BYGONE HAMPSHIRE

WILLIAM ANDREWS &

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From a Photo by [*F. A. Grant.*

WEST FRONT, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Bygone - - Hampshire

Edited by

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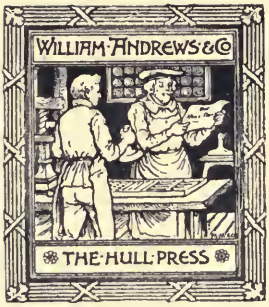
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Preface.

THE history of Hampshire in the olden time is of unusual interest, and I hope the following pages dealing with it in a popular and exact manner will not fail to entertain and instruct the reader. Considerable attention is paid to Silchester, which is a place of national, as well as local, importance.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

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Contents.

Bygone Hampshire.

Historic Hampshire.

By Thomas Frost.

THE county of Hants, at the earliest period of which any reliable records exist, was occupied by a Celtic tribe called by Roman writers the Belgæ, who also possessed the counties of Wiltshire and Somersetshire. The greater part of the county was covered with trackless forests, in which herds of deer and wild hogs roamed, and was very thinly inhabited by the people who hunted them. It consequently offered very little inducement to the Roman invaders to penetrate into it, and Dr. Speed's conjecture of the early occupation of the site of Southampton by them is based only on the finding of coins of Claudius there. Roman pavements have been discovered at Winchester, however, and their roads radiated thence to cities on whose sites Salisbury, Bath, and Cirencester

now stand. The Roman station at Clausentum, known only through the Itinerary of Antoninus, occupied the little peninsula formed by the winding of the river Itchen, about three miles from its junction with the Southampton Water.

After the departure of the Roman officials and garrisons, this part of the country appears to have reverted to its primeval barbarism, some of the roads so well made by the conquerors having fallen into disuse, because they led only, as in the case of Silchester, to deserted towns, rapidly becoming ruins. In 495, as we learn from the Welsh Chronicle, Cerdic and Cymric, two Saxon chiefs, landed with their followers, at Hamble Creek, and after many battles with the natives, succeeded in founding the kingdom of Wessex, or the West Saxons, in 519. This kingdom ultimately became the most powerful in the Heptarchy, and early in the ninth century its king, Egbert, made himself monarch of all England.

From this time to the Norman Conquest the history of the county is largely made up of Danish incursions, and the alternate successes and reverses which attended the struggle for supremacy of the two Scandinavian races. In

837 a large body of Danes landed at Southampton, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The raid was repeated in 860, and with success on the part of the invaders, who marched to Winchester, which they plundered; but on the return march—for as yet the Danes had no thought of settlement in the country—they were met by Osric and Ethelwolf, the eldermen of Hampshire and Berkshire, and defeated with great loss. The remnant fled, and succeeded in reaching their ships.

A period of quiet, so far as regards attacks from without, ensued; but in 980 Southampton was ravaged by Danish marauders, who not only sacked the town, but also killed or carried away a great many of the inhabitants. In the following year the town again suffered at their hands, and in 994 a large force, led by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaf, king of Norway, landed on the coast, and began their usual practice of sacking and burning. The "unready" Ethelred, who then occupied the throne of England, procured their departure by the payment of a large sum of money. In 1001 the coast and the Isle of Wight were again ravaged, and again the departure of the unwelcome visitors was secured

by a heavy ransom. Though these raids were continued in succeeding years, Hampshire enjoyed immunity from them until 1006, when a Danish force made their winter quarters in the Isle of Wight, from which they crossed to the mainland, and marched through Hampshire into Berkshire, plundering and burning as they went. A force raised by Ethelred to intercept them on their return was annihilated, and they gained the coast with their plunder, with which they were so little contented that another large sum of money had to be paid to hasten their departure, until which they had to be fed by the suffering people.

The Danes continued their ravages, however, and the king, fearing his own people as much as the invaders, took refuge in the Isle of Wight. Sweyn then besieged Winchester, which soon surrendered, and accepted him as king of England, therein only anticipating the decision of the whole nation. The county enjoyed peace for some time after this, and Winchester became in the latter years of the Saxon dynasty a very important place, being the seat of the court and having the custody of the treasury, the broad seal, and the national records. Both then and under the Norman and early Angevin kings it

was the capital of England. There, in the cathedral, William the Conqueror was crowned, with even more solemnity and show than previously at Westminster; there his successor held his court, and there, immediately his death in the New Forest became known, came his brother Henry, in hot haste to secure the treasury, and with it the crown, forestalling the measures of Robert for the same end.

A troublous and exciting period for the county commenced with the arrival of Henry's daughter, the Empress Matilda, to contest the claim of the usurper Stephen. She was well received in this part of her dominions, which suffered much for its loyalty before the war was terminated by the compromise arranged at Winchester in 1153. That city was plundered and partially burned by the Flemish mercenaries engaged on the side of Stephen, and Matilda, who held the castle, fled to Devizes, her brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester, an illegitimate son of Henry I., being taken prisoner. Then Stephen came with his English troops, who completed the miseries which the inhabitants had suffered at the hands of the Flemings.

On the death of Stephen, Henry II. came over

from Normandy and was crowned at Winchester amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. He was a frequent visitor to the ancient capital, and it was in its castle that his queen was imprisoned during the latter years of his reign. The county for some time witnessed no more remarkable events than the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket at Canterbury, performed by many devotees from France, who came to Southampton, and journeyed thence through Winchester, or crossed the river Itchen at Stoneham, and went on through Bishops Waltham and Alton to Farnham.

More exciting times came with the accession of John. The barons revolted, and in 1216, when the king had evinced his determination not to adhere to the provisions of the Great Charter, offered the crown to the king of France.

When the French army landed on the coast of Kent, John fled from London, and sought refuge at Winchester. The French then marched westward, entered Hampshire at or near Farnham, and besieged Winchester. John fled, and Savanie de Mauleon, whom he had left in command, surrendered the city to Louis. John died a year afterwards, and for nearly three hundred years there was no more marching of

hostile hosts through the county, though, as Southampton was the port of departure for the troops engaged in the subsequent wars with France, there were frequent military movements along its main roads, and the coast was often threatened, and the people along it alarmed by the presence of foreign fleets.

A few days after the death of Edward III., Rye was burned by the French, who afterwards plundered the Isle of Wight, and then cruised along the coast, watched and prevented from landing by a force under the command of the Earl of Salisbury. The French ships sailed up Southampton Water, and menaced the town, but found the governor, Sir John de Arundel, well prepared to receive them, "otherwise," says Froissart, "the town would have been taken." But in that rude age even the native troops were too frequently the cause of much trouble to the inhabitants of the towns and villages which they passed through or were quartered in. In the act of impeachment of Lord Nevill, in 1376, the unrestrained rapacity and licentiousness of the troops under his command while at Southampton were charged against him as strongly as his loss of many fortresses in Brittany.

The call to arms of the serfs of Kent and the eastern counties three years afterwards awakened a faint echo in Hampshire, but the excitement thus created was of very brief duration. Alarms of French invasion continued along the coast. Southampton was again menaced, and in 1404 a French force under Count Waleran de St. Pol landed on the shores of the Isle of Wight, and plundered several villages.

In 1415, when Henry V. was at Southampton, the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge, in which Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey were implicated, was disclosed by one of their confederates, and the three persons named were arrested and brought to trial there. The earl had been ousted from the succession to the throne by the usurpation of the late king, and the plot may be regarded as the first warning note of the sanguinary intestine strife of the next reign. The three conspirators were condemned to death, and Sir Thomas Grey was beheaded the same day outside the north gate of the town. The two nobles claimed to be tried by their peers, but a court of peers assembled at Southampton three days later, affirmed the judgment of the jury. The earl, on account of his royal blood, was

allowed to walk to the place of execution, but Lord Scrope was drawn there on a hurdle. The judicial proceedings were annulled, however, in the first year of the reign of Edward IV.

Though the county was the scene of no active hostilities during the struggle of the Yorkists to restore the legitimate branch of the royal family, it was not without its minor excitements thence arising. In 1471, Margaret of Anjou and the Countess of Warwick, arriving only in time to hear of the final collapse of the Lancastrian cause, and the death of the latter's husband at the battle of Barnet, took sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, and a few months later, Thomas Nevill, who had some time before been the leader in an attempt to rescue Henry VI. from the Tower, was arrested at Southampton, and there suffered the penalty of his treason.

In 1496, the Cornish insurgents marched through the county, in support of the claim of Perkin Warbeck to the crown, as being really Richard, Duke of York ; and a few months later that mysterious person himself was in sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu, after eluding the pursuit of the king's troops from Exeter.

The researches of Mr. Froude have brought to light many strange illustrations of the insecurity of the coast in the following century. The Channel swarmed with pirates, and the ships of foreign countries at war with each other fought their battles within sight of the English coast. In 1536 the French cut out a Flemish ship from Southampton and another from Portsmouth. A few years previously three Flemish ships had entered the former port, and their crews had boarded and seized a French vessel, in spite of the protest of the corporation. In 1584 a Jersey boat was attacked and driven back by pirates, who blocked the mouth of Southampton Water. The Solent swarmed with these marauders, who kept all the coast in alarm. Guard was maintained at Portsmouth by a few war-ships, but all the other towns were exposed to attacks, and the pirates sailed up to the very quays, and plundered the warehouses of the merchants.

The first note of the civil war of the seventeenth century, so far as Hampshire was concerned, was sounded in Southampton on the 7th of November, 1642, when the partisans of the Parliament made a movement which prompted Colonel Whitehead to apply to the corporation

for permission to enter the town with his regiment. On the thirteenth, a hundred soldiers of the Parliament arrived from Portsmouth by sea, and were admitted; and on the 3rd of December, a summons was received by the corporation to submit to the commands of the Parliament, and the direction of the governor of Portsmouth. With this demand they complied, and from that time the town was secured for the cause of the Parliament.

The next notice is given by Dr. Bruno Ryves in the *Mercurius Rusticus*, as follows:—"The rebels, under the conduct of Sir William Waller, sat down before the city of Winchester on Tuesday, the 12th of December, 1642, about twelve of the clock, and entered the city that afternoon between two and three; being masters of the city, they instantly fall upon the Close, under a pretence to search for Cavaliers. They seize upon the prebends' horses, and demand their persons with many threatening words. That night they brake into some of the prebends' houses, such houses as they were directed unto by their brethren the seditious schismatics of the city, and plundered their goods." On the following day the castle was surrendered to Waller, who from that position was able to watch all the country around.

Lord Grandison, having detached himself and his force of five hundred cavalry from the royal army under General Wilmot, while on the march to Oxford to join the King, was intercepted by Waller, and driven into Winchester, where he was forced to surrender. The whole of Hampshire being in the hands of the Parliament, with the exception of Basing House, was then placed under Waller's governorship. Later in the year, however, Sir William Ogle surprised the castle and held it for Charles, Waller and the Parliamentarian force retiring to Farnham. In the following year Lord Hopton brought four thousand five hundred Royalist troops into Winchester, and was afterwards joined by Sir Jacob Astley with two thousand more. The former being called into Sussex, Waller obtained strong reinforcements from London, took Alton, and in the spring of 1644 encountered Hopton on Cheriton Down, and defeated him, thus opening the way to Winchester, which he entered without meeting with any resistance. The castle held out, however, and he departed with his troops to Oxford.

A few months after the battle of Naseby, Sir Thomas Fairfax sent Cromwell to Winchester to recover the castle, and the victor in that battle

appeared before the city on the 28th of September, 1645, with three regiments of cavalry and four of infantry, and at once summoned it to surrender. The mayor, to whom the summons was addressed, replied that the city was under the military command of Lord Ogle, with whom he would use his best endeavours to procure compliance. What followed is told, with characteristic brevity, in the letter written by Cromwell to Sir Thomas Fairfax on the following day. "I came to Winchester," he says, "on the Lord's day, the 28th of September, with Colonel Pickering, commanding his own, Colonel Montague's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments. After some dispute with the Governor we entered the town. I summoned the castle; was denied; whereupon we fell to to prepare batteries, which we could not perfect (some of our guns being out of order) until Friday following. Our battery was six guns, which being finished, after firing one round, I sent in a second summons for a treaty, which they refused. Wherefore we went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall near the Black Tower; which after about two hundred shot we thought stormable, and proposed on Monday morning to attempt it. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, the Governor beat a parley,

desiring to treat. I agreed unto it; and sent Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison in to him, who agreed upon these enclosed articles."

The terms of surrender were so favourable to the garrison that the capitulation was regarded by many of the Royalists as an act of treachery; but, unless the castle could have been relieved, of which possibility there is no evidence, prolonged resistance must have ended in the starvation or slaughter of the defenders. All the defences of the castle and city were destroyed during Cromwell's occupation of the place, and having thus reduced it to an indefensible condition, the Parliamentarian general led his force against Basing House, which, after a brave defence, was compelled to surrender. The authority of the Parliament was now established over the whole of the county, and the cause of absolute monarchy was tottering to its fall. The subsequent events of the struggle were the coming of Charles to Holmby, his flight to London, his imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, his attempted escape, his removal to Hurst Castle, and thence to Windsor, on his way to which he stayed one night in Winchester. The completion of the demolition of the castle of that city was

ordered by the Parliament in the following year, but the authorities were very unwilling to obey the order, and when, after many delays, the work was at last commenced, it was carried out in a very perfunctory manner.

During the last days of the Commonwealth there was unrest and confusion in Southampton and Portsmouth, as in other parts of England. Towards the end of 1659, Sir Arthur Haselrig, with Colonels Walton and Morley, were admitted into the latter town, with their regiments, by Colonel Whetham, the governor, and immediately declared for the Parliament. A few days afterwards, these officers, styling themselves "Commissioners of Parliament," sent a message to the mayor of Southampton, asking for the co-operation of the civic authorities in settling the forces and garrisons of the Commonwealth. A very cautiously worded reply was returned, and the corporation awaited events. They were kept well informed of what was passing in London, and an entry in the minutes on May 3rd, 1660, states: "Upon reading of a letter from Mr. Stanley and Mr. Richbell in relation to His Majesty, it is conceived convenient that the inhabitants of the town do make bonfires this

night, if they please, and that the bells do ring all the day."

The desire to avoid political excitement, as not conclusive to the interests of trade, had probably much to do with this change of front, but all the inhabitants were not so well disposed to welcome the return of the Stuarts, and the re-establishment of monarchy, for early in 1661, several disaffected persons were arrested, and a seizure of arms made. In the following year information on oath was given to commissioners appointed to "regulate" the corporation, that James Capelin, ex-mayor, had said that "the king was coming in with a foreign power, and would bring in Popery with him, which he would oppose with the best blood in his body." Capelin was thereupon expelled from the corporation by the votes of eight of the ten commissioners. In other parts of the county, though we do not hear of any outward demonstrations of joy on the return to old institutions, the change was probably more welcome, until the scale was turned by the horrors that followed the battle of Sedgemoor, especially the execution at Winchester of Alice Lisle, for harbouring one of the fugitives.

The Romano-British City of Silchester.

By Frederick Davis, f.s.a.

IN the north of Hampshire, about ten miles south-west of Reading, and in the parish of Silchester, lie buried the remains of the Romano-British city of *Calleva Attrebatum*, called by the Saxons *Selceaster*, and now written *Silchester*. But before the advent of the Romans, Silchester was the site of a British *oppidum*—the *Caer Segont* of Nennius—a stronghold of the *Segontiaci;* and later, though prior to the Roman occupation, of the chief town of the *Attrebates*—a *Belgic* tribe.

It must be understood that the site of the early Saxon town, and of the present Silchester, does not quite coincide with that of the Romano-British city. The Saxons were tillers of the soil, an agricultural and pastoral race, and it was long ere they became habituated to urban life; they never occupied a Roman city, but frequently established themselves in close proximity to an ancient site,

attracted thereto by those natural advantages of position and environment which had attracted the preceding race, probably led thither by the excellent roads constructed by the Romans. And it must be further understood that it was the Roman town, and not their own, that the Saxons called *Selceaster*. The incipient Saxon settlement on the site adjoining the Roman city was probably—for a time—nameless, but subsequently came to be known by the designation which the early Saxon settlers had imposed upon the adjoining Roman town.

Of the nomenclature, the earliest is Celtic—*Caer* meaning a fortress; *Segont*, from the name *Segontiaci*, that of a race formerly regarded as indigenous, but now, as *Belgic*.

Of the Roman name *Calleva*, of the Antonine Itineraries, nothing can be said, the derivation being obscure. *Attrebatum* is the Latinised form of the ethnic name *Attrebates*, the meaning of which is *the inhabitants*. But as with all Roman place-names throughout the country, *Calleva Attrebatum* has been ousted. The territorial terminology of an earlier race, that of the Celts, is indelibly stamped on the land, and also that of the Angles and Saxons, whose early conquests

were contemporaneous with the departure of the Romans; the vitality and vigour of their nomenclature is marvellous—as stable as the rocks and as enduring—but not a single Roman place-name has survived. The sepult cities of the Romans are with us, but their names are gone, and had their cities not found a grave to preserve their remains, a grave wrought by worms, the greatest of all empires—a nation that dominated Britain for four hundred years and more—would not have left a trace to tell the tale of Roman rule, of the pomp and power, of the glory and majesty, of the arts and luxuries of imperial Rome.

It is to be observed that there are place-names having as a component, words derived from the Latin. The postfix of the Anglo-Saxon name *Silchester* may be given as an illustration. *Chester*, from the Latin *castra* (pl. neuter) a camp, is one of the best ascertained of the Latin words adopted by the Angles and Saxons during their conquest of Britain. But the word was incorporated with the Anglo-Saxon language, and place-names with that term as a component are Anglo-Saxon—not Roman—names. The occurrence of such Latin-derived terms must not be regarded as constituting an exception to that inscrutable but

inexorable law of nomenclature, which has been fatal to the endurance of Roman place-names.

The Saxon name *Selceaster* may—with very little risk of error—be translated *the dwelling-house city;* the prefix being the Anglo-Saxon word *sel* —a seat, a dwelling, a mansion, a palace, a hall; and the postfix, the Anglo-Saxon word *ceaster*— a city, a town, a fort.

Many etymologies have been proposed for this place-name, but I know not that the derivation I have presented has ever been suggested. I give this rendition with some confidence, as during the past nine years, the exploration of about 60 of the 100 acres covered by the Roman city, has disclosed the foundations of nearly forty houses, many of which were very commodious habitations, consisting of noble ranges of chambers, flanked by corridors and ambulatories with tesselated pavements, enclosing spacious court-yards, and presenting to the streets frontages of from 100ft. to 175ft., thus amply confirming the fitness and relevancy of the definition. The civic features of this city are in marked contrast to the military environment of the Roman camps with which the name-givers had become familiar, and the term employed by them to distinguish

Calleva from those Roman camps would—in conformity with the genius of the race—be some mere demotic expression incogitantly and unconsciously selected, but consentaneous with that which was to be defined; and a term more appropriate than *sel*, to qualify this *chester* of mansions and palaces and dwellings, could not have been devised.

Selceaster, although unmeaning to our ears, was in the mouths of those by whom the appellation was employed, an ordinary colloquial expression, and as familiar and significant to their receptivities as, to ours, are such designations as *Westminster*, *Newcastle*, *Manor Houses*, *Bournemouth*, *Newmarket*, *Clay Pits*, or *Beacon Hill.*

Although very frequently indicating the sites of Roman encampments, it must be understood that *chester* did not invariably connote Roman occupation, some camps having yielded not any Roman remains; and occasionally the term was employed to denote an inhabited enclosure without any claim to be regarded as a camp—Roman or otherwise. This departure from the more frequent application of the term is very notable north of *Hadrian's Wall.*

Such was the signification of the word as a

component of the place-name *Silchester*. Though surrounded, by the Romans, with a wall for defence, Silchester was not, in the usual sense of the word, a camp. The explorations—to which reference has been, and will again be, made—have disclosed a purely civil environment and nothing whatever in the nature of a camp. The Roman legions were never stationed at Silchester; the city was the home of a residential, an industrial, and a commercial community.

The archæologist may exult in the preservation of the remains of the cities of the Romans in Britian though dispossessed of their names, but—in curious contrast—he has to deplore the loss of all tangible traces that would have revealed the topography, organization, and economy, of an Anglo-Saxon town ; not a single town remains to tell the tale, not a trace of an Anglo-Saxon house, though the names survive, even to the designations of the local habitations of particular trades and occupations, as illustrated by the Saxon name of many a modern street. The only Saxon buildings extant are the foundations and towers of a very few churches.

And a remote posterity will probably know Silchester by its Saxon name, and the antiquary

of that remote age may still rejoice in the possession of the ruins of *Calleva Attrebatum*, and may take his stand on the noble city wall to contemplate the prospect of the again exposed foundations of the Roman city with the Saxon name. That Saxon name will probably endure when York Minster and Salisbury Cathedral are silent and shapeless ruins and shall, in their turn, have become the scene of exploration.

It has before been stated that the remains of the Roman city at Silchester lie buried. The whole of the foundations of the houses, baths and other buildings, the flooring and tesselated pavements and all masonry, with the exception of the city wall, are from about six to thirty inches below the present level of the land. The average is about fifteen inches, the greater depth specified being—at Silchester—phenomenal. I have observed only one bed of superincumbent soil of the maximum thickness cited, namely, that covering a tesselated pavement in the south-western section of the city, excavated in May of this year (1898).

It will be convenient to explain, here, the process by which this city, and many another sepult site, have become buried.

Earth worms are the *vera causa;* literally the vehicle by, and through, which a substratum of the globe, from pole to pole, has been carried to the surface. Other agents there are, not wholly insignificant, but quite subordinate.

Worms swallow an enormous quantity of earth as food, a larger quantity for the digestible nutritious matter which it contains, than for making their burrows, and the poorer the soil, the greater the quantity they have to swallow to obtain sufficient nutriment. They live mostly in the superficial soil to a depth of about 1ft., but frequently burrow to a depth of 4ft. and 5ft., and in dry seasons and during severe frosts, to a depth of 6ft. and 7ft.

In soil suitable as a habitat for worms, their number is prodigious. Darwin—in his work on "Vegetable Mould and Earth Worms"—states that Hensen estimates, from the number he found in a measured space, that there must exist 53,767 living worms in an acre of garden land, and about half that number in the same area of cornfield.

The earth swallowed by the worms underground is ejected on the surface of the land, and the castings accumulated during a succession of centuries, form an approximately uniform stratum of

mould, limited in thickness only by the maximum depth to which worms burrow.

The removal of the soil from below is followed by the gradual collapse of the worm burrows, and the subsidence of the superincumbent earth and other material. This process is continuous, the whole of the fine earth from the surface to the depth to which worms burrow, passing repeatedly through the intestinal canals of worms.

It, therefore, follows that any masonry, stones, or other solid materials, that cannot pass through the bodies of worms, gradually subside to some level intermediate between the position originally occupied by such materials and the lowest limit of worm burrowing, and should such materials be the foundation walls, floors, and tesselated pavements of buildings, the position and condition of such masonry would be as disclosed by the excavations at Silchester.

But although the worm castings form an approximately uniform stratum on the surface, the subsidence of the masonry is not uniform. Inasmuch as a greater number of worms burrow a less, than a greater, depth, the deeper the masonry reaches, the smaller the number of worms at work under that deeper masonry, and

the less the subsidence of that masonry. This want of uniformity in subsidence is to be observed frequently at Silchester; floors and tesselated pavements having subsided to a greater extent than the foundations of walls that reach deeper in the ground, and this is illustrated in a marked degree by the sagging of some of the tesselated pavements, the margins of which by adhering to the walls, have subsided with the walls, *pari passu* only, and not in excess of them; while the area within has subsided to an extent commensurate with the larger worm population immediately underneath, and the greater quantity of earth consequently removed.

When foundations reach to a depth in excess of worm burrowing limits—six or seven feet—subsidence does not take place, and this condition is illustrated at Silchester by the city wall which, though not of the original height, has not been reduced by subsidence; the reduction in height having been occasioned by the perishing or removal of upper courses.

Another condition is unfavourable to, or prohibitive of, subsidence by the action of worms. If a structure impervious to rain and in area sufficiently large to keep the earth beneath

perfectly dry, such earth will not be inhabited by worms, and the structure—never being undermined by worm burrows—will not subside. This apparent anomaly in a buried city may be further complicated. Although the earth beneath the structure be perfectly dry throughout the greater part of the covered area, that in proximity to the external wall or margin of the covering structure or material will, by the percolation of rain from the surrounding surface of the ground, be more or less damp, and become a suitable habitat for worms. In consequence of the rain-impervious structure being also impervious to the worms, they will eject the earth they swallow just without the external wall or margin thus forming a sloping border of mould all around, and if the configuration of the structure be flat and of but little height, as, for example, an *opus signinum* pavement, the worm castings deposited around will, in the course of time, reach to the level of, and slightly higher than, the top surface of the structure and by rain or wind be spread over the surface, thus burying the structure notwithstanding non-subsidence, but in consequence of the non-subsidence, the covering of earth can never attain any great thickness.

The rate at which earth from below is deposited

on the surface by the agency of worms must now pass under review. Darwin, in his work before cited, gives an elaborate record of his observations and investigations, extending over a period of many years, to determine the average thickness of the stratum of mould annually brought from below by worms, and the subsidence of materials from the surface, within a given time, thereby occasioned. For agricultural purposes, certain materials—quick-lime, coal cinders, burnt marl, and broken chalk—had been spread over the surface of several fields; the dates of such operations were accurately ascertained (the earliest of which was in 1827) and at intervals of years, pits were sunk and trenches cut in the fields over which the materials had been spread, and in each cutting the vertical sides of the pit or trench disclosed a uniform section of the stratum of the material, parallel with the surface, and at a distance below corresponding approximately with the intervals between the dates of deposition and of the records. The subsidence in inches of the surface-deposited material, divided by the duration of the periods of subsidence, showed an annual growth of the depth of the worm superimposed mould, and, consequently, of the rate of the sub-

sidence of the solid material from the surface, of an average of about one-fifth of an inch.

Supremely interesting and important is this result as illustrating the rapidity with which antiquities on the surface of the land become buried, and thus protected from weathering and other destructive influences. In the course of a comparatively short period a tesselated pavement or other work of art, susceptible of damage and destruction by exposure, becomes buried to a depth of several inches, and preserved for an indefinite number of centuries.

But, unfortunately, the result of this calculation is much restricted in its application. Although one-fifth of an inch per year is the rate of subsidence of material from the surface to a limited depth; subsequent subsidence must, necessarily, proceed at a less rapid, and ever decreasing, rate, in consequence of two distinct but co-operating factors (1) the removal, to the surface, of earth from above—and not from below—the subsiding material or structure, by the worms inhabiting the superimposed stratum, in which circumstances those worms cease to be a factor in the further subsidence; and (2)—after the subsiding structure has passed the limit of the upper and thickly

populated, and has entered the lower and sparsely populated, stratum—the reduced rate of progress consequent upon the numerical decrease of worm population at the greater depth.

The results of Darwin's investigations are wholly inadequate to determine the length of time needful for the burial of a city in which the foundations of the masonry reach to a considerable depth. The initial subsidence of such masonry (though reaching to the surface) will be less rapid than that on, or near to, the surface, inasmuch as it starts on its journey from a sparsely populated region, and the rate of subsidence will be controlled by the compound condition that determines the rate of subsidence of masonry on, or near to, the surface, namely, the loss of the action of the worms inhabiting the stratum above the level to which the foundations reach, and the increasing sparseness of the worm population as a greater depth is reached.

The quantity of earth removed from under foundations below the surface, must be inversely as the depth multiplied by the coefficient representing the decrease in the worm population. This coefficient is an unknown quantity; whether the numerical decrease is in arithmetical, or

geometical, or in some other, and possibly ununiform, ratio, is not determined and is not to be easily ascertained.

But for the burial of a Roman city, the worms have had an immense margin of time. Taking the average annual rate of subsidence of masonry, with foundations some distance below the surface, at a fraction of that of material subsiding from the surface, say at one-tenth, *i.e.*, at one-fiftieth of an inch in place of one-fifth of an inch, the 1,400 years since the dissolution of most Romano-British cities, is a period of sufficient duration for the burial of the masonry to a depth of twenty-eight inches.

Darwin expresses surprise that, in view of the large quantity of earth brought up by worms every year, buildings that have been in ruins for many centuries, should not be covered to a greater depth than is disclosed by those that have been examined. But the above explanation of the compound decrease in the rate of subsidence disposes of the apparent anomaly. I have observed at Silchester, masonry and tesselated pavements, covered by beds of worm mould of greater thickness than the extreme before named as the Silchester maximum—in one instance 51½

inches—but such beds, in consequence of various disqualifying factors of environment, could not be regarded as *indices* of the thickness of worm deposited mould, nor of subsidence by the agency of worms.

Inequality in the depth of the soil covering a buried city is frequently the result of subaerial denudation, but denudation is the correlative of deposition, the two processes are inseparably connected, and within very narrow limits the rate of one must be equal to that of the other. Hence the depth of soil over one section of a buried city may be in excess of, and over another section less than, that deposited by the worms, the average depth not being greatly reduced, except in those situations where much of the fine earth is washed, by rain, into the neighbouring streams. But at Silchester there is a rapid declivity from the centre of the city in a south-easterly direction; and towards the south-west the descent is considerable; and in consequence, the bed of worm superimposed mould must have been materially reduced in thickness, by much of the finer earth having been, year by year, washed by rain into the streams and carried away. Even over the comparatively level area, there are slopes, very gentle

but, quite sufficient for the operation of denudation in a slight degree; and as very nearly the whole area is agricultural land, and as the earth is washed from ridges left by the plough into the furrows and thence into the streams, much of the finest earth and the levigated castings, over the more level area, must have been carried away. Over the turf-covered area, denudation is not inoperative, as the worm castings are ejected above the turf.

It will be understood that even though subaerial denudation should, in some situations, be insignificant, and notwithstanding that my estimate of the rate of subsidence of masonry, bedded in a substratum be purely hypothetical, and probably too low an estimate, yet the maximum depth of worm deposited strata can never exceed six to seven feet—the limit of worm burrowing. After the whole of the fine earth to that depth has been brought to the surface, the same earth, again and repeatedly, passes through the bodies of worms, but the bulk is not increased, except to an infinitesimal amount by leaves which are consumed as food, and which, after being triturated, partially digested, and saturated with instestinal secretions, are commingled with the soil. But this addition to worm deposited mould may be regarded as a

negligible quantity; the chief food of worms is earth, and their castings—all but a fractional percentage—the earth they swallow.

The topography of the city, the city wall and gates, the public and private buildings, and the general internal arrangements, now demand attention. Interrupted and somewhat unmethodical excavations—though with valuable results—were conducted by the late Rev. J. G. Joyce, from 1864 to 1878; and at subsequent dates up to 1884, by Mr. Frederick G. Hilton Price, D.S.A., the Rev. H. G. Monro, and the Rev. C. Langshaw. From 1890, the site has been systematically explored by an Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries—the present year (1898) being the ninth consecutive season. Sixty acres have now been explored by the Committee and the annual reports, by Mr. George E. Fox, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., of the work accomplished, are published in the *Archæologia*, vols. 52 to 56, from which in the following narrative, I have freely drawn.

Calleva Attrebatum is situated at the bifurcation of two Roman roads, one to the south

coast, the other from *Londinium*, the latter intersecting *Calleva* and continuing its course towards *Corinium* and into Wales. The Celtic city which existed on the site of the future Roman *Calleva Attrebatum*, was the stronghold of the Segontiaci, and subsequently of the Attrebates, and covered an area of about one hundred acres, enclosed by a mound and ditch,—in configuration an irregular octagon, measuring about 806 yards from north to south, and 890 yards from east to west. Utilizing anything pre-existent that would subserve their needs, adapting themselves to the resources of their environment, was an innate idiosyncrasy of the Romans; hence, in conformity therewith, but contrary to their practice of building city walls rectangularwise, it would seem that the wall of *Calleva* was made to follow the lines of the octagonal *oppidum* of the Celts, thus turning to account the Celtic earthwork, by constituting it the usual intramural mound. But pending the thorough examination of the internal mound, the ditch outside, and an outlying entrenchment, the statement just made must be accepted provisionally only. The Roman wall, in circuit rather more than a mile and a half, is about 9ft. 6ins.

in thickness at the base, and 7ft. 6ins. towards the top, but at intervals of about 200ft., for a width of 12ft. the basal dimensions is maintained to the top, thus forming rudimentary buttresses, which seem to be integral portions of the original structure. In height, the wall was originally over 50ft., but at the present time the highest point does not exceed that dimension, and although the ruins are still to be traced all round the city, the height, for the greater part of the circuit, is much reduced. This huge and massive mural barrier is constructed of rubble, with bonding courses of single rows of large flat stones, in lieu of the usual Roman tiles. At intervals, the intermediate facing courses are laid herring-bone fashion, but the structure is now denuded of its outer facing.

The wall is pierced by seven gateways; four of them the main gateways of the city—at the north, south, east, and west. Those at the east and west were double, each passage being about twelve feet in width, and, in design, construction and dimensions, must very nearly have corresponded. On either side of each was a guard chamber and lock up. The gates at the north and south, with passages about twelve feet in

width, also very nearly corresponded with each other, but, unlike those at the east and west, were single and without guard chambers. Another gate was situated a very little south of the west gate. All gateways in a defensive barrier being an element of weakness, it is difficult, in consequence of the close proximity of this, to the great gate at the west, to assign a *raison d'être*. At some period subsequent to its construction, one half of the width of this subordinate gateway was blocked with masonry of workmanship much inferior to the walling on each side. The sixth gate, through that part of the city wall forming the south-east side of the octagon, was a sluice gate for the discharge of waste water from adjoining baths. The passage through the wall was about 4ft. 3ins. in width, on each side of which was a brick pier constructed with a vertical shaft into which was fitted the timber framing of the sluice gate. The seventh gate, a little north of the east gate, was a postern giving access to the amphitheatre without the wall.

The whole area of the city is intersected by streets made of hard gravel, from about eighteen feet to twenty-eight feet in width, disposed symmetrically, and running almost due north and

south and east and west. By intersecting each other at right angles, they enclose rectangular plots,—called by the Romans *insulæ*. (At that period of the year when the corn is ripening, the topography of the city is disclosed by the marked difference of the colour of the corn growing over the streets, from that growing on the areas enclosed by the streets). The *insulæ*, unequal in area, vary in lineal dimensions from about 230ft. by 275ft., to 470ft. by 680ft., but all are rectangular, with the exception of those adjoining the wall which, in consequence of the irregular angularity of the line of circumvallation, are themselves irregular in figure, but mostly triangular.

From the symmetrical disposition of the streets, from the absence of pottery, bones, and remains of all kinds, and—still more significant—of any indications of masonry foundations, in the trenches that have been cut through the streets, it is to be inferred that the city was planned by the Roman surveyors before it had become populous, possibly before the building of any houses,—that its initial status was that of an imago, in contradistinction to the usual slow development of the ichnography of a town from a humble embryonic stage. This theory is in some degree confirmed by the sym-

metrical disposition of many of the houses and the irregular position of others; those at the angles of the *insulæ* and along the line of the streets, conforming to the alignment thereof, while those well within the street boundaries of the *insulæ*, being free from boundary restrictions, are oblique and irregular in position.

Of the buildings, those of a public character claim first attention.

In one of the largest of the *insulæ*, and the most central, stood the *basilica*, the most important building in the city, and, doubtless, architecturally, its most prominent feature. This stately structure, occupying the western side of the *insula*, covered an area 278ft. by 118ft., and consisted of a great hall 270ft. in length by 58ft. in width, with central nave and aisles, and, at each end, an apse, in width somewhat less than the width of the hall. For the full length of the great hall on its western side, were disposed a range of chambers, the central one apsidal, and west of, and adjoining, this range of chambers, and extending the full length of the edifice, an ambulatory facing the street that formed the direct line of communication between the north and south gates.

East of, and adjoining, the *basilica*, was the *forum*, consisting of a courtyard 142ft. from north to south by 130ft. from east to west, with ambulatories along three sides—the northern, southern, and eastern—and outside the ambulatories, ranges of chambers, flanked, again, by external ambulatories. The ranges of chambers flanking the three sides of the *forum*, were, in all probability, shops and premises for the sale and storage of goods. The entrance to the *forum* was situated about the centre of the eastern side, passing through the outer and inner ambulatories, and the range of chambers, on that side. The *forum*, from north to south, together with the ambulatories and ranges of shops on those sides, coincided in length with the *basilica*, thus measuring in that direction 278ft. From east to west, the *forum*, with its eastern range of shops and ambulatories, measured 196ft.

The elevations of the *basilica* and *forum* can be conjectured only, but, from architectural fragments found on the site, the edifices must have been of considerable pretentions and stateliness. Excavations have disclosed evidence of the destruction of the fabric by fire on two occasions,—the later, probably, at the close of the Roman occupation.

That the reader may realize the amplitude of the *basilica* and *forum*, the area covered by those buildings, and the corresponding representatives of a modern capital, shall be constrasted; *exempli gratia*, the public buildings of the neighbouring town of Reading. The lineal measurements of the *basilica* and of the *forum*, with their shops and ambulatories, have been stated. The two groups of buildings together covered a rectangular area of 278ft. by 314ft., equal to 87,292 square feet or 9,699 square yards. The Reading town hall, municipal buildings, covered market, market passage, corn exchange, and open market-place, together occupy an area of only 4,090 square yards, and if to this be added the museum, free library and art gallery, the total area amounts to only 5,290 square yards as compared with the 9,699 square yards covered by the *basilica* and *forum* of *Calleva*.

In close proximity to the *basilica* and *forum*, stood a building not less interesting and, proemially, far more potent, yet covering a space not so much as a seventy-fifth part of the area of its huge neighbours. This little edifice, about 75ft. south of the south-east angle of the *forum* was a Romano-Christian church of the basilican type,

the foundations of which were discovered in May, 1892. Probably of the fourth century, it is the oldest church, and the only Romano-Christian church, yet discovered in Britain, and one of the oldest relics of Christianity in Europe. The foundations disclosed a complete plan, consisting of a nave with apsidal end 29ft. 3ins. long by 10ft. wide, aisles on each side 5ft. wide, rudimentary transepts at the western ends of the aisles about 6ft. square, and a *narthex* at the east end 6ft. 9ins. wide, and in length the full width of the church. The orientation of the church is the converse of that of later sacred buildings,—the place for the altar being at the west end and the entrance, through the *narthex*, at the east. The *narthex* and the nave had been paved with red *tesseræ*, with a panel of finer mosaic—of black, white, red, and grey *tesseræ*—5ft. square, of geometrical design, in front of the apse, upon which the altar was placed. To the east of the church, about 11ft. from the *narthex* and in a line with the axis of the building, was a Roman tile base, such as would have served to support the laver for ablutions, and immediately in front of it, was a small flint-lined pit which probably received the waste water from the basin. About 20ft.

west of the church, was a wood-lined well from which the water was probably obtained.

Although the precise date of this church cannot be determined, it must have been built subsequently to the edict of Constantine tolerating Christianity, A.D. 313, and before the departure of the Roman legions from Britain, early in the fifth century. The limits of the date of the foundation of the edifice are thus narrowed to a period of about a hundred years, and the character of the workmanship of the tesselated pavement, points to an earlier, rather than a later, year of that interval.

From the diminutive size of this church, it is not improbable that future exploration will disclose other churches dedicated to Christian worship.

Of other sacred edifices, two have been discovered which can be identified as pagan temples, and one which probably was a pagan temple. The two first named are situated a little south of the east gate, and in close proximity to the Silchester parish church and to each other. Rectangular in plan, each contained a chamber, respectively, 42ft. and 24ft. square, and in the general arrangement of the structures, present the typical features of Romano-pagan temples. In the absence of inscriptions and all other indica-

tions, it is not possible to determine to what gods these shrines were dedicated. The other building is situated about midway between the *basilica* and the south gate. Polygonal in plan, it consists of two concentric rings, the outer measuring about 65ft. across, and the space between the two rings, 9ft. 6ins. The polygons are sixteen-sided.

Another building requires special notice,—a house near the south gate, the extent and internal arrangements of which permit the supposition that the establishment was a *hospitium*. The foundations disclosed ranges of rooms, flanked by corridors on either side, along three sides of a large rectangular courtyard. Several very large chambers were warmed by hypocausts. At a little distance from the house, communicating through a corridor, were a set of baths complete with *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*, *caldari*, *tepidarium*, and *sudatorium*, the drains from which discharged through the sluice-gate in the city wall, to which reference has before been made.

The public baths of the city have not yet been discovered, but as the scheme of operations of the Executive Committee of the Excavation Fund is to explore systematically every *insula* within the city, the discovery of this important and necessary

establishment of a Roman community, in some part of the forty acres yet to be explored, may be regarded as a certain event of the future.

Neither has any theatre yet been discovered, but the amphitheatre, without the walls at the north-east, is still majestic and magnificent in decay. Measuring 150ft. by 120ft., with five tiers of seats, it is estimated that it was capable of accommodating 10,000 spectators. Second in size, only, to that at Dorchester, it is one of very few in Britain. Although the ranges of seats are overgrown with turf and trees, and are becoming obliterated, the *vomitoria* are clearly marked.

The private houses, of which the foundations of nearly forty have now been uncovered, are—with few exceptions—of two distinct types, and are remarkably constant to those two types. From their more distinctive structural features, they have been defined, the one the "courtyard," the other the "corridor," type. The larger habitations were those of the courtyard type, and consisted of ranges of chambers along three sides of a rectangular courtyard, flanked with ambulatories or corridors on one, or on each, side of the ranges of rooms. The smaller habitations were those of the corridor type, and consisted of a

single range of chambers with a corridor on one, or on each, side. Though in the great majority of the houses the foundations are clearly defined, occasionally the plan is somewhat obscured by the juxtaposition of the foundations of earlier, and of superimposed later, structures. It may be observed that the earlier structures frequently, and the later, sometimes, shew traces of destruction by fire, and it is not improbable that local fires were frequently occasioned by the defective construction, or the condition of disrepair, or by the over-heating of the hypocausts, or of the box-tile wall flues—to which reference will shortly be made—but it is noteworthy that there is not any evidence whatever of a general conflagration of the city. From the plan of some of the houses, from the thickness of the walls of many, and from other indications, it is to be inferred that many had upper stories, but the evidence is not of a character sufficiently definite to justify a positive statement that such was the construction of any house. The walls are built of flint rubble, with frequently Roman tile quoins, generally about 2ft. thick, though some measure as much as 3ft. in thickness, and the foundations reach to a depth of about 2ft. 3ins. below the Roman ground level. The mortar is

not always of the excellent quality usually associated with Roman masonry.

One or more of the rooms—constituting the winter apartments—had the floors warmed by hypocausts, and also the walls by vertical box-tile flues communicating with the hypocaust. The *suspensura*, or roof of the hypocaust, formed the floor of the room above, and was supported by walls or blocks of masonry forming channels radiating from the centre, or by *pilæ*, or by a composite system—*pilæ* in the centre and radiating channels around—or, though not frequently, by channels disposed rectangularwise; the flame and hot air from the stoke-hole or furnace, circulating through the channels or round about the *pilæ*, and thence through the box-tile wall flues. The *suspensura* was constructed of courses of tiles covered with a stratum of *opus signinum*, upon which was spread a thin layer of a finer quality of the same material, in which the *tesseræ* of the floor were bedded. A great number of hypocausts have been excavated, many of which are in a wonderful state of preservation, and many box-tiles, forming the lower sections of the vertical wall flues, have been found *in situ*. The rooms of Romano-British houses were seldom

heated by internal fire places,—at Silchester only two or three examples have as yet been found.

Many of the corridors and rooms are paved with red tile *tesseræ*, while some are decorated with panels of fine mosaic of elaborate and elegant design, formed of *tesseræ* of from a quarter of an inch to one inch square, of a variety of colours—red, purple, black, white, yellow, and drab. In 1895, several pavements of very elaborate design—the compositions being mostly geometrical—were uncovered in two houses in an *insula* on the western side of the city, three of which—from one house—in an excellent state of preservation, were taken up, and are now in the museum at Reading. And another of very elegant design — mostly curvilinear — was uncovered in May of the present year (1898) in the south-western section of the city. Other floors are paved with *opus signinum*, a cement composed of lime and pounded brick and pottery. But the Roman *opus signinum* found in Britain is not identical with that of Italy, as the former lacks the *pozzolana*—a volcanic product—which formed so important an ingredient of the latter, and which contributed so largely to the immense strength and durability of the cement. In his

Ancient Rome, Middleton states that this *pozzolana*, more than any other material, contributed to make Rome the proverbially "eternal city." The walls of the rooms were coated with plaster and painted,—sometimes in imitation of marble—quantities of fragments having been found in some of the houses; but the remains of mural painting disclosing any design are very scanty. The few that have been found are floral, with leaves, ears of barley, berries, and rosettes.

Although the general design of the Silchester houses differs from that of the Roman houses of the south of Europe, to an extent corresponding with the great dissimilarity of the climatic conditions of the two countries, yet many of the rooms of the larger houses of Silchester may be identified with the *atrium*, the *triclinium*, and the *tablinum* of the Italian prototype, and in some, an apartment with an apsidal end and, occasionally, horse-shoe shape in plan, may have served as the *sacrarium* or *lararium*, in which was placed the *aedicula*, or shrine for the *lares*, or household gods. At each side of the apse, at the junction with the walls of the room, there is sometimes a projecting piece of wall or pier, across which a curtain or screen may have been drawn to separate

the *sacrarium* from the room. And several very small detached rectangular buildings in close proximity to some of the houses, with mosaic pavements, may have served a similar purpose.

Excavations in 1894, in the north-western section of the city, revealed the foundations of a large number of small buildings that, manifestly, were not habitations. Associated with these buildings, were a large number of remarkable masonry structures, circular in plan, from 2ft. to 2ft. 9ins. diameter, but mostly 2ft. 6ins., with openings or mouths on one side. They had the appearance of hearths, ovens, or furnaces, and from the similarity in design and the correspondence, of most of them, in dimensions, it was to be inferred that they had been constructed for the same, and a special, purpose. Indications of the action of fire and other features suggested a variety of possibilities, but each provisional theory was found wanting, and had, in turn, to surrender, until Mr. George E. Fox, F.S.A., was happy in finding a solution. In a large house in Pompeii there are a series of masonry structures similar to those at Silchester in design, and corresponding—some of them to an inch—in dimensions. Mr. Fox observes (Report for 1894, *Archæologia*, vol. 54) that had

the Pompeian furnaces been reduced to the same state of ruin as those at Silchester, they would have presented identically the same appearance. An inscription and a painting reveal the fact that the Pompeian house was a dyer's premises. This leaves but little doubt that the Silchester structures served as furnaces for heating boilers for dyeing, and that the buildings associated with the furnaces were drying rooms and stores for the material—probably cloth—which was treated in the dye-works. The correspondence in size of the Silchester and Pompeian furnaces suggests that all were constructed to standard gauges to receive metal boilers kept in stock. This development of the Silchester explorations, disclosing an extensive system of dye-works, is interesting and notable, as evidence has been found of but very few Romano-British industries.

Perhaps evidence of another industrial establishment has been found at Silchester—a flour mill. In 1897 the foundation walls of a rectangular enclosure adjoining a house, of the corridor type, were uncovered. Within this enclosure, symmetrically disposed in two rows, were six circular flint rubble foundations 4ft. 6ins. diameter, which may have carried querns for grinding corn. Or

perhaps the querns ground the roots of madder for the dyers of the north-western quarter. The house may have comprised a shop for the sale of the product of the mill.

From the tools and implements and other movable finds, to which reference will be made hereafter, it is to be inferred that other handicrafts were practiced—those of the potter, glass blower, smith, brazier, metal worker, goldsmith and silversmith, carpenter, cooper, shoemaker, cook, bone worker and turner, mason, builder, gardener, and husbandman. It may be remarked, parenthetically, that such evidence, both positively and negatively, goes to confirm previous statements, that Silchester was not a camp.

The water supply seems to have been drawn almost exclusively from wells, which are scattered over the whole area of the city. From 16ft. to 30ft. in depth, they were mostly lined with a flint steining as far as the water, below which the lining consisted of old wine casks, with the ends removed; or of a rectangular wood framing; or of a combination of the two systems. In some wells two casks have been found, one above the other. Four of these casks have been recovered, and are the only specimens of Roman wine casks

that have served the purpose of well *tubbing* that are known to have been exhumed. The staves of the casks are of fir, and the boards of the rectangular framing of oak, and the soundness of the wood, after burial for a decade and a half of centuries, is marvellous. The diameters of the casks, that have been exhumed, are from 3ft. to 3ft. 6ins.; two of the smaller diameter are the full original height of 6ft. 3ins., but the two of larger diameter have lost the upper portion by the perishing of the material; they, originally, were from 7ft. to 8ft. in height. At the bottom of two wells, the remains of buckets have been found, consisting of staves of firwood, with iron hoops and handles, and from one of the wells a large iron hook was recovered, probably used for dropping and drawing up the bucket. From the bottom of other wells, bucket handles of bronze have been recovered.

1896 produced evidence of a very important, and hitherto unknown, attainment of the Romans in Britain—an external water supply through the medium of pipes. A trench was found to have been cut from a point about 200ft. south-west of the south-west angle of the *basilica*, up to, and under, the city wall on the west, to a point about

18ft. outside the wall, at which point was a mass of masonry. The total length of the trench as far as it could, at the time, be traced, was between 700ft. and 800ft., and the depth between 6ft. and 7ft. For a considerable distance along the bottom of the trench, there were at intervals of about 7ft., a number of iron collars, 4½ins. internal diameter by about 1½ins. wide, which, manifestly, had served the function of joint ferrules for wooden pipes, traces of the material of which could be observed adhering to the ferrules, and also of the cement with which the joints had been calked, but the pipes had perished. (Wooden pipes, once used by the New River and other Water Companies, have frequently been found under the London streets.). The complete examination of the western end of the trench, which was, doubtless, the source of the water supply, had to be postponed until a periodical cutting of the undergrowth at that point, and further excavation at the eastern end was interrupted by the exigencies of the season. Whether this conduit supplied water from without the city, to the *basilica* and *forum*, or to some baths, of which there were indications, a little south-west of the *basilica*, remains for further research to

elucidate; but as the track of the trench turned towards the *basilica* as it approached that building, and was traced to within about 200ft. of the south-west angle, it is not improbable that this line of pipes supplied the *basilica* and *forum* with water from some well or spring of special virtue and purity. The trench did not shew any fall but the depth of the joint ferrules from the surface at the eastern end of the trench, in addition to being irregular, was somewhat less than further west; it, therefore, follows that the Romans must have been provided with some appliance for raising the water to a head from which it would flow through the pipes by gravitation, or with a force pump.

Evidence of the latter is not wanting. In 1895, in a rubbish pit a little south-east of the west gate, a force pump of rude construction, was discovered. The apparatus consisted of a block of wood 22½ins. long by about 9ins. by 13ins., elliptical in plan, though in consequence of the decay of the material externally, irregular in shape. The block was bored through its entire length by two holes parallel to each other and disposed on one side of the axis of the ellipse, which holes were lined, the whole length, by lead

pipes 3ins. internal diameter and $\frac{3}{16}$in. thick. On the other side of the axis of the ellipse, the block was cored into three chambers, the central one of which was common to the other subdivisions of the apparatus, and was contracted, at the top of the compartment, into a socket-shaped mouth. The other two chambers opened into the central chamber and were, respectively, connected with the cylinders through passages or ports.

The whole apparatus constituted two combined single-acting force pumps on quite modern principles; the lead-lined holes being the barrels, the duplicate chambers, the clack boxes for the suction and delivery valves, and the central chamber, common to both, the outlet—the contracted mouth of which formed a socket to receive the spigot of the delivery pipe, or, if the arrangement was to feed a tank at an elevation, the rising main. Within the apparatus—though not on its seat—was a lead disc which, when mounted on leather, would have served the purpose of one of the valves,—a flap valve of the necessary size. Although the pumps were single-acting, the two, by alternate action, would maintain a continuous discharge, doubtless accom-

plished by means of a beam on a rocking shaft. This is the only Roman pump ever found in Britain. There is an exquisite little Roman pump—from Bolsena—in the British Museum, with which the Silchester pump is, in principle, identical, though in constructional details and in the material employed, it does not correspond—the Bolsena example being of bronze.

There does not seem to have been any comprehensive system of drainage. Beyond a few isolated drains and those near the south gate, to which reference has been made, the excavations, so far, have yielded very little evidence. But the presence of the remains of stercoraceous matter at the bottom of many of the rubbish pits, in a large degree, accounts for the absence of drains.

Of the *fauna* of Silchester during the Roman occupation, the numerous remains of the bones have enabled Mr. Herbert Jones, F.S.A., F.L.S., to identify those of the ox, sheep, goat, stag, roe, horse, pig, badger, cat, dog, raven, wild swan, and crow. Mr. Herbert Jones found, from comparative measurement of the bones, that the oxen, sheep, and horses, were of varieties much smaller than those of the breeds of our own time. Cats have left indications of their presence other-

wise than by their bones, tiles having been found bearing the imprints of their paws, impressed when the clay was soft. A pretty little discovery was made of a black pot, covered with a large stone, containing the almost perfect skeleton of a small fish, much resembling that of a carp; but as the *cyprinus carpio* was not introduced into Britain till the fourteenth century, it could not have been of that species.

The population of *Calleva* is difficult to compute, even approximately, as those sections of the city which, now, are vacant ground, may have been covered with the habitations of the labouring classes and would have been the most densely populated districts, though in consequence of the probably perishable nature of the material of the dwellings, not a vestige of their remains would be left. That the population was very considerable is to be inferred from the magnitude of the public buildings of the city, and of the amphitheatre without the walls, the abounding wells, and the profusion of coins and remains of fictile ware.

The movable objects unearthed—the architectural remains, pottery, glass, iron and bronze tools, implements, ornaments, coins, and numerous miscellaneous antiquities—must now pass under

review; but, in consequence of the limited space remaining at my disposal, the description will be —except in reference to a few of the more notable finds—little more than a schedule. Wells, rubbish pits, and latrines, have, hitherto, been the chief repositories of treasures—rich mines for the antiquary—and some have been remarkably prolific and have yielded many supremely interesting relics.

From their imperial importance, the architectural remains demand first attention. Though but few and fragmentary—mere shadows of the past—they still speak with suggestive eloquence. A rich Corinthian capital, and fragments of several others of considerable size, several large Doric capitals, Attic bases, one shewing a shaft 2ft. 8ins. diameter, many drums of columns from a few inches to 2ft. 10ins. diameter, coping stones, many small stones wrought with delicate mouldings, the pinnacle of a gable, several Purbeck marble slabs, fragments of various foreign marbles, *antefixæ*, part of a colossal head, and fragments exhibiting lines of drapery; these, and many more, have been unearthed, and to the stateliness and architectural pretensions of the buildings which once they adorned, bear ample testimony.

Mr. George E. Fox has computed from the size of the capitals, the diameter of the drums of the columns, and other details, and from a conjectural restoration of the fabric, that the nave of the *basilica*, from the floor to the tie-beams of the roof, reached a height of fifty-seven feet.

Of pottery, Silchester has yielded its own abundant share. Hand-made and turned on the potter's wheel, most varieties of the ware common to Roman sites in Britain, are represented—the black, white, grey, purple, drab, and fawn-colour, and the ware usually termed Samian—of every variety of type, and in endless diversity of form—vases, bowls, *pateræ*, *ollæ amphoræ*, *mortaria*, strainers, and other utensils pertaining to the domestic uses of daily life. The (so called) Samian ware has been found in great profusion, some vessels perfect, others nearly perfect, though the great majority were rescued in fragments from rubbish pits and restored. The paste is of an extremely delicate and close-grained texture, the glaze excellent, the colour a lustrous red, and many of the vases, bowls, and *pateræ*, are elegant in design and some are elaborately figured. A large proportion of the vessels of this ware have the name of the potter stamped in a label, usually

on the bottom on the inside, some in distinct, others in ligatured, letters; sometimes the name is given in the nominative, followed by F., for *fecit* (he made it), or in the genitive, followed by M., for *manu* (by the hand of), or in the genitive, preceded by O. or OF., for *officina* (from the workshop of); the number of vessels and fragments thus inscribed, found at Silchester, being now considerably in excess of 300, of which 256 are different names, and to this array, additions will, doubtless, be made periodically, as other specimens are discovered. The ware was in great repute, and an indication of its value in the estimation of the Romans, is furnished by the number of vessels that have frequently been found on Roman sites, and occasionally at Silchester, that have been broken by their owners and repaired by means of metal rivets. "Samian" is a misnomer; the ware found in Britain, and known by that name, was not made in the Isle of Samos. It is almost certain that it was not made in this country, all found here having, probably, been imported from the Rhine or Italy; but unsuccessful attempts were made by the Romans in Britain to imitate the ware, and some of such imitations have been found at Silchester. A jar,

of grey ware with painted black bands, found in 1897, deserves special notice on account of its unusual size, being nearly 24ins. high, and 22ins. diameter. It may be observed that the surprising abundance of pottery found on most Roman sites, is to be explained by the much greater variety of duties it served, than at the present day; earthenware vases were, by the Romans, appropriated as the receptacles for articles which now are placed in chests, boxes, baskets, and bags.

Glass has been found in considerable quantities but mostly fragmentary. From the fragile character of the material, glass vessels in a perfect state are rarely found, except in association with sepulchral interments, and the cemetary has not yet been explored. The Roman glass-worker attained great proficiency in his craft, and his skill is well represented by a small vessel—probably a drinking cup—found in 1895, in a rubbish pit over which a house had been built. This vessel, about 4¼ins. diameter by 2⅛ins. deep, was in sixteen fragments, but, with the exception of one or two almost microscopic splinters, all were recovered and the vessel restored. It is pillar-moulded, of sapphirine blue, variegated with white streaks and yellow spots. Pillar-

moulding, when first practiced by English glass-workers, was regarded as a novelty; it was not known to be a revival of a Roman industry. The Silchester bowl is a superlatively beautiful specimen of pillar-moulding and is the only complete example of its kind found in this country. But the skill of the Roman glass-worker is shewn, even more remarkably, by several fragments of mosaic glass, in which the variously coloured sections are fused together and form floral and other graceful designs. Several glass vessels of great elegance, but more or less fragmentary, have been recovered, and many coloured beads, and also a considerable quantity of window glass.

Of iron tools and implements and other objects of the same metal, a remarkable hoard, recovered in 1890, from a pit in the north-west section of the city, requires special attention. An article, giving very full details, by Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.S.A., etc., is published, with illustrations, in vol. 54 of the *Archæologia*. The hoard numbered nearly sixty objects, among the more notable of which are nine anvils, one identical with those used by blacksmiths at the present time; two of the form still employed by shoemakers; and four similar to those small portable anvils still frequently used

in the south of France, in Spain, and in Italy, by mowers and reapers at work in the open field, for hammering out injuries to their scythes and sickles. Portable anvils, identical with the Silchester specimens in design, but made of steel, are at the present time manufactured by a Birmingham firm, and shipped to the Spanish settlements of South America. One of the Birmingham make, and a modern specimen from Spain, are placed with the Silchester anvils in the museum at Reading, thus shewing the continuity of type. More notable than the anvils—as illustrative of prototype rather than continuity of type—is a carpenter's plane, in design and construction similar to the more advanced tool of the present day, being cased with iron on both the face and the sides. The face measures 13¼ins. long by 2¼ins. wide. Three other Roman planes are known, two in the museum of Naples, and one in the museum of Hamburg, but the Silchester specimen is the only Roman plane found in Britain. The other objects of the hoard to be enumerated are, a sword blade, three bars, two plough-coulters, an object resembling an axle-box, three hammers, a pair of blacksmith's tongs of quite modern pattern, eight axes, two adzes of

the form used by coopers, six chisels, some for mortising, others for paring, five gouges, two blades resembling spokeshaves, a file, a lamp on an upright stem carried on a tripod base, a grid-iron about 17ins. by 18ins., consisting of a series of bars with a circular opening in the centre to receive a small saucepan, a (so called) hippo-sandal, and a bronze beam of a pair of scales, graduated on the upper edge to serve the purpose of a measure or of a steelyard. Most of the objects are in a wonderful state of preservation; some of the tools present the appearance of having just left the grindstone, and the bronze scalebeam, if provided with scale-pans, would, without repair, respond to the requirements of the goldsmith's craft. This hoard of tools is, with one exception, that found by the late Lord Braybrook, in 1854, at Great Chesterford, in Essex — perhaps, regarding the unique character of some of the series, without that exception—the most notable and comprehensive ever found in Britain.

Of other iron objects scattered about the city, those worthy of special mention are several pairs of compasses, keys in great numbers and of various patterns, a shoe for a wooden spade, steelyards and weights, a pair of shears, a mason's

trowel, nails, a screw cut with a thread tapering at the point in the fashion of a modern Birmingham patent, staples, hoops, rings, knives, *styli*, spear heads, lamps and candlesticks, a socket, *in situ*, of the pivot of the subordinate gate on the west and a band belonging to that gate, also a gate band in the main gateway on the west, and with it, one-half of an iron ring, probably part of the ring that had been shrunk on to the wooden pivot of one of the west gates.

Bronze is well represented. The most notable object of this metal is an eagle—its vertical wings torn away—which, not unlikely, was an imperial standard of a Roman legion. The figure measures nine inches from the curve of the upper mandible to the tip of the tail. It was found in 1866, buried in ten inches of wood ashes, in a chamber of the *basilica*. Other objects of this metal which may be enumerated are *fibulæ*—the prototype of the modern safety pin—in great profusion, many with the pins sharp and the springs still elastic, *ligulæ*, *styli*, *spatulæ*, a circular perforated ornament with an eagle in the centre, an ornamental perforated hinge, an arm purse, of which only five examples have been found in this country, several small figures, part of a small Corinthian capital, a

bowl, a jug, an inlaid boss, a mass of small nails, buckles, broaches, some enamelled, *armillæ*—corresponding with the modern bangle—rings, charms, pins, needles, keys, key-rings, scalebeams, a scale-pan, delicately wrought chains, an eagle's head with socket, several specimens of the little Roman bell—*tintinnabulum*—some circular, others rectangular at the mouth, tweezers, a strainer, spoons, and the remarkably fine and perfect scale-beam described with the hoard of iron tools. Many of the ornaments are in a grand state of preservation, the patina being brilliantly lustrous.

The *ligulæ*, of which a large number have been found, are small narrow spoon-shaped instruments with a long stem, frequently terminating with a prolate ellipsoid, and are generally supposed to have been employed for taking condiments or unguents from long-necked bottles. But this theory must be accepted provisionally only, as the ellipsoidal termination of the stem, is identical, in form and size, with the surgeon's probe of the present day, and the tongue-shaped spoon is well designed for removing any foreign substance from a wound. The *ligula* may, therefore, be a surgical instrument. This view is supported by the discovery of a very large

number of similar instruments, during recent excavations near Zurich, on the site of a building which disclosed indications of having been a Roman military hospital. In all, 120 of these *ligulæ* were found on the Zurich site, one of which was ornamented with the staff of Æsculapius.

Of gold and gems, two rings have been found, one inscribed, the other of filigree work containing a carbuncle; and several stones of other rings and engraved stones and intaglios.

Bone and Kimmeridge shale are represented by many delicately wrought ornaments. In 1896, a large accumulation of the blade-bones of sheep was found in a pit, all of which were perforated with numerous small holes, $\frac{1}{2}$in. and $1\frac{1}{8}$in. diameter, cut with a centre bit. These were, doubtless, the refuse of a bone-worker's factory.

Coins, at Silchester, as on most Roman sites, have been found in countless numbers; occasionally in hoards, but mostly scattered about. The occurrence of hoards, in a deserted city, is not difficult of explanation, but when the soil of a city, the streets, the house floors, the courtyards, the very rubbish pits and latrines, teem with coins, and even the fields around, a problem is pre-

sented to the antiquary not easy to solve; and such is the problem encountered at Silchester. One part of the city came to be known as "Silverhill," from the immense quantities of coins there found, but, now, the number turned up, owing to the plough and watchful eyes over a long series of years, is far less than formerly. The dates of the coins range from Marc Antony, about B.C. 40, to the reign of Arcadius, about A.D. 410. In 1894, between 3ft. and 4ft. below the present surface of the soil, on the western side of the city, was found a vase containing 253 silver *denarii*, ranging from Marc Antony to Septimus Severus.

Of miscellaneous antiquities, there are many that are noteworthy, but space will permit of reference to a few only. A worked stone or *stele*, discovered in a rubbish pit in 1893, bears an inscription in Ogam characters, which has been translated by Professor Rhys "(The grave) of Ebicatus son of Muco." Hitherto, Ogam stones have not been found further east than Devonshire; thus, this discovery is important, inasmuch as it extends the hitherto known range of the Ogam writing race. An immense deposit of oyster shells is not without interest. Covering an

area, near to the entrance to the *forum*, measuring about 100ft. by 55ft., this bed is from 18ins. to 24ins. in thickness. In consequence of the absence of pottery and all other remains from the deposit, it cannot be regarded as culinary refuse, and as streets are laid upon the deposit, it is probably of early date. Being in the immediate vicinity of a group of extensive buildings, it is surmised that the shells are the remains of an accumulation provided for conversion into lime. Oyster shells, undoubtedly culinary refuse, are found—as usual on Roman sites—scattered all over the city; the Romans of *Calleva* were not less partial to the bivalve than the rest of their race. Several tiles have been found impressed, while the clay was soft, with the imprints of the paws of animals, and one bears a clear and sharp impression of a child's foot, showing, even, the rugosities of the skin. Another tile is inscribed with the word *puellam*—all that is left to tell of a Roman's homage to the maid he loved. Many roofing tiles have been found, and in 1895, a row of such lay alongside the line of a wall, with their undersides uppermost, and with an *imbrex* tile covering each junction, also inverted, as if in their descent they had revolved and had fallen with

their undersides uppermost, though still preserving their alignment. In the museum at Reading, a roof model has been constructed with tiles found on the site. Of human remains, but few have been found; all that have been recorded being the skeletons of two infants—one enclosed in a small urn—and fragments of the skulls of two adults, discovered in 1890, and the fragments of two or three other skulls, at an earlier date, and the skeleton of an adult in 1833. The unique Roman pump and the iron ferrules for jointing wooden pipes, were described when treating of the water supply. Being valuable as elements in the civil life of the Romans of *Calleva*, a few other miscellaneous finds must be enumerated,—querns in large numbers, fragments of crucibles, several saucer-shaped cakes of metallic substance, metallic residue, composed chiefly of lead and copper, lead weights for steelyards, imitation gems of glass, leather shoes, a pewter jug, and terra cotta statuettes.

The movable antiquities, rescued from the obscurity of their venerable graves, after the lapse of centuries, dynasties, and civilizations, have all—with but few exceptions—been deposited in the museum at Reading, and they already

constitute a collection which, of its kind, is incomparably finer and more comprehensive than any in the country,—the "kind" being that representative of an industrial, a commercial, and a residential community. In some features, the collection is, without any qualification, the finest, but it necessarily lacks the inscriptions that are to be found in those cities in which the Roman legions were stationed, and,—for a time—sepulchral remains, the cemetary not yet having been explored.

But it must be understood that although the movable antiquities of Silchester are of the greatest interest—many of them being absolutely unique—and invaluable as illustrative of Romano-British art and archæology, they are, nevertheless, quite subordinate to the scheme of operation of the explorers, whose chief aim and end are to reconstruct the plan of the city with all its public buildings, palaces, private dwellings, baths; to disinter and disclose the internal economy of the community; to trace the rise and fall of a typical Romano-British residential city; a work which, when completed, will provide valuable material for that missing chapter of our early history—the civil life of the Romans during

their occupation of Britain. Much has already been accomplished, but great are the potentialities of the future. Year by year, the results of the labours of the explorers are accurately recorded on a map, and, year by year, additional *insulæ* are studded with the bygone habitations of men, till *Calleva Attrebatum* reverts to the verisimilitude of a *sel ceaster*—a city of dwellings. Hitherto, the field of Romano-British research has been limited to an isolated villa, or a camp covering a few acres: the present scheme is the systematic excavation of a large, and once populous, city—a hundred acres of public buildings, mansions, private dwellings, and industrial premises.

Though a mere outline sketch, this narrative would be incomplete as such, were it to close without any reference to the last days of *Calleva Attrebatum*. By no sudden catastrophe; not by flame, nor sack, nor storm; did the city go to its grave. The almost entire absence of human remains is very significant, and supported by positive evidence of only local fires and negative evidence of any wide-spread conflagration, may be regarded as unequivocal proof of gradual decay, in contradistinction to violent disruption. After the departure of the Roman legions from

Britain, and a subsequent period of misgovernment or subversion of government—probably not of long duration—the decline and fall of the Roman city would not be remote. Depopulation, ultimate absolute decession, desolation with the levelling agency of the elements, ruin supreme and complete, would be an assured and early consummation, and in a stoneless country, the fabric of the deserted city would rapidly be appropriated as building material. But the final act of the drama was preservation—not destruction — the burial of all that remained. That final act was wrought by worms. And now, where once the proud Roman dwelt and ruled and worshipped; over the ruins of his luxurious mansions and the temples of his gods; the ploughman steers the plough, and "Ceres' gifts in waving prospect stand."

And after the lapse of another cycle of centuries ?

"I've stood upon Achilles' tomb,
And heard Troy doubted: time will doubt of Rome."

England's First Capital.

By Thomas Frost.

AS the train from London to Southampton pauses a few minutes at Winchester, the traveller thinks, according as his mind is most deeply imbued with antiquarian lore or with modern fiction, of the round table of King Arthur, or of "The Warden" of Anthony Trollope and Miss Braddon's "Henry Dunbar." But he will scarcely be able to realise that the quiet city upon which he gazes, apparently sleeping amid its green surrounding meadows, was once the capital of England, and not merely of the England of Anglo-Saxon times, but of the kingdom ruled by Norman and early Angevin monarchs. Yet so it was; this quiet old city was the usual place of residence of the Saxon kings who were crowned in its cathedral, and contained, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, the royal treasury, the records of the kingdom, the courts of justice, and one of the numerous mints then existing.

Though William I. was crowned in Westminster Abbey, he came here on the arrival of his queen,

Matilda of Flanders, in England, and was again crowned in the cathedral, the ceremony being, it is said, a much more splendid one than that which had preceded it. Here, too, at the banquet which followed, the ceremony was performed for the first time of a champion riding into the hall, clad in armour, and challenging to mortal combat anyone who denied the king's right to the throne. Queen Matilda kept her court here until private affairs rendered necessary her return to Normandy; and here, too, was held the council called to investigate the charges preferred against Archbishop Stigand, who was deprived of the primacy, and imprisoned in or near the castle. He was buried in the cathedral, to which he bequeathed a large crucifix and a pair of silver-gilt figures of saints, which were placed over the screen before the entrance to the chancel.

Here, on the hill which overlooks the city, Waltheoff, a Saxon earl who had joined two Normans in a conspiracy against William, was executed in 1076. It was in Winchester that the curfew bell was first rung by order of William, as a precaution against the many disastrous fires of past years, the regulation being afterwards extended to all the other towns of England. The

rebuilding of the cathedral was commenced by Bishop Walkelyn, the successor of Stigand, in 1079, at his own cost, being desirous of replacing the small and unpretentious edifice of Saxon times with a building more grand and ornate. In 1093, when the new cathedral was sufficiently near completion to enable mass to be performed in it, a grand opening service was held, in which nearly all the bishops and abbots in England took part, and was followed three months afterwards by the shrine of St. Swithin being brought in solemn procession from the old cathedral, which was shortly afterwards demolished, and much of the stone used in constructing the walls of the present north transept.

It was in this reign that a charter was granted for holding an annual fair on St. Giles's Hill—the site of Waltheoff's execution—which in later times became an institution of considerable importance. Henry II. ordered a robe and silver utensils for the queen's chapel to be bought at this fair, and John gave orders "for the purchase of wax, pepper, and cummin against the winter, at London or at Winchester fair." On the eve of St. Giles's Day (Sept. 1st), when the fair begun, the mayor gave the key of the city gates to an officer of the

bishop, to whom was assigned the tolls levied on all the merchandise brought through for sale at the fair, which was continued for fourteen days, afterwards extended by Henry III. to sixteen. All the shops in the city were arbitrarily closed during all that time, which involved great losses to the traders, of which they made frequent but unavailing complaints.

St. Giles's Hill must have presented an appearance as animated as it was motley during the holding of this great fair, the stalls composing which were arranged in long rows, named after the commodities sold in them, or after the towns from which the dealers came. A special court was held for the hearing of charges of theft and assault, and the neighbouring wooded districts, through which persons coming to the fair would have to pass, were patroled by mounted officers for their protection. Fires were frequent during the fair time, and in 1231 the flames extended on one occasion to the church of St. Giles, which was burned almost to the ground.

On the death of the Conqueror, his second son, whom he had named as his successor, to the exclusion of the eldest, Robert, hastened to Winchester, and, in the words of the Anglo-Saxon

Chronicle, "examined the treasury, and the hoards which his father had amassed; gold and silver, vessels of plate, palls, gems, and many other valuables that are hard to be numbered." William II. was not a popular king, certainly not in Winchester, and when the arrow flown by Sir Walter Tyrrell terminated his life, and his corpse was brought to the cathedral for burial, "no bell was tolled," says Mr. Freeman, "no prayer was said, no alms were given, for the soul of the baptised and anointed ruler whose eternal damnation was taken for granted by all men as a thing about which there could be no doubt."

Henry I., who was hunting in the New Forest when his brother was there slain, rode swiftly to Winchester on hearing of the event, and reached the castle just before William de Breteuil, the royal treasurer, who had also been of the hunting party. Henry's demand for the keys of the treasury being met by refusal, on the ground that the treasure belonged to Robert, a scuffle ensued, in which Henry, assisted by his partisans, succeeded in getting possession of the keys, and thereby of that which then as now constituted the sinews of war. The barons present acknowledged his claim, and his subsequent marriage with the

niece of Edgar Atheling, the last of the Saxon royal family, went far to make him more popular than either of his Norman predecessors. The ceremony was solemnised in the cathedral by Archbishop Anselm, and David, King of Scotland, uncle of the bride, was one of the wedding guests. In the same year, a great fire broke out in the city, in which such disasters were frequent in those days, owing to most of the houses being built of wood, and before it could be extinguished the Mint and the Guild Hall were destroyed, the municipal records being lost in the latter building.

In 1107 the tower of the cathedral fell, a casualty which was attributed by many to the fact of the late king having been buried beneath it; though, as the old chronicler, William of Malmesbury wisely says, "the building might have fallen through imperfect construction, even though he had never been buried there." The tower was probably rebuilt soon afterwards, though the exact date is unknown; and the fact that it has always been known as Walkelyn's Tower may be regarded as presumptive evidence that the cost was defrayed from the large sum of money left by that bishop for the maintenance of the cathedral.

The city seems to have enjoyed great prosperity

From a Photo by] [*F. A. Grant.*

WINCHESTER CITY CROSS.

during this reign. Henry frequently resided here, where he had three houses, besides one outside the walls, where he kept sea-birds for the sport of hawking; and with these and the castle, the cathedral, three great monasteries, several minor religious houses, the parish churches, the Guild Hall, and the Mint, it must have presented a flourishing appearance to the traveller who looked down upon it from St. Giles's Hill.

On the death of Henry, in 1135, his nephew, Stephen, Count of Blois, came over from France, resolved to claim the throne, alleging that the Empress Matilda, Henry's daughter, had forfeited it by her second marriage. Receiving a favourable reception from many of the nobles, he hurried from London to Winchester, and was crowned by the primate and the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, the former of whom was his brother. He was then allowed to take possession of the treasure, which amounted to between ninety and a hundred thousand pounds.

The French bishop, in the following year, founded the hospital of the Holy Cross, "for thirteen poor impotent men"; but the charter by which he vested the administration of it in the prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem was

not granted until 1151. He pulled down the old palace, near the cathedral, and used the materials in erecting for himself "a house like a palace, with a very strong tower."

Stephen's demand for the surrender of a castle built by the Bishop of Salisbury, which was enforced by imprisonment, produced, in 1139, a rupture between the royal brothers. Stephen was cited to appear before a council, which sat for three days at Winchester, and was attended by the primate and nearly all the bishops, many of the barons, and Aubrey de Vere, the proxy of Stephen, who accused the Bishop of Salisbury of treason. Henry of Blois, who as papal legate had precedence of the primate, maintained that ecclesiastics could lawfully be dealt with only by the canon law. This claim exasperated the barons; swords were drawn, and the council broke up in confusion.

The empress came to England shortly afterwards, and was received in a very friendly manner by Henry of Blois, who escorted her to Bristol. The bishop resolved not to be the tool of his brother, and on the return of Matilda to Winchester, he headed the procession of priests and monks that went forth to meet her. Even the

nuns—a thing before unheard of—joined the procession, unveiled. A solemn service was held in the cathedral, when the bishop excommunicated the adherents of Stephen, and absolved from their oaths of allegiance all who would support the empress-queen, to whom he gave up the crown jewels and all that remained of the treasure.

Six months afterwards, however, the queen and the bishop quarrelled, and the latter endeavoured to turn the scale in favour of his brother. The civil authorities of Winchester succeeded in securing the castle for Matilda, who was joined there by an army, commanded by her brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester. A body of Flemish mercenaries, engaged by Stephen's wife, plundered the city, and threw fire-balls into it, upon which the supporters of Matilda withdrew into the castle, which want of water soon compelled them to surrender. The empress escaped to Devizes, but the Earl of Gloucester became a prisoner, and was held captive until the like mischance befel Stephen, for whom he was then exchanged.

Great part of the city seems to have been destroyed on this occasion, the king's troops burning what had escaped the fire-balls of the Flemish mercenaries. The cathedral did not

suffer much damage, but St. Grimbald's Abbey, the convent of St. Mary, and more than twenty churches were wholly or partially destroyed, with all the north side of the High Street. The bishop returned to the ruined city in 1142, and in 1153, when peace was restored by Stephen's acknowledgment of Matilda's son as his successor, that "illustrious youth," to use the words of a contemporary writer, Henry of Huntingdon, "was received and conducted by the king himself in solemn procession through the streets of Winchester, amidst the joyful acclamations of an infinite number of people."

Stephen survived this arrangement only a year, and in the winter of 1154 Henry II. landed at Southampton, and proceeded at once to Winchester, where he was crowned. He frequently held his court here, when mystery and miracle plays were composed by the abbot, William of Blois, and acted before the queen. Subsequently to this gay time, Elinor, for promoting dissensions between Henry and his sons, was placed under restraint in the castle, under the guardianship of the chief justician and treasurer of the kingdom, Ranulph de Glanville. Her imprisonment lasted, with some brief intervals, sixteen years.

Bishop Toclyve, the successor of Henry of Blois, founded the hospital of St. Mary the Magdalene, the ruins of which were in existence until the beginning of the present century on Magdalene Hill. Henry II., about the same time, rebuilt the ruined abbey of St. Grimbald, and re-dedicated it to St. Barnabas.

The first act of sovereignty exercised by Richard I. was the release of his mother, and he would have put Glanville in her place had not the latter handed to him the keys of the treasury. In this reign were built the church of St. Thomas, demolished in 1846, and that of St. John, considered by many competent judges to be the most interesting church in the city, after the cathedral. John was not crowned here, but in Westminster Abbey. His queen resided here on several occasions, and he was here himself in 1213, when he made his submission to the church, as represented by Archbishop Langton, at a solemn convention of the barons and the clergy, held in the chapter-house. The primate there absolved him, and the whole assembly went in procession to the cathedral, amidst the joyful ringing of all the church bells in the city, and joined in a solemn thanksgiving service. He was

here again in 1217, when a French army was in the country, but fled on its approach to the city which was forced to surrender.

Henry III. was born in Winchester, and was often here, with his queen. Like his father, he became embroiled with the clergy, and ecclesiastical troubles of a serious character ensued. When Bishop Raleigh came to Winchester to be installed, the city gates were closed against him by the king's order, and after laying the city under an interdict, he left England. In the following year, however, the difficulty was arranged, the interdict removed, and the bishop enthroned. On Raleigh's death, the king came to Winchester, and nominated to the see his half-brother, Aymer de Valence, who was only twenty-three years of age, and in minor orders. The chapter accepted him, though very unwillingly, and he was never consecrated, in order that he might retain the many rich benefices he held.

In 1262, during the dispute between Henry and the disaffected barons, an attempt was made to seize the former, then residing at the castle; and though he escaped to London, the city was sacked by the rebels, and suffered much damage.

Two years later a feud between the citizens and the monks culminated in a serious riot, in which the great gate of the priory, the monastic buildings adjoining it, and the church of St. Swithin were burned, and several persons connected with the monastery were killed. After the battle of Evesham, in the following year, the king convened a council at Winchester to deal with the estates forfeited by the barons lately in rebellion. But from this time, though the city received visits from several successors of Henry, and Parliament—an institution of the next reign—sometimes assembled here, the associations of Winchester with the national history gradually became fewer and fewer. London came more and more to the front, and soon was regarded as the capital of the kingdom. Winchester lost importance in the ratio of London's gain, and even its commercial interests soon began to dwindle, leaving the old city as we know it to-day.

Winchester Cathedral.

By England Howlett.

IT was in the year 634 that Birinus, the apostle of Wessex, came to Winchester, which was then the royal city. He did not remain, but went on to Dorchester, and it was there he fixed his see, and baptised the West Saxon king. However, before long he finally came to Winchester, and the see was transferred there in 676. A cathedral and monastic house attached to it were built. Egbert, the King of Wessex, was made King of all England in 827, and then Winchester shared very largely in his greatness. Nine years after this the king died, and he was buried in the cathedral.

Soon after the death of the king, came the invasion of the country by the Danes, but Ethelwulf offered such a determined resistance to the fierce invaders that Wessex was able successfully to hold its own against them. St. Swithin was the adviser and counsellor of the king, and it was on his recommendation that a strong wall was built round the precincts of the cathedral.

EARLY NORMAN FONT, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

This wall indeed proved the saving of the sacred edifice, for when the Danes burnt Canterbury they were not able to touch Winchester. Nothing of the cathedral of this period now remains, although it is rich in the records of St. Swithin and stories of Canute and Queen Emma.

Parker, in his "Calendar of the Prayer Book," tells us that St. Swithin was of noble parentage, and passed his youth in the study of philosophy and the scriptures. He received the clerical tonsure and put on the monastic habit in the monastery at Winchester; and was subsequently promoted to Holy Orders by Helmstan, Bishop of Winchester, at whose death in 852 King Ethelwulf granted him the see. He was chancellor under Kings Egbert and Ethelwulf, and one of the instructors of Alfred the Great, whom he accompanied when he went to Rome to be confirmed. He presided over the see of Winchester for eleven years with great holiness and humility. It was at his suggestion that King Ethelwulf bestowed on the church the tithe or tenth part of all his lands in the kingdom. He died on July 2nd, A.D. 862, and was buried, according to his request, in a humble place outside the cathedral, where the feet of the

passers-by might tread, and the rain of heaven fall. According to the common legend, the monks afterwards tried to remove his bones to a more honourable tomb, but it rained so incessantly for forty days, that, taking such a visitation as a mark of the saint's displeasure, they were obliged to desist and allow his remains to continue in their humble resting-place. This is the origin of the popular belief relative to rain on St. Swithin's day.* The story, however, while it cannot be traced to any ancient source, is not corroborated by historic record, for in 971 the translation of his relics to a shrine of gold and silver inside the church was accomplished by St. Athelwold. In 1094 the relics were re-translated to the new cathedral of Winchester, which had just been erected by Bishop Walkelin.

It was in the year 964 that the secular clergy were turned out of Winchester, and then it was that the Benedictine monks became established in their place by Bishop Athelwold. This bishop it was who rebuilt the church which was completed in 980, and dedicated not only to St. Swithin, but also to St. Peter and St. Paul.

The present cathedral was commenced during

* Translation of St. Swithin, 15th July, A.D. 971.

the episcopate of Bishop Walkelin in 1079, and much of the work of this period still remains to testify to the magnificence and stately grandeur which crowned the efforts of the early Norman architects. The two transepts are still practically in the same condition as they were left by Bishop Walkelin in 1093. Fortunately they escaped the fate which befel so many of the English cathedrals in the troublesome times of the Church, so that this portion of the cathedral remains to us in all its ancient dignity.

Originally the usual Norman apse terminated the eastern end of the cathedral, which was then much shorter than it is at the present time, extending probably only as far as the crypt below. It was the invariable plan for the Gothic architects to lengthen the churches eastward, and to carry out their design they did not hesitate to pull down the apse.

The tower is said to have been open as a lantern from the floor to the roof. This tower, however, did not stand for long. William Rufus was buried under it in 1100, and seven years later the tower fell in with a crash over the king's grave. This, no doubt, was the result of faulty foundations, which was a common error with the

Norman architects, when rearing a building of any great height, but at the time when the tower fell this was not by any means recognised as the reason, but rather that the wicked king's bones had weakened the piers and so caused the collapse of the tower. Bearing in mind the fate of the first tower, the masons feared to raise the second one to anything like its proportional height, the result being that the outside of Winchester Cathedral has rather a dull, monotonous appearance. Still the tower in itself is a fine example of Norman work, and although not built for some time after the death of Bishop Walkelin, it is still called "Walkelin's Tower."

Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, about seventy years later, made great alterations in the cathedral, considerably broadening the entire church to the width of the nave. Unfortunately, he built on wooden piles, which naturally in course of time gave way, the result being that the south wall is very much out of the perpendicular.

Very few alterations were made at Winchester during the fourteenth century, which is somewhat remarkable when we remember that it was at this period the Gothic style was at its height; and while most of our cathedrals, and so many of our

parish churches can show such glorious examples of the Decorated period, there is nothing at Winchester, save four bays of the choir, and the tracery of a few windows.

With the introduction of the Perpendicular period, alterations and additions were freely made, and the west end of the cathedral very early felt the effect of the introduction of this new style. Two bays on the north, and one on the south were completely altered by encasing the Norman work with that of the new style.

Bishop Fox, who died in 1528, was the last of the bishops who made any great structural alterations in the cathedral. It was this bishop who rebuilt the clerestory of the choir. To him also are due the magnificent flying-buttresses which are such a characteristic feature of the building. It was at this time that the choir was roofed in with wooden vaulting, and the numerous coats-of-arms blazoned on the shields tell of the period when the now almost obsolete science of heraldry was as popular as at the present day it is forgotten or abused. In architecture the Perpendicular style has above all others lent itself for the display of heraldry.

The extension of the Lady Chapel was the

work of Priors Hunton and Silkstede, and is of late Perpendicular date. It is this additional bay of the Lady Chapel which gives Winchester the distinction of being the largest cathedral in England, and to which even St. Alban's Abbey must give way.

The Norman font at Winchester is exceedingly fine, and is situated on the north side of the nave. It is a nearly square block of bluish-black calcareous marble, supported on a solid central column, ornamented with horizontal mouldings, with four disengaged pillars of a smaller size, and which are ornamented with cable mouldings at each corner. On the north and east faces of the font are three circular medallions with symbolic doves and salamanders. On the south and west are scenes from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra, showing the saint dowering the three daughters of a poor nobleman, and restoring to life a drowned person.

The library at Winchester has few architectural pretensions, and was built at a time when art in building had become considerably debased. It is a lean-to along the south transept, and was in reality built to hold Bishop Morley's books after his death in 1684.

Prior Silkstede's richly carved fifteenth century pulpit is very fine, and serves as an example of how admirably the style of the fifteenth century was suited to elaborate wood carving.

Near to the great screen is the tomb of Bishop Fox. He built the tomb himself, and contrary to the usual practice of the time there is no effigy of the bishop. There is, however, a richly ornamented altar and reredos, and behind it is a curious little chamber which is still called the "bishop's study," because in his old age and when he had become quite blind he was led there every day to rest and to pray.

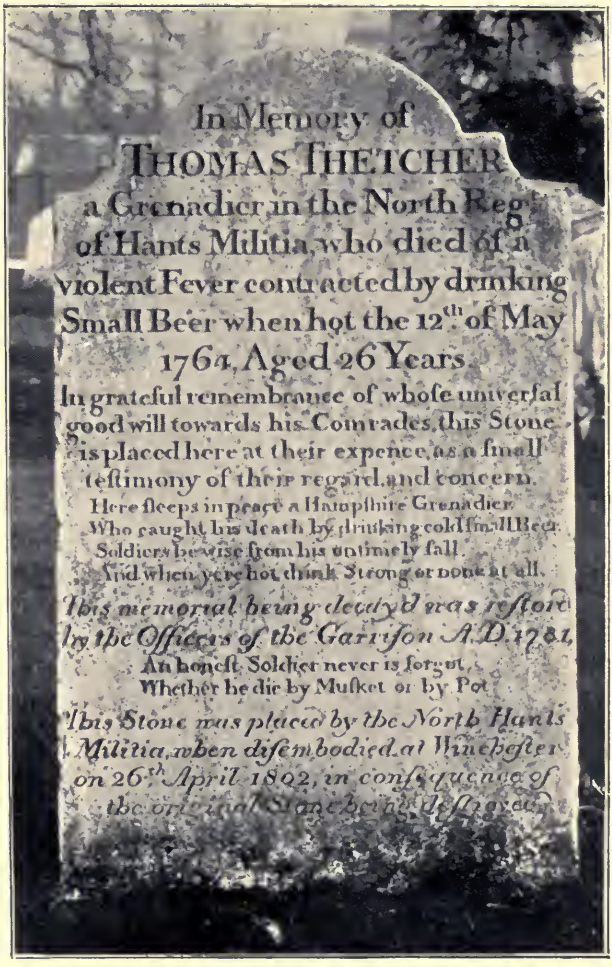
In no English cathedral except St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey are buried so many men of note as at Winchester. Cynegils and Cenwalh, who were West Saxon kings and founders of the church, are buried here. It was at Winchester, too, that Egbert was buried in 838. Here also lie Ethelwulf, Edward the Elder, and Edred. For a time the body of Alfred the Great lay in the cathedral before it was moved to the new church which he had built. The great Canute and also his son Hardicanute both found their resting-places at Winchester. No king was buried there after William Rufus. In a chapel in the south

transept Izaak Walton is buried, and in the north aisle of the nave is the grave of the celebrated novelist, Jane Austen. One of the great sculptor Chantrey's masterpieces is to be seen at Winchester in the tomb of Bishop North, who kneels in effigy against the east wall of the Lady Chapel.

A great feature in Winchester is the chantries. It is far richer in this respect than any other cathedral in England. These chantries are the chapels built by the bishops during their lifetime to serve as their place of burial. One of them at the western end is Wykeham's. The effigy of the bishop is there, with flesh and robes all coloured *proper*, and there are also figures of three monks in prayer, and some angels. There are seven of these chantries, of which perhaps the finest are those of Beaufort and Fox.

At Winchester are two celebrated epitaphs, the one within the cathedral, and the other in the graveyard. The inscription on the latter tombstone runs as follows :—

"In Memory of
THOMAS THETCHER,
A Grenadier in the North Regiment
of Hants Militia, who died of a
violent fever contracted by drinking
small beer when hot the 12th of May,
1764, aged 26 years.



From a Photo by] [*F. A. Grant.*

THETCHER'S TOMBSTONE, WINCHESTER.

In grateful remembrance of whose universal
goodwill towards his Comrades this stone
is placed here at their expense as a small
testimony of their regard and concern.

Here sleeps in peace a Hampshire Grenadier
Who caught his death by drinking cold small beer.
Soldiers be wise from his untimely fall,
And, when ye're hot, drink strong, or none at all.

This memorial being decayed was restor'd
by the officers of the Garrison, A.D. 1781.

An honest soldier never is forgot
Whether he die by musket or by pot.
This stone was placed by the North Hants
Militia when disembodied at Winchester,
On 26 April, 1802, in consequence of
the original stone being destroyed."

The other epitaph is in the aisle of the cathedral. It is engraved on a piece of copper, and is affixed to one of the pillars in the vicinity of Bishop Hoadley's tomb.

"A MEMORIALL.

For the renowned Martialist Richard Boles of y^e^
Right Worshypful family of the Boles, in
Linckhorne Sheire: Colonell of a Ridgment of Foot
of 1300, who for his Gratious King Charles y^e^ First
did wounders at the Battell of Edge Hill; his last
Action, to omit all others was att Alton in the
County of Southampton, was surprised by five or
Six Thousand of the Rebells, who caught him there
Quartered to fly to the church, with near fourscore
of his men who there fought them six or seven

Houers, and then the Rebells breaking in upon them
he slew with his sword six or seven of them and
then was slayne himself, with sixty of his men aboute
him

1641.

His Gratious Sovereign hearing of his death, gave
him his high comendation in y^s^ pationate expression,
Bring me a moorning scarffe, i have lost
One of the best Commanders in this Kingdome.
Alton will tell you of his famous fight
Which y^s^ man made and bade the world good night
His verteous life feared not Mortality
His body must his vertues cannot Die.
Because his Bloud was there so nobly spent,
This is his Tomb, that church his monument.
Ricardus Boles in Art. Mag.
Composuit, Posuitque, Dolens,
An. Dm. 1689."

Royal marriages took place at Winchester during the Middle Ages. Henry IV. was married there to Joan of Navarre, and his namesake, Henry I., also married the Saxon Matilda in the cathedral. It was at Winchester, too, that Philip of Spain and Queen Mary were married. Philip had travelled up from Southampton in a deluge of rain, and was received at the three-arched doorway of the deanery soaked to the skin. However, on the wedding-day there was a splendid procession, which entered by the western door, and the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp. The

chair which Queen Mary used on the occasion is still shown in the cathedral.

Winchester was the early home of the kings, and the cathedral naturally became their chapel. It was from Winchester that Egbert, after he had been crowned, issued the celebrated edict in 828, ordering that the island should from thenceforth be always called England, and its people Englishmen. Alfred the Great was crowned at Winchester; William the Conqueror often resorted thither at the Easter Gencot, and Richard, his second son, lies buried in the cathedral.

The christening of Arthur, Prince of Wales, the elder brother of Henry VIII., was at Winchester, and the Merry Monarch loved the city so well that he built himself a palace there.

Since the Reformation no important changes or historical events have disturbed the quiet, even tenor of the cathedral's existence, and it remains to us to-day in all the solemn stillness of its grey tranquility, but crowded nevertheless with historic memories of earlier days, when, according to tradition, Canute hung up his crown over the high altar of the original cathedral after the celebrated scene on the sea-shore; and of much later days, when, during the great rebellion, after the capture

of the city, the mob rushed into the cathedral, wild for mischief and robbery, and finding in the chests nothing but bones, are said to have amused themselves by throwing these at the stained windows.

The Hospital of St. Cross.

By the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, b.a.

NEAR the site now occupied by the hospital and church of the Holy Cross at Winchester once stood a religious house, known as the monastery of Sparkford. This had been founded in the early days of the conversion of the English, but situated as it was near the wealthy city of Winchester, and not far from the waters of the English Channel, it was doubly in danger of an attack from the marauding Danes in their descents upon the coast; and when that attack came, it was delivered with such thoroughness as utterly to ruin the sacred building. No attempt was made to rebuild it, and the place lay waste for something like three centuries; until, in fact, Danish pirates had become peaceful settlers in the land, and had mingled with their former foes, the English, once as much marauders as themselves, and both had been overcome by another tribe of now civilized sea-kings that had come out of Normandy for the conquest of the island.

Two of the grandsons of William the Conqueror,

born of his daughter, Adela, and her husband, the Count of Blois, were Stephen of Blois and Henry. The latter adopted the ecclesiastical life, and in the year 1129 became Bishop of Winchester, a city then at the height of its fame and dignity, dividing with London and York the metropolitan honours of the country. This promotion was probably due to the favour which Henry I. showed to both his nephews, and it made Henry de Blois almost as considerable a person in the kingdom as his brother Stephen, who was looked upon as heir-presumptive to the throne. In 1135 Henry the king died, and the authority of Henry the bishop was naturally increased by the accession of his brother to the crown, even though that accession was disputed by some of his subjects, and the bishop himself was not consistently loyal. Henry of Blois was a typical instance of the great prelates of the time. A prince by birth, a dweller in courts throughout his life, the clash of arms had been familiar to him from childhood; and the customs of the time, as well as its dangers, required that his palaces should be fortresses, and his retinue knights and men-at-arms. He knew how to conduct a siege, and did not flinch from the infliction of fire and sword in the cause that

he had espoused; but that he was not forgetful of the poor and the suffering, and could be splendid, and even lavish, in his charities is abundantly proved by the Hospital of St. Cross.

In 1136, the year after Stephen's accession to the English crown, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, founded his new hospital on or near the site of the ruined Saxon monastery. The buildings were erected in the massive style characteristic of the period; of squared stones, whose whiteness even yet is remarkable, fitted and joined with the most consummate art, so that after seven hundred years of storm and shine no joint has opened, no wall or column fallen from the perpendicular, but all stands as if eternally fixed. The original foundation, entered by a gateway of sturdy simplicity, comprised two quadrangles, round which were ranged the needful houses. These included a refectory for the resident "brethren," and the lodges for their residence; a great dining-hall, called (for reasons which we shall presently see) the "Hundred-mennes Hall," together with rooms for chaplains, porters, and attendants, and suitable apartments for the master. Almost all these buildings acquire a certain dignity by the mere force of their solidity and obvious strength;

something more in the way of architectural enrichment was bestowed upon the chapel. This is cruciform in plan, as was natural in a church dedicated in the name of St. Cross, with a nave and choir measuring together 150 feet in length, crossed by transepts measuring 120 feet. The columns which divide the nave from its aisles are exceedingly massive, the height being only four times the diameter. They are placed upon solid square plinths, and crowned with capitals consisting of simple, but not absolutely uniform mouldings. The arches are exceedingly interesting, especially for their diversity. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that Henry de Blois owned a kind of museum, in which were preserved all manner of birds, beasts, and monsters, and his taste in architecture seems to have been hardly less diffused and general. The chevron, the fret, the billet, the pellet, and, in fact, all the characteristic forms of decoration admitted in Norman work, are represented in these mouldings.

All his buildings being complete, the bishop arranged for their occupation, and his scheme showed no niggard's hand in its details. Thirteen poor men who had no means of maintaining themselves were to have their homes within the

ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER.

foundation ; and their daily allowance was fixed at 3¼ pounds of bread, a gallon and a half of beer, a modicum of *mortrel* (a sort of egg-flip made with milk), and *wastel bread.* Twice a day, at dinner and at supper, flesh or fish was allowed, and dessert followed the former meal. The appetites of the fortunate thirteen were certainly not stinted ; but this was not the whole of the benefaction. Within the Hundred-mennes Hall one hundred of the poorest men of good character in the city of Winchester were daily fed on an equally generous scale. Each was allowed two messes of flesh or fish, according as the day was a fast or not, a loaf of bread, and three quarts of beer ; and what a man could not eat of his allowance he might take home with him. The lavish quantity provided was granted probably with a view to ensuring that there would, in almost every case, be something left for other meals for themselves or for the use of their families. It should also be noted with regard to the quantity of beer allotted to each, that, in the days when beer formed the standard drink at all meals in England (the choice lying at that time solely between that and water for ordinary people), a very light small beer was the beverage commonly used on such occasions ;

and, moreover, it was home-brewed, and consequently free from any sort of adulteration.

For the government of the hospital, and the care of the inmates and guests, both in material and in spiritual things, as well as for the due performance of the sacred offices in the chapel, an ample staff was organised. A steward, no doubt adequately supported by serving-men, had charge of the meals, and the chapel was served by four chaplains, assisted by thirteen clerks, and seven singing boys. These last had education free of charge within the hospital. The whole establishment was under the control of a master. The full scheme—involving the daily dining of some 150 people, the expenses of residence for about 50 (including in each case a certain number of servants), together with the cost of divine service, and the maintenance of the buildings in repair—implies a very large annual outlay; and the expenditure of Bishop Henry de Blois on his foundation, in its erection and endowment, must have been great.

The founder placed his hospital under the general supervision of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, an order which had become established in England in the year 1100; but this

arrangement did not long survive its originator. Richard Toclyve succeeded Henry de Blois as Bishop of Winchester in 1174, and he and the military knights soon disagreed over the administration of St. Cross. The king, Henry II., acted as mediator in the quarrel, with the result that the Hospitallers resigned their authority over the house, and the bishop, in return for the control granted to him, endowed dinners for another hundred men.

A foundation so lavishly endowed as this Hospital of St. Cross has a disadvantage perhaps not forseen by its munificent creator; it holds out not a little temptation to peculation, and affords many opportunities for abuse; it is not, therefore, surprising that the need for reform was felt in this case after a time. Many years had, however, rolled away, and thirteen bishops had ruled at Winchester since Toclyve's time, before the evil assumed proportions that called for active interference. The illustrious William of Wykeham, most famous of our ecclesiastical architects, came to the episcopal throne of Winchester in 1367, when the Hospital of St. Cross had stood for over three hundred and thirty years; and he found much waste and mal-administration in the house.

Some of the funds belonging to the hospital had been alienated to other uses, and such as remained were handled carelessly and ill; so that the charity contemplated by De Blois and Toclyve suffered.

Wykeham set about correcting these abuses in a thorough manner. He was able to appoint a new master, and chose his trusty friend, John de Cambden, in whom he found a strong supporter in the work of reform, and an able and faithful administrator of the institution. The chapel contains the tomb of this master, covered by a large brass on which is his effigy, in the secular habit of the time, with his name on a label at his feet, and around it escutcheons and passages of Scripture. The bishop and the master together instituted various suits in the courts, both secular and ecclesiastical, for the recovery of the alienated property of the hospital, and at last succeeded in thoroughly rehabilitating the finances of the place. Nor was the fabric forgotten; certain repairs and additions, especially at the western end of the chapel, being assigned to the time of William of Wykeham, although nothing to prove the personal interest of that great architect in the work is apparent.

Thus once more completely re-established on

a firm and sound basis by the zeal of Wykeham and the integrity of Cambden, the Hospital of St. Cross came under the control of another bishop, Henry Cardinal Beaufort, who succeeded Wykeham in 1405 ; and proved a second founder to the house. Beaufort, the second and so far the last Henry to rule this see, was like his great predecessor, the former Henry, of royal birth, and filled a great place in the nation. He was the son of John of Gaunt, and thus grandson of Edward III., and on the death of Henry V., in 1422, he was appointed one of the guardians of the infant King Henry VI. ; and at his own death in 1447, he was the most powerful, and probably the wealthiest peer in England.

The cardinal made extensive additions to the buildings of St. Cross, and added largely to its endowment. He rebuilt a great deal of the residential portion of the establishment, and almost doubled its dimensions ; cloisters, infirmary, and increased lodgings, forming the most important features of the additions. Larger buildings were in fact demanded by the wider scope of the charity as it was re-organized and re-endowed by Beaufort. Residence was now offered to thirty-five more poor men, besides the

original thirteen, and two more priests were provided, to attend to the spiritual welfare of the inmates. The temporal needs of these forty-eight aged men were also considered, and rooms were built for three nuns, who were to devote their attention to the comfort and care of the sick in the infirmary. This latter building was so built as to abutt upon the chapel, into the transept of which one of its windows opened, so that even the sick could hear the chanting of the divine offices in the choir below.

The Hospital of Holy Cross had now attained its position of widest usefulness. There must have been at this time fully a hundred permanent inmates of the house, of one kind or another; and about three hundred persons were fed daily within its walls. It was the cardinal's intention that the additional accommodation of the hospital should specially be used for the benefit of broken-down gentlemen, and in accordance with this idea he wished it to be named the "Alms-House of Noble Poverty;" the older and simpler title of the Hospital of St. Cross has, however, remained the better-known name of the whole foundation.

Subsequently to Beaufort's days the establishment began once more to decline; the funds were

not always wisely applied, and the numbers of those to whose benefit they should have been devoted were suffered to dwindle. At the Reformation no formal attack was made upon it, as in the case of the monastic houses; but it is alleged that Henry VIII. considerably reduced its revenues. The foundation, however, continued; and at the present day, after an existence of over 750 years, it pursues a course in many respects the same as of old. The daily dinner to two hundred poor men has ceased, but a tradition of it survives in the "Wayfarer's Dole"—a slice of bread and a horn of ale given to anyone who knocks at the porter's lodge and applies for it within reasonable hours. The residents have shrunk in number to the original thirteen, who are distinguished by a habit, consisting of a black gown with a cross in silver on the left breast. The chapel, which was restored in 1865, is used not only by the "brethren," but also by the parishioners of St. Faith, a parish that has been without a church for a long period.

On the whole, no religious foundations of pre-Reformation date succeeded in maintaining their original character so much as the hospitals; throughout the country there are not a few

instances in which they still stand and perform, in the spirit if not in the letter, much the same work as that designed by their founders. But among them all we should have difficulty in finding any ancient foundation more interesting than the Hospital of the Holy Cross at Winchester.

From a Photo by] BEAUFORT'S TOWER, ST. CROSS. [*F. A. Grant.*

Winchester College.

By the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, b.a.

ELSEWHERE in this volume the life of William of Wykeham has been briefly told; some further notice is due, however, to the institution which enshrines his memory.

We have traces of a school at Winchester nearly eight hundred years ago; for in his constitution for the Hospital of St. Cross, Henry de Blois, brother of King Stephen, directed that thirteen of the poorer scholars should be fed daily at that institution. A yet earlier origin is claimed for the establishment by some, who maintain that it was here that Ethelward, the son of Alfred the Great, was educated. There was, at any rate, an old scholastic foundation here in the days of William of Wykeham's youth, and it was probably here that he himself received his education. William became Bishop of Winchester, as is related elsewhere, in 1366, and Chancellor of England in the following year; it was, however, when he was deprived of the latter office in 1371, that he began to devote his

attention to the scheme which had been forming in his mind from the date of his consecration. In 1373, he took the school at Winchester into his own hands, appointing Richard de Herton as master, and making himself responsible for his salary; and at the same time arranging to provide the scholars with board and lodging in the town.

This arrangement was sufficient for the time, and the great bishop turned his attention next to providing means for his Winchester scholars to complete the education commenced under Herton's care. As early at least as 1375, he formed a company of "Poor Scholars" at Oxford under a warden, and at once set about purchasing land and erecting buildings for their accommodation. In 1380 he laid the foundation stone of his college at Oxford, and dedicated it in honour of St. Mary; the foundation, however, has always been popularly known as New College.

This part of the scheme completed, the founder directed his energy to the provision of more suitable buildings, and the elaboration of a fuller and more complete scheme of education, at Winchester. As early as 1368, Wykeham had purchased from the Priory of St. Swithin a part

of "Dumer's Mede" and "Otterbourne's Mede," consisting in all of some four acres and a half of land. Here the first stone of Winchester College was laid on March 26th, 1387, and on March 28th, 1393, it was ready for occupation. The original scheme provided accommodation for a warden and ten fellows; a head-master, a second master, and seventy scholars; and three chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen choristers. The Winchester foundation, like its elder sister at Oxford, was dedicated to St. Mary, and over the gateway is a statue of the Blessed Virgin, which is remarkable as being one of the very few ancient devotional statues left us by the fanatics of the past.

Wykeham liberally endowed his school, although the stipends allowed under his constitution sound ludicrously small to us of to-day, when the purchasing power of money is so different from what it was five hundred years ago. The warden, for example, was originally allowed the sum of £20 per annum, and twelve yards of cloth at 1s. 8d. a yard, together with a suitable provision for his table, the cost of which was left to his discretion. The fellows were allotted £5 per annum, and six yards of cloth, together with

twelve pence weekly for board. Scholars had an allowance of 8d. a week for the like purpose. The stipends of the masters were upon a similar scale, the head-master receiving £10 a year, and the ostiarius, or usher, five marks, together with allowances for commons and a given quantity of cloth. The school has received many endowments supplementary to that of the founder. At the dissolution of alien priories under Henry V. in 1414, several of them were given to the school. Dr. Goddard, head-master from 1793 to 1810, presented stock to the value of £25,000, as an endowment for the offices of head-master and second master. John Fromond founded a chantry in the college chapel, and in 1629 Dr. Pincke, warden of New College, Oxford, converted the then disused chantry chapel into a library, and bequeathed to it a valuable collection of fourteenth century manuscripts. It is now used as a chapel once more. Many donations of various kinds have been made to the institution, for Wykeham's generous spirit has been largely instilled into both the governors and the scholars of his foundations. When the new school-room was erected, a work which was begun in 1683, Warden Nicholas contributed nearly £1,500 towards the cost; and

in more recent times old Wykehamists have reared a beautiful memorial (designed by Butterfield) in the vestibule of their chapel, in memory of their brethren who fell in the Crimea. The inscription on this is worthy of reproduction; it runs as follows:—

"This porch has been prepared and beautified by William of Wykeham's sons, as a sacred shrine, in which the memory of their thirteen brethren, who died in the war of the Crimea A.D. 1854-5, may be preserved for an example to future generations.

'Think of them thou, then, who art passing by to-day,
Child of the same family, bought by the same Lord;
Keep thy foot when thou goest into this House of God;
There watch thine armour, and make thyself ready by prayer
To fight and to die, the faithful soldier and servant of Christ,
And of thy country.'

'He is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to Him.'"

Naturally additions and alterations have from time to time been made in the buildings erected by the princely bishop, necessitated by many changes in circumstances since his day; but the original erection still stands to prove the skill and taste of the ecclesiastical architect. The courts with their cloisters; the chapel with its handsome groined roof of timber; the ancient hall, rich in the possession of carved oak, with its daïs and screen and time-worn buttery-hatch; the original

school, now known as "The Seventh Chamber," which in its builder's eyes was "*Magna illa domus*"—these all show a dignity of design, a splendour of conception, which the marks of hoary age amply justify: for we read in every stone the far-sighted vision of William of Wykeham, who planned and gave and built, not to endow a generation, or even a few centuries, but the England of all time.

Among the details of the place which are interesting may be mentioned a second statue of the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child, which is over the middle gate, on either hand of the central figure being the archangel St. Gabriel and William of Wykeham. Within the hall is a portrait of the founder, vested in cope and mitre, the left hand holding a crozier, while the right is raised in benediction; beside him is a shield charged with the arms of the diocese impaling his own. Of a very different stamp is the painting on the west wall of the seventeenth-century school-room; the rewards of learning are typified by a mitre and crozier, a pen and ink-horn, and a sword, suggestive of success ecclesiastical, literary, or military, while the consequences of idleness are recalled by a "Winton rod." This instrument

of discipline is of a form peculiar to Winchester, and consists of a long handle with four apple-twigs secured at the top by a thong. These emblematic devices have their lesson pointed by the words—

"Aut disce, aut discede; Manet sors tertia caedi."

Another allegorical painting is found on the wall near the kitchen, and is known as the portrait of the "Trusty servant." The figure is compounded of various elements, the meaning of which is explained by a set of Latin verses: the following translation makes any further description needless :—

"A trusty servant's picture would you see,
This figure well survey, whoe'er you be.
The porker's snout not nice in diet shows;
The padlock shut, no secret he'll disclose;
Patient, to angry lords the ass gives ear;
Swiftness on errand, the stag's feet declare;
Laden his left hand, apt to labour saith;
The coat, his neatness; the open hand, his faith;
Girt with his sword, his shield upon his arm,
Himself and master he'll protect from harm."

The immunity of Winchester College from some of the wanton damage done to our ancient buildings during the Great Rebellion is due to the presence in Cromwell's army of Wykehamist officers. The city of Winchester was seized and sacked by the Puritans; but Colonel Fiennes

and Colonel Love having, according to a custom then and long after in vogue, taken oath to defend their old school, succeeded in preventing the desecration of William of Wykeham's tomb in the cathedral, and the destruction of his school.

Of the head-masters who have reigned at Winchester, by far the most famous is William of Waynflete, who held the post from 1429 to 1441. This worthy follower of his namesake of Wykeham had a career in several respects singularly like that of the founder of New College and Winchester school. He was born in Wainfleet, in Lincolnshire, and took, as was customary, the local name as his surname, his father's name being variously given as Patten and Barbour. He left Winchester to become the first head-master of Eton; and in 1447 he became Bishop of Winchester, Henry Cardinal Beaufort only intervening between him and Wykeham in the rule of that see. Waynflete also, like his predecessor, became Chancellor of England, and he, too, founded both a school and a college, though the former never attained any great eminence. In 1484 he erected a free Grammar School with a chapel for his native place, having already, in 1458, founded

Magdalen College at Oxford. William of Waynflete died in 1487.

The links which connect Winchester College with other educational centres in the country are thus seen to be of several kinds. In the notice of the founder's life it is pointed out that his school became the model on which the whole public school system of England has been built up; the direct connection of Winchester with New College, Oxford, we have also seen, and its indirect connection with Magdalen College, in the same university, is here shown. But there are other links in the chain. In Sir Henry Wotton, scholar and diplomatist, Winchester gave Eton a worthy provost; in Thomas Arnold she gave Rugby the greatest of its head-masters; in Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, she gave Harrow also a head-master, not less eminent for learning than for piety. Lincoln College, Oxford, found also a generous benefactor in a Wykehamist, Beckynton, Bishop of Bath, in 1443; and All Souls' College owes its existence to another, Henry Chichley, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1414.

Among the sons of Wykeham have been many famous ecclesiastics besides those already named.

The archiepiscopal thrones of Canterbury, York, and Dublin have all been filled more than once by Winchester men; from the same seminary came three, if not four, of the "Seven Bishops" who resisted the will of James II., namely Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath and Wells, and probably Trelawney of Exeter. The names of Ken and Turner may still be seen as cut by their owners, in their school-boy days, upon the cloister wall. Holloway, one of the judges at the trial of the famous Seven, was also a Wykehamist. Several other lawyers of eminence, such as Lord Chief Justice Herbert, Lord Chief Baron Eyre, and Sir William Earle, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, own the same Alma Mater; and in the same list we may place the late Lord Selborne. Four Speakers of the House of Commons, at least, have been Wykehamists, namely, Speakers Onslow, Cornwall, Addington, and Lefevre. From the same ancient school came quite a host of poets of more or less mark in our literary annals; Otway, author of "The Orphan"; Phillips, best known by "The Splendid Shilling"; Young of the "Night Thoughts"; Whitehead, Poet Laureate in 1757; Collins, famous for his odes; Charles Dibdin, yet

more famous for his sea-songs; and others, not now so well known as in their own day. The quaintly learned Sir Thomas Brown, author of "Religio Medici" and other works, Lydiat, scholar and traveller, Sydney Smith, the witty dean, and a host of other men illustrating every walk of life, and every age of English history since Wykeham's time, have been proud to have their names enrolled at Winchester.

Situated in the city of Winchester, which was for so many years the capital of the country, and one of the chief residences of the sovereign, the college has not lacked royal countenance. In every reign from that of Richard II. to that of Charles II. (excepting only the reign of Mary), the charter was formally confirmed. Henry VI. must have often visited the school, and watched the working of its constitution in the hands of its able master; for on similar lines he founded his college at Eton, and removed William of Waynflete from the mother institution to the daughter. After this was accomplished, however, the king's interest in Wykeham's school was still maintained. He met his queen, who had been married to him by proxy, in Winchester, and on that occasion presented to the college one of his royal robes,

lined with sable; he was there again at the enthronement of Waynflete as Bishop of Winchester. On the day following that function a high mass was sung in the college chapel, at which Henry presented a chalice of gold and the sum of £10 to purchase golden cruets. Henry VII. visited the college in 1522; Henry VIII. was also seen there, and with him the Emperor Charles V. The college, however, had little reason to love the last Henry; in his greed for wealth, he laid hands on much of the property of the foundation, and for a time the existence of the whole institution trembled in the balance. At the accession of Edward VI. a better day dawned once more; a king, who was himself founding grammar schools in so many places, could not but give his support to a college with such a record. Queen Mary and her Spanish husband visited the school, as also did her sister and successor, Elizabeth.

"Manners makyth man"; such was the motto that William of Wykeham chose for himself. That the course of training devised by him for his "sons,"—the education, the discipline, the method,—has been successful in forming Men has been proved a thousand times since the founder's days,

in the senate and the battle-field, the world of letters and the world of action, the chair of the teacher and the throne of the bishop; and that each succeeding generation will prove as true to the great traditions of Winchester as its fore-runners, we doubt not.

The New Forest.

By Thomas Frost.

THE extensive tract known for centuries as the New Forest originally included all that part of Hampshire situated between Southampton Water on the east, and the river Avon on the west, and extending southward to the English Channel. It must always have been, before its afforestation, a broad stretch of forest and moorland, the haunt of deer and wild hogs, and very sparsely inhabited. Of this there is incontestible evidence in the Domesday Book, which shows what its condition was in the reign of Edward the Confessor, as well as afterwards when the survey was made by order of William I. The statements made concerning the afforestation by the monks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries must not, therefore, be taken with too large a faith in their accuracy.

The chase of wild animals and the mimic contests of the tourney were in those days the only occupations in which princes and nobles indulged in the brief intervals of peace. William

I. was no less warmly attached to the chase than his successors, and, not being content with the sport afforded by the extensive forests which the Saxon monarchs had possessed in other and more distant parts of England, he resolved to have a new one within reach from Winchester Castle, where he usually resided. For this purpose he is said to have laid waste a large part of the country, expelling the inhabitants from their homes and demolishing their houses, with the churches which they frequented for worship, without giving the sufferers any compensation.

Lambarde says that the hunting-ground thus made comprised "a large portion of Hampshire, which, after the opinion of the most and the best approved historians, William the Conqueror laid to forest, destroying towns, villages, and churches over a tract thirty miles long." Lambarde abridged this statement from the narratives of the early monkish writers, who convict themselves of inaccuracy, if not of exaggeration, by variously estimating the number of churches demolished at twenty-two, thirty-six, fifty-two, and sixty. Having regard to the thinly inhabited state of the county in the eleventh century, it is inconceivable that such a large number of parish churches can

have existed in the wildest and least populous part. It is remarkable, too, that the compiler of the Saxon Chronicle, who was contemporary with William, and viewed his character with evident disfavour, should have said nothing about the ravages committed, and the suffering consequent upon them, in connection with the afforestation of this extensive district, especially as he condemns severely William's inordinate passion for hunting, and laments the excesses into which it led him. Every other event of the reign he relates—the introduction of the feudal system, the devastation of Northumberland, the compilation of the Domesday Book, the fearful famine and pestilence.

The Domesday Book affords confirmatory evidence that the afforestation was the work of William, and it is evident that many persons must have been dispossessed to afford him the coveted extent and resources for his favourite sport. But it seems evident that it was not attended with the degree of destruction and suffering described by some writers, whose statements on the subject may have been coloured by national antipathy and resentment of the cruel forest laws introduced by William, as well as the restrictions of the feudal system generally.

The results of the perambulations of the Forest, made by authority of the Crown at successive periods of its history, show that the boundaries have become contracted in some degree in the course of the last six hundred years. The perambulation made in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Edward I. was much more limited than that made in the eighth year of the same reign ; and the diminution seems to have been continued in later times, and down to the reign of Charles II. According to the perambulation made in the twenty-second year of the reign of the last mentioned sovereign, the Forest extended from Godshill, on the north-west, to the sea, about twenty miles ; and from Hardley, on the east, to Ringwood, on the west, about fifteen miles, the entire area comprising ninety-two thousand three hundred and sixty-five acres.

The whole of this was not forest, however, even then, nor was it all the property of the Crown, more than a fourth of the whole having passed into the possession of other owners. This portion, amounting to twenty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven acres, consisted of manorial and other freehold estates, in addition to which there were some copyhold properties

and nine hundred and one acres of encroachments, upon which "squatters" had erected cottages. The portion still woodland or waste was no less than sixty-three thousand eight hundred and forty-five acres, subject to certain rights of common, pasturage, and fuel. The respective rights of the Crown and others were fixed by an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of William III.

The encroachments, which have increased in number and extent since the last quarter of the seventeenth century, have been chiefly on the borders of the Forest. "I have known," says Gilpin, "all the materials of one of these habitations brought together, the house built, covered in, the goods removed, a fire kindled, and the family in possession in the course of a moonlight night." Encroachments upon waste lands of much less extent being not unknown within a few miles from the centre of London, it will easily be understood that their accomplishment is much less difficult on the borders of such an extensive tract of woodland and moor as the New Forest. Between fifty and sixty years ago, an action was brought by Earl Spencer, as lord of the manor of Wimbledon, to recover possession

of a plot of land on Wimbledon Common, on which a labourer had squatted, gradually adding to it year by year, and bringing the whole into cultivation. The plaintiff lost his action, because he had allowed his claim to become barred by the Statute of Limitations, twenty years' undisturbed possession giving an indefeasible title. Like the defendant in that case, the squatters on the borders of the New Forest have become freeholders.

Blomfield, the author of a geographical and historical "View of the World," published in 1807, says of Hampshire:—"The country is extremely well wooded and watered; for, besides many woods on private estates, in which there are great quantities of well-grown timber, there is the New Forest, of great extent, belonging to the Crown, well stored with venerable oaks. In these woods and forests are great numbers of hogs, which run at large, and feed on acorns; and hence it is that the Hampshire bacon so far excels that of most other counties." He omits to mention the ponies, large numbers of which are bred here, and run wild, as on Exmoor, until old enough to be broken for draught or saddle.

The scenery of the Forest presents a great

variety of charming landscapes. Gilpin says:—"Its woody scenery, its extended lawns, and vast sweeps of wild country, unlimited by artificial boundaries, together with its river views and distant coasts, are all in a great degree magnificent. It must still, however, be remembered that its chief characteristic, and what it rests on for distinction, is not sublimity, but sylvan beauty. Its lawns and woods are everywhere divided by large districts of heath; many of these woods have formerly been, as many of the heaths at present are, of vast extent, running several miles without interruption. Different parts, too, both of the open and the woody country, are so high as to command extensive distances; though no part can in any degree assume the title of mountains." The general aspect of the Forest, it may be observed, is much the same now as in Gilpin's time.

The most interesting part of the Forest, in a picturesque point of view, is that between the Beaulieu river, on which are the ruins of the abbey of the same name, founded in the reign of John, and Southampton Water, where the silvery gleam of water, flashing in the sunlight, relieves the deep greenery of the far-stretching woods of

oak and beech. The railway from Southampton to Bournemouth affords excellent facilities for visiting this part of the Forest.

In some parts of the Forest there are extensive bogs, the largest of which is situated at a place called Longslade Bottom, between Brokenhurst and Ringwood. It extends about three miles. Gilpin observes that these spots are no detriment to the Forest, because their appearance is that of the ordinary verdure of the grassy lanes and knolls. But they require caution on the part of ramblers not well acquainted with the Forest, and their verdant surface, spangled with the blossoms of bog-plants, is the more treacherous for the merit claimed for them by Gilpin. It is in the neighbourhood of these bogs that the snakes are caught with which their captors supply the shops in London, whence the fanciers of such pets obtain them. The grass-snake is a harmless reptile, seldom exceeding three feet in length, and soon becomes tame enough to allow itself to be handled.

The Death of William Rufus.

By Thomas Frost.

THE traditional story of the death of the second Norman king of England is well known. But the circumstances attending that event are involved in no small amount of obscurity, which at this distance there is no probability of clearing up. It is not even certain that the Red King's death was due, as generally stated, to an accident. Alanus more than hints that Sir William Tyrrell was incited to slay the king by Anselm. The story now generally found in our histories is that the death of Rufus was due to an arrow shot by Tyrrell, and which, glancing off from a tree, pierced the king's breast, causing immediate death. As more fully told by Speed, whose history of England, long regarded as the best, was published in 1614, the circumstances were as follows :—

"Upon the second of August, as he was hunting in the New Forest, and in the place called Chorengham, all his company being scattered from him, saving only a French knight whose name was Walter Tyrrell, the king with his arrow

struck a stag, which yet not greatly hurt ran away; to mark, therefore, the course that it took, the king held up his hand betwixt his eye and the sun, when unawares also Walter Tyrrell so shot that his arrow, glancing against a tree, struck the king in his breast, who hastily breaking off so much as stuck out of his body, with one only groan, fell down and died. Of which sudden chance his followers understanding, most of them ran away, but those few who remained laid his body (basely, God wot, but as necessity suffered) into a collier's cart, which drawn with one silly lean beast, through very foul and filthy ways, the cart broke, and there lay the spectacle of worldly glory, both pitifully gored and filthily bemired, till afterwards he was thence conveyed into Winchester, and buried under a plain, flat, marble stone, in the choir of St. Swithin's, the cathedral church of the city."

Speed is characterised by Bishop Nicolson "as a person of extraordinary industry and attainments in the study of antiquities;" and his history is generally regarded as a very creditable work. He was the first to reject the marvellous legends of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in the selection of authorities, whom he always names, he shows a

just discrimination. But it is a matter requiring to be noted that he has, in the foregoing extract, followed Matthew of Paris, who was the first writer that mentioned the incident of Tyrrell's arrow striking a tree and glancing off from it. Eadmer says only that Rufus was shot through the heart while hunting. Hoveden's account is that the king was killed by an arrow incautiously directed. For the rest of the story it need only be mentioned that the remains of the Red King were removed some time after their interment, and now rest in one of the mortuary chests placed on the stone-work forming the side enclosure of the portion of the choir in which the altar stands.

Now for the locality of the spot where William Rufus, whether by crime or misadventure, met his death. The place named by Speed is unknown. Leland calls it Througham, but that is just as much a stranger to Hampshire topographical nomenclature as the other. Gilpin thinks it may be the place now called Fritham, which is not far from the spot indicated by tradition as the scene of the Norman king's death; but the reason for the conjecture seems to be imaginative rather than to be based on any foundation of fact. It is, says he, "a sweet sequestered bottom, open to the

west, where the corner of a heath sinks gently into it; but sheltered on the east by a beechen grove, and on every other side by clumps of trees, forming an irregular screen around it, among which are several winding avenues of greensward."

This seems, from the description, to be the spot described by Robert Chambers, in the "Book of Days," who, however, calls the place Chormingham, "close to the turnpike road leading from Lymington to Salisbury," where, he says, "there is a lovely secluded dell, into which the western sun alone shines brightly, for heavy masses of foliage encircle it on every other side. It is, indeed, a popular saying of the neighbourhood that in ancient days a squirrel might be hunted for the distance of six miles without coming to the ground, and a traveller journey through a long July day without seeing the sun. Long avenues open away on all sides in the deep recesses of the dark woods; and altogether it forms just the spot where the hunter following his chase after the ancient fashion of woodcraft, would secrete himself to await the passing game."

There was formerly an old oak standing at a place called Canterton, near Stoney Cross, a little to the north of Castle Malwood, which was

traditionally said to be the tree against which the arrow shot by Sir Walter Tyrrell struck and glanced off, causing the king's death. It was undoubtedly of great age, and more than a century and a half ago had become mutilated by storms and relic-hunters, and being at last mischievously destroyed by fire, Lord Delawarr, in order to preserve the remembrance of the spot, had a triangular stone, about five feet in height, erected close to the tree, having the following inscriptions on its three faces :—

> "Here stood the oak-tree on which an arrow shot by Sir Walter Tyrrell at a stag glanced and struck King William II., surnamed Rufus, on the breast, of which he instantly died, on the second day of August, anno 1100."
>
> "King William II., surnamed Rufus, being slain as before related, was laid in a cart belonging to one Purkiss, and drawn from hence to Winchester, and buried in the cathedral church of that city.
>
> ANNO 1745.
>
> "That where an event so memorable had happened might not be hereafter unknown, this stone was set up by John Lord Delawar, who had seen the tree growing in this place."

Some fragments of the root were preserved when the tree was burned, one of them, which was still in existence some years ago, bearing the following inscription :—

"Decr. 16th, 1751. Part of the oak under which King Rufus died, Aug. 2nd, 1100. Given me by Lord Delawar. C. Lyttleton, Nov. 30th, 1768. Given by C. Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle, to Hen. Baker."

The stone which succeeded the old oak as a memorial of the Red King's terrible death has become so chipped and defaced by relic-hunters during the last hundred and fifty years that it has long ceased to serve the purpose for which it was erected. It has been stated that the last Duke of Gloucester wished to secure the oaken axle of the cart on which the corpse of Rufus was borne to Winchester, but, though it had long been preserved, it had then been destroyed. Tradition states that Purkiss, the charcoal burner, had some land, to the extent of an acre or two, given to him for his service in conveying the corpse from the forest; and a lineal descendant of the man, bearing the same name, and following the same occupation, was living in a cottage in the forest as recently as 1869, owning the land granted to his ancestor, which had descended to a Purkiss through all the intervening generations without a break.

St. Swithin.

By the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, b.a.

THE ninth century was a period of gloom and devastation in England. It was the time of the harrying of the country by the Danes, when, as the historian Green graphically puts it, "there is the same wild panic as the black boats of the invaders strike inland along the river reaches, or moor round the river islets, the same sights of horror—firing of homesteads, women driven off to slavery or shame, children tossed on pikes or sold in the market-place—as when the English invaders attacked Britain: Christian priests were again slain at the altar by worshippers of Woden, for the Danes were still heathen: letters, arts, religion, governments disappeared before these Northmen as before the Northmen of old."

In all this melancholy time from the death of Egbert to the accession of Alfred, a period of nearly three-quarters of a century, there are few gleams of light to relieve the general darkness, and of these few the brightest is the life and work

of Swithin, the saintly bishop of Winchester. Perhaps the blight which had temporarily fallen upon the literature of the land is in no way made more obvious than by the fact that the notices of a man so eminent in Church and State, so highly esteemed, as it is evident that St. Swithin was, over a great part of the country, should nevertheless, be so fragmentary. There is a life of him by Wolstan, a monk of Winchester, who lived some hundred and thirty years after the good bishop's death; and another by a monk named Gotselin, who flourished more than a century later still; and yet another monastic chronicler, William of Malmesbury, who died probably in 1142, includes the life of St. Swithin in his "De Gestis Pontificum." All these writers, dwelling within the district where the subject of their biography was personally well known, must have collected many authentic details of his career; yet they must all have felt reason to complain, like the author of an ancient homily on St. Swithin (now in the British Museum), that "We have not found in books how the bishop lived in this world ere that he departed to Christ. . . . It was their carelessness who knew him in life, that they would

not write his works and conversation for future men who knew not his excellence."

Swithin must have been born about the beginning of the ninth century, when Egbert was overlord of England, and he was probably a native of Wessex. He was early devoted to the religious life in the Abbey of Winchester, and it is evident that he attained no small repute, both for heavenly and earthly wisdom. For he became the spiritual director of the king; whence he is described as "priest of King Egbert," in a charter of the time granted to Croyland; and tutor to that monarch's younger son, Ethelwolf. Swithin was ordained priest by Helmestan, who began to rule the see of Winchester in 835.

The death of Egbert in 836, at once made the scholarly monk an influential person at the court; for his pupil Ethelwolf, being the sole surviving heir to the throne, was absolved from the monastic vows which he had already taken, and became king of the West Saxons. In 852 Helmestan died, and it was doubtless a pleasure to Ethelwolf, as it is said to have been the expressed wish of the monks at Winchester, that Swithin should succeed him in the episcopal throne of the royal city; and he was acccordingly consecrated by

Cealnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, to be the eighteenth bishop of that diocese, five of his predecessors having been merely bishops of the West Saxons, and the rest bishops of Winchester.

One of the first important acts of the new prelate was to assist at a great council of clergy and nobles, held in the cathedral city in the year 855. The chief result of this meeting is briefly summarized thus in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:— "The same year King Ethelwolf gave by charter the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation." From this it has been, rather hastily, concluded by some people that the payment of tithes commenced in England at this time by Ethelwolf's act, and by Swithin's advice. The charter in question is preserved for us by William of Malmesbury, Ingulf of Croyland, and Matthew of Westminster; and scarcely bears this construction. It seems more probable that a tenth part of the Crown lands of Wessex was at this time granted to the Church, and rendered exempt from taxation; an act which needed the ratification of the Witanagemot. The terms of the important paragraph in the charter are as follows: "I grant as an offering to God, to

Blessed Mary, and to all the saints a certain portion of my kingdom to be held by perpetual right, that is to say, the tenth part thereof, and that this tenth part be privileged from temporal duties, and free from all secular services, and royal tributes, as well the greater as the lesser." This document was signed, amongst others, by Aelstan, Bishop of Sherborne, and Swithin, Bishop of Winchester.

Under the weak rule of the monastic king the government of the realm fell much into the hands of these two ecclesiastics, the former of whom was of a warlike spirit, and is said to have led the royal armies in the field; while the more peaceful task of building up and organizing a strong and settled state, was the part of Swithin. Nothing, however, was of greater importance, nor proved of more lasting value to the country, than his care and tuition of Alfred, the favourite son, and ultimate successor, of Ethelwolf. The young prince probably had the benefit of the bishop's companionship in his journey to the Eternal City; and we can scarcely be wrong in ascribing to the influence of St. Swithin that unselfish devotion to duty, that inflexible regard for principle, and that personal love and public

support of learning, which rendered Alfred so truly great. The English historian quoted at the beginning of this paper speaks of that monarch as "the first instance in the history of Christendom of the Christian King, of a ruler who put aside every personal aim or ambition to devote himself to the welfare of those whom he ruled: so long as he lived he strove 'to live worthily,' but in his mouth a life of worthiness meant a life of justice, temperance, self-sacrifice." That he almost certainly had a large share in moulding this truly kingly character, gives St. Swithin no small claim upon our regard.

The bishop's useful labours on behalf of the State did not, however, prevent his labouring earnestly also for the Church. Within the city of Winchester itself several churches are said to have been built or repaired by him, and in erecting a stone bridge for the use of the citizens at the eastern end of the same place, he engaged in what in those days was considered scarcely less a work of mercy and charity.

The closing years of Swithin's life must have been sad ones. Ethelwolf, his life-long friend, died in 857, and was succeeded by his son Ethelbald, with whom the bishop had to remon-

strate (happily with success) for marrying his step-mother. Ethelbert, brother of Ethelbald, came to the throne in 860; and his reign was marked by the increasing successes of the Danish invaders. The year of his accession was signalised by the plundering and burning of Winchester itself; and it is scarcely likely that the simple cathedral of those early days escaped desecration, or that the bishop himself was not in serious danger.

Two years later, on July 2nd, 862, St. Swithin died, too soon by nine years to see the dawn of brighter days, in the coming of his pupil Alfred to rule the land. By his own request he was buried, not within the cathedral church of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Birinus (Apostle of Wessex), at Winchester, but in the open garth, "where passers-by might tread above his head, and the dews of heaven fall on his grave." And so for above a century he rested.

In 963 came to the episcopal throne of Winchester, Æthelwold, the ninth successor of St. Swithin. The monastery there was reformed by him, and filled with Benedictine monks from Abingdon, and a new and more stately cathedral was commenced. So fully had the humble wish

of St. Swithin been fulfilled, that the very place of his sepulture had been forgotten; at this time, however, it was discovered, and the precious relics were translated with due pomp to a shrine within the new church, on July 15th, 971. This building was completed in 980, and at its consecration it was dedicated in the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Swithin.

Another century elapsed, and the Normans came with their grander ideas of church architecture; and then another change took place. In 1070 Walkelyn became Bishop of Winchester, the sixteenth after Swithin; and nine years later he began the present splendid cathedral. In 1093 the final translation of the remains of St. Swithin took place, when they were borne to the new shrine, prepared for them in the latest and greatest of the Winchester cathedrals.

In the popular mind St. Swithin is connected neither with statecraft, learning, nor churchmanship; but almost wholly with the weather! Such as the weather is on July 15th, whether wet or fine, so will it continue for forty days; such is the weather-lore of St. Swithin's day. Legend relates that when the first translation of the relics of St. Swithin took place, from the churchyard to the

church, the saint was so distressed at the disregard paid to his wishes that, by his intercession, he procured that it should rain for the space of forty days; thus was the work of the removal delayed, for such torrents fell as to render the due performance of the solemnity impossible. In spite of this compulsory interval for further consideration, however, the translation at last took place; but the displeasure of the holy bishop still shows itself from time to time. As a matter of fact our forefathers had enough weather-lore to note that if the weather be settled or otherwise about the middle of July, it commonly continues in the same state for a month or more; and as St. Swithin's day falls on the 15th of that month, his name became connected with this fact. That something of this kind is the actual explanation of the proverbial saying, seems proved by the existence of a similar idea in Holland, with regard to the feast of St. Godelieva (July 6th), and in France as to those of St. Medard (July 8th), and St. Gervais (July 15th). Comparing these legends, it seems to be evident that it is the date, and not the festival, which is important.

The French proverb is put into rhyme thus:—

"S'il pleut le jour de St. Médard,
Il pleut quarante jours plus tard;

S'il pleut le jour de St. Gervais,
Il pleut quarante jours après."

The corresponding English saying is,—

"St. Swithin's day, if thou dost rain,
For forty days it will remain;
St. Swithin's day, if thou be fair,
For forty days 'twill rain na mair."

"Poor Robin's Almanack" for 1697 has some lines beginning—

"In this month is St. Swithin's day;
On which if that it rain, they say
Full forty days after it will,
Or more or less, some rain distill,"

and other couplets of similar import occur in the same annual for 1735. The superstition has been glanced at by authors of greater reputation. Thus Gay, in his "Trivia," has the lines,—

"How, if on Swithin's feast the welkin low'rs,
And every pent-house streams with hasty show'rs,
Twice twenty days shall clouds their fleeces drain,
And wash the pavements with incessant rain."

Churchill, too, assures us that in July—

"St. James gives oysters, and St. Swithin rain."

and Ben Jonson, in "Every Man out of His Humour," introduces a character saying, "O, here St. Swithin's, the fifteenth day; variable weather, for the most part rain; good. . . . Why, it should rain forty days after, now, more or less; it

was a rule afore I was able to hold a plough!" It does not seem to have occurred to the believers in weather folk-lore that the alteration in our kalendar may have confused the saint in recent years.

The pre-Reformation Kalendar of York agreed with the modern Roman one in keeping July 2nd, the anniversary of St. Swithin's death, as his festival; the present English Kalendar is in harmony with the ancient Sarum usage in observing rather the feast of the translation of his relics (July 15th).

In art the reputed connection of this saint with the weather is recalled by the introduction of a cloud shedding rain-drops, into the representations of him; sometimes, too, he carries a document unrolled, from which a seal depends, commemorative of the part ascribed to him in the issue of Ethelwolf's Charter.

William of Wykeham.

By the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, b.a.

OF all the long line of bishops who have reigned at Winchester none has acquired more lasting fame than William of Wykeham, the fifty-first ruler of that see. There have been prelates of noble, or even of royal, birth, like Henry de Blois and Cardinal Beaufort, ecclesiastics who have risen to higher dignity in the Church, like Archbishop Stigand and Cardinal Wolsey, men of greater sanctity, such as St. Swithin and Lancelot Andrews; but the fact that of all the tombs in Winchester Cathedral (and that stands third only to Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's in the number and fame of those who have been laid to rest there) not one has been so carefully preserved as that of Wykeham, not inaptly illustrates the position which he has held in the estimation of his diocese and of the country.

Like Thomas Wolsey at a later date, the subject of this paper owed his position to his talents, not to any of the accidents of birth or wealth. In the village of Wykeham, in Hamp-

shire, lived early in the fourteenth century one John Long and Sybil, his wife. They were humble folk, serving in some way probably under Nicholas Uvedale, the lord of the manor; and thus the unusual intelligence of William, their son, was noticed by one who was able to give him advantages, from which his want of money or position would have barred him. In this way young William, who, according to the custom of the time, took the surname of Wykeham from the place of his birth, received a good education, and afterwards became his patron's secretary. His leisure at this time was devoted to the study of the buildings of the district; abbeys, churches, castles, were visited and carefully examined; and no doubt cases occurred on his lord's estate where the secretary could show something of the fruits of his knowledge, and gain experience in the practical work of the architect.

Fortunately for William, Uvedale was able to open for him a door leading to yet greater possibilities: the attention of no less a person than King Edward III. was drawn to this secretary, who was proving so clever a draughtsman and intelligent a designer, and he passed into the royal service as surveyor of the Crown estates. The

BISHOP WYKEHAM'S CHANTRY.

victories of the English in France had perhaps some influence in suggesting to the conqueror the need of a palace more splendid and kingly than any which the English monarchs had enjoyed up to that time; at any rate, it was shortly after his return from Creçy that Edward entrusted Wykeham with the erection of a castle at Windsor, with what result we all know. For, in spite of later additions and alterations, the noblest of royal residences is still practically the work of William of Wykeham. Above one of the doorways the architect carved these words, "This made Wichem," an inscription which almost lost him the king's favour. He explained, however, that the words meant, not "Wykeham made this" (an assumption of credit for the whole building which the monarch resented), but, "This was the making of Wykeham"—a statement which soothed the kingly susceptibility.

Wykeham's ecclesiastical career began in 1362, when he was ordained priest, and immediately received from the king several pieces of preferment, pluralities being common enough in those days. He held a rectory in Norfolk, a prebendal stall at Lichfield, and in London the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand; and shortly afterwards

became also Archdeacon of Lincoln. The coping-stone of his progress in the Church came in 1366, when he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester.

Meanwhile, offices of state were also entrusted to the hands that had proved themselves in various ways so able. He was made Secretary to the King and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and in 1367 Chancellor. In this last position Wykeham was not altogether successful. "The position of bishops as statesmen," says John Richard Green, "was . . . galling to the feudal baronage, flushed as it was with a new pride by the victories of Cressy and Poitiers"; and the new chancellor's training had been artistic and literary, rather than legal. Hence a movement arose in favour of a lay chancellor, and the king was induced to accede to the demand in 1371.

This retirement of the statesman was the opportunity needed by the bishop. With energy the great ecclesiastical architect set himself to work within his own diocese, to reform and amend both the spiritual and material Church entrusted to him. The monastic houses and charitable institutions of his diocese were visited; and a stricter discipline was enforced, as well as a use of endowments more in accord with the donors'

intentions; the manors of the see were repaired, and a great work was begun on the cathedral. This last undertaking was no less than the transformation of the Norman building into one in the Perpendicular style of architecture. Concerning the merit of this form of architecture, there have been very contradictory opinions; and the graceful, curving lines of the Early English, and the more elaborate Decorated, may both be held superior in delicacy and feeling; for the Perpendicular has, with some justice, been called "unimaginative." Yet this, too, undoubtedly has its value, and must always excite our interest from the fact that it alone of all orders of architecture is purely English; and that it again alone of all can be ascribed to the genius of one man; and that man is William of Wykeham.

Wykeham was again recalled to public life, but only once more to be sent back again to retirement. A charge was made against him concerning his conduct as chancellor, and he was condemned to forfeit his goods to the Crown, and to abstain from coming within a score of miles of the Court. It does not follow that we must hold him guilty of any real misdemeanour. Some technical faults in the discharge of his duty were found; but the real

ground of offence was that he was a staunch supporter of Richard, son of the Black Prince, while his enemies were the supporters of the powerful and ambitious Duke of Lancaster; the great age of the king made the rivalries of these two factions very bitter, and the Lancastrians wished to crush the counsellor and friend of the young prince. The accession of Richard II. brought the revocation of the sentence, and in 1389 the reappointment of Wykeham as chancellor.

It was at this time that he founded those institutions on which his enduring fame chiefly rests. Wykeham had felt, in the great place that he filled in Church and in State, the disadvantage of not having had a liberal education; and "Wherein I am wanting myself," he said in 1386, "that will I supply by a brood of more scholars than all the prelates of England ever showed." With this object in view he founded a great school at Winchester, and at Oxford a college, intending that the course at the latter should complete the good work begun in the former. The college, still known after five centuries as New College, was completed in 1386; the school was not opened until 1393. Both were amply

endowed; and both were in every way, in regulations, buildings, and revenue, emphatically Wykeham's own. His work was wider in its influence than even he can have anticipated; for Henry VI. founded Eton on the model of Wykeham's school, as did Henry VIII. his foundation at Westminster. Thus Wykeham may fairly be considered the founder, not of the individual school at Winchester only, but of that public school system of which England is so justly proud.

The accession of Henry IV., the head of the Lancastrian House, in 1399, led once more to Wykeham's retirement; and on September 27th, 1404, he died at South Waltham, and was buried in his cathedral. Of the place which he filled in the country during his lifetime the words of the chronicler Froissart give striking evidence: "In those days," he says, "there reigned in England a priest called William of Wykeham, who was so much in favour with the king that everything was done by him, and nothing was done without him." Few men have been able to stamp their impress so deeply on succeeding ages. The influence of the architect still lives; and the work of the lover of learning not only lives, but grows. Verily of him we may say, "He, being dead, yet speaketh."

The Sanctuary of Beaulieu Abbey.

By Thomas Frost.

THE ruins of Beaulieu Abbey, about which cling many interesting historical associations, are beautifully situated in a valley, between well wooded hills, presenting a rich variety of scenery, about three miles from Buckler's Hard,* a village on the east bank of Boldre Water, or the Beaulieu river, as it is sometimes called. Very little of the abbey now remains, and of the church every vestige has disappeared, the present parish church having formerly been the refectory of the monks. It is a plain stone building, with massive buttresses. The roof is raftered with oak, having the intersections of the ribs ornamented with carved figures of angels, abbots' heads, etc. Fragments of tombs have occasionally been discovered on the site of the abbey, where Eleanor of Guienne, the wife of Henry II., and other persons of distinction, are said to have been

* The word "hard," in the sense here used, signifies a causeway along a stretch of mud. Other instances of its application occur in Portsmouth Hard and Battersea Hard.

buried. The site of the cloisters is now a garden, but traces of the old arches are still discernible, and the fields beyond are still known as the Vineyards, thus affording evidence of a time when grapes were grown in the open air in the south of England, and converted by the monks into wine. The stone wall that formerly enclosed the grounds of the abbey was still, in some places, almost entire in the early part of the present century, and thickly covered with ivy.

The abbey was founded by John in 1204, for monks of the Cistercian order, to which that more superstitious than pious monarch had until then shown himself so strongly averse that the monkish chroniclers of the time found it very difficult to assign a motive for such an unexpected turn in their favour. The story which they devised to account for it is that, after various oppressive measures against the order, he summoned all the heads of Cistercian houses to attend him at Lincoln. They obeyed the summons, hoping rather than expecting that he would bestow upon the order some mark of grace and favour; but to their horror and dismay he ordered that they should all be trodden to death under the hoofs of horses. None of his retainers would execute this

atrocious order, and the terror-stricken ecclesiastics fled from the castle to their inn. On the following night, the king dreamed he stood before a judge, around whom the Cistercian abbots were gathered, and who directed them to administer to him a severe scourging with rods and thongs. When he awoke, he declared to his attendants that he was still aching and smarting from the effects of the punishment he had received ; and on telling the dream to a priest attached to his court he was advised to ask pardon of the abbots, and assured that God had been very merciful to him in thus affording him paternal correction.

Under the influence of this advice and assurance, John again summoned the abbots to attend him, and, contrary to their trembling expectation, received them with unwonted cordiality. The memory of his fearful dream influenced him shortly afterwards to grant a charter for the building of an abbey within the limits of the New Forest. The charter conferred by John was confirmed by Henry III., who also gave the monks the liberty of free warren throughout the manor of Farendon, in Berkshire, together with the privilege of holding fairs and markets on certain days. At the dissolution of monasteries,

in the reign of Henry VIII., the manor of Beaulieu was granted by that monarch to Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Earl of Southampton. James I. added to the privileges pertaining to the manor the patronage of the benefice of Beaulieu. In the reign of William III., these possessions passed to Lord Montague, on his marriage with the heiress of the Wriothesleys. They are now a portion of the extensive property of the Duke of Buccleugh.

The privilege of sanctuary was conferred upon the abbey by the Pope in the reign of Edward III. It was no small one, in the troublous times which England went through under the Plantagenets, for a religious house to be able to offer an asylum to a fugitive flying from the wrath of an offended and vindictive king or noble. The abbey of Beaulieu gave shelter and protection to two persons more than ordinarily prominent in the stormy period that followed the assertion of the right of the elder branch of that family to the throne. Here, in 1471, came Margaret of Anjou, when she crossed over from France to renew the struggle on behalf of her husband, and landed at Weymouth, accompanied by her son and his young bride, and by Sir John Fortescue, Sir

Henry Rous, and other adherents of the Lancastrian cause. Warwick having preceded her, she expected to find all going well, and proceeded to a small religious house at Cerne to rest and recover from the effects of the voyage.

While there, keeping Easter with Prince Edward and Lady Anne, news was brought to her of the rout of Barnet, the death of Warwick, and the captivity of her husband in the Tower. Recovering from the stunning effects of this unexpected combination of disasters, she hastened to Beaulieu Abbey, and registered herself and all those who accompanied her as persons entitled to the privilege of sanctuary. The Countess of Warwick, who had crossed from Harfleur to Portsmouth, had in the meantime journeyed towards Southampton, with the intention of joining Margaret at Weymouth. Hearing on the road of the disaster at Barnet, and fearing to proceed, she hurried across the New Forest, "and so," says Fleetwood, "took her to the protection of an abbey called Beaulieu, which has as great a privilege as that of Westminster or St. Martin's at London." There came to them, when they had recovered from the shock of the reverse at Barnet, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Devon, and

other nobles of the Lancastrian faction, who so far encouraged Margaret to renew the struggle that she left the sanctuary, and set out with her friends for Bath. Gloucester, however, closed its gates against her, and Tewkesbury saw the extinction of her hopes. The Countess of Warwick remained at the abbey about two years, for in the Paston Letters it is stated, under date 1473, "that the Countess of Warwick is out of Beaulieu sanctuary, and that Sir James Tyrrell conveyeth her northward."

Here, too, a quarter of a century later, came that dark figure of romance and mystery, known in history as Perkin Warbeck, whom so many of the most notable persons of his time believed to be Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., supposed to have been murdered, with his brother, in the Tower. Whether he was really "the White Rose of England," as the Duchess of Burgundy, the aunt of the two princes, called him, or the son of an obscure citizen of Tournay, as the partisans of the usurping Tudor asserted, will now never be known. The only incident in his strange career which claims attention here is his flight from Exeter, "which," says Speed, "when the king heard, he presently sent

out five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him before he should get to the sea, and so escape. Perkin and his remains, thus straitened, took sanctuary at Beaulieu, a religious house within the New Forest (not far from Hampton), where the king's cornets of horse found them already registered; but, according to instructions, they beset the place, and maintained a strong watch about it day and night."

Some of Henry's counsellors advised him to make ecclesiastical considerations yield to reasons of state, and take the refugee even from the altar; but he was too politic to adopt such an extreme measure, and, continues Speed, "he gave directions to offer life and oblivion of all crimes to Perkin, if he would voluntarily quit the sanctuary, and submit himself. Perkin, being now without hope, without abode, without estate, most gladly came forth, and did put himself into the king's hands." The sequel may be soon told. He was lodged in the Tower, and thence, on the charge of being engaged in a conspiracy with the Earl of Warwick, a fellow-prisoner, was taken to Tyburn and hanged, Warwick sharing his fate. Of all the bad actions recorded against Henry none inspire greater horror than his consigning to the gallows

his wife's cousin, and his appointment to the governorship of Calais a man who, if he believed Dighton's alleged confession, he must have regarded as the murderer of his wife's brothers. There is no record, however, of Dighton's examination before the Privy Council, and it may fairly be regarded as doubtful that the alleged confession was made. Tyrrell had previously been executed on another charge, and Forrest also being dead, there was no other available witness. Dighton's appointment may, therefore, be regarded as a bribe to silence.

Southampton in the Olden Time.

By Thomas Frost.

NO distinct mention of Southampton occurs earlier than the ninth century, when a Danish incursion is said by the chroniclers, Roger of Hoveden and Florence of Worcester, to have been repulsed there. These raids afterwards became frequent, but the accounts of them given by the old writers throw no light on the status and condition of the town, the first glimpse of which is obtained from the Domesday survey. It was then a very small place, though a mint is mentioned in the Constitutions of the Synod of Greatley, as existing there in 925. It was not, however, until the middle of the fifteenth century that it assumed a position as one of the less important towns of England, as denoted by the employment of a carrier and a foot-post between Southampton and London.

It is a curious point in the town's history that we find, at the period just indicated, a company of minstrels receiving liveries and wages from the governing body of the town, who besides paid

for the entertainments occasionally given by strolling minstrels in the service of the Court or of some wealthy lord. Entries of payments made to such entertainers are of frequent occurrence in the town's accounts down to the end of the sixteenth century. An announcement dated May 6th, 1593, informed the town that a famous company had arrived from London, and would play at convenient times, hours of divine service excepted. The craft of minstrelsy was already falling into disrepute, a Vagrancy Act of the reign of Elizabeth having classed those who exercised it with common vagrants; and in 1624 the town musicians, when they asked for their liveries, were told to ask no more, but take what was given them.

The town was incorporated in 1445. The original manner of electing the mayor was for the outgoing holder of the office to nominate two burgesses, one of whom was elected by "the assembly." But in 1460 the Guildhall was invaded by a tumultuous body of the burgesses, who interrupted the proceedings, irregularly chose Robert Bagworth, the sheriff, for the mayoralty, and placed him in the chief magistrate's chair. A patent issued by Henry VI. pronounced the

old custom of election to be good, and directed that it should continue as before; but the popular voice so far prevailed that Bagworth became mayor in the following year, when Walter Aylward, one of the leaders of the movement against the custom, became sheriff.

A favourite recreation of the townsmen, from the middle of the sixteenth century, was playing at bowls, the first reference to which occurs in 1550, when an inhabitant was presented for keeping "common playing with bowls, tables, and other unlawful games against the King's statute." The Act referred to was passed in 1541, on the ground that such games drew many away from the practice of archery, and persons were constantly being fined for infringing it.

The keeping of the town walls in repair, which had for centuries been a burden of which grievous complaint had from time to time been made, began at this time to be much neglected, more peaceful times causing the inhabitants to regard such defences as no longer necessary. In 1550, a townsman, having to cart some chalk to his premises, coolly broke down a sufficient breadth of the wall to admit the cart, and filled up the gap with clay and the stones, which, said the leet jury,

"we think is not sufficient; wherefore we require it to be made with lime and stone, as the rest of the wall is, for the safeguard of the same." The decay of the walls went on gradually, however, from this time, and a local historian, writing about 1770, describes them as being in a very ruinous condition. The Rev. J. S. Davies says, in his history of Southampton, "it was a practical joke of the period to shut the town gates at unheard of times, and in 1786 an order was issued for securing the gates to prevent this improper sporting of the town's oak."

Some curious entries occur in the minutes of the Court Leet during the latter half of the sixteenth century. In 1559 it was ordered that "all burgesses from the sheriff inclusively upwards shall provide and use one right honest goun of crimson or scarlet cloth on certain days under the penalty of £10." By a minute of 1569 the aldermen's wives were ordered to wear scarlet gowns on the same days, under the like penalty, and their husbands were desired to see that such gowns were provided and worn, or in default were to pay ten pounds. In 1588 these penalties were reduced to one half.

In 1562 brewers were ordered to abandon the

use of iron tyres on their cart wheels, for "that it is thought to be a great annoyance to the town in breaking the pavement," of course, under penalties for neglect. The shaking up of the beer was another grievance, and this also was attributed to the use of iron tyres. In 1553 brewers were prohibited from keeping "tippling houses," selling beer at a higher price than two shillings per barrel, or making any "double double beer." The best beer or ale was ordered to be sold at a halfpenny per quart. In 1557 the price of the best beer was reduced to one and tenpence per barrel, and that of single beer to fourteen pence. In 1596 permission was given to brew "one sort of very good and wholesome ordinary beer," to be sold at two and sixpence per barrel.

In 1569, in consequence of an allegation that a stranger from Guernsey had been nearly poisoned in an ale-house in the town, owing to the neglect of the publican to keep his pots clean, it was ordered that, "for voiding the danger therof, we request that order may be taken that no innkeeper, taverner, or ale-house keeper do sell wine, beer, or ale, but that their pots be washed, that men that buyeth the same may see the same drawn,

and the pots washed to avoid the inconveniences that may grow thereby." In 1581, keepers of "tippling-houses" were forbidden to entertain in their houses any of the common drunkards of the town, the names of many of whom were placed on the record.

In 1576 some further curious regulations were made concerning the clothing of the people of the town. It is recorded that "divers women in this town do not wear white caps, but hats, contrary to the statute, as it may appear by the church-wardens their presentments every week." The names of the offenders follow. Then we read that—"the apparel in times past used commonly to be worn by the mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, and bailiffs, and their wives, within the town of Southampton, particularly followeth, confessed by Mr. John Gregory, alderman, and William Maister, the town steward, either of them of the age of lxxv, at the least." Very full directions for the apparel of all the municipal officials and their wives, according to the statements made to the court by the septuagenarians named as to the apparel in times past, are then set forth, followed by the signatures of the jurors. In the following year several presentments were made of infringe-

ments of these regulations, with the particulars of each offence; for instance, Walter Earl wore velvet trimmings on his hose; John Delisle's wife had a petticoat trimmed with velvet; Martin Howes a gown of Norwich worsted, with a broad "byllyment" lace of silk, and his wife a hat of taffety, lined with velvet; John Mills's wife a cap of velvet, and so on.

In 1579 a charge of witchcraft was made against a widow named Walker, in respect of which the court ordered the following minute to be made:— "We desire your worships to examine her before you, and to permit five or six honest matrons to see her stripped to the end to see whether she have any bloody mark on her body, which is a common token to know all witches by, and so either to stop the mouths of the people or else to proceed farther at your worships' pleasure." What was the result of the test prescribed by the court does not appear.

The court leet took cognisance of every matter brought under its notice, from the colour of a gown to the sanitation of the town. It is much to its credit that presentments were made without respect of persons, though it is to be feared that they were often disregarded. A presentment of

1550 informs us that "Mr. Mayor keepeth a sow in his back-side, which is brought in and out contrary to the ordinance of the town: wherefore be it commanded to him and all other that they keep no hogs within the town to the annoyance of their neighbours, upon pain that everyone of them that shall so keep any swine to forfeit for every fifteen days he shall so offend twenty pence." Another entry states that "there is a great heap of soil and rubbish before Mr. Mayor his garden in the East Street." On another occasion an alderman was presented for having "several loads of dung within Rockstone gate, which he is pleased to call his privilege, but we amerce him two shillings and sixpence."

The sanitary bye-laws evince a degree of wisdom on the part of those who framed them greater than could be expected in that age. Slops were not to be thrown into the street; the accumulation of refuse was not permitted; ditches and drains were to be kept clear; slaughter-houses were not allowed within the walls; cows were not to be fed or milked in the streets. Yet, it appears from the earliest accounts of the town steward, which commence in 1441, and from the court leet books from the middle of the sixteenth century

onward, that the town was often in a very foul condition.

Another matter which the court looked after was the attendance of the inhabitants at divine service. Apparently there was not much to complain of in this respect. In 1580 we find it presented "that touching divine service we cannot find any that anyways do offend, Stephen Barton's mother and Martin Bowes's wife only excepted, which often we have presented." Eleven years later, however, it is noticed that there were many who "all the week long cometh not to the church, and especially on the Sabbath day." The churchwardens were enjoined to search all ale-houses, etc., on Sunday, and see that none were tippling therein.

In 1594 the town appears to have been suffering from over-crowding, through the multiplication of "inmates and under-tenants, as well strangers as others, by which the town is not only greatly impoverished, but also in danger of infection, hurt by fire, and such like inconveniences." A similar complaint was made a few years later, when "greedy landlords" had admitted too many under-tenants, "to the great destruction of the town." These were warned to admit only sub-

stantial lodgers, who could pay the town and parish charges, otherwise they would themselves be held liable for the same. The town appears to have been declining at this time, its modern prosperity dating only from the commencement of the present century.

The Old Religious Houses of Southampton.

THE most ancient religious foundation in Southampton was the priory of St. Denis, a house of Augustine monks, founded by Henry I. about the year 1124; the date cannot be fixed with precision, but it was certainly between the consecration of Archbishop Corbeuil in 1122 and the death of Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, in 1128, both of these prelates having taken part in the execution of the charter of endowment. By this deed Henry granted a parcel of his land between Portswood and the river Itchen, and another near the sea, on the east side of the town, the former being then valued at eleven shillings and sixpence, and the latter at forty-one shillings and sixpence per annum. In 1151, William, son of Audoenus, conveyed the manor of Northam to the priory. Henry II. granted thereto his four chapels within the town—St. Michael, Holy Cross, St. Laurence, and All Saints', with all that belonged to them.

The possessions of the priory at this time con-

sisted of three plough-lands in Portswood, three groves of woodland, one hundred acres of pasture, forty of meadow land, and forty of marsh. In 1189, Richard I. gave the canons Kingsland and the wood called Portswood, with all that pertained to them. Besides these royal benefactions, they received many gifts and bequests from private individuals too numerous for them all to be recited here, though a few may be quoted as illustrations of the times. Geoffrey de Hose, in the reign of Henry II., granted the canons a moiety of the land he had at Edboldington, "for the health of King Henry and the good of his own soul." Walter de Chalke, who had sold this land to Hose, gave them in perpetuity two bezants* of the annual rent arising from his other lands there. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, gave them the church of Chilworth, "with its lands, liberties, and customs," the canons being bound to provide a chaplain. William Musard gave three shillings of annual quit-rent in the village of Eldon, near Michelmersh, on condition of their burning for ever one wax taper before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the convent church, wherein his wife was buried. Walter Bassett, in 1253,

* Gold coins, so named from Byzantium, where they were first struck.

granted two acres of land in Lokerley, near Mottisfant.

John de la Bulehuse granted, about the same time, his tenements at Leveden and the Strand, together with his tenants, their lands and tenements. The property is described as lying at Leveden, in the north suburb, between the stream then called Rolle Brook, which flowed into the sea at Achard's Bridge, and Waterhouse Lane, then called Goushanewell Lane, which led to the shore. Later deeds indicate the rising ground about the Polygon as the locality of the property. In 1263, Arnold de la Mote bound himself to pay a yearly quit-rent of half a mark in silver, from a house lately in the occupation of the Lady Claremunda, for the good of her soul. Sir Thomas Peverel, about the same time, gave an annual rent of five shillings from a tenement in the parish of St. Laurence to maintain an anniversary mass for his father, Andrew Peverel, in the priory church. In 1371, Roger Haywoode bequeathed a house in Southampton for a requiem mass to be said every day for his soul.

The house was never wealthy, and many references to its poverty occur in the records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At the

time of the dissolution of monasteries there were only nine canons. The house and site of the priory were granted by Henry VIII. to Francis Dawtrey, and since that time they, and all the possessions of the house, have several times changed owners. In 1830 the priory was purchased, with Portswood House, by Mr. George Jones, of Manchester, who destroyed most of its remains, which were then considerable. In 1859 it was bought by Mr. Alfred Skelton, with a view to its preservation, but the Rev. J. S. Davies, in his "History of Southampton," published in 1883, says that "a solitary fragment of grey ruined wall on the right bank of the Itchen, about three miles above the present dock entrance, is the sole relic" of this ancient house.

The monastery of the Grey Friars, the only other monastic house in Southampton, was one of the earliest of the Franciscan order established in this country, that order not having been introduced until 1224, and the earliest document relating to this house bearing date 1237. Their vocation being to minister to the poor and the sick, they located themselves in the slums of the towns, and in Southampton we find their house close to the Maison Dieu, the hospital for the poor, the

back of their premises adjoining the town wall on the east, about which and beyond, in the suburb of Newtown, a poor and wretched population was housed. The house fronted either the High Street end of Sugarhouse Lane or the street leading to Gloucester Square, and on that side was surrounded closely with sheds, stalls, and mean shops, some of which belonged to the canons of St. Denis. The rule of St. Francis prohibited the order founded by him from accumulating wealth or possessing wealthy buildings, and we find here that the cloisters of the house were built of stone through the good will of the burgesses, who stoutly, though ineffectually, opposed the command of Albert of Pisa, minister-provincial of the order in England, for their demolition.

The records of this house, which are known to have been among the archives of the Corporation in the middle of the last century, have since disappeared; but a transcript of them was made by Dr. Speed, who died in 1781, which enables the principal facts in its history to be given. Isabella de Chekehull, we learn, who died in 1253, gave to the house a plot of land adjoining; and in 1287 the chapel was opened

for worship, on a site given by Robert le Mercer. New dormitories were built in 1291, and in the same year the chapter-house was erected. The register comes down to 1499, when the house was reformed into Observant Franciscans. After the dissolution of monasteries the site was sold to John Pollard and William Byrt, and in a few years passed into the possession of Sir A. Darcy. There have been many changes since, and scarcely a vestige of the priory buildings now remains. Gloucester Square occupies the site of the monastery, the building called the Sugarhouse, erected in 1740, stands where formerly the chapel stood, and on other parts of the ground are now several dwelling-houses.

The Plague in Southampton.

ABOUT the middle of June, 1665, when the news of the outbreak of the plague in London had reached Southampton, and caused some alarm lest the contagion should be brought into the port, a deeper thrill of fear was experienced by its becoming known that a house had been closed under suspicion of infection. The medical attendant of the family occupying the house declared the rumour to be unfounded, but in a few days the terrible fact could no longer be concealed. The plague had reached Southampton!

The infection appears to have been brought to the town by a child from London, placed in the care of a widow, who, with all the other inmates of the house, sickened and died. On the 27th of June, eight houses were closed on account of infection, and the inhabitants immediately became panic-stricken. The disease spread with a rapidity which added force to the terror which fell upon all classes, and as many as were able to do

so left the town. One person, however, seems to have been unmoved by the danger, for it is recorded that the next vacancy among the Corporation porters was promised to a man who undertook to bury all the victims of the epidemic who might die during its continuance.

By the 5th of July the state of things in the town was so terrible that as many of the Corporation as could be got together drew up an urgent appeal to the justices of the county, representing that the pestilence was "putting an utter period to our traffic, driving the richer sort out of the town, and affrighting the country from bringing in their accustomed provisions, insomuch that we seem to be threatened with famine as well as pestilence," and asking for assistance. A similar appeal was addressed to the President of the Council, and specially asking that a "skilful chirurgeon or physician, or both," might be sent from London to their relief. It was not until a week later that a reply was received, expressing the commiseration of the king and Council for the sad condition of the town, and informing the mayor and the few colleagues who had had the courage to remain that a physician would be sent down, at the king's expense, and that instructions

had been sent to the county justices to see that provisions were supplied, and for collections to be made everywhere for the relief of infected places.

Fines ranging from three pounds to twenty were imposed by the mayor on all absent officials, and an appeal made to all charitable persons in the county, the circulars stating that "the weekly charge beyond the ability of the place will, according to the best and nearest account that can at present be given, amount unto above £150 per week." By these various means a large sum was raised, and applied to the relief of the afflicted families among the poorer classes. The king, on the occasion of a general fast, which was observed on the first Wednesday in every month during the continuance of the epidemic, sent fifty pounds, having previously given twenty tuns of French wine, half a tun of which was distributed among the poor, and the remainder sold, the proceeds being given to the relief fund. Nearly the whole was bought by the mayor and his two most active colleagues, the purchases of the three adding £242 15s. to the fund. The Earl of Southampton gave fifty pounds, and the Bishop of Winchester twenty, and the Bishop of Norwich the like sum. From all parts of the county contributions came

in aid of the objects of the fund; Portsmouth sending £57, Gosport £14, Lymington £36, Titchfield £28, Andover £14, Christchurch £34, Fareham £24, and Netley, Bitterne, Botley, Bursledon, and Hamble an aggregate of £18. From towns beyond the county came from Dorchester £50, Poole £28, Marlborough £46, Salisbury £111 (this sum probably including donations from members of the Court, then at that city), Exeter £55, Blandford £30, Sherborne £21, Oxford £36, Bristol £83. Odd shillings and pence are omitted; several contributions were received from London.

Though booths were erected outside the town for the accommodation of the plague-stricken, and everything appears to have been done that the medical and sanitary knowledge of the time could accomplish for the alleviation of their sufferings and the checking of the spread of the pestilence, the horrors of the period can have been scarcely exceeded by those so graphically described by Defoe as experienced at the same time in London. The very precautions taken by the authorities to prevent the spread of the disease must have added to the sufferings of the terror-stricken inhabitants. The compulsory closing of

a house in which the plague had manifested itself must have been a fearful horror to the inmates, and makes us understand that passage in the circular containing the first appeal of the Corporation for help which expresses the fear that "the poorer sort of people, wanting relief, and not finding it (there being very few people of any ability in the town), will be very hardly restrained from breaking forth and wandering abroad, to the great danger of infecting the whole neighbourhood."

On the 18th of July the number of plague cases was reported to have diminished, but the abatement was inconsiderable, and in September the number of cases showed an increase. In October an incident occurred which illustrates the dread inspired by the disease, and the anxiety which it caused to the authorities. The daughter of a lady living at Cowes became the sole inmate of a house wherein every member of the occupying family and household had fallen victims to the fell disease. The mother hired two young sailors to go to Southampton, release the girl, and bring her to Cowes. The rescue was effected, but the girl and her deliverers were seized by the watch before they could make their escape ; the former and one of the sailors were shut up again in the infected

house, while the other seaman, who had reached a ship, was placed under arrest, to be tried by a naval court-martial.

The Corporation took charge of the effects of all those who died of the plague, with a view to their lawful disposal. It is recorded that, in November, 1670, the goods of one Roger Culliford were ordered to be buried without being examined, they having been left in bundles in the room in which he died, which no person had since entered. It was not until the end of the year that the mortality began to diminish, and the affrighted inhabitants to return to their houses. There was a second outbreak of the dreaded pestilence in the following spring, but with greatly diminished virulence, and of comparatively brief duration. On the 7th of August, 1666, Commissioner Middleton informed Pepys that the plague was abating at Portsmouth, and that at Southampton there had only been two deaths in the past month. On the 29th of November it was officially announced from Whitehall that, Southampton being now free from infectious sickness, the Prize Office was to be removed to that port from Cowes in the following week. The removal encouraged persons to resort to the town, and those of the inhabitants who had

delayed their return to their closed residences now ventured to do so. People breathed freely once more, pale and scared faces disappeared from the windows of closed houses, and the town began to wear its ordinary aspect of industry and prosperity.

Selborne and Gilbert White.

By John T. Page.

> "This our life exempt from public haunt
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones and good in everything."
>
> —Shakespeare.

THE village of Selborne lies well out of the beaten track of the ordinary traveller, either by road or by rail, and is consequently very little affected by exterior influences. A century ago it was much the same place as it is now, and nestled just as sleepily amidst its wealth of leafy verdure and luxuriant vegetation. It is in all respects a type of what a simple country village should be—just the place wherein to dream away a life-time in close communion with Nature and with Nature's God.

Beyond the fact that a Priory of Black Canons was established in Selborne in 1233, and was suppressed some three centuries later, there is very little else concerning the place recorded on the pages of history. Notwithstanding this, it may be described as a place of no common interest, and its name is probably familiar to all students

of English literature. "The Natural History of Selborne" is known and read of all men, and the name of its author stands pre-eminent amongst naturalists as an assiduous and painstaking observer of the "lower creation."

Gilbert White was born at Selborne on the 18th of July, 1720. His grandfather, whose name he bore, was vicar there at the time, and his father was a barrister. He was the eldest son, and after him came four brothers and a sister. His education commenced at Basingstoke, where he was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Thomas Warton. Here he continued until 1739, when he was entered as a student at Oriel College, Oxford. His career at college was undoubtedly brilliant—in 1743 he took his B.A. degree, the following year he was elected Fellow of Oriel, and in 1746 proceeded to the degree of M.A. His deacon's orders were conferred in 1747, and immediately afterwards he was placed in charge of the parish of Swarraton, of which his uncle Charles held the perpetual curacy. He did not, however, spend much time here, for an attack of small-pox seized him while on a visit to Oxford, and laid him low for six weeks, after which he proceeded to Bath to recoup his strength. In

1749 he was ordained priest, and for a short time officiated as curate at Selborne, but had to resign his parochial duties in 1752 on receiving the appointment of Senior Proctor of the University of Oxford. He eventually forsook his collegiate life, and returned to the curacy of his native village, but was never, as many suppose, vicar of Selborne. The living was in the gift of Magdalen College, and was always reserved for one of its own Fellows. Gilbert White, however, decided to stay at Selborne for the remainder of his life, and as occasion offered performed the offices of curate. During the last twenty-six years of his life he appears to have been placed in sole charge of the parish by the incumbent. From 1762 to 1784 he also held the curacy of Farringdon. Several times he was offered livings, but refused in turn those of Crowhall, Swainswick, and Cholderton. He knew that an acceptance would necessitate his removal from Selborne, and against this he resolutely set his face. In 1758 he was presented by Oriel College with the vicarage of Morton Pinkney, in Northamptonshire—this he accepted and held until his death, but there is no record that he ever performed duty in the place. He had found his ideal life in Selborne,

and here he elected to remain. His residence, known as "The Wakes," eventually inherited from his uncle, was a big, roomy old place, in fact the largest house in the village. In every respect it suited his methodical tastes and uneventful life.

Of Gilbert White's success as a parish priest we have absolutely no record. His neighbours evidently looked upon him as somewhat eccentric in his habits, but "a still quiet body," and one in whom "there wasn't a bit of harm."

In 1788 a return was asked by Bishop Brownlow North, from all the incumbents in his diocese respecting their several parishes. The form sent to Selborne was filled up most accurately by the curate in charge, the Rev. Gilbert White. This document is still to be seen in the muniment room at Farnham Castle, and is dated March 25th, 1788. Respecting himself, the writer says: "The Curate for the present (who is not licenced) is Gilbert White, A.M., nominated by the Vicar, the Rev. Christopher Taylor, B.D.," and naïvely adds, "For more than a century past there does not appear to have been one Papist, or any Protestant dissenter of any denomination" in Selborne.

One of White's manuscript sermons is still in existence and memoranda thereon, showing that

between 1748 and 1792 he preached it no less than thirty-eight times! Nor does its history end here, for it has since then passed through the hands of three generations of clergymen, who each in turn appear to have preached it over again. In 1863 this celebrated discourse was printed in the "Journal of Sacred Literature."

The church in which Gilbert White ministered is very little mentioned in his writings, and he only briefly alludes to the village of Selborne in the first ten pages of his book. But "his neighbours' crops, fields, gardens, cattle, pigs, poultry, and bees are all looked after." "Every fact which fell under his eye was entered with the exactness which a merchant gives to his ledger. The state of the weather, hot or cold, sunny or cloudy, the variations of the wind, of the thermometer and barometer, the dates on which the trees burst into leaf, and plants into blossom, the appearance and disappearance of birds and insects, were all accurately recorded."

"The Natural History of Selborne" is made up of forty-four letters to Thomas Pennant, Esq., and sixty-six letters to the Honourable Daines Barrington. With it is now generally included "A Naturalist's Calendar," ranging from the years

1768 to 1793, and "Observations in various branches of Natural History," selected from his manuscripts. Besides these productions a series of ten letters from Gilbert White to Robert Marsham were published in 1876 in the "Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society," after being presented to the Society by the Rev. H. P. Marsham, great-grandson of the recipient.

White's "Natural History" first appeared in print in 1789, four years before his death, in one volume quarto. The next edition was published in 1802 in two octavo volumes, and it was again reprinted in 1825. Not until 1829 did it appear in a cheap form, when to the lasting credit of the editor it was included in "Constable's Miscellany." The latest edition of all has placed it within the reach of everyone, for what library does not contain the "Camelot Series" volume, with its incomparable preface by Richard Jeffries?

Since the days of Gilbert White many eminent naturalists have come and gone. Some, under the glamour of his influence, have sought to follow in his footsteps, while others, working for a time on independent lines, have eventually found themselves in the position of learners seated at the

feet of their great prototype. It has been truly said that "from the stores accumulated by Gilbert White a very great deal of the contents of modern books have been drawn," and that "those who follow the studies of Mr. White out of doors will find very little altered, and can take up the picture as he left it, and begin to fill in the endless touches which make nature."*

It now behoves us to look at Selborne itself. The village consists of one single street, about three-quarters of a mile in length, lying between two hills, known respectively as Temple Hill and "The Hanger." The name of the latter is familiar to all readers of White's History. It is very precipitous, but the summit is easily gained by means of a zig-zag path. The sides of the hill are clothed with the rich umbrageous foliage of the "most lovely of all forest trees," the beech. "The Wakes," where Gilbert White lived, still remains, and has been very little altered since his time. Here for some years resided Professor Bell, the great admirer and editor of Gilbert White. He lovingly cherished every relic connected with the place, and amongst other things possessed the staff which White used in his rambles. The

* Richard Jeffries.

professor died in 1880, and in July of the same year his rich collections of botanical and other specimens were dispersed under the hammer. These were mostly acquired by Mr. J. H. Peake, of Liphook, who is never weary of displaying his treasures to appreciative visitors.*

"In the centre of the village, and near the church, is a square piece of ground surrounded by houses, and vulgarly called 'The Plestor.' In the midst of this spot stood in old times a vast oak, with a short squat body and huge horizontal arms extending to almost the extremity of the area. This venerable tree, surrounded with stone steps, and seats above them, was the delight of old and young, and a place of much resort on summer evenings; where the former sat in grave debate, while the latter frolicked and danced before them." This pastoral picture of eighteenth century village life was drawn by Gilbert White, but he further adds that the venerable oak was blown down in an "amazing tempest in 1703." "The Plestor," however, still continues the rendezvous of the villagers and the play-place of the children.

An old yew-tree in the churchyard which

* The writer of this paper is indebted to Mr. Peake for much valued help and information.

White believed to be several centuries old, and probably coeval with the church, also still flourishes, and being a male tree annually, "in the spring sheds clouds of dust, and fills the atmosphere around with its farina."

It is not necessary here to enter into a minute description of the church. Suffice it to say that its architecture is pretty much divided between the Norman, Early English and Decorated styles, and that it has been twice restored in recent times. The last occasion was in 1883, when Mr. W. White, F.S.A., grand-nephew of Gilbert White, was the architect. A marble tablet to the memory of Gilbert White was originally placed on the outer wall of the church near his grave, but it has now been brought into the edifice. It is the upper of two tablets at the east end of the south chancel wall, and is inscribed as follows :—

In the Fifth Grave from this wall are
interred the Remains of
The REV: GILBERT WHITE, M.A.
Fifty years Fellow of Oriel College in Oxford,
and Historian of his native Parish.
He was the eldest son of John White Esq.,
Barrister-at-Law, and Anne his Wife, only child
of Thomas Holt, Rector of Streatham, in Surrey;
Which said John White was the only child of
Gilbert White, Formerly Vicar of this Parish.

He was kind and beneficent to his Relations,
Benevolent to the Poor
And deservedly esteemed by all his
Friends and Neighbours.
He was born July 18, 1720, O.S.,
And died June 20, 1793.
Nec bono quid quam mali evenire potest
nec vivo, nec mortuo.

"To visit Selborne had been sweet,
No matter what the rest might be;
But some good genius led my feet
Thither in such sweet company,
As trebled all its charm for me.
With them to seek his headstone grey,
The lover true to birds and trees
Added strange sunshine to the day."

Thus sung that true lover of the Old Country, the American poet, James Russell Lowell, and now we, too, must wander in the quiet graveyard seeking "his headstone grey."

The grave of the great naturalist is situated a few paces outside the north chancel wall, and forms one of a group of several simple grass-covered mounds. The stone which marks the spot is not more than eighteen inches high, and merely contains his initials and date of death thus :—

G W
26th June
1793

The fact that most people who visit Selborne are disappointed with this unostentatious memorial is evident. Many letters have been written to the public press urging the desirability of erecting a more pretentious monument, urging the plea that it is hard for strangers to even find such a lowly weather-beaten stone. When the centenary of Gilbert White was celebrated in 1893, there was much talk about the erection of a more elaborate memorial over his grave, but as it was considered by those best capable of judging that such an idea would have been most repugnant to the man himself, it was ultimately abandoned. Instead of this the happy idea of obtaining a permanent water supply for Selborne from the famous Well Head spring mentioned in the "Natural History," was mooted. A committee with this object in view was at once formed, and the matter being taken up enthusiastically, the work was completed in the following year. On the 8th of June, 1894, the opening ceremony was performed by Lady Sophia Palmer, and a characteristic speech delivered by Lord Selborne. His lordship said that this was just the sort of memorial the great naturalist would have desired above all others, and finished his speech with the words :—

"I hope and fully believe that for many and many years to come the memory of Gilbert White will be associated, in addition to all its other associations, in the minds of the people of the place which he loved with this most useful and excellent work."

The Naval Associations of Portsmouth.

THE position of Portsmouth on the south coast caused its adaptability for a naval station, and a port of departure for the frequent expeditions to France, to be recognised at a very early period. Richard I. assembled a fleet of a hundred vessels there in 1194, when crossing over to Normandy to invade France. We are told that they were large ships, by which description we may suppose that they were large according to twelfth-century ideas of size, not that they were really even so large as the "Great Harry" of the reign of Henry VIII. The history of the royal dockyard commenced under his successor, and the abundance of oak timber in the forests of Hampshire had a great share in the subsequent development of the ship-building industry of the port.

The frequent wars with France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries kept Portsmouth in a state of intermittent bustle and excitement. Expeditions for the invasion of that country sailed thence in 1346 and 1369, and again

in 1386, previous to which time, in 1377, a French force had succeeded in landing here and burning a great part of the town, which was very poorly defended until the reign of Edward IV. There was a tower on each side of the harbour, the entrance to which was, in the reign of Henry VIII., defended by a strong chain stretched across it from one tower to the other. The new defences did not deter the French from again attacking the place in 1545, when a fleet commanded by Admiral d'Annabaut was, after a smart engagement, beaten off by Lord Lisle, whose flagship was the "Great Harry." During the battle one of the English ships named the "Mary Rose" was sunk, with six hundred seamen on board, many of whom were drowned.

The strength of the English navy at this period may be estimated by the fact that, in the following reign, there were assembled in the harbour of Portsmouth fifty-three ships of the aggregate tonnage of 6,655 tons, manned by 5,136 seamen, 1,885 soldiers, and 759 gunners. This gives an average of little more than one hundred and thirteen tons to each vessel! In 1627 a fleet of ninety ships was collected here for the relief of Rochelle, where the French Protestants where

besieged by an army directed by Cardinal Richelieu. The Duke of Buckingham, who was intended to command the expedition, was slain by a sub-officer named Felton, who had been disappointed in obtaining a captaincy, before the order for sailing was received. The expedition was a failure, and the fleet returned to Portsmouth, after suffering a great loss of men in several repulses sustained in attempts to land.

During the Protectorate of Cromwell, in 1652, the famous Admiral Blake attacked a Dutch fleet off Spithead, and captured eleven ships and thirty merchant vessels which they were convoying. In after years the importance conferred upon the town by its naval harbour and royal dockyard was accompanied by some serious drawbacks. The great increase of taverns and ale-houses in the town, consequent upon the number of seamen and marines brought together, tended to produce much disorder and demoralisation. These evils came under the consideration of the court-leet in 1702, when a presentment was made by that authority setting forth that the increase of tippling-houses in "the back streets and by-places of the town and its liberties tends to the impoverishment of some, gives too great a liberty

of intemperance to others of the inhabitants, and is a common nuisance, and of ill-consequence."

This presentment does not appear to have had much effect in the abatement of the evil complained of. Two years later, the court-leet made a presentment, "that the anointing of rats and putting fire to them is of dangerous consequence, especially in this town, where there are magazines of powder, and tends to the setting the dwelling-houses of the inhabitants on fire." This cruel and mischievous sport—if such it can be called—appears to have been a favourite diversion of the sailors when ashore, on which occasions they were greatly addicted to excessive indulgence in drink. In 1716 there were one hundred and twenty-nine public-houses and twenty brandy-shops in the town, while there were only six in which such harmless beverages as tea and coffee could be had.

In 1794 there was much excitement and rejoicing in Portsmouth on account of the victory obtained by Lord Howe over a French fleet off Cape La Hogue, when two of the enemy's ships were sunk, one burnt, and six brought into the harbour. Whatever glory may have been considered as attached to this and other naval victories of the period was dimmed, however, by the events of

three years later. In April, 1797, a very serious mutiny broke out in the Channel fleet, then lying at Spithead, under the command of Lord Bridport. The seamen complained of the bad quality of the provisions supplied to the fleet, and demanded an increase of pay and certain regulations concerning the allowance of food. Two delegates were chosen from each ship to conduct this unprecedented "strike," and for several days the council thus constituted had the entire control of the fleet, no officer being able to exercise the least authority. In the critical situation thus brought about the Government deemed it expedient to promise a full compliance with the demands of the mutineers, who thereupon cheerfully returned to their duty.

About a fortnight afterwards, however, nothing having been done in fulfilment of the promises of the Government, and no Act of Indemnity proposed for the security of the mutineers against the consequences of their acts, they again rose in revolt, and the dispute assumed a more serious aspect than before. A bill, securing to the seamen what they had been promised, was, therefore, hurriedly passed through both Houses of Parliament, and Lord Howe was sent down to Portsmouth to act as mediator. The delegates of

the fleet then declared themselves satisfied, and discipline and good order were immediately restored.

In the course of the long war with France the British navy was greatly increased, and numbered at the beginning of 1803 seventy-five ships of the line actually in commission, and more than two hundred frigates. Most of these were built of oak grown in the forests of Hampshire, chiefly in the New Forest and those of Woolmer and Alice Holt. Since that time the substitution of iron for wood in naval architecture has caused the demand for timber to become much less, but concurrently with this change the numerical increase of the navy, and the great increase in the size of the ships, have contributed to the growth of Portsmouth, and rendered necessary a considerable extension of the royal dockyard.

Many of the most notable ships of the royal navy have been built in the Portsmouth dockyard, and here, too, many of them, and others launched from Devonport and elsewhere, have ended their career in the harbour. On the occasion of Leland's visit to Portsmouth, in the pursuit of his topographical and antiquarian researches, he was shown the stout ribs of the old "Harry Grace á

Dieu," built at Southampton in the reign of Henry V., and a famous ship in her time, but then a mere skeleton. Apparently she was regarded in Leland's time with the same patriotic sentiment as was evoked not many years ago by the sight of Nelson's flagship, the "Victory," as she, in her turn, lay in her last berth in the same place. The great durability of oak timber rendered it specially adapted for the construction of ships in former times. A hundred and twenty years had elapsed since the famous ship of Henry V. was launched when Leland saw her remains; and in the Army and Navy Museum may be seen one of the guns of the "Royal George," sunk off Spithead in 1782, the oak carriage still entire, though every bit of ironwork about it has disappeared by corrosion during its long submergence beneath the waves.

The Loss of the "Royal George."

THE loss of the "Royal George" will long be remembered as one of the most terrible disasters in naval annals. The circumstances of the catastrophe were unique, and Cowper's well-known lines, which embodied public feeling at the time, still keep green the memory of the sad event. Regarding the disaster in the light of what transpired, the steps taken appear to modern eyes—to say the least—to have been exceedingly ill-judged, when one takes into account the heavy complement of guns and stores which the vessel carried. And yet, though it seems to us that ordinary precautions and prudence might have averted the calamity, one must never forget that it is always to be wise after any particular event.

The story of the loss of this magnificent old "wooden wall" is very familiar, nevertheless the circumstances are well worth relating afresh, as an old story re-told.

The fleet of Lord Howe returned to Portsmouth in 1782, after a prolonged foreign service, for overhauling, and amongst these vessels was the

"Royal George." She was a craft of some notoriety, having been the flag-ship of Hawke during his celebrated action off the coast of Brittany. She was under the command of Admiral Kempenfeldt, carried 108 guns, and altogether was considered one of the finest ships of the whole fleet. Amongst other renewals which she required were certain repairs to the keel. And for the purpose of thoroughly exposing the defective place it was thought advisable to heel the vessel over, and thus have the full extent of the damage brought to view.

On August 29th, 1782, the "Royal George" was crowded with officers, crew, and visitors. The repairing operations were proceeding; but though she was heeled over somewhat to one side to expose her seams below, nobody seems to have remotely anticipated the slightest danger. Admiral Kempenfeldt sat writing in his cabin, and the 'tween decks were crowded with women and children. The list which she had to one side evidently was not such as to cause any serious inconvenience to anybody. All were light-hearted, or, in any case, free from alarm. Many were busily occupied, for the vessel was preparing again for sea, to proceed to Gibraltar.

But with awful suddenness the scene was in a moment transformed. A sharp squall, quite unlooked for, struck the "Royal George," and causing her to still further veer over, submerged her open port-holes under water. Adding to the confusion, her guns, which in the process of cleaning had been unloosed from their lashings, all ran to the same side of the vessel. Thus almost before those on board had time to realise what had happened, the ship upset, and went down with all her living freight. So sudden indeed was the disaster, that a small craft lying alongside was swallowed up by the gulf caused by the whirlpool of the sinking vessel, and several others were placed in imminent danger of suffering the same fate.

The terrible character of the calamity—which was rightfully regarded as a national one—was intensified by the presence on board, as just stated, of such a large number of women and children. Probably there were nearly three hundred of these. The wives and sweethearts of the men had been permitted to remain on account of the approaching departure of the vessel on her next expedition. It was a typical summer day, and the sea at Spithead was as

smooth as glass. Nobody appeared to be taking any special notice of the carpenter's work in progress. Indeed the particular work which was being attended to—the caulking of seams or the repairing of a certain pipe in the bottom of the ship— was of such a trifling character that it had not been thought necessary to drydock her. It was in no sense an important operation in itself.

So instantaneous was the plunge of the "Royal George," however, that except the watch and some few who happened to be on the upper deck at the time, scarcely any were saved. The number who perished, though never exactly known, was believed to be nearly one thousand souls.

Amongst those who escaped with their lives was Captain Waghorn, who had had charge of the careening of the vessel. And in a court-martial which was held to consider the circumstances of the disaster, he was arraigned for neglect, in not taking the necessary precautions, and for therefore being a party to the accident. But the charge was not sustained. Really it was one of those dire calamities which lay outside the range of human calculation, and in connection with which nobody could be said to be criminally at fault. Needless to state Captain Waghorn was acquitted.

Regarded as a national calamity, a public subscription list was opened on behalf of the bereaved wives and orphans of those who had perished, and to this appeal there was a most liberal response. A monument, too, was erected in Portsea churchyard in commemoration of the catastrophe. Cowper's monody or elegy written at the time, is still one of the best known poems of last century.

Thus perished the splendid "Royal George." The ship that had carried Boscawen into the thickest of the fight, and had borne the triumphant flag of Hawke to the proudest of his victories. The craft at whose mast-head, indeed, had floated more admirals' flags than any other vessel in the navy, which had the tallest masts, the greatest weight of metal, became in the end the sepulchre of hundreds of our bravest seamen, besides women and children. Admiral Kempenfeldt himself, who perished amongst the rest, was one of the most popular commanders in the fleet, and a general favourite.

During the three months following the accident sixteen guns were recovered by the aid of the diving-bell, and the next year there was a project set on foot for refloating the ship herself. This latter scheme, however, fell through, and really

nothing on any large scale was accomplished in the way of salvage for thirty-five years. It was in 1817 that she was again carefully examined. She was then found to be very little more than a mere mass of wreckage; guns, anchors, spars, and masts had fallen in utter confusion amongst her timbers. It was clear that it was vain to hope to accomplish the task of raising her hull again. The poet's words, and the hope expressed that she might "float again," it was only too evident could never be realised.

And so another twenty years passed by. The "Royal George" had now been "sunk beneath the wave" for considerably more than half a century. It had been made evident by former surveys that she was in so dilapidated a condition that no method whatever could be devised for refloating her. Consideration, therefore, was eventually turned to the question as to the best means of removing what was left of the wreck. In 1837 Colonel (afterwards General) Pasley propounded a scheme of discharging enormous masses of powder against the submerged hull, and thus utterly shattering it. By this means it was proposed to let all her timbers rise to the surface that would do so, and to afford opportunity for

divers to recover the heavier and more valuable salvage. The project, which was carried into practice, was a complete success. Enormous charges of gunpowder were placed in metal cases, containing 2,000lbs. each, and fired. The effect was everything that could be desired. The anchorage was cleared of what had, for nearly sixty years, been a most serious obstruction, and the brass alone, which was recovered after this final breaking up, was in value equal to the cost of the total operations.

ON THE LOSS OF THE "ROYAL GEORGE."

(To the March in Scipio.)

Written when the news arrived.

By William Cowper.

Toll for the brave!
  The brave that are no more!
All sunk beneath the wave,
  Fast by their native shore!

Eight hundred of the brave,
  Whose courage well was tried,
Had made the vessel heel,
  And laid her on her side;

A land-breeze shook the shrouds,
  And she was overset,
Down went the "Royal George"
  With all her crew complete.

Toll for the brave!
Brave Kempenfeldt is gone;
His last sea-fight is fought;
His work of glory done.

It was not in the battle;
No tempest gave the shock;
She sprang no fatal leak;
She ran upon no rock;

His sword was in his sheath;
His fingers held the pen,
When Kempenfeldt went down
With twice four hundred men.

Weight the vessel up,
Once dreaded by our foes!
And mingle with our cup
The tear that England owes.

Her timbers yet are sound,
And she may float again,
Full charged with England's thunder,
And plough the distant main.

But Kempenfeldt is gone;
His victories are o'er;
And he and his eight hundred men
Shall plough the wave no more.

Old Hampshire Fairs.

THE oldest fair in Hampshire was that of Winchester, established by a charter of our second Norman king, and described in another paper. Next to this in antiquity and importance was Portsmouth fair, which owed its origin to a charter of Richard I., the earliest granted to that town. It was held on the 1st of August in the earliest years of its existence, but the date varied in subsequent centuries. The privilege of holding a fair was much sought after in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there being many commodities the production of which was limited to one period of the year; while the demand for many articles in any one place was insufficient to enable dealers in them to obtain a living without carrying their wares from one town to another. During the period named, therefore, charters were granted to the lords of the manors of many places in Hampshire to hold annual fairs, in addition to those held at Winchester and Portsmouth.

Among the earliest of these were those held at

Wherwell and Leckford, the privilege of holding which was granted to the abbeys of Wherwell and St. Mary's, Winchester, respectively by John. Botley, Barton Stacey, Christchurch, Emsworth, Hambledon, Kingsclere, Lymington, Overton, Petersfield, Romsey, Southwick, Whitchurch, and Wickham, were all held under charters granted by Henry III. The charters for holding fairs at Brading, Boarhunt, Dogmersfield, and Thruxton were granted by Edward I.

The privilege of holding a fair at Alton was granted by Edward II. to Edmund of Woodstock, who then held the manor; and in the same reign William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, obtained the privilege of holding a fair at Ringwood. The tolls and rents arising from fairs made these privileges as advantageous to the persons to whom they were granted as the conveniences they afforded for buying and selling were to traders and the people generally. Therefore, observes Mr. Shore, in his history of the county, "when the lord of any manor was an influential man in the service of the crown, he generally managed to secure some privileges for his manors. A fair, which has long since passed into oblivion, was granted under these circumstances to William

Briwere, to be held on his manor of King's Somborne, at a place called Strete, the very name of which is now forgotten. This place was situated on the Roman road, near the ford over the Test, and this fair was an attempt to establish an annual mart at a convenient place where local roads crossed the old Roman way."

Edward III. granted a fair to the treasurer of the diocese of York, to be held at Mottisfant, the manor of which belonged to the archbishop of the northern province. In the same reign fairs were established by royal charter at Hamble and Milton. The fairs at Havant and Titchfield were granted by Henry VI. to the Bishop of Winchester and the Abbot of Titchfield respectively. The fair at Beaulieu dated from the reign of Edward IV. Under Henry VII. an endeavour was made to establish a fair on Danebury Hill, in the manor of Nether Wallop, the lady of which, the Abbess of Amesbury, obtained a patent authorising a fair to be held for three days in July yearly ; but it appears to have been a failure. In the same reign a charter was granted to the corporation of Southampton to hold a fair there on Trinity Monday.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

fairs were, in many instances, held in churchyards, and not uncommonly on Sundays. The former custom was prohibited in 1285 by an edict made at Winchester, "that the King commandeth and forbiddeth that from henceforth neither fairs nor markets be kept in churchyards." Old customs die hard, however, and often have more force than statutory enactments. Some of the old fairs continued to be held in churchyards, notwithstanding the prohibition of Henry III., until the Act 27 Henry VI., c. 5, directed that no fair or market should henceforth be held in churchyards or on Sundays, after which time these two objectionable customs appear to have been discontinued.

The old fairs, especially those of the villages, were the great annual events of the places in which they were held, and in the neighbouring villages and hamlets. Thither came perambulating traders of every description to sell their wares, and thither also, for the amusement of the crowds who were thus drawn together, came the wandering minstrels and gleemen, the latter term including dancers, acrobats, posturers, jugglers, and exhibitors of performing monkeys, bears, horses, and other trained animals. The repro-

duction in Strutt's work on the sports and pastimes of the people of many of the illuminations of mediæval manuscripts shows that these entertainers were in the habit of travelling from town to town, and from village to village, at a period antecedent to the Norman Conquest, and it may be taken for granted, therefore, that they were not absent from the Hampshire fairs during the thirteenth and succeeding centuries.

The more important fairs also drew to them the strolling companies who acted the religious "mystery" plays, and in later times others resembling the theatrical touring companies of the present day. There is evidence that such companies existed in the reign of Elizabeth, and they were probably more numerous when the edicts of the Long Parliament suppressed theatrical performances, and thus drove actors into the country, where they entertained the visitors to the fairs in portable theatres. The drinking booths and gingerbread stalls were largely patronised at the Hampshire fairs, and a special kind of the latter commodity appears to have been made for consumption on these occasions. A reference to two of the old Hampshire fairs appears in "The Vision of Piers Plowman," a

satirical poem, written about 1365 by Robert Langland, a secular priest, who makes Piers say:

"At Wy and at Winchester I went to the fair."

A curious custom in connection with the opening of fairs was observed at Portsmouth and Southampton, and at several other towns in England. This was the hoisting of a large glove, which at the former town was done by the town-sergeant in front of the town hall. The origin of the custom has never been traced, but the most satisfactory conjecture seems to be that which makes the glove the symbol of the royal authority by which the fair was established. In support of this view a note in "*Speculum Saxonicum*" may be quoted: "No one is allowed to set up a market or a mint without the consent of the ordinary or judge of that place; the King also ought to send a glove, as a sign of his consent to the same." The municipal authorities of Portsmouth seem to have adopted this view in 1843, when the glove having been stolen, probably by some person whose antiquarian zeal was greater than his honesty, a new glove was obtained, or rather the model of a hand, described as being "of the natural size, naked, the wrist in gilded

mail, and on the forefinger a ring bearing the device of Richard I., a crescent and a seven-rayed star, being also the arms of the borough granted by the King."

Most of the fairs mentioned in this paper were still in existence at the beginning of the present century, but few of them are now held, the majority having been abolished under the provisions of the Fairs Act. Portsmouth fair, which lasted fifteen days, and was immediately followed by one of a week's duration, held on Portsdown Hill, ceased to exist in 1846.

The Tichborne Dole.

FEW Hampshire families have gained a more widespread reputation than that of the Tichbornes, and that in consequence of one of the most famous lawsuits in the annals of the English courts. The family is one of the oldest in the county, and has claims to remembrance of much greater antiquity than the attempt of the claimant, Arthur Orton, to gain its titles and estates; though from many points of view few, if any, of its traditions can rival in romantic interest the story of the disappearance of Sir Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne and the entrance upon the scene of his notorious impersonator.

Among the legends of the house—for the tale can hardly be reckoned as entirely belonging to the field of sober history—one of the most interesting concerns the foundation of the Tichborne Dole.

Long years ago, the wife of the reigning lord of the Tichborne acres, one Lady Mabella, lay weak and waning upon her death-bed; and anxious ere she passed away to do something

more in honour of Our Lady, and wishful to ensure that the poor should remember the needs of her own departed soul, she earnestly besought her husband to grant her the means of founding an annual dole of bread, to be distributed every year for ever on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. The Tichborne of the day was in character akin to "that grim Earl who ruled in Coventry" in the time of the fair Godiva, and he sought to answer the request in such a way as to avoid refusal, yet at the same time to save himself trouble and expense. Looking on the frail form of his enfeebled wife, so evidently near her end, and pointing to a billet flaring and crackling on the hearth, he declared that he would grant her for charity so much land as she could travel over while that billet burned. It seemed, indeed, as if the hungry poor could benefit little from the boon thus grudgingly bestowed, but the churlish husband had miscalculated the energy which high resolve will put into the limbs even of a dying woman, and had, it may be, forgotten the supernatural aid which might be afforded for a work of charity. The Lady Mabella was raised from her couch by her maidens, and once more dressed; then was she carried to a field on her

lord's domain, and with feeble steps she endeavoured to begin her pilgrimage. Presently, however, it was but too evident that her limbs would support her in walking but a little way; she dropped upon her knees, and, still eager to fulfil her self-imposed task, crawled onward. As the attendants watched, each instant looking to see their mistress fall fainting with fatigue, they marvelled to see how patiently and perseveringly she made slow, but resolute, progress. A field is still pointed out on the estate, which bears the name of the *Crawl*, to commemorate the fact that it was the scene of this contest between human weakness and the love of God's poor; it comprises no less than twenty-three acres, and so much, it is said, the noble lady succeeded in compassing ere her energies gave way.

Naturally the lady did not long survive so severe a tax upon her strength; and on her death-bed she gave directions for the administration of the dole, for which she had so hardly earned the endowment, and she charged her family and descendants to beware of ever withholding it. The extinction of the race, and the impoverishment of the estate, were foretold as the punishment impending, should her wishes not be

fulfilled. Thus was the Lady Mabella laid to rest among the relics of her ancestors; and the Tichborne Dole commenced its long career. Year by year in preparation of the Feast of the Annunciation no less than fourteen hundred loaves of bread, each weighing twenty-six ounces, were baked; and if, upon the day, even this ample provision failed to supply all who presented themselves to partake of it, all comers above that number received the sum of twopence each.

Such wholesale largesse attracted naturally the notice of the poor throughout a wide district. The occasion of the distribution became a local festival of no small magnitude; crowds flocked in from far and near, some to receive the dole, others to see its reception; booths sprung up about the country-side, and all the frolics of a village fair were to be witnessed. About the middle of the eighteenth century complaints were repeatedly made by the magistrates of the county, of the many ill-effects which, all unforeseen by its foundress, had arisen from the Tichborne Dole. As Lady Day drew on there was not a vagabond, a sturdy beggar, nor a company of gipsies in the southern counties that did not make all haste towards the home of the Tichbornes, many of

them supporting themselves on the way at the expense of the honest folk whose hen-roosts and other property lay along the road. The evil grew so intolerable that it seemed past mending, and it was accordingly ended. In 1796 the Tichborne Dole ceased to be given.

Naturally the complaints occasioned by the withdrawal of the gratuity were numerous, and many, no doubt, marked not without some satisfaction the fulfilment, at least partially, of the Lady Mabella's prophecy. In 1803 the ancient family residence partially collapsed; and in the next generation the male line of the house became extinct, and the estates passed by marriage to a Doughty, who, however, assumed the name of Tichborne. The vast expense of one of the most protracted trials in English law, by which the ownership of these estates was defended some thirty years ago, is perhaps too far removed in time from the suppression of the dole for us to trace in it another evidence of the unappeased anger of Lady Mabella Tichborne.

How a Cobbler became a Saint.

By John T. Page.

"In scorn
For miserable aims that end with self."

SUCH is the lofty characteristic which must dominate the life of the man who desires, in however small a degree, to follow in the footsteps of the poor cobbler of Portsmouth, who, just over a century ago, founded and maintained the first Ragged School.

John Pounds was born in the year 1766. His parents were very poor, and early in life he was employed in the dockyard of his native town. While at work there, he met with a sad accident by falling into one of the docks, and so injuring his spine and thigh as to render himself a cripple for life. His illness was long and wearisome, but one of his companions constantly visited him, and tended him as fondly as a brother. This kindness John amply repaid in after life, as will subsequently be seen.

As soon as he was well enough to begin again to think about earning his livelihood, he saw how

impossible it would be for him to resume his work in the dockyard, or indeed any work which necessitated much physical strength. He finally, therefore, resolved to study the arts of shoe-making and shoe-mending, but the former seems somewhat to have baffled him, and he remained a cobbler to the end of his days. For some years he worked as a journeyman, but eventually opened a small establishment of his own. He took a small weather-boarded tenement, containing two rooms, in St. Mary's Street, Portsmouth, where he spent the remainder of his life.

It was soon after his arrival in this snug little abode that John first conceived the philanthropic plan of imparting gratuitous education to poor children. He had generously adopted a little nephew, who was sickly and crippled, his feet being turned inwards and overlapping each other. John's art of cobbling, however, stood him in such good stead that, with a pair of old boots, he shod the boy in such a manner as eventually to set him on his legs, and enable him to become in time a fair pedestrian. With the idea that it was not good for his *protége* to be without a companion, he invited the son of the friend who had tended him so lovingly in his illness to associate with his

nephew, and commenced imparting to the two children the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

As the youngsters became more apt, John's love for the teacher's art became greater, and he soon formed the resolve to increase the number of his scholars. Neighbours' children were invited to attend, and, ere long, not being able to quite fill his room by mere invitation, he resorted to subtility, and, armed with roasted potatoes, frequented the quay and other resorts of youthful "blackguards," as he called them, and tempted them to come to school by the offer of a potato. In this way he obtained many incorrigibles to add to his pupils, and there was nothing he more delighted in than taming these rough uncouth youngsters into earnest students.

"His modes of tuition were chiefly of his own devising. Without having even heard of Pestalozzi, necessity led him into the interrogatory system. He taught the children to read from handbills, and such remains of old school-books as he could procure. Slates and pencils were the only implements for writing, yet a creditable degree of skill was acquired; and in cyphering, the Rule of Three and Practice were performed

with accuracy. With the very young especially, his manner was particularly pleasant and facetious. He would ask them the names of different parts of their body, make them spell the words and tell their uses. Taking a child's hand, he would say, 'What is this? Spell it.' Then slapping it, he would say, 'What do I do? Spell that.' So with the ear and the act of pulling it; and in like manner with other things. He found it necessary to adopt a more strict discipline with them as they grew bigger, and might have become turbulent; but he invariably preserved the attachment of all."

Thus the years rolled on. In time many of his scholars grew up to manhood, and after an absence of years from their native place, would often return to pay a visit to their old schoolmaster, to grasp his hand and thank him for what they owed him in their early days.

"Some hundreds of people have been indebted to him for all the schooling they have ever had, and which has enabled many of them to fill useful and creditable stations in life, who might otherwise, owing to the temptations attendant on poverty and ignorance, have become burdens on society, and swelled the calendar of crime."

John lived to be seventy-two years old, and to

the end of his life strove, by denying himself of every selfish gratification, to benefit those whom he daily gathered in his little shop.

During the last year of his life a picture of John Pounds and his school had been commenced by Mr. Sheaf, a local artist of repute. It was ultimately finished, and depicts "the old cobbler sitting professionally in his booth, with a shoe in one hand and his knife in the other, while, with spectacles turned up over his brow, and head averted, he is apparently addressing a ragged urchin who stands beside him with a book. In the background is a miscellaneous collection of books, lasts, old shoes, and bird-cages, interspersed with the heads and faces of a crowd of children—the whole forming a unique combination of a school and cobblery."

We are told that it was on the 1st of January, 1839, whilst engaged in the contemplation of this picture, that he suddenly fell forward and expired. However this may be, it is certain that he died in the house of Mr. Edward Carter, a gentleman to whom he was much attached, whilst waiting in the hall for an interview, on New Year's morning.

His unexpected death for a time could scarcely be realised. "The abode of contented and peaceful frugality became at once a scene of desolation.

He and his nephew had made provision on that day for what was to them a luxurious repast. On the little mantelpiece remained uncooked a mugful of fresh sprats, on which they were to have regaled themselves in honour of the new year. The children were overwhelmed with consternation and sorrow; some of them came to the door next day, and cried because they could not be admitted; and for several succeeding days the younger ones came, two or three together, looked about the room, and not finding their friend, went away disconsolate."

Thus the name of John Pounds henceforth comes to be held in veneration by all who have the interests of humanity at heart. His native town in particular has never forgotten the noble example he gave of determination, at all costs, to instil the desire for knowledge into the poor around him. To carry on this work, "The John Pounds Memorial and Ragged Schools" have been established in Oyster Street, where upwards of 200 poor children assemble on Sundays to receive instruction; and there are also in connection with them—day-schools, evening-schools, coffee-rooms, and dormitories for the homeless.

The building was purchased, and is, to a large extent, sustained by voluntary contributions, and will always remain a lasting honour to the town, as well as to the memory of the old cobbler.

At the east end of the High Street, and nearly opposite the house before which the Duke of Buckingham was stabbed by Felton, in 1628, stands the Portsmouth Unitarian Chapel. John habitually worshipped here on a Sunday evening, and the place where he used to sit, in front of one of the side galleries, just to the right of the minister, is still pointed out. He lies buried in the graveyard, on the left-hand side of the chapel, near the end of the little foot-path which leads round the building to the vestries. Shortly after his death a tablet was placed in the chapel, beneath the gallery, to his memory. Although his grave was dug as near as possible to that part of the chapel wall opposite where he used to sit, yet this tablet was, apparently without any reason, put some distance away from the spot. In shape and material it is of the usual orthodox style—a square slab of white marble, edged with black, and inscribed on it are the words :—

Erected by friends
as a memorial of their esteem

and respect for
JOHN POUNDS,
who, while earning his livelihood
by mending shoes, gratuitously
educated, and in part clothed and fed,
some hundreds of poor children.
He died suddenly,
on the 1st of January, 1839,
aged 72 years.
Thou shalt be blessed: for they
cannot recompense thee.

Not long after this tablet was placed in position the idea was mooted that a monument should be erected over his grave. The Rev. Henry Hawkes, the minister who then had charge of the place, at once took the matter up, and subscriptions came in so well that the monument was more than paid for. The surplus money was wisely laid out in the purchase of a Memorial Library, which still occupies one of the ante-rooms of the chapel. The monument erected over the grave is of a suitable description, plain but substantial, and is in form a square and somewhat tapering block of stone about four feet high. On the front is the following inscription :—

Underneath this Monument
rest the mortal remains of
JOHN POUNDS,
the Philanthropic Shoemaker

of St. Mary's Street, Portsmouth,
who while
working at his trade in a very
small room, gratuitously
instructed in a useful education
and partly clothed and fed,
some hundreds of girls and boys.
He died suddenly,
on New Year's Day, MDCCCXXXIX,
while in his active beneficence,
aged LXXII years.
"Well done thou good and faithful
servant, enter thou into the joy
of thy Lord."
"Verily I say unto thee, inasmuch as
thou hast done it unto one of the
least of these My brethren, thou
hast done it unto Me."

On the side facing the library door there are, in addition to the above, the ensuing sentences :—

This Monument
has been erected chiefly
by means of Penny Subscriptions,
not only from the Christian
Brotherhood
with whom JOHN POUNDS
habitually worshipped
in the adjoining Chapel,
but from persons of widely
different Religious opinions
throughout Great Britain
and from the most distant parts
of the World.

In connection with this memorial
has also been founded in like manner
within these precincts
a Library to his memory
designed to extend
to an indefinite futurity
the solid mental and moral usefulness
to which the philanthropic shoemaker
was so earnestly devoted
to the last day of his life.
Pray for the blessing of God to prosper it.

Large trees overshade the modest monument, and the spot is a quiet one, being as far as possible away from the street.

The chapel itself has seen but little change since its erection in 1719. Only three ministers came and went during a period of 100 years. Both learned and wealthy men appeared to have worshipped here in days gone by, judging by the names on several mural tablets. One of these is erected to the memory of the somewhat celebrated Sir John Carter, and there is also another commemorative of his brother Edward. It was in the arms of the latter that John Pounds breathed his last. The architecture of the place is very sombre, and the high backed oaken seats of the last century are still retained in good preservation. The room which contains

the Pounds Library abuts on the chapel at the back. The books are very seldom consulted now, but they appear to have been handled with scrupulous care in the past, each volume being covered with brown paper, and the title written on the back evidently by hands now long dead. There are many valuable editions of the writings of worthies whose names will for ever remain high in the annals of literature, each volume having undoubtedly been placed there judiciously, and with a purpose. It is an abode of seclusion, in which a book lover could shut himself up for weeks together, and it would have delighted beyond measure an epicure like Charles Lamb.

Beside the books, collections of coins and other curiosities have been added from time to time. Miniatures of divines and other noted personages adorn the walls; and there is also to be seen here a fine steel engraving of "John Pounds and his School," copied from the painting before alluded to.

It is well to refresh one's mind before leaving with a parting glimpse of the old man's benevolent countenance, and in doing so to ponder over the amount of good it is possible for one individual

to accomplish in the world, even though he be but a poor cobbler.

"May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardour, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty—
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion even more intense.
So shall we join the choir invisible,
Whose music is the gladness of the world."*

* George Eliot.

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