and it relates chiefly to the same families.

In a separate book of burials, dated 1697, the church-wardens are sir George Hungerford and William Willshire.

* The name Mansellus appears in Stanley grants.

In this register, in the second leaf, appears the following memorandum respecting the chapel at Foxham, which appears never to have been consecrated, as I find no entry of burial, and it was called by sir George Hungerford in the deeds relating to it, "*my chapel.*"

The endowment by lady Lucy Bayntun of four pounds for a minister, has been already spoken of; the following entry on the same subject appears on the back of the first leaf of this register:—

"In a petition of the inhabitants of Foxham to the bishop of Sarum, and by his certificate to the archbishop (in 1607), 'tis asserted that there is at Foxham a church-yard, &c. and a *house* for the vicar to dwell."

Mr. Collyer pleaded in excuse of finding a curate at Foxham, that the chapel is a lay-fee, granted away by enfeoffment of Andrew Bayntun. So he had nothing to do there.* By the deed it appears so.—(Original grant from lady Lucy.)

In a paper in Mr. Hungerford's hands, which begins thus—"[die extra 12 Dec. —81] (probably 1681)—Dr. Townson contra Dominum Hungerford. It is set forth, whenever Mr. Collier, vicar of Bremhill, went to preach at Foxham, which was but once or twice a year, he was treated by the Hungerfords, and inhabitants, and always received 6s. & 8d. for each sermon of them. That he did

* And so sir George Hungerford's letter to Seth, lord bishop of Sarum.

never preach there, as obliged or bound by law, but out of respect, at the request of the inhabitants of Foxham; that the inhabitants thanked him, and did not look upon it as his duty, nor did he provide a curate to preach there.

“After his decease his son was put in *by the inhabitants* to officiate at Foxham, and was PAID by THEM, and *not* by the vicar of Bremhill; and the lands in Chippenham, given by the lady Bayntun, were for maintaining “a MINISTER” to officiate at Foxham, as appears by deed of settlement. A house, &c. chapel ground, priest’s house, 3 more houses, 30 (supposed shillings) per annum, given by lady Bayntun.”—Extract from Dr. Townson’s answer in Chancery to sir George Hungerford’s bill of complaint, 17 Jan. 19 Car.

There is another entry relating to the tithes of Cadnam, in the same page. I have also caused to be added with respect to Foxham, the following

“Memorandum—W. L. Bowles, vicar of the parish of Bremhill, in the year 1825, in order to induce the inhabitants of Foxham, in the same parish, to subscribe for the service of the chapel there, at his own cost, as a benefactor only, repaired the roof of the said chapel.—Ita testor, 1825,

CHARLES BOWLES, Notary Public.”*

It ought to be mentioned that Bremhill has *two*

* This deed is in my possession.

churches, Bremhill and Highway, and that the inhabitants of Foxham are not more than a mile from Christian-Malford church, and about the same distance from the Moravian chapel at Titherton.

Mr. Britton has published the following singular entry—"1695, Elizabeth Golding, Grace Young, Elizabeth Willshire—all buried in one day, their united ages making THREE HUNDRED years!"

Having taken up so much time in reflections, suggested by the tombs around us—

Where, in a vaulted space,
Sleep the departed vicars of the place.—

CRABBE.

as well as by the records of those who enter life, and those who depart,—before we leave the sanctuary of the dead, let us turn our eyes around us. There is the font, of equal age with the church. Yonder, on the eastern side of the south wall, is a piscina which received the ablution of the chalice; above us is a commodious gallery, with a small organ to accompany the voices of the parish choir. The organ, which was some time ago purchased on account of the sweetness of its devotional tones, may here not improperly lead us to a subject very remote from religious discussion—

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PAROCHIAL PSALMODY.

In country churches, singing to the "*praise and glory of God*," in general, is little better than singing to the annoyance of all who have any ear or heart for harmony. Two clarionets, out of tune,

and a bassoon, which hurtles one note most sonorously, while three abortive blasts succeed; a man, for treble, with long hair, and eyes out of his head; a tenor higher than the treble, which completely mars the harmony; and a quavering bass, quavering as for life; and all those voices only agreeing in one point, as to which shall be heard longest and loudest;—such voices, and such instruments, not unfrequently make up the musical part in country churches, of the church service. An organ, though on an humbler scale, unites the voices, and by the least attention, the clergyman, unless entirely destitute of musical knowledge, may so regulate the *manner* of singing, that a common parochial-choir, unless the members are very conceited, as ignorance usually is, may be easily drilled into something like cultivated and interesting singing.

The chief difficulty is in finding a person qualified to accompany the psalms on this instrument. But there are few wives or daughters of clergymen, so little instructed in music as not to be able to accompany any plain psalm-tune, and this, when practicable, as in this parish, I would always recommend.

Dr. Burney has been unjustly severe on the music of our metrical psalms, though he admits the fine melody of our old hundredth.

It is true, many of these compositions are only fit to accompany such poetry as “Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and *others did set forth in metre!*” Of the principal poetical inditer of these wretched

travesties, Wood with his usual quaintness observes, that "Thomas Sternhold, being a most zealous reformer, and strict liver, became so scandalized at the amorous and obscene songs used in the court, that he turned into English metre 51 of David's psalms, and caused *musical notes* to be set to them, thinking thereby that the courtiers would sing them, instead of their *sonnets*, but *did not, only some few of them.*"

"However," adds Wood, in his sagacious simplicity, "the poetry and music being *admirable*, and the *best* that was made and composed in these times, they were thought fit afterwards to be sung in all parochial churches, as they do yet continue. He died 1549, seized of lands in Stackstead, in Hampshire; of the farms of Conynger, Willershey, and Holy reaves, in the same county; and of lands in the parish of Bodmin, in Cornwall."*

* He was groom of the robes to Henry the Eighth, and was far more prosperous than the most gifted of his successors. In humble imitation of his successful labours, (Wood informs us,) Christopher Tye turned the whole of the ACTS of the Apostles into METRE, and set every *chapter* to proper notes! But much of the music, notwithstanding Dr. Burney's harsh and unjust decision, to which these words have been set, very little deserves the censure this great musical critic passes on it. What is more impressive or pathetic than the old melody to

"How pleasant is thy dwelling-place:"

even though the words, such as "Täbër-nä-cle öf thý gráce," run across the feelings in almost every verse?

Dr. Burney admits that the ancient melody of the old hundredth psalm, as a congregational hymn, is sublime, and the composition excellent. On this singular and unequalled, but *nameless* strain, I shall take the opportunity of making some remarks:—

It has been attributed to Martin Luther; but, whatever authority there may be for the composition which we have heard so divinely sung by Caradori, &c. to the words of

“Oh! God, what do I see and hear?” &c.

I do not fear to say there is no authority whatever for attributing the old English hundredth psalm-tune to Luther. It is found as the melody of a French chanson in four parts, by Claude le jeune, and published in Burney's History of Music. Burney admits it has been attributed to Dr. Dowland. I have in my possession an old collection of psalm-tunes, in which the melody appears, with the name of Dr. Dowland; but before we venture to fix on Dowland as the author, let us see whether we can prove it to be English, and not foreign; for it is claimed both by French and Germans. I contend it is strictly *English*, and I shall be gratified if, as I think, I shall be the first person to have proved so much.

It is remarkable that Playford, in his collection printed in 1677, says—“I have observed and made trial both of French and German tunes, and I do

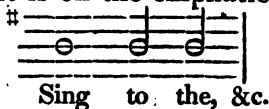
not find but our English tunes, both for air and gravity, well suiting the words, rather to excel than be inferior to them." He adds, "I find printed in the French psalm-book those tunes which we also use—the 100, 112, 113, but not able to determine to whom they originally belong!"

Dr. Burney says the same thing; I shall therefore first endeavour to prove that this fine air is "*originally*" English, and neither French or German. Now I do not fear to assert, that the peculiar accent of the words proves that this tune must have been originally made to these very English words, and to no other; for this tune will not *fit* (if I may say so) any other words of the whole 150 psalms, and in this, and in no other psalm, the musical accents fall on exactly the proper and peculiar words, where the *stress* is required. I take the air as it is found in all the most ancient copies, and now let us appeal to this test.

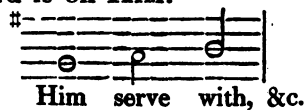
The accent is first on "ALL"—



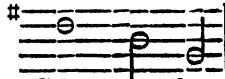
The next is on the emphatic word SING.



The third is on HIM.

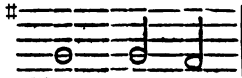


And last, on the very word which requires the strongest stress, "COME."



Come ye be - fore him, &c.

Now let us try the same tune to the words of the first Psalm. The accent will be on the insignificant word THE.



The mǎn is blest, &c.

And this will be found to be the case with every psalm, except the identical one to which the tune is given; that is, there is not, in the whole one hundred and fifty, one psalm in which it will *fit* the *four* first verses, as it so remarkably does the old English translation of the hundredth; and I contend this coincidence is not only extraordinary, but indeed almost impossible to conceive, unless the tune was made to the words *originally*.

It is singular that neither Burney, nor any other composer who has paid attention to the subject, seems to have been aware of this strong test of internal evidence, proving, in my opinion, incontrovertibly, that the hundredth psalm-tune was English. I contend again, that it bears not the least likeness to any of the tunes in the German book of psalmody. There is not one whose melody is so flowing, and there are no words in German or

French, to which it is so completely adapted as the English; nor has it the *complexion*, if I may say so, of the French or German school, any more than an Englishman has of a foreigner.

I therefore consider the hundredth psalm-tune, from internal evidence, to be originally and intrinsically English. Who then composed it? This we shall perhaps be able satisfactorily to determine. I have said I have an old book of psalms in which this air is given, as a matter without doubt, to Dowland;* the description is this—"100th psalm, by John Dowland, Dr. of Music—in four parts." The same book contains the beautiful and affecting melody to the eighty-fourth—

"How pleasant is thy dwelling-place,"

the name of the composer is also given—"W^m. Wheal—3 voices."

Now, the reader will remember what Playford has said, that he finds this psalm among the French and German tunes. Dowland, in the preface to his

* Dr. Dowland was the celebrated lutenist in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and he is thus spoken of by Shakspeare, in a sonnet, intituled,

TO FRIENDLY CONCORD.

If music and sweet poetry agree,
 As they must needs (the sister and the brother),
 Then must the love be great 'twixt thee and me,
 Because thou lov'st the one, and I the other.
 DOWLAND to thee is dear, whose *heavenly touch*.
 Upon the lute doth *ravish human sense*.
 Spenser to me, &c.

book, called "Pilgrim's Solace," says particularly, that "some parts of his poor labours had been printed beyond seas, in *eight* most famous cities, viz.—at Paris, Antwerp, Colonne, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Leipsic, Amsterdam, and Hamburg." That this air was printed at Paris, we well know; and we know that five out of the cities here mentioned were of the Reformed Church, to which this melody, being in the French and German psalm-books, was common; and there were also affiliated congregations in all these cities. Is it not most probable that Dowland might allude to this very air, and which, having been printed at Frankfort, Leipsic, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, and sung in the Reformed Churches, might have caused a doubt as to what nation it belonged?*

When I have proved the air to be English—when no Englishman has claimed it—when it appears in old books with Dowland's name as a matter of certainty—when his own remark agrees with the *fact*, that at this period in the Reformed congregations at Frankfort, &c. this fine congregational hymn was printed—we begin to think that this sweet lutinist, so celebrated, was its author.

The critical and scientific Dr. Burney speaks

* Colonne was the most bigoted; but I have seen there an inscription in the cathedral which probably alluded to the reformers—

"Ut omnes pertinaces HERETICOS
Longè arceatis!"

most slightly of Dowland's compositions. But Dr. Crotch, in one of his musical lectures, produced a specimen of this composer's talents, equally exquisite in melody and skill—

“Awake, sweet Love!”

a madrigal for four voices.

I think then I have proved the fact, that this psalm-tune was, I might almost say, *must* have been composed originally to these words, and *to no other*. But it may be observed, that though on the first word of every line, where particular stress and accent is required, this accent is found; yet it is only so found in the *first* verse! I answer, the same melody could not possibly *bend* itself, if I may say so, to *all* the verses in which the *stress* is laid *differently*; and this impossibility of *adaptation* being found even in the psalm itself, convinces me further, that the first verse only of this psalm was that which immediately directed the composer in his ideas of accent. The only words in this first verse which appear not so justly accented, are the words, “*That on earth do dwell;*” and also, “*and rejoice!*” but these words were, at the time, probably, read as the tune accents them; nor was it possible to preserve, in *every word*, the strict propriety of accent which accompanies the general euphony of the musical phrases of the tune.

Of the most perfect adaptation of words to a given melody by a person of genius and skill, we

have examples ; but none is so felicitous as More's exquisite words to Millico's song of

“ Ho sparso tante lacrime.”

“ Fall'n is thy throne, oh Israël !”

Throughout the song the dactile, *lacrymæ*, is beautifully and appropriately preserved in the English words of the song—

“ Jerūsälēm ”—“ Sölimä.”

But no words, unless written expressly for a given air, by a writer of the most consummate skill in this most delicate and difficult task, would exactly, and for four lines together, *fit* a tune which was made originally to other words, and those foreign ! I think this impossible, taking into consideration also how little the art of adaptation was known or practised at the period ; and that in no other metrical psalm in the whole book can a psalm be found where the *stress* might, with such strict propriety, be placed upon the *four first words* of the *four first* lines.

If, therefore, the tune, as I think I have proved, must have been English, who can have so great a right to be thought its composer as the musician to whom, without contradiction, it has been attributed ; whose music (as far as has come down to us) is so exquisite, and so peculiarly marked by the strictest attention to accents ; and who himself tells us, that some of *his poor works* were printed in

most of those cities where the 100th psalm we know was sung, and where we have proofs the music was printed.

Let us not forget, that at one of these very cities some of the Calvinistic party in the Church of England, at the time of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, stayed behind their brethren, who were returned at this period into England, to complete the metrical translation of those psalms which Sternhold and Hopkins had not translated.

But Dowland, it may be said, never published it in his works; or owned it as his composition. This is more than we know, but we may easily account for it. In times when the fame of a musical professor depended on his elaborate science, when Bull, seeing a piece of forty parts, added *forty* more; — when his elaborate instrumental pieces are so difficult that they would probably defy Kalkbrenner or Moscheles to execute; — when counterpoint was considered so essential to a musician of any high character; — when Bird produced his Canon, the second part of which proceeds all the way on the *fifth*, the *air* being the same as the treble, a *fifth* lower, and the bass being also precisely the same air as the treble, all parts uniting to make up the most consummate piece of skill and harmony; — Dowland, with any anxiety to stand high in his profession, would not be ambitious to be thought the composer of a mere simple melody, which displayed neither skill in abstruse

counterpoint, nor any scientific elaboration of parts ; and which, it might be thought, any one could make as well as a professed musician. Many beautiful compositions, I have no doubt, have remained unacknowledged for this reason ; but the composition publicly given to Dowland, its being English, as I think I have proved, it having never been claimed, it being sung, we may presume, in the eight cities where Dowland mentions his music as being printed, five of which cities professed the *Reformed* religion, induces me to attribute this composition, though unacknowledged, to an Englishman, and if an Englishman, to the musician celebrated by Shakspeare as Harry Lawes was by Milton.

Playford says, that he has found the 100th, 112th, and 113th psalms in French and German books, and cannot tell to whom they originally belong.

If my rule will determine the first, it will the others ; and I should pronounce by the same arguments, which persuade me that the 100th psalm is English, that the 112th is *not*, but foreign ; for all the accents are *false*, and, according to the tune, must be sung with these *unfortunate* stresses—

“ THE mán is blest that God does fear,
 AND that his law doth love indeed ;
 HIS seed on earth God will uprear,
 AND bless such as from him proceed !”

No composer could think of accenting the first

word of every line so entirely false, if the tune was made to the words, careless as a composer might be of accents.

The 113th, a popular tune in England, and very commonly used as a chime, fails when it is brought to the same test; and I have no doubt it is German or French, of which it has the cast of character and features, being totally unlike an English tune.

The 100th only will bear, in every line and nearly *every word* of the first verse, this plain, unerring test, of its being originally English. I think the testimony of Ravenscroft, that it was composed by the musician celebrated by Shakspeare, together with all the circumstances, decides it to be English by Peacham's poor "old friend;" and I shall be happy, after many years of musical dispute, to have placed the chaplet unmoveably on the brows of its author. This is only a part of literary justice, and it is grateful to find the finest congregational melody, which stands as such, unrivalled in the world, to be, after all the discussion, the composition of an Englishman, the author of some of the sweetest and most impassioned madrigals, and celebrated by Shakspeare.

The reader, however, will judge for himself if he has any interest in such enquiries. At all events, I have endeavoured to throw what light I could on a subject interesting to myself, and naturally connected with the topic of parochial music.

It has been stated that Dr. Crotch has quoted a specimen of Dowland's compositions, a madrigal for four voices.

But, there is a madrigal of Dowland, which has come down to us, still more exquisitely tender, and impassioned, beginning :

“ Come again, sweet love.”

In fact, science distinguished the other great composers of the day, but Dowland was distinguished by science and sweetness.

He was born 1562, and, having published “ his *Lacrymæ*,” which few, I suppose, have ever seen, died, Wood says, poor and neglected, 1615.

Some lines of Peachem, quoted by Hawkins, allude to his “ *Lacrymæ*,” which I think too pleasing to be withheld :—

Here Philomel in silence sits alone,
 In depth of winter, on the varied briar ;
 Whereon the rose had once her beauties shewn,
 Which lords and ladies do so much desire !
 But fruitless now, in winter's frost and snow,
 It doth despis'd and unregarded grow.

So, since, old friend, thy years have made thee white,
 And thou for others hath consumed thy spring,
 How few regard thee whom thou didst delight,
 And, far and near, came once to hear thee sing.
 Ungrateful times, and worthless age of ours,
 Which lets us pine, when it hath cropt our flowers !

Garden of Daintie Devises, by Henry Peachem.

If I have succeeded in exciting some interest on account of a name celebrated as the sweetest musician by the noblest and most pathetic poet in the world; I shall merely add, that Playford, we have seen, has spoken of this air in the German and French psalm-books, and therefore hesitates to assign to what nation it belongs. But Ravenscroft, the chief composer of the airs to metrical psalms, published a book of psalmody in 1621, when this hymn first appeared under the name of Dowland. The book in which it appears under his name is intituled, “*The whole book of Psalms, with the wonted tunes, as they are sung in Churches, composed by nine sondry authors.*”—Burney.

Of these nine, Dowland is the first name, and the hundredth psalm, as it now is sung, is printed in his name. The reader will then say that “it is undoubted! for Ravenscroft, the most popular composer of psalm tunes in his day, and living so near the times of Dowland, and peculiarly applying his time to the subject, must have known;” but observe, this very Ravenscroft, who copied the first passage of the melody, and applied it to the psalm, beginning with the words—

“Oh! Lord, how art my foes increas'd?”

after he had given this psalm to Dr. Dowland, speaks, in the index to this very book, of the tune as French! doubtless, says Burney, because he afterwards found it among French tunes!

But I have shewn from its singular peculiarity of

accent and stress in the first four consecutive lines, that it must have been English, and, therefore, it only remains to account for the circumstance of its being classed among French melodies.

It appeared (see Burney) in a composition by Claude le Jeune. Now it is remarkable that Burney himself speaks *not* of the *melody*, but of the *harmony* (that is the *harmony* to a *given tune*) being composed by Claude; and in another part, speaking of such compositions at this period, he says, "one of the parts is constantly singing an ANCIENT MELODY, OR WELL-KNOWN psalm-tune, whilst the rest are singing in florid counter-point."

This at once accounts for Claude adopting for his counter-point this popular air, well-known among the Reformed congregations, and introduced at Frankfort by the English. In the French psalm-book this tune appears to the 134th psalm, French verse. This I have not seen, but I should think it marvellous indeed, if, in every line, it should be found as peculiarly adapted, in stress and accent, to the words as the English! Ravenscroft, after he first published the air as Dowland's, saw it in a French book of psalms, and without sufficient examination retracted in the index what he had advanced in the body of the book!

Dr. Burney seems to have thought the enquiry scarcely worth his attention, owing to his utter contempt for what he calls "Syllabic Psalmody;" and he speaks, as I have observed, very slightly

of Dowland as a composer. I may well oppose in this respect Dr. Crotch to Burney.

The old York tune, in the old psalm-books, by the father of the great Milton,* was at the time more popular than the 100th psalm. It may here be mentioned, that George Sandys, the author of *Travels*, versified the Psalms, and the book of Job,—I will not say better than Sternhold and Hopkins, but infinitely better than Milton, or any poet who has attempted this arduous task. I know not where to look for specimens of sublime and melodious English couplet versification, so harmonious, and so powerful, as the verses of Sandys. The whole collection was set to music by Milton's friend,—Harry Lawes.

“Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song,” is spoken of in his sonnets. Lawes was the representative of Thyrsis in *Comus*, having been a chorister in Salisbury cathedral. Sandys' psalms are printed together with Lawes's tunes, but none of them will bear any comparison with the hundredth, or Milton's “old York tune.” St. Matthew's tune, and those by Dr. Wainwright, are well known as solemn and affecting, and beautiful compositions, and these alone are sufficient to shew the prejudice of Dr. Burney.

I may here make one remark, which, I think,

* Sir Roger Le Strange informs us that, in the days of Puritanism, the nurses stilled their children with a psalm-tune; Milton's was the psalm-tune generally so employed!

experience will justify, and that is, that many of the popular psalm-melodies were composed by those who were not professed musicians. One of the most beautiful and popular of modern tunes is that which is universally known in parochial choirs—

“Through all the changing scenes of life.”

The author was a miller of Newbury, of the name of Gregg. Another singularly beautiful melody is that which is sung to psalm 16—

“My lot is fall'n in that blest land.”

The composer of which was a minor-canon of Exeter cathedral, of the name of Bond. The striking effect of two trebles in the third verse of a metrical psalm was first introduced by Tewkesbury,* and there is

* Of this rural rival of Green and Kent, whose name appears in almost all parochial choir-books—(Tewkesbury)—nothing is known; but who ever heard some of his expressive melodies, without being delighted? On seeing the name, and being pleased with the composition, we naturally ask “who was he? Where did he live? Of whom did he learn his art?” He was employed in an humble capacity by the celebrated musician Geordini. With the first money he saved he purchased a *fiddle*; and having taught himself the scale, he practised in a garret. One day the tones were heard, and his master angrily enquired, “What noise was that?” The offender came down, and acknowledged himself the culprit! Geordini was interested, and gave this boy further instructions. He afterwards settled at Wincanton, in Somersetshire, as country “Maitre de Dance!” These anecdotes I heard when I was a school-boy at Shaftesbury, in the neighbourhood; and I yet remember the effect of his exquisite

no melody more exquisite than that in which this effect is introduced with singular sweetness. I am not aware that this melody has been published, but there are very few, if any country choirs, where it is not a favourite. It is the melody to

“Be light and glad, in God rejoice.”

The same author wrote the composition which many consummate musicians have admired, without knowing the name of the composer—

“Oh! all ye works of the Lord,”

in which the two trebles repeat

“Praise—ye the Lord.”

Those who have any interest in parochial psalmody, will excuse my detailing these circumstances. Another name from our parish psalm-book, well known to all who turn over the pages of the parish-clerk's MS. book of psalm-tunes—is that of Shoel.*

playing, for I risk extorting a smile in my reader, when I inform him, of this very composer I learned—to DANCE!

* This poor man, if not the “inglorious Milton” of the village, was, in verses, at least, more than a Stephen Duck. He taught himself the rules of harmony, and *generally* also introduced the pleasing effect of two trebles in the third verse of the metrical psalm. He was a poor weaver, with a very large family, of Montacute, in Somersetshire. His first book of psalms was published by Whitaker, of St. Paul's Church-yard. Of this work many copies were sold, to the advantage, perhaps, of the publisher, certainly not of the poor author. In this collection is a composition, which I first heard in this

I shall here make another observation on a fact which, I think, has not been noticed. Tallis was, undoubtedly, a master in his art, but his anthems and services have often no *melody* whatever. There is nothing which the ear can follow as a pleasing series of sounds in his services, and yet the most intense sympathy is excited by the propriety, beauty, and feeling of his "RESPONSES," which have never been, and, I trust, never will be, superseded in our cathedrals. As he lived long,* and was organist to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, after the reformation something more *popular* was required than his austere chords, and he produced that delightful and natural air, which every child sings to Bishop Kenn's words—

"Glory to thee, oh God! this night!"

This air has been traced to him circumstantially,

church, and which caused me to make enquiries respecting the author. When I heard of his state of utter penury, I endeavoured, though he was quite unknown, to raise a small sum by soliciting subscriptions, and I got him nearly *fifty* pounds

But in less than a twelve-month, he was as poor and destitute as ever, literally without clothes. He would set out sometimes from Somersetshire, with the forlorn hope of finding me at home, and getting a guinea; but I had no interest with publishers, either of music or poetry, so could only occasionally relieve him with individual charity; but he died, I fear, in a work-house. He was also sure of a guinea from Crabbe, among whose exquisite poetic pictures, none is more striking than his sketch of the Parish Clerk.

* He was buried in Greenwich old church, where is a pleasing epitaph.

but I have no doubt he would have considered it as a simple melody, beneath his talents. Whilst I am now doing justice to our parochial psalmody, of which the most affecting and impressive specimens are those of Dr. Wainwright, and among which are even some sublime compositions, though not equal in sublimity to the hundredth, let me not be supposed insensible or indifferent to the higher and more elaborate compositions of the cathedral music. These stand, in my opinion, as much alone, and of a character as truly pathetic, sublime, and beautiful, as some of the most eloquent writings of the great fathers of the English church.

The finest composition of Palestrina and Carissimi have been, with singular happiness, adapted as anthems to English words by Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church. The solemn and affecting intonations of Tallis's responses have been spoken of; but who can hear the anthems of Purcell, Croft, Green, Kent, &c. without turning with disdain from the affected and unfeeling sarcasms of our elder Puritans, and venerating the taste and feeling of the Church-establishment which still retains and honours them. Who can

Hear the solemn organs blow,
To the full-voic'd quoir below,

and the chant taken up in turns from each side of the cathedral choir, without disdain of the taste, that decried this ancient usage as "idola-

trous," and called it "tossing the psalms from side to side?"

I may be the more readily excused for saying thus much on our parochial and cathedral music, for look back, reader, at the Latin epitaph on the son of Sir George Hungerford. The monument on the amiable youth is described, preposterously indeed, as the

Celiberrimi PURCELLI—fautor æmulus.

The name of PURCELL occurring in a country church-epitaph, is in itself singular, however preposterous the persuasion of his friends that this accomplished youth was, or could have been, Fautor æmulus—the *rival* of such a name! The existence of Purcell in England, seems almost like the existence of a Shakspeare. Dr. Burney has done justice to this great and wonderful man in his accurate and critical examination of his sacred compositions. In pathos, variety, beauty, and harmony, his works seem the more extraordinary, as England might be considered, as far as music was concerned, in comparison with Italy, a barbarous country. One cause of England's high character in this art at this period, was that which made Italy superior to all the world in architecture and painting—the employment of those arts in the church.

And yet how inadequate, comparatively, was the patronage of any musician in England! When I think of the great works of our great cathedral composers from Tallis to Kent, the astonishment

is, that such a body of music should exist at all under the general disinclination to more lofty and pathetic compositions, which the Reformed Church has manifested. The science arose when the religion of the state, *before the Reformation*, made the knowledge of music essentially necessary for every one in the priesthood.

The first question, in our old seminaries of education, to a boy about to be admitted is, whether he can *sing* *.

* At All Souls College, Oxford, it is well known the qualification required is, that the fellow should be *bene natus, bene vestitus!* but it is not generally known that he is required by the statutes to be *mediocriter doctus in plano cantu!*—to have a moderate knowledge of PLAIN-CHANT. The ignorant gibes to which this circumstance have given rise is well known; it was lately commented on in a London paper, as sometimes the London magazines give an erudite dissertation on education, and put forward the *experiences* of some blockhead as a proof of the disadvantages of those public schools which produce the Liverpools—the Greys—the Hollands—the Foxes—the Lansdownes—the Grenvilles—the Wellesleys—the Cannings;—and the Peels of the age. One of these writers attempted to make his readers merry in pointing out the aristocratic ignorance of this aristocratical education; that there was a College, where it was enough if the Fellows were “*bene nati, bene vestiti, mediocriter docti!*” It is sufficient to answer that the College alluded to—that this very College, so distinguished by aristocratic wealth and *ignorance*, had, among its fellows, *mediocriter doctos* :

One Jeremiah Taylor, divine.—A certain Lynacre, professor

† The common expression is that he must be, “*bene natus, mediocriter doctus.*”

I must confess that I think it is deeply to be regretted that, whilst formerly music was considered so essential to religious education, when the preceptors of Greek in Edward VIth's time.—John Leland, topographer.—Edward Young, poet.—Blackstone, judge.—Norris, metaphysician.—Christopher Wren, architect.—Heber, bishop!—

As to *schools*—I recollect, previously to my being admitted a “scholar” on Wykeham's foundation, the great pains my mother took in teaching me to sing correctly the 100th psalm. Every morning I went through this long lesson. I had mastered, with the help of my father, the *shortest* ode of Horace; and I now was sent off to Winchester, being persuaded that I could at least *sing*, if I could not *construe*! To the election-chamber, on the solemn day, I was admitted, with anxious looks and beating heart. There sat, in large white wigs and in black gowns, the wardens of the New College, of Winchester, the “*posers*” so called, two examining fellows annually selected from New College, the head-master of Winchester school, all in dreadful array before me. The first question was, “Can you sing?” The usual answer is, “yes,” and nothing more is said; but, having been so well prepared, and taking heart, I answered, “yes, *a little!*” and fearing my powers should not be duly estimated, instantly began, “All people that.” The warden of New College, Dr. Ogländer, said, smilingly, “That is enough, boy!” but having begun, I was not so easily repressed, for I went on, louder than before, “that on earth do dwell;” at length I observed all faces gathering blackness, and I retired, murmuring in an under tone, “with one accord,” when I was received by the boys waiting in the outer-room with a shout of laughter and a knock in the mouth, which did not, at that time, tend to convince me of the advantages of public education. On this subject the reader is referred to an article in Valpy's Classical Journal, written by the author, in answer to an article on this subject in the Edinburgh Review.

our cathedrals were next in dignity to the dean, more attention should not be paid to this subject in our Protestant cathedrals. Few in general, except the organist, have any professional knowledge of the choir-service, though every heart responds to the solemn chant or affecting anthem when such voices as the late Bartleman and the present Vaughan are heard. But it is time to end these observations: I will conclude what has been said by a few chords on the organ, to a verse in one of the most affecting and beautiful anthems of that composer, whose name on a country church marble occasioned part of these remarks:—

“ Oh pray for the peace of Jerusalem!
They shall prosper that love thee.”

PURCELL.

CHAP. X.

Church-yard—memorials of the dead—ancient tombs by the way side—ancient inscriptions—Jortin's beautiful lines copied from the representation on the Barbarini vase—church-yard inscriptions.

Where heaves the turf in many a mould'ring heap,
 Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
 The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep!

GRAY.

WE will now shut the book, and pass the porch, and welcome the sunshine that slants on the grave-stones without!

I have already made some observations on the early burials, after the introduction of Christianity into these kingdoms. When there were so few churches, the rich being always buried in the diocesan church, or the nearest abbey, I spoke of the uncertainty as to where the poor and the miserable serf was laid, before church-yards were universally connected with churches. But, it appears to me evident, from the Cornish monuments, of which Borlase has given an engraving and description, that in the earliest periods of Christianity in this kingdom, after the secession of the Romans, it was common to bury the dead, after the manner of the ancients, by the way-side.

There can be no doubt that in Cornwall, in the fifth or sixth century, such was the custom; a stone was there placed upright, with the inscription running from the top, and the first figure of such a stone (see Borlase, p. 357), has a cross at the top, sculptured on the stone, the inscription running from top to bottom, being—"Isniacus Vitalis filius Torrici." Here is a Celtic and a Roman name, with the emblems of Christianity, Isniac being Celtic, and Vitalis Roman. I had, in the first part of this volume remarked, that among the inscriptions on the fragments of Roman antiquity found at Bath, one of them exhibited the name of the wife of a Roman centurion, one of the names being Celtic, and the other Christian—Trifosa, Threptie; Trifosa is found in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans!* Without speaking decidedly, I had ventured to draw, or rather to suggest, some conclusions, namely, that the wife of a Roman centurion might have been, from the singular circumstance of having the same name of one of the first Christian converts at Rome, an early convert to Christianity. But, it may be said, there are other names in Scripture common to the Romans and Christians; there are the names—Anna, Philip, and Mark, and many more. There are also other gentile names—Oneas, Dionysius, Felix, Festus, &c.

* Salute Tryphena et TRIFOSA! verse 12. I conceive the name Trifosa to have been given in baptism, as I find such a name no where but in Sacred Writ.

spoken of, but not as belonging to the Israelites or Christians.

I therefore still think the circumstance of such a name being found on a Roman altar to be very remarkable, and of itself sufficient to justify the conclusion, as far as I ventured to press it.

But there may be another objection started against the inference which I thought might have been deduced from the circumstance. The words "Diis manibus" are found on the stone, which may be alleged as a proof that Christianity could have nothing to do with it. This objection has not the slightest weight with me. If the wife was converted to Christianity, it does not follow that the admitted priest of the goddess Sul was a Christian also. And as to the heathen words "Diis manibus," we shall have nothing more to do than to look into Westminster Abbey, and to construe the first words of many a Christian epitaph, "SISTE, VIATOR!"

The tombs of the ancients being placed on the road side, these words bore a peculiar and appropriate meaning, as addressed to the traveller; but it does not follow, that if they are found on a tomb, in a Christian church, the dead to whom they apply must have been Pagans instead of Christians. Let me here be permitted to add, that the tomb appearing in the public road has often, in the classic poets, an interesting poetical effect. As the bucolick travellers in Virgil are passing along, how pleasing is the picture—

Hinc adeo *media est nobis vis, namque sepulcrum*
Incipit apparere Bianoris.

Eclog. ix. 59.

But the most affecting introduction of the road-side tomb is in Theocritus, which, in effect, resembles the circumstance in Poussin's picture, of a beautiful Arcadian landscape, with festive and happy groups, in which appears a sepulchre, with the inscription—

ET EGO, IN ARCADIA!

The morn of the yet delaying summer—the travellers setting out delighted, and as alive with summer thoughts, to go to the harvest feast of Ceres, in the seventh Idyll of Theocritus; the gay converse, the cheerful looks, picturesque dress of the companion who overtakes them on the road; the beauty and luxuriance of the scene described; the almost visible landscape that is presented to us, the characters, as fresh, and as vivid, as if they were before us, almost lose their interest as the road-side tomb is thus introduced—

Αιγειροι πτελει τε εὔσκιον αλος εφαινον,
Χλωροισιν πεταλοισι κατρηφες κομωσαι.
Κουπω ταν μεσατῶν οδον ανημες, ονδε το σαμα,
Αμιν τω Βρασιλα κατεφαινετο—και τιν' οδιταν
Εσθλον συν μοισαισι Κυδωνικον ευρομες ανδρα, &c. &c.

I have ventured to add a translation of this part of this animated Eclogue:

ECLOGUE SEVENTH.

Leaving the city smoke, one summer day,
O'er Haly's pleasant fields we bent our way,

Fresh as the morning, Eucritus and I,
 The third, Amyntas, join'd our company.
 O'er the clear fount, the elms and alders made,
 Mantling their boughs above, a leafy shade.
 Half of our journey yet remained to pass,
 Nor had we reach'd the TOMB of BRASILAS;
 When whom with smiling welcome should we meet,
 But Lycidas—young Lycidas of Crete.
 Friend of the muses ———

The words "Siste Viator" have now no longer their striking and appropriate designation; and it may be here observed, the first mounds and monuments to the dead were all *silent*. They told us nothing. It was long after the silent mound * had been raised that any inscription appeared. Virgil says—

"Et tumulum facite, et tumulo *superaddite* carmen."

Hence arose the column—the *στηλαι*. I need not remind the classical reader that *στηλαι*, but without any inscription, are spoken of in the affecting description in Xenophon of the death of Abradates†. These pulchral mound of this warrior seems to have resembled exactly the form of the mounds on our downs.

Inscriptions were first introduced, probably, in commemoration of signal public events. As on the dead at Thermopylæ—

* Even the tomb of the mighty Achilles was silent. Euripides describes this tomb precisely as one of our barrows—

Ορθον κωμ' Αχιλλειον ταφον,

Excelsum aggerem SEPULCRI Achillis.

† The tomb of Cyrus is represented with an inscription—"I am Cyrus" &c.

Ἦ ξειν', ἀγγελλειν Λακεδαιμονιοις ὅτι τηθε
Κειμεθα, τοις κεινων ῥημασι πειθομενοι.

Go—tell the Spartans, thou who passest by,
That here, obedient to their laws, we lie!

This is the most sublime, as the great occasion required, of the funeral inscriptions of Greece. It is indeed perfect. In the sepulchre of the family of Pompey, on the Appian, the address to the stranger is affecting. The following is the first of the inscriptions in the “Antichi Sepolcri da Pietro Santi Bartoli. In Roma, MDCCIV:”

Sex. Pompeio Sævio, &c.
Rogo per Deos Stygios,
oss. nostr. quisquis es, homo, non violes.

We may remark, that among almost all the ancient inscriptions, whether the persons to whose memory the most splendid monuments were erected died in youth or age, no word occurs peculiarly expressive of affection; they are generally such as follow:—

Cecilix—F. Cretici, F. Metellæ Crassi.

Pompea—Sex. i. Melissa sibi et Sex. Pompeo Cilici Patrono suo.

The only word of affection preserved in all the all the inscriptions of Bartoli, is the following:—

Ossa amanda Elenchi,
Hæc vixit ann. VIII.

But what is the most remarkable, his work contains the first representation taken from the Barberini vase, which supplied the image of Love in the well-known sepulchral lines of Dr. Jortin.

X. Among monumental, & 5 inscriptions contain most affectionate & affecting expressions. No thus is more common than the word, for instance "Optima coniugi," "incomparabili," "dulcissima" &c. As an example I give one from Lyrate. — Anna C. Oppia felix! nos eo ordine quo natura permisit se sequemur

very false
X

These exquisite lines on a wife snatched by death from her husband, were written to deceive antiquaries in the character of an old classical inscription. As I have never seen a translation, I shall here first give the lines as they are found in Jortin :

Quæ te sub tenerâ rapuerunt, Pœta, juventâ,
 Oh! utinam me crudelia fata vocent,
 Ut linquam terras inuisaque lumina solis,
 Utque tuo rursum corpore sim posito.
 Tu cave Lethæo contingas ora liquore,
 Et citò venturi sis memor, oro, viri :
 Te sequar, obscurum per iter ; dux ibit eunti
 Fidus Amor, tenebras lampade discutens.

Beautiful as these lines are in simplicity, tenderness, and imagery, it appears to me (I am not certain whether the observation has been before made) that the order of the thought and sentiment would have been more natural if the two last couplets were transposed, though I am aware of the beauty of ending with an image like that of love dispersing the darkness. The natural order of the sentiment appears to me to be this :—" Oh ! had Fate called me at the same time ! I shall follow, and love shall light the dreary road ;—only take care not to touch the stream of oblivion, lest, when we meet, you shall have forgotten me !"

According to this view I have attempted a translation, though it is difficult to preserve faithfully the spirit, the simplicity, the exact turn of expression, and the distinct imagery, without subtracting or adding :—

Oh! would the Fates, which snatched thee in thy bloom,
Had call'd me with thee, Poeta, to the tomb,
That I might leave the earth, this world of pain,
The sun, the light, to rest with thee again!
Thee I shall follow to that dark abode:
Love, with his torch, shall light the dreary road,
The night dispersing, as he flies before;
Thou, only—let a husband's voice implore—
Taste not of Lethe's stream, remembering me,
So soon to come—ah! soon I pray—to thee!

Dr. Darwin, in the notes to his "Botanic Garden," has accurately and beautifully described the figures on the celebrated vase,* which Jortin must have seen; but Darwin destroys the interest by representing these figures not as individuals, but generally as emblematical of mortality. Nothing can be more accurate or striking than his description of the personage passing the portals of death, exploring, with timid step, the darkness, and as unwilling to part with his garment; and his description of the female holding out her hand to encourage him to descend. But, all that is most interesting and affecting in the picture is destroyed by the idea that these are allegorical, not individual personages! The whole affecting groupe Darwin coldly represents as mere emblems, but how doubly interesting is the groupe, when the woman is considered as holding the hand of her husband, encouraging him as he fearfully descends; shows to

* The Barberini vase, of which there is an engraving in Bartolus.

him the emblem of immortal life on her bosom, whilst faithful love lights the darkness with his uplifted torch! Nor does Darwin seem at all aware that Jortin had copied this affecting groupe.

The representations on this singular and beautiful vase are so uncommon, both in design and execution, that I must add some observations to those of Darwin. The vase is, in the first place, the oldest work of this kind of art in the world. Secondly, though of the finest Grecian workmanship, the origin of the design is Egyptian, from the region of light and science, to which Plato and the sages of Greece, as to the fountain-head of divine instruction, repaired, and in the wisdom of which country divine truth has condescended to inform us that "Moses was learned." It must be obvious, that the history of the great events which most concerned man upon earth, must have been primarily brought to Egypt after the flood, by the descendants of the second father of human-kind. That the ark rested on the great ridge called the Indian Caucasus, I think has been demonstrably proved. From the son of Noah Egypt derived its dark views of immortality; and we know that land was the long abode of that particular patriarch* whose affecting history is in every heart. What then, when this country was the cradle of learning, as we know it was from the remotest period, this mysterious land, over which the enchanter† of late has waved his wand,

* Joseph.

† Moore's Epicurean.

and with it brought up, as from the dead, scenes so sweet and solemn;—what then, when the funeral urn was to be illustrated, would naturally be the subject? Doubtless, the history of the fall of man, and the obscure revelation of immortality after death.

Now, is it not again singular that Darwin, who mystifies so absurdly respecting Cain and Abel, and even goes so far as to think the two of the figures in this vase gave an idea of Adam and Eve; as also that the two trees might be considered, one the tree of life, and the other the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,—is it not singular that, with any part of this idea in his head, he should not have considered the subject with a closer view, particularly when he has so justly and beautifully described one of the figures as fearfully advancing into the gloom of the shadow of death? I shall then make no apology for giving my views of this most extraordinary relic:—I consider the figures in the first compartment, the woman dying, with a torch extinguished, as emblematical of death, and the man and woman on each side as the living beings, looking with resignation on this figure. So far Dr. Darwin goes, and yet some circumstances, which are the strongest corroborations of the idea, never seem to have entered his thought. He merely describes a broken column, with its capital in the dust. The rocky ruins on which the figures sit, and a tree above

the dying woman, he thinks might be the *alma* described by Virgil at the entrance of Tartarus!

Christian, take your Bible! Can we, who have read of "man's first disobedience," doubt what is the meaning of the column, and its *capital* in the dust? When a peculiar tree is over the head of her who bears in her dying hand the *extinguished torch*, do we not trace the immediate, the instant resemblance to that tree, of whose fruit the *woman* eat and died?

But was not Egypt the country which worshipped the dog Anubis, and his affiliated troop? I must here repeat the observation before made, namely, that the further you penetrate through the umbrage of antiquity, the purer and more exalted will its mythology become, till human thought, astonished, finds itself on the confines of Revelation. Thus the works of the highest antiquity come the nearest to the shadows of the great truths which the word of God has revealed concerning DEATH and IMMORTALITY!

Now, to what early age can we assign this work of art? Go, as high as you will, the same results of unavoidable reasoning will ensue; if we give an æra later than is generally assigned to this singular work, still the representation on this funeral urn will appear to have but one general source.

I now proceed to that compartment, which is the

figure of the man entering, as the *ειδωλον*,* into spectral darkness, for the first time. Here I entirely and wholly differ from Darwin, who thinks all the figures emblematical. I think, on the contrary, the man and the woman in this compartment, represent those individuals whom the urn mournfully, but so beautifully commemorates, and which Jortin has so beautifully and individually applied.

The subject has suggested the recollection of some classical lines of Tom Warton, on the young mother of a family prematurely snatched away from her husband and family. The lines are equally affecting from sweetness of verse and sentiment:

Conjux chara, vale! tibi maritus
 Hoc pono memori manu sepulcrum:
 At quales lacrymas tibi rependam.
 Dum tristi recolo, Susanna, corde
 Quàm constans animo neque impotente,
 Tardi sustuleres acuta Lethi,
 Me spectens placidis supremum ocellis!
 Quidd si pro meritis vel ipse flerem,
 Quo fletu tua te relicta proles!
 Proles parvula, ritè prosequetur,
 Custodem, sociam, ducem, parentem?
 At quorsum lacrymæ? Valetor raræ
 Exemplum pietatis, O Susanna!

* Pluto, in this vase, is represented just as he is described in the *Hecuba* of Euripides:

Ἐκὼ νεκρῶν κευμῶνα καὶ σκοτῶν πύλας,
 λιπὼν, ἐν' Αἰδῆς χωρὶς ὠκιστὰι Θεῶν.

In this compartment of the vase, where Love flies before with his lamp, are exactly represented, the *cave* of the dead, the *gates* of darkness, *πύλας σκοπού*, the god of the dead sitting alone.

But to return from this long digression, I have already spoken of the funeral rites, and the absence of the solemn ordinance of burial, in the early ages of the church, confining myself entirely to the *poor*. When the "matrix ecclesia," that is, the diocesan cathedral, *delegated*, if I may say so, the power of baptism and burial to country churches; those churches to which this power was granted, became themselves "matrices ecclesiæ," in lieu of the cathedral.

The first place of burial was the cathedral, the next the abbey, or mother churches in the country; and when churches increased, as we find from Selden, there were often contentions, even in the dying man's presence, whether his remains should belong to the parish church or monastery; but this was only in case of the person so dying being rich, "a cow or a horse" being the perquisite or mortuary fee, whenever he was consigned to the earth. But in the case of the "slave," or "villain," how could his remains, without a friend, or possibility of a fee, be conveyed fifty or sixty miles to the cathedral, or to a distance, where churches with the power of burials were so rare?

Of this interesting object of inquiry, from books we learn nothing, I have, therefore, merely offered the suggestions of my own mind. Of course I am not ignorant of the affecting services of the Roman church, but were these, in every place, at the service of every person, *poor* as well as rich, who died

in our distant parishes? Indeed, so wild were these districts, in the Anglo-Saxon periods in general, that the inhabitants had the name of "Pagani," in consequence of their remoteness from the county or diocesan church.

The church-yard of this parish, which some of my critical adversaries might still think "Pagan," contains nearly the same quantity of epitaphs as most other country church-yards, informing us that "physicians were in vain!" I transcribe the following. The poet who furnished the stone was required to furnish also an epitaph on a boy "drowned in the canal."

Here lies a hapless youth so vain—
He slipp'd—he fell—into—the WATERY MAIN!

I am afraid the reader might think this moving inscription a comment on some criticisms on "*Nature and Art!*"

The best specimen of the "rustic-muse" in the church-yard is the following on an old shepherd:

The honest shepherd resteth here,
Who kept his flock with constant care.
The Bible was his only book:
Aged he rendered up his crook,
In hope to rise with all the just,
Through Christ—his Saviour, and his trust.

For the few tributary lines on some of my own people, young and aged, I trust I need not make any apology.

On a young woman who died of a consumption—inscribed on a stone, in the chancel wall, near an acacia:—

Our Pastor plac'd this humble stone—beneath
Lies one more victim of untimely death!
Her, pale consumption smote in life's fair bloom!
How mourned the few who followed to the tomb,
Parents, but most her husband—for she left
One infant of a mother's care bereft—
He, as it smiles, that infant shall behold,
And weep the more for her who here lies cold!

On an old parishioner and constant church-man.

Reader, this mould'ring heap—this grave-stone mark,
Here lie the last remains of poor John Dark!
Seven years beyond man's age he lived, and trod
This path-way duly to the house of God
From youth to age, nor ever from his heart,
Did that best PRAY'R his Saviour taught, depart.*
*At his last hour, with his last breath he sigh'd,
"THY KINGDOM COME, THY WILL BE DONE"—and died!

On an old soldier, aged 92.

A poor old soldier shall not lie unknown,
Without a verse, and this recording stone.
'Twas his, in youth, o'er distant lands to stray,
Danger and death companions of his way.
Here, in his native village, stealing age
Clos'd the lone evening of his pilgrimage.

* Strange as it may appear, notwithstanding the awful denunciation—"Whoever is ashamed of me and MY WORDS, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed," yet such slaves are men to systems, that in many places of public worship this divine supplication is never *heard*; I might rather say, is studiously and publicly rejected!

Speak of the past—of names of high renown,
 Or brave commanders, long to dust gone down,
 His look with instant animation glow'd,
 Tho' ninety winters on his head had snow'd.
 His country, while he liv'd, a boon supplied,
 And Faith her shield held o'er him when he died.
 Think, Christian, that his spirit lives with God,
 And pluck the wild weeds from the lowly sod,
 Where, dust to dust, beneath the chancel shade,
 Till the last trump, a brave man's bones are laid.

On the father of a large family.

How quiet is the bed of death,
 Where the departing Christian lies;
 When angels watch his parting breath,
 And wait to close his weary eyes!

Children, who mark this lowly spot,
 With eyes, perhaps by weeping dim!
 HERE LIES YOUR FATHER! pray to God,
 That you may live and die—like him!

On an aged father and mother, written in the character of a most exemplary son; the father living to 87 years:—

My father—my poor mother! both are gone,
 And o'er your cold remains I place this stone,
 In memory of your virtues—may it tell,
 How long one parent liv'd, and both how well,
 And oh! my mother, a memorial be
 Of all I owe in this sad world to thee!
 How poor, alas! this tribute to thy love,
 Whose best and brightest record is above.*

* When this last epitaph on the parents of an exemplary parishioner, William Jenner, was shewn to the stone-mason-critic (and the writer has had worse public critics in his

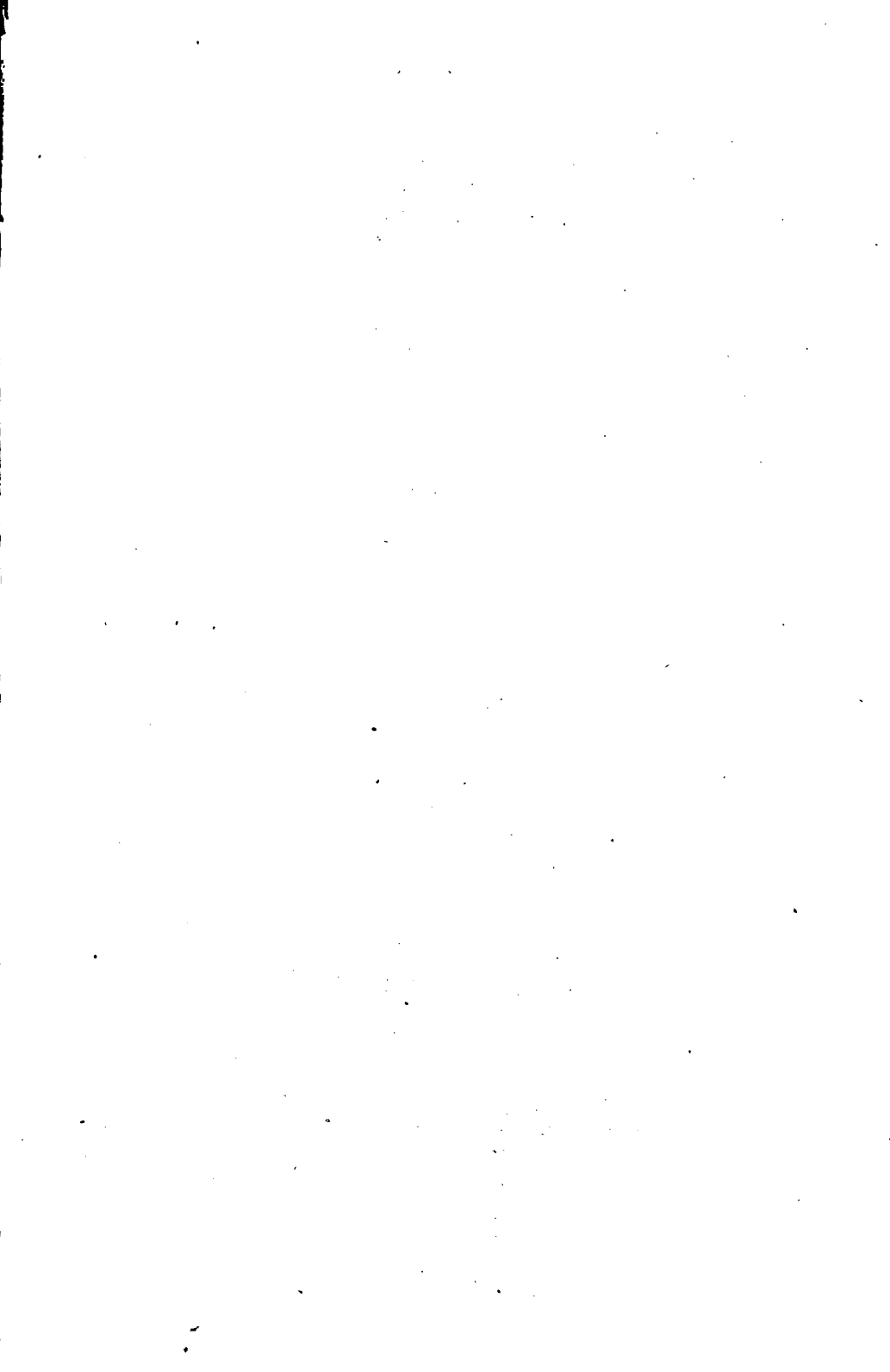
time), he observed that the lines *might* do with a *little alteration!* I think the four first lines run thus, as altered—

“ My father and my mother too, are dead,

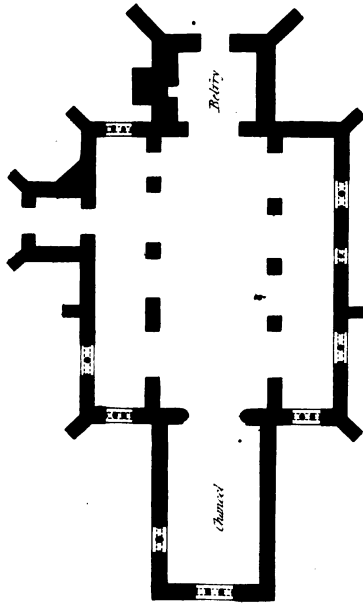
“ And here I *put* this grave-stone at their head.

“ My father liv'd to eighty-seven—my mother,

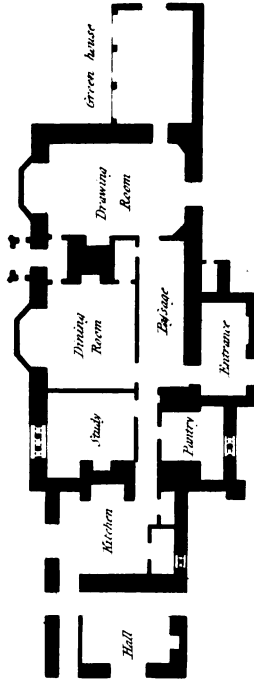
“ Not quite *so long*, and *one* died after *t'other!*”



Plan of the Church



Plan of the Personage



Scale of Feet
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

BREMNER.

London Published by J. Murray, Dec. 5, 1827

CHAP. XI.

The village Pastor's modest mansion rose.

GOLDSMITH.

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH PARSONAGE HOUSE
AND GARDEN.

Among the buildings appropriated to residences, which are scattered over the English landscape, and form the chief features of almost every village, may be distinguished—the nobleman's seat—the old manorial house—the parsonage—the ornamented cottage, and the cottage of the village labourer; to which may be added a *non-descript* style of building, very aptly designated “a Folly.” These have all their distinguishing characteristics. Before I speak of the architectural appearance and character of the parsonage, I shall say a very few words on the modern castle.

In a wild and picturesque country; with abrupt hills, and dark sweeping woods, including a vast extent of territorial domain, a castellated mansion might appear appropriate, as more picturesque; but in all modern structures of this kind, however picturesque or magnificent in themselves, there appears something not exactly in accordance with our ideas of propriety. The dislike probably arises from this cause. A vast baronial castle, in times of perfect security, appears like a massy fiction. It is

the idea of *defence* which gives any castle its most appropriate interest. Its clustering towers, its shade of buttresses, its range of battlements, as far as mere pictures are concerned, must be the same to the eye, whether the castle be old or new. But take away the associations, which the least thought must instantly do, the ideas connected with appropriateness instantly vanish.

In the next place, massiveness and extent appear so necessary, that, in all modern attempts of the kind, the mind feels that something is always deficient; it is not large, it is not massy *enough!* But, supposing a castle as large and massy, and magnificent, as that of Windsor were now built, it would not be *congenial* to our feelings, because all harmonizing associations are cut off. Even Windsor Castle loses a great deal of its architectural impression (if I may use that word) by the smooth neatness with which its old towers are now chiselled and mortared. It looks as if it was washed every morning with *soap and water*, instead of exhibiting here and there a straggling flower, or creeping weather-stains. I believe this circumstance strikes every beholder; but most imposing, indeed, is its distant view, when the broad banner floats or sleeps in the sun-shine, amidst the intense blue of the summer skies, and its picturesque and ancient architectural vastness harmonizes with the decaying and gnarled oaks, coeval with so many departed monarchs. The stately long-extended avenue, and the wild

sweep of devious forests, connected with the eventful circumstances of English history, and past regal grandeur, bring back the memory of Edwards and Henrys, or the gallant and accomplished Surrey.

*On Windsor Castle, written 1825, not by a LAUREATE, but a poet of loyal, old Church-of-England feelings: **

Not that thy name, illustrious dome, recalls
 The pomp of chivalry in bannered halls;
 The blaze of beauty, and the gorgeous sights
 Of heralds, trophies, steeds, and crested knights:
 Not that young Surrey here beguil'd the hour,
 " With eyes upturn'd unto the maiden's tower;" †
 Oh! not for these, and pageants pass'd away,
 I gaze upon your antique towers and pray—
 But that my SOVEREIGN here, from crowds withdrawn,
 May meet calm peace upon the twilight lawn;
 That here, among these grey primæval trees,
 He may inhale health's animating breeze;
 And when from this proud terrace he surveys
 Slow Thames devolving his majestic maze,
 (Now lost on the horizon's verge, now seen,
 Winding through lawns, and woods, and pastures green,)
 May he reflect upon the waves that roll,—
 Bearing a nation's wealth from pole to pole,—
 And feel (ambition's proudest boast above),
 A KING'S BEST GLORY IS HIS COUNTRY'S LOVE!

The range of cresting towers have a double interest, whilst we think of gorgeous dames and barons bold, of Lely's and Vandyke's beauties, and gay and gallant and accomplished cavaliers like Surrey. And who ever sat in the stalls at St. George's cha-

* The author had been chaplain to the Prince Regent.

† Surrey's poems.

pel, without feeling the impression on looking at the illustrious names, that here the royal and ennobled knights, through so many generations, sat each installed, whilst arms, and crests, and banners, glittered over the same seat ?

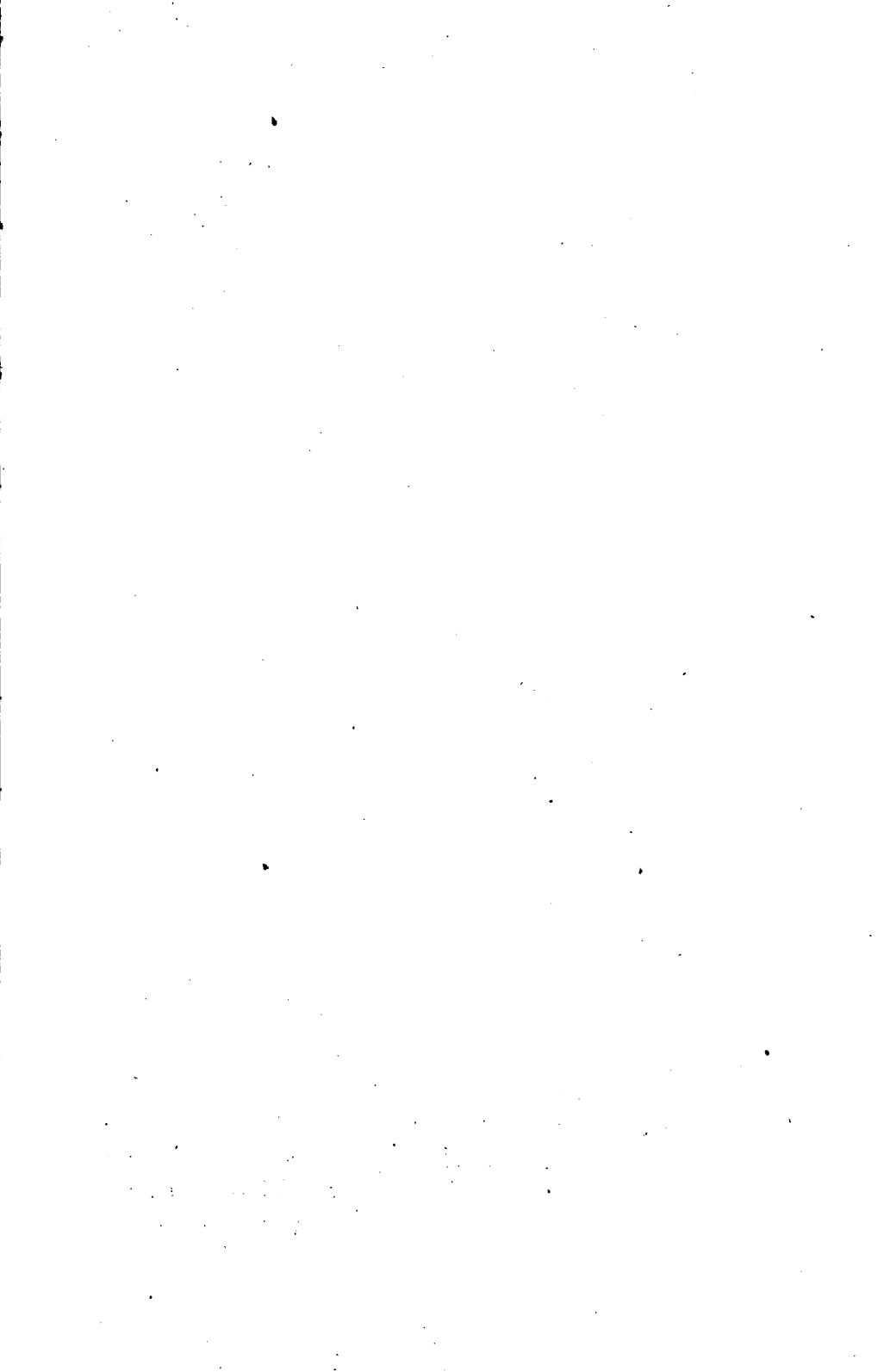
But, to leave princely residences, times of social comfort and security demand, we might say, buildings for residence in unison with ideas of comfort and security in society. Some chord within us *jars*, when a castle, whose primary *idea* is that of *defence*, in an age of turbulence, stands in solitary grandeur, as if to awe the country round, when scarce a hen-roost fears nightly invasion.

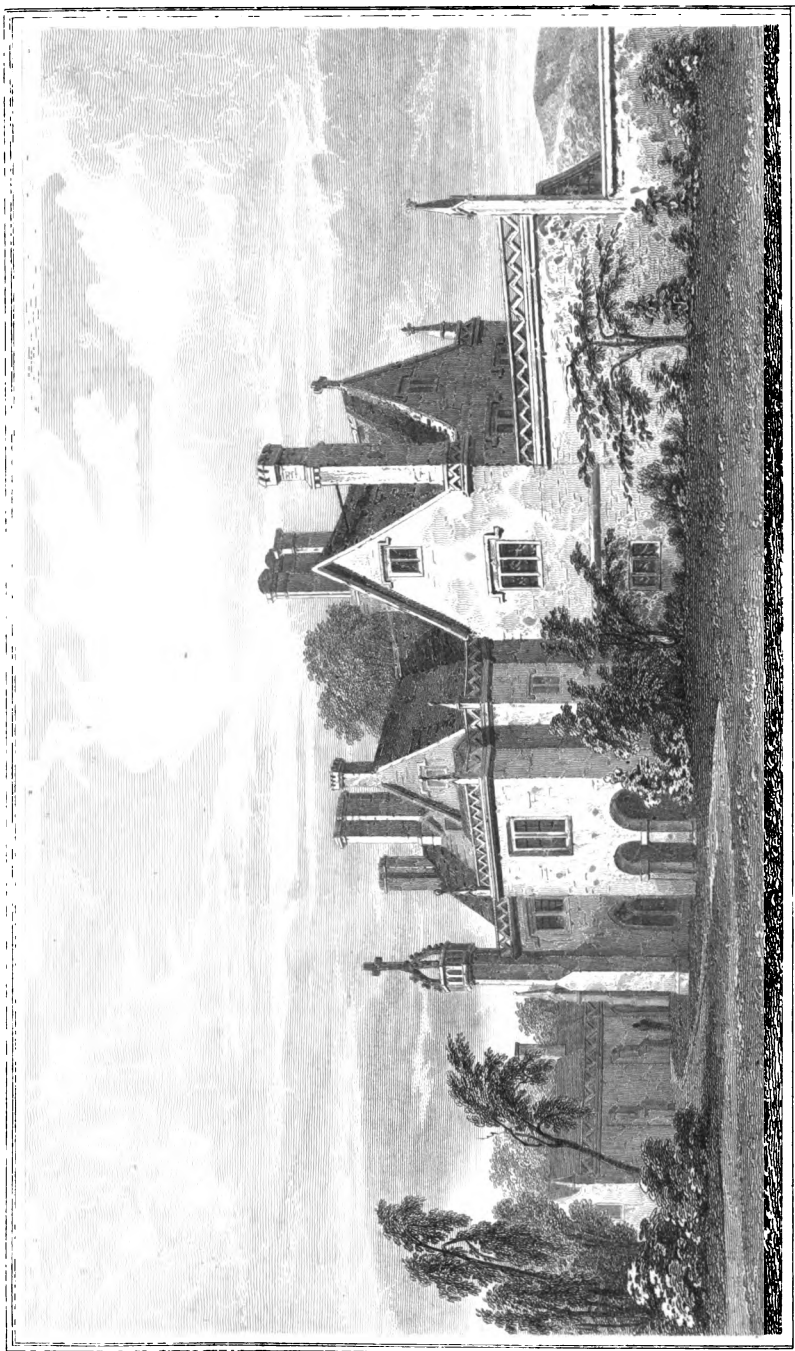
We have few remaining manorial houses earlier than the times of Elizabeth or James. These are from their windows and chimneys, picturesque and commonly built adjoining the church. Other buildings for residence have each their peculiar distinctive features, and we shall therefore turn from the residence of the nobleman or country gentleman to

“The village Parson's *modest* mansion.”

The first idea which such a building ought to excite, is undoubtedly its *unobtrusiveness*, justly characterized by Goldsmith, who has also so affectionately portrayed its retired inmate, by the word “*modest*.”

Secondly, it seems obvious that it should, in outward appearance, harmonize with the church. But what can be so remote from the idea of a parsonage



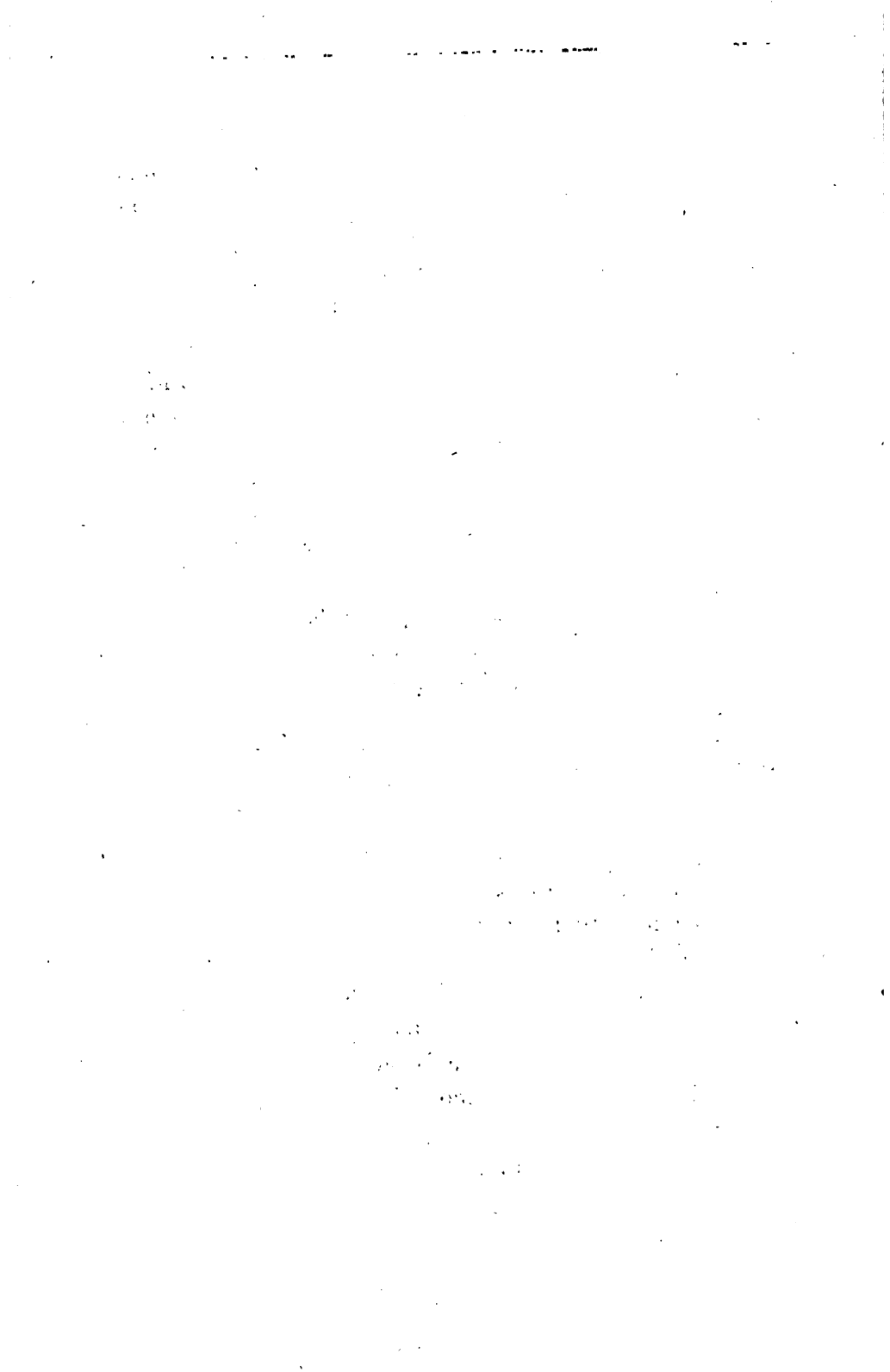


Engraved by J. Smith from a Drawing by W. Burdett.

THE EMERALD PARADISE.

The Rev. W. L. Howles, the present Vicar of Herehill, presents this Plate to the *Readers of MILLSER'S*, Vol. III.

LONDON, Published by J. B. Whittier, No. 21, 1855.





house as that Turnham-Green structure, which we often see, consisting, on each side, of two rooms, sixteen or eighteen feet square, with no appearance, in the character of the edifice, to designate the residence of a clergyman, except its proximity to the church!

In cathedral towns the residences of prebendaries and canons are, in general, equally remote from characteristic propriety. In the parsonage house of this parish, the ideas of consonance and picturesque propriety have been consulted, as far as they could be adopted, the house being old, but large and convenient.* By parapetting the whole with a simple gothic ornamental railing, such as appears on the church at Stourhead, a unity has been given to the exterior, and the long low roofs have put on an ecclesiastical appearance.

The garden contains upwards of two acres, with a gravel walk under the windows. A gothic porch has been added, the bow-windows being surmounted with the same kind of parapet as the house, somewhat more ornamental. It lies to the morning sun; the road to the house, on the north, enters through a large arch. The garden is on a slope, commanding views of the surrounding country, with the tower of Calne in front, the woods of Bowood on the right, and the mansion and woods of Walter Heneage, esq. towards the south. The view to the

* The view of the north front here given was first published in Mr. Britton's " Beauties of Wiltshire."

south-east is terminated by the last chalky cliffs of the Marlborough downs, extending to within a few miles of Swindon. In the garden, a winding path from the gravel walk, in front of the house, leads to a small piece of water, originally a square pond.

This walk, as it approaches the water, leads into a darker shade, and descending some steps, placed to give a picturesque appearance to the bank, you enter a kind of cave, with a dripping rill, which falls into the water below, whose bank is broken by thorns, and hazels, and poplars, among darker shrubs. Here an urn appears with the following inscription:—"M. S. Henrici Bowles, qui ad Calpen, febre ibi exitiali grassante, publicè missus, ipse miserrimè periit—1804. Fratri posuit."—Passing round the water, you come to an arched walk of hazels, which leads again to the green in front of the house, where, dipping a small slope, the path passes near an old and ivied elm. As this seat looks on the magnificent line of Bowood park and plantations, the obvious thought could not well be avoided:—

When in thy sight another's vast domain
Spreads its dark sweep of woods, dost thou complain?
Nay! rather thank the God who plac'd thy state
Above the lowly, but beneath the great;
And still his name with gratitude revere,
Who bless'd the sabbath of thy leisure here.

The walk leads round a plantation of shrubs, to the bottom of the lawn, from whence is seen a

fountain, between a laurel arch; and through a dark passage a gray sun-dial appears among beds of flowers, opposite the fountain.

The sun-dial, a small antique twisted column, gray with age, was probably the dial of the abbot of Malmesbury, and counted his hours when at the adjoining lodge; for it was taken from the garden of the farm-house, which had originally been the summer retirement of this mitred lord. It has the appearance of being *monastic*, but a more ornate capital has been added, the plate on which bears the date of 1688. I must again venture to give the appropriate inscription:—

To count the brief and unreturning hours,
 This SUN-DIAL was plac'd among the flowers,
 Which came forth in their beauty—smil'd and died,
 Blooming and withering round its ancient side.
 MORTAL, thy day is passing—see that FLOWER,
 And think upon the SHADOW and the HOUR!

The whole of the small green slope is here dotted with beds of flowers; a step, into some rock-work, leads to a kind of hermit's oratory, with crucifix and stained glass, built to receive the shattered fragments, as their last asylum, of the pillars of Stanley abbey, before spoken of.

The dripping water passes through the rock-work into a large shell, the gift of a valued friend, the author of "the Pleasures of Memory;" and I add, with less hesitation, the inscription, because it was furnished by the author of "the Pains of

Memory," a poem, in its kind, of the most exquisite harmony and fancy, though the author has long left the bowers of the muses, and the harp of music, for the severe professional duties of the bar. I have some pride in mentioning the name of Peregrine Bingham, being a near relation, as well as rising in character and fame at the bar. The verses will speak for themselves, and are not unworthy *his* muse whose poem suggested the comparisons. The inscription is placed over the large Indian shell.

Snatch'd from an Indian ocean's roar,
I drink the whelming tide no more ;
But in this rock, remote and still,
Now serve to pour the murmuring rill.

* Listen ! Do thoughts awake, which long have slept—
Oh ! like his song, who placed me here,
The sweetest song to Memory dear,
When life's tumultuous storms are past,
May we, to such sweet music, close at last—
The eye-lids that have wept !

Leaving the small oratory, a terrace of flowers leads to a gothic stone-seat at the end, and, returning to the flower-garden, we wind up a narrow path from the more verdant scene, to a small dark path, with fantastic roots shooting from the bank, where a grave-stone appears, on which an hour-glass is carved.

A root-house fronts us, with dark boughs branching over it.—Sit down in that old carved

* I have ventured to make a few unimportant verbal alterations.

chair. If I cannot welcome some illustrious visitors in such consummate verse as Pope, I may, I hope, not without blameless pride, tell you, reader, in this chair have sat some public characters, distinguished by far more noble qualities than "the nobly pensive St. John!" I might add, that this seat has received, among other visitors, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir George Beaumont, Sir Humphry Davy—poets as well as philosophers; Madame de Stael, Dugald Stewart, and—CHRISTOPHER NORTH, esq.!*

Two lines on a small board on this root-house point the application —

Dost thou lament the dead, and mourn the loss,
Of many friends, oh! think upon the cross!

Over an old tomb-stone, through an arch, at a distance in light beyond, there is a vista to a stone cross, which, in the seventeenth century, would have been *idolatrous*!"

To detail more of the garden would appear ostentatious, and I fear I may be thought egotistical in detailing so much. Having conducted the reader through the parish thus far, I shall take him, before we part, through an arch, to an old yew, which has seen the persecution of the loyal English clergy; has witnessed their return, and many changes of ecclesiastical and national fortune. Under the branches of that solitary but mute historian of the pensive plain let us now rest; it stands at the

* I hope he will admit I write pretty good "prose here."—
See Review of Epicurean, Blackwood's Magazine for Sept. 1827.

very extreme northern edge of that garden which we have just perambulated. It fronts the tower, the church-yard, and looks on to an old sun-dial, once a *cross*. The *cross* was found broken at its foot, probably, by the country iconoclasts of the day. I have brought the interesting fragment again into light, and placed it conspicuously opposite to an old Scotch fir in the church-yard, which I think it not unlikely was planted by Townson on his *restoration*. The accumulation of the soil of centuries had covered an ascent of four steps at the bottom of this record of silent hours. These steps have been worn in places, from the act of frequent prostrations or kneeling, by the forefathers of the hamlet, perhaps before the church existed. From a seat near this old yew tree you see the church-yard, and battlements of the church, on one side; and on the other you look over a great extent of country. On a still summer's evening, the distant sound of the hurrying coaches, on the great London road are heard, as they pass to and from the metropolis. On this spot this last admonitory inscription fronts you—

There lie the village dead, and there too I—
When yonder dial points the hour, shall lie.
Look round, the distant prospect is display'd,
Like life's fair landscape, mark'd with light and shade.
Stranger, in peace pursue thy onward road,
BUT NE'ER FORGET THY LONG AND LAST ABODE!

CHAP. XII.

Like the dream of a village chime,
Which in youth we lov'd to hear.

MOORE.

TERRACE-WALK—PEAL AT PARTING—CONCLUSION.

CHRISTIAN reader, we have passed a few hours together, I hope not entirely unprofitably to you. But the sun is shining out—the bells are ringing—we will now leave the parsonage, the garden, the church-yard, and pass along this village terrace. I may take up a few moments more of your time whilst we slowly pace along the path-way which leads to the road, and listen to the village peal.

Having said so much of the church, it will not be remote from the subject, if I add something relating to the introduction of bells into our places of worship. The Church of Rome *baptised* the bells, and the Puritans *cursed* them, making the steeples pigeon-houses, and silencing the *idolatrous* clappers!

The Church of England in this, as in all other things, took a dignified middle course; she regards these adjuncts *not* with superstition, but she associates the sounds with feelings of interest. Who

does not acknowledge the force and beauty of the lines of Shakspeare—

If thou hast been where bells have knolled to church!
or the affecting image of the tender Cowper—

But the sound of a church-going bell,
These rocks and these woods never heard;
Never sigh'd at the sound of a knell,
Or smiled when a Sabbath appeared.

I shall also endeavour to express such thoughts in verse, notwithstanding the topic has already subjected me to some public animadversion:—

Who does not love the village bells,
The festive peal, the solemn toll?
One, of the rustic wedding tells,
And *one*, bespeaks a parting soul.
The lark in sunshine sings his song;
And, deck'd in garments white and gay,
The village lasses trip along,
For this is Annie's wedding day.
Ah! gather flowers of fairest hue,
Young violets from the bank's green side
On poor Mary's coffin strew,
For in the bloom of youth she died!
So passes life! a smile and tear
Succeed, as on our path we stray;
"THY KINGDOM COME," for we are here,
As guests who tarry but a day!

VILLAGE VERSE BOOK.

Bells, it has been said, were a late introduction into the Christian church; but respecting the common idea of their being introduced by Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in Campania (from whence the

words knoll and campana)—it is not entitled, I imagine, to much credit; nor can it be admitted that their introduction was of a very late period, when baptising them was so prevalent in the 8th century, that Charlemagne, by a public ordinance, forbid—“ne clocos baptisent.”

In Alet's ritual the various mysterious applications to which they gave rise are minutely recorded. Their early introduction may be inferred from one circumstance. Epiphania describing the Gnostic heresy, speaks expressly of the powers and princes of the air. These powers and princes of air are divided into three several classes.

Dominations—Princes—Powers.

Now, in the Roman Church, one mystic use of bells was to keep “these demoniacal powers of the air at a distance!” The ceremony of Papal benediction is very curious—the bell is hung up, so that the priest may have room to go round it. Holy-water, salt, oil, incense, cotton, myrrh, and a crumb of bread are prepared; a procession is then made from the vestry, and the priest, instructing the people in the holiness of the art he is going to perform, sings a miserere, blessing the holy-water, &c. He prays that this bell may have power to guard the Christian from the stratagems of Satan, evidently implying that Satan cannot come where its sounds are heard. The same sounds have the power of driving away ghosts, and of dissipating tempests.

* Alet quoted from Broughton.

After many ceremonies, the bell-baptism is solemnly performed by the finger dipt in oil, and the sign of the cross being made on its middle. It is then perfumed with incense, and another prayer to the Holy Spirit is read.

Divested of these, and many other superstitions, the parish-bells are still interesting, from their associations with the feelings of the mourning and the happy, as well as from that peculiar and touching music, which

——— Opens all the cells

Where memory slept ;

And in joy or in sorrow, in youth and in age,

The dream of the village chime,

accompanies us, like "songs of delight," through the land of our pilgrimage.

Parish bells usually had inscriptions relative to their power of driving away evil spirits, and breaking the thunder. The following is the *Protestant* inscription on the fifth bell here:—

MAY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FOR EVER FLOURISH!

Sixth Bell.—I to the Church the living call,

And to the grave do summon all.—1736.

The bells to which we are now listening are so well in tune, that the commonest ear would pronounce them musical. The reason is not generally known, but church-bells have a sensible effect on the ear, according as they are more or less perfectly tuned. Here are six bells, which would be pro-

nounced by every ear a musical peal; but no set of bells are ever cast quite in tune; in general, the third is too *flat*, and the fourth too *sharp*, the effect of which is doubly discordant. The only certain mode of having a peal perfectly harmonious is to tune the bells by a monochord divided into intervals. A peal of bells can be thus brought to musical perfection; and any one, without knowing the reason, would perceive the sweet effect. This mode of after-tuning is never practised, and

* A late friend of mine, Lawson Huddleston, of Shaftesbury, with many and extraordinary accomplishments, had a kind of passion for bells. To oblige any clerical friend who had six bells in his church, he would pass weeks and days in the belfry, chipping, and modulating the sound of every bell, till they answered exactly the intervals of the monochord.

The bells of the parish of Knoyle were so tuned by him; those of Shaftesbury; of St. Cuthbert at Wells. I had often heard of the music of Colerne bells, a small village about six miles from Bath. No one could tell why their sounds were so pleasing. It is because they are perfectly tuned; and I was much gratified in travelling the road with the late Sir John Hippisley, the companion and friend of Huddleston in early life; speaking of his genius, and talents in general, he said, "Now I will tell you what I believe no one knows but myself, poor old Lawson was sent to school at the parish on the top of that hill, Colerne, and Colerne bells were the *first he tuned*." Colerne is a living belonging to New College, and, perhaps, some future Vicar may be gratified in hearing this anecdote!

The same gentleman was in the habit of *tuning*, to exact musical scale, the *sheep-bells* of many of his agricultural friends. They are tuned according to the chords, namely—key note,

'therefore a peal gives all its discord, often for centuries, as the bells happened to be cast.

Having detained the reader so long on a subject almost necessarily connected with an account of a parish church, I hope, without imputation of egotism, I may introduce a circumstance somewhat in *harmony* with it. When quite a boy, the writer, as soon as he heard the bells of one of the churches at Shaftesbury, stole away from his father's house, and in a very short time was in a corner of the belfry. No one took notice of him, except occasionally he had a kind word from one of the gentlemen who has been already mentioned, who always rung the first or treble bell of the peal; among the rustics of the belfry. But I recollect most vividly some verses in large letters on the wall, opposite to the place which I always chose as my seat, and on looking back to that period, now my old, accomplished, kind, and benevolent friend is in his grave, I have been half-disposed to think, that not only my love of steeple music, but my love of poetry, if not musical rhythm, took its first unnoticed origin from these verses.

third, fifth, and eighth. The effect, when they are heard, sometimes three or four, and sometimes all together, with the key-note, and connecting chords, is particularly pleasing; but there will always be a sensible imperfection in the want of a key-note, when that note is not heard. I should therefore recommend at least *four sets* of bells; and four additional lower, or *key-note bells*, to every set, otherwise the sound, wanting the *binding* note, will appear meagre and displeasing.

With these, therefore, I conclude, thinking it not improbable that, as their *tone* is that of a master, Chamberlayne, the author of Pharonidas, a physician of that place, might have been the writer of them.

Verses in the Belfry of St. Peter's Church, Shaftesbury :

* What music is there, which compar'd may be
 With well-tun'd bells' enchanting harmony?
 Breaking with their sweet sounds the willing air,
 They in the list'ning ear the soul's snare.
 When bells ring round, and in their order be ———

The reminiscences connected with this subject must be my excuse, if I have detained the reader too long.

Before we part, look round once more. Yonder is the termination of Wiltshire downs; there winds alone, Wansdike, of whose mighty march I have spoken in the commencement of this parish perambulation. The distant tower of Devizes crests the further hill beyond that eminence, the scene of the great battle in the days of Charles the First—Roundway-hill.

We have now come to the end of this meadow. *Here* is the path that once led to the rural abode of the royal Abbot of Malmesbury, and which still leads to the humbler parsonage; *there* is the road that conducts you back to the GREAT WORLD.

* These lines are quoted in Archdeacon Nares' admirable Glossary.

Companion of a few hours, while the sunshine of life lasts, and ere the church-bell shall toll, when we are beyond the sound of all human things—you will hear the morning music of these bells at a distance, and remember, if any thing should have been said worth remembering in this account of a retired parish in Wiltshire—

In peace pursue thy distant road,
But ne'er forget thy LONG and LAST ABODE.

1827.

APPENDIX.

21 January, 1712. — Copy Rel. of Deeds at Foxham, for the use of the Chapel there.

This indenture, made the 21st day of January, in the 11th year of the reign of our sovereign lady Anne, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland queen, defender of the faith, &c. anno Dom. 1712, between Robert Jenkins, of the parish of Melsham, in the county of Wilts, gentleman, and Robt. Ryly, of _____ surviving feoffees of the the chappell, lands, tenements, and hereditaments hereafter mentioned, of the one part, and Walter Hungerford, of Studley-house, in the parish of Calne, in the said county of Wilts, esq.; Richard Jenkins, son of Rich^d. Jenkins, of Frome, in the county of Somersett, clerk; Robert King, of Bremhill, in the said county of Wilts, gent.; Oliver King, of Bremhill, aforesaid, gent.; George Lewis, of Spirthill, in the said parish of Bremhill, gent.; John Payne, of Tytherton Kellaways, in the said parish of Bremhill, gentleman; Robert Essington, of Bremhill Wisk, in the said parish of Bremhill, gent.; John Wilson, of Chippenham, in the said county of Wilts, gent.; Jacob Lewis, of Charlecott, in the said parish of Bremhill, gentleman; and Adam Turke, the elder, of Charlecott aforesaid, gent. of the other part.

Whereas that worthy benefactor, *Andrew Bayntun*, heretofore of *Bromham*, in the said county of *Wilts*, esq^e. did, in and by his deed, bearing date the *3^d day of April*, in the *second and third years of the reign of Phillip and Mary*, give, grant, convey, and enfeoffe unto *Richard Hammonds*, *Edward Croke*, and *Robert Wastfeild*, and others, his feoffees, in trust, in the same deed recited, all that his *chappell heretofore erected, and dedicated in the honour of St. John Baptist*, situate and being in *Foxham*, in the said parish of *Bremhill*. And whereas, for the sole use, benefitt, and behoof of the said chappell, he, the said *Andrew Bayntun* did, by his same deed of the *3^d* of *April* aforesaid, give and grant *two houses* in the same place, commonly called or known by the names of the *Church-house* and *Priest-house*, together with *two parcells of land*, called the *Chappell Hay*, and the *Butt Hay*, with all and singular its profits and advantages thereunto belonging, with their, and every of their appurtenances, to hold to the said feoffees, and their heirs and assigns for ever: and whereas, since the said feoffment, divers successive feoffments have been made of the said chappel lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances to divers and sundry persons respectively, by means whereof the same are now become vested in them the said *Robert Jenkins*, and *Robert Ryly*, and *their heirs*, for the use before mentioned: Now, this indenture witnesseth, that in pursuance of the power vested in them the said *Robert Jenkins*, and *Robert Ryly*, and *to the intent the rents and profits of the said lands*, tenements, and hereditaments may, for the future, *be well and truly laid out, and disposed of according to the trust interest of the said donor*, they the said *Robert Jenkins* and *Robert Ryly* have, and each of them hath granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, and confirmed, and by these presents, &c. and each of them doth, grant, bargain, sell, enfeoff, release, and confirm unto the said *Walter Hungerford*, *Richard Jenkins*, *Robert King*, *Oliver King*, *George Lewis*, *John Payne*, *Robert Essington*, *John Wilson*, *Jacob Lewis*, and

Adam Turke, (in their actual possession now being, by virtue of a bargain and sale to them thereof, made for valuable considerations, bearing date the day next before the day of the date of these presents, for one whole year, and by force of the statute for transferring of uses into possession), and to their heirs and assigns all and singular the said chappell, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with all and singular their rights, members, and appurtenances; and the reversion, and reversions, remainder, and remainders, rents, issues, and profits, of all and singular the said premises, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold the said chappell, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with their and every of their appurtenances herein before mentioned, or intended to be hereby granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, released, and confirmed unto the said Walter Hungerford, Richard Jenkins, Robert King, Oliver King, George Lewis, John Payne, Robert Essington, John Wilson, Jacob Lewis, and Adam Turke, and *the survivors and survivor of them, and the heirs of each survivor*, to the intent and purpose that they the said Walter Hungerford, Richard Jenkins, Robert King, Oliver King, George Lewis, John Payne, Robert Essington, John Wilson, Jacob Lewis, and Adam Turke, and the survivors and survivor of them, *and the heirs of the survivor*, shall from henceforth stand and be seized of the said chappell, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises with the appurtenances, to themselves, and the said Robert Jenkins, and Robert Ryly, for the benefit of the said gift, according to the true intent and meaning of the said donor, and upon trust that they the said Walter Hungerford, Richard Jenkins, Robert King, Oliver King, George Lewis, John Payne, Robert Essington, John Wilson, Jacob Lewis, and Adam Turke, and *the survivor or survivors of them, shall convey over the said chappell lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises, with the appurtenances, unto other trustees*, in manner and form as aforesaid. In witness, the parties first above named to these present inden-

tures interchangeably have sett their hands and seals, dated the day and year first above written.

ROBT. (+) JENKINS.

Sealed and delivered by the within named

Robert Jenkins, in the presence of

RICHD. BRABANT.

WALTER HARVEY.

This document establishes, beyond all contradiction, that the Foxham chapel is private property.

Electa Breviora ex Chartis originalibus penes Episcopum Sarum.

N. 500.

Omnibus, &c. Richardus Episcopus*, &c. cū assignavimus ecclesiam de Bremel, quōd cedat in usus ministrantium ad missam Beatæ Mariæ in ecclesiâ Sarum, singulis diebus, volumus & statuimus, de consensu Decani, &c. quōd succentor Sarum qui, &c. hanc habeat procurationem, & per manus ejus fiat solutio his qui missæ prædictæ celebrationi intererint; ita tamen quōd idem succentor semper unus sit eorum, & diurnum recipiat *denarium* & cæteros, &c. parari faciat. Quōd ut stabile sit, &c. sigillum nostrum, cum sigillo capituli, &c. Testibus, &c.

N. 501.

Omnibus, &c. Robertus Episcopus, &c. Cum olim R. predecessor noster, &c. &c. quo magis cultus gloriosæ Virginis per suam industriam susciperet incrementum, cum assensu, &c. statuit quōd *duodecim clerici de Choro* successivè assumendi omni die, & præterea succentor cū commodè poterit, missæ

* Richard Poor, 1217.

intersint memoratæ, quorum quilibet per manus dicti succentoris procuratoris ad hoc deputati, *denarium* recipiet diurnum pro mercede, dicto succentore tantundem recipiente, statuens quoddam fructus Ecclesiæ de Bremel, post mortem Magistri Ricardi tunc rectoris, cederet ad prædictum denarium diurnum redigendum, salvâ Vicariâ competenti quam sibi et successoribus suis reservavit ordinandam, ac liberè conferendam, præfato igitur Rectore rebus humanis exempto, cùm ad nos fuisset ipsius vicariæ ordinatio, & collatio devoluta, nos eam A. contulimus intuitu Caritatis, cum assensu, &c. de eadem Vicariâ taliter ordinantes, quod idem A. & successores de jam dictæ Ecclesiæ fructibus annuas viginti quinque marcas, in Festis, &c. Succentori Sarum persolvat, in subsidium denarii supradicti, residuo fructuum, domibus, possessionibus, terris, et quibuscunque, aliis pertinentiis, ad dictam Ecclesiam spectantibus, sibi & successoribus, perpetuæ Vicariæ nomine retinendis. Sustinebunt autem Vicarii omnia onera tam in officiis matricis Ecclesiæ & Capitulum, quàm Episcopalibus et Archidibus et aliis consuetis Ecclesiæ incumbentiis supradictis; extraordinariis, si qua forsitan imminerint pro rata viginti, &c. succentorem et vicarium partiendis. Ut autem hæc robor, &c. duobus scriptis, quorum unum in Thesaurò Sarum, aliud, &c. fecimus commendari, sigillum cum sigillo Capituli. Testibus, &c.

N. 502.

Universis, &c. Robertus Episcopus,* &c. cùm olim viginti, &c.—Cum assensu Decani, &c. statuimus quod A. cui prædictum vicarium contulimus, & successoribus in Ecclesiâ Bremel, de jam dictæ ecclesiæ vicariæ fructibus quinque marcas annuas ultra prædictas viginti quinque marcas, eisdem terminis quibus et ipsæ viginti quinque marcæ solvuntur, vicariis supradic' per-

* Robert Bingham, in the last year of episcopacy.

solvat, distribuendas integrè et equaliter inter eos. Ut autem hæc robur, &c. sigill'um cum si illo, &c. 1246.

It appears from these documents that, though there was a Rector of Bremel so early as 1217, the Bishop had not relinquished his paramount rights over the tithes, as he orders *one penny* a day to be paid out of the produce of the rectory to the "Succentor," or Sub-chanter, to say himself, or to procure it to be said, by some of the *twelve* singing clerks, the Mass of the Holy Virgin, in the Cathedral of Sarum.

This is the provision of Bishop Poore, and it appears further, that this order of Bishop Poore is confirmed by Bishop Bingham, and that, after the death of the *then* Rector of Bremel, *twenty-five marks* shall be paid from the profits to the Sub-chanter.

Sixteen pounds a year is still paid by the Vicar of Bremhill to the Priest Vicars of the Cathedral.

List of Patrons and Vicars from the first recorded Institutions.

DATE.	PATRONS.	VICARS.
1299	Bp. Simon of Ghent	John Hakeneye.
1301	The same	The same.
1302	The same	The same.
1322	Bp. Mortival	Elyas de Wyly.
1327	The same	John de Knossyngton.
1351	Bp. Wyvil	John de Arnale.
1361	The same	John Lyveden.
1378	Bp. Ergham	Wm. Gilberd de Lyneden.
1380	The same	George Houden.
1380	The same	Thomas Passelew.
1390	Bp. Waltham	John Rymstede.
1392	The same	Roger Teppyll.
1415	Bp. Hallum	Robert Portisham.
1424	Bp. Chandler	John Green.
1428	Dean and Chapter of Sarum	John Arnold.
1438	Bp. Aiscough	John Wyght.
1439	The same	Robert Goshauk.
1446	The same	John Segar.
1457	Bp. Beauchamp	William Hoper.
1488	Bp. Langton	Christopher Bayly.
1519	Bp. Audley	David Hope.
1534	Thomas Benet, Vicar-general	Griffin Ap-Jenyn.
1547	Bp. Capon	William Murseglose.
1554	Robert Hungerford, Esq. . . .	William Hande.
1583	Bishop Piers	Robert Temple.
.....	Thomas Collyer.
1639	Bp. Davenant	John Tounson.
1687	Bp. Ward	John Wilson.
1724	Bp. Hoadly	Benjamin D'Aranda.
1739	Bp. Sherlock	John Fountayne.
1740	The same	Edmund Awbrey.
1758	Bp. Thomas	Newton Ogle.*
1768	Bp. Hume	Mathew Frampton.
1782	The same	Nathaniel Hume. †
1804	Abp. Moore,—an option, pro hac vice	William Lisle Bowles.

* Late Dean of Winchester, and Prebendary of Durham.

† Precentor and Canon residentiary of Salisbury.

The Particulars of the Farms and Lands in the Parish of Bremhill belonging to the Monastery of Stanley, as they appear in a MS. in the Augmentation Office. This property was subsequently granted to Sir Edward Baintun, Knt.

The amount of the rents of the freehold and customary tenants, as well as the Tenants at the will of the Lord, with 5s. a rent of a certain Close called Millhams, in the tenure of the Convent there	£	s.	d.
	39	15	8
The site of the Abbey aforesaid, with the orchard, garden, and other commodities, communibus annis, worth	0	6	8
The Farm, consisting of 34 acres of arable land, 286 acres of pasture, and 105 of meadow, the demesne lands of the Manor there, together with pasture in the woods of the same Manor, and also common within the Forest of Peasham, in the culture and occupation of the Abbot, worth	30	9	0
Farm of the Water Corn-mills in the lands of the Abbot, worth	2	0	0
Perquisites of Courts	1	2	4

£73 13

Out of which were payable to the King for waste lands there and at Loxwell	3	19	1
To the Prior of Bredenstoke, for a tennement in Stanley, 3s. 1d. and for the tithes of the demesne lands in Stanley by agreement at 13s. 4d. per annum	1	1	6

£5 0 7

Fee to Sir Henry Long, Knt. s. d. }			
Steward	40	0	}
Fee to Tho. Semaine, Under-st. 13	4	0	
Fee to Thos. Buryman, Bailiff 40	0	0	
	4	13	7

Remains clear..... £ 62 19 9

The Particulars of the Farms and Lands in the Parish of Bremhill belonging to the Monastery of Malmesbury, as they appear in the Minister's or Reeve's Account, taken 32d H. VIII. and granted by that King to Sir Edward Baintun, Knt.

Amount of rents paid by Tenants by Copy of Court		
	£.	s. d.
Roll, per annum	17	12 11
Bremhill Farm and Manor, with its appurtenances, and the Tithes thereof, and a certain Close called Bremhill Breach, the Tithes of the same Close, with the manorial rights, together with the Mansion-house, called the Abbot's Lodge, granted by lease to Sir Humphry Norbonne, at the following rent, viz. the Manor and Farm, with the appurtenances		
	13	12 8
Close of pasture, called Bremhill Breach	0	13 4
Amount of rents paid by copyhold or customary		
Tenants in Foxham	22	13 9½
Amount of rents paid by copyhold or customary		
Tenants in Spirtell	37	9 7½
A rent of 5s. 9d. for the price of 46 cocks and hens, reserved on the copies of Court Roll, at 1½d. for each cock and hen		
	0	5 9
A rent of 6s. 4d. as the price of 16 geese and four capons, the price of each 4d.		
	0	6 4
A rent of 2d. for 40 eggs		
	0	0 2
A rent of 6s. as the price of nine bushels of corn, from the Tenants in Spirthill 3 bushels, and from the Tenants in Bremhill, at 9d. the bushel		
	0	6 0
Certain rent for views of frank-pledge amounting to £2. 10. 6d. viz. for the Tything of Bremhill 16s. 10d. for the Tything of Foxham 17s. 6d. and for the Tything of Spirthill 16s. 2d.		
	2	10 6

£95 11 1

The following is the epitaph on the eldest son of Sir George Hungerford, mentioned in p. 171. The monument is situated against the north wall of the chancel, surrounded by an iron railing, with a spirited bust of the young man whom it commemorates, and other figures and decorations. Above is a shield of Hungerford, a label of three points *gules*: and in the front of the iron work the arms of Heytesbury, charged with the Hungerford knot of three sickles entwined, and a garb between the handles of each.

JUXTA SITÆ SUNT

mortales exuviæ GEORGII HUNGERFORD, filii natu maximi Georgii Hungerford, de CADNAM militis, ex dominâ Franciscâ filiâ unicâ Caroli Sancti Mauri (Seymour), et sorore germanâ illustrissimi principis Caroli ducis Somersetensis. Deflendus hic juvenis nobilissimi sanguinis particeps, a parentibus acceptam haud degere adauxit gloriam.

Miræ virtutis (quæ est vera nobilitas)

et præclaræ indolis indicia

ab incunabulis prodidit;

adultus præ coætaneis ita emicuit

ut invidiam illi fecisset doctrina,

interque Batavos commoratus est,

hospes acceptissimus, simul ac sobrius,

qui Angliam pluris habuerunt

in ipso egregium morum exemplar

admirantes.

Rediens brevi in supremum regni Senatun

plaudentibus honis, cooptatus est

nisi amorem conciliarat modestiam.

Sarisburæ

Latinis Græcisque literis apprime instructus

Oxoniam migravit,

ubi Philosophiam omnimodum diligenter coluit,

et triennii spatio (quod mirere) exhaustit.

Dein, ut nec Patriæ nec sibi deesset,

municipalium legum peritiam

apud Londinenses acquisivit,

cum a severis vacaret studiis.

Musicæ etiam fuctundam operam dedit,
 CLARISSIMI PUROELLI FAUTOR ÆMULUS,
 jamque præstantissimis dotibus quæ aut
 ingenuum juvenem,

aut bonum decent civem, ornatus.
 Ut patriæ tandem utilior evaderet,
 eam aliquantisper reliquit,
 quorum spem maximam simul ac superavit,
 febre correptus fefellit.

Obiit an. ætat. xxiv. April xxiii.

An. Dom. MDCXCVIII.

Formâ erat eleganti sed virili,
 in vultu suâvitas dignitate temperata,
 in sermone ingenium unâ et subactum judicium,
 in vitâ candor, magnanimitas, constantia effulsere.

Ob fidem erga amicos sinceram,
 erga parentes obsequium plentissimum,
 erga pauperes diffusam beneficentiam,
 et (quæ omnium instar est)
 ob pietatem erga Deum non fucatum inclaruit.

Nulli injuriosus, nulli non charus,
 is demum erat in quo nihil
 præter diuturniorem vitam desiderares.

M. S.

optimi juvenis hoc amoris et doloris summi
 monumentum parentes posuere.*

* Sir George Hungerford, who married the daughter of the Duke of Somerset, was buried, as we have seen, at Bremhill, probably in the chancel; but there is no other monument, except those to his two sons, George, the oldest, who died in youth; and Walter, who died without children in old age, and lies buried close to the north wall, on the left side of the communion table.

Sir George had a third son, Ducie Hungerford, whose eldest son, George, inherited Studley, which belonged to his uncle Walter. The estate and house at Cadenham was probably sold after the death of Sir George, and became the

property of the family of Grant, in whose possession it remained till a few years ago, when, in times of agricultural prosperity, the estate was sold in three divisions, to three renting farmers of the name of Fry. As to Studley it came into possession of George, the son of Ducie, third son of Sir George, who married, first, Mary Pollen, and second, Elizabeth Pollen, and died without leaving an heir. The estate came into the possession of Frances, daughter of Ducie, married to John Keate, whose daughter married Henry Fleming, leaving issue Henrietta-Maria, married to George Walker, who assumed the name of Hungerford. His only daughter married the eldest son of Lord Crewe, who, in her right, now possesses all that remains of the Hungerford property in this parish. Except the monumental records, and the Hungerford chapel, in Salisbury cathedral, nothing remains to testify the existence of this once flourishing family but the *lead*en coffins at Farley Castle, the seat of my excellent and hospitable friend, John Houlton, esq. and the mutilated stone bust on the Hungerford-market, in the Strand, at once a monument of transient earthly honours, and of individual folly. This stone head in the wall represents one of the heirs to the vast possessions of this family, called "*the Spendthrift.*" *

I was mistaken in supposing that Sir George had been Speaker of the House of Commons. I was led into the mistake by recollecting that two of the family had been Speakers, and hastily concluded, without reference, that Sir George Hungerford was one of them, in the reign of King William.

* Hoare's Hungerfordiana.

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIVE OBSERVATIONS.

DOMESDAY-BOOK.

In the Saxon Chronicle this ancient record is thus spoken of:—

“ After this had the king a large meeting, and very deep consultation with his council about this land; how it was occupied, and by what sort of men. Then sent he his men over all England, into each shire, commissioning them to find out, ‘ How many hundreds were in the shire; what land the king himself had, and what stock upon the land; or what dues he ought to have by the year from the shire.’ Also he commissioned them to record in writing, ‘ How much land his archbishops had, and his diocesan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls;’ and, though I may be prolix and tedious, ‘ What, or how much each man had who was an occupier of land in England, either in land or in stock, and how much money it were worth.’ So very narrowly, indeed, did he commission them to trace it out, that there was not one single hide, nor a yard of land, (i. e. a

fourth part of an acre); nay, moreover (it is shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it,) not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was there left, that was not set down in his writ. And all the recorded particulars were afterwards brought to him." *

I have not, in the introduction, expressed as strongly as I ought to have done, the many obligations I am under to the learned and excellent translator of this work, the President of Trinity College, Oxford, whose accurate variety, and extent of knowledge, classical and miscellaneous, is only equalled by his unaffected and affable communications. To some other important remarks from him I must add the following:—

“Is there not some mistake in page 126, where you say Domesday Book is called in the *Saxon Chronicle*, ‘Rotulus Wintoniæ.’ It is described in the *Saxon Chronicle*, A. D. 1086, (p. 190 of Gibson’s edition, in which the chronology is confused,) the year in which it was completed; and there is an allusion to it in another place. But the title ‘Rotulus Wintoniæ’ is quoted in a note by Gibson from Spelman. I find I have also made a slight mistake in a note, p. 290. The title in Domesday itself is ‘*Liber de Wintonia*,’ and it is so called in a curious Ap-

* At Winchester, where the king held his court at Easter, in the following year; and the survey was accordingly deposited there; whence it was called Rotulus Wintoniæ, and Liber Wintoniæ. The latter title occurs in the second volume of the survey itself, in which there is a reference to the first. At the end is this memorial:—“Anno millesimo octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione D’ni, vigesimo vero regni Will’mi, facta est ista descriptio, non solum per hos tres comitatus (Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) sed et jam per alios.”—*Ingram’s Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 289, 290.

pendix to the Survey of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, containing an account of the 'FEE of ROBERT DE BRUS, given to him *after* the LIBER DE WINTONIA was written."

P. 8.—CARUCATE.

(Carucate, as much as a team with two horses would plough *per diem*, in a year.) Respecting the agriculture of the Saxons, it is singular to find that the harvest was reaped before the hay was cut. The Saxon dialogues, quoted by Mr. Turner, are so interesting, and so curiously illustrative of rural life at that period, that I shall transcribe the ploughman, who is thus set before us:—

"I go out at day-break, urging the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plough. It is not yet so stark winter that I dare keep close at home, for fear of my lord; but, the oxen being yoked, and the share and culter fastened on, I ought to plough every day one entire field, or more. I have a boy to threaten the oxen with a goad, who is now hoarse through cold and bawling. I ought also to fill the bins of the oxen with hay, and water them, and carry out their soil. It is great labour, because I AM NOT FREE."—TURNER.

The cow-herd's duty.—"When the ploughman separates the oxen, I lead them to the meadows, and ALL NIGHT I stand watching over them, on account of thieves!"

I have said that ploughing in the present day is confined to three or four months in a year; I should rather have said five or six.

It may be remarked, that the custom of the slaves attending the cattle all night is the same as described in Genesis, concerning the keepers of the cattle, in the covenant be-

tween Jacob and Laban. If any were stolen either by day or NIGHT, or destroyed by wild beasts, the shepherd should be answerable.

P. 3.—(*Parishes with churches.*)—Aldebourn is now spelt Aubourn. It is singular that, generally speaking, the church bells of the county are founded at this village, and have been so time out of mind. A new bell, one having been cracked, was placed in the tower of Bremhill, from the same foundery, probably existing in the same place before the Conquest.

P. 4.—Hasebury, in Domesday book, which I thought might be Yatebury, is Hasebury, in the parish of Box, where the remains of a church, possibly the primitive one, are yet to be seen.

P. 9.—*Cum septem hominibus ibi manentibus.*

In that part of the country where, in the charter of Henry the Third, the seven men are spoken of as inhabitants, it should be remembered that by the word "manentibus," we are not to understand that there were only *seven men* in all, inhabitants, but that there were only seven men, "manentibus," that is in tenantry of the lands.

P. 64.—MERCURY AND HIS ATTRIBUTES.

One of the most singular and striking circumstances, perhaps in all antiquity, respecting the office of Mercury,

and his intercourse with the dead, is found in Pausanias, the translation of which I shall give from the English edition of Banier's *Mythology* :—

Epitaph on the Erithræan Sibyl.

“ She ended her days in Troas ; her tomb is still subsisting in the sacred grove of Apollo Sminthius, with an epitaph in elegiac verse, engraved on a column, which is to this effect—

“ I am that famous Sibyl, whom Apollo had for the interpreter of his oracles ; once an elegant virgin, now lying speechless underneath this marble, and condemned to an ETERNAL SILENCE ; nevertheless, by the favour of the god, DEAD AS I AM, I enjoy the SWEET SOCIETY OF MERCURY, and the nymphs my companions.”

The cock, which most commonly accompanies MERCURY, was not only the symbol of Orient light, after the darkness, but the dawn of immortality after the long night of the grave.

In that singular and beautiful work, “the Phædo of Plato,” after the affecting description of SOCRATES in prison, just before he was about to receive the poison, what is the eloquent and sublime subject of his discourse ? Immortal life, in the lofty and tranquil hope of which, and to show his conduct in union with his philosophy, he received the deadly cup. From whence was this sublime philosophy so exemplified, derived ? From Egypt, the country of HERMES, where Plato himself travelled in pursuit of the same knowledge. The calm address of Socrates to him who brought the poison, as to what he was to do,—the account of the tears bursting unrestrained from the friends, who, on this awful moment, surrounded his bed,—are deeply interesting ; but, as he had before been discoursing of immortality,

what were his last words when he just uncovered his head, as he felt the poison just reaching to his heart.....

Τὼ Αἰσκληπιῷ οφειλομεν ἀλεκτρῶνα! We owe a cock to Æsculapius! Let it be given; do not neglect it! These were the last words of him who had spoken just before death, with such calmness and eloquence, of another life. Antiquity does not present a finer illustration of the subject. The serpent on the staff of Æsculapius is the serpent of restoration and immortality.*

P. 89.—DROGO'S FOUNTAIN.

“Is there not a romantic spot near Devizes called ‘Drew’s pond?’ Is this another ‘Fons Drogonis?’ I suppose he had more wells or ponds than one; but there was only one ‘*fons sacer*.’ I.”

* “I think your Egyptian lore is very ingenious and plausible; but on so remote and obscure a mythology it is difficult to produce more than a rational hypothesis. My theory is brief. In Egypt the *landmark* was *sacred*—superstition, aided by art, carved it into a God. Hence the little Terminus, and, by degrees, the colossal Hercules, the obscene Priapus, the Hermes Trismegistus, Diana *πολυμαστος*, Pan, Cybele, and the whole tribe of deities imported into Greece and Italy. It is remarkable that MERCVR-ius is a word of north-eastern origin, and signifies the boundary, *land-mark*, or *marker*. Though no more than *Terminus* at first, he became mythologically the ‘Restorer’ after the floods of the hill had abated—‘Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour’s *landmark*’ is among the *Mosaic execrations*.”—INGRAM.

ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

This church was originally, as founded by Robert Earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry the First, a priory; and I think we may trace the origin of its dedication to the circumstance mentioned by Hoveden, that Matilda invaded England to wrest the crown from Stephen, having "the HAND of ST. JAMES!" On this account, it is not improbable the priory founded by her brave brother was dedicated to this Saint, and the St. James's fair, annually held on the 1st of September, and for ten days, established; to which, as at all times to Bristol, the Monks of Stanley were admitted free of toll.

CADENHAM, A SEAT OF SIR GEORGE HUNGERFORD AT
FOXHAM.

In that delightful book, "Evelyn's Memoirs," we have a most curious account of a rural visit from Cadenham-house, (where, with his young bride, Evelyn was on a visit,) to Spye-park, the narrative of which illustrates the manners of the provincial gentry at the period.

"*July 16th, 1652.*—Went back to Cadenham, and on the 19th to Spye-park, a place capable of being made a noble seat; but the humorous old Knight has built a long single house, of two low stories, on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, and leading to a bowling-green. The house is like a long barn, and has not a *window* on the *prospect* side!

"After dinner they went to bowls, and in the meantime our coachman was made so exceedingly drunk, that in returning home we escaped great danger.

"This it seems was by order of the Knight, that all gen-

lemen's servants be *so treated*, but the custom (Evelyn might well say) is barbarous, and unbecoming a *Knight!*"

Again, *July 30*.—Evelyn says, "taking leave of Cadenham, where we were long and nobly entertained, we went a compass into Leicestershire."

P. 197.—INSCRIPTION ON THE LONG FAMILY.

I find, on subsequent inquiry, that I was mistaken when I remarked that this inscription,

—— (" Quid prodest sanguine LONGO
Censeri.")

was on the walls of the parish church at Box; but, wherever I had seen it, I think it right to acknowledge this mistake, as Sir Richard Hoare copied all the inscriptions and epitaphs in the church.

About forty years since, a great deal of writing against the walls of the church was destroyed, but an exact copy has been kept; and I might here mention, that in the same parish, and in the possession of the same person, is kept the copy, now probably unique, of the memorial of "Walter Bushmell," who was expelled from the vicarage by the "*tryers of Oliver Cromwell*."

P. 292.—BARROWS.

The tomb of the mighty Achilles is silent!

The writer has often, with the greatest interest, attended our intelligent County Historian, when he was engaged in opening some of the Barrows scattered over the precincts

of Avebury and our Downs; but what must have been the interest at the investigation of the great barrow near Sigæum, which is described and considered by antiquity, baseless as the fancy may be, as being the silent mound under which ~~the~~^{rest} the bones and ashes

Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλλῆος!

The only account of the transaction is to be found, I believe, in the "Constantinople" of my friend and fellow-collegian the Rev. J. Dallaway.

CATHEDRAL CHORAL SERVICE.

Every one knows the musical character of Luther, who was educated in the Church of Rome, and retained his knowledge and predilection. The sentiments of Melancthon on this subject are well worthy attention, but I quote a passage from the letters of Erasmus, as showing a most singular accordance with, if not the original of, Collins's Ode on the Passions.

In his letter to Pope Adrian on the subject, Erasmus has this remarkable passage—"Quàm suavè sonat illa Caritatis chorda! 'Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciant.' Habet et MUNDUS organa sua, &c. Quid enim loquitur Iræ fides? 'Ulciscere, spolia, ejice, occide.'"

[“Then Anger came, his eyes on flame.”—COLLINS.]

“Quid sonat Ambitionis nervus? ‘Delete ditionem; nec jurisjurandi aut probitatis sit ratio, quoties agitur de imperio.’ Quid crepit Avaritiæ chorda? ‘Vides nemini bene esse, nisi qui plurimum possidet.’ Quid sonat Luxûs et Libidinis chorda? ‘Hic suaviter vive, quod post hanc

vitam habiturum sis incertus,' &c. Sed ille cœlisti musicâ tactus erat qui dixit, 'Quàm delecta tabernacula tua, Domine.'" Liber vigesimus octavus, page 1656, folio.

As a contrast to the liberal ideas of Erasmus, let the reader turn to the unfeeling and puritanic Prynne, for a description of the effect, sublime and most devotional in reality,

" When the solemn organs blow
To the full-voic'd quire below !"

" The music in the church," he says, " is not the voice of men, but rather the bleating of brute beasts ! Choristers bellow the tenor as it were oxen ! bark a counterpoint as a kennel of dogs ! Roar out a treble as a sort of bulls ! Grunt out a bass as it were a number of hogs !"

Such is a Puritan's description of the sublime and holy strain,

Where, through the long-drawn aile and fretted vault,
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise !

I am almost afraid some in high stations of the church, in the present age, consider this affecting and sublime part of the cathedral service as to the noise of something like "a sort of bulls !" I shall conclude the subject with a strain far more characteristic of the high and holy effect of our cathedral service. I transcribe the following beautiful lines, not only as most appropriate, but because the author is a most respected friend. The head of the Avebury snake, called the Hacpen, reposes on the hill above his vicarage, where, in illustration of what I have said of many members of our church, he lives retired in a small parish, but adorns the circuit with all the intelligence of the scholar, the mild charities of a Christian life, the most classical taste, with habits and manners that might grace the highest orders of society. To the poets of

Wiltshire, in a small circuit—Crowe,* Crabbe, Moore, should be added the name of Hoyle, Vicar of Overton, author of *Exodus*, and of such beautiful lines as I extract; added to this, my *primo violino* at our monthly music! I may here repeat, with a sigh, the motto to my first Poems, “*Cantantes licet usque, (minus via tædet,) eamus.*”—VIRG.

CATHEDRAL SERVICE,

Written after attending St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

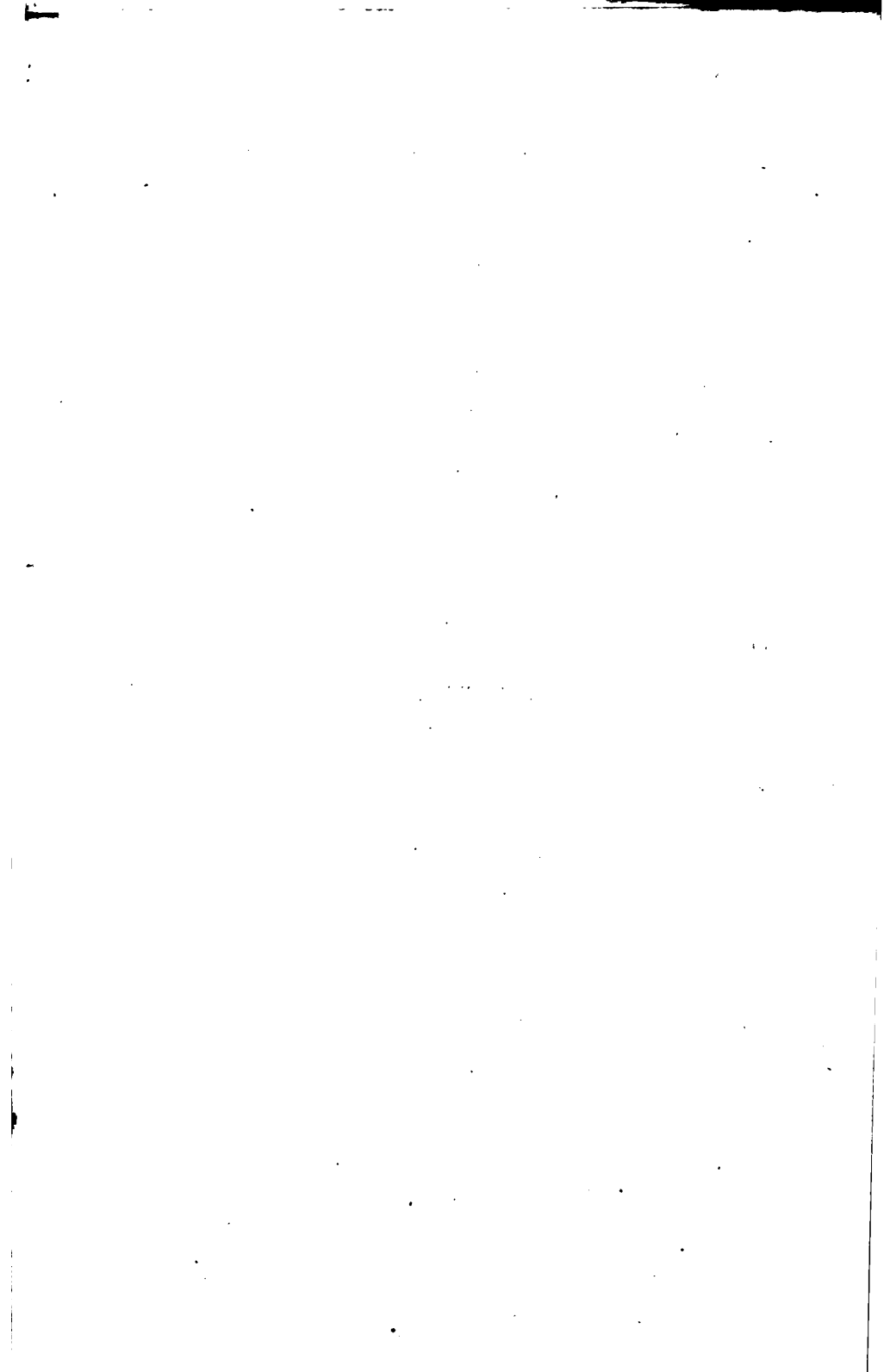
O! melody divine! (for not of earth
 Art thou, nor wilt with aught of earth divide
 The full dominion of the soul,) thy birth
 Was from the song that welcomed like a bride
 The new-formed world, or hymned in Bethlehem's ear
 Glory and peace! How awful rolls the tide
 Of sound, and blends in harmony austere—
 For human sense too mystical and high—
 The deep grave thunder and the descant clear!
 Earth reels, a darkness overspreads the sky,
 The shrines and altars swim before my sight.
 Oh! I could listen till mortality
 Dissolve in rapture, and the soul take flight
 Into the choral bliss of endless night!

* Author of *Lewesdon Hill*, the most sublime loco-descriptive poem in the English language.

ERRATA.—P. xv. in note, for Cure *read* Curl.—P. xxiii. line 11, for western *read* eastern.

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