ADDENDA

to the

ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.
ADDENDA

TO THE

ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

BY

ADMIRAL W. H. SMYTH, K.S.F., D.C.L.

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TO

JOHN LEE, ESQ., LL.D.,

St. John's Lodge, 21—1—'64.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The turmoils of the press having subsided, I am now enabled to place this volume in your hands. The "why and the wherefore" of its appearance is so fully accounted for in the following Introductory Matter, as to require no further mention here; except that a word or two may be added in aid of the general argument. In this light, allow me expressly to call your attention to the Climature, and its monthly phenomena around Hartwell, which constitute a calendar expressly drawn up from personal observation, unremitting inquiry, gleanings of folk-lore, and a careful reduction of your voluminous meteorological records. This summary, it is to be hoped, will prove at once correct and trustworthy, since I have taken great pains and bestowed much labour to render it so; therefore it may be unhesitatingly stated, that, in any further inquiry of the kind, this Manor may henceforth be enrolled among the known *instantiae* worthy of being relied upon.

The descriptions given in illustration of the Geology of the Hartwell area are entitled to a similar confidence, being about as complete as the present advance of the science admits of; for, though the paleontology of the district is still open to an enlarged scrutiny, the stratification of its inorganic beds is not likely to be materially altered.

I need hardly advert to the Historical and Archaeological portions of the
work, since you are well acquainted with most of the occurrences. It will not, however, escape your eye that I have again dipped into your muniments and papers as freely as before; but I can still aver, as then, that "I have directly steered the course between public or general interest, and personal confidence; and that in no instance has the line of propriety been violated, or even strained, beyond a proper latitude." Moreover, in the printing of letters or parts of letters from some of my esteemed correspondents, it has only been where they act as correlatives of the text, or are in answer to given queries.

In now referring you to the volume itself for further particulars, I will only take leave to add, that though many of the inquiries, and much conflicting evidence, were somewhat troublesome during its composition, it was a real pleasure in retired age—blessed with mens sana in corpore sano—to continue my endeavours to diffuse a streamlet of information which may, in any degree, be available to the flowing tide of wholesome instruction, so obvious in the present intellectual—and I hope moral—progress of the human race.

It so happens that I am winding up this agreeable labour on my natal day, yet without any ominous foreboding of its being my last literary undertaking; wherefore, Adieu only for the present; and, with earnest wishes for your continued health and happiness, believe me to remain

Yours very truly,

[Signature]
# Table of Contents

## Chapter I.


### Illustrations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fictile utensils found at Stone</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The ancient Bucket</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ground-plan of Hartwell Church</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The Hartwell Bridge</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>The Old and New Schools</td>
<td>Plate I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>The Akbar school-frigate</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>The Porch and Cable-bitt</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter II.


### Illustrations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Geological map of the vicinity</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Sections of Strata and Fossil Fish</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Plot of the Hartwell Farms</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>An old Windmill</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III.


Illustrations.

Page 114. Mary Hampden's signature . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
127. John Hampden's signature . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
129. The exterior of Quarendon Chapel . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
130. The interior of Quarendon Chapel . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
131. Present state of Quarendon Chapel . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
133. A fragment, and the Lee Bearings . . . . . . . . . . . . Plate V.
136. Quarendon Chapel restored . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
137. Medal to the Privateers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
143. Medallots of the Princess . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Plate VI.
144. Equestrian Statue of the Prince . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
145. Statue of George the Second . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
151. Lee Antonio's funereal tablet . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Plate VII.
157. The prudent Warrior . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.

CHAPTER IV.

ANOTHER VISIT TO THE HARTWELL MUSEUM: A FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE, PROBABLY BY PHIDIAS: GREEK INSCRIPTION ON GOLD: ANALOGIES OF EGYPT AND MEXICO; CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS: FINDINGS IN NORTH AFRICA.

Illustrations.

Page 159. The head of Hebe . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
162. Greek inscription on gold . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
164. Mexican and Egyptian royal symbols . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
165. Masks of Mexico and Magna Graecia . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
166. Hellenian and Syro-Egyptian vases . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
167. Sicilian and Peruvian vases . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
170. A Dog-faced Baboon and Cartouch . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
171. Hawk with a human head . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
172. The Nilometer . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
CONTENTS.

Page 173. The eye of Osiris . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
175. Emblem of Isis, or Athor . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
176. Mummified figure of Osiris . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
177. Rameses the Great . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
183. Statuette of Pharaoh Hophra . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
184. Egyptian lotus vase . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
185. Shoshannim head-dress . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
186. An alabaster scent-bottle . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
188. A coin of Septimius Severus . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
190. Horseman from Ghirzah . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
192. Eyes of Divinity . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.

CHAPTER V.

HALF-A-DOZEN SKETCHES IN THE VICINITY OF HARTWELL: CONCERNING COLD HARBOURS:
ON THE PURSUIT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, AND ON RUBBINGS: ON CERTAIN RELICS FOUND NEAR
AYLESBURY: ON A "DOUBLE-FACED" BRASS IN STONE CHURCH: A WORD MORE ON THE
"DOUBLE-FACED" BRASS: THE SIEGES OF BOARSTALL, WITH RELICS OF OLIVER CROMWELL
STILL IN EXISTENCE.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 197. The hooded Serpent . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
204. Taking a rubbing . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
209. Shakspeare's epitaph . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
211. The Font in Stone Church . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
212. The palimpsest inscription . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
224. Shield of the Gurneys . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
226. Signatures of Lee, Mayne, and Beke . . . . . . . . Wood.
230. View of Stone Church . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
233. Nigel receiving honour . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
234. Nigel's Horn . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
236. View of Boarstall Tower . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Plate VIII.
240. A pass from General Fairfax . . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
244. Cromwell's Sword and Chair at Chequers . . . . . . Wood.
246. Cromwell's Drogheda and Naseby swords . . . . . . Wood.
248. Cromwell's pass to Whelocke . . . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
252. Ground-plan of Boarstall Tower . . . . . . . . . . Wood.
APPENDIX.

ADMIRAL SMYTH'S PUBLISHED AND PRIVATELY-PRINTED WORKS, IN DR. LEE'S POSSESSION; WITH NOTES AND REMARKS IN ILLUSTRATION. THEY ARE AS FOLLOWS:—


Page 272.

Page 271. Columbretes on the Coast of Spain.


Page 272. Address to Geographical Society.

Page 272. Allocation on Royal Premiums.

Page 273. Anniversary Address to Geographical Society in 1851.

Page 273.

Page 273. Hints to Travellers.


Page 274. Telegraphic Communication.

Page 274. Archytas on the British Navy.

Page 274. Popular View of Meteorology.

Page 275. Fate of La Perouse.


Page 275. Maritime Supremacy of Britain.

Page 275. Sam Sprit to the Heditur, on grievances.

Page 276. Services of Major Herbert Beaver.

Page 276. Dibdin's Sea Songs.


Page 276. Death of a Corsican Chief.

Page 277. Sam Sprit to the Heditur, on sea life.

Page 277. Memoir of Admiral Sir Charles Penrose.

Page 277. Story of Ja'far of Wadai.

Page 278. The King's Own reviewed.

Page 278. Description of Algiers.

Page 278. Sam Sprit to the Heditur, on Rodney.

Page 278. Career of Captain Peter Heywood.

Page 278. A Galley Yarn.

Page 279. Discipline of the Mercantile Marine.

Page 279. Naval Battles, power of steam.

Page 279. Theory of the Universe.

Page 279. On Naval Timber.

Page 279. The Bounty again.

Page 280. On Naval Literature.
CONTENTS.

" Naval Operations of the Burmese War.
" A word upon "Youngsters."
" "Cavendish" reviewed.
" Sam Spirit at a Masquerade.
" Sebastian Cabot.
281. An Officer's Affidavit.
" The Nautical Almanac.
" Voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian.
" On the Occult Principle.
" On Plague and Quarantine.
" Sam Spirit's Visit to Portsmouth.
282. On Breaking the Line.
" The Currents of the Atlantic.
" Steam Navigation.
283. Our Failure at Brest.
284. Modern Greece and Kanaris.
" Nautical Astronomy.
" The Polar Lions.
" Naval Officers' Widows.
" Thoughts on Impression.
" Biography of Admiral Sir C. Cunningham.
" The late Admiral Sir E. Thornborough.
285. ———— Sir R. Keats.
" Pirates and Piracy.
286. Naval Tactics considered.
" Colonies and Colonization.
287. Admiral Sir B. Hallowel Carew.
" On Nautical Surveying.
288. On Modern Naval Novels.
289. Registry of Merchant Seamen.
" Circular Sterns for Men of War.
" On Naval Architecture.
" Economy of a Man-of-War.
290. A Society for Naval Improvement.
" On Marine Insurance.
" A Voice from the Fleet.
" Naval History and Captain Brenton.
291. Biographical Sketch of Dampier.
292. The Cinque Ports.
" On Nautical Superstition.
293. On Naval Biography.
" Earl St. Vincent and Captain Brenton.
294. A Recollection of Tobago.
" Nautical Inventions and Improvements.
" A Call to all Men on State of the Navy.
" Examination of the Law of Storms.
" Career of Sir Sidney Smith.
" Admiral Sir Henry Trollope.
" Captain James Clark Ross's Antarctic Expedition.
" Raper's Practice of Navigation.
" Voyages of "Adventure" and "Beagle."
" Anson's Expedition.
" Sovereignty of the Seas.
" On Telluric Magnetism.
" On Oceanic Surf.
" A Yarn about Sharks.
" Hygeia's Visit to the Fleet.
" Nelson vindicated from vanity.
296. The last of the Pandorans.
" Recent Operations in Lycia.
" Advance of Steam Navigation.
" The Pandora again.
" Dry-rot and Remedies for it.
" Hurricanes of the Atlantic.
" On Professional Clubs.
" On Lightning Conductors.
" The Goodere Tragedy.
" A Glance upon Spain.
" France and Morocco.
297. The "Mary Rose" and the French.
" A Seaman's Visit to Windermere.
" The "Athénien" and the Skerki.
298. Thoughts on Naval Tactics.
300. Kolapoor and Sawunt-Warree.
" Nelson's First Visit to Naples.
" A word on the Trade-winds.
" Nelson's Second Visit to Naples.
301. Thoughts upon Tides.
" Matthew Hanley, a sea-ballad.
" On Manning the Navy.
" The Submarine Propeller.
" Lampedusa and its Legends.
" The Latest Legend of Lampedusa.
302. Marvels of Marine Natural History
" On Oceanic Currents.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>308.</td>
<td>A Requiem on Duelling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Captain Johnson and the Compass.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A postscript on Sardinia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADDENDA

to

THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

CHAPTER I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS, IN CONTINUATION OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF
THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

The stately Homes of England, how beautiful they stand.
Amid their tall ancestral trees, the glory of our land.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

Although the interesting mansion and manor of Hartwell were rather
amply set forth by the present writer in a former work, a residence of twelve
years on an adjoining spot, since the launch of that volume, has matured
his acquaintance with many local peculiarities, not only of the immediate
site, but also with those features of the neighbourhood which may be looked
upon, in some degree, as connected with the traditions and fortunes of the
House of Hartwell. Such instances were from time to time duly jotted down,
or, as the redoubtable Captain Cuttle would have had it, "made a note of," in
order to their being inserted in an interleaved copy of the above-cited Ædes.

On discussing some of these points with my worthy compeer, Dr. Lee,
and showing him a portion of the conclusions which I had arrived at, that
gentleman expressed himself desirous of their being printed for general cir-
culation; thereby adding such strength to the former statements as would
convey a tolerably complete representation of the estate with respect to position,
history, climate, capacity, and other relative moot points. In a word, to exhibit the chief events during an interval between the Conquest and the year of our Lord 1864. To this proposition I readily assented, since, besides furnishing much new matter, I should thereby be enabled to amend two or three of my former statements; and likewise make a tilt at the comments of a batch of petty critics who, unacquainted with the difficulties of truthful inquiry, sneer at antiquarianism, and imperiously demand that their meat shall be roasted to a turn. There are, moreover, certain plural units of a still lower grade, the dread We, who, under pretence of overhauling my book, have therefrom fabricated wholesale contributions to magazines and other periodicals. This is an artifice springing, perhaps, from the urgent necessities of the "serial" conductors of the day; but their names shall not share even in the short-lived destiny of these pages. Their process is abundantly easy, even to the meanest capacity: it consists in making a few acknowledged extracts from the doomed work in small print, and then filching a page or two of filling-in between them from the same, in a larger type, to appear as though written by the Zoilus himself; and this réchauffé, smudged with faint praise or a quantum of didactic advice to the victimized author, is published and sold as a Review. Omne ignotum pro magnifico est!

In reply, however, to some presumptuous though pointless vituperation on the subject, I will at once hoist my colours, openly pronouncing Topography to be a deeply interesting branch of investigation and study, not only because a love of ancestry is a passion incident to the very nature of elevated minds, but also on account of its importance in faithfully illustrating our domestic, parochial, and national antiquities. Properly speaking, Topography may be designated a minor or minute geography, adding an incorporation of various particulars relative to the natural, civil, political, and statistical history of the place under treatment; together with biographical and archaeological incidents and details. It is therefore a branch of knowledge which can flourish only among a people who love their homes, cultivate the fine arts, and entertain a reverence for their betters: and in this spirit it was ably enunciated by my
late learned friend Sir Francis Palgrave, in his preface to the Parliamentary Writs, that "The general history of a country can never be well understood without a complete and searching analysis of the component parts of the community as well as the country. Genealogical inquiries and local topography, so far from being unworthy of the attention of the philosophical inquirer, are amongst the best materials he can use; and the fortunes and changes of one family, or the events of one upland township, may explain the darkest and most dubious portions of the annals of a realm."

§ 2. THE CHOROGRAPHICAL NOMENCLATURE.

This is a subject which has occasioned many a wordy war, and, after provoking vehement ventilation, has too often left us as we were; nor can it well fare otherwise when the subtle sophisms of unsound etymology—by which words, screwable into any form—are appealed to. Now, in opening the volume intitled Εdes Hartwellianæ, it will be found that I derived the appellation of Buckingham from what I then conceived—on the authority of Camden, Spelman, and Browne Willis, and to which I still adhere—to be its most probable derivation, namely, from the British word Boc, the which was Saxonized into Boc or Buc, either in allusion to its forests of beech-trees, or to the deer that roved therein. But one of the aforesaid critical cavillers, anxious to establish the early civilization of this "Heart of South Britaine," has demanded why I did not likewise cite Lysons's source of the county-name from Bock or Book as the most probable origin, because it is indicative of charter-land, and thereby at once distinguishable from folk-land; the one being freehold and the other copyhold? To this my answer is, that I adopted the discriminative term which appears to be at least as plausible as any other suggested specification; and, as to the dictum of Lysons, there could be no inducement for lugging it in, seeing that he utterly fails in supporting his point. Wherefore the antecedents of Buckingham, Aylesbury, and Hartwell, remain as given in the Εdes.
Meanwhile, another astute quill-driver throws all our honest pioneers overboard, and sturdily insists that the county is evidently designated after a recognized gang of Saxon squatters who rejoiced in the euphonous and well-rounded denomination of Buckings: these, by his showing, must have ousted a family of the Cattieuchlani tribe, and then occupied their berths. But surely under such an assumption the Bucklands, the Bucklers, the Buckstons, \textit{et hoc genus omne}, might put in and substantiate a claim. Now it was because tradition by becoming silent had left the topic open to conjecture, that I chose to steer in the wake of trustworthy pilots; and even brought the judicious Camden’s conclusion to bear in unison with \textit{Hart-well}, as illustrated by an ancient seal in the family archives, on which is represented a deer slaking its thirst at a well. (\textit{See Ædes}, pages 3 and 4.)

With the above explanation I also mentioned that one of the seals to a deed in Dr. Lee’s possession, dated in March 1570, bears a peacock’s head erased, which was the crest of the Hampdens of Hartwell; and have since found that a further reason may be adduced for the presence of such numbers of those splendid fowls around the mansion immemorially. This reason is evinced by the fact that the crest of the ancient family of the Harcourts—so closely allied by marriage and by friendship with the Lees—was a peacock, though differently represented from that of the Hampdens. Indeed, the peacock was esteemed a very distinguished heraldic ornament, and a criterion of nobility; so that, being a bird of high fame in chivalry, it was held in reverence by all true and loyal knights. We probably are indebted to the Romans for the introduction and domestication of the genus in Britain, and their beautiful crests appear to have been among the regal ornaments of our early sovereigns. Ducange gives a florid panegyric on them; but the sage Aldrovandi tells us that the Italians describe them as having the plumage of an angel, the gait of a thief, and the voice of a devil.

As accuracy in the names of places is of the gravest importance in the history of a district, we may now proceed to a further view of other local nomenclature; and, together with that of the towns and villages, intermingle a
few of the archaisms still lingering among the peasantry in various parts of Buckinghamshire. These are distinctly traceable to that olla podrida of British, Teutonic, and Scandinavian tongues which formed the copious and excellent language known as Old English, now by common consent called Anglo-Saxon. In behalf of our early chronicles, plays, poems, folk-lore, and literature, the dialectical peculiarities of this vernacular polyglot ought to be cherished as valuable relics of what was once spoken all over England, and still has an extensive existence, though under various modes of pronunciation. In utterance, many of these archaisms recall their ancient orthography, and explain the peculiarity called provincial dialect. In the following list the names of places are in capital letters—the other terms in italics:

Ac. or Aak. An oak-tree.
Amet corn. Otherwise called Spelt, which see.
Assart. Broken-up woodland.
Awne. The beard of corn.
Ban. A faggot of brushwood.
Balk. A slip of land between ground and ground.
Beachamp. A vill in a watery district.
Beast, or Byst. First milk of a cow after calving.
Bitam. An angle or turning in a road.
Blencorn. Wheat mixed with rye.
Boddle. Weeds in corn.
Bolster-end. A dwelling in common land of Fingest.
Bos, or Bos. A place of shade.
Bottom. Low or depressed ground.
Brezel. The bramble or blackberry-bush.
Brunn. Rough fodder.
Burg. A burrough, town, or castle.
Burn, or Bourne. A brook or rivulet.
Bur. A house or castle. A frequent affix.
Butt. Arable land short at the sides of a field.*
Byst, or Bylle. A beetle or mallet.
Caddow. A name for a jackdaw.

* Our local archaeologists consider an adjacent field which is called the "Butts" as a place where the former inhabitants of Stone were wont to exercise their archery; but Mr. Walter Crook—tenant of the spot—to whom I am indebted for unravelling numerous provincialisms, assures me that the term, in this instance, can only allude to a measure of land, or a boundary.

Cerf. Chervil, wild parsley.
Cern. Corn. A common enunciation.
Chelmsford. A wood where a ceorl could exercise his proper rights.
Charlock. Sinapis, or wild mustard-plant.
Chetwode. A cottage [cottage] or habitation in a wood.
Chew. Anglo-Saxon ceow, a jackdaw.
Clawers. Bur-weeds in corn.
Comb, or Coombe. British Kame, a low situation.
Corn. This Anglo-Saxon term is applied as well to beans as to wheat, barley, and oats.
Crag. British word for steep rock.
Chewendon. Compounded of the words grēn, green; and don, a hill.
Croft. A small tenement.
Crome. An old ewe.
Culver. Anglo-Saxon culver, dove or pigeon.
Den. A district of wild pasture land.
Denham. Home or habitation in a dale.
Denhe. An old word meaning Danish.
Dinton, or Dynon. Probably Dane's town.
Ditted. Anglo-Saxon dittum, clogged with dirt.
Dorston. A village in a narrow valley; a humid place.
Dredge. A mixture of oats and barley.
Earth. For animals to lodge in barrows, as the fox, the badger, &c. Anglo-Saxon *earh*.

Edder, or Ether. Intertwining twigs, fence headings.

Eddish, or Ech. Ground where corn was grown the year before.

Essart, see Assart.

Eththrop. From *ect*, water; and *thorp*, a vill.

Eormer. From *erme*, signifying both farm and food.

Ferne. The Anglo-Norman for farm, whence the *Fermari* and *Fermarni* of our early laws.

Flam. A low marshy place near a stream.


Flet-marston. From *flett*, a fixed habitation; and *meerston*, drain of marshy land.

Fliggd. From *fiogan*, fleged, full-feathered, full-flapped, full-fledged.

Fluff. Nap, down, or gossamer-like filaments. From the Anglo-Saxon *floc*.

Fog. The aftermath, or second crop of grass.

Ford, or Foor. A place where a stream may be forded or crossed.

Froom. Land which has been worked too much.

Furlong. The line of direction of ploughed lands.

Anglo-Saxon *furhling*, length of a furrow.

Fazz, or Fuzzen. Furze or gorse.

Gawcott. Formerly *chasem-cofe*, or chaff-barn.

Gawney. An awkward simpleton, a gawkey.

Gay-hurst, or Gote-hurst. A farmyard in a wood.

Gilli-nor. The old term for gilly-flower.

Gis-ground. Untilled green sward.

Glade, or Glyde. An open pathway through a wood.

Goff. An old game played by striking balls with clubs.

Goldinch. A bird familiar to the Saxons as *gold-finc*.

Goss. From Anglo-Saxon *gorst*, gorge, furzen, furze.

Gecause. The cuckoo or *gac* of our Saxon ancestors.

Graff. From *grosan*, to dig. The hole dug by the graving-tool.

Gratten, or Gratten. The stubble of common fields.

Gratten-ground. Arable lands under a commonable, or open-right, state.*

Grandon. From *gres*, green, and *don*, an eminence.

Grieff. The graft of a tree.

Grip. From *grasp*, a draining trench or ditch.

Haddenham. Compounded of the words *hed*, heath, and *ham*, a village.

Hade, or Hades. A ridge of land, a mill-hill.

Hagh. From the Anglo-Saxon *hage*, a hedge.

Ham. A dwelling or village, an inclosure.

Hartton. A homestead where harts congregated.


Haw-ridge. A copice on an elevation.

Hayward. A night guardian of a farmyard.

Head-lands. Spaces left for horses to turn a plough.

Hrah-worth. A high farm, or residence.

Hedge-greens. Synonymous with head-lands.

Hirst. A branch or bough.

Hobby. Anglo-Norman *hoby*, an active small horse.

Hockey. From *huce*, a pastoral staff; the classic *pedum*.

Hoe, or Hoar. A hill or eminence.

Hoo-shaw. A shaw or wood in which hogs were fed.

Holli-hoe. Anglo-Saxon for holly-hock.

Holm. Flat grounds; a river islet.

Hol. A wood or grove.

Hor-mead. A boundary meadow.

Hoye-hirde. A crest of land, a boundary.

House. To take a habitation.

Hulcott. A dwelling on a hill.

Hurdle. The continued Anglo-Saxon *hurde*, both as a noun and verb.

Hurst. A woody place; wooden cottages.

Hua-te. Wheat or bread-corn, in old English.

Ickford. A watery way; a passage through.

Ing. A low meadow. *Ing-wyr*, meadow-wort.

Ickhill. An eminence in a watery swamp.

Jibber. A horse that is restive under the collar.

Joat. To agist or pasture cattle for a stipulated sum.

Jumart. The earth-bunium, or pignut.

Kestrel. An old name for the stunnel-hawk.

Kimbel-Grange. The ecclesiastical farm and granary of Kimbel.

* Grattening-up is a word applied to ploughing before Christmas; but I am amused with an etymology suggested by my ready bucolic correspondent, Mr. A. K. Fowler, of Aylebury. On inquiring of him for an explanation, he replied, "I have often wondered at this word, as it is used thus—gratten barley, gratten oats, &c. meaning spring corn grown after the stubble is ploughed in the autumn. Now the foundation of good farming is ploughing, or disinTEGRATTENING; and that being a long word for use, the leading syllables have dropped off."
LOCAL NOMENCLATURE AND ARCHAISMS.

Kimmel. A tub for household purposes.
Kinsley. King's-way; a marshy vicinity.
Lade. A canal, or way for water.
Laver. The nature of the soil.
Lamport. Lam, clay or loam, and port, a gate. From the Romans.
Laying-up. The first ploughing after harvest.
Lea, Lee, or Ley. Fields; as clover-lee, grass-lee, &c.
Untilled greensward.
Leasow. From Lates, pasture land.
Linsdale. Compounded from lea, a spring, and lade, a channel for it.
Lieth-wort. The plant Forget-me-not.
Little-worth. From lytel-wort, an inclosed homestead. A small farm.
Lock-spit. A small cut with a spade in the turf.
Long-wick. An extent of marshy land.
Loma, or Loom. Anglo-Saxon loma, household utensils.
Loe. Anglo-Saxon leo, a small hill, a barrow.
Leegarshale, or Leegarshale. Verge of a stagnant or marshy pool.
Mead. A mead, grass field, or meadow.
Marston. A vill or town near a marsh.
Meeting. Mixed corn of wheat and rye sown together.
Morton. A vill on a moor or waste land.
Mow. Anglo-Saxon mowe, a heap, a stack.
Nether. Anglo-Saxon nyster, lower or downward.
Nightingale. Well-known to our Saxon ancestors as the night-gale.
Notley. A flat ground with nut-trees.
Ockley. Aclay, a plain with oak-trees.
Offit. Poor corn or grain of any kind.
Olney. A place in a watery situation.
Opsland. Land under constant tillage.
Padbury. From perf, a path, and burg, a hill.
Pamage. Mast for swine feeding in the woods.
Pervine. Anglo-Saxon for the plant periwinkle.
Psein-shawen. Peth-shaw, or haulin of peas.
Piglet, or Pyke.* Anglo-Norman for a small inclosure.
Pitchcotte or Pycchcote. A dwelling on a hill.
Plash. To trim and interweave a broad-spread hedge.

* A piglet, in early days, seems properly to have been applied to a piece of meadow land between two woods. It is now in use, even where the woods have long since disappeared.
ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Studley. Studs and ley, pasture for horses.
Styrb. A steer, stirk, or young horned-beast.
Stake (Sowse?) Hogwash.
Stewle. A declivity on a rising ground.
Swan-bourn. Anglo-Saxon swan and stream, or herdsman and brook.
Swarth, or Swatch. The fall of grass at each cut of the mower’s scythe.
Swiftn. From the Anglo-Saxon swiftn, the swallow called swift.
Swingle. The outer part of a stall.
Taylor, or proud tailor. The long-tailed titmouse or bumblebee.*
Thiller. A term denoting the shaft of horse.
Thistle-finch. Anglo-Saxon pistel-twige, the linnet.
Thorp. A village; thorpe’s-men, villagers.
Throstle. Anglo-Saxon brostel, a singing thrush.
Toft. Danish; homestead or residence.
Ton, or Tun. A field, hedge, vill, or town.
Tools. From toil, farming implements and utensils.
Tower. Eye means its nook or corner in the county.
Ting. Perhaps the Danish tyr-ing, or ox-meadows.
Twechel. A narrow path, alley, or short cut.
Twich-grass. Anglo-Saxon twice, quick-growing spear or couch grass.
Twybill. The Anglo-Saxon poleaxe, now a double-headed pickaxe.
Twyford. Where two river-branches are to be forded.
Tynmen. An old word still in use for twined.
Twyerdale. A road leading down to a twyford.
Unk. Anglo-Saxon unc-yuedd, dull and dreary.
Uplands. Rises; opposed to meadows and marshes.

Ullend. Land which is let colonis tenentibus, or tenancy.
Vill. The old term for a small collection of houses.
Wabble. To boil. From wopelen, to bubble.
Waddesden. From the Anglo-Saxon compound wald-dan, woody hill.
Wain. From the Anglo-Saxon wægæ, a waggon.
Wattles. Split or slit wood; gills of a cock.
Watton. The enclosure of a field or dwelling.
Weld or Wald. An open wood.
Wealdings. Calves and lambs.
Weston. West town; a frequent prefix.
Whaddon. A woody and hilly location.
Whittle. Anglo-Saxon hystel, a clasp-knife.
Wis, or Wick. Not cognate with vicus, and may allude to wet grounds.†
Winchendon. From wynchen(?), springs, and den or don, pasture.
Windrows. The lines of hay previous to carrying it.
Withy. Anglo-Saxon withys, the second growth of the willow-tree.
Woolburn, or Hooburn. A rivulet from an eminence.
Wood-thistle. The identical wood-pistle of the Anglo-Saxons.
Wotton. A humid situation, wootong.
Wren. The insectorial bird called wrenna by the Anglo-Saxons ages ago.
Wrot. To turn up ground with the stout. Anglo-Saxon wrot-an.
Wry-come. On a rivulet in a valley.
Wyrm-wood. From the Anglo-Saxon term for the shrub absinthium.
Yerdon. An early term still in use for farmyard.

* This is on the authority of Mr. Woodman, didascatos of the village school, and taxidermist of the neighbourhood. The Hon. Daines Barrington was of opinion that the Proud Tailor is a goldfinch, and that it explains Hotspur’s allusion “to turn tailor, or be robin-redbreast teacher” (First part of King Henry IV. act iii. scene 1). The Tailor is a finch, but yields to his namesake in India for connection with the craft in stitching its nest. The shrike, or butcher-bird, has also obtained the name Tailer, but on account of a horizontal movement he makes with his tail in advancing.

† This is the acceptance by the local antiquaries, and especially insisted upon by the late Rev. William Monkhouse; but with which my friend Mr. Thomas Wright will not agree. In a letter to me he says—“I am sorry to think that the Anglo-Saxon vic has nothing to do with marshy situations, but that it means simply a habitation, any place where men dwell. It is one of the commonest words in the Anglo-Saxon language, and is found continually in Beowulf and the earliest remains of Anglo-Saxon literature. I don’t know that it is taken from the Latin vicus, but it is no doubt derived from the same primitive word from which that Latin one came. I should render it a hamlet.”
CAMDEN ON ETymology.

Such are the scanty philological remains of a former day, but even this portion is rather delicate ground to tread upon. "I have been very wary," says Camden, "about the etymology of Britain;" our excellent historian well knowing that the originals of countries are obscure and uncertain. Errors must still exist, "for who is so good a pilot," he asks, "as to cruise in this unknown Sea of Antiquity without splitting upon rocks?" And he winds up the argument with what is too commonly the case—

"Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli."

§ 3. ARCHÉOLOGICAL COLLECTANEA.

To the section on the local antiquities of this district in the Ædes Hartwellianæ I am enabled to add a little, though nothing very important, to that sketch. With a view to this end, I have kept my weather-eye open upon all the "finds" and discoveries of the county antiquaries and antiquists far and near; but at present must confine myself to the immediate vicinity.

At page 6 of the Ædes I made a brief mention of the detection, by the Vicar of Stone and the Secretary S.A., of two pit-shafts in the field adjacent to the vicarage. Locally these are very interesting, because it is evident that they were sunk for sepulture, and not for latrinas or rubbish-holes. They were critically examined and ably described by Mr. J. Y. Akerman in an illustrated paper which was read to the Society of Antiquaries on the 21st of November, 1850, and is printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxxiv. pages 21—32.

While this account was in hand I carefully examined both the site and the spoils which were then obtained. The latter were in the possession of the Rev. J. B. Reade, and a proper estimation of them may be formed from a sample which he photographed:—

![Pottery vessels](c)
It is remarkable, and sufficiently bespeaks the homeliness of this cemetery, that not one of these vessels, nor any fictile fragment around, bears the potter's mark—a stamp so generally remarked on superior manufactures. Some of the urns were of a light colour, others of a dark slate tint; and with them were found different remains of oxen, a portion of skin tanned and preserved by the action of the sulphureous acid from the blue clay below, two bronze rings of rude construction, a small iron disc, and a quantity of charred wood. At the very bottom of the second pit was a situla or bucket, which excited attention from its shape and condition: it was found that the edges of its oaken staves were strongly connected by means of wooden pins, and the whole was bound together with iron hoops. It was furnished with ears or cleats for the handle, the which, however, could not be found. This is the vicar's representation of it, under photographic accuracy:

![Image of situla]

Mr. Reade was a zealous and careful scrutineer of all the "finds" in his domain, as regarded objects of antiquity. In the year 1840 his gardener dug up in the vicarage orchard a large bronze fibula, of Teutonic fabric, which was exhibited to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and engraved in the Appendix to the thirtieth volume of their Archæologia. This specimen of the finery of a by-gone day is curious from its size, ornamentation, and belle tournure. By a shred of coarse cloth which still adhered to a fragment of theacus, it was presumed to have been interred with the body of its owner, who, by another assumption, might have been of the true religion; but the cruciform shape of the trinket affords no evidence, for we know that the heathen Teutones had long adopted the crossing-mould; there-
fore it was as likely to have been worn, for use or adornment, in the days of Pagan as of Christian Saxondom.

Shortly after this occurrence, when the crown of the hill between the aforesaid orchard and the adjacent windmill, was lowered to improve the high road from Aylesbury to Oxford, several human skeletons, together with bones of oxen and horses, were turned up by the labourers: there was also a singular horse-shoe, and numerous relics of weapons. A few all but obliterated third-brass Roman coins,* and an indifferent larger one of Magnentius, were also picked out from the rubbish; the latter of which was presumed to stamp the general date of the "find" as of between 300 and 400 years A.D. This, however, is only conjecture, for such a piece of money may have been in circulation long after its being minted; and my own impression, after inspecting the whole, was that these vestigia ought not to be considered of an earlier time than the ninth or tenth century. Near this spot, and about the same time, a skeleton was disinterred, with a spear-head, a knife, and the umbo of a buckler; and pretty close to it, among unequivocal marks of extensive fires, were found two funereal vases containing human bones, so that pagan cremation and Teutonic interment were in juxta-position. Several other corroded Roman coins have been since picked up on and near the site, but under circumstances which yield no accurate information. Mr. Reade also found a curious silver ring in the sand-pit at Stone, set with a carnelian stone, on which is rudely engraven a hart,—as if to countenance the Hartwell myth.

In 1854, an aureus of Nero, in very fair condition, with a sedent Salus on its reverse, was discovered in Kingsey field near Twythorpe, so near the surface of the ground that a woman weeding turned it up with her spud. This coin, struck A.D. 54, was purchased by the late amiable Miss Harrison, at Dinton Rectory, who kindly sent it over for my inspection. In April 1858, a second-brass of Probus was found by a labourer while digging in the plantation on

* The colloquial name of ecuina-pence, given to third-sized Roman brass coins, is said to have been assigned because those animals caused their discovery by snorting them up to the surface.
the north side of Hartwell House; it bears a galeated figure inscribed \textit{Virtus Aug.} as its reverse, and must have been struck A.D. 279.

Few and inconclusive as are the relics which have yet been brought to light here and around, they altogether make a sufficient basis on which to raise the conclusion, that the whole site has undergone the successive tread of Celtic Britons, Romans, Romanized Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. To bring such inference to demonstration, it is necessary to secure every link in the chain of evidence which can be mustered; for, even where it may be insufficient for the establishment of proof, it may yet afford a well-grounded assumption. \textit{Antiquaria}, the mother of History, commences with faint traces and intricate mazes; but, though some attempts may prove to be labour in vain, it is no reason that the cause should be abandoned. The guerdon is highly incentive: the rude remains of the tribes who possessed Britain previous to Caesar's invasion, the roads and other monuments of civilization constructed by the Roman conquerors, the civil and ecclesiastical architecture of the succeeding ages, all furnish topics interesting in themselves, and eminently illustrative of our national archives.

Imbued with such considerations, I have watched the vicinity pretty closely since the publication of the \textit{Ædes Hartwelianæ}, and, whenever anything came within my notice, I followed the aforesaid advice of Captain Cuttle. With this view I went in the summer of 1859 to see my friends Mr. Akerman and the Rev. Joseph Goodall, excavating near Dinton, although not upon a spot which I thought held out much promise, seeing that it was at the modern-antique castle erected in 1758; the ground on which it stands must therefore have been thoroughly disturbed on that occasion. It was here that Sir John Vanhattem then found the interesting Anglo-Saxon relics which are described in Douglas's \textit{Nenia Britannica}; some of which are engraved upon plate xvi. of that useful work; they have also appeared in the Archæologia and elsewhere. Consequently, there could not be much chance of another "find" on that site; but I would fain have opened trenches in the old earth-works—so indicative of extensive ancient fortifications—at the Lower Farm, about half-way between
my residence and the windmill, had not various occupations precluded my active interference. The vicar's orchard also, where the above-mentioned brooch lay hidden for ages, offers a tempting spot for ransacking, as do several other sites in the immediate neighbourhood. Even while writing this (17th July, 1862,) having inquired about a rumoured "find" on the glebe land, our present vicar, the eminent mathematician, sent me the following kind letter:—

MY DEAR ADMIRAL SMYTH,

YOU wish me to give you some account of my finding the ancient weapons, and human remains, discovered in the Stone sand-pits some months since. Last January my labourers were raising sand in the field adjoining the Lunatic Asylum, about fifty yards from the windmill in a south-westerly direction, when, about fifteen inches below the surface, and resting immediately on the sand, were found the human skull and bones with two iron spear-heads, of which I beg your acceptance. Whether they are Roman or Anglo-Saxon you may probably, on inspection, be able to decide. Believe me, &c.

JAMES BOOTH.

The latest "find" occurred on the 8th of November, 1862, at the red sand-pit near Peverel Court; where a halfpenny of King George II.—who, according to Bishop Porteus, was taken by Providence from a world he was too good for—was posited cheek-by-jole with a third-brass coin of the gallant and meritorious Emperor, Claudius Gothicus.

Domesday Book (Dom-boc, book of decrees or sentences,) and some of the churches around sufficiently attest the footsteps of the Normans; and from them we descend to the times of our Henrys and Edwards. Two fields in the parish, on the farm held by Mr. Walter Crook, being still called the Upper and Lower Butts, have given rise to the idea that the designation alluded to their use in days of yore, when our stalwart bold peasantry were trained to the use of the formidable long-bow, and when the "myghte of the realme of Englonde stode upon archerese." But the spear of Ithuriel dissipates the pleasing vision which represents Stone as so warlike and patriotic; and reduces the term to what is shown in our list of archaisms (see page 5). Fact and Fancy are often in stern opposition; and truth is a merciless invader of popular fallacy. Now it was a law that butts should be erected in every parish, and the inhabitants
were obliged to practise at them on Sundays and holidays; and in Edward the Fourth's reign, for instance, men were liable to the fine of a halfpenny for every time they omitted so to do. Yet the claim of the Stone Butts is feeble indeed.

During the unnatural struggles called the Civil War, this vicinity was alternately contested; and the occasional squattings of Cavaliers or Roundheads appear to have been equally dreaded by the peace-loving residents. This prompted many of the prudent to bury their funds till times should ameliorate; but, in sharing the vicissitudes of the contending parties, some were cut off, or died, without revealing the place of concealment. Hence the occasional "finds" in various parts of the county, and hence the rustic belief that there is still a "mort of money" to turn up. Thus, in the month of October, 1885, it happened that Dr. Lee was occupied in having trenches dug out for planting some trees between the church and mansion of Hartwell. In the execution of this intention the workmen suddenly struck upon a hoard of silver coins, enough, as James Horton told me, to "fill a peck." They proved to consist of about 2,400 crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences of Edward VI., Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. The coins of Charles formed the largest portion of the whole, and in fabric are the last of our hammered money: the obverses mostly bear the equestrian statue of the king clad in the half-armour so often represented in works of art about that time. The reverses are stamped with the royal arms surmounted by a crown, and the current value of each coin is duly marked in Roman numerals. This division also contained every variety of the symbols perhaps of the mintage of that hapless sovereign's reign—as a cross, human eye, portcullis, fleur-de-lys, plume of feathers, pear, rose, sun, anchor, helmet,

* The old manor-house at Wooburn, to the west of Little Marlow, was surrounded by a moat, near which was a wilderness in which Lord Wharton buried 50l. in gold angels, which were not discovered until about 1760. Dr. Lipscombe adds—"There is another tradition of one of the Lords Wharton having concealed 60,000l. in West Wood, in this parish, and, after the Restoration, could not recollect precisely the spot; but, after clearing about two acres, the whole was discovered."
martlet, harp, heart, castle, head, triangle in a circle, tun, bugle-horn, bell, sceptre, book, star, lion, and some others very uncertain. About the same time, but forming no part of the hoard before us, a gold "angel" of Charles was picked up, which, having been used as a touch-piece for the King's evil, was bored through for wearing round the neck.

On the juncture of the great find Dr. Lee made a present to James Horton, who superintended the exhumation, and gave a couple of guineas to each of the labourers employed, besides a substantial dinner at the Bull Inn. This Mr. Horton was the ci-devant gamekeeper, had been in the Lee service about forty years, and was in office during the whole time that King Louis XVIII. reigned at Hartwell. He told me many of the smaller anecdotes of the day—how that he was wont to supply the "Frenchies" with fuel, and how they paid him every Sunday morning regularly at eleven o'clock. They burnt, he said, a "vast sight o' coal besides lots o' wood;" insomuch, that one Sunday in the winter of 1814, when the Thames was frozen over at London, his bill amounted to 94l. 18s. 6d., coals being then at five shillings the cwt. Moreover, the coal-heavers and their maties were regaled "with a power of beer and spirits," to comfort them under labour.

Such is the Antiquarian sketch of this locality, which is greatly wanting in traditional interest. Nor have we any terrific cacodemon stories—those "sensation" means of inflaming the human mind until mere mundane marvels become comparatively insignificant; as with the Princess in Geber—

*Is this the mighty ocean? Is this all?*

To be sure, they tell about Queen Elizabeth driving occasionally round Hartwell's hall at midnight, in a coach drawn by six black horses; but, as this also involves ghosts of the coach, animals, state-dresses, and trappings, it is hardly to be believed. A drowned nun sometimes appears at the seat of my good friend Mr. Bernard, at Winchendon Priory; and a sort of nondescript one visits a particular chamber of Creslow manor-house; but these are endowed with nothing particular in the dolorific line, if we except that the nun
ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

of Winchendon has a queer fancy for pinching the toes of such misogamists as she finds sleeping in a certain room; and even this freak is eluded by the bachelor's not going to bed until after midnight. Witchcraft might be said to have died out, but that here and there a horse-shoe over the door manifests that a soupçon remains: old women therefore are respected, and need no longer be in dread of a merciless dragging through the horsepond merely on suspicion, from being ugly and well-stricken in years.

There is, however, or rather was, an hypostasis of still greater relative weight to believers in the drives of Queen Bess, the fitful tricks of the nun, or the owl-like resonance of the Creslow bogie; and that object was the noted ashlar stone near the farm of Little-worth (Lytel-wor'd). As this stone was of components unknown to the neighbourhood, it followed that it must have been thrown there by the Emir of Evil from Aylesbury churchyard, but why or wherefore no one knew; and, as it has recently disappeared, the same rollicking mischief-maker is supposed to have carried it off again, or to have tossed it elsewhere. But when? Mr. George Thorpe, the well-known prefect of Littleworth, could tell me nothing about its mysterious evanescence; and the present inhabitant of the cottage nearest the site only recollects that it was about two or three or four feet above the ground in 1820. A farming-man from the neighbourhood, who had repeatedly used it as a table when he "dined out," remarked with becoming temerarious hardihood—"I miss'd the stoan at last, but I baint afeard to say that I doant think the devil had any hand in it at all."

§ 4. HARTWELL PARISH.

In alluding (page 7 of the Æides Hartwelliana) to the displeasure of Sir William Lee at the "unaccountable obstinacy" of the clergyman, when the commons and wastes in this neighbourhood were being inclosed for tillage, the name, copied from his own manuscript, appears as the Rev. Richard Smith;
but those useful references, the parish registers, show that his prenomen was Robert. He was Rector of Hartwell for 50 years, and Vicar of Stone during 60 years; and, dying in November, 1783, he was buried at the latter place. However, it appears that Smith was not the only impediment in the way of the so-called improvement; for the invasion of bucolic rights—by thus appropriating all the open grounds, with the power of assarting or grubbing up of woodlands, and closing in the broad commonable roads, in order to enable the squirearchy to acquire additional land—was bitterly inveighed against by many a village Hampden. Indeed, the evil was not altogether of a modern date, as we may gather from Tusser's pleasant stanzas on "Good Husbandrie" in Henry the Eighth's time; and also in Bishop Hall's "Byting Satyr—KOINA ΦΙΑΩΝ," published about 1597; and, again (Virgidiemiarum, IV. sat. 2), where he describes an old country yeoman who starves himself in order to rear his son a gentleman, yet sagaciously predicts that young Hopeful will rack the rents and inclose the waste lands, to the oppression of the poor. Nor can it be denied that, however profitable the Inclosure Acts may have been to the upper ten thousand, and beneficial to the community at large in increasing cultivated land and employing the poor from time to time, it was a sad onslaught on the customs and apparent rights of the million in cottage life, then and ever since:

'Tis bad enough in man or woman
To steal a goose from off a common;
But surely he's without excuse
Who steals the common from the goose.

Yet, as Sir Roger de Coverley sagely observes, there is much to be said on both sides of the question. Manorial lords, estate agents, managing solicitors, and all those who glorified inclosures as giving to every land-holder the full immunities and enjoyment of his own property, bitterly impugned the idleness and stolidity of the peasantry as evinced in the neglected condition of the common lands; and they cited Bacon's axiom that "there is no beast but
will thrive the better if you take him off the common and put him on the
severally." On the other hand it was maintained that, however profitable the
parliamentary benison might be to some, yet it made a momentous alteration
for the worse in our rural population, by annihilating the little allotments of
the petty farmers, together with the crofts, curtilages, and common-rights of
the cottagers, who also lost the privilege of turning out a cow, a pig, a sheep,
or a goose into the woods and wastes of the manor; and in some instances
they were left with scarcely space enough to grow a cabbage; while most of
the open grounds which had been available for cricket, leaping, wrestling, and
other manly sports, were otherwise appropriated. To be sure, there were gen-
tlemen who built comfortable cottages by the wayside, and, in encouraging
Sunday schools and other measures, seemed to take an interest in bettering
the social condition of the poorer classes.

Humanity and policy should unite in checking the alarming progress of
pauperism among those so emphatically termed the "nerves and sinews of
agriculture:" still a material element is now wanting for the solution of this
crucial moot-point. My own belief is, from weighty evidence, that ultimate
amelioration under the existing order of things is hopeless—that religion and
the so-called education, per se, are unable to do it. Few of our present bards
would sing about "Love in a Cottage;" and a future Strutt, treating of
English village sports in the middle of the nineteenth century, would have
but a sorry volume to produce. The philanthropist would view the indecent
and immoral crowding of cottages with pity and disgust, even though the poet
indulged in rapturous admiration the while. But on the whole, setting the
difficulties on one side of the problem against those on the other, the balance
of feeling perhaps turns for the peasant; and it is to be apprehended that
increase in the poor rates ever since the Inclosure Acts came into operation,
forms a moral index of their consequent effects. True, the upshot of the
deed to the empire was, that millions of acres of common-land were brought
under improved cultivation, and property became more strictly defined; yet,
in thus swamping the freeholding yeomanry of England, it was shown that
HARTWELL RECTORY AND PARK.

our feudal and constitutional laws may confer immunities and privileges which were never intended by Nature.

Nevertheless, though the Hartwell muniments display a little ebullition on this occasion, the new enactments were carried out in this vicinity under an equitable aspect, and with as little squabbling as could have been expected. In forwarding his manorial interests, Sir William Lee paid due attention to public convenience the while; and he evidently managed the whole in a fair business-like manner. In 1776 he called together the several commissioners for inclosing Hartwell and Stone, and set out whatever open cart and drift roads, as well as bridle roads, they agreed were necessary through the lands to be inclosed; neither were small cottage-gardens neglected, nor the means of facilitating labour and attendance. In fact the worthy baronet was on too good an understanding with all the long-settled tenants of the estate to experience the obstructions and disturbances which then agitated some of the neighbouring districts. As was stated in the Ædes, in that year 1776 there were inclosed 1740 acres in the two parishes.

§ 5. HARTWELL RECTORY AND PARK.

There was an omission when the Ædes Hartwelliana was printed, in not mentioning that the living of Hartwell stands at 15l. 5s. 5d. in the King's Books; and it will be recollected that the small rectory of Hampden-parva, on the Chiltern Hills, has been annexed to it from the earliest times. The present value of both, conjointly, is 246l. with a small addition for surplice-fees, the amount of which can hardly be said to form an item of income in poor parishes. The tithes also were commuted in 1776, when the parish was inclosed, as before mentioned.

The description of Hartwell Church (Ædes, pages 12, 13,) will be better
comprehended by a reference to the ground-plan thereof; a purpose for which it is now therefore accurately designed, engraved, and duly submitted:—

![Diagram of the church with labels: 1. Belfry Tower and principal entrance. 2. The Communion Table. 3. The Pulpit. 4. Rector's Pew. +. Fixed Form Seats. X. Way under the Mansion-pew.]

In making mention that the fresh-made burial-ground was opened on the 29th of May, 1756, it might have been added that on the same occasion divine service was performed for the first time by the Right Rev. John Thomas, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln; but, as the new enlargement was included in the old churchyard, it was not considered necessary to re-consecrate it. The ceremony was most properly conducted, apparently to the satisfaction of all parties; notwithstanding the curious incident, if unpremeditated, that it should have taken place on the anniversary of Charles the Second's restoration, in such a flagrant nest of Roundhead offsets.

Across the artificial lake which existed just below this church stood a handsome bridge, as represented in the view of Hartwell House which decorates the Ædes (plate iv.); but as it has been demolished since, and, owing to the goodness of fabric, was demolished with labour and difficulty, I subjoin an ad memoriam sketch of it by my daughter Mrs. Toynbee. This structure was com-
menced by Mr. B. Keene, the architect of Hartwell Church, in 1763, and was finished by James Wyatt (praeses of George the Fourth's Wyattvilles) in 1780. Though rather less elaborate in ornament, it was otherwise exactly similar to the bridge in Sion House grounds, near Brentford, belonging to the Duke of Northumberland. This is a correct view just before it was doomed:—

It was on this broad expanse of water, and in the neighbouring ditches, that a well-booted naturalist could easily capture, among the conchological inhabitants, the univalves paludina, bithinia, and calvata; and various kinds of bivalves, as the pisidium, the cycloes, and the anodonta, which last, generally known as the swan-muscle, attained the unusually large size of 7½ inches in length, by a girth of 5 inches at the broadest part of its equi clave surface from hinge to opening. The cancer fluviatilis, astacus, or fresh-water crayfish, is a well developed crustacean inhabitant of waters about here, growing to the length of three and a half inches, with an average weight of half an ounce, and occasionally even larger. They are sometimes, though rarely, brought to table, being considered tolerable eating by some who, perhaps, are not over nice in their gourmandise.

The grounds around the mansion of Hartwell are much in the state described when I last wrote about them, saving that the noble and ornamental group of abele trees, figured in my former volume, are already yielding to that power which dispatches kings, clowns, and all animated nature; but Dr. Lee has very carefully planted others around as a band of hope. The disaster is certainly
an eye-sore at present; otherwise the farms, trees, hills, and other concomitant accessories of the landscape, remain as shown up in the Ædes (page 38). He, however, who would desire to view this pleasing prospect through a proper medium, and to its greatest advantage, should mount to the summit of Aylesbury church-tower some fine day, and the scene will amply repay him for the climb. At the same time it must be whispered that the spectacle is not at all improved by the lopped and pollarded trees of many of the hedgerows, some of which are so denuded of their lower branches as to recall the date-palms of Barbary to mind. Indeed, the husbandmen about here are much too ready, as well as too expert, in the use of the bill, for the criterion of taste; and, moreover, although inclosures may in the event prove wonderfully beneficial to the landowner and the community, by converting extensive downs of turf and brake into rectangular well-shapen fields, the process of so doing has certainly impinged upon rural beauty.

In mentioning the fine Hartwell spring (Ædes, page 41,) over which Dr. Lee has raised an Egyptian structure, its lymph was pitted against the Aylesbury beer in some sing-song lines which attracted the notice of my friend Sir Henry Ellis. "What your Aylesbury beer may now be, I know not," said he, "but of old its ale achieved a standard celebrity;" and he sent me, from the gurgite vasto of the British Museum, a set of rhymes in which the invigorating action of that quintessent fluid upon the animal spirits is set forth as affecting the parson, the clerk, the poet, the wooer, the widow, the soldier, the sailor, the lawyer, the ploughman, the carter, the reaper, the mower, the thresher, the sower, &c. &c. who all and severally glorify English Ale at the cost of that Dutch upstart Beere. The volume from which he copied it was printed in 1642, and of its thirty-four stanzas—what a song for singing!—the two first may appear here as a sample of the former renown of the potent beverage of the propinquity:—

Not drunk nor yet sober, but to both a neighbour,
I met with a friend in Alesbury Vale;
He saw by my face that I was in the case
To speak no great harm of a pot of good ale.
THE LOCAL SCHOOLS.

And as we did meet, and friendly did greet,
He put me in mind of the name of the Dale.
That for Aylesbury's sake some pains I would take,
And not burie the praise of a pot of good ale.

It must be a matter of regret among the well-informed teetotallers that history has not registered the epoch when the Aylesbury Brewery declined from its high estate and consideration: for even the present commixturers of that beverage cannot claim the spurious eulogy of a bard somewhat more recent than he of the thirty-four verses:—

If you've any disorder,
Or feel out of order,
There's a cure safe and certain, that never will fail;
Contradict it who pleases,
What cures all diseases
Is a plentiful dose of good AYLESBURY ALE.

§ 6. THE LOCAL SCHOOLS.

This is a section which is about to undergo a greater alteration than any of those which are printed in the Aides. At pages 9 and 10 is narrated the management of the schools as they then existed, and which, under grave consideration, must be viewed as fully equal to the educational demand. However, a change is actually in progress, and we may therefore add a few words by way of chanting a requiem over the useful but departing system. In so doing I am bound, perhaps, to show my own colours again.

I have more than once been merged into the majority of councils upon education, by the involvement to which minorities are fated; but extra curiam nunc, wherefore it may be allowed to expend a shot or two upon the interesting topic before us.
Having ever felt officially charged with the welfare of the boys under my command at sea, and since then having acted some years as a trustee of the Bedford Schools, besides being a member of the school-committee of the diocese of Oxford, I have given the subject so much attention, that my opinions cannot be held as hastily formed. Thus I could not but perceive, though of course all parties meant well, the common but fundamental error of indulging sentimentalism, instead of looking in a business-like manner to the end proposed. No cause is safely assisted where exaggerated Utopian visions are not only indulged in, but actually acted upon; and assuredly the way to weaken or suppress anything contra bonos mores is, not to tell lies about it. Although no one ever doubted that a wise system of school instruction is a check to the advance of vice, who can believe in the omnipotence of the famous three Rs for the extinction of crime? or why should peccancy gain the frightful extent it does among the educated classes? Nor can a reflecting mind, aware that the acquisition of formularies by rote is not fostering religious persuasion, and knowing that religion without knowledge may degenerate into bigotry and superstition, place any reliance on a pro tanto theory of school government. It is a mere truism that man, unlike the lower animals, is ever on the advance in the means of well-being; but it may be questioned whether the schemes now sent afloat, by persons unprovided with sufficient line for deep soundings, can ever draw us one iota nearer to the millennium. Meanwhile, Time and Progress, those wondrous allies, are pursuing their noiseless yet sure advance of improvement, despite the obstructions thrown athwart their course by ignorance and presumption; and I may cite the recent formation of our village horticultural society, the benefit club, and the brass band, in evidence.

Public attention has of late been so strongly drawn to the educational question, and there seems so great an inclination on the part of the Govern-

* On my paying off the "Adventure" in 1824 at Deptford, I requested of the Admiralty that the ship's boys, as they were of good promise, might not be turned adrift in London; whereupon their Lordships directed me to send them round to Portsmouth. Of these I am happy to add that, besides one, Mr. David Taylor, being high up on the list of masters of the Royal Navy, two or three have commanded merchantmen.
ment to devote funds for the purpose, that schoolism is looking up. It is assumed that there is therefore every prospect of improvement throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the end; that end, however, cannot at present be touched upon. Meanwhile we may therefore state what we opine ought to be the training of juveniles in a small agricultural community, and show how they have received their slight instruction to the present time. But, through all the pros and cons, it must be borne in mind that the necessity of eating and drinking makes an imperative demand for labour; and, considering the low wages of the peasantry, it can hardly be deemed selfishness that induces, or rather compels, parents to force their little children upon premature work, in order to earn an additional quota towards the family's hard expenditure.

To prove really beneficial to village classes, the tuition should not only be plain and simple, but palpably suited to the future wants of the lad; moreover, moral training, industrial habits, and substantial employment, are urgently requisite for carrying out that end. The rustic pupils ought rather to be well grounded in the first elements of learning, than infiltrated with a hasty smattering of a lot of things which must prove utterly useless to those, the majority of whom can never aim at anything more than hoeing, delving, and ploughing. If such boys are taught to read and write tolerably well, together with a practical insight into the mysteries of common arithmetic, then are they armed with sufficient knowledge for the wants of their social station; there being no need why they should greatly care about breaking Priscian's head with grammatical subtleties, or the impertinences of the captatores verborum. With these easily obtainable means, where there is an unmistakable zeal for learning, they can readily educate themselves to a higher point by self-help, that best of all tutors, and that which has befriended the majority of our greatest men in the applied arts and sciences. Instead of an omnium-gatherum cram, so sure of evanescence, the object of rural instruction should be to quicken intelligence by the dissemination of really useful and readily available knowledge, and to make good and provident labourers contented with their lot; the accomplishments above cited being precisely those which a good disposition
will ripen into order, utility, and possibly eminence. This is a simple system
which can never overlay what is termed genius, a mental quality so often im-
personated by conceit and arrogance; and it may be efficiently worked to good
purpose by an instructor of ordinary education and very moderate acquirements,
as ability for teaching country lads does not require the burnish of a college.

A word more upon this point, because it is one on which too many people
are apt to be fundamentally mistaken. The got-up exhibitions before unilateral
examiners and amiable patrons at our minor schools, only indicate the pressure
of cramming; for, however glibly answers may tread on the heels of absurd
questions, they only manifest to the eye of judgment an overcharging of the
brains of poor children, who may be in the lowest order of thought, to show off
by rote that which they cannot comprehend. Such courses may be well in-
tended, but they act as a fearful perversion of the good word education; and
it is a provident circumstance that domestic attachments, with a sphere of
honest usefulness, do not depend on a cottager’s amount of learning.

Au revoir! The National School for the boys of these parishes was opened
about the year 1820, at the joint expense of the National School Society and
the Rev. Sir George Lee, then incumbent and patron; who was very zealously
seconded by the Rev. Alex. Lockhart. The establishment of a Sunday-school
followed, in which from 70 to 80 children imbibed the rudiments of instruction;
and, moreover, there was a needle-work school for the girls, superintended by
Mrs. Lockhart. Soon afterwards, a rural barn-like edifice by the wayside was
fitted up for the accommodation of the day-boys, and over the door is this
inscription:—

| Stone & Hartwell |
| National School. |
| 16th Sep' 1822. |

At page 9 of the Ædes mention will be found of the occasional employ-
ment of the lads for an hour in the tillage of the acre of land which Dr. Lee leased to the establishment, and the manner of disposing of the annual proceeds of their spade-husbandry; while on the page following is an account of the festival given to the boys and girls in Hartwell Park every month of August, with the awards bestowed on merit by Dr. and Mrs. Lee. But, in parading the scholastic doings, to teach the young idea to shoot, it may be proper to submit the answers to a dozen questions which I put to Mr. John Dickins, our present parish-clerk, who governed the school from 1820 to the autumn of 1854, when he retired on account of failing health, and Mr. George Woodman "rules in his stead":—

What was the average number of your boys in summer and in winter, and one year with another?

The school attendance is very irregular. From 40 to 50 in the winter; but in the summer some of the biggest boys were taken out to work, which perhaps might reduce the number to 30, or therabouts. Those who went to work came in again in the winter, except they got constant employment.

To this Mr. Woodman adds, that in 1860 he had 40 for the winter months; namely, 14 scholars at two pence per head, and 26 at a penny; and in summer 11 at two pence and 9 at a penny.

Can you refer to any roll or list, so as to inform me how many you have had at various times?

I have no list that I can refer to, but I can say that for the first seven years I had upwards of 70 boys in the school in the winter season; but they were not all of Stone and Hartwell, as I was allowed to take any boys that wished to come from other parishes at 4d. per week.

On this head Mr. Woodman observes—At one time I had 50 scholars, and once they were reduced so low as 6: at the present time there are 28.

How long did the boys come to you for; or how long did they continue their attendance?

The time of entering was at the age of from 5 to 7 years, and their names remained on the books to 10 or 11, and even longer, according to circumstances, as they were often in and out. Thus some might be only a few weeks and others three or four years, according to who they are and who they belong to; but the school was always open whenever their friends chose to send them.

What was the first form of their coming to you; that is, who authorised their entry into the school?
They entered by ticket from any of the heads of the parishes. It was never made any difficulty of; and in many cases the parents come with their children to the master to arrange matters with him. The entries are encouraged at all times.

What are the hours for school attendance, and what stipulated holidays were allowed you?

The school-hours are from 9 o'clock in the morning to 12 or noon; and from 2 in the afternoon till 5 (now 4). Cannot say that any particular holidays are allowed; but the school is usually closed one month in the harvest for the boys to go a-gleaning the corn-fields, and the parents take them when they go a-stubbing the beanfields. They are also given a week at Christmas, and a day at Whit'sun tide, and a day for Dr. Lee's annual school-festival.

Did any of your scholars read other books in school-hours besides the New Testament?

Yes. The first class read the Bible and Testament, and the second class Ostervald's Abridgment of the Bible, with other books supplied to the school. Both classes read from the Testament every day, as well as the day of the month in the Psalms alternately. Small tracts were not read as class-work.

In the regular course, about how much did each boy read daily?

As the boys read in classes I can only say that half an hour was the time allowed for the reading-lesson in the morning, and the same in the afternoon, and all the other lessons were worked by time. Each scholar read a verse apiece throughout the chapter.

How often, and how much, did your boys write; and in what manner?

The first class wrote one copy in their copy-books and one on their slates in each afternoon, besides cyphering and saying tables half-an-hour each. Some of the best of the second class wrote half a copy each time.

When did you think proper to allow the boys to begin with arithmetic?

When they got into the second class, so that that depended on their aptitude; there they were grounded in Addition and Subtraction in their simple forms, and they learnt Addition and Subtraction tables. The boys generally liked this.

At what age did you expect them to know all the Multiplication-table, and be conversant therein?

When they got into the first class; there they learnt Multiplication, Division, and Reduction, and tables for the same rules. They were usually prepared to enter into the first class at from 7 to 10 years of age, and it was a matter of emulation among them.

How far did your best boys advance in arithmetic?

Only Multiplication, Division, and Reduction, generally in the first class; but I had several
Plate I.

THE OLD VILLAGE SCHOOL.

THE HARTWELL AND STONE SCHOOLS.

ERECTED FOR JOHN LEE ESQ. L.L.D.

BY JOS. BONOMI. 1861.
boys that could go through Simple and Compound Interest, and a few have gone as far as Fractions, and some had mastered Compound Addition. This was all that we were expected or required to teach.

Had you plenty of stationery? and how were books, slates, slate-pencils, paper, pens, and ink supplied?

The stationery was as much as the school required. The boys paid a penny a week, which Mr. Lockhart received, and he supplied the school with all that was wanted excepting copy-books, which the boys had to find themselves. These were furnished by the master, and paid for on delivery.

Such was the Parnassian road opened up for this neighbourhood, and even now it is being well trod; but, as I have already said, the system is about to undergo a sweeping alteration, with what success—as to conferring the greatest happiness to greater numbers—remains to be seen. The future plans I am unacquainted with, and therefore at present can only give the gentle reader an elevation and ground-plan of the new schools as handed to me by Mr. Bonomi, though, as yet, they are only half-built; to which I have added my daughter’s drawing of the humble and doomed establishment. (See Plate I.)

Thus far the Stone and Hartwell School; but, before quitting the subject, it may be en règle to add a word or two upon juveniles and reformatories, even though our strictures may not be deemed complimentary to certain unpaid magnates of Dogberrian bias in this and other counties, as exemplified in their treatment of the involuntary destitution of tender years. Some of these little unfortunates may have been hardened against the principles of 

morum and tuum from lurking in the haunts of the unemployed; but the majority have yielded to the grinding force of want, and pernicious example. I therefore unhesitatingly assert, that the summary convictions of children between five and eight years of age, as reported in our provincial papers, and commitments for matters which, however offending against law, can hardly be considered crimes, must be held in the unchristian light of justice without mercy. Nay more;—I am convinced that the immuring of outcast boys, on
petty grounds, in the common prison—a nursery of felony, is a cruel affront to humanity, impolitic to the general weal, abortive as a deterring or reformatory agent, and a contempt of that high behest—"Train up a child in the way he should go!" Even while writing this, the "Aylesbury News" for November the 8th, 1862, is put into my hand, wherein I find the following neoteric instance of the Unpaid's wisdom, in our immediate neighbourhood:—

Justices' Justice at Bedford.—At the Bedford divisional petty sessions, held in the Shire-hall on Saturday last, before Lieut.-Colonel Higgins (in the chair), Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, M.P., Henry Littledale, Esq., and the Rev. R. G. Chalk, a little boy, in the 13th year of his age, named Thomas Miller, the son of a respectable cottager, was charged with picking up or stealing three walnuts, valued at one farthing, the property of Coventry Payne, Esq., of Wootton House, on Sunday afternoon, the 19th October last. William Odell, a gamekeeper, appeared to prove the case. From his evidence it was shown that his master has ten or twelve walnut-trees growing in his park, the branches of which hang over the churchyard of Wootton, and from which the nuts fall. On the 19th October the boy, with others, was proceeding to church, when a number of them commenced picking up the fallen fruit. Odell had instructions from his master to take the names of some of the oldest offenders. They managed, however, to escape his vigilance; but the little fellow charged this day was caught with three nuts in his possession. This witness admitted that his master's trees projected over the fence separating the park from the churchyard, and that many walnuts fell on the side out of his master's ground; but he having been frequently annoyed at boys taking nuts, particularly during divine service, was determined to punish those found so transgressing. The mother, in great distress of mind, begged the magistrates to forgive her child, as he was not aware he was doing wrong in picking up the walnuts. The magistrates consulted for some minutes, and at length decided on convicting the poor child of stealing the walnuts, sentencing him to be committed to Bedford Gaol for the offence. The boy was taken to prison, but liberated the same afternoon. The term of imprisonment, though short, subjects the offender to be entered in the gaol books as a convicted thief.

Having argued these points in various quarters, I was induced about seven years ago to repair to Liverpool, where, it was said, there existed a floating seminary for the little Street-Arabs which would altogether quadrate with my notions. The events of that trip gave rise to a couple of rhyming statements, which may be here reproduced: and, when the reader is informed that these lines, however lame, have benefited the funds of a noble and useful charity, he will probably tolerate the doggrel tenour of the versification. My worthy and benevolent friend, Captain Clint, of Rock Ferry Park, not only disposed of
many copies of them, but insisted upon high prices from some of the benevolent, who, perceiving the motive, yielded at once to his demand.

On this interesting occasion the writer was most kindly entertained by his scientific friend, Mr. Lassell, of Sandfield Park, in whose powerfully-efficient observatory there was abundant material for action and meditation during the evenings spent there. Nor can he readily forget seeing, for the first time, the satellite which had been there detected belonging to the wonderful planet Neptune; the co-discoverers of which—Le Verrier and Adams—had also recently been on a visit to this favoured spot.

When the writer visited the Akbar, in company with Messrs. Rathbone and Lassell, she was peacefully moored in the float at Birkenhead, having a crew of about 180 active boys under proper training and superintendence. All the duties of the ship were performed by these lads, and their ability in rowing, reefing, and furling, was tested before the visitors; as was also their efficiency in the rudiments of scholarship and singing. In addition to these acquirements, they also draw and knot yarns, twist foxes, plait gaskets, pick oakum, dabble in carpentry, and make their own clothes. The excellent discipline maintained as to conduct, berthing, messing, and diet, was evidently most satisfactory to all parties concerned, as well to patrons and masters as to the neophytes. Indeed, it was affirmed, and the information was confirmed by the testimony of elaborate registers, that the behaviour of the boys is so good that they are ruled without the necessity of having recourse to irritating severity. Of course this able rearing produces good fruit, and the fruit has been hitherto in such demand that the difficulty of providing employment for the reformed—a point so much complained of in other institutions of the kind—has no existence in the Akbar; wherefore she is the most hopeful of all our reformatories.

This visit being altogether a singular circumstance, awakened the train of recollections hereunto appended; which were, so to speak, struck off at a heat for a lady's album. It was printed for circulation thus:—
THE AKBAR FRIGATE.

The writer of the following lines went to the East Indies on board this ship in the year 1804; and, after serving four years in her through various cruizes in the Eastern and Pacific Oceans, left her at Madras to accompany his captain to England. During that time she was called the Corv. wallis; but when her Parsee builder, the celebrated Jemsetjee Bomanjee, constructed a line-of-battle ship to be complimented with the same designation, the name of the former was changed to AKBAR (the Most Great), in memory of the renowned Mogul conqueror. She was then the largest frigate in the service, mounting 50 guns, and having a company of 365 men. During the period treated of, she was commanded by the present Vice-Admiral Charles James Johnston—an excellent officer, an amiable man, an expert lunarian, and one of the best seamen in the Navy. From quitting this ship in February 1808, the writer never saw her afterwards till the month of September 1856; when, for the benefit of another educational institution, he was led to Liverpool to inspect her as a SCHOOL FRIGATE or floating reformatory, for turning the hitherto misdireceted energies of dangerously destitute boys to good and useful account:—

And this is then the ship, in which of irst
I sail'd so far—so many thousand leagues,
And bore hard cruizing, hunger, heat, and thirst,
With broken rest, that more than work fatigues;
Which sometimes check'd the urgent wish to roam,
And made fond memory yearn for joys of Home.

Yet she's the ship wherein my buoyant youth—
Turning all minor evils into sport—
Made halcyon days of trouble: search for truth
Had taught me Nature's grandest scenes to court.
Thus every clime its glories held to view,
India or Chili, China or Peru.

In this same ship what sunny shores we made!
Whilom we did in Madagascar rove,
Among the Indian ports we oft-times stay'd,
And saw colonial germs at Sydney Cove;
At that time too, a novel feat to tell,
We trode the rock where Cook, lamented, fell.

This is the vessel in whose strength and form
(The noblest early work of Jemsetjee,)
We plac'd a firm reliance; no fierce storm
Had e'er compelled her from her post to flee:
We fear'd no danger from a chang'd monsoon,
And dar'd to face the terrible typhoon.

Her frame full oft was tried by sea and wind,
While dire explosion did its worst to fill
Her horn of evil; yet throughout we find
The Men's good order and the Captain's skill.
And, though of all her crew few now survive,
Her gallant Commandant is still alive.*

That was the time when England's valour alone
To save her altars 'gainst a world in arms—
Then was our energy for hearth and throne
A safety-valve through perilous alarms;
We had bold Jervis, brave Pellew, and Hood,
Heroic Nelson, and lov'd Collingwood.

* Admiral Johnston died on the 16th of October, 1856; and I feel gratified that he had received a copy of these lines, which had then just been printed—for distribution at Liverpool—which he read, and expressed much pleasure thereof, on his death-bed.
THE AKBAR FRIGATE.

And such were wanted—foul Discord had riv'n
The bonds of nations, and enslav'd the free;
All had been lost, but ever-righteous Heav'n
Gave to Great Britain rule and power by sea.
This loc'd from Europe, in that dubious day,
The iron grasp of Buonaparte's sway.

Full well those anxious hours do I remember,
When continental tidings, fraught with woe,
Told how wild violence made crowns surrender,
And laid both Sovereigns and their Councils low:
Each in his turn the victor's trammel feels,
And one by one they deck his chariot wheels.

Ah me! What benefits had bless'd mankind,
Had that fell despot known good ends to draw;
But might with wisdom is no more combin'd
Than taste with fashion, or with justice law:
For him the pomp of Court'd had greater charms,
He lost by foppery what he'd gained in arms.

Specious in power—though abject in reverse,
And far too selfish for a purer flame,
In waste of life and noble means perverse—
Yet wayward France is more than he to blame:
Why, why permit his martial laws to bind—
And conscript codes demoralize the mind?

Was it for such ungen'rous views alone
That years in struggle and commotion pass'd,
That mighty Kings and States were overthrown,
And Europe's local boundaries recast?
Or but to meet the tyrant's hankering sigh,
That he might wallow in a larger sty?

Return we to the moor'd Akbar. 'Twas here
I early felt of naval zeal the glow,
Here shot the sun, and learn'd to reef and steer.
And bore my little part against the foe:
Resolv'd to face disease—or battle grim—
And in life's ocean either sink or swim.

Such were the motives for a life at sea,
And such enliven'd duty's toilsome drag,
No Den of interest car'd a straw for me—
And yet I ever sought to reach a flag;
Rank's topmost-head was gain'd, the task complete,
I walk'd her deck—an Admiral of our Fleet.

Now this good ship, which rang'd through hostile climes,
Which hail'd the haughty foe in voice of thunder,
And play'd a splendid part in troublous times,
'Gainst those who tore the ties of States asunder.
In green old age, by age not render'd mute,
Bids, bent on teaching, "young ideas to shoot."

O philanthropic act—O moral good—
To train the destitute for useful life,
Teach homeless boys to earn their honest food,
And rescue guileless youth from fraud and strife!
Blest be that vessel, and may future fame,
Tum ætibus quam armis—her proclaim.

May those fine lads soon play a manly part,
Well taught their several courses how to steer,
As well in nautic as in general art,
Each fitted to pursue his proper sphere.
May thus, effectively, the Akbar School
For ages float, the pride of Liverpool.

Sandfield Park, Liverpool,
8th Sept., 1856.

Before proceeding with the second "rhyming statement," a pause is necessary. Time, war, wear and tear, wreck, and other casualties, combine to prevent the existence of ships to any very lengthy term; while battle, accident, disease, and all the contents of Pandora's terrible box, flatten-in the period other-
wise allotted to a seaman's career. Hence it is rarely that a naval officer, after the lapse of more than half a century, is destined to revisit the first man-of-war in which he served: and truly, in my own case, the re-treading of the Akbar's decks gave birth to a singular range of mental retrospection*—recalling the funereal poem by my late friend Rogers, on the "Pleasures (?) of Memory." A portrait therefore of this remarkable frigate may be welcome to the blue-jacketed reader: and here it is, as she sat on the waters of the Birkenhead Float, under jury spars, in the summer of 1856.

THE AKBAR AGAIN.

An incident of no small interest having just occurred to the writer of the foregoing lines on the Frigate-School, he resumes his pen to impart it to others. But, as various questions have arisen in Liverpool since the circulation of the aforesaid lines there, an additional word or two

* By a letter from the present Captain Harry Lord Richards—an officer of much more merit than good-fortune—it seems, as far as can be traced, that he and I are now (July, 1863) the only survivors of the active officers and efficient crew who manned that goodly ship on the Indian Station, in 1805. Eheu fugaces labuntur anni.
THE AKBAR FRIGATE.

in illustration may be acceptable to inquirers; for little was known about her story, even to the authorities, until my visit to her, as previously described.

The Akbar was laid down under express orders from the Court of East India Directors, by a warrant dated 1st of August, 1798, the very day on which Nelson was achieving the best planned and best executed naval battle on record. This document arrived at Bombay in the beginning of the year 1799, when Jemsetjee immediately commenced operations, and continued them so earnestly that she was launched, or rather floated out of the dock, in January, 1801, under the name of the "Marquis Cornwallis," then—from the distinguished services of that nobleman—the most popular appellation on the Indian station. Entirely built and fitted with well-seasoned teak, she was unequalled for strength and proportion, measuring 1670 tons burthen, and carrying 64 guns on two flush decks. It was a day of great excitement with all the local optimates when they saw her fairly anchored between the Blunder-head and Mazagong Point, for she was then destined to bear the striped ensign and burgee of the commodore of the Bombay Marine; and she belonged to that useful squadron for some time, yet only as a general Company's frigate.

A strong report prevailed, and the writer well remembers it, of this ship having been presented to the Crown by the Leadenhall Synod,—but erroneously; for she was taken into the Royal Navy by purchase, in the spring of that turbulent year of need, 1805. Under a mandate from home she was turned over to Sir Edward Pellew, then commander-in-chief in the Indian Ocean; and the purchase-money (67,867l) was received by the Company in 1807. This critical juncture required the ship to undergo a very material alteration to render her a becoming frigate in her new position, to the regret of honest Jemsetjee, who, however, had to superintend the transmogrification. The upper deck we so cut and contrived that she was as regularly deep-waisted as if originally built so, while the spacious main-deck equalled that of any ship in the service. Her armament was now reduced to 50 guns, and her name flattened-in to the unadorned "Cornwallis;" a designation which she retained till about 1811, when that of "Akbar" was substituted, as already shown.

Strength and roominess rendered the Cornwallis a very admirable cruizer, since she could readily stow the munitions, stores, provisions, and water requisite for several months, with good husbandry, under hatches; and well was her fitness for such service tested by the energetic Sir Edward Pellew, as exemplified in the missions upon which he sent her. When equipped for six or eight months, and thereby brought to her bends, she sailed very fairly; but, unless her ballast was well winged up, it must be admitted that she possessed the full faculty of rolling; nor was she at all deficient in pitching and scending whenever she encountered a stubborn head-sea. Jemsetjee, however, would not admit of her having a single blemish.

On visiting this notable ship last year, the writer observed that her fore-bitts on the main-deck had been cut away to increase the accommodation; and, as he saw a fragment lying on the lower-deck, he expressed a desire for a bit of her hull to hold as a flapper of remembrance. His request being taken literally by his kind friends, the starboard bitt-head was obligingly forwarded to him on the 5th of this month, although of a size and weight that attracted much attention on its transit here, from the Aylesbury Railway Station. When duly installed in the porch of St. John's Lodge, its new berth, thus it spoke, or "seem’d to speak":—
"Fifty years have we been parted,
    Full fifty years we've parted been;
And now within your porch I'm carted,
A tough old log; though sounder-hearted
There never yet was inland seen.

"The Magnates of the Mersey river,
    Having heard your wish and pray'r
That from our hull a bit, or sliver,
Should henceforth rest beneath your kiver,
Sent me—a solid Brrr-head—there.

"From Liverpool, with their permission,
    I've come—not as in days of yore—
But by the rail, in neat condition:
I've never been, since in commission,
So far away from sea before.

"This steam enwraps me in amaze,
    Things never will be left to settle;
For only look—in our own days—
Both ships and chariots go their ways,
Mov'd by the vapour of a kettle!

"And then they make e'en Nature's laws
    Chime in to every human practice;
They're prov'd of devisious tides the cause,
Accounted for magnetic yaws,
And shown of whirlwinds what the fact is.

"All things are differently arrang'd
    From what they were with Hood and Byron;
For casks we've metal tanks exchang'd,
From salted junk we're near estrang'd;
Ships, cables, gear, are made of iron.

"You'd hardly know the Luff from Master,
    Old larboard overboard is thrown;
The bread-room Nob's nicknam'd Paymaster,
How can the march of mind go faster
Than thus our Purser's to disown?

"Yet British ships must not be slaves
    To lubbers, stokers, dolts, or tailors:
To govern well the winds and waves,
The true tar best all danger braves,
And rest assur'd that sails make sailors.

"For what avails a form entire,
    With long and noble lines of beauty—
The steel-clad hull, the centric fire,
The monster gun, the sentient wire,
Unless your lads can do their duty?

"When officers and men agree,
    And all is right from keel to gunnel,
The ships from each fair colony
Shall waft home wealth o'er every sea,
Whether by canvas or by funnel.

"Admiral! full well I recollect
    When we in India were plying—
You then a boy in each respect,
With garb appropriate bedeckt,
O'er planks and rattled rigging flying.

"Those were the times that knew no brag,
    The British seaman's worth that prov'd;
We proudly spurn'd the Frenchman's flag,
And dubb'd his bunting dirty rag,—
The same, by some, now so belov'd!

"Mark you the day, near Bourbon's pier,
    When Semillantes' frame we batter'd—
And that whereon, with studd'n-sail gear,
We chas'd the frigate Cannonière,
And all her squad of prizes scatter'd?

"With ardent zeal our gallant tars
    Then tack'd foemen, winds, and weather;
They nobly fought their country's wars
Without or medal, clasp, or stars,
To vamp their names and deeds together.
THE AKBAR FRIGATE.

"Nelsonian heroes ever sought
Those hardy foes who made resistance;
While hand-to-hand, by tactics brought,
'Gainst ships or batteries they fought,
Nor wasted missiles from a distance.

"On Denmark's coast this was the way—
And such the spirit of each station—
The country's glory held its sway,
And wars achieved that dreadful day
Without the slightest decoration.

"In our good ship four years you'd been,
With officers, a true-blue band,
One swab alone on dress was seen,
And that gave meaning to the scene,
As emblem of the chief command.

"Such simple garb as then prevail'd
No longer suits this tinsel age;
On deck the eye is now assail'd
With shoulder'd gold—a cost entail'd
By modern epaulettic rage.

"But foppish bearing is a weed
Which yet may clog the naval service,
And prove mere routine's not the seed
From which will grow the fine old breed
Of Duncan, Nelson, Howe, and Jervis.

"That death has o'er that band prevail'd,
My waning shipmates feel full oft,
For nearly all have been assail'd:
Since you and I in concert sail'd—
Both young and old are gone aloft!

"You won a guerdon—rank you've gain'd,
The Akbar little reap'd but hardship;
For, though her strength was still retain'd,
She stood condemn'd, by those who reign'd,
For harbour, quarantine, or guard-ship.

"But howsoever she was rated
The vessel well her part perform'd;
Till now, at length, she's better-fated,
To see the youthful educated—
From idleness and vice reform'd.

"Not only taught to read and write,
Which weak well-meaners blindly dwell on—
If this from crime would guard a wight
Why should the banker, priest, or knave,
So often act the rogue and felon?

"Far sounder means do we discern,
To aid the green, the poor, and lowly;
Besides what they from school-men learn,
We teach them how their bread to earn,
And keep the precious day that's holy.

"Nay more—we ne'er life's prospects blast
With horrid taint of jail and jailor:
Forgiving all misconduct past,
The lad at once, regaining caste,
Becomes or artisan or sailor."

A pause ensued;—on which I said,
"Your object and its end are pure;
With steam the seamen's nursery fled,
And Navigation's laws are dead,
Yet thus the evil finds its cure.

"O that each harbour had a ship
To spread such blessings far and near;
And thou to stand upon the tip
For every march of mind strip—
The honour'd and renown'd Akbar.

"My visit to your deck recalls
Those lads so daring in enterprise,
Who in all conflicts with the Gauls—
And proud of their own wooden walls—
Show'd a bold front." The Bitt replies —
"Avast! You now express your wonder:
But war alone your fancy fits;
Yet think how 'midst the surf and thunder
Her spritsail-yard was pitching under,
And recollect your trusty Brrs.

"Twas we that saw'd you when, forlorn,
Amidst the elemental roar—
With courses split, and topsails torn,
In blackest gloom we near'd Luzon—
Such darkness you'd ne'er met before.

"My deep-chaf'd sides attest the scorers
The straining cables made that night,
When our last hour gleam'd before us,
Breakers and hurricane in chorus—
With all the typhoon's awful might!

"Yet fortune now on me doth smile—
And smiles improve her frosty looks:
I'm here—and when you quit your coil,
I hope to rest for future while,
Borne on your children's household books."

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St. John's Lodge, near Aylesbury,
8th August, 1857.

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THE PORCH AND CABLE-BRRS.
CHAPTER II.

THE GEOLOGY, CLIMATE, AND HUSBANDRY AROUND HARTWELL.

There is, what few of taste or warmth deny,
Some lure in rural scenes for every eye;—
Some place or object which the dullest find
Expands the heart with love, with thought the mind.

The matters co-existing under this enumeration are all and severally touched upon in the *Aedes Hartwelliana*; but their influence upon the general produce of the manor is of such importance, that it has been thought proper to make a separate chapter of them here, in order to incorporate the results of twelve years' further inquiry. We will commence with:—

§ 1. GEOLOGICAL NOTICE OF THE HARTWELL AREA.

In the *Aedes* (pages 20 to 29) will be found an item on the geology of the Vale of Aylesbury, especially relating to the vicinity of Hartwell; which portion—based on the investigations of my friends Dr. Fitton and Sir Henry De la Beche—contains all such information respecting its physical tendencies as can be necessary for general purposes. Still a prolonged acquaintance with the site, and the able aid of my eldest son, Mr. Warington Wilkinson Smyth, Inspector of the mineral property of the Crown, enable me to resume the subject with advantage.

The materiality of the Vale of Aylesbury forms a small, but highly interesting, specimen of those wonderful natural hieroglyphics that mark the epochs of a mighty history; compared with which, besides the awful lapse of ages they record, man's vaunted six thousand years sink into insignificance. The several geological groups of the oolitic and cretaceous formations which constitute the
physical features of the district, and may be fiducially adopted, occur in the following ascending order in traversing the Vale, namely,—Kimmeridge clay, Portland sand and stone, Purbeck shales and limestones, Lower green sand, Gault, Upper green sand, and chalk. In this realm of the strata, the powerful action of water and external atmospheric agencies in scooping out the land are clearly traceable, even to the operation of the driving streams from the elevated slopes of the Chiltern Hills, themselves originally formed beneath a sea replete with wonderful shapes and conditions of life. Such being the rough view, I will now submit the details drawn up by my son, as descriptive and explanatory of our map of the Hartwell area (Plate II.):

The general strike or course of the secondary strata of England indicates, by a series of broad bands which cross the country from south-west to north-east, the out-crops of the successive formations that are superimposed upon one another, dipping at a gentle angle of inclination to the south-east. The surface of Buckinghamshire is thus occupied in great part by the oolite series, following lines approximately parallel to the escarpment of the Chiltern Hills, which are composed of the overlying chalk. In the neighbourhood of Stone and Hartwell, this general direction appears to be interrupted by a group of beds that follow the opposite course of south-east to north-west. But the cause of this exceptional appearance is to be found in the local irregularity of the denudation, which has laid bare a great breadth of the lowerlying clays, leaving them covered beyond, for about a couple of miles in length and one mile in breadth, by some of the overlying strata which have escaped the sweeping action that has elsewhere so generally removed them.

In this district the pervading subsoil is that well-known member of the upper oolite termed Kimmeridge-clay, shewing itself throughout the greater part of the low land, and especially visible at the pits in Locke's brick-field: further to the east this solid stratum of clay is less noticeable by a superficial observer, in consequence of its being covered with a partial coating of silty top clay, or of gravel, which classes of alluvial matter are represented by lines and by dots on the map. Rising from this lower land, a gentle scallivity may be traced from the Hartwell villas, through the park, by Whatton-hill, round by Dinton, and further to the south-west below St. John's Lodge and Windmill-hill. This rising ground is the first stage of the upperlying formations, consisting of a band of marly sands called the Portland-sand, surmounted by the limestone termed Portland-stone—a series of beds proved by the fossils to be of marine origin. Upon this, and often to be seen in the upper part of the same quarries or stone-pits, rest clays and soft limestones a few feet in thickness, which, from their great development in the Isle of Purbeck, have received the designation of Purbeck-beds. Although not exhibiting here the remains of the remarkable marsupial animals which rewarded the researches of Mr. Beckles in the south-west of England, the Purbeck-beds of the vicinity of Stone yield a sufficient number of the relics of land and fresh-water animals to prove that they were deposited in an estuary. From Round-hill to Brier-hill these strata are superimposed by a thick mass of silicious sand, mostly of exceedingly fine grain and colourless. In the absence of fossils
Plate II.

Geological Features
of the Manor of
Hartwell.

Kinneridge

Littleworth Farm
Whatton Hill
Cold Comfort Farm
Cold Harbour Farm
Prebendal Farm

Hartwell

St John's Lodge

Stone Farm

Hastings Stone Church

Portland Beds

Furzbeck Beds

Kimmeridge Clay

Upper Lias Stone

Bishopstone

Green Sand
Purbeck Beds
Portland Sand
Hastings Sand
Portland Limestone
Kimmeridge Clay
Alluvium
Valley gravel.

Remarks.
The dotted lines in the beds denote where the strata are not absolutely determined.
The numbers indicate the pits & quarries worked for 'Cloc.' don't trust!
For roads and other details, refer to the Plot of the Farms around Hartwell.

10 miles

S. Weaver.
there is some doubt as to the true allocation; but it probably occupies a place analogous to that of the so-called Hastings-sand, a part of the Wealden formation, the great and original type of which is found in the Weald of Sussex.

Near the Windmill at Stone, about Peverel Court below, and then further south near Bishopstone, the uppermost capping of the higher ground consists of red friable sands, with bands of indurated ferruginous grits, forming the lower part of the green-sand series. It is this group of sandy beds, which, dipping and thickening as it passes to the south-east, constitutes the base of the more prominent chalk formation. The arrangement of this series of strata, from the broad flooring of the Kimmeridge-clay up to the little islets of ferruginous beds representing the bottom of the green-sand, is rendered distinct by two lines of section, one carried nearly north-east and south-west, the other nearly north-west and south-east, and the latter exhibiting the final dip of the strata to pass beneath the chalk of the Chiltern-hills. (See Plate II).

The existence of the long headland of upper rocks here described, together with the outlying portions or islands of several of them, such as those of the Portland beds at Littleworth and the Mounds close by, that of the green-sand at Stone, &c. afford distinct evidence of the greatness of the denudation which has exposed the Kimmeridge-clay over a large part of the area under consideration. And when we couple the local appearance of the outliers of green-sand with the phenomena observable elsewhere, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that not only the great mass of the green-sand, but even the chalk formation itself, has probably at one time extended for miles beyond the line at which they now terminate.

So accurate and tentative a description as this is, leads to a demonstrative proof of the former existence of a capacious inlet of the sea over the lower adjacent region, at a period recent in comparison with the far-distant time, when the Kimmeridge clay itself constituted the bed of the ocean, receiving the various sediments which have formed the series of strata above named. The wearing agency of such comparatively recent bodies of water has, every here and there, washed away portions and left eminences of the more solid stone, as at Hartwell, like islets, capping the substratum of clay below. Various instrumentalities have been at work on this particle of the earth’s crust, as we learn from the evidence of fossils which identify the several strata; and especially from the successive occurrence of marine exuviae and those of fresh-water type, proving that very distinct conditions are incident to the Portland sea-beds and to the Purbeck series respectively. The deeper situated Kimmeridge-clay is an argillaceous deposit consisting of a dark bluish and grey coherent earth, replete with organic relics; especially with an inconceivable number of the small crustaceans
designated Cyprides, creatures which swim by means of cilia, and some genera of them still inhabit the pools and stagnant waters.

Westward of Hartwell, for instance at Stone, the oolite is capped by layers of freshwater limestone alternating with marls of the Purbeck series, which, near Dinton, is rich in remains of insects; and among them Mr. Brodie detected fossil aquatic Isopoda, commonly called water-fleas. One of the principal lithological characteristics of the district is the grey "pendle," a term variously applied by quarry-men in Oxford, Northampton, Shropshire, and Staffordshire; but in this county it is strictly given to an impure rubbly limestone, which, over the Hartwell area, abounds with the entomostracous crustaceans above alluded to; and it contains also fishes, palates of fishes, and other fossil vestiges, intermixed with ferns and bits of lignite, cemented by some chemical action of water holding mineral substances in solution, among which the presence of oxide of iron is abundantly indicated. Wonderful indeed is that geological chemistry which is manifested in the formation of rocks and other metamorphoses, under the steady action of definite laws.

While on this mixture of organic remains, coprolites and the like, we may remark how many and what various inducements have been held out to Agriculture to put her shoulder to the wheel in chemicals, geology, and artificial manures. Some of the stiff clays occasionally include thin beds of sand and shelly limestone, correlating with the loams. This is deemed remarkably advantageous for tillage; but it is not an easy nor a very satisfactory task to pronounce upon the fertilizing principle thus manifested, for in Dorsetshire they will tell you that it lies in the corn-brash; in Sussex it is the Weald-clay; in Kent the green-sand; in Yorkshire the gault; in Oxford coral-rag, and oak-tree soil, and so on. In this county, which is not so deeply affected with surface-drift as some other parts, the palm of fecundity was long assigned to its masses of Kimmeridge-clay; but it seems by a recent publication that on a changé tout cela, for we are assured that the whole and sole cause of the fruitfulness of the Vale of Aylesbury lies in its Tetsworth-
clay, a marly mould so named from an Oxfordshire village on the borders of Bucks. Be all this, however, as it may, that land only is properly productive which is properly cultivated by practical farmers who know how and when to exercise the plough, and are aware that earths have the power of extracting, absorbing, or rejecting, the constituents of the manure administered to them, according to their necessity or capability. Yet the power of the atmosphere in disintegrating the globe’s surface, and thereby yielding tilth to man’s efforts, may be fairly conjectured to be great, since the operation is known to be abundantly productive of agents capable of acting on the several soils exposed to its influence. Furthermore, to account for our fine pasture-grounds in general, we must also refer to the effects of the air combined with stimulants animate and inanimate; and among them must be remembered the incessant labours of the apparently despicable but really momentous earth-worm, a creature which—though unblest with eyes, feet, bones, or almost brains—tends largely to fertilize the surface by loosening the soil and throwing up casts.

To return. My late intelligent friend Dr. Gideon Mantell was greatly impressed with the variety and elegance of the fossils of this neighbourhood; and in his “Wonders of Geology,” published in 1848, he thus expresses himself at page 499:—

Around Hartwell, in the Vale of Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire, this clay (Kimmeridge) is largely developed, and abounds in organic remains of great beauty and interest. I know of no locality which has yielded such splendid specimens of Ammonites, Rostellaria, Pleurotomaria, Perms, &c.; the nacreous or pearly coat of the ammonites is often as perfect and splendid with iridescent colours as in a recent nautilus-shell. Many of the shells, of which only casts occur in the Portland rock above, are found preserved entire in the clay. A flat oyster of the deltoid form (ostrea deltoidea), is very abundant, and is generally considered as peculiar to this clay, but it occurs also in the Oxford clay, which is lower in the series.

Bones of the Ichthyosauri, Plesiosauri, and Cetiosauri, are occasionally found; and scales, teeth, and other remains of fishes, among which are mandibles of the Chimaeroids.

Dr. Mantell also admired the extreme delicacy of some of the more minute Pre-Adamites, and eagerly visited the several cuttings of the neighbouring
quarries. In the fresh-water limestone-shale near St. John's Lodge are found the remains of various insects, mostly aquatic, among which he detected a beautiful wing of some neuropterous creature, probably an extinct species of the *libellula* or dragon-fly. Indeed, the extensive diversity of antediluvian vitality in so comparatively circumscribed a space as the *Ager Hartwellianus* is equally marvellous and complex.

In the aforesaid-book, the *Aedes*, I jotted down some of the many molluscs of the circumjacent fossiliferous strata which had obtained berths in the Hartwell Museum. A selection of the objects thus mentioned—so vitally significant in fixing the chronology of those layers—were examined at my request by the late eminent Professor Edward Forbes; to the account there given it should be added that some exceedingly rare fishes occur in the Purbeck formation of the district, specimens of which may be seen in the Royal School of Mines, to which useful institution they were presented by Dr. Lee. Some of these have been figured and described by my energetic friend Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, who found that the principal relics were of the genus Pleuropholis, a designation given to a genus of fossil fishes of diminutive size and limited geological range, but possessing distinct and well-defined characters. Among them, Sir Philip detected a new species—the fifth in this order—which he named Pleuropholis-serratus. It resembles the other members of its congener in the arrangement of the scales and the disposition of the natatory organs, but differs in its more massive proportions, and in having the posterior edges of its scales serrated; the mouth opens upwards, and appears to be edentulous. (See Plate III.)

A little to the east of Hartwell House, and just across the Aylesbury road, is a spacious brick-field called Wallbridge Piece, worked by Mr. Locke. Beneath banks of "pendle" it exhibits the surface of an unfathomed stratum of Kimmeridge-clay, replete with fossil remains of extinct animals. In August 1854 the bones of a pretty large ichthyosaurus were found imbedded in the south side of the field, and in the following month part of another Saurian reptile, considerably larger than the former, was exhumed from the northern
Plate III.

Section of the Strata between Stone & Bishopstone. (See below.)

Grey Chalk, finely laminated beds varved. 

White marly limestone. 

Rubbly white marl. 

Soft oolitic sandstone. Fish. Oolite & beam shell. 

Pale blue clay thinly laminated. 

Soft, brown sandstone. 

Pale blue clay. 

Cenomani white oolitic limestone. 

Hard brown, white limestone. 

Hard grey limestone. 

Soft shell marl. 

White marly limestone. 

Scale 1 inch = 4 feet.

Pleuropholis serratus

Cross Section from Harcourt farm to the Hartwell Grounds.

REFERENCES TO THE TWO HORIZONTAL SECTIONS:
a Green Sand  c Purbeck beds  e Portland Sand  
b White Sand (Hurstage?)  d Portland Limestone  f Kimmeridge Clay
side. The bones of both these creatures were so friable that only portions of them could be removed to Hartwell House, and that with difficulty. Among them were also the femur and vertebrae of a monstrous plesiosaurus. In reference to the ichthyosaurus, or fish-lizard, Dr. Mantell characterized it as a "marvellous Pre-Adamite example of the extinct tribe of Lacertian reptiles, with the muzzle and general aspect of a porpoise, the head of a lizard, the teeth of a crocodile, the vertebrae of a fish, the sternum or breast-bone of an ornithorhynchus, and the fins of a whale. The enormous size of the eyeballs was one of the peculiarities of this genus. The cavities in which they were lodged in one of the species measured not less than fifteen inches in diameter. A ring of bony plates surrounded the socket, which seemed to protrude more or less beyond the globe of the eye, and vary the convexity of the cornea, so as to adapt the organ for near or distant vision. This, combined with the great power of the fins or propellers, must have conferred on that reptile great promptitude in perceiving and seizing its prey." In April 1860, Professor Owen, being on a visit to Dr. Lee, scrutinized some Enalio-sauria from the Kimmeridge-clay in the same adjacent brickfield, and found certain of them to possess all the characters of the Plesiosaurus, "excepting that the articular surface (of the vertebrae), instead of being uniformly concave, was flat for one-third of its diameter, and suddenly excavated at the mid-third: this modification indicates a species new to me, which I have noted on the label attached to the specimens as Ichthyosaurus plano-concavus." This gentleman was also much struck with the size and quantity of the cornua ammonis, the belemnites, cuttle-fish, and other members of the class Mollusca-cephalopoda. Among several of the kind, obtained here, was the singularly fine specimen of the Trigonia Clavellata which is engraved in Mantell's pictorial "Atlas of Fossil Remains;" and is the more interesting, inasmuch as it is one of the genera which still lives in the Australian seas.

On the whole, it may be advanced that, although nothing very new in geological dynamics can be expected from any future examinations of this
neighbourhood, its fossilology is, perhaps, only yet entered upon, since microscopic organic remains exist in countless numbers throughout.

In the geological section of the Ædes, to which allusion has been made, I have mentioned the white sand-pits, the produce of which is largely in request at various glass-works; and also the excellence of the clay for making bricks, tiles, and draining-pipes. To these important ends I might have added another, and not an unimportant one, in the fact that abundance of rubbly stone is quarried near the surface of the ground in most parts of the Hartwell Manor, affording a cheap material with which to build walls and cottages, especially as it takes a tolerably smooth surface under the hammer. A considerable quantity of lime is made from the chalky variety of this carbonate, and its shattered subsoil invites cultivation. In a word, with a superficies firm and fertile, excellent marles, and good stone and sand of various kinds, the estate must be pronounced as having happy physical features for ensuring fertility under proper appliances. The pits worked by Dr. Lee are marked on Plate II. in Arabic numerals:—

1. The best white sand, being nearly a pure silica. There are other varieties in the same field.
2. White sand and brown, on the north of the hill; and on the south, near St. John's Lodge, building-stone, pendle, blue-hearted limestone, and rubble for repairing roads.
5. Also an old pit, which yielded rubble-stone for roads, and coarse brown grit, with a little sand.
6. Near the lodge. Building-stone, limestone, pendle, grit, rubble, and rubbish for use on the bridle and cart-roads.
7. A new pit, rather inconvenient for working, but yielding good building-stone, and limestone three feet in thickness.
8. This pit renders rubble and ferruginous stones, and there is a small workable mass of the usual building-stone.
9. Church-field pit on the Green-sand. Fine red sand dug in considerable quantities; there are also yellow and brownish-red sands.
10. This pit has rendered much hard rubble for roading, and produces a coarse and gritty but useful sandstone.
11. Church-furlong pit. The contents of this working resemble those of No. 10, both as to rubble and sandstone.
Here we cannot but turn to the aqueous agency once exerted on the district in hand, since running water acts so powerful a part in the marvels of geology. This neighbourhood, however, can now boast of no large river, stream, or lake, and the absence of broad sheets of water is certainly a drawback to the scenery, though the land is well irrigated by the springs, brooks, and rivulets mentioned in the *Ædes* (page 14). Still, notwithstanding the scantiness of that enumeration, it must not be forgotten that the northern division of the Hartwell Manor is bounded by the interesting Thame, here somewhat narrow, it is true, but at no great distance to become that majestic river.

"Which runs, and, as it runs, for ever shall run on."

The streamlets are of recognized goodness; yet there is something inexplicable, without geological research, in the capricious supply of potable water in and around Hartwell. Some of the springs are constant and pure, but others almost within communication are intermittent and impure; while not far from spots where the fluid flows out, water is difficult to win by the well-diggers, and sometimes sought for in vain. I have mentioned that at the upper part of Stone village, in sinking wells, they have to work from 50 to 70 feet down; at St. John's Lodge, just below the hill, the springs are reached at 15 or 20 feet. In 1853, the new Lunatic Asylum, about one quarter of a mile west of Stone, was erected under the impression that a copious supply of water, so indispensable for such an institution, was readily obtainable; in this, however, the local authorities were sorely disappointed, they having assured the Commissioners of Lunacy, from some erroneous information, that the supply was "abundant and pure." Mr. Lutwidge, the Secretary to the Commissioners, showed me the correspondence, and I was able from personal knowledge to assure him that the other seven official queries asked by the Commissioners, before sanctioning such a building, were most accurately answered, for, with the single but important exception above named, the site is truly eligible. Indeed, water ought to have been sought for before the foundation was laid; but the aqueous troubles of all the contracting parties
were discovered only when the spacious and admirable structure was nearly completed. The Asylum grounds may be about 320 feet above the main level of the sea, and when the boring had descended to 570 feet, at an expense of 1150l., the search was—perhaps imprudently—broken off, and recourse had to a surface supply. In making this bore they passed through alternate layers of the Portland bed, blue clay, blue limestone, dark sand, black shale, blue clay with fossil shells, limestone with ammonites and other chambered shells; then blue clay and limestone in alternate patches, but the first largely predominating. After passing a nearly impermeable bed of blue clay of 200 feet in depth, they arrived at oolitic coraline rock, and oolite of various hardness, containing fossils; but at this critical and even hopeful juncture, apparently scared by the cost, they desisted. Such may be considered an extreme case, yet it is not altogether so.

A reference to Plate II. will indicate, by the valley-gravel in the low level, and the broad lines of alluvium, the pre-historic effort of Nature in forcing a spread of waters to form a river. Our well at St. John’s Lodge, or spring water, is merely its percolation through the upper permeable parts, retained by the clay-beds below; as is especially the case wherever there is a junction of the Portland strata with those beds, as they prevent the fluid from descending further, and cause it to flow out at such spots.

With occasional exception, the springs around generally yield wholesome water, though of various properties, for of course it is never perfectly pure; and in one or two instances it is hardly potable. Thus the fluid which supplies Hartwell House proves on analysis to be good in taste, transparent, almost inodorous, colourless, and scarcely alters the tint of litmus-paper; it holds in solution carbonate of lime, slight traces of iron, and is a wholesome, hard, and pleasant drink. That at St. John’s Lodge—sunk through the Portland stone into the Portland sand—contains iron and carbonate of lime dissolved in considerable quantities; it is colourless, transparent, inodorous, and of a soft grateful taste. It feebly affects the red litmus-paper with a bluish tinge, and renders turmeric-paper brown, thereby showing alkaline properties to exist
in a slight degree; and on the whole is a healthy sparkling water. On the other hand, the so-called red-spring in Mr. Thorn's field, just to the N.W. of Hartwell House, percolates from several crevices in the side of the rock, at a moderate pace; it is almost colourless, though somewhat turbid, has a slight metallic odour, reddens the blue litmus, and tastes rather unpleasantly; its temperature is low, it contains microscopical efflorescences and animalculae, lime, also slight traces of iron, with sulphuric and carbonic acid; and, though it may be pronounced as neither very wholesome nor materially injurious, it is scarcely fit for domestic use. At Peverel Court the water includes a proportion of lime, a small amount of iron, soda, and silica, in combination with carbonic, sulphuric, and hydro-chloric acids. It bears also traces of phosphoric acid and organic colouring matter, and makes both the red and the blue litmus paper redder. When the officials at the County Asylum left off boring, as above related, they purchased from Dr. Lee a run of water called the "Willow Spring," situated at a distance of 1200 yards, whence the fluid has to be forced through a three-inch pipe, and over 45 feet of height, to the reservoir at the Asylum. This water is very hard, and slightly reddens blue litmus paper; it holds in solution 33.52 grains of solid matter in the imperial gallon, thus constituted—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Substance</th>
<th>Amount (in grains)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organic matter</td>
<td>4.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbonate of lime</td>
<td>13.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulphate of lime</td>
<td>9.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chloride of sodium</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnesia</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silica, iron, alumina, and phosphates</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33.52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such are the physical features of the terrene crust upon which the Manor of Hartwell is posited; and by them we are additionally and explicitly shown that this globe teemed with myriads of living creatures ere man was called into existence. Indeed, throughout the whole revelations of Geology, the vastness of the Creator's pre-ordained laws and wondrous design are overpoweringly visible; and truly astounding is the knowledge that inorganic
rocks and earths are composed of the same chemical elements with organic animals and plants. He who can contemplate the irrefragable evidence thus placed before him without emotion, can only take rank as one of the swinish multitude, or herd with the lower orders of creation.

§ 2. THE CLIMATURE OF HARTWELL AND ITS MONTHLY PHENOMENA.

An express section relative to the local climature of these parts is given in the Ædes (pages 14—19), for a group of ten years; and the subject is continued under the head of Meteorology in the tenth chapter of the Speculum Hartwellianum. A reference to those two volumes will furnish the inquirer with facts upon which he may pretty confidently rely.

The word "Climature" was advisedly used for denoting the peculiar atmospheric conditions, as to the heat and moisture prevailing over a certain agricultural district; and in this light by no means invades the rights of the regular geographical climates of the world. It especially traces the various consequences of a particular temperature, or the physical affections of a locality, regarding its healthiness and fertility; and affords means for investigating the arcana of the field, the orchard, and the garden. Meteorology has immemorially been under practical study; but in more recent times the pursuit has been aided by science and improved instruments, so as to lead to a more accurate system of axiomatic conclusions.

The decreased power of solar heat and light in the winter season, and the renewed activity which animates the animal and vegetable world during spring and summer, clearly manifest the primary cause of such well-known effects, even to the most moderate capacity; and necessity has made the labouring husbandman so observant of the weather that he is seldom mistaken in his diurnal predictions of it. But to meet the ends of science, something more than mere credence or opinion is required: to be available for the deductions of
reason, atmospheric influences must be drawn from strict comparisons of various periodical mean temperatures, observed, registered, and reduced, with scrupulous accuracy. Under such treatment, even the slightest results become important, as, for instance, though the resultant annual variation for Hartwell may prove to be only four or five degrees of the thermometer, yet that seemingly small range has a very marked effect upon vegetation, according as the mean in question proves to be above or below the average value derived from long periods.

As to the blatant *cui bono* of all this, so arrogantly demanded by small-class Pundits, we can only reply that as yet Meteorology is not quite in harness; but they may rest assured that every additional step in exact knowledge is advantageous to the whole human race. Yet it must be admitted that even what might be termed the dead-reckoning of former times, gave the seasons in fair accordance; and the quaint illustrations of our old missals show that the periodic customs and doings of the farmer have not materially altered for ages, however much their moral condition may have changed in the mean time.

The general statements made in the two volumes to which I have referred, as to the effects of climature on the health, agriculture, and produce of the Hartwell Manor, are confirmed by close observation since those pages were printed: and a continued residence on the spot since that time, with improved meteorological registers, enables me to draw up a more substantial summary of the recurrent phenomena. The requisite observations of the barometer, thermometer, and rain-gauge, were taken and recorded by Mr. Samuel Horton, from whose books a decennial period—1851 to 1860—was chiefly selected and reduced by Mrs. Smyth, who volunteered to undertake the task with a view to an improved reprint of the local occurrences. By these means it is hoped to place before any future inquirer, an authority for confronting the periodical events of one year with those of another; not that they are expected to quadrate precisely, but in order that a collective tendency may be estimated. It cannot be imagined, excepting with the apparently inerratic celestial orbs, that this little telluric universe exhibits precise sequences, or that animated nature invariably keeps time with regard to “Works and Days.” Thus, an observer will fre-
quently find individuals of the feathered tribes out of their reckoning, and the floral host seems very capricious in that respect. It may be instanced that even now, this 19th of January, 1863, I saw a large patch of periwinkles in full flower at Hartwell, while there has not been a symptom of bud, bloom, or blow, on those in my own grounds for several weeks past, although the plants are vigorous, and fully prepared in evergreen array to resist the pinching winter. When, therefore, birds, reptiles, insects, or blossoms, are assigned to a particular month, it by no means follows that they are restricted and tied down to that slice of the year, but merely notifies the time and season when they most abound.

Under a recollection of these conditions of the ever-varying scenes offered to human perception, and as a display of design in the beneficence of Providence, we will now open our general calendar, or rather monthly notices, with—

JANUARY.

This, according to modern computation, is the first month of the new year; but assuredly the two faces of Janus—the cacodæmon to whom the annual opening owes its name—though looking diametrically opposite to each other, as to the past and future, must ever have had counterpart prospects at the commencement of January, since the ground is still mostly as spellbound, so to speak, as during the last days of December. From observing the general inclemency of the weather, the Swan of Avon makes Beatrice declare that she will not run mad "till a hot January;" and, in the Winter's Tale, Perdita says to Camillo—

You'd be so lean, that blasts of January
Would blow you through and through.

Heretofore, the Christians held a solemn fast on the first of this month, by way of opposition to the Pagans of Rome, who feasted, danced, and made merry in honour of their double-faced deity. Our austerity, however, relaxed, and since the day was included in the Christmas holidays, the old year is danced
out and the new one danced in most heartily; while the Twelfth-day is observed with hilarious festivity, despite of sleet, snow, or ice.

In the milder winters there are strong gales blowing from the south-west round westerly to the north-west, with rain to the average of a couple of inches, saturating the air, and smothering the roads and paths with mud. The mean pressure of the atmosphere is 29·58 inches, and the range of the barometric column so large as 1·35 inch—the greatest monthly change of the year. The thermometer, under very small variations of heat, is close to its minimum, shewing a mean of 38°·7, with no less a range than 30°·5; and it may be assumed as a general maxim that the mean temperature, or that degree which is midway between the highest and lowest points registered, is lower in this month than in any other during the year. Exceptions however occur, and the otherwise cheerless and leafless scene exhibits hoar-frost and snow in wondrous flocculent beauty; the sky is occasionally clear and bright, and some of the nights are actually splendid.

This brings us to a consideration of no small importance in country-life, and that is, as to the best correlation or interchange of the means at hand for passing the time with the highest amount of rational pleasure. Now, though frequently pretty dull without, January is generally very comfortable within doors; where, while listless dawdlers while away their tedium over sentimental novels and sensation articles in newspapers, the more energetic apply to those authors who cheer and instruct, but never mislead nor stultify. To readers of the latter class, the astonishing variety and harmonious regularity of the celestial scenery must present a most gratifying and elevating source of enjoyment, even where astronomy may not be regarded under its strictly scientific point of view; we shall therefore point out the admirable objects which adorn the evening skies, of this locality, at the beginning of each month of the year, alike for those who can command optical aid, as for the earnest naked-eye gazers. To accommodate the majority of the latter body of observers, the appearances of the heavens will be noted for 10 o'clock P.M.; but we can safely promise those who are able to await the chilly time which always
precurses sunrise, a wonderful change of phenomena for their ken. Here we
are speaking strictly of the sidereal aspects; the keen-eyed Tyro, however,
will also find the planets going their allotted courses through the zodiac,
unexpected and periodic comets, and the moon in her ever-varying phases, as
predicted in each month's ephemeris. Now for January, the opening of the
new year, we invite both ladies and gentlemen to devote a small portion of
their waste time to the contemplation of the gorgeous empyrean display before
them; those who possess a tolerable telescope will be on the alert, while such
as cannot assist their eyesight, and dislike the open air of winter nights, may
always enjoy the gazebo represented on page 74 of the first volume of my
Cycle of Celestial Objects.

January starts with a rich and splendid scene, for, exclusive of planets,
clusters, and nebulae, there are no fewer than ten stars of the leading mag-
nitudes, while the Twins, Hyades, Pleiades, Orion, and the Greater Dog are
shining in brilliant array; with Cepheus and Cassiopeia in the north, and
Pegasus, Andromeda, and Pisces in the mid-heaven of the west. As a general
remark for this season, it may be noted that when Orion is on or near the
meridian, our northern hemisphere presents a scene of unrivalled glory, both
as regards constellations, the general light of the Milky-way, and the presence
of that most useful object the Pole-star.

To descend, however, from aloft. All the vegetation, save the humble
moss, with groundsel, gorse, laurustinus, hellebore, dodder, and that popular
parasite the mistletoe, remains in its winter quarters, protected from the rigour
of the season until the end of the month, when the welcome snow-drop begins
to flower; and, if the weather be tolerably mild, the mezereum opens its crimson
or other tinted blossoms before the leaves come. Apple, pear, plum, cherry,
gooseberry, and currant trees should be pruned and attended to. Holly, ivy,
yew, cypress, cedar, bay, box, and every other kind of evergreen are now at par;
and whatever verdure exists, belongs rather to the past than the present year.
Still the field-fare, grosbeak, missel, red-wing, and others of the thrush family,
aminate the so-called lifeless scene; and the whole holds up to us the great
value of evergreens above deciduous tress that remain leafless half the year. That universal favourite, the robin-redbreast, cheers the air with the sweet compass of its melody, and pleases every one with its easy familiarity.

Twelfth-day, the 6th of January, closes the general festivities of Christmas, and the opening of the week afterwards, the first after the Epiphany, announces the return to agricultural duties on Plough Monday.* Some of the preliminary farming operations of this ungenial month are undertaken only on its finer days; generally, however, the work is comparatively trifling, and even that effort may be prevented altogether by the weather. Yet manure is carried out and ploughed in, marle or clay hauled and wheeled, drains and ditches kept clear, and hedges or other fences repaired. These, and the feeding of sheep in bad weather, give employment both to men and teams; besides this, all corn stubbles and clover-lea ought to have been ploughed by the close of the month.

FEBRUARY.

This month, notoriously variable, is generally gloomy and chilly, with heavy leaden-coloured skies, and gelid nights; hence Shakespeare, thinking on the Stratford climate, makes the Prince of Arragon ask Benedick why

That you have such a February face,
So full of frost, of storm, and cloudiness?

The temperature is often already on the rise, though, on the whole, this month is nearly as dry as January. The prevailing winds are from south to west, often followed by disagreeable thaws and rain; but there are occasional sharp gales from the north-west and north, with small hail and sleet. The mean

* Only a few years ago, this day was ushered in by the plough being carried round in joyous procession, reminding the farmers of the season, as well as of the ale and some expected by their labourers. Some of the rustics were grotesquely attired, and designated plough-witches, the whole having lineally descended from the old Feast of Fools.
atmospheric pressure is 29.73 inches, with a range of 1.12. The mean of the thermometric records is 38°.4, ranging about 33° from maximum to minimum, and therefore about two or three degrees higher than in January. The amount of rain, which on a mean fall barely amounts to upwards of an inch, is at its least quantity, being little more than what is carried off by evaporation.

Despite the condition of the terrestrial surface, the February welkin frequently clears off, and exhibits a beautiful canopy. Aries, Taurus, and Orion adorn the western skies; while the Twins, the Greater and Lesser Dogs, Cancer, and Leo are seen in the eastern hemisphere. To the north are the Camelopard, Lynx, and Greater Bear, with the pointers to the Pole-star on his flank; and to the south the Unicorn and Hydra. Indeed, on a fine night, when Orion has passed the meridian by about an hour, the view is unrivalled by the Southern Cross and its neighbours. In this superb scene, though Sirius shines so brilliantly, it will be recollected that Aldebaran is the brightest fixed star in the Zodiac.

In the landscape, a variety of evergreens forms the principal relief to the eye, for the other trees—except where deciduous ones are exhibiting their glazed buds—still retain the semblance of lifeless skeletons; and the general aspect of Nature is rather dreary, notwithstanding the primrose, crocus, hepatica,aconite, crowfoot, liver-wort, and a few other humble heralds of spring are observable. Moreover, unless December and January have been unusually severe, the elder, honey-suckle, hazel, and gooseberry buds begin to swell, and even to burst; while the sweet violet and that “floure of the flowris” the daisy, with shepherd’s-purse, chickweed, and dandelion, sworn foe to lawns, make their appearance. There is also a diversity of ferns and verdant mosses, which, together with the vigorous green of the whin, gorse, or furze—some with still remaining flowers—combine to take the chill off the scene; and the garden, if attended to, yields beet, broccoli, Brussels-sprouts, colewort, and rocombole.

The gloom of February thaws is somewhat relieved by the gatherings and chirrupings of the numerous finch and thrush tribes; and the rook, jay, nut-hatch, blackbird, wren, tom-tit, lark, and dunnock or hedge-sparrow make
THE CLIMATURE OF HARTWELL, AND ITS MONTHLY PHENOMENA.

themselves heard. Occasional flocks of plovers are seen, and the screech of the storm-cock is sounded. Certain moths and beetles may be met with, and the bees are already out; wherefore their merciless enemy, the honey-buzzard, is also abroad, thus affording an illustration in animal life, like that of tigers and deer in the Sunderbunds, that demand and supply are in closer routine than commercial men suspect. The common flitter-mouse and bat now take wing, such as it is; and in the last fortnight of the month some birds begin to couple, and well-housed poultry to lay eggs.

The weather and its effects being pretty much the same as those of January, similar labour is practised in the farm. Thus manuring, marling, threshing, ploughing, burning weeds, dressing hedges, and carefully tending the live stock, gives occupation as well to the husbandmen as to their labourers; who also, when the land is dry enough, sow spring-wheat, beans, and vetches. But, indeed, when the season is mild, there is hardly any spring grain crop which might not be sown during February.

In like manner, ages ago, old Tusser advised,—

Go plow in the stubble, for now is the season
for sowing of kitches, of beans, and of peason:
Sow your cuntinals timely, and all that be gray,
but sow not the white, till St. Gregory's day.

MARCH.

March, now the third month, was for some time the leader of the year, and sees the sun travel through part of the signs Aries and Taurus; it is however very fickle, humidity and warmth being in close attendance on each other, and occasional bright days are followed by sleet, hail, parching winds, and boisterous gales, especially about the time of the vernal equinox. These sudden efforts to restore the balance might make mischief, but that their perforations are influenced and modified by the ranges of hills which surround the Hartwell district, as already shown in the Aedes. The east winds affect the
bronchials of many, and even occasion some to “cough their own knell;” the vegetable world, however, seems to derive benefit from their desiccative property; and the value of March dust is as much immortalized in proverbial philosophy, as its ides are in Roman story.

By the aforesaid average of ten years, the mean barometer of this month is placed at 29-76 inches, with a range of 1-38 inch; and the middle term of the thermometer at 42-1°, under a scope of 39°, all evincing an advancing temperature, and increasing evaporation. Meanwhile the fall of rain was 1-59 inch for the same epoch. On fine nights, Aries, the Hyades, Pleiades, Orion, and the brilliant star Capella, are still seen in the western skies; while the meridian and mid-heavens to the east are graced from Polaris to below Cor Hydææ, with the great and little Lions, the Hounds, Comæ Berenicis, and Virgo.

The elder, sallow, willow, hazel, woodbine, and dog-rose are among the earliest members of the vegetable world to announce the actual commencement of spring by unfolding their leaves; and the bloombuds of all the trees are swelling. Meanwhile the young wheat looks bright, and the meadows wear a livelier green—all tokens of renewed life. The mezereon, primrose, heart’s-ease, white violet, colt’s-foot, polyanthus, strawberry, marigold, speedwell, ox-lip, jonquil, blue violet, star of Bethlehem, and furze, are in full blow; the ribes sanguineum is clothed in red, and the vernal crocus has attained its richest tint. The flowers of the winkle, or periwinkle, purple, blue, and white, are out early, and even in February’s close, about here, as I can avouch; though it is written that they wait till May. The daffodils, with their golden tufts, are a special ornament to the grounds, and cannot but remind us of Perdita’s assertion respecting them,—

That come before the swallow does, and take
The winds of March with beauty.

Birds of many kinds are already blithely singing, and, although we miss

* See Rees’s Cyclopædia, roce Vinca.
some of those which, having passed the winter here, have taken their departure to more northern regions, the warbling chaff-chaff, wheat-ear, and other congeneres have arrived to replace them. Jack-daws, magpies, wagtails, woodpeckers, ring-doves or wood-pigeons, and marsh-tits are lively, and starlings are building their nests with boldness and cunning. The coccinella, or ladybird, often appears in swarms in the course of this month, especially infesting the apple-trees. Butterflies, moths, slugs, and earth-worms show themselves, and gnats begin to glide about in the last week of March.

This is an important time in husbandry and tillage, wherefore advantage should be taken of every fine interval. It is a month too in which the woodman’s axe vexes the ear, for now the underwood is generally cut and timber felled. Being the commencement of the spring quarter, we have reached the seed-time of the farmer as to barley, oats, pease, beans, clover, &c.; but saintfoin, esteemed in so many parts as the best of the green-crop tribe, is not much valued in our district. Besides this, he has to plant potatos, dress quicksets, spread ant and mole-hills, roll meadow lands, and attend to the general fallow operations. Live stock must now be looked to and kept well, for both animal and vegetable life have recovered their elasticity. Tusser mentions a plague in his time which is fortunately now unknown in these parts:

Of mastibes and mungrels, that many we see,
A number of thousands, too many there be:
Watch, therefore, in Kent, to thy sheere go and looke,
For dogs will have bittells by hooke and by crooke.

APRIL.

The sun now travels through the remainder of Aries and Taurus, but, although this month has some bright and balmy days, it is often cold, with ungenial frost and gleamy sunshine in frequent vicissitude, insomuch that the tender vegetation is too apt to be nipped in the bud. The barometer is pretty steady under a mean of 29.72 inches, and a range of 1.14 inch. The medium advanced temperature is 47°6, but with a variable scope of no less than 44°,
and the average fall of rain is equal to 1.88 inches—a quantity exceeded by the evaporation. This interchange of aërial affinity really justifies Shakespeare's designation of "spongy April," yet, when the weather is fine, we are reminded that

April comes,
And lightly o'er the living scene
Scatters her freshest, tenderest green.

The out-door or gazebo gazers may contemplate the sky, when clear, with satisfaction. The western division from the meridian to the horizon of setting, retains its richness in constellations which have been visible for some weeks, as Taurus, Canis major and Canis minor, Gemini, and Cancer, offering the Hyades, Pleiades, Priesephe, and the astounding nebula in Orion, to scrutiny. Near the meridian, from Polaris through Ursæ majoris to Leo, the whole space demands attention, while on the eastern part Virgo and Bootes are rising in mid-heavens.

This is the season for flowering and leafing, so that early in the month the birch, black-thorn, privet, service, maple, apricot, peach, pear, and plum, are in complete blow, while the white crops and early grasses are all forward and in their softest green. Among the wild flowers of fields and hedges the sweet-scented violet perfumes the morning air; the sloe and the bullace are also in full bloom. In the gardens and grounds double-white violets, pansies, tulips, wall-flowers, saxifragas, hellebores, daffodils, marsh-marigolds, polyanthuses, celandines, butter-cups, cowslips, lady's-smocks, and purple anemones, or wind-flowers, are in entire vigour; while the male orchis blows, and the fine blue of the veronica brightens the scene. Rhubarb, radishes, pot-herbs, spinach, spring-cabbages, and all sorts of small salad make their welcome appearance, speedily to be followed by early potatos. Towards the month's close, the more important crops are all springing, thereby accounting for Capulet's phrase, "well-apparell'd April."

There is, however, a very popular flower which must be specially recorded on account of its deep importance in our local flora. At Waldridge, nearly
three miles due south of St. John's Lodge, is a pasture-field of upwards of twenty acres, which is remarkable at this time of the year for being profusely overspread with every variety of the beautiful wild fritillary, or, in the rural vernacular, crowcup or froccup—frog-cup. The unabashed assert that not a plant of it has ever been found on the other side, that is, above Waldridge, yet from that spot all along the meadows bordering on the Ford brook into the river Thame, and thence to Shillingford below Oxford, where the Thame and Isis join, this flower is found in abundance. It is enrolled among the indigenes, or British plants, of the county, and has immemorially furnished a strong point of attraction for the surrounding villagers of all sizes and both sexes on Easter Sunday. The original superstition, that there would be "nae luck about the house" unless the inmates floridly decked their windows on the happy day with pretty bouquets of this wild "tulip," may now be wearing out, but this spring recreation is too agreeable for the resort to be entirely abandoned, and we may devoutly hope that the picking of flowers will ever continue to be a favourite pastime with children. That they still work at them with a good will at Waldridge—formerly a seat of the Ingoldsbys—is manifested by the profusion of frog-cups in the garlands which they bring to our doors on the first of May. In the Ædes we mentioned the wild calamint, the creeping tormentil, the cat-mint, and the horse-mint, among the rare plants of this district. To these we must add a congener of the cardamine, which grows in moist meadows. It is called dentaria bulbifera, or bulb-bearing coral-wort. Still, the indigenous glories of this part of the county must be recognised in the majestic beeches of the Chilterns and the elegant box-trees at Velvet Lawn.

The swallow comes in with this month, and is much welcomed on his arrival from "foreign parts," while the white-throat, pipit-lark, black-cap, sedge-warbler, willow-wren, corn-crake, red-start, hay-bird, chiff-chaff, wry-neck, whin-chat, and tit-lark give evident symptoms of joyousness, and even the chaffinch adds his few crotchets to the ornithological concert. The cuckoo's pleasing, though monotonous, vernal call-note is usually noticed towards the middle of April; and, in 1855, during a stiffish gale, yet in other-
wise fine weather, I distinctly heard it on the sixth, which happened to be Good Friday. In 1862 I listened to the song of the nightingale so early as the 9th; and, by the middle of the month, those musical, but rather dowdy, birds were numerous in our grounds. The advance of temperature brings forward myriads of insects to supply, as it were, the birds with food, and among them the tortoise-shell, cabbage, brimstone, peacock, and red-admiral butterflies are conspicuous above the ground, while the surface thereof is infested by beetles and all the coleopterous tribe. People who regard their fruit-trees should now bestir themselves in destroying, or causing to be destroyed, the large and long female wasp called the queen, which appears about the 20th, and is not difficult to capture despite of its formidable sting. The policy of waging war upon them to the knife, is manifest on recollecting that each individual is charged with a colony of four or five hundred destructives. If the laden queens escape, their nests should afterwards be diligently traced and utterly demolished under proper precaution. Nor is this undertaking so dangerous as it may appear to the inexperienced; and it is of more importance than we generally suppose. Indeed a rational perseverance through two or three seasons would go far to exterminate the plague.

This fourth month is altogether a busy one. The farmer turns his sheep upon clover, plants quicksets and trees, and attends to the drainage of damp grounds. Nor should hedges be cut any later. Those operations which, from unfavourable weather or other cause, were left undone at the end of March should be attended to in the beginning of April, since nature dislikes a longer delay, and increased injury would ensue to the barley, saintfoin, tares, and lucern. These proceedings, with the hoeing, harrowing, and rolling of corn crops, gathering weeds and stones, spreading manure, and attending live-stock, are continued through the month. Land intended for a summer fallow should now be looked to, and cross-ploughed. The cries and rattles of the crowkeepers, or bawling boys who are supposed to scare the birds from the teeming fields, resound, and long lines of burning weeds show that husbandmen enjoy the smell of a dead enemy.
MAY.

How the ancient sneer that a month so favourable to love as May, is unlucky for marriage, we know not; yet there are existing vestiges of the prejudice, although Shakespeare has pronounced it to be the emblem "of youth, and bloom of luythood."

Servility and Fashion, the ape-flends of wealthy circles, have nearly put a period to those periodical rustications, or villeggiation, as the Italians call their May and October trips to their villas, and which of erst in England created so rational an intercourse throughout the country. Indeed, the degenerated taste for town-residence has all but obliterated spring from our calendar. Nay, even the cheerful, the glorious May, despite of its merry traditions, is scornfully neglected, notwithstanding Milton himself thus invoked it—

Hail! bounteous May, that dost inspire
Mirth and youth and warm desire;
Woods and groves are of thy dressing,
Hill and dale doth boast thy blessing.

About the early part of this month the oak, sycamore, ash, larch, Scotch fir, and chestnut are seen with opening flowers, cowslips abound in the meadows, barley has come up, wheat is swelling, and the buds of the raspberry, gooseberry, and currant-bushes are opening. Indeed, this is the time that completes the verdure of the fields, and all vegetation is in rapid progress; still there are parching winds occasionally from the north and east quarters, with chilly nights. The energy of the solar beams strengthens gradually, and the atmosphere attains great dryness, moderated by a fall of nearly a couple of inches of rain. The mean height of the barometer is 29.72 inches, with a diminished range amounting to 0.97 inch; and the mean temperature is 53°9, under diurnal variations of 45°7. The mean heat of the air now increases faster than the warmth which expands the terrestrial aqueous vapour, a state of things considered to be highly favourable to the blooming of plants; whilst the radiation, or passing-off, of heat from the earth's surface is still somewhat on the decrease, owing to the absorbent power of a moist atmosphere.
The sun now enters the sign Gemini, and May affords a brilliant display of sidereal objects in its darker nights, among which may be cited the components of the great and little Bears, the Twins, Cancer, the two Lions, Bootes, and the northern Crown; while the Pole-star, Capella, Arcturus, Castor, Pollux, Regulus, Procyon, and other lucidas, form guides to stars of less brightness, though of equal interest, and even more so, when they are either coloured binary systems, or tinted optical groups.

But we have not yet done with the vegetation, especially towards the close of the month. Except in peculiar cases of continued east winds with consequent hard night-frosts, May is proverbially a period for Nature to exhibit her gayest hues throughout the meads and uplands; and, accordingly, the laburnum, apple, bramble, thorn, maple, mountain-ash, elder, lilac, and other trees and shrubs are mostly arrayed in glory, every one a sermon to those who think. The horse-chestnuts display their elegant thyrse or flowering spikes, the hawthorns show a gorgeous mass of vegetable silver, and the celandines put forth their fine though fugacious beauty. Meanwhile, tulips, brooms, peonies, marsh valerians, poppies, sweet-Williams, pinks, wall-flowers, thrift, London-pride, jasmine, Guelder-rose, honeysuckle, everlasting pease, flags, lilies, geraniums, crane-bills, strawberries, and ranunculuses are in complete flower, and all is hope and promise. Still it must be confessed that some of the April blossoms are already looming rather shabby, cowslips are going out, dandelions assume their white clocks or globous wigs, and the sweet violets of March have given place to the specious and odourless dog-violet. Moreover, butterflies, moths, beetles, May-bugs or cockchafers, mason-ants, and aphides of every species, germinate in swarms, insomuch as occasionally to cause injurious blights in sparrow-club districts; notwithstanding the inconceivable numbers snapped up by the sharp bills of their flying enemies. Many of the birds are only finishing their nests, whilst others are hatching, and the whole feathered tribes are abundant and joyous; for every bush and tree resounds with their vociferous melody, although now and then a sturdy kestrel, cruising in the air, augurs danger to the warblers. Such are the wondrous marvels of the season, and such the Poet lauds:
THE CLIMATE OF HARTWELL, AND ITS MONTHLY PHENOMENA.

What prodigies can power divine perform
More grand than it produces year by year,
And all in sight of inattentive man?
Familiar with the effect, we slight the cause,
And in the constancy of Nature's course,
And regular return of genial months,
And renovation of a faded world,
See nought to wonder at!

Some light-labour employment is now afforded in the gathering of early peas, cutting asparagus, digging potatoes, and in attending to the general details of gardens and allotments for spade industry. On large arable lands they make preparations for turnips, and working naked summer fallows where they are adopted. These, with the continued hoeing of all the growing crops, forms—with the out-door doings for the dairy-husbandry—almost the entire occupation of the month. Finally, wheat—if proud—is mowed.

JUNE.

The foliage and verdure around are now in complete development, for almost all the forest and fruit trees are in ample leaf, and the blossoms of many of them set. In this rich attire, Spenser is therefore justified in saying—

Came jolly June, arrayed
All in green leaves, as he a player were.

The sun enters the sign Cancer, and opens the summer solstice. Though abounding in stellar riches, the length of the days and prevalence of twilight prove very unfavourable even to well-equipped astronomers, and especially to those who may desire to examine nebulæ and faint clusters. Nevertheless, although

Short is the doubtful empire of the night,
many double-stars are sufficiently self-luminous to admit of examination and measurement, however difficult of estimation their colours may prove. Arcturus, Polaris, Regulus, Spica, Antares, Gemma, Altair, sufficiently point out the respective constellations to which they severally pertain.

The summer-quarter generally opens with fine, seasonable weather, though
there is occasionally thunder and rain, and the standing crops are sometimes injured by passing squalls; but hail-stones, so destructive around London and many other parts, are attended with little violence in these districts. As already observed, twilight may be said to continue all night, and the dews fall heavily. Meanwhile, the solar beams increase in energy, and the maximum thermometer now indicates a great rise of temperature, insomuch that in June 1858 it attained the tropical heat of 93° in the shade! The general attainment, however, in good corn-ripening years varies between 75 and 80 degrees, on an averaged mean of 59°5, under a range of 45°; but the air becomes less parching as it advances towards vaporization. The medium reading of the barometer is 29.80 inches, and its range has diminished to only 0.81 inch; while the average fall of rain is 1.78 inch, which nearly equals the amount of evaporation during the same time. Though the mean temperature of June mostly falls short of that of July by a couple of degrees, or more, yet the maximum solar heat of the former exceeds that of the latter by more than four degrees; a heat owing, probably, to the existing purity of the atmosphere, through which the sun’s rays in passing lose less of their power.

In the first week of June, wheat, barley, oats, and rye are in full blossom, with much of the crop in well-corned ear; and clover, trefoil, pease, beans, and rye-grass are in flower. At or about Midsummer the hay-harvest is in hand around here, and the falls of grass are generally satisfactory. Floral beauties of fragrance and form are exuberantly abundant, so that our gardens and hedges display, besides many May flowers in multiplied species,—

| Aca<cia. |  | Dog-rose. |
| Acouite. |  |  | Elder. |
| Agrimomy. |  |  | Eschscholtzia. |
| Asphodel. |  |  | Feather-grass. |
| Auricula. |  |  | Forget-me-not. |
| Balsam. |  |  | Foxglove. |
| Batchelor’s button. |  |  | Guelder-rose. |
| Bindweed. |  |  | Hare’s-ear. |
| Bluebell. |  |  | Heart’s-ease. |
| Box. |  |  | Honeysuckle. |

And the mock-orange, generally but erroneously designated syringa, sheds a strong perfume. The cotoneaster—craig-asfal, or rock-apple, an indigenous Welsh plant—is in abundant flower; while here and there may be seen a corn-field, from indifferent husbandry and want of the hoe, scarlet with poppies; this, however, may sometimes be owing to a peculiarity of the soil.

Villas and other sylvan retreats are now in their greatest beauty, and salubrity is the companion of exercise. Gardens and grounds are greatly resorted to, and asparagus, beans, peas, cauliflowers, early potatoes, cabbages, beet, artichokes, carrots, strawberries, apricots, gooseberries, currants, cherries, and all the sweet herbs, repay attention. Meantime the birds still continue in song, but not with so full a voice nor quite so uproarious as last month; and even the cuckoo has become rather hoarse. Among others the land-rail or corn-crake is busy, the sedge-bird seems to mock his companions, the magpie and jay are noisy, young partridges begin to try their wing, the swallows are

* The Romans often in their sculptures intermixed the poppy with the corn as though they were allied; thus, on a large brass medal of NerVA, the legend on the reverse is PLEBEI VERNAE PVMENTO CONSTITVTO; it is inscribed around a modus with six ears of wheat sticking in it, and a poppy in the centre. See my Catalogue of Roman Medals, No. cxxv.
occupied in the work of incubation, and the swift has arrived for a two or three months' visit. This medal, however, has a reverse, for vermin of all sorts now muster in extraordinary numbers, and ravage the fields and gardens to a very injurious degree; still, perhaps, by Nature's laws, they have as much right there as we have. Yet, admitting every thing in their favour, we Lords of the Creation ought to give no quarter to moths, weevils, caterpillars, cockchafers, beetles, snails, slugs, grubs, worms, wasps, and aphides of every cast. Efts, toads, and frogs also exhibit unusual animation about this time, as evinced by their quitting the water for the adjacent fields.

In the beginning of this month the husbandman sows his turnip-seed, tends mangel-wurzel, and earths up the growing potatoes; but, indeed, turnip cultivation in general is now the main point attended to in the neighbouring farms, and is esteemed as the A 1 of husbandry. Sheep are wretched if shorn too soon; those, however, who make the shearing correspond with the flowering of the elder-tree may often be out of their reckoning on so sliding a scale; for I have seen that tree in full flower both early and late in June. The close of the month leaves the grain-crops in promising ear; wherefore Tusser advises the farmer to get his agricultural implements in readiness:

Provide of thine owne, to have all things at hand,
least wroth and the workmen unoccupied stand:
Love seldom to borrow, that thinkest to save,
for he that once lendeth twice looketh to have.

JULY.

The sun now enters Leo, and slightly though daily lessens his culminating altitude; but, as the high temperature still continues, the summer may be said to be perfect, and Polixenes, in the Winter's Tale, was a wondrous clever fellow in making a "July's day short as December."

The winds, albeit variable, generally hang in the south-west quarter, with frequent rain, say between two and three inches, and occasional thunder
and lightning, the latter surprisingly vivid at times over the Chiltern Hills. Though the summer solstice being past has impinged on the direct influence of the sun, yet the earth and air have been so acted upon, that the solar rays attain their maximum amount of energy this month, and the once-dreaded dog-days are held to commence on its third. The mean pressure of the atmosphere is 29.82 inches, with a range of 0.80 inch, perhaps its minimum; the mean thermometer stands at 63.1°, and its range is equal to 42.7°. Hence a reason may be gathered for the succession of rainy weather about the middle of the month, and the traditional claims of St. Swithin on our climate; because there is a considerable increase in the temperature of the vapour, and, consequently, a greater liability of meeting with atmospheric regions colder than itself, which, by taking away some of the heat, disposes it to condense and fall in showers, from the amount of 2½ to 3 inches.

But, however beneficial July rains are in the end, they provoke the direful wrath of holiday tourists, who are given to implore the anger of the malevolents on many a luckless place for such accidental interruption. Nor do out-door astronomers yield unmitigated peace to the cloudy evenings of July; still, in the absence of the moon, besides an occasional planet or two, they may per-chance pick up nights that are superlatively fine, when much quarry awaits them in the Bears, Bootis, and Cygnus, the latter in a luminous pool of the Via Lactea. Gemma, Arcturus, Capella, Antares, Altair, Wega, and Deneb bedeck the skies; while the lovely pair of coloured stars in the head of Hercules, the brilliant cluster near his hip, and the mysterious annular nebula in Lyra, can never be seen to greater advantage. Here we assume that the amateur is possessed of a pretty good, though perhaps secondary, telescope; and that he knows how to make use of it.

The entry of this month continues to grant us the laurel, lime, acacia, beech, spiked willow, and sweet-brier or eglantine in full bloom; and garden produce in fruits, vegetables, and flowers, is at once various, matured, and abundant, apparently as great a source of enjoyment to myriads of the insect tribes as to any human being, if their disportings and feastings and hummings are to
be received in evidence. Among the floral display are roses of many kinds, convolvulus, Spanish broom, clematis, mallow, hare-bell, sweet-pea, lavender, passion-flower, China-aster, fox-glove, lily, prince's feather, and that emblem of friendship the pretty forget-me-not, besides the fragrant weed called meadow-sweet, and the aquatic flowers growing among the duck's-meat in the ponds. The elder, with some of its contemporaries, have already commenced disrobing; and, though the goldfinch and nightingale are still in song, the birds in general evince less of what the bard terms the "waste of music" than of late. Cruciferous plants are now in bloom, as are also most of the succulents; and, while the mowed grounds exhibit their emerald-green surfaces, the sober tints of maturity overspread the wheat and barley fields, insomuch that corn is mostly fit for the sickle by St. James's day. Nor should we omit to mention the gilly-flowers as the month's own type; but the combined heat and moisture is also producing a formidable invasion of weeds of many kinds, which demand the diligent counteraction both of the gardener and the husbandman.* Butterflies and moths of various species and conditions are every-

* In giving the vernacular names of British plants we cannot but recur to Shakespeare, and are glad to recognise his "long purples" or "dead men's fingers" in the "lords and ladies" of the day. Cordelia's rank funiter, harlocks, darnel, and other idle weeds, are all out in this month; Perdita's carnations and streaked gillyflowers, marjoram, savory, lavender, mint, marigold, daffodil, primroses, and oxlips, recall the season; and poor Ophelia's pansies, columbines, rue, and rosemary are gravely suggestive. To the cowslip, one of the most elegant of our native flowers, in describing Imogen's left breast, Shakespeare makes this allusion:—

A mole cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops
I' the bottom of a cowslip.

In Love's Labour's Lost, however, the bard has unwittingly bequeathed a botanical paradox to us and to future sages. In the song chanted by Mr. Ver, he has it,—

When daisies pied, and violets blue,
And lady-smocks all silver white,
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue,
Do paint the meadows with delight.

These cuckoo-buds have called forth abundance of positive dicta from the commentators, in which the term is assigned to some of the orchis tribes, to buttercups, cowslips, cardamines, marsh-marigolds, and every sort of flaming gold-tinted, yellow-hued, flower that comes in with the cuckoo, on the same sort of wet meadow as lady-smocks do.

By the way, there can be no doubt that Shakespeare brewed this song after reading the "Debate
where flitting about; and there are many teeming wasp's nests in the hedge-banks and other neglected grounds.

The commencement of the dog-days finds the farmer, besides doubling-up his hay harvest, hand-hoeing his turnips, and weeding his beans, is now working fallsows with the plough, harrow, and roller in the fields. He has, therefore, full occasion to be "up and doing," as is well-known to many a cob, nag, or pony; on which he passes from one set of work-people to another, to see that his directions are properly attended to, in order that the business may be conducted in the most profitable way. An old agriculturist has left the adage, "look well to the fallsows this month, and at its close the pease will be ready for harvesting;" but the sage dictum does not explain the alliance.

AUGUST.

This favourite month was the Sextilis of the Roman calendar, as being the sixth from March, from which the early Romans and Jews began their year. Octavius Augustus changed the name by conferring on it his own, and all the world have continued the designation. Not that it was the month in which that gentleman was born, which happened to be September, but the preference was in consequence of grave deliberations in senate. The tenor of the given reasons is as follows: "It was in the month hitherto called Sextilis that the Emperor Augustus entered his first consulship, that he celebrated three triumphs, that he received the oath of allegiance of the legions who occupied the Janiculum, that he reduced Egypt under the power of the Roman people, and

and Stryfe betwene Somer and Wynter," printed by Laurence Andrew early in the sixteenth century. Herein Summer says to his antagonist:—

Wynter, in the moneth of May, whan thou lurkyst in bowre,  
I have pynmockes and dayes, and the wyolet flowre,  
The which be for the trewe lover and his swete leman,  
That go home syngynge and make good chere as merrey as they can.
that he put an end to all their civil wars.” Under such a train of happy events the name was unanimously decreed, and has ever since been retained.

In weather details the “rich array’d” and lovely August continues very like July, being equally fine and genial, notwithstanding there are occasional gusts of wind accompanied with thunder and rain, the latter averaging barely two inches; which is somewhat less than the amount of the same in the last month. Under the strong influence of the solar rays the welkin remains but little reduced in temperature on a thermometric mean of 61° 9, and a range of 41° 5. The barometer often rises to a high maximum, but the mean pressure for ten years is 29'78 inches, which varies only 0'89 of the column. The canicular or dog-days, which commenced on the 3rd of July, end on the 11th of August, albeit there are those who, pulling the heliacal rising of Sirius like a caoutchouc ring, kindly extend those once-dreaded malignities into September.

A slow change in the weather is, however, now perceptible to the observant eye; and that change is stamped with beneficent design. Though the meridional height of the sun declines in obedience to its laws, the solar radiation, or mean influence, of that orb increases five or six degrees, accompanied by a diminished quantity of rain; hence a state of weather enjoyable to lieges of all grades, and highly favourable for ripening and drying the fruits of the earth. Nor has the observing star-conner any just cause of complaint, even should he be baulked of an occultation or two, for, in the dark nights, Polaris, Arcturus, Altair, and Zuban, will readily do duty as lode-stars to adjacent riches; and he has the spacious range from Cepheus and Cygnus down to Capricorn, wherein he may pick up double-stars, clusters, and nebulae, to his heart’s content.

The eighth month is one of the richest in the whole year. The fruit-trees in full bearing yield their quota of luxuries; peaches, nectarines, and all sorts of plums are advancing to maturity; while some kinds of apples and pears are gathered towards the 18th or 20th. These products, however, are invaded by birds and “small deer;” and, among the multitude of predatory insects, young wasps are in their briskest energy, insomuch that their rampant voracity is barely interrupted by the beer- and treacle-traps which are cunningly placed
THE CLIMATURE OF HARTWELL, AND ITS MONTHLY PHENOMENA.

73
to allure them. Some pestilent moths and beetles commence their attacks on trees with ruinous effect. The eye now rests on marvel of Peru, ladies' tresses, white and tiger lilies, gentian, turnsole, tansey, camomile, mint, starwort, chicory, sage, burdock, white convolvulus or bind-weed, meadow-saffron, betony, agaric, sunflower, mallows, and stocks, while the water-plants are in full vigour and mostly in flower. The holly-hocks, which only require rarity and a sesquipedalian designation to enhance them, display their velvety beauties, white, yellow, red, crimson, lilac, and dark purple approaching to black. But now comes the rank plague of weeds, which ought not to be allowed to flower while there is a hand, spud, hoe, fork, knife, scythe, or sickle; and such has immemorially been the unwelcome abundance of intrusive vegetation at this time, that our Saxon ancestors called August the weod mōnāx.

The freshness of spring verdure, save where newly-combed fog shows, is now beginning to give place to the more subdued tone of autumn. Oats and barley, being generally ripe by the 5th, and wheat by the 10th, are attacked by the sickle, scythe, or haggling-hook. Towards the close of August, a principal harvest month, the white corn is often secured and carried by good practical farmers, even whether the season is marked by backwardness or not, provided that no delay occurs from heavy rains. Playter, an old and observant shepherd of Hartwell, assured me that he distinctly remembered two several corn-harvests being won and garnered in this neighbourhood by the 25th of August.

As every man is industriously employed, and most of the women and children are gleaners in the fields, the country now presents a busy aspect. Besides directing a principal attention to his wheat-crops, the farmer now looks to his fallows, whereon he spreads manure, and immediately ploughs it into the soil. Nor must he neglect the weeds. In a word, this is the period at which agricultural activity is at its greatest stretch, and accordingly the labourer's wages are at their highest; hence a French proverb says, "A man has made his August;" but then he must have put his shoulder to the wheel, for they add, "en Août il n'y a ni Fêtes ni Dimanches!" Old Tusser seems to think that a needless delay is neglecting God's blessing; advising thus:-
ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Make sure of reapers, get harvest in hand,
the corn that is ripe both but shed as it stand.
Be thankful to God for his benefits sent,
and willing to save it with earnest intent.

SEPTEMBER.

With the commencement of autumn a receding temperature is perceptible, and, though the weather is generally fine, it is stormy at times, with thunder, lightning, and smart showers of rain. These gusts occur mostly at or about the autumnal equinox, but they are attended with less violence than those which take place at the vernal passage of the sun. The mean pressure of the atmosphere is 29.90 inches on a lengthening range of 1.08 inch, while the average point of temperature declines to 57.6, with extremes varying 40°. The mean of ten years gives 1.89 for the annual amount of rain. Except about the time of the equinoctial gales, when the mercurial changes are great and sudden, the barometer is generally steady and high in September, and some of the best skies of the year are seen in its first weeks, so that, though clouds prevail at times, observational astronomy may find opportunity for doing a little good work; and the light-armed amateur can derive much enjoyment by ransacking the treasures of Cepheus, Corona-borealis, the two Bears, Pegasus, Aquarius, and their neighbourhood, besides hunting for clusters in the fecund Milky-way.

As the ninth month advances, the days are of course sensibly shortened, and many of our birds of passage take their departure for a more southern latitude, berthing themselves there for the winter. The gardens and orchards afford a rich display of ripe fruits, as peaches, plums, nectarines, pears, and apples of all sorts; hence the observant Edmund Spenser, after showing-up August, thus allegorises the successor:—

Next him September marched eke on foot,
Yet was he heavy laden with the spoyle
Of harvest's riches, which he made his boot,
And him enrich with bounty of the soyle.
There is still a great variety of flowers and flowering shrubs to greet the eye, as nasturtium, convolvulus, harvest-bells, southern-wood, various mints, angelica, saffron, star-wort, snap-dragon, spurge, autumnal crocus or naked-lady, spikenard, musk-rose, and, may we add, for the information of epicures, mushrooms! Nor must we forget the recently acclimatized and garish fuchsias and regal dahlias of all tints, prone as the latter still are to be bitten by night-frosts, a chance which is braved by the pretty pendulous seed-vessels of the spindle-tree. The catkins of the alder and the hazel are formed, and the berries of that Venus of the forest, the mountain-ash, are set; while the blackthorn, laurel, beech, and oak have all perfected their seed, so that hips, haws, mast, and acorns are abundant. The whole floral aspect, as well as the ripening berries, warn us of the approaching climatic change; yet it also affords consolation in the rich colouring given to leaves, which constitutes the beautiful display of autumnal tints—a display that the painter's art can hardly handle.

Such are the attractions of a fine September; still we are ever and anon reminded, that the world and its bounties were not made for us alone. Among the pests which people are now prone to grumble at, are frogs, toads, field-mice, hedgehogs, grass-hoppers, moths, and that minute wretch the harvest-bug, which last is a teasing nuisance over the district, thrusting his bunch of microscopic lancets under the fairest of skins, and irritating the whole frame. Some of the Arachnean tribe are occupied in making curious nests and webs, while other hosts of cruizing spiders are spreading their gossamer.

The field-work of the harvest being nearly completed, the farmer has now to stack and thatch his corn-ricks, pen in sheep to fatten on turnips, and, at the month's end, to sow wheat in the colder soils. Including cartage, clearing out of stubbles, ploughing, and fallow operations, September is a laborious month; and we are again reminded of the year's decline, not only by the striking variations on the face of nature, but also by the silence of the deserted arable lands, save where the bean-stalks are being stabb'd by parties of women and children. From the Saxon tenor of the word, the practice...
of thus gathering the bean-haulms is immemorial, yet it is carried on only under the farmer's kind permission. Indeed both gleaning and stebbing, resting solely on custom, carry no right.

This is often a time of importance in bucolic life from being the farmer's lease-month, an occasion on which Tusser advises,

Provide against Michelmas bargain to make,
for farne to give ower, to kepe, or to take:
In doing of either, let but hear a stroke,
for buying or selling of a pig in a poke.

This season makes us think of the hilarious feasting which once gladden the hearts of our geopoic lieges, and prepared the way to winter. The Romans held their juveniles ludi, and the country-people kept the festival of Vacuna in the fields—having then gathered in their fruits, a prototype of our own once popular Harvest Home. This politic red-letter day has long been in a decline, and is annually becoming weaker and weaker, and, though prediction is a temerarious act, we venture to think that, before the return of Donati's comet, it will be utterly forgotten, except by the inquiring antiquary. One country-gentleman of more good intention than knowledge assures me, that, as farmers now subscribe to schools for the benefit of the poor labourers, the kindly feeling between the employers and employed is more binding than under the intercourse between them in days of yore. This assumption being altogether gratuitous and rather strange, I can only look grave and reply, non lo credo!

OCTOBER.

This month has the merit of having steadily retained its name, notwithstanding that the emperor-worship of the abject Roman senate so often attempted to alter it. It has also frequently been designated from its attributes, as the wine-month in grape countries, and the ale-brewing month in
England. There are, however, few of the agricultural duties which have been entailed upon us from remote antiquity, that have kept their appointments with more regularity than those relating to bread corn. For instance, this has immemorially been the season for opening with threshing, whether by the feet of horses, men, or oxen, or by the tribulum, flail, old threshing-machine, or new steam apparatus. Nearly 2,600 years ago Hesiod (voce Cooke) said

Forget not, when Orion first appears,
To make your servants thresh the sacred ears.

October is usually a fine, and often a pleasant, month, though sometimes a wet one, the mean annual amount of rain being 2.36 inches. The average height of the mercury in the barometer is 29.69 inches, with a range of 1.29 inch, and the mean point of the thermometer is 53°.1 under variations of 39°. A decrease of nearly six degrees in temperature from last month is sensibly felt. The tendency of the air to condense into clouds and rain exerts a beneficial influence upon the earth, for it checks the dispersion of the heat by evaporation through the atmosphere; and we may hold that the reduction of warmth and increase of humidity act in gradual transition. The practical astronomer and the gazer will find some fine nights wherein Cassiopea, Andromeda, Perseus, rising Orion, and tempting snatches of the Via Lactea, yield a very host of clusters, binaries, double-stars, and nebulæ. The Hyades, Pleiades, Aldebaran, Menkar, Procyon, Lyra, Scheat, Markab, Mira Ceti, Fomalhaut, and Capella, a star that never sets here, are scattered over the heavens as pointers. The atmosphere, however, is liable to many changes at this time, nor must the tyro be surprised if, after due preparation, just as all is ready, he finds the clear sky suddenly thicken, and in a few minutes become covered with clouds.

About the first week of this month, in favourable years, the grapes ripen well on vines trained against south walls or sheltered trellises. The summer flowers are mostly over, though some of them still linger on; and Michaelmas daisies, navel-wort, star-wort, feverfew, shepherd’s purse, maiden hair,
broom rape, and various plants of the day, are still ornamental in their fruit or their seeds, while fungi of all sorts are abundant. As the season advances the days shorten in fast, and the oak, the ash, the beech, the sycamore, the spindle, the lime, and others of the deciduous tribe, are dropping their leaves; but, as the apples, quinces, pears, and various vegetable roots, as potatoes, onions, &c. are mostly gathered and stored, the sere and yellow leaf is viewed without exciting any very acute regret at the marked decrease of solar power. Swallows and martins now congregate to take their departure for foreign parts, where insect-life is not checked by frost, though some individuals are detained, for inscrutable purposes, till nearly the middle of November. Snow buntings occasionally arrive, and other birds are cheerful; the red-breast, wren, thrush, dunnock, and red-wing frequently break out into song, the bull-finch is evidently delighted, and red-poles are frequent. The peacock, cabbage, painted lady, red-admiral, and other butterflies are seeking for decayed fruit; and, during the latter days of October, the common bat and the wood-owl occasionally disport themselves towards evening-fall. It is about this time that the hibernating reptiles retire for torpor during the approaching winter-season, marking the singularity of their organization.

The tenth month has various demands on the husbandman, and the open fields are again the scene of active industry in ploughing the stubble for winter fallows, planting and repairing quicksets, and scouring ditches, drains, and watercourses, to ensure the productiveness of the following year. Unless wet weather intervenes, sowing is carried on throughout this month, and the wheat-seed especially is consigned to the earth, while the spring forage-crops are well looked to. The animal world partakes the general attention, for oxen and full-grown hogs are put up to fatten. Pigs are no longer in danger from devouring too many acorns as in Tusser's time:

Though plenty of acorns, the porkling to eat,  
not taken in season, may perish by that:  
If rating or swelling get once in the throat,  
Thou lovest thy porkling, a crown to a groat.
The gleaning of corn and stebbing of beans being now of the past, groups of women and children may frequently be seen picking up the beech-nuts, acorns, and other mast or fruit of forest-trees, which the winds scatter to their hands. The pannage of swine belongs to a former day.

NOVEMBER.

Henry Peacham, in his Complete Gentleman, observes to our young artists that November "is drawn in a garment of changeable green, and black upon his head;" and various are the missals in which it is depicted as the type of farming cheer. Even that earliest acknowledged portrait of him, on the noted laver or font in the parish-church of Burnham Deepdale in Norfolk, shows us a man about to stick a pig. The epulary hospitality of the term has been assumed as a counterpoise to its severity; but, like so many other goodly manners and customs, of late years the hearty welcome has either cooled down or evaporished. Proceed we therefore as matters now stand.

This is confessedly a cold and dreary month, the murky air heavy with moisture resolving itself into rain unless displaced by high winds, most of the foliage gone, and the trees thus prepared for hard gales; the oak, elm, and hornbeam struggle longest with the blast, even disdaining to become entirely altered in tint; and, next to them, the close texture of the beech-leaf, almost impervious to moisture, glows with the rich hues of reddish-brown, while those which fall crackle under foot throughout the winter. Yet sometimes very fine days break the fogs and gloom, and make the still decreasing temperature less sensibly felt. The mean pressure of the now saturated atmosphere is 29.80 inches, on a range of 1.38 inch; the average thermometer is 42.7 varying 37.5; and the fall of rain equals 2.68 inches. Some of the moonless nights are brilliant, and such planets as may be abroad appear in their best attire. The practical observer who does not stick at trifles as to personal accommodation, may rely upon reaping some good results from watching the interesting objects which he can readily pick up in the constellations of this month; and to which
the prominent stars Polaris, Thuban, Markab, Shedia, Deneb, Alderamin, Castor, Pollux, Regulus, the Praesepe, and Fomalhaut may prove trusty guides. But let us specially commend to the amateur's earnest gaze the gorgeous cluster in the sword-handle of Perseus, the wonderful nebula in Andromeda, and the beautifully coloured triple-star—A, orange, B, emerald-green, C, blue—in that lady's foot, known under the name of Almak.

Notwithstanding the season's general dulness, there are some few sheltered trees, besides the invaluable evergreens, not yet destitute of verdure; while the capsules of the spindle, the coloured clusters of the briony, and the pretty blossoms as well as crimson fruit of the strawberry-tree or arbutus, cheer the scene. A few violets and pansies are in flower; and the primrose, China-rose, laurustinus, gentian, star-wort, stock, chrysanthemum, and other hardy plants, combine to suffice for the loss of those which have been doomed to surrender their fragrance and beauty. The chaffinch, nut-hatch, wagtail, linnet, starling, plover, lark, fieldfare, and sparrow assemble in numerous flocks about the fields and hedges; but all the birds, save the robin and thrush, are now comparatively mute. The haw-finch is trying the provision made for him in the hedges, for which he came from afar. Meanwhile, the bat flits in silence, the clamorous jay shows himself, and, as a signal instance that infinitely varying conditions are constantly met by infinitely varying contrivances, most of the moths and butterflies have retired to their pupa state, and the frog buries himself in the mud at the bottom of ponds and ditches, there to winter unseen.

The denizens of this vicinity have no great reason to grumble at November on the whole, for it is seldom severe. The man who likes vegetables, without being stupid enough to think he ought to eat nothing else, may still garnish his board very well. There yet remain a few cauliflowers and summer-sown beans, Jerusalem artichokes, winter spinach, beets, carrots, celery, Scotch kale, chervil, endive, coleworts, savoys, onions, leeks, parsnips, and those estimable tubers potatoes; while for fruits he may depend upon a great variety of apples and pears, especially if he has the means to preserve them in dried sand, which keeps the fruit from the air and absorbs moisture. He can also enlist
medlars, walnuts, filberts, cob-nuts, bullace, services, and perchance a few grapes; wherefore, on recollecting that these are only condimental to poultry, beef, pork, mutton, puddings, custards, and foaming ale, our patient is not much to be pitied, although fish seldom swam to his net.

This is the time at which the farmer generally finishes ploughing winter and ensuing summer fallows, and takes up cattle and horses into the farmyard; the sheep are turned among the turnips, and the ant and mole hillocks are spread. Among other duties, trees are felled, hedging and ditching looked to, swedes with other turnips are pitted or piled, and, the field-work being now generally advanced, many of the farming implements are laid aside in ordinary, except where wheat-sowing proceeds as the turnips are cleared off.

DECEMBER.

The sun now enters the tropic of Capricorn, and passes through the brumal solstitial point; wherefore this, the last month of the year, often opens—not unlike its predecessor—in high winds, humidity, and gloom; but sometimes, towards its close, an ice-bound rigour stamps it the leader of the winter quarter. This affords Shakespeare an excellent sentiment on old age without mental occupation, in making Prince Arviragus ask the banished British nobleman—

What should we speak of
When we are old as you? when we shall hear
The rain and wind beat dark December, how,
In this our pinching cave, shall we discourse
The freezing hours away?

Severe frosts do not usually set in till after the hibernal solstice; yet a damp and chilly state of the welkin, with continued south-west winds more unpleasant than frost, sometimes prevails. The earth is now nearer to the sun than at any other time during the year, still the average mean of the temperature is barely 40°, varying over an extent of 35°6. The range of the barometer
ADDENDA TO THE AEDES HARTWELLIANAE.

is 1.31 inches on a mean atmospheric pressure of 29.68. Northerly and easterly winds bring snow, while those from south to west are frequently charged with heavy rains; yet the mean precipitation amounts only to 1.88 inch one year with another. Notwithstanding, however, this unpromising statement, there are some very useful nights for the practical astronomer, especially if he braves the interval between midnight and morning, when the air is at times lucidly clear and of the best quality. This is well worth essaying, for, besides Perseus, Cepheus, Auriga, the Polar Bears, Taurus, and their neighbouring constellations, there is the luminous flood of the Via Lactea from beyond the zenith down to Argo navis, trending on the ever-glorious Orion—that thesaurus of every variety among the sidereal celestials.

Turning earthward, the change in severe years is great indeed; but then it ought to be duly expected to be so. Most of the deciduous trees having entirely cast their garniture, vegetable nature would seem to have fallen into an utter torpor during this garnered period, except for the presence of certain cold-enduring trees and shrubs, as the evergreen oak, mistletoe, laurel, holly, yew, fir, spruce, cypress, cedar, box, ivy, and the like; and, moreover, they are enlivened by the Christmas rose, star of Bethlehem, the mezeleon, yellow jasmine, colt's-foot, heath, wall-flower, wild violet, Barbados gooseberry, laurustinus, and a few other garden lingerers. Still there is sufficient evidence in these, the crimson berries and deep green leaves of the cotoneaster, and several tribes of green mosses growing around, to show that Thomson was more poetical than botanically observant in saying

How dead the vegetable kingdom lies!
How dumb the tuneful!

Nor is he more at home in ornithology, for, though the tuneful race is pretty mute, the silence is not at all universal. Besides the chirruping and twittering in the hedges and fields, the melodious red-breast is in full song; the hawfinch, linnet, chaffinch, fieldfare, Brambling, dunnock, and other feathered companions are also in great activity among corn-ricks and farm-yards; and
starlings assemble in compact battalions to deliberate on the time of departure. We may, however, concede that Thomson did not imbibe his horror of winter in the southern district of Buckinghamshire.

In the farm coppices are thinned or felled, and fagots or bavins are provided for the ovens; and, when the weather permits cartage, the horses may be employed. Attention can also be given to the fences and mending of roads; while trenching, ploughing stubbles, digging, and ridging may proceed in nursery and garden grounds. Threshing is still continued, in order that the cattle may enjoy the straw chaff.

A word more upon December. Notwithstanding the supposed desolate aspect of the season, the latter end of this month has from remote times been renowned for its hilarious junketings, exclusive of the twelve days' festival of Christmas. However uncertain the day, and even the month, may be in which the Blessed Nativity actually occurred, Pope Julius the First, after a strict inquiry on the point, enacted that it should be observed by all Christendom on the 25th of December; though that hardly seemed to be the season for shepherds watching their flocks, or for a public survey of the people and their property to be holden. The feast has therefore been universally celebrated on that day ever since about A.D. 350, and has gladdened the hearts of all classes calling themselves Christians. It succeeded the pagan *Juvenales ludii*, and for the observances of such solace the day and the month are truly eligible. Yet of late this bill-paying season pinches the means in many a quarter, with a severity not known of erst, and has trenched much upon social hospitality. To be sure the in-door life of the "well-to-do" classes passes cheerily enough, and with them Christmas is sometimes even oppressively festive. Thus, on the old font at Burnham Deepdale, before quoted, December is represented by a merry-making of the season, the mirth of which, where the wolf is not at the door, has been glorified in various Parnassian strains. Walter Scott has said—

Heap on more wood, the wind is chill;
But, let it whistle as it will,
We'll keep our merry Christmas still.

m 2
There is, it must be confessed, a dolesome reverse to this medal in the hideous privations which an inclement winter inflicts on the poor and needy, although deep sympathy and great bounty are evinced in the distribution of bread, meat, coals, warm clothing, and money to the necessitous; not from legislative injunction, which is also exerted, but from a pure exercise of benevolence. Yet, despite of every effort, there are many victims to want and grief; nor can the rigorous close of a hard year be better called to remembrance than by Shelley’s pathetic peroration:

It was a winter, such as when birds do die
In the deep forests; and the fishes lie
Stiffen’d in the translucent ice, which makes
Even the mud and slime of the warm lakes
A wrinkled clod as hard as brick; and when,
Among their children, comfortable men
Gather about great fires, and yet feel cold;
Alas! then for the homeless beggar old!

§ 3. ON THE HUSBANDRY AROUND HARTWELL.

The northern part of the Hartwell manor is bounded by the river Thame, whence the estate trends away to the south below Bishopstone; on the west it is skirted by the Harcourt property, and on the east by the prebendal farm. In the intervening space are situate the messuages and lands let to the various descendants of the former holders (see Ædes, page 97) of the same; and, as they were mostly born where they now live, they may one and all sing,—

I can trace back the time to a far distant date
When my forefathers toil’d in this field,
And the farm I now hold on your honour’s estate
Is the same that my grandfather till’d.

These tenures are pretty well proportioned in size to the extent of capital possessed by the tenants, and likely to be required to ensure efficiency; they are not sufficiently large to risk a consequent depopulation of the district, nor so
small as to endanger the soil by imperfect cultivation. The homesteads of the several farms are suitably commodious; only it were to be desired that the stercoreary heaps in the straw-yard, constituting the moving power of agriculture, did not so closely surround the dwellings, thereby promoting all sorts of zymotic influences.

We will now enumerate the several farmeries and their tenants, as they are to be seen on Plate IV.: and to these we must add the Harcourt and Prebendal farms, which, though not belonging to Dr. Lee, are necessary for the agricultural colpo d'occhio of the district in 1862. For ready reference, the following is perhaps the best order in which to take them:—

HARCOURT FARM. Managed by Mr. Walter Crook. This consists of 155 acres of arable land, 25 acres of woodland, and 165 acres of meadow-land and pasture.

LITTLEWORTH FARM. Mr. George Thorpe. The name of this place belies its Anglo-Saxon lytel-woor; it contains 125 acres, of which 107 are in pasturage and 18 arable.

COLD COMFORT FARM. Mr. Peter Hughes. 259 acres, of which 187 are pasture and 72 arable land. These grounds bear upon Whatton Hill and Haydon Mill, which last was assart—that is, land grubbed or cleared of trees and roots—in the reign of King John.

COLD HARBOUR FARM. Mr. Joseph Seamons. This is a patch of very excellent pasture land bordering on the river Thame, to the amount of 221 acres, including the Slattenhams. It trends away to the south, where it breaks into the Hartwell home-grounds.

STONE FARM. Mr. John Monk. This is an old and respectable tenement consisting of 265 acres, of which 180 are arable and 85 pasturage, stretching over Round Hill to the south.

THE CALLEY FARM. Mr. Thomas Monk. This is also one of the earliest tenancies in the Hartwell terriers; it comprises an occupancy of 226 acres, of which 101 are arable and 125 in pasture, enriched by an abundant spring.

SEDPON FARM. Mr. Benjamin Todd. A good old tenement, which has long been occupied from father to son. It consists of 214 acres, 130 of which are pasturage, and the remaining 84 are arable land, looking upon a now rare Village Green.

BISHOPSTONE FARM. Mr. Joseph Stuchbery. This farm was long in the hands of the Horton family, but at Michaelmas 1858 was transferred to the present occupant: it is rather above 140 acres, of which 114 are arable and 26 pasture land. It was originally part of the plunder allotted to the notorious Bishop Odo.*

* This turbulent prelate was loaded with riches, estates, posts, and dignities in profusion by his uterine brother: yet such were his covetousness, ingratitude, insoucience, and ambition, that William at length imprisoned him, declaring at the same time that he laid hands on him not as the sacred Bishop of Baieux, but as the temporal Earl of Kent.
Prebendal Farm. Mr. John Kersley Fowler. This is a seizin for which the law provided a tolerable conveyance; it consists of about 200 acres, of which 105 are arable and 95 in grass. With becoming humility, Mr. Fowler esteemed himself as the occupant of a small farm, till on going to Paris he was exalted by the French as a great land-holder, on their finding that he actually worked 200 acres!

The Lees had formerly a hold of some of the so-called Prebendal land, but by degrees have dropped it. By an indenture dated the 10th of March in the 12th year of George III. (1771), between Sir William Lee of Hartwell on the one part, and William Todd, yeoman, on the other, several "plots, pieces, and parcels of arable lands, ley meadows, and pasture or swerd ground, were seized or possessed of to the baronet, and to his heirs, during the natural lives of John Wilkes (the volcanic politician) and Mary his wife and Abraham Baskerfield, and the life of the longest liver and survivor of them." Of these parcels Mr. Todd of Sedrop obtained a lease by which he was "to have and to hold" them for a term of twelve years, under the following conditions: namely, that he shall not during that term "plough, dig, break up, or convert into tillage any part of the meadow, pasture, or swerd ground, other than what is already ploughed, digged, and converted into tillage." And, in order to manure the same in "an husbandlike manner where most need shall require," he was directed to "bring, or cause to be brought, and spent upon the premises, three loads of strong stable dung in lieu of every load of straw and every load of hay that shall be sold or carried off the said premises." These, by the plot, are now in the occupancy of Mr. Fowler.

After I had written the several sections connected with this subject which appear in the Ædes Hartwellianæ (pages 14 to 32), and Chapter X. of the Speculum Hartwellianum, I considered that a still further acquaintance with the physical elements of the district was obtainable, from my having continued to be a resident on the spot; whereby, in the end, the practice and capacity of its tillage might be somewhat scanned and appreciated. I therefore often lightened the passing days by observational rambles and inquiries; and, in the autumn of 1857, I addressed a knot of queries to the holders of the above tenements, who all and severally answered them with equal kindness and promptitude. These said farmeries entirely surround Hartwell House, and they are comparable with each other in reference to surface exposure, tillage, sub-soil basis, seed-charge, and annual produce; for, though much of the land is covered with alluvial matter or drift, its thickness or depth about here cannot render the upper stratum quite independent of its underlying strata. Climate and chorographical position, however, though open to at-
tention, must generally be taken "for better for worse." The following are the replies, in alphabetical order, with which I was favoured:——

I. What is your general rotation of crops?

CROOK. I farm on the four-course system, that is to say, I begin with turnips, swedes, or vetches, followed by barley sown with clover every eighth year; the intermediate crops, beans, peas, or other pulse. Then wheat, next beans, after which barley, oats, or wheat, as the season or circumstances require.

FOWLER. My land being contiguous to the town of Aylesbury, and being favoured by my hôtel business in finding abundance of manure, I am enabled to crop the land very heavily. I therefore take it as follows:—1st, fallow for swedes or mangels drawn off; 2nd, wheat; 3rd, barley; 4th, beans; 5th, wheat or oats; 6th, clover or trifolium; and 7th, wheat.

HUGHES. Properly clean the land in the spring, that is, in the months of April and May, and in the months of May and June plant yarrow, and in July turnips. After the turnips are eaten off in the following March, sow the land with barley or oats, and at the same time sow the clover seed to come in the next summer after the barley is cleared off; then in the month of September plough up the clover leys, and about the first or second week in October plant with wheat, that is, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th crop. The 5th is the same as the 1st crop; the 6th, barley alone; the 7th, beans; the 8th, wheat. This is what we call a four-course system—a clover crop coming once in eight years.

MNONK, J. My rotation of crops is according to the usual method of practice here, and which I have known from boyhood, namely, turnips, barley, clover or vetches, peas, beans, wheat.

MONK, T. The method I follow is this: wheat, beans, barley or oats, fallow for turnips or vetches. But the course is sometimes varied for barley after turnips, and sowed with seeds (clover, &c.), followed by wheat.

SEAMONS. Cold Harbour being a grazing farm, and therefore all grass, we have nothing to do with rotation crops, though they are followed around us.

STUCHBERRY. Fallow for turnips, then barley or clover; those are followed by wheat, and then beans, or fallows for turnips. On the clay lands, fallow for wheat, then beans, then wheat or barley, and clover.

THORPE. At Littleworth our course was: 1st, turnips and swedes; 2nd, barley, which is frequently sown with clover; 3rd, wheat; and 4th, beans or peas.

TODD. The crop-rotation which I observed is one of general practice in regular tillage. It is—1st, wheat; 2nd, beans and turnips; 3rd, barley and oats; and 4th, clover and fallow.

II. What are your land-dressings for each crop?

CROOK. Artificial and farmyard manure. Barley, after swedes or turnips consumed on the land with sheep, does not require manuring.

FOWLER. For swedes or any root crop I use from 12 to 20 tons of good stable-dung to the acre, ploughed in during the autumn. In the spring, two cwt. of guano to the acre; and, in addition to this, five cwt. of salt per acre for the mangel crop. I have swedes this year 36 inches
round, which I intend shall compete for a prize. I give 1½ cwt. of guano to the acre for the
barley, and 10 tons of good dung to the bean crop.

Hughes. Farmyard manure for turnips. The turnips are eaten off on the ground, which is
a first-rate dressing for the barley and clover. The fallow flock is penned on the clover after it has
been mown, which is the best dressing for the wheat crop.

Monk, J. Cart-dung for turnips, beans, or vetches. In folding-off the turnips or vetches, I
found that a moderate quantity of corn given to the sheep is a great help as a manure.

Monk, T. My dressings are much in the usual way as practised in this part of the county;
that is, folding with sheep for wheat; farmyard manure—from 12 to 15 cartloads per acre—for
beans and turnip fallows, and it should be ploughed in soon.

Seamons. We occasionally spread a great deal of yard and stable dung, as well as other
manures, over the grass lands.

Stuchbery. Yard-dung for beans, and for wheat sometimes soot. For turnips and roots
yard-dung, ashes, and artificial manure. Barley after turnips requires no dress.

Thorpe. Farm-yard manure is the general and principal dressing for each crop; and such
I used. I believe it is not very much the practice of farmers in this neighbourhood to avail
themselves of the aid of artificial.*

Todd. Our practice at Sedlip is to make use of the best farm-yard manure at each dressing,
whether for beans, vetches, or roots. The land for wheat or turnips has also a sheep-dressing.

III. How often do you plough for corn, &c.?

Crook. The number of times ploughed must depend on the state, condition, and previous
crop grown on the land; but it is always ploughed once before sowing. By white crops we mean
wheat, barley, and oats, also rye when left for harvest. Green crops include vetches or tares, red and
white clover, lucerne, crimson trefoil, trifolium incarnatum, saffron, rape, mustard, varieties of
grases, and rye when fed upon by sheep on the land.

Fowler. About four times for a root crop, once for wheat, once for beans, and twice for
barley. But I hope next year to banish the plough of our forefathers, and take to steam culture,
so as not to invert the soil. I have already used various agricultural implements of this kind with
such success in ploughing, clod-crushing, and rolling, as well as in mowing, hay-making, and
threshing, that I am confirmed in my resolution.

Hughes. In this I have generally proceeded according to the necessary circumstances; but
I may say once a year will usually suffice for me.

* This remark of Mr. Thorpe's reminds me of an incident which occurred to my good friend Dr. Buck-
land. He had been expatiating on the advantages of chemistry in agriculture, when a stalwart Bucks
farmer cut in with—"I'm sure we're much obliged to the gentleman for what he says; but hang it, he can
never get on without muck!" Certainly the world is under obligation to such inquirers into the proper food
for plants as Young, Davy, Liebig, Buckland, and Daubeney; but there is great cry and little wool among
most of the wandering philosophers who hold forth upon what they term scientific agriculture, for they boast
of improving soils to a pitch never dreamt of in the eternal fitness of things by Nature.
ON THE HUSBANDRY AROUND HARTWELL.

MONK, J. The less ploughing the better, if the land is clean: if foul, it must be worked to get it clean, and then we find that once will do. At least, this has been my practice.

MONK, T. This depends very much on the state of the land and season. With clean land once ploughing is better than more for wheat and beans; but for turnip fallows, and sometimes barley, more ploughings are required.

SEAMONS. On referring to No. I. you will at once see the reason that my answer to this query is simply "Never."

STUCHBURY. Fallow either for wheat or turnips three or four times; beans once; barley, after turnips, once or twice; oats once; wheat, after beans, once.

THORPE. That depends very much on the state of the land. When preparing for turnips, and the land requires cleaning, it is sometimes ploughed, scuffled, and harrowed two or three times successively. For wheat, beans, and barley, if the land is clean, once is sufficient.

TODD. One, two, and even three ploughings for wheat; one for beans; two for barley and oats; and two or three ploughings for turnips. This is Sedrop practice.

IV. How often is the field manured, and what quantity of manure do you give to the acre?

CROOK. We manure twice in the four-course system—namely, for turnips and beans, allowing generally about 20 tons per acre.

FOWLER. My grass-land is manured every other year when mown, and I put about eight tons of good dung to the acre. The ploughed land has from 10 to 12 or 20 tons to the acre, as occasion requires; but this is answered under Question II.

HUGHES. The field is manured for the 1st, 5th, and 7th crop, with about 14 loads of farmyard manure per acre, which would be about 30 cwt. per load.

MONK, J. Cart-dung once in four years, say about 12 good loads to the acre. Folding off turnips or vetches is in itself a good manure. I only followed the practice of the neighbourhood.

MONK, T. With proper yard-manure, once in four years is usually considered sufficient: for the quantity see in No. II. query. The turnips and green crops are folded off with sheep.

SEAMONS. I have generally been in the habit of spreading about 10 load of manure to the acre of my grass-land after it has been mowed.

STUCHBURY. Once in three or four years if the land is in good condition; if not, oftener. My usual practice is about 15 tons to the acre.

THORPE. When the land is preparing for turnips, previous to the last ploughing we generally put on 20 to 30 tons of good manure per acre, which will serve for the four seasons when the turnips are fed off with sheep. If the turnips are taken from the land, then it requires the same quantity of manure for the bean-crop.

TODD. The custom which I have followed on my farm is generally to spread yard-dung every third year, at about 15 tons per acre.

V. What is the average produce of wheat?

CROOK. I have always thought it a good season which gave 4 quarters per acre, for the general average of England is only about 3 quarters. We sometimes have over 4.
ADDENDA TO THE ΑΔΕΣ ΗΑΡΤΒΕΛΙΑΝ.".

Fowler. Five or 5½ quarters of white wheat, 6 quarters of barley, 4 to 5 quarters of beans, swedes 20 to 25 tons, mangels 25 to 45 tons, and hay 2½ tons.

Hughes. My produce has been, in favourable years, about 4½ quarters per acre, sometimes not quite so much. As to the question in your note, 5 quarters to the acre (4840 square yards) must be considered a capital good crop. When wheat is of a fine quality it weighs 65 lbs. per bushel, or 520 lbs. per quarter.

Monk, J. About 3½ quarters is the most general average on our grounds; sometimes rather more, and at others a little less; but I always considered 4 quarters a very good produce.

Monk, T. I have generally had from 3½ to 4 quarters per acre. Of root crops for cattle food you may reckon on 18 or 19 tons from the acre.

Seamons. From the nature of the occupancy, being all pasture, I have only to say on this query, no wheat grown.

Stuchbery. In this part of the county about 4 quarters to the acre; in some parts more, and in others much less.

Thorpe. From 3½ to 4¼ quarters per acre. Still, we do not always realise that quantity, as wheat is subject to blight and other maladies which very much lessen the produce. Beans yield from 4 to 5 quarters the acre, and barley from 5 to 6.

Todd. The general average of wheat is about 3 quarters per acre. About here it is rather steady at that in the usual state of the season.

VI. What are the usual seed-times, and what quantity per acre?

Crock. Autumn principally for wheat, spring for barley, oats, beans, &c., and summer for turnips. The quantity of corn sown is about two bushels per acre if in November, but only 1¼ if sown earlier. Of beans we use about 4 bushels to the acre.

Fowler. Wheat is sown about the beginning of November, and I only sow from 5 to 6 pecks per acre. Beans are dabbled in February in rows 22 inches apart, and we use about 3 bushels per acre. Oats and barley are sown in March at the rate of 2 bushels to the acre. Mangels are prepared in the last week of April with 4 lb. an acre. Clover is sown in May, and requires 12 lb. per acre; and turnips follow in the second week in May, requiring 5 lbs to the acre.

Hughes. The cold comfort routine is, we sow turnips in May and June, using about 3 lbs. of seed per acre. Barley is sown in March, and consumes from 3 to 4 bushels an acre. In April we set about the clover, and give it about 16 lbs. In October wheat 2 bushels, and in February beans 4 bushels, per acre.

Monk, J. Wheat should be sown in October or November at about 2 bushels of seed to the acre. Beans in February at about 3½ bushels; barley near Lady Day at 3½ bushels; turnips early in June at 3 lbs., and clover with the barley at 15 lbs. to the acre.

Monk, T. The seed-time for wheat is October, and 2 bushels per acre; and beans, the seed-time for which is February, require about 4 bushels to the same quantity of land. The seed-time of barley is about the end of March or early in April, at about 4 bushels to the acre; then in May we follow with turnips, when I give 2½ lbs. to the acre, and 15 lbs. an acre to clover; the latter are mostly sown in April.
Seamons. As above shown, I have nothing to do with cereals, roots, or artificial grasses, therefore there is no seed sown on my farm.

Stuchbery. Beans in February at 4 bushels, barley and oats in March and April; the first at 3 bushels of seed, and the second at 4; turnips in May and June 4 lbs.; clover 12 or 14 lbs; and wheat in October at 2 bushels per acre.

Thorpe. Swedes May and June; turnips July; 3 lbs. of seed per acre. Beans February, and 3 or 4 bushels to an acre. Winter beans are sown in October. Barley is tended in March and April, and 3 or 4 bushels of seed are used per acre. Wheat is sown in October and November, spring wheat in April and May, by drill 2 bushels and cast 3 bushels to the acre. I never grew any saffron, as I preferred broad clover. Mangels are most safe when sowed at the end of April.∗

Todd. The seed-time for wheat is in October and November, and we give 2 bushels to the acre. Beans are sown in February at 4 bushels; barley and oats in March and April at 4 bushels each; clover at the same time, with 12 lbs. of seed; and turnips in May, June, and July, at the rate of 2 lbs. to the acre.

VII. When is your grass usually cut for hay?

Crook. My grass is generally ready for the scythe at the latter half of June, or the beginning of July. In fine seasons we soon get the hay in.†

Fowler. We generally begin on June fair-day, the 14th, and keep steadily on, so that some of our long meadows are not cut till the middle of July. For the last two years I have used the American combined reaping and mowing machine, and no scythe can cut half so well. Indeed, with two horses to draw it, it will cut an acre an hour easily.

And here I take leave to dwell a moment on Mr. Fowler’s energy in agriculture. With the “steam-cultivator,” although his men were wholly unused to the instrument, an average portion of land to from 6½ to 7 acres per diem has been ploughed to a depth of 7 inches in a style which could hardly have been accomplished by any amount of horse-ploughing. In fact, from the depth of cultivation, an entirely new and unexhausted soil has been brought to the surface. I attended with my family to witness the performance of this machine pursuant to a note from Mr. Fowler, dated 2nd September 1862:—“The shade of poor old Wiggs must be very uncomfortable at hearing the grunting and puffing of the steam-cultivator, not having been able in the flesh to see its marvellous proceedings. I have the pleasure of informing you that the engine has smashed up one field next to the gardens, and is now doing the same in the field next the turnpike-gate. 3½, 30m. this after-

∗ Sir William Lee was ever a warm advocate of every improvement in agriculture, and specially patronised the culture of mangel-wurzel. In Pettigrew’s Life of Dr. Lettsom is a letter from the Baronet stating, “I find both the leaves and root of this plant excellent both for fattening cattle and for dairy cows, whose butter is greatly improved in flavour thereby.”

† In July 1847 a mushroom was found growing in a field of Mr. Crook’s near the vicarage, which was measured by the Rev. J. B. Reade, and proved to be 10½ inches in its major axis, 10 inches in the minor, and 2 feet 8½ inches in circumference. A model of it is preserved in the Hartwell museum.
noon will be a good time to see its operation, and I hope to be there at that time to show you and Mrs. Smyth all its wonders. You must understand that ploughing, or what is called the 'turn-over' system, must be exploded, and we must henceforth 'smash up' the soil, leaving it open for the action of the sun and air to destroy the present vegetation on the surface.*

Hughes. Generally speaking, about the second week in June: at least about that time the hay-making commences with us, and continues for about five weeks. We usually have had pretty heavy falls of grass, and therefore tolerable crops.

Monk, J. This takes place in the months of June or July; but I have always found the earlier the better, especially if the season is fine.

Monk, T. The cutting of grass hangs a good deal upon the weather's being wet or dry; but say from the end of June to the commencement of August.

Seamons. This is the real harvest at Cold Harbour Farm, and we get to work upon it as soon as the weather allows us. But, as a general answer, say about midsummer.

Stuchbery. In the practice which I have as yet had, I should say that we cut our grass in June, and there is a lapse of time before carrying it as hay.

Thorpe. Our hay-harvest at Littleworth is not a very troublesome affair; but the grass for it is generally cut in the month of June, and beginning of July.

Todd. In June and July. We usually, if the state of the weather answers, commence with mowing the grass on Sedgrop Green (about 12 acres).

VIII. When is wheat generally ripe for the sickle?

Crook. That depends very much on situation and local circumstances; but I am under a fair average when I reply to the question—in August.

Fowler. The seasons vary very much; but, generally speaking, corn may be said to be fully ripe about the last week in July, or the first week in August.

Hughes. Though we have known wheat to be ready by the end of July, it is oftener in the month of August.

Monk, J. About the middle of August. In very fine seasons a little earlier; but corn ought never to be cut till it is quite ready for cutting.

Monk, T. I have known corn cut even in July, but it is more generally fit for the sickle about the middle of August.

Seamons. I grow no wheat, as I have said above, but I know by the fields around me that the corn is ripe in August.

* Wiggs, above alluded to, was an intelligent and humorous hedge-farmer who resided near me. In relating the state from which the Prebendal Farm had been raised,—"Ah! Sir," said he, "if ever the Almighty made a man to be a farmer, that man was Mr. Fowler." On my remarking that certain stalled horses were eating their heads off, he replied, "Well, Sir, I always bless their mouths, and ours too,—for, if it wasn't for eating and drinking, what would farming come to?" Again,—"Depend on it, Sir, that muck has always been properly valued for its use, or we shouldn't have had our money stamped with a woman holding a dung-fork!"
ON THE HUSBANDRY AROUND HARTWELL.

STUCHBEERY. It is usually ripe in August; but in very fine weather it may happen to be a few days earlier than otherwise.

THORPE. Weather has a large influence on this point, but I have found that the corn ripens in the early part of August.

TODD. This is not a very steady condition; it may, however, be stated as in July and August, taking a broad view of the question.

IX. When is the harvest generally carried and secured?

CROOK. That entirely depends on the weather and the locality. In a favourable season the principal part is secured by the end of September; and the same may be said of the midland counties of England.

FOWLER. This, as with No. VIII., also depends on the season. In fine weather we keep our corn out as long as we can; but, as a rule, our white corn is generally secured by the third week in August.

HUGHES. This is rather a variable point, but I should say about the end of September or the beginning of October, according as the season may come.

MONK, J. About the latter end of September, but may be a little sooner or later from accidental causes. I have seldom been out till October.

MONK, T. This is, of course, not very certain; but from my own experience I would answer in the month of September.

SEAMONS. This question concerns Cold Harbour no more than No. VIII.; but, as a matter of observation, I know that in September the harvest is secure.

STUCHBEERY. My reply to this question, as far as I have known practically, is, that the harvest is home about the second week in September.

THORPE. This is subject to great vicissitude. In my own experience I have known the harvest carried in August, September, and sometimes not before October.

TODD. Weather and seasons must here be held in consideration, as early and late harvests are exceptions to the general rule. In usual years, however, it happens from the beginning of August to the end of September.

In this recapitulation we perceive—in the cumulative results of what has been effected—a course of careful husbandry, rather than what is termed high farming, so that the lands are never impoverished and run out by over-cropping. The terrors of a coming desert in consequence of exhaustive agriculture have not yet troubled the district.

In the above statements the agrarian reader may be surprised to find potatoes ignored as a farm crop. In truth they are here of an expensive and very uncertain culture, and the land of the neighbourhood does not grow them very kindly. After the mysterious disease of 1845 smote them, both in haulm
and tuber, the cultivation of them dropped from fields to small inclosures, barely remunerating the grower. Among other items of farmery and cottage economy, I could not but marvel that domestic pigeons—so prevalent even within my own memory—should now be few and little cared for. One respectable authority tells me, as a reason, that they are the most voracious of all birds, and can destroy a field of vetches or peas quicker than rooks would; but surely this must also have been the case when almost every homestead had its pigeon-house or dove-cote, as the old plots and leases prove. It may be true that it is a troublesome and destructive bird, devouring a great deal of produce and wasting much more, besides mischievously injuring all the thatch-work far and near; still the change which has recently taken place regarding this kind of stock is a singular occurrence. But another disuse is even a still greater matter of surprise, and that is the general neglect of bees in this vicinity, although the face of the country invites their profitable management. After much inquiry, I apprehend that the true cause of the absence of honey, together with its concomitants, mead and wax, is assignable to the depreciation of cottage-life, and the consequent effect on rural economy; otherwise it would be a wilful peccancy, and we might ask with the son of Sirach—"How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough?"

A word more. Where cottage-gardening is carried on without abstracting from the time and attention due to the farmer, it is of the utmost utility to the labourer, as enabling him to support his family with greater ease, and preventing his becoming a contributor to the alarming progress of pauperism; but the proper pride which induced exertion before submitting to parish relief, has become greatly impaired and vitiated. Vegetables and other culinary productions are of greater consequence to the poor man's table now than in good old Tusser's time, when meats—fresh, dried, and pickled—formed the staple food. My antiquarian friend Mr. Charles Roach Smith, in his timely essay on the "Scarcity of Home-grown Fruits" (1863), says:

Every farmer should be taught to see that his cottagers' and labourers' gardens be properly stocked. We should go far to exterminate the habits of idleness, drunkenness, and improvidence,
now so common among the working and lower classes, if we could give them ground for gardens and teach them how to work it. Contrast the neatness and the comforts of the humblest cottage of the industrious labourer, to which a garden is attached, with the usual slovenly and untidy dwellings of those whose masters have land to give, but who want the heart and feeling to give. The tenants of the two classes of dwellings are equally marked in character, and the masters are as truly reflected in their men.

The late Mr. Cobbett, when staying with a friend in the South of England, was being driven by him in his chaise, on a summer evening, along a road unusually studded with labourers' cottages and gardens. The neat state of the dwellings, the flowers in front, and the fruit-trees and vegetables behind, drew from the veteran politician warm expressions of admiration and delight. "To whom do they belong?" inquired Cobbett. He was told; "but," added his friend, "they are Tories." "Don't tell me," replied Cobbett energetically, "about their being Tories; they are damned good men." He meant they were superlatively good; and so, we may hope, the recording angel understood it.

§ 4. A DEFENCE OF BIRDS.

In the course of these inquiries my attention was drawn to the vexed questions of birds and bird-murderers; and I had the satisfaction of finding that our best farmers are not at all to be reckoned among the bitterest foes of the feathered race, albeit they barn-door some of them in terrorem. In days of yore, when arable lands were smaller and woods larger, there was a terrible hue-and-cry as to the corn-eating squad; and, in February 1532, our dread sovereign the bluff Hal, with the assent of his spiritual and temporal Lords and trusty Commons, culminated a fierce decree for their utter extirpation, as evinced by the preamble to Act 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 10:

Forasmuch as innumerable Numbers of Rooks, Crows, and Choughs do daily breed and increase throughout this Realm, which Rooks, Crows, and Choughs do yearly devour and consume a wonderful and marvellous great Quantity of Corn and Grain of all kinds, that is to wit, as well in the sowing of the same Corn and Grain as also at the ripening and kernelling of the same, and over that a marvellous Destruction and Decay of the Covertures of thatched Houses, Barns, Reeks, Stacks, and other such like; so that, if the said Crows, Rooks, and Choughs should be suffered to breed and continue, as they have been in certain Years past, they will undoubtedely be the cause of the great Destruction and Consumption of a great part of the Corn and Grain which hereafter shall be sown throughout this Realm, to the great Prejudice, Damage, and Undoing of the greater number of all the Tillers, Husbands, and Sowers of the Earth, within the same.
Under this announcement the statute proceeds to exhort every one to do his best to destroy the offending birds, upon pain of americiament; and it was further enacted that "every Farmer or Owner, having in his own Manurance or Occupation any Manors, Meases, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, whereof the yearly Value or Rent amounteth to five Pounds, shall pay and give to every such person which by his Diligence, Labour, and Industry, at his own proper Costs, doth take any old Crows, Rooks, or Coughs, within and upon the said Manors, Meases, Lands, or Grounds of the yearly value aforesaid, twopence for twelve old Crows, Rooks, or Coughs that any such person shall take, bring, and offer to such Farmer or Owner; and for six old Crows, Rooks, or Coughs, a penny; and for every three an halfpenny." And every parish, township, hamlet, borough, or township within the realm were enjoined to aid in destroying the feathered marauders, both old and young; and in a statute fulminated in the following year (25 Hen. VIII. cap. 11) for the preservation of wild fowl, there was a clause which "provided always, that this Act extend not, nor be hurtful at any time hereafter, to any person or persons that will destroy any Crows, Coughs, Ravens, and Boscaris, or their Eggs."

Temora mutantur. The rooks now, full of confidence, follow the plough almost within reach of the husbandman, and fill their crops with lots of pernicious slugs and larvæ of all the Elator family; doing such abundance of good at the proper time, that surely they might be made welcome to a little corn afterwards, when it is on the turn and getting ripe; and even from that, as they well know what a gun is, they are easily warned off. Blackbirds and thrushes, it is true, may use up a little fruit, and hawfinches shell a few of our peas; but in most seasons it is so ordered that there is enough for us all:

Le même Dieu créa la mousse et l'univers.

The smaller birds are troublesome at seed and harvest times, yet not so much so as it is customary to suppose; they are certainly too prolific where the fields and inclosures are of confined dimensions, and surrounded with sheltering hedges. The farmers hereabouts, however, well knowing that for two-
A Defence of Birds.

thirds of the year these creatures are feeding their young on caterpillars, wireworms, and the eggs and embryos of all sorts of noxious insects, are aware that the destruction of them may be carried to a length injurious to the growing crops. Yet this is not the opinion of the urban lieges at large, who, not content with collecting festoons of all sorts of eggs, and sporting their guns and pistols in the bushes, have lately organized what they term "Sparrow Clubs," which compass the wanton and indiscriminate slaughter of little birds in general. It is a crusade at once cowardly, cruel, imprudent, and witless.

Not only have birds been accused of devouring and wilfully wasting the corn crops, but they are moreover maligned as destroying the buds of trees in the spring, when they only usefully employ themselves in picking out the insects which would infest and ruin them. There is no limit to the exaggerations of the avicidus in misrepresenting the whole tribes of finches, sparrows, tits, linnets, and the like, who, although they may relish a little corn and fruit, really earn their pitance. For every grain or berry which a graminivorous or insectivorous bird purloins, he kills at least a hundred predatory intruders on the garden and corn lands; which, but for this interference, would increase to a hundred thousand and more. The year 1861 was attended with so severe a winter and spring that there was a great mortality among the small birds, and a consequent inundation followed of slugs, grubs, caterpillars, and hosts of herbivorous foes, which withered the plants, and cut off all hope of the petty profit usually accruing from the cottage-gardens around. In that same year, while all the gooseberry-bushes were bare of leaves from being covered with vermin, a youth told me exultingly that his father's gardener, the evening before, had killed 26 sparrows at a single discharge; and he seemed rather surprised on my remarking that the said over-handy retainer ought to be compelled to eat 12 caterpillars for every bird he had thus destroyed. He was, however, partly reconciled to the sentence on being shown the following fact, from the Literary Conglomerate of my late esteemed friend, Dr. Philip B. Duncan, of Oxford (page 589):--

A similar story, respecting the destruction of small birds, is told in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Berlin: "The Prussian farmers had conceived that they lost much of their crops
by small birds; and the government gave rewards for their destruction by guns, snares, and poison. The following year there were seen such multitudes of grubs, flies, and insects of various kinds, which devoured the corn in every stage of its growth, that a dearth ensued, and a revocation of this edict of destruction was issued; for it was discovered too late that they had been endeavouring to exterminate their best friends."

We may now run our eye down a list of those innocuous birds, of this district, which Providence allotted for wiser purposes than becoming quarry for sparrow-club heroes: and in this are added some of the larger kinds, as eating of the same food. This list, drawn up from local information, contains nearly all those which—though not averse to a little corn and fruit—may be said to live upon grubs, slugs, caterpillars, beetles, ant's-eggs, larvae, wire-worms, ear-wigs, chafers, moths, may-bugs, snails, emmets, worms, flies, and creeping, jumping, running, and flying insects of all orders and denominations. Moreover, we here find the beauty and melody which add such charms to country life, and animate the rural landscape:—

Aliped, or bat.
Blackbird.
Blackcap warbler.
Blue tit or billy-biter.
Bullfinch.
Bumbarrel, or long-tailed titmouse.
Chiff-chaff.
Chaffinch.
Chimney-swallower.
Chough.
Cole-titmouse.
Corn-crake.
Cuckoo.
Dish-washer, or wagtail.
Domestic fowls.
Dunnock, or hedge-sparrow.
Eckle, or green eckle.
Fallow-finch, or fallow-chat.
Field-fare, or felt.
Goat-sucker, or night-jar.
Godwit.
Goldfinch.

Grasshopper lark.
Greenfinch.
Greenshank.
Grey wagtail.
Ground-wren.
Hoopoe.
House sparrow.
Jackdaw.
Jay.
Lapwing.
Lark, or laverock.
Linnet.
Martin.
Mistle-thrush.
Nightingale.
Nuthatch, or nutgobbler.
Oxeyed-tit, or great titmouse.
Partridge.
Pea-finches, or gold-crested wrens.
Petty chaps, or garden warbler.
Pheasant.
Pied wagtail.

Pipit lark.
Plover.
Quail.
Redstart, or firetail.
Redwing.
Reed-bunting.
Reed-warbler.
Ring-ouzel.
Robin redbreast.
Rook.
Ruff.
Sand-piper.
Sedge-warbler.
Siskin.
Skylark.
Snipe.
Song-thrush.
Pipits, house, tree, and hedge.
Spotted fly-catcher.
Starling, or stare.
Stone-chat.
Swallows of all kinds.
A DEFENCE OF BIRDS.

Thick-knee. | Wheatear, or fallow-finch. | Woodpecker.
Titlark, or meadow pipit. | Whinchat. | Wren, golden-crested and penny.
Tomtit, or blue titmouse. | White-throat. | Wryneck.
Tree-pipit. | Wood-dove. | Yellow-hammer, or bunting.

Altogether the above enumeration forms a goodly muster for the protection of vegetation, could we but depend upon its being duly recruited from year to year. To the observant mind, however, the contrary appears to be the case; and it is to be feared that the ranks of those useful auxiliaries to man are being rapidly thinned, while their enemies are actively on the increase. Among the causes—some of them inevitable—leading to such a consequence, we may hand up a few of the inimical elements of rapacity and persecution:

Assarting of woods, groves, spinneys, coppices, and the like.
Aylesbury street-arab’s holiday pastime.
Bird’s-nest plunderers, and bird’s eggs collectors.
Buzzards, kestrels, and hawks in general.
Carriion, hooded, or gow crows.
Dogs, cats, rats, fitchets, and weasels.
Fire-arms, bows and arrows, stones, and sticks.
Hard frosts, sudden storms, and severe winters.
Mongrel sportsmen, and small-class poachers.
Owls, and strix-hooters of all sorts.
Poisoned food, bird-lime, gins, and springes.
Predatory cottage-urchins, hobby-hoys, and idle adults.
Shrikes, and all the tribe of butcher-birds.
Sparrow-clubs, and Sunday bird-murderers.
Taxidermy’s demands, its supply, and its wilful waste.

To this host of malign influences we are rather unwilling to add the graceful and, in some respects, harmless squirrel; but the damaging and decisive evidence of my friend Sir George Musgrave casts the die. Having had a slight recollection that in one of my visits to Edenhall something was said to the disadvantage of poor nut-eating skugg, I wrote to the excellent baronet for further evidence as to the alleged turpitude of the comely creature. Sir George’s reply, dated 13th of March, 1862, thus settles the question:—
In the hope that my evidence may be the means of destroying numbers of the red-tailed gentry, who I suppose infest the woods in your neighbourhood, I lose not one moment in pronouncing a verdict of guilty to both your accusations. They not only eat all the nuts and fruit which they can purloin in the gardens and grounds, but also delight in sucking birds’ eggs, and demolishing the tender offspring of thrushes and blackbirds; and I therefore imagine that pheasant’s eggs are used at their breakfasts. Regarding your second inquiry I am still more provoked, because the damage is wanton. As for young plantations, squirrels are most awfully injurious to them; my fir woods are literally carpeted with the young sprouts of the spruce-fir, which they nip off at the first shoot for very mischief and fancy, as they appear to eat no part of the spoil. I hope therefore that no mercy will be shewn them. My keepers and gardeners wage constant war with them; and I am considered little better than a murderer by the females here, who profess to love the "pretty playful animals."

In concluding this section, it may assist an insight of rural life of late, if we submit a schedule of the comparative prices of agricultural stock, necessaries, work, and implements for a couple of distinct periods, namely, 1675 and 1860; the scale being amenable to the current value of a quarter of wheat, which is derived from a mean of the markets holden on Lady-day and at Michaelmas. After the Reformation there were great fluctuations in the prices of bread-corn, so much so indeed as almost to defy elimination. In the reign of Henry VII. a common labourer at a groat per diem could earn a quarter of wheat, value 6s. 8d. by twenty days’ labour; but, after the religious struggle, in the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, a man of the same grade—though he was paid five pence a day—could not earn the same measure by less than forty-eight days’ work, since wheat had advanced to 20s. the quarter.

Though not wholly the cause of these crumenal variations, it really seems that, owing to the imperfect cultivation which followed the dissolution of monasteries—whereby the tillage of large tracts was abandoned, and many of their aratory lands thrown back into pasturage—grain became subject to sudden transitions from the lowest to its highest prices. Nor was it wheat alone that

* Squirrels do not escape persecution in these parts. In the beech-woods at Little Hampden, and other places on the flanks of the Chiltern Hills, there is a merciless raid every Christmas day. Men sally forth to the amount of 30 or 40 in a group, some of whom are armed with guns, but the majority only with short sticks loaded with lead, which are thrown with considerable dexterity.
was agitated by the changeful alteration, for the other mealing cereals—barley, rye, oats, and even pulse—were proportionally affected. Not that ecclesiastical husbandmen were ever a whit more popular than our present clerical magistrates: a great cause of complaint against the catholic clergy of that period was the holding of farms, to the detriment of their parochial and sacred duties.

Such mutations must have told on the general effect, but are insufficient in themselves to account for the difference to which successive times have been subject. It was the great rise in the cost of provisions without a proportionate rise in the price of labour, and not altogether the downfall of religious houses, that actually caused the institution of poor-rates—or compulsory laws for regulating the relief, maintenance, and employment of the indigent classes. This imperative and weighty principle has had no end of legislative attention, and therefore has undergone all sorts of variation in its administration; and still forms an important and peculiar feature of the polity of England. After all, I am apprehensive that the effects are as yet only casting their shadows before (see page 18); and that the tuneful bard of the Deserted Village was quite right, in asserting,—

Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made:
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supply'd.

With a view of furthering the ends of inquiry into this and other rural themes, I have drawn up the accompanying registry of average country prices, with an interval of 185 years between the two dates. Before, however, entering upon that list, the reader should be informed that I have been unable to trace the expense of a farmer's tool-plant, authentically, beyond sixty years ago; yet this being the apparatus by which the many operations of tillage are performed—as preparing land for semination, depositing the seed, and securing the crop—it may be desirable to show up what we can. The sale figures of many of these have altered materially of late, and some of the
improved agricultural machinery of the present day are absolutely costly. But the implements here enrolled are of the commonest available description:—

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<tr>
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<th>A.D. 1800</th>
<th>A.D. 1860</th>
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<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A farm waggon</td>
<td>35 0 0</td>
<td>30 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>A common cart</td>
<td>15 0 0</td>
<td>12 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A drill</td>
<td>5 l. to 40 0 0</td>
<td>2 l. to 30 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A common plough (wood)</td>
<td>2 2 0 (iron) 5 0 0</td>
<td>A sickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A harrow (wood)</td>
<td>1 0 0 (iron) 1 10 0</td>
<td>A bean-hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A roller (wood)</td>
<td>3 10 0 (iron) 4 l. 9 0 0</td>
<td>A drag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A wheelbarrow</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A spade</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A hoe</td>
<td>1 s. 4 d. to 2 0</td>
<td>2 s. to 3 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pitch-fork</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pick-axe</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iron rake</td>
<td>3 0</td>
<td>2 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hurdles, _per dozen_ | 14 0 | 12 0

Harness for cart horse | 2 10 0 | 2 2 0
A cart horse | 2 0 0 | 3 3 0
A turnip-slicer | 2 10 0 | 2 1 0
A chaff-cutter | 2 10 0 | 2 1 0
A sheep-shears | 2 6 | 3 4

It should be observed that at the first date, 1800, wheat was at 5 l. 13 s. 7 d. per quarter; yet as that high price was caused by accidental circumstances, it had little bearing on the current cost of tools. Various authorities have been consulted on these several points, and their connecting links; but the following general statements for the year 1675, rest mainly on the information given by Bishop Fleetwood, Sir Frederick Morton Eden, and Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn. Those for 1860 are patent to all inquirers:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A.D. 1675</th>
<th>A.D. 1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat, <em>per quarter</em></td>
<td>2 17 6</td>
<td>2 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A horse</td>
<td>5 10 0</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bull</td>
<td>5 5 0</td>
<td>17 17 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An ox</td>
<td>3 6 0</td>
<td>15 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cow</td>
<td>2 17 0</td>
<td>15 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ram</td>
<td>3 10 0</td>
<td>8 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A wether</td>
<td>11 0</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ewe</td>
<td>14 0</td>
<td>2 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lamb</td>
<td>10 6</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A hog</td>
<td>14 0</td>
<td>2 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A goose</td>
<td>3 0</td>
<td>5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A duck</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>2 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cock</td>
<td>1 8</td>
<td>2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A hen</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter, <em>per lb.</em></td>
<td>4 4</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grinding wheat, _per bushel_ | 4 l. | 6
Grinding barley, _per bushel_ | 3 | 4
Grass-keep, cows or oxen, _per week_ | 2 10 | 3 6
Grass-keep for horses, _per week_ | 3 3 | 4 6
To this list may be added a curious and instructive table given by the late Mr. Cayley, upon the authority of an intelligent practical farmer:

Table of Weekly Wages paid in a particular district, to Agricultural Labourers, for the greater part of the last thirty-five years, together with the Annual Average of the Price of Wheat, and the quantity of it that their weekly wages enabled them to buy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Week's Wages in Money</th>
<th>Week's Wages in Wheat</th>
<th>Price of Wheat</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Week's Wages in Money</th>
<th>Week's Wages in Wheat</th>
<th>Price of Wheat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>8 0d. to 12s. 5 to 7½</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>7 6d. to 10s. 5½ to 7½</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>8 0d. to 11s. 5 to 6½</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6½</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>64½</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6½</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III.

INTERSOCIAL AND RESIDENTIARY NOTICES.

A Norman Saw on English oak,
On English neck a Norman Yoke,
Norman Spoon in English Dish,
And England ruled as Normans wish;
Weal in England can be no more
Till England's rid of all the four.

§ 1. THE GENERAL SODALITY OF HARTWELL AT THE CONQUEST.

In opening the second chapter of the *Ædes Hartwellianæ* (page 46) to specify the successive lords of the manor, I gave a translated extract from the volume known as the Domesday Book, in which were noted the meanings of the several orders of the population therein named; but, as there was no specification of the social condition of each class in a feud or estate, a word or two may be subjoined in explanation.

Before Hartwell fell into the hands of Peverel, the supposed son of the Norman, the laws, language, manners, and customs of the Scandinavians, or so-called Anglo-Saxons, had all but overspread the land, and piracy had yielded to the influence of commerce, the improved notions of morality, and the superior comforts of social order. The condition of serfdom or vassalage was much softened after the period of pagan Saxondom; and, under the spread of Christianity the position of females and children had been progressively ameliorated, insomuch that the most barbarous liabilities of legal relationship had ceased. At and about the time of Peverel, society as thus divided and sub-divided, introduces the following details:
I. The barons, thanes, vassars, and other components of les grants, who held lands by great socage, tenure, or by military service, constituted the upper class, and mostly formed the legislative body of the kingdom.

II. Sochmen, or those privileged by the tenure of socage, were freeholders (tenentes libere pro se et hereditibus); others held messuages and lands at a fixed quit-rent, but owing a heriot to the lord at the death of the tenant, and suit and service at the courts; the said service being not only certain but honourable. From this class sprang the Franklins or small farmers.

III. Ceorle, churl, or carl, was the Saxon husbandman, now designated a tenant at will, who held of the thane on condition of rent and service. They were of two sorts; one rented the land like our farmers, the other tilled and manured the demesnes in the manner of the rustic ploughmen. Though of ignoble condition, the former were free; and, by a statute of Athelstan, a ceorle who had been able to purchase five hides of land, and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, was entitled to the grade and quality of a thane; with the immunities pertaining thereunto.

IV. Bordars, called cottagers in the Ædes, were distinct from the villains and the serfs, being of a less servile condition, and inhabiting a bord or wood-hut, with a small plot of ground allowed to them on condition that they should supply the lord with poultry, eggs, and other small provisions.

V. Villains were permitted to possess in villein-socage copyhold messuages with one or two yards of land under a base or servile tenure; and, in addition to their fixed money-rents, they were bound to perform a specified amount of labour on the lord’s demesne, receiving certain allowances of food. They were also talliable at the will of their lord, to whom they were in ignoble thraldom. Theows or bondmen were in law called villains-in-gross, as being bound to their landlord and his heirs; but there seems to be some distinction between these classes in the Domesday inquisition.

VI. Servi or serfs were the lowest class in villeinage, being incapable of holding property. They were attached to the land, liable to feudal services of the basest description, and transferable by deed from one owner to another.
Serfs could not leave the manor without express permission; and, if any of this wretched class ran away or were inveigled from the estate, they might be reclaimed like beasts or other chattels. Still they held cottages, sometimes with crofts or curtilages annexed, to sustain themselves and their families, albeit the lord could dispossess them whenever he pleased to indulge his anger or caprice. In fact the only limit to his power seems to have been the law restraining him from killing or maiming them; but even in slaying a serf, the lord-saving particle if it was "without judgment or just cause" greatly slackened the secular statute. Pecuniary compensation being the legalised mode of redressing personal injuries, and of punishing criminal offences among the upper classes, all those who had no money went of course to the wall. Practically, the female serf was allowed no will in opposition to that of her master, although various well-meant enactments had been passed for her protection, and both law and custom permitted a lord to make a theow "suffer in hide" for a fault, that is, by undergoing a merciless scourging. Old Speed, citing Tacit. de Morib. Germ., remarks that the Saxon "lawes were severe, and vices not laughed at." If a furious thane beat out the eye of a wretched slave, or otherwise seriously maimed him, he was only compelled to liberate him; and, should he kill his victim by a blow or wound, he merely had to pay a fine to the sovereign if death took place within twenty-four hours after the assault, otherwise it passed unpunished.

The general weal was, however, far from being destroyed, and inferentially we may assume that the inhabitants of Hartwell and Stone fared at least as well as their neighbours. The Anglo-Saxons were good husbandmen; their fields and lands were separated by hedges and ditches, and they had the common of pasture attached to the different portions of land which they occupied. They were warmly addicted to hunting, hawking, and fishing, with numerous sports and pastimes, some evidently rather too violent for our own degenerate days, but practice probably ingratiated them with our forefathers. Moreover to them belongs the high credit of having originated "bond clubs" and "sick clubs," by which relief was generously afforded in
illness or distress. Under such circumstances our forefathers seem to have been pretty well contented, however they may have winced, occasionally, at the Spartan harshness which ordered all lights and fires to be put out at the sound of the curfew: nor would any one not going home till morning like, during his nocturnal wandering, to be obliged to cry aloud or sound his trumpet under pain of being taken for a thief, and punished accordingly. Enthusiasts only could wish for a return of those good old times when forests were preserved with barbarous severity, when respect for private rights was almost unknown, and when—with all their hospitality—the comforts, conveniences, or even the decencies of life were utterly out of the question.

In the Ædes I mentioned from Wace, that the lower orders were "sorely swinked" by the Normans at the commencement of the eleventh century. But there are writers who regard the feudal system with great complacency, and Baron Maseres thinks that great humanity was in this kingdom shown to the villain ratione personarum, though absolutely a slave. Still, it must be owned, whether speaking of the theows and esnes of the Saxons, or the villains and serfs of the Normans, that the social state of these orders was miserably abject and servile, albeit the bitterness against each other may have been greatly overcharged by our writers. Yet, even while Peverel ruled over Hartwell, a Norman proverb obtained that he who raises a villain above his station dishonours God!

Il fait à Dieux honte
Qui villain haut monte.

Now it may be presumed that Maseres, and even the late Sir Walter Scott, would readily have admitted there having been a vast and beneficial change in the social condition of the Hartwell peasantry; for the interval between the sway of William Peverel about the year of our Lord 1080, and that of John Lee in 1860, during which so great a change progressively occurred, affords an extensive field for reflection. Under such consideration, and despite of all drawbacks of defective administration and varying value of labour and corn, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the palmy days
of our peasantry must certainly be placed anterior to the workings of the inclosure-acts, when little farms, and common rights, spread a degree of comparative independence upon a class which is now all but pauperised, as already alluded to at page 18. Not that the inclosure-acts are to bear the whole blame; still they operated with other inevitable causes, in giving the stream a new direction. My valued friend, Mr. George Grenville Pigott, of Doddershall-Park, near Quainton, in his able essay on the "Laws of Settlement and Removal," has reasoned well upon a most influential point which is constantly at work in these changes. He observes:—

No populous or considerable state has ever existed, or could ever long exist, without great inequalities in the possessions of its inhabitants, without a superabundance of wealth on the part of some, and poverty reaching to the verge of destitution on the part of the greater number.

In countries where wealth is less unequally distributed, where there are no great capitalists or land-owners, and no family without some small possession, there may be found more happiness, more virtue, more liberty, more general enjoyment of life; but such a state of things can never exist in populous and powerful communities, because the tens of thousands of families that obtain existence and position in administering to the luxuries of wealth, in painting, sculpture, architecture; to splendour and luxurious indulgence of every kind, whether of dress, equipages, household furniture, or food; and who in their turn supply the means of existence to hundreds of thousands, and so on downwards in widening circles to its extreme limit, could in such states find no place.

It results hence that in every great and powerful state there must exist necessarily great extremes of wealth and poverty, and that, nearly in proportion to the wealth and populousness of each state, will be the excess of poverty within it; that is, of poor individuals deriving a precarious livelihood from their daily labours. And this result seems to be altogether irrespective of the form of government of each state, and of its laws or liberties.

Such are the unavoidable effects of the grand social rule of action, or rather the inherent defect of the degree of prosperity, alluded to; it therefore behoves the powerful party to beware of laying discouraging imposts and restraints upon labour, as they are both unjust and impolitic. The progress of civilization, though unperceived by the masses, is constantly increasing the knowledge of man and adding to his powers: hence it imperatively demands the utmost attention of the legislative government to regulate the population so prudently as to shield labourers from want, and fend off their moral degradation. The
agricultural associations which have recently sprung up in all parts of the
country have done a little, and very little, towards so great an object; for to
serve it effectually, they ought to have been more bent upon promoting the
physical and moral welfare of the humbler farming classes, than merely
serving the political ends of their respective leaders. The display of over-fed
oxen and corpulent swine may procure the substantial farmer a prize, but
assuredly this is of no advantage to the underpaid "sons of toil in clouted
shoon." The annual dinners of the societies might afford an opportunity for
furthering utility, but that they are usually engrossed by partizan-orators, who
fire off speeches for or against the government, as their patron in the chair may
please; while the convivial hearers demonstrate their inconsiderate satisfac-
tion in the true stereotyped form of rapping, clapping, and cheering. For a
confirmation of this assertion, see the reports in most of the county newspapers.

§ 2. THE HAMPDENS.

As a storm-driven ship from the offing, on rounding a bluff headland lashed
by breaking surges, may instantly find herself in smooth water, so we, after
dwelling upon Saxons, Normans, and the slavish villainage of turbulent times,
feel a calm relief in coming to the advent of that ancient and substantial stock—
the Hampdens. One of the earliest, William Hampden, who inherited this
estate on the death of his grandmother Agnes in 1479, appears to have attended
to the property beneficially, and especially in the means of intercommunication;
for there is an abundance of evidence to show that the ways, paths, and even
the high roads of the county were so bad as to be at times barely passable.
Between Hartwell and Aylesbury there is a portion that was so frequently
flooded as to be a nuisance; and even now the waters are out after heavy rains.
The celebrated Sir Hugh Clopton constructed a firm road of three miles from
Aylesbury towards London, and then made a causeway from that town over the
valley-gravel to the fields of the manor—a work long known as the Hartwell
Cozzie—and which is duly commemorated on Sir Hugh's elaborate monumental slab, on the east wall of the Guild-chapel at Stratford-on-Avon.

This peaceful rule continued till the anarchy occasioned by the unnatural civil war dealt its blows into every home and hearth; and one of the clan, as is universally known, energetically struggled to maintain a very superior constitutional liberty from that which obtained under the Conqueror's race. But before this violent outbreak befel our otherwise happy land, the Hartwell branch of the Hampdens had culminated.

In that section of the _Ædes_ (page 56) which treats of this manor having merged to the Hampdens of Kimbell, _circa_ 1479, I stated that Elizabeth de Luton was married to John Hampden, for which there was the authority of a detailed pedigree-roll; but in April 1829 an iron chest was opened by Dr. Lee, wherein a document was found in which the said gentleman is designated Richard. At that early date parish registers were not in existence; so that, having no such proof to help us, we may infer that his eldest son being baptized Richard tends to confirm the discovery. In the same section of the _Ædes_, it is also mentioned that the Hampdens remained in possession of Hartwell upwards of 180 years, when it passed from Sir Alexander Hampden to his sister Eleanor, the wife of Sir Thomas Lee, of Morton and Claydon.

Meantime, Sir Edmund Verney, of King's Langley, somehow or other had become possessed of several choice bits of land in this neighbourhood, which, in 1573, he disposed of to Sir Alexander. Now this Sir Edmund appeared to be a good man and true, serving as sheriff of Hertfordshire in the 19th year of Queen Elizabeth; though to be sure, when Knight-Marshall to King Charles I., he took what was thought to be a very extravagant lease of two of the new houses of the Piazza, Covent Garden, in 1634. There was something, moreover, not over-righteous in the transfer of the said bits of land, for among Dr. Lee's muniments there is one dated 21st of May (10 Jac. I.) 1612, which proves that a screw was loose. It is the formal sample of a judgment, as specified by the erudite William Henry Black, Esq. F.S.A. in his Catalogue of the Hartwell Documents, relating also to the county families extant and extinct:—
THE HAMPDEN'S.

Exemplification of a Decree of the Court of Chancery, made 8 February then last past, in a cause between Sir Alexander Hampden, knight, Plaintiff, and Ralph Verney, gentleman, and others, Defendants; reciting the substance of the Plaintiff's Bill, filed 11 June, 1610, complaining that, whereas Sir Edmond Verney, late of Pendley, Herts, and Urias and Richard Verney, his brothers, have sold to him the Manor of Stone, with its appurtenances, and divers messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Stone, Bishopstone, Hartwell, and Southroppe, in the county of Bucks, and had assured the same to him by fine and recovery, and by other conveyances, about the 16th year of Queen Elizabeth; the Defendants, Ralph Verney, John Rodes, and Richard Dover, had set up a pretended deed, and made secret entry on some of the premises, to eject the Plaintiff from the same; reciting also the proceedings thereon, until the Plaintiff obtained from the said Ralph "a fyne sur release of the manor, landes, and tenements in question," and consequently final judgment was given by Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, for the Plaintiff to have quiet enjoyment of the premises. (Dated at Westminster, 21 May, anno 10 Jac. I.)

The deeds or legal documents for the transfer of the Hartwell domains, if such there were, have yet to be found; but it is not unlikely that the following Recoveries were suffered to make a good estate, for settling the conveyance of the manor from the Hampdens to the Lees:

Recovery by Thomas Denton, knight, and John Dormer, knight, against Alexander Hampden, knight; (Ralph Verney, gent. and Edward Howes, vouchee;)—of the Manor of Stone, and 12 messuages, 1,000 acres of land, 200 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 20 acres of furze and heath, and 20s. rent, in Stone, Bishopstone, Hartwell, and Southroppe; in Hilary term, 9 Jac. I., roll 51, Bucks. Tested by E. Coke. (Dated 12 Feb. anno 9 Jac. I.) Also the return of livery of seizin, 6 March, by the Sheriff, Jerome Horsey, knight, subscribed on the fold. Latin.

Recovery by Thomas Denton, knight, and Edmund Verney, knight, against Alexander Hampden, knight; (Edward Howes, vouchee)—of the Manors of Hartwell and Little Hampden, and 10 messuages, 10 tofts, 1 mill, 2 dovecotes, 10 gardens, 1,000 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 50 acres of pasture, 150 acres of wood, 200 acres of furze and heath, and 40s. rent, in Hartwell, Stone, Southroppe, and Little Hampden, and also free warren in Hartwell and Stone, and the advowson of the Church of Hartwell with the Chapel of Little Hampden; in Trinity term, 14 Jac. I. roll 9, Bucks. Tested by H. Hobart. (Dated 19 June, anno 14 Jac. I.) Latin.

Exemplification of the Writs of Entry and of Seizin, mentioned in the foregoing Recovery, and the several returns thereof; dated respectively 7 May and 31 May, 14 Jac. I., and inrolled in Easter term, same year, roll 1, Bucks. Made at the request of Thomas Lee, knight; and tested by Peter Warburton, Henry Winche, and Richard Hutton, justices. (Dated 22 April, anno 16 Jac. I.) Latin.

And an earlier chirograph of a final concord levied in the Court of Common
ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Pleas, at Westminster, casts a similar light upon the several manors of Owlswick, Great Kymbell, Little Hampden, &c. It is worded as follows:—

Between Antony Cage, Edward Hampden, esquire, Thomas Ashefeld, esquire, and Edward Wyseman, gent., Demandants, and Michael Hampden, esquire, Deforciant;—of the Manors of Owleswyke and Little Hampden, and 20 messuages, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, 1,000 acres of land, 200 acres of meadow, 300 acres of pasture, 200 acres of wood, and 30s. rent, in Hamalope, Owleswyke, Little Hampden, and Great Kymbell, in the county of Buk; and of the Manor of Norcothyll otherwise Norcomeurt, and 8 messuages, 1 dovecote, 400 acres of land, 60 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, add 4l. 10s. rent, in Northchurch, Tryng, and Wygynton, in the county of Hertf.; to hold to the said Demandants, and the heirs of him Antony. (In 15 days of Easter, 10 Eliz.) Bucks. Herts. Chirograph: Latin.

Much of the point in question, together with an insight into the dealings of that day, may be gathered from the solemn testamentary instrument of Sir Alexander's mother, the widow of Michael Hampden; of which the following is a faithful copy from the original muniment at Hartwell:—

ThIs Indenture, made the eighth day of June in the fourteenth yeares of the raigne of our most gracious Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, &c., Between Mary Hampden of Hartwell in the Countie of Bucks, widowe, late wyfe of Mychaell Hampden of Hartwell aforesaid, esquier, deceased, of the one parte, and Alexander Hampden, her sonne, of Hartwell aforesaid, Esquier, on the other parte: Witnesses, that for the appeasinge and quietinge of all causes, sutes, controversies, and demandes betwene the said Mary and Alexander nowe dependinge, and for a fynsall conclusion and determynation of the same, and to the intent that every of the said parties may hereafter knowe their owne of suche goodes and chattells as to them or either of them ys due by vertue of the last will and testament of Mychaell Hampden of Hartwell aforesaid, Esquier, deceased, and for dyvers other considerations hereafter expressed, by the mutuall assentes, consentes, and agreementes of the said parties to these presentes, and also by the mediacion of other their frendes, yt ys covenanted, graunted, concluded, condysceded, and fully agreed betwene the said parties to these presentes, and either of the saide parties to these Indentures dothe covenante for himself, his heires, executors, and administrators, to and with the other parte to the Indentures, his executors and administrautors and every of them, in manner and forme followinge: Fyrste, the said Mary Hampden dothe promyssse, covenante, and graunte by these presente for herself, her heires, executors, and administrautors, and for every of them, to and with the said Alexander, his executors, administrautors, and every of them, That she, the said Mary, her executors, administrautors, and assignes, and every of them, shall utterly from henceforth forsake, relinquishe, and for ever leave and yeld uppe to the said Alexander, his executors, and assignes, all such right, tytle, clayne, interest, administracon, and medlinge as the said Mary nowe hathe or of right may have to be executrix, or to and with the goodes and cattalls of the said Mychaell Hampden, by virtue of the last will and testament of the said Mychaell, otherwise then shalbe by these presente hereafter lymyted, appointed, and declared; And further that the
said Alexander, his executors, admynystratours, and every of them, shall and may quietly and peaceably have, houle, take, enjoye, retaine, and kepe in his or their handes to their owne use and behoulfe, without suit, let, or interrupcion of the said Mary, her executors, admynystratours, or any of them, all and every suche goodes and cattails, reall and personall, moveable and unmoveable, and all somme and sommes of monye, debts, or dutyes whatsoever, due or growinge to the said Alexander and Mary and eyther of them, as executors to the said Mycheall Hampden (except suche goodes and chattells as shall hereafter by these presentes be assurred, covenanted, and gven to the said Mary by the said Alexander), without lett, trouble, vexacion, interrupcion, evction, expulyon, chalendge, clayme, sute, or demaunde to or for the same or any partes thereof by the said Mary, her executors, admynystratours, or assignes, or any of them, and that the said Mary, her executors, admynystratours, assignes, nor any of them, shall not at any time hereafter clayme any interest, profite, commoditie, or medlinge to or with any goodes and chattells of the said Mycheall whatsoever (except before excepted), or doe or procure to be done any acte or actes, thinge or thinges whatsoever, as executrix to the said Mycheall, or by vertue of the last will and testament of the said Mycheall, without the assent and consent in writeinge of the said Alexander, his executors, admynystratours, assignes, or some of them. And, further, the said Mary dothe covenante and graunte for her, her heires, executors, and admynystratours to and with the said Alexander, his executors, and admynystratours, by these presentes, not onely that the said Mary, her executors, admynystratours, nor any of them shall at noe tyme hereafter release or otherwise deschardge any somme or sommes of monye, debts, dutyes, or other demaundes due to the said Alexander and Mary, or to any of them, as executors (sic) or executrix to the said Mycheall, without the assent and consent in writeinge of the said Alexander, his executors, admynystratours, or assignes firste had thereunto; but also that the said Mary, her executors, admynystratours, and assignes, and every of them, shall at all tyme and tymes hereafter from tyne to tyne, at the costes and charges in all things of the said Alexander, his executors, admynystratours, or any of them, avowe and justyfye all those and suche accions, pleas, demaundes, sutes, proces, execusions, and all other acte and actes, thinge and thinges hereafter to be commensed, attempted, sued, procured, or done by the said Alexander, his executors, admynystratours, or assignes, or any of them, for the recoverye of any debte, dutye, somme or sommes of monye due to the said Mycheall in the names of the said Alexander and Mary, their executors, or assignes, or of any of them, or otherwise howsoever in proper persone or by attorney, by vertue of the said last will and testament of the said Mycheall; and that the said Mary, her executors, admynystratours, or assignes, nor any of them, shall not be nonsute or willingly suffer, or procure to be done, any acte or actes, thinge or thinges to be nonsuted, or to dyscontynue, withdrawe, releese, dyschardge, or make voide at any tyne or tymes hereafter, any such debts, dutyes, somme and sommes of monye, demaundes, pleas, accions, or sutes, or the execusions of the same as shall hereafter be brought by the said Alexander, his executors, admynystratours, or assignes, or any of them, in whose name soever yt be, by vertue of the said last will and testament of the said Mycheall. And also that the said Mary, her executors and assignes, shall permitt and suffer the said Alexander, his executors and assignes, peaceably and quietly to have, houle, enjoye, perceyve, and take to his and their own proper use and behoulfe, all such somme and sommes of monye which hereafter shall by any wayes or meanes comm to the hands and possessyons of the said Alexander and Mary, their executors or assignes, or of any of them, by recoverye or otherwise, as executors, or by vertue of the last will and testament of the said Mycheall. In consideration of all whiche aforesaid premysses, the said Alexander dothe covenante, promise, and graunte, for him, his heires, executors, and admynystratours to and with the said Mary, her executors, and admynystratours by these presentes, not only that he the said Alexander and his assignes shall well and truly content, satesfyte, or pay unto the said Mary or her assignes the yearly rente and somme of fytie
poundes of good and lawfull monye of England reserved by the said Mary for her joynture and other
landes to her assured by the said Alexander for tearme of her life, according to the true purport, tenure,
and meaninge of a pare of indentures made for fortye yeares thereof, betweene the said Mary and
Alexander, bearinge date the firste daye of September nowe last past; but also the said Alexander and his
assignes shall at all tymes hereafter save and kepe harmelesse the said Mary, her executors and adm-
nynstrators, and every of them, against all the children of the said Mychaell Hampden and all other
persone and persones whatsoever, for and concerninge all and singular suche yearely revenues, ysues,
proffytes, annuities, paymentes, somme or sommes of monye, and for and concerninge all other debts,
duities, legacyes, gyftes, bequestes, covenantes, acconptes, reckoninges, and demandes whatsoever may
or can be justly and rightfully chaulenged, clayed, or demaunded of or against the said Mary and Alexander,
or any of them, their executors or admyynstrators, or any of them, as executors or executorix to the said
Mychaell Hampden, by vertue of the said last will and testament of the said Mychaell (the legacyes,
gyftes, and bequestes due to the said Mary by the said last will and testament onely excepted). And
the said Alexander dothe further covenante and grauntee for him, his heires, executors, and admynys-
strators, and every of them, to and with the said Mary, her executors and admyynstrators, by these pres-
centes, that he the said Alexander shall, duringe the lyves of the said Alexander and Mary joyntly to-
gether, freely give, finde, and allowe to the said Mary suffycient, convenient, and competent meate,
drinke, lodginge, and chamberowe, to be taken within the dwelinge house of the said Alexander in
Hartwell aforesaid, for herself, her man, and twoe maydes, soe longe as the said Mary shall remayne a
wydowe and be content to abide and be at boorde with the said Alexander at Hartwell aforesaid; and also
that the said Marye shall have, duringe all the time of her said wydowhood and abode with the said
Alexander at Hartwell aforesaid, the goinge, feedinge, and pasturinge of one geldinge, thirtie shepe, and
four kye in the groundes, pastures, and feldes of the said Alexander in Hartwell aforesaid. And the
said Alexander dothe farther covenante and grauntee, for himself, his heires, executors, and admynstrators,
to and with the said Mary Hampden, her executors and admyynstrators, by these presentes, that she the
said Mary, her executors and assignes, shall have, take, and enjoye to her and their proper use for ever,
foure kye and all suche other goodes and cattalles as nowe be remayinge within the bedchamber of the
said Mary in Hartwell aforesaid, and her maides chamber adjoynynge to the same. In witnesse whereof
the parties aforesaid to these Indentures enterchanegeably haue putt their handes and seals the daye and
yeare firste above wrytten.

Sir Alexander Hampden was certainly a man of eminence and worth; he
served as High Sheriff of the county in the year 1591, was knighted in his own
house by King James in 1603, and acted as guardian to the youthful patriot.
An Alexander, erroneously held to be his son, died in imprisonment, into which
he had been cast for engaging in Waller's visionary project to check the fury and
violence of the Parliament in 1643; but, if his own son, he must have been ille-
gitimate, as the reputed father is noted s.p. on the family pedigree. One of Sir
Alexander's nieces, Margaret, was married to Sir Thomas Wenman, of Thame Park; and another, Mary, in 1617, became the wife of that staunch royalist Sir Alexander Denton, of Hillesdon, whose sufferings and incarceration are detailed in the contemporary records. His goodly mansion having been fortified and garrisoned for the King, was taken by the Parliamentarian forces in 1643; when it was mercilessly ransacked and looted.

A full quarter of a century, however, before these public and domestic calamities occurred, the worthy Sir Alexander Hampden was gathered to his fathers, and the parish register* thus records his burial:—"Alexander Hampden, miles, sepultus fuit in ecclesia de Hartwell, 24 die Martij, 1618." Now, as this is a very crucial conjuncture in the monograph of the manor, it may be proper to place his testamentary will before the kind reader; especially as the archaic trimmings, by which its authenticity might be tested, are torn away by Dr. Lipscomb. This interesting document is one of the original wills, probates, and letters of administration, preserved among the valuable family muniments at Hartwell House. *In extenso* it flows as follows:—

The first day of November in the year of our Lord God, according to the computation of the Church of England, One thousand six hundred and seaventeene, I, ALEXANDER HAMPDEN of Hartwell, in the Countie of Bucks, knight, doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament, in manner and forme followinge: First, I commaund my soule to Almightye God my Creator and Maker, and to my Saviour Jesus Christe my Redeemer, by whose death and passyon I hope to be saved, and after this liffe ended to eternitie to everlasting liffe and peace, amongst the electe children of God. And concerning my worldly goodes, I give and bequeath to Dame Elizabeth my welbeloved wiffe all my household stuffe at Barford, in the county of Oxon: and the fourth part of my plate, and the fourth part of all other my household stuffe, at Hartwell, in the county of Buck. Alsoe my will is that she shall have my Coache, and Coache geldinges, with all the money, Ringes, chaynes, braceletts, and Jewelles which shalbe in her custodie at the tyme of my decease. Secondly, my will is that my welbeloved brother Christopher Hampden shall have, hold, and enjoye duringe his liffe those two partes of the p'sonage of Wendover, and alsoe those two partes of Oulswick which doe or hereafter shall belonge vnto me, my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes accordinge to certaine agreementes made with Sr Richard Wayneman and Sr Thomas Denton, knightes, payinge for the same two partes of the rents vnto his Maiestie and other

* An error, or rather oversight, appears in the parish register, which might mislead an antiquary as it has already misled Lipscomb and others. By omitting to place the 1618 between Elizabeta Smyth, who was buried in October, and Thomas Guidger, who was interred in the following January, Hampden's funeral would seem to have occurred in 1617, instead of the next year.
the cheiffe lordes of the ffe due for the same. And, forasmuch as my will and meaning is that my said brother shall take and receyve the yerelie profitte, according to the value of the said personage, and the said Mannor of Owlswick, with the appertenaunces, deductinge the rentes aforesayd, and the woodes and trees growinge vpon the sayd Mannor of Owlswick or any parte thereof more then shalbe necessarylie employed towards the reparacions of the howses and maners thereto belonginge, My will is that my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes shall yerelie pay out of the Rentes and profittes of Hartwell and Stone vnto my sayde brother soe much money as the value of the third partes of the sayd personage and the said manor of Owlswick shall amounte vnto belonginge vnto my neece Anne Hampden, the eldest daughter of my brother Edmond Hampden deceased. And after the decease of my brother Christopher, my will is, and hereby I will and bequeath to my sayd neece Anne Hampden, for her prefermente in marriage, the Reversions and all the righte, title, interest, and terme of yeres to come, vn-expired, wth shall belonge to me, my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes in the personage of Wendover. And also I geve and bequeath vnto my saide cozen Anne Hampden all my right, title, and interest I have or hereafter shall or ought to descend or come vnto me, my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes in and to the Mannor of Owlswick after the decease of my said brother Christopher, and in or to all oth' the lands, tenementes, and hereditamentes belonginge to the sayd manor of Owlswick, beinge wthin the parishes of Owlswick, Munkes Risborow, Walridge, and Kingswy, to her and her heires for ever. And whereas I have bargayned and agreed wth one Raph Gobbet for estovers belonginge to the said Manno' of Owlswick, my will is that my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes shall performe the sayd agreements soe farre forth as ye shall rest in their powers. And for that the third partes thereof estovers doth remayne in the power of my Cozen Anne Hampden, my will and meaninge is that my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes shall paye vnto my sayd Cozen Anne, in consideration of her righte in the said estovers, one hundred pundes, beinge the third parte of the money I have or am to receyve for the same, soo as shee doe release also her rightes therein, and performe the sayd bargayne to Raph Gobbet, accordinge to all such agreements and articles as I stand bound to him to performe, for her and her sisters and all others havinge or clayminge any righte thereunto. Also, in remembrance of my love unto St' Thomas Wayneman, knightes, and Dame Margarett his wiffe, my wille is that my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes shall paye vnto the said St' Thomas and Dame Margarett his wiffe, and to the longer liver of them, the som' of fiftie pundes yerelie at the two usual feastes, to begin at the feast day of Th'annu'tiac'oon of our Ladye nexte cominge after my decease for seaven yeares from thence nexte followinge. Also my further will is that in Remembrance of my like love and good will to my cozen St' Alexander Denton and Dame Mary his wiffe, my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes shall paye vnto the sayd St' Alexander and Dame Mary his wiffe, and the longer liver of them, fiftie pundes yerely duringe the life of Dame Elizabeth my wiffe, to begynne at the feast daie of Th'annu'tiac'oon of our Ladie nexte cominge after my decease, to be paid at the two usual feastes. Also my will is that if ye shall please God that my brother Christopher Hampden doe decease before Elizabeth his now wiffe, my heires, executors, or administrators, or Assignes shall paye yerely vnto my said sister in lawe Elizabeth Hampden fiftie pundes yerely duringe her naturall life. All wth severall som' of money aforesayd My will and meaninge is that the same shalbe levied and payd by my heires, executors, administrators, or Assignes out of my Rentes and profittes of my lands, profittes, and hereditamentes wthin Stone, Hartwell, and Little Hampden accordinge to their best discrecion. And for the expresing of my good will and meaninge I have and alwayes had towards my Cozen Anne Hampden, my further will is that, if she be advised and ruled by my overseers herein noiated of this my last will and testament, or the greater number of them, in her marryinge, for her advancemente and
THE HAMPDENS.

preferment. My will is, and hereby I will and bequesthe vnto her over and abowe all other legacies and porc'ons herein before sett downe, three thouzand poundes more of lawfull english money to be paid by my executor yeralie; one thouzand poundes the nexte three yeares y'mediatlie followinge after her said marriage as aforesayd. Further, I will and bequesthe vnto Alexander Hampden, the eldest sonne of Sir Edmund Hampden, knighte, of Abingdon in the com' of Northampton, the som'e of ten poundes yeralie to be paid vnto him during his lyfe. And also I give vnto Alexander Hawtrey my servante the som'e of Ten poundes yeralie to be paid to him during his naturall lyfe, which two severall som'es my will is that they shalbe taken and paid out of the sale of the armes in Stone wherein Thomas Russell the elde now dwellethe. And my will and desire is that, if any questions or doubts shall arise or come concerninge any gifte, legacie, or bequest, expressed and given by me in this my last will, My will and desire is that all such questions shalbe decyded and determyned without suites in lawe by my overseers, or the greater number of them, acordinge to my true and playne meaninge. And, for the exection and performance of this my last will, I doe hereby declare, ordaine, nomynate, and appoynte my trustye and welbeloved kinsman Thomas Lee the elder, of East Cleyden in the com' Buck, gent' som'e and heire of Sir Thomas Lee of Moorton, knighte, my whole and sole executor of this my last will and testament; and, the better to enable him to performe the same, I doe hereby gene and bequesthe vnto him, my debts, legacies, and funerall charges discharged, all my goodes and chattels moveable and immoveable wheresoever. In witnes whereof I haye herewith sett my hand and seal,

ALEXANDER HAMPDEN.

And, for his better direction herein, my desire and truste is that he wilbe advisd by Sr Richard Wayneman of Tame Park, Sir Tho. Denton of Hilsdon, and Sir Thomas Lee of Moorton, knightes, whom I doe intreate and nomynate my overseers of this my last will and testament: And, for their paynes and frendie care taken therein, my will is that my executor pay to everie of them Ten poundes within one yeare after my decease. Witnesses that this is the last will of Sr Alexander Hamden, Richard Wenman, Thomas Wenman, Alexander Denton, Christopher Hampden, Alexander Hawtrey, Frauncis Smith.

Tenore p'ntium Nos Georgius providen' divina Cant' Archiep'uus (&c.) Notum facinus vniersis Quod vicesimo quarto die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dra'i Millesimo sexcentesimo decimo octavo apud London. (&c.)

The foregoing is a true copy of the will and extract of the Probate Act of Sir Alexander Hampden from the original Probate thereof as proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (whence administration was committed to Thomas Lee, the executor therein named,) examined by me this 17 April 1663.

W. H. BLACK, F.S.A.

To this grave document we will add another of similar interest from the same magazine of family muniments: it is the inventory-roll of the goods and chattels belonging to Sir Alexander Hampden at the time of his decease, carefully written on six slips of parchment, joined one to the other to a length of twelve feet, by five inches wide. These lists of personal and moveable effects—liable to debts and other obligations which lands were not—constituted a common form for the due administration of a testator’s property as connected with a proof of his will, and they were the forerunners of the inventories now insisted upon for levying the legacy-duty, that oppressive and hateful exaction. There
is much impressive matter in these rolls, as affording a clue in investigating the
habits of our ancestors, and the specialities of their domestic life; to which
we must admit a high degree of refinement.* As such documents are mostly
inaccessible to the public, the printing of a specimen occasionally is a boon to
many a reader. In Sir Alexander’s list of moveables, which is comparatively
a modern one, will be found plate, tables, chairs, stools, forms or
benches, bedsteads, hangings, carpets, rugs, napery, and most articles of fur-
niture. The books and money left are only valued at 25L, while the farming
stock amounted to 2,000L, besides 1,313L. worth at his manor of Burford.
This particular category has now turned to a diametrically opposite point
at Hartwell, in the extension of the library and decrease of the homestead.
The garniture of the old larders and butteries, apartments and bed-chambers,
with the numerous inmates of the mansion, betoken a high degree of liberal
sociality, and this is further confirmed by the account of the kitchens and
their appurtenances, which recall Bishop Hall’s advice in 1597:—

Look to the towered chimneys, which should be
The wind-pipes of good hospitality.

In Inventare of all and singular the goodes, chattelles, and debts of Sir Alexander Hampden, late
of Hartwell in the Countie of Buck., knight, deceased, remayninge at his howse at Hartwell; praised the
one and twentieth day of March, Anno Domini one thowzand six hundred and seaventeene, stilo Angilie, by
Robert Saxton, Antho. Dover, Thomas Dover, William Cleydon, Robert Gullet, William Parnham, and
Thomas Levinges, as followeth, vizt.:—

In the Parlour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inprimis, one drawinge-table with a frame</td>
<td>xxxs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, one side table</td>
<td>vjs. viijd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, one court cubberd</td>
<td>vjs. viijd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, six stooles, covered</td>
<td>ix.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, three lether chairs</td>
<td>xi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, twower joyned stoole, two little chaires</td>
<td>vjs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, six cushens, 2 carpetes</td>
<td>xxxs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some of these rolls contain even an abstract of dress: but the habiliments of those days were far
more durable and valuable than in these piping times of gingham, muslins, barèges, cottons, shalloons,
linsey-wooldsies, shoddy-woollens, and even paper, garnished with spurious lace, mosaic gold, and false jewellery.
## THE HAMPDENs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, eight mappes and pictures, one paire of tables, one skreen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xvijs vijjd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, one payre of andirons, a creeper, a Fire-forko, and a paire of bellowes*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vjs. viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vij. viijd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE HALL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, three tables as they stand, nyne formes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xvijs viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, one paire of andirons, one lanthorne, one payre of tables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vjs. viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>viijd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE KITCHEN AND THE PASSAGE INTO THE HALL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, plankes, formes, trosselles, and tables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, twelve spittes, fower dripping-panse, gredirons, one paire of Rackes, and all other iron-work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xvijs viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, pottes, kettelkes, skelletes, and all the brasse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>viijd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE DREE LARDER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, one musterd-mill, and other lumber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>patet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE WETT LARDER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, six flitches of bacon, one powdringe-trough, with other lumber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xjs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>patet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE OLD KITCHEN AND LARDER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, for brasse, in all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, three spittes, one paire of rackes, and other iron-worke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xvijs viijd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, for bacon, 25 flitches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xvii.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE BREWHOUSE AND BOWLTINGE HOUSE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, for two fattes, barrolles, and all other lumber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xjs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, for baye-salte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IN THE DARYE HOUSE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, for brasse and iron worke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iijli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, for shelves, milkepales, trayes, churnes, and other lumber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xxs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iijli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

* Here we miss the "payre of virginalles" which grace two former inventories of the furniture of this parlour; and, as they were there before 1541, it is clear that they were not invented by Queen Elizabeth. The virginal was a keyed musical instrument, in form and tone a kind of oblong spinet.
ADDENDA TO THE AEDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

IN THE OLD PARLOUR.
Item, one press, one bedstead, and other lumber xi. 
Summa patet.

IN THE BUTTERIE AND SELLER.
Item, for hogsheads, barrels, and other things iiij. 
Item, for pewter xxiiij. 
Summa xxvij. 

IN THE WARDROBE.
Item, his wearing apparell cli. 
Summa patet.

IN HIS STUDY.
Item, his bookes and money xxvi. 
Item, plate, in all cli. 
Summa cxxvi. 

IN MISTRIS ANNE HAMPDEN'S CHAMBER.
Item, a bedstead, curtins, and vallens iiij. 
Item, one fetherbed, one bolster, one pillow, one coverlet, 4 blankettes iiij. x. 
Item, one cubberd, one chaire vijs. viijd. 
Item, two windowe-cushens and a carpet i. 
Summa ixij. vijs. viijd. 

IN THE INNER CHAMBER TO yt.
Item, one fetherbed, one flockbed, two bolsteres, one coverlet, one half-headed bedstead xxxiijs. iiiijd. 
Summa patet.

IN THE OLD LA. CHAMBER.
Item, one feild bedstead, tester and curtins, one fether-bed, one flockbed, 2 bolsteres, 3 pillowes, 5 blankettes, one rug vij. 
Summa patet.

IN THE INNER CHAMBERS.
Item, fewer half-headed bedsteedes x. 
Item, fewer fetherbeddes, fewer bolsteres, one pillow, eight blankettes viij. 
Summa viij. x. 

IN THE DRAWINGE ROOME.
Item, one bedstead, with curtins and vallans xxij. 
Item, one fetherbed, one quilte, one flockbed, fewer blankettes, one bolster, fewer pillowes, one greene rug, the hanginges, chaires, and stooles, and cushens suitable lxii. 
Summa iij*lxl.
THE HAMPDENS.

IN THE INNER CHAMBER TO YT.

Item, a bedstead and the furniture \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ iiijii.  
Summa patet.

IN THE DINING ROOM.

Item, tables, carpettes, stooles, cubberdes, chaires, hanginges, cushens, andirons, and all other furniture there \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ cxlii.  
Summa patet.

IN THE CHAMBER OVER AGAINST THE DRAWING ROOM OR THE OLD CHAMBER.

Item, one bedstead with curtyns and vallans \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xxvii.  
Item, two fetherbedes, two bolsteres, six blankettes, one quilte, one flockbed, one rug, one coverlet, two pillowes, chaires, stooles, cushens, andirons, bellowes, and other furniture \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xxxiiii.  
Summa \ \ \ \ lii.

IN THE GREAT CHAMBER ABOVE STAIRS.

Item, for a bed, bedstead, rug, blankettes, bolster, 2 pillowes, a trucklebed with a fetherbed and bolster, coverlet, chaires and stooles, and other furniture \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xxriiiijii.  
Summa patet.

IN THE YELLOW CHAMBER.

Item, one bedstead, curtins and vallans, 2 fetherbedes, blankettes, hanginges, and other necessaries \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xxvji.  
Summa patet.

IN SIR THOMAS WAYNEMAN'S CHAMBER, CUM INNER CHAMBER.

Item, three bedsteedes, curtins and vallans, and the three bedsteedes furnished with fetherbedes and blankettes, bolsteres, coverlettes, and other necessaries and hanginges \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xvji.  
Summa patet.

IN THE GALLERY.

Item, three bedsteedes furnished with fetherbedes and bolsteres, a presse, and other stuffe \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ iiijii.  
Summa patet.

IN THE CHAMBER AT THE FARRE END OF THE GALLERIE.

Item, one bedstead with curtins and vallans, fetherbedes, bolsteres, pillowes \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xiiij. vjs. viijd.  
Summa patet.

IN THE INNER CHAMBRE TO YT AND OTHER TWO LITTLE CHAMBRE BY IT.

Item, three bedsteedes, fetherbedes, chayres, stooles, bolsteres, blankettes, and other necessarie furniture \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ xli.  
Summa patet.

IN MR. BOWMAN'S CHAMBER.

Item, one bedsteed with furnyture \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ iiijii.  
Summa patet.
## ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

### In the Armorye.

| Item, all the armor there with other furniture | . xxx li. |
| Summa patet. |

### In the Upper Garret.

| Item, one bedsteed, a fetherbed, and other furniture | . iiij. vjs. viijd. |
| Summa patet. |

### In Mr. Higbies Chamber.

| Item, two bedsteedes and fetherbedes with coverlet and blankettes | . iiij. xiijs. iiijd. |
| Summa patet. |

### In Mr. Hawtrey’s Chamber.

| Item, two bedsteedes, fetherbedes, and furniture | . vii. |
| Summa patet. |

### In the Butler’s Chamber and Chamber by yt.

| Item, fower bedsteedes, cubbordes, and furniture | . vii. vjs. viijd. |
| Item, for all the lynnen | . li. xvjs. viijd. |
| Summa lvijl. iijs. iiijd. |

### In the Garner.

| Item, three quarters of wheate | . iiijl. xs. |
| Item, three quarters of barley | . iiij. |
| Item, twentie quarters of maulte | . xxli. |
| Summa xxvijl. xs. |

### In the Woollehouse.

| Item, woolle one hundred and fortie toddes | . clxxxi. |
| Summa patet. |

### Corne sowed upon the ground.

| Item, threescore acres of wheate | . cxxi. |
| Item, threescore and eight of beanes and pease | . lxvi. |
| Item, sixteene acres of barley | . xxxiij. |
| Summa cxxiijl.* |

### In the Barnes and Rickes.

| Item, for barley, 50 qrs. | . lii. |
| Item, for wheate, 30 qrs. | . xlviijl. |
| Item, for pease, 20 qrs. | . xiiijl. |
| Summa cxij. |

* Mistake for cxxiijl.
THE HAMPDEN.

Swyne.

Item, hogges, two and twentie; pigges, 25

\[ \sum \]

Swyna patet.

Horses, Termes, and Furniture.

Item, for twentie horses, mares, and coltes

\[ lxxi. \]

Item, three lange cartes, three dunge cartes, three plowes, two paire of harrowes, with the

\[ xiiij. \], vs. viijd.

\[ \sum \]

Cattell in the Groundes.

Item, 14 kine and a bull

\[ lxii. \]

Item, twelve plow oxen

\[ iiiij. \]

Item, elevene fatt oxen and fower steeres

\[ cli. \]

\[ \sum \]

Sheep.

Item, sheepe in Abbottes Hill, ccij.

\[ ccli. \]

Item, in the upper brache, fower skore, and three wethers

\[ lxxiiij. \]

Item, in Hillington ground, three and thirtie sheepe

\[ iiiij. \]

Item, in greene end medow nynteene ewes

\[ vii. \]

Item, in the nether brach one hundred and nyntene wethers

\[ cviiij. \]

Item, six culling rammes in the same groundes

\[ iiij. \]

Item, haye, in all

\[ xxviiij. \]

\[ \sum \]

\[ iiijCxxviiij. \]

\[ \sum \]

At the deceased's manour of Burford in the county of Oxford, praised the xxijijth of March 1617 by John Duncombe, Thomas Throckmerton, and Michaeill Rowson, as followeth, viz.:

Imprimis, in the great ground and the ground called meadow feilde six hundred score ewes

at nynteene shillinges a picee

\[ vClixiiij. \]

Item, in the same groundes, cullinge ewes, threescore and ten, and (sic) thirsenee shillinges a picee

\[ liii. \], xijd.

Item, in the meadowe feild barren ewes, fowerskore and eighteene at fiitenee shillinges and

six pence a picee

\[ lxxviij. \], xixs.

Item, in the ground called Lerne Downe two hundred ewe tegges and one-and-twenty ram
tegges at xiijs. iiiij. a picee

\[ cxlviiij. \], vs. viijd.

Item, in Broad Close fiftye rammes and five cutt sheepe at twentie shillinges a picee

\[ Ivij. \]

Item, in the common feildes one hundred fowerskore and thirsene weather tegges at twelve

shillinges a sheepe

\[ cxvii. \], xvjs.

Item ten bullocks at xxxs. a bullock

\[ xviij. \]

Item three weaneings calfes at xijs. iiij. a calfe

\[ xia. \]

Item, eighteen milche kyne and a bull at three pounds xijs. iiijd. a beast

\[ lixiviiij. \], xiijs. iiijd.
ADDENDA TO THE .ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Item, five horses and coltes ........................................... xiiijl.
Item, woolle ............................................................... cili.
Item, all the haie ......................................................... xxvili.
Item, corne threshed & unthreshed of all sorts .................... xxvili.

Summa MiiijCxxijij. xvjs.

Summa totalis hujus inventarii ....................................... iiijMiiijCxxxvjii. vjs. viijd.

Examinatum erat hujusmodi inventarium, vicesimo septimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Domini 1617, per Thomam Sandford, notarium publicum, nomine procuratorum executoris, &c., pro vero et pleno inventario, &c., sub protestatione tamen de addendo, &c., quod si, &c.

EDMUNDUS WOODHALL, Registrarius.

(In dorso.)

An inventory of all Sir Alexandor Hampden's goodes, chattelles, and debts, taken after his death and prised in Hartwell House.

Here bee also charges and cost for mourning and other things, with y° particular names of y° persons unto (whom omitted) mourning is given.

To the general reader it may be acceptable to explain a term or two in the above inventory-roll. By court-cubberd is meant a moveable sort of sideboard for plate; joined stooles, those framed by a carpenter, as distinguished from solid blocks; lumber, any bulky article put aside as not in use; powdering trough, a tub or vessel in which meat was corned or salted; fattes, vats or vessels used in brewing, but formerly any tub or even packing-case; field-bedstead or fauld, one which folded up; truckle bed, a small bed for an attendant, placed at the foot or side of the principal one; culling rams and ewes, those selected from a flock as not being the best; tegge, a deer in its second year, though regarding sheep it means young, but older than a lamb. With respect to that oft-repeated term the andirons we must also say a word, because it has been mistaken to mean our modern fire-irons; whereas they were properly the end-irons, or ornamental metal standards placed on each side of the hearth, and fitted with creepers or small horizontal iron rests called also dogs or fire-dogs, on which to place the logs for burning. * Andirons were often

* In Halliwell's Ancient Inventories (page 156), mention is made of two "payre of andirons to turne the spytt," in 1610; and earlier, in a will dated 1498, of a "speete with an andeiron." These must
richly carved and expensive; thus Shakespeare makes Iachimo, in minutely
describing Imogen's bedroom to her startled husband, say,—

The roof o' the chamber
With golden cherubins is fretted: her andirons
(I had forgot them) were two winking Cupids
Of silver, each on one foot standing, nicely
Depending on their brands (dogs?).

This description of the lady's grate, with the exquisite tapestry—that
strove "in workmanship and value"—and mantle-piece sculptures, is assuredly
too florid for a British abode in Cunobeline's time; and as Shakespeare was
thinking of the Italians when he wrote it, he should have recollected that
il giusto pesa più che il troppo. However, sturdy Sam Johnson objects to
overhauling this play too closely, under the merciful motive that it "were
to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility."

It will be observed that there were comparatively few horses in Sir Alex-
ander's stables, at a time when all the purposes of field-work and transit were
performed by them; nor is there the prix de luxe affixed to them which
stamps his father's stud. In the inventory of Michael Hampden (1570)—now
before me—his hobbie or strong ambling nag, a sorrell geldinge, and a graye
mare, are "praised" at five pounds each; while nearly half a century after-
wards, in which time money had considerably increased in value, twenty
horses, mares, and colts were priced only at sixty pounds.

Having alluded to Sir Alexander Hampden as guardian to the young
patriot, as he is generally styled, or the "zealot of rebellion" as Dr. Johnson
dubs him, I bestirred myself to ascertain what memorials remained of so all
but universally extolled a favourite; for even his enemies lauded his virtue and
integrity, and still more the invectives of Clarendon,—"he had a head to
contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief"—though

allude to some contrivance for turning a spit while meat was being roasted, so often the labour of pauper
boys; perhaps the term meant the same with the "yron rackes" of some early inventories.
somewhat debasing, yet stamp a man of rare talents and vigour. My efforts, however, have proved ré infecta: not only is no vestige of him to be found at Hartwell, but even at Hampden House—now the charmingly secluded residence of the amiable Lady Vere Cameron—there are no personal papers, documentary memorials, bits of furniture, or other relics in testimony of his ever having resided there. The solitary portrait hanging on the wall, and representing a man with a sword and bible, was long supposed to represent John Hampden; though now admitted to be his guardian’s effigies; and the curious bible in the long library commemorates the family, not of Hampden, but of Cromwell. To be sure his ashes repose in the adjoining church, but without a brass or a stone to indicate the spot; the “sumptuous monument” of tour-books having been erected to commemorate a lesser Hampden, who departed this life in 1759. Nay, even when the noted disinterment of a corpse took place in 1828, it was uncertain whether the exhuming party had hit on the patriot’s body, or that of a lady* who died durante partu! Lord Nugent therefore suppressed all about the nauseous exposure in his “Life of Hampden;” and I found, on pressing him for a point or two, that this portion of his researches was not a pleasing recollection. In fine, neither the mansion, the church, nor the village bear the slightest trace of the hero save the name; nor is there any tribute to his memory extant, except the pitiful memorial recently erected by our nobility and gentry in Chalgrave field, where he fell on the 18th of June, 1643; a precursor of Waterloo, for both Rupert’s skirmish and Wellington’s battle were fought on a Sunday which fell on the 18th of June.

Yet, although not a scrap of John Hampden’s calligraphy has been preserved in casa propria; the Rev. Edward Cooke of Havensham, the late sedulous collector of county documents, got hold of a letter which the patriot had written “For my noble frend Coll. Bulstrode, Captaine Grenfield, and Captaine Tyrrell, Captaine West, or any of them.” It is dated on the 31st of

* There was much confused complexity in this discreditable imbroglio: nor can we readily see how the above statement suite a body five feet nine inches in length, with beard and whiskers. See the accounts which have oozed out from those who ransacked the tomb.
October (1642), and relates to the movements of the royal army. Of this letter Dr. Lipscomb (to whom all Cooke's manuscripts and printed papers were transferred) has given a factum simile in his County History, from which the signature is here re-produced:

\[ \text{Yo. ferunt} \\
\text{Hampden} \]

§ 3. THE LEES OF QUARENDON.

It is mentioned in the \textit{Aedes} (page 58), that by the marriage of Eleanor Hampden to Sir Thomas Lee of Morton, in 1570, the tenure of Hartwell passed over to a clan of the Lees, in whose possession it has since remained to the present time. Since that statement was printed, I have had a correspondence with the Rev. Newton Young, Rector of Quainton, and the Rev. John Jordan, Vicar of Enstone, which led me to re-examine certain court-rolls, pedigrees, and other documentary instruments, to render assurance sure, and thereby confirm my expressed opinion that the Lees of Morton \textit{*} were derived from those at Quarendon, or Querendone of the Dom Bos; and that the Lees of Hartwell, who were also descended from those of Morton, came thereby from the same Saxon stock, in whatsoever form the name was written. While thus occupied Mr. Jordan's \textit{Parochial History of Enstone} came to hand, in which book that gentleman has so ably and fully treated the older

\textit{*} The liberty of Morton is about 1\frac{1}{4} miles to the S.E. of Dinton, where, on a slight eminence above the surrounding meadows, are vestiges of the old manorial mansion; they consist of the moated site, the old cellarage of the modern farm-house, part of the ancient kitchen, and a well of unusual dimensions and excellent masonry in front of the adjacent time-worn offices.
race of the Lees, that I cannot but adopt his conclusions respecting the southern branches of that numerous family:

And now we have reached so remarkable and interesting a point in the history of the Manor of Quarrendon in connection with the Lee family, that we may well be allowed, and even expected, to make a few observations with respect to the nature of that manor, and especially its extent and members. And first of these last, which varied from time to time, and the variations and changes in which may assist in some degree to show the connections and branchings of the family. From the Court Rolls already referred to, it appears that in the year 1396, the members of the manor were Estaston (East Aston), Seybroke, Claydon, Adyngton, Balyngore, and Quarendon (Quarendon). To these by the year 1441, Berton (Bierton) had been added. Again, in 1438, the members are thus detailed, Quorundon, Est Claydon, Beerton, Adyngton, Seybroke cum Chedington, Balyngore. In the year 1472 we find them again stated thus: Balyngrove, Berton, Adyngton, Estclaydon cum Cottelle, Seybroke cum Chedynghdon, Estaston, Quarendon. Lastly, in the year 1590, when the great Sir Henry Lee had become lord of the manor of Quarendon, the members of the manor are thus given: Quarendon, Adyngton, Ivingho, Aston, Chedington with Seybroke ende, Belenger with Field ende. Most of these places are distinguished by their ancient names, though many of them have much changed in character, indicating the vicissitudes which from age to age have befallen their successive owners. The once royal manor of Quarendon, the head of so many members, has itself become a small and narrow property, its mansion gone, its chapel in ruins, and little more than its surface and its name to tell of its former greatness. Berton, Adington, East Claydon, Chedington, are all well known to this day, and one especially, Ivinghoe, has been rendered classical, by affording a name to one of the most beautiful and historical of Sir Walter Scott’s romances, who thus accounts for his selection of it—"The name of Ivanhoe was suggested by an old rhyme. All novelists have had occasion at some time or other to wish with Falstaff, that they knew where a commodity of good names was to be had. On such an occasion the author chanced to call to memory a rhyme recording three names of the manors forfeited by the ancestor of the celebrated Hampden, for striking the Black Prince a blow with his racket, when they quarrelled at tennis:—

"Tring, Wing, and Ivanhoo [Ivingho],
For striking of a blow,
Hampden did forego,
And glad he could escape so."

Balyngore, or Balyngrove, I do not detect in the maps unless it survives in the changed name of Blackgrove, which is highly probable. In the last list of members, that of 1590, it will be observed, that while Ivinghoe is added East Claydon is wanting. This latter had passed away to another member of the family; for, when in 1570, Sir Thomas Lee married Eleanor Hampden, he was possessed both of Morton and East Claydon. This fact establishes the connection between the Lees of Morton and the Lees of Quarendon; and as Eleanor Hampden, subsequently to her
marriage, became the heiress of Michael Hampden, and so brought Hartwell to her husband Sir Thomas Lee, it also establishes the connection between the Lees of Hartwell, the surviving branch of the family in Bucks, and the Lees of Quarendon, and thus supplies a link between the families which has hitherto been wanting. Of this branch of the family, however, the Lees of Hartwell, it will be unnecessary to say much, for they have already found an able memorialist in Admiral Smyth in his interesting work *Aedes Hartwelliana*. Like all the other branches, it has had its great men. One of these was Sir William Lee, who was Chief Justice of England for seventeen years, while at the very same time his brother Sir George Lee was Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and was the confidential friend and adviser of Frederick Prince of Wales.

The correlation of the houses of Morton, Claydon, and Quarendon being established, brings me again to the once beautiful but now utterly desecrated chapel, the birthplace of the thrice famous lady, Saint Osyth.

The above represents this interesting edifice in 1828; the dimensions being—the nave 40 feet by 20, the chancel 21 feet by 18, and the two aisles 40 feet by 9. In the *Aedes Hartwelliana* (page 62) I represented the wanton destruction which I had personally noticed in a lapse of only 14 years; but by this
time, except for the exertions of Archdeacon Bickersteth and the local Archaeological Society, it is highly probable that it would assuredly have been levelled with the surface of the earth, when, as an interested party observed, "we should have gained another acre of good land for tillage." This ruthless profanation has been carried on without any interference on the part of the then Archdeacon or any of the surrounding clergy, or even from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, who, having for years received such large sums from this and the adjoining parishes, ought to have sprung to the rescue. A drawing or two more may illustrate the scandalous degradation of the church, since they tell to the eye the leading incidents, and nail them on the memory.

The interior, in the year 1828, showed a clerestoried nave with its lateral aisles, a chancel with vestiges of a gable roof, though without any tiles, the fittings gone, and the area strewn with monumental débris: there were also palpable evidences that cattle and sheep had been fothered therein.
But before the opening of the year 1858 the spoil had been carried off by cart-loads, not a monument or inscription remained, the early-English portion of the architecture was destroyed, and the very walls were gone. The following was the appearance of its roofless arches, at the visit which the Archæological Society of Buckinghamshire then paid to it:—

In the _Edes_ (page 62) I mentioned the costly sarcophagus of Sir Henry Lee, and his statue in gilt armour, decorated with the insignia of the Garter; and that near him was a fine altar-tomb with the recumbent figures of his father and mother upon it. I have since learned that the gentle slumber of death on the features of this pair, though even then somewhat defaced, so strongly attracted the admiration of the late Sir Francis Chantrey that, as he told Lord Nugent, he borrowed from them his first idea for the exquisite sleeping sisters in Lichfield Cathedral.* And it should be stated that his Lordship

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* These represent two daughters of the Rev. William Robinson, whose beautiful widow—daughter of Dean Woodhouse and mother of the children—married Hugh Dyke Acland, next brother to Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, in 1817; and he dying in 1834, she married, thirdly, Robert Hinkley, Esq., of Beacon Place, Lichfield. Among the persons named in this anecdote, Lord Nugent and Chantrey were my intimate friends; as is—I am happy to add—still Sir Thomas Acland.
would willingly have removed the Quarendon monuments to his adjacent seat, "The Lilies," but was discomfited in the measure. Dr. Lee also offered to convey them to Hartwell, for their preservation in the chapel of that mansion. The obstacle to both these overtures proved to be the then archdeacon's blind opposition; and the consequence was, the total destruction of the objects in dispute. Such is too often the result of obstinate brief authority.

These monumental memorials having thus passed away, it is fortunate that among the treasures of the British Museum (Lansdowne, 874,) there exists a copy of all the most interesting inscriptions, together with the heraldic devices in the stained glass windows which lit that elegant little chancel. The preamble to this unquestionably authentic memorial is—"In the Church of Quarendon, in the county of Buckingham, newly reedified by Sir Henry Lee, Knight, and taken by me Nich. Charles, Lancaster Herald, 1611."

Among the records which, by this means, survive the costly monuments wherein they were inscribed, is the one commemorating the Queen's Champion; and, though the Gentleman's Magazine, Lipscomb, and Jordan have severally preserved it, they are each rather imperfect, however slightly. Therefore, aided by Mr. R. H. Major, of the Museum manuscript department, I here repeat it from the Lancaster Herald's own monograph; for, although both lengthy and turgid, it is not devoid of historical value. It was incised on a comparatively thin tablet or slab of black marble (carbonate of lime), probably from the upper mountain limestone of Derbyshire, for none is found in any part of this county;—it is the lucullite of geologists, and also distinguished as a variety of stinkstein, swinestone, or anthracite. A fragment of this was secured by Dr. Lee, and is now preserved in his museum—number 1809 of the catalogue,—together with the arms of Sir Anthony Lee, to which I procured an accurate restoration by the friendly kindness of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter.* These are here accurately engraved; the arms, of course, reduced;

* In a letter to me Sir Charles remarked, "that the first coat intended to be represented is Lee of Quarendon, the third is Wood of Warwick, the seventh is Sanders of Oxford, and the eighth Lee. I have been unable to ascertain clearly the names of the families which 2, 4, 5, and 6 denote, for the
Plate V.

Fragment of the tablet in honour of Sir H. Lee at Quarrendon.

Sir Henry Lee Knight (Lee & Dame Margaret, ant servannt & coneight). Hee owed his right to whose service the calmer Jane Marie bore.

A relic at Hartwell rescued from the Tomb of Sir Anthony Lee at Quarrendon.

Sir Anthony Lee's arms restored by Sir C. G. Young Carter.
but the fragment is of the actual size. A scrutiny of Plate V. will show the
great superiority of rubblings over eye-copies of inscriptions, as elsewhere insisted
upon in my archaeological discussions; for, though Nicholas Charles might
have been deemed an expert imitator, the fragment, small as it is, shows no
fewer than nine little diversifications from the original:—

Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the most noble ord' of y* Garty, sonne of St Antony Lee & dame Margaret
his Wife daughter to St Henry Wyatt y' faithfull & constant Servant & Counsellor to y* 2 Kings of famous
memory Henries y* 7 & eighth. He owed his birth & childhood to Kent & his highly honorable uncle St
Tho. Wyatt at Alington Castle. His youth to the Court & King H. 8. To whose service he was sworn at
14 years old. His prime of Manhood (after the calm of that best Prince Edw. 6) to y* warres of Scotland
in Queene Maries days. Till called home by her, whose sodayn death gave beginning to y* glorious raigne
of Queene Elizabeth, he gave himself to voyage & trunell into y* flourishing states of France, Italy, &
Germany; where soone putting on all those abilities that become y* back of Honour, Especially skill &
proofs in Armes, he liued in grace, & gracing y* Courts of the most renowned Princes of that warlike age
returned home charged with y* reputation of a well formed Traveller & adored with those flowers of Knight-
hood, Curtesy, Bounty, Valour, which quickly gae forth therie fruit as well in the field to the adventage
(at once) of y* 2 denided parts of y* happily unite state. And to both Theyre Princes his Sou'ringes suc-
cessively in that expidicion into Scotland, the yeare 1573, when in goodly equipage he repayed to y* seige
of Edinburgh, there quartering before y* castle & commanding one of y* batteries, He shared largely in y*
hono' of flourishing y* mayden fort; as also in Court, where he shone in all those faire parts became his pro-
fession and vowes, Honoring his highly gratious M'to with raising those later Olympiads of her Coronation
Justes & Tournaments, thereby trying & treying y* courtier in those exercises of arms that keepe y*
p'son bright & steeld to hardiness, that by softe ease rustes & weares, wherein still himself lead &
triumphed, carrying away y* spoiles of Grace from his Sovereigne & renoune from y* world. For y* fairest
man at Armes & most compleat Courtier of his tymes till single out by y* choice hand of his sou'eigne
M'to for mede of his worth (after y* Lieutenancy of y* royall manour of Woodstok & y* office of y* royall
Armory) he was called vp an assessor on y* benche of honour, among Princes & peers, receiving at her
Ma't hands the noblest ord' of the Garter. Whilst the worms of tyme gnawing y* root of this plant
yeielding to the burden of Age & y* industry of an active youth imposed on him full of that Glory of the
Court he abated of his Sence to pay his better part resigned his dignity & hono' of her Ma't knight to y*
adventurous Compt George Earle of Comb'land, changing pleasure for ease, for tranquility hono', making
rest his solace & contemplation his employment. So as absent fro y* world, present with himselfe, he chose to
lose y* fruit of publicke use & action for that of Deuotion & piety. In w'th tyme, besides y* building of 4
goodly manors, he renued y* ruines of this chappell, added these monuments to hono' his blood & freindus,
reysed y* foundation of y* adjoyning hospital, And lastly, as full of yeares as of honor, having serued 5 suc-
ceeding Princes & kept himselfe right & steady in many dangerous shocks & 3 utter turnes of State, w'th a
body bent to earth & a mynde erected to heauen, Aged 80, Knighted 60 yeares, he mett his long attended

arrangement of coats in olden times cannot be depended upon as to their placing. Sir Henry Lee was
elected a Knight of the Garter in 1597, and upon his stall-plate the same coats appear as upon the relic
from the tomb of his father, though differently arranged."
end, & now rests with his Redeemer; leaning much patrimony with his name, honor with the world, & plentiful teares with his freinds.

Of with Sacrifice he offers his part y\textsuperscript{t} being a sharer in his blood aswell as in many of his honorable fauo\textsuperscript{r} & an honorer of his vertues thus narrowly registreth his spread worth to ensuing tymes.

William Scott.

This bit of biography will be incomplete unless we notice another memorial, ensigne with these arms on a lozenge, Or, a danctette sable, differenced by a crescent, and for crest a cock gules,—showing that it was placed there in memory of a lady of the noble house of Vavasour.\textsuperscript{*} But it seems that, favourite Maid of Honour as she was to Queen Elizabeth, neither rank nor station could preserve her from frailty; and on that account her tomb is said to have been desecrated and defaced by order of the bishop of the diocese. Her shame and degradation was thus moderately commemorated:—

Under this stone intomb'd lies a faire and worthy dame,
Daughter to Henry Vavasor, Anne Vavasour her name.
Shee living with Sr Henry Lee for love long tyme did dwell,
Death could not part them, but that here they rest with in one cell.

Sir Henry died in 1610; the above was copied by the Lancaster Herald in 1611, and the following year he made a marginal note to the lines thus:—

“This tombe is since erased and pulled downe, 1612.” Did the fastidious hierophant wait till the champion was gathered to his fathers?

At all events, under so open an avowal Sir Henry, the most chivalrous knight of his day, and Walter Scott's prototype of perfection, may be dubbed a cavalier sans peur, though, alas! not sans reproche. Moreover, he having been buried at Quarendon, and his wife and children at Aylesbury, where their monument may still be seen, is suspiciously significant. But, having cast an unwilling eye upon this scandal, we may now glance at the revels and pageantries with which the champion complimented his royal mistress, as being of a higher character than those with which Queen Victoria was lately entertained at Stowe

\textsuperscript{*} The Vavasours came to England with the Conqueror, and took that name from the office they bore, being the King's valvavours, holding land in fealty; a degree then but little inferior to a baron.
THE LEES OF QUARENDON.

135

Furthermore, there is every reason to infer that the knight's great contemporary Shakespeare himself may have visited Quarendon about the time. The world is aware, from Aubrey's gossip, that the bard of bards passed a night with the constable of Grendon Underwood, where he picked up some of the humorous touches which bedeck his Midsummer Night's Dream; yet, as neither Quince, Snug, Bottom, Flute, Snout, nor Starveling were officers of the peace, a claim has been set up for Dull, in Love's Labour's Lost. However, worthy John merely alludes to the official's vein of humour, rather than to his august dignity. The straggling village in question is on the margin of an old way called Akeman Strete, and was formerly the thoroughfare—a miry one it was—from Aylesbury into Warwickshire. The late Sir George Lee was rector of this place for four years; and, though its road and trackways have been greatly improved since Shakespeare and Aubrey waded through them, the distinctive couplet has not been altogether lost which pronounces—

Grendon Underwood
The dirtiest town that ever stood.

To return for a moment to Quarendon. It is situated among some of the richest meadow-land in the proverbially rich Vale of Aylesbury, about 2000 acres of which pertain to the sacred ruin—a daughter-church of Berton, which acknowledges Aylesbury as its mother-church. The great tithes of this forsaken fane, somehow belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, were commuted at £55 per annum, in 1847; being leased to Mr. James Du Pré, the possessor of the surrounding property. Now this weighty sum is exacted from a parish where there is neither priest nor worship; moreover, that distant body at Lincoln also hold the vicarial tithes of wool and lambs, and yet the inhabitants of the place are deprived of religious instruction.

Struck with this discreditable state of things, Lady Frankland Russell made an earnest attempt, about fifteen years ago, to rescue the Chapel from utter destruction; and, in order that its deserted aisles might again resound with the praises of God, opened a subscription for its restoration. This effort
was but languidly responded to, for most people considered such replacement to be entirely the duty of those who received the profits. Indeed the whole of the donations were short of 60l. and therefore useless to the cause in view; while, among the subscribers, the names of those who for years have received such large sums from the devoted parish did not appear. In the list of those few persons who came forward on the occasion was Dr. Lee of Hartwell, but with a characteristic proviso, namely, "5l. towards the expenses of investigating as to who are bound to rebuild the Chapel."

Thus a sensible, useful, and highly benevolent intention was frustrated; and each successive year has doubled all the difficulties of the case, till it is now impossible. Had the volunteer funds been at all equal to the object for which they were intended, the restoration would have been as in the following view, which was kindly presented to me by her ladyship:

§ 4. SIR GEORGE LEE, PRINCE FREDERICK, AND THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

In the *Ædes Hartwelliana* (pages 66—80), will be found a tolerable outline of the public career of that distinguished civilian and statesman Sir
George Lee; but circumstances induce me to return to the subject, with an essential addition for that biographical sketch.

The jobation with which I visited Dr. Lipscomb's risible error regarding the silver vase presented to Sir George, and now preserved in Hartwell House (pages 75—80), drew the notice of the learned Edward Hawkins, then Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum, who kindly favoured me with the cast of a medal in his private collection, confirming my statement; and which is already somewhat rare. On the obverse are profiles of Talbot and Morecock supported by winged intelligences, one of whom holds a large olive-branch and the other is sounding a trumpet: under them appear the treasure-waggons being drawn to the Bank of England, while the exergum is inscribed with VENI BUNT LOND. OCT. I. ET II. MDCCXLV., and on the lower verge, outside, this is written: I. KIRK. F.* The reverse is a representation of the sea-fight, very nearly as it appears on the Hartwell vase, with the initials of each ship's name at her masthead, and the date IULII. X. MDCCXLV. fills the exergum:—

Since mention was made in the Ædes (page 114) of Sir George's amiable wife, Judith, other manuscripts have been inspected proving how truly she merited that epithet; and also that this lady was as good a partner as man

* In the encharged design on the Hartwell vase there is a small boat with three rowers and no sitter, in the foreground; but, as it was unnecessary for the story of the ships, and to save space, the margin of my drawing (Ædes, page 73) was cut off just above it. Indeed it may be considered only as one of those "artistic touches" with which the front of most sea-fight views are defiled; for a purblind instance of which, see oucherboorgh's celebrated picture of Howe's action in 1794, where boats are introduced in the way of huge men-of-war running at the rate of seven or eight knots per hour.
could ever expect to be blessed with. Indeed, were it not for impinging on
due delicacy, we might very properly exhibit the firm bearings of her mind,
even in presence of the grim tyrant as manifested in a letter written in her last
illness, and superscribed “For Dr. Lee, after I am dead,” but that it could
only have been intended for her husband’s eye. It is at once sensible, affec-
tionate, resigned, and hopeful; with a postscript ending thus:—“I entreat
you will not suffer my dead body to be so exposed, as is the usual way, to
numbers of people, in that monstrous custom called laying-out; but let me
be put into my coffin just as I die, without any washing, &c. only a clean cap
and shift, which may be put on very decently by one or two persons at most.”

This lady died in the year 1743, in the 33rd year of her age, and Sir
George survived her fifteen years, but continued a widower. Her father was
the well-known Rt. Hon. Humphrey Morice, whose name appears in the pub-
llications of that period; and who bequeathed his estate of Grove House,
Chiswick, to Mrs. Luther, under condition that all the horses and dogs on the
premises were to be carefully fed, and otherwise attended to, till they died
a natural death. He was well versed in our commercial relations with the
Levant, and especially with the branch called the Turkey trade. *

A copy of the _Aedes Hartwelliæ_ having been presented to a friend
critically acquainted with our history, in returning his acknowledgement for
the book, he remarked—“I fear Prince Frederick hardly merited the strong
epithets of approbation your kindness has bestowed upon him.” Now what
with powerful writers, Parnassian poets, flunkified quill-drivers, and grub-
street scribblers,—scandal of all degrees respecting little bellicose George II.,
his profligate court, and his implacable hatred to his eldest son, has descended
to us in surplusage. However, it may be that among the memorials at Hart-
well, I was influenced by the _Genius Loci_, and the regrets of those who con-

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* This worthy gentleman’s character had been most atrociously attacked; but the miscreants who
assailed him were convicted of a foul conspiracy, and sentenced to stand in the pillory. See the Annual
Register for 1759, pages 99 and 100.
sidered the prince's death to be a public calamity; still the reader must be
well aware how perplexing it is to attain accuracy where the bearings dazzle
in royal radiance. In consequence therefore of the reproof above mentioned,
some of the pro and cons shall here follow, in order that the courteous reader
may duly ponder over them, and then decide for himself:—

PRO.

Leonidas Glover.

(Speech to the Livery of London, 1751)—"I
joyfully embrace this opportunity of declaring
that, whatever part of a public character I may
presume to claim, I owe primarily to you. To
this I might add the favour, the twenty years
countenance and patronage of one whom a su-
preme degree of respect shall prevent me from
naming; and, though under the temptation of
using that name as a certain means of obviating
some misconstructions, I shall, however, avoid
to dwell on the memory of a loss so recent, so
justly and so universally lamented."

It must be recollected that Glover had pub-
lished his great poem, Leonidas, just after Prince
Frederick was expelled from St. James's, and
kept a separate court at Leicester House, where
Lord Lyttelton was confidential secretary, Dr.
George Lee the trusty lawyer, Mallet under-
secretary, Thomson a pensioned poet, and a host
of opposition-adherents and auxiliaries, who all
praised, quoted, and eagerly recommended Leo-
nidas and its principles. Hence Glover became
intimate with the Prince, whom he mentions
under the sobriquet of Don Carlos, and must
have had a tolerable insight of the then loose
morals of patrician life. Indeed he relates an
anecdote which bears evidence of that laxity, and
also shows the terms wherein he stood with the
royal personage: "Don Carlos told me that it
cost him twelve thousand pounds in corruption,
particularly among the Tories, to carry the

CON.

Horace Walpole.

In his amusing chit-chat this literary dandy
days, "The following anecdote was told me by
Mr. Fox, who said the King himself told it him,
and that the late Lord Hervey had told him the
same particular from the Queen. One day when
the Prince was but a boy, his Governor was
complaining of him, the Queen, whose way, as
the King said, was to excuse him, exclaimed,
'Ah! je m'imagine que ceux sont des tours de
page!' The Governor replied, 'Plût à Dieu,
madame, que ceux sont des tours de page! Ceux
sont des tours de laquais et de coquins!'"

Lord Hervey.

(Memoirs of the Reign of George II.)—"The
Prince's best qualities always gave one a degree
of contempt for him. His carriage, while it
seemed engaging to those who did not examine
it, appearing mean to those who did. He was
indeed as false as his capacity would allow him
to be, and was more capable in that walk than
in any other, never having the least hesitation
from principle or fear of future detection, in
telling any lie that served his present purpose.
He had a much weaker understanding, and, if
possible, a more obstinate temper than his father.
Had he had one grain of merit at the bottom of
his heart, one should have had compassion for
him in the situation to which his miserable poor
head soon reduced him, for his case in short was
this: he had a father that abhorred him, a mo-
ther that despised him, sisters that betrayed him,
Westminster and Chippenham elections, and other points, which compelled Lord Orford, at that time Sir Robert Walpole, to quit the House of Commons."

SMOLLETT.

*(History of England).*—"In the midst of these deliberations the kingdom was alarmed with an event which overwhelmed the people with grief and consternation. His royal highness the Prince of Wales, in consequence of a cold caught in his gardens at Kew, was seized with a pleuritic disorder, and, after a short illness, expired on the 20th day of March (1750), to the unspeakable affliction of his royal consort, and the unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country. This excellent Prince, who now died in the 45th year of his age, was possessed of every amiable quality which could engage the affection of the people, a tender and obliging husband, a fond parent, a kind master, liberal, generous, candid, and humane; a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well disposed to assert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the interest of Great Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at seeing a Prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes."

CULLODEN PAPERS.

*(Quarterly Review, 1816).*—"When the Princess of Wales, mother of his present Majesty, mentioned, with some appearance of censure, the conduct of Lady Margaret MacDonald of Sleat, who harboured and concealed the Prince when in the extremity of peril he threw himself on her protection, 'And would not you, madam,' answered Prince Frederick, 'have done the same in like circumstances? I hope—I am sure you would.'"

a brother set up against him, and a set of servants that were neither of use to him nor desirous of being so." *(Vol. i. page 298)*

In the Edinburgh Review of this work it is truly remarked that the character of Frederick has often been described, but never so unfavourably as in these Memoirs. Hervey hated him intensely; but we must remember that Lord Fanny had particular reasons for this hatred. The terms on which the eldest sons of this family had always lived with their fathers had been those of distrust, opposition, and hostility. "So far," adds the reviewer, "the antipathy of the father may be explained, and the conduct of the son palliated. But this will not explain the Queen's hatred and the Queen's language. In one place she speaks of him as 'the most hardened of all liars.' In another she says (to Hervey), 'My dear Lord, I will give it you under my hand, if you are in any fear of my relapsing, that my dear firstborn is the greatest ass, and the greatest liar, and the greatest canaille, and the greatest beast in the whole world, and that I most heartily wish he was out of it!'"

EARL OF CHATHAM'S LIFE.

*(Edinburgh Review, 1834).*—"In April 1736, Frederick was married to the Princess of Saxe Gotha, with whom he afterwards lived on terms very similar to those on which his father had lived with Queen Caroline. The Prince adored his wife, and thought her in mind and person the most attractive of her sex. But he thought that conjugal fidelity was an unprincely virtue; and, in order to be like Henry the Fourth, and the Regent Orleans, he affected a libertinism for which he had no taste, and frequently quitted the only woman whom he loved, for ugly and disagreeable mistresses."

EARL RUSSELL.

*(Life of Fox).*—"Frederick Prince of Wales,
SIR GEORGE LEE, PRINCE FREDERICK, AND THE PRINCESS OF WALES. 141

Shipwreck Falconer.

(Poem sacred to the Prince's memory)

Well may'st thou mourn thy patriot's timeless end,
Thy muse's patron and thy merchant's friend.
What heart shall pity thy full-flowing grief?
What hand now deign to give thy poor relief?
To encourage arts, whose bounty now shall flow,
And learned science to promote bestow?
Who now protect thee from the hostile frown,
And to the injured Just return his own?
From us'ry and oppression who shall guard
The helpless, and the threat'ning ruin ward?
Alas! the truly noble Briton's gone.

Dodsley.

(Poem on Agriculture).—The address.

"O thou, Britannia's rising hope!
The favourite of her wishes! thou, O prince,
On whom her fondest expectations wait,
Accept the verse."

with some liveliness of parts, had a mean understanding and a meaner heart. His boyhood was not promising.

We may now conclude these inimical descriptions of the Prince, with the efforts of one of the hohen-mogen bards at a poetical

Epitaph.

"Here lies Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead.
We had much rather
It had been his father.
Had it been his brother
Still better than another.
Had it been his sister,
No one would have missed her.
If 'twere the whole generation,
Still better for the nation.
But, as 'tis only Fred,
Once alive, and now dead,
There's no more to be said."

Such is the harmony of historical biography, when viewed through different spectacles; and, in the difficulty of pointing out Truth under such antagonistic phases, we recommend striking a mean. To the determined partizan reader, we can only say, utrum horum mavis accipe!

But party rancour was not satisfied with one victim only, for the Princess of Wales was no less assailed by the character-mongers than her husband had been. By the Leicester House division, Augusta was extolled as possessing every amiable virtue, and being a very mother of the Gracchi to her children; the court adherents, however, represented her as mean, narrow-minded, domineering, and Demosthenic in enunciation, keeping her eldest son, the future George III., in trammels so strict, that he imbibed all her prejudices and bigotries. Nay, the "sacred" King himself—even George the Second—stung by her sarcasms on his unseemly mistresses, forgot his chivalry, and railed at "cette diablesse, Madame la Princesse." Yet the Right Reverend Bishop Porteus makes out that, before this monarch went to heaven, he—
Saw to young George, Augusta’s care impart
Whate’er could raise and harmonize the heart;
Blend all his grandsire’s virtues with his own,
And form their mingled radiance for the throne.

Gracious and dread sovereigns of a certain stamp are really to be pitied,
for, as they are in a manner placed beyond the pale of public opinion, and
surrounded by parasites and sycophants, they are prone to become victims
of self-delusion, and pass their lives in “a sick epicure’s dream.”

To return. It will be remembered by most of our readers that, at the
marriage of this lady with Prince Frederick, the nation was wild in rapturous
manifestations. On this joyful occasion congratulatory odes poured forth from
every college in Oxford to the amount of more than 70 in number, which
were collected and printed at the Clarendon Press in 1736, there being among
them effusions in Greek, Latin, and English, besides an ode in Hebrew, one
in Welsh, and one in the German language. These greetings were exclusive
of a running fire of adulation from the Parnassian regulars and mercenaries,
besides which medals of welcome and commendation were struck, bearing
effigies of the royal pair.* Among others, there was a series of twelve me-
dallets engraved by John Kirk in Augusta’s special laudation, which are now
before me. All these have for their obverse a portrait of the Princess re-
garding the right, her hair elaborately tressed, the neck decked with a pearl
necklace, and the bust richly draped; the countenance is handsome, with a
firm expression, surrounded by the legend, Augusta Walliae Principessa.
The obverses are emblematic Cupids in allusion to the happy marriage;

* Snuff-boxes, rings, and various articles of bijoutry, were also distributed among people of position.
Being at Edenhall in November 1858 I observed a peculiar ring on Lady Musgrave’s finger, and requested
leave to examine the device. It is a diamond ring with the Prince of Wales’s feathers in white enamel, and
words “Ich Dien” engraved beneath. On the inside is the date 1736, and the initials F. P. W., with an
inscription “SEM. H. N. Q. T. L. Q. MAN.” from a line in the Aeneid, Semper honos, nomenque tuum
laudescet manebunt. This ring was presented to Sir John Chardin, son of the celebrated eastern traveller,
by Frederick Prince of Wales, and the dowrie bequeathed it to his cousin—Sir Philip Musgrave,—son of Julia
Lady Musgrave, sister of Sir John Chardin.
Plate VI.

MEDALLIONS struck in compliment to the PRINCESS OF WALES,

MOTHER OF GEORGE THE THIRD.
though some of them, as No. 6 for instance, seem hardly flattering either to the
bride or bridegroom. They are shewn on Plate VI. in the following order:—

1. *Persévérance gagnée.* Cupid, with expanded wings, running; before him a tortoise pro-
gressing, behind, a hare asleep; thus illustrating the classical fable.
2. *L'Amour triomphe sur tout.* Cupid riding on a lion subdued, insomuch that he treads
along with his tail between his legs.
3. *Deux corps une âme.* Two Cupids, or more likely Cupid and Psyche, embracing.
4. *L'Amour requiert la sincérité.* Cupid holds a small mirror (?) and tramples on a mask.
5. *L'Amour trouve de moyen.* Cupid, seated on his quiver, adroitly rows himself over the
smooth waters with his bow by way of oar.
7. *L'Amour est sans peur.* Cupid flourishes a palm-branch, and treads upon a hare, the
emblem of timidity; yet raising its head as if in reproach.
8. *Nulle rose sans épine.* Cupid hastening to gather roses, apparently without caution.
9. *Pour un plaisir mille de peines.* Cupid dozing, or asleep; half a dozen moths fluttering
about a lighted candle: a wholesome warning.
10. *L'Amour hait la vanité.* Cupid treading on the tail of a peacock, the emblem of vanity.
11. *L'Absence tue.* Cupid, pierced in the breast by an arrow, points with both hands to
a lily: thus appealing to helpless innocence.
12. *Nul labour fatigue.* Cupid carrying away a column, with its capital, on his left shoulder.

Fulsome panegyric is at best a rank bubble, which either bursts from excess
of malignity, or evaporates before the torch of Truth. Thus, notwithstanding
the aforesaid compliments, the Princess was afterwards bombarded in a dis-
reputable manner by bitter enemies, from Lord Chatham down to London's
dregs; and malevolence rushed to such an extreme, in alluding to her inter-
course with the hated Lord Bute, as to doubt the paternity of her son. This
it was which provoked Julius Mickle, in his elegy on her death:—

Aspers'd by malice and unmanly rage,
Disgraceful stamp on this flagitious age,
In conscious innocence, secure'd from blame,
She sigh'd—but only sigh'd o'er Britain's shame.

Now in contradiction of that brutal inuendo—were it wanted—the Hartwell
portraits alone stamp the father's likeness in the son. The equestrian statue in
Hartwell Park (*Ædes, page 71,* of which I here submit a faithful resemblance,
as drawn by Mrs. Smyth in August 1862, affords pretty substantial points in evidence—even to satisfy Mrs. Candour herself.

By a comparison of phrenological bumps with the "ominations of physiognomie" so cleverly paraded by Lavater, Spurzheim, and Co., we may insist that, although every child does not resemble its true parent, it would be difficult
to find an instance of an illegitimate son resembling his mother's husband. Moreover, the features of Prince Frederick, mentioned in the *Aedes* (page 117), collate admirably with a large print in Dr. Lee's collection, representing George, Prince of Wales, in 1755, engraved by Bernard Baron, from a painting by Adolphe. In this production the burin-artist shows more taste than the limner does, for there is the bare-headed prince in an embroidered coat, as stiff as a marline-spike, mounted on a saltatory charger, and prancing along a sea-beach, with ships and boats in shoal water, canopied by a marble sky.

I mentioned in the same work (page 71) that a statue of Prince Frederick's father, perhaps by way of burying the hatchet, was placed on the opposite Park Hill; and, in a spirit of strict neutrality, shall here also present the gallant little choleric King, belaurelled and accoutred like a very Roman Emperor.—
ADDENDA TO THE Aedes Hartwellianae.

It is not my intention while trying to ward off the coarser blows which were aimed at the Princess, to assert that she never meddled with cabinet affairs, nor am I of that leaven which would hunt down a political woman as a bagged fox. The following jottings proves that she was not unmindful of her important charge in rearing the Heir Apparent; or in looking to the end. The original manuscript of this paper is indorsed, in Sir George Lee's handwriting, "Memorandum of what passed between the Princess, St George, Mr. Pitt, and Ld Bute, upon the Coalition, 1755."

Heads of what past with Mr. Pitt.

On Monday 5th May, 1755, the Princess of Wales gave Mr. Pitt (pursuant to his desire) an audience at the Earl of Bute's house in South Audley Street, in consequence of a conversation which had past between the 8th Earl and him a few days before. At that audience, as the Princess told me, Mr. Pitt declared the great duty of himself & his friends to her & their desire to support her & preserve the independence of the Prince whenever he should come to the Crown; that great numbers were in the same opinion, but were deterred from declaring themselves from apprehension that she & the Prince were under influence from Mr. Stone, & that she was quite connected with & was the support of the D. of Newcastle, that this gave the true constitutional Whigs who acted upon Revolution principles great alarm, for as to the D. of Newcastle he had deceived all mankind, & it was impossible to act with him if he was to be continued minister in a future reign. Her R. H. replied that she was not in any sort influenced by Mr. Stone, and she was sure he had never attempted to inculcate any Tory principles into the Prince; and as to the Duke of Newcastle she had no other connection with him than as the King's minister; that she should always countenance those the King employed, & should never oppose the King's measures; in the conversation she was pleased to say she confided in me, whereupon Mr. Pitt desired he might have a conference with me the next night, & concluded with assurances of his duty, & that he would endeavour to bring as many persons to her interest as he could.

Accordingly, by Her R. H.'s command, on Tuesday evening 6th May, I met Mr. Pitt at the Earl of Bute's, where, after mutual compliments, we declared a desire of cementing friendship; he declared his attachment & his friendship to the Princess and her family, and that upon her honouring him with her countenance he would do all he could to connect people to her, that she might have a strong party if any thing should happen; talk'd of the apprehensions of Mr. Stone's influence, for which I assured him there was not the least foundation; said he had had great offers from the D. of Newcastle, but he would have nothing to do with him; commended me for refusing the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared as the D. of N. & Ld Granville as ministers; spoke much in honor of Ld Chancellor, & wished him to be the minister; pressed much to know whether Her R. H. had any connection with the D. of N., for unless he could be authorised to assure people she had not he could not do her any service, tho' as to himself he was satisfied from what she had been pleased to say to him, which I had confir'm'd; I ventured to assure him she had no other connection with him than as the King's minister, & one whose interest appear'd to be the same with her, tho' this winter he had done every thing in contradiction to her interest, for he had thrown the game into Mr. Fox's hand, who was in a plan opposite to the Princess's; he would
SIR GEORGE LEE, PRINCE FREDERICK, AND THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

make no explicit declaration about Fox, further than that he would never do any thing for or consent to putting the House of Commons into Fox’s hands: he pressed again to be empowered to declare that the Princess would not recommend the D. of N. to the Prince for his minister, & said it was too much to expect from me a declaration in the Princess's name without her authority; upon which he begged I would see the Princess & know her sentiments, for such a declaration would be of great use, which I promised; we both declared this was a defensive treaty only to connect people together, but did not bind us to hostility, &c any person, or to opposition to the King's measures.

On Wednesday, 7th May, I waited on the Princess, acquainted her with the substance of our conference, & by her command the same day made the following declaration to Lord Bute, to be by him delivered to Mr. Pitt: viz, that Her R. H. had no partiality for the D. of N., that she had no private or particular connection with him otherwise than as the King's minister, & that she had no thoughts of recommending him to the Prince as his minister, but she did not think it proper for her to declare against having to do with any body, and as to Ls Chrs she had a great esteem & regard for him.

Lord Bute ask'd me how far I thought Mr. Pitt & I were engaged by what had past between us. I replied that I thought we were bound to enter into no concert with the D. of N. without communicating to each other, and he said he was of the same opinion; it was agreed that Lord Temple, Lord Egmont, & Mr. Geo. Grenville should be informed of what had passed.

Before quitting this section, two documents may be added about the conferring of Knighthood, first on Sir George Lee in 1752, and secondly on Sir George Everest, of Indian scientific renown, in 1862; by which a notable advance of common sense and propriety in a century will be manifested. The official papers on this count could command a serious comment:

A BILL OF FEES DUE TO THE KING'S SERVANTS FROM ALL PERSONS THAT RECEIVE
THE HON'F OF KNIGHTHOOD, VIZ:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£  s  d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the Earl Marshal of England</td>
<td>3 13 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Heralds, &amp;c.</td>
<td>8 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Lyon of Scotland</td>
<td>8 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ye' Heralds, do.</td>
<td>8 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Gent. Ushers of the Privy Chamber</td>
<td>5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Gent. Ushers Daily Waiters</td>
<td>5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Gent. Usher Assistant</td>
<td>1 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Grooms of the Privy Chamber</td>
<td>5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Robes</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ye' Yeomen of ye' Month</td>
<td>1 16 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Quarterly Waiters</td>
<td>4 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Gent. and Yeomen Harbingers</td>
<td>5 6 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Wardrobe</td>
<td>2 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Serjeant at Arms</td>
<td>5 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADDENDA TO THE ΑΕDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To y* Kn† Harbinger</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Pages of the Bed Chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Exons of y* Yeomen</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Pages of the Presence</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Porters at y* Gate</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* King's Footmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Serj† Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Trumpets</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Closet Keeper</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Yeomen Ushers</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Coachmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Keepers of the Council Chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Master Cook</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Drummajor</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Grooms of y* Great Chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Survey* of the Ways</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Sewers of the Chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Barber</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Gent. of the Butter &amp; Cellar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Survey* of the Dresser</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To y* Register of the College at Arms</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More to y* Six Pages for being Kn† within y* Verge</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£ 95 1 6

Febry. 22nd, 1752.

Received of Sr Geo. Lee, K‡, the Sum of Ninevty-five Pounds one Shilling and Six Pence., the Contents of this Bill, for the Use of His Majesty's Servants.

P. M.

R. GRIFFIN, Receiver of y* fees of Honour.

£ 95 1s. 6d.

While I was examining these strange gratuities to authorities and pampered menials, it so befel that Sir George Everest consented to accept this equivocal honour, though he had established a full claim to better distinction. I therefore begged the items of the fees which he paid on the occasion, and here they are:

3 July, 1862.

DEAR SIR,

The Items of the Knighthood Fees are very simple, and they are almost entirely divided amongst the Colleges of Arms in England and Scotland:
FEES FOR KNIGHTHOOD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Heralds and Earl Marshall</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keepers of the Council Chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiver</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yours faithfully,

J. C. MARCH.

§ 5. THE LEES OF COLWORTH, &c.

In the _Ædes Hartwellianæ_ (pages 63—66) is a brief sketch of the successful career achieved by the Right Hon. Sir William Lee, Lord Chief Justice; he, dying in 1754, left the manor of Totteridge, with other estates, to his only son William, who married Philadelphia, daughter of Sir Thomas Dyke, of Lullingstone Castle in Kent; and, having a scientific bias, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on the 26th of May, 1748. At his death, in 1778, he left a son aged 14 years, also called William, who succeeded to Totteridge Park, with its dependencies; and, in pursuance of the will of Richard Antonie, Esq. of Colworth, in the parish of Sharnbrook and county of Bedford, took the surname of Antonie in addition to his patronymic. The Colworth property, with its elegant mansion and well-wooded grounds, was devised to him accordingly; the same having belonged to the Antonie family since the year 1700.∗

In 1781, the guardians of young Lee Antonie purchased for him the fair estate of Medmenham, Little Marlow, from the late distinguished Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren. This place had acquired considerable obloquy from its phalanx of ardent spirits, stigmatized as the "Hell-Fire Club,"—Churchill,

∗ It is said that Colworth formerly belonged to the Cornish family, ancestors of the well-known Admiral Sir Samuel Cornish; who, when goaded about General Draper and the Manilla ransom, humourously exclaimed that he "never would again accept of a command where his colleague spoke Latin."
Wilkes, Lord le Despenser, Lloyd, Bubb Doddington, Sir John Dashwood
King, Paul Whitehead, Bates, Sir William Stanhope, Lovebond Collins, and
others. Notoriety had already been attached to the old manor-house of this
property (now a farm about one mile from the church,) from the circum-
stance of Charles II. having paid a visit to Sir John Borlase; on which
occasion he was accompanied by the witty, frail, and open-hearted Nell Gwynne.

In June, 1785, Mr. Lee Antonie, at the earnest suggestion of Sir Wil-
liam Lee of Hartwell, presented the donative of Edgware, near Totteridge,
to the Rev. Thomas Martyn, the eminent scholar and botanist. This gen-
tleman, as appears by his letter to Dr. Lee in the Ædes (page 37), was a friend
of all the family, and the appointment seems to be the natural consequence of
esteem on their part; but in the Annual Register for 1825 (page 257), it is
asserted that he was preferred to the perpetual curacy of Edgware by the
Earl of Coventry, in that year.

The owner of Colworth was now called to the pursuits, cares, and duties
of squirearchy; and at an early age was chosen the representative burgess of
the neighbouring borough-town of Great Marlow. Without dwelling upon
the politics, or rather partizanships of the Bucks of that day, it may be en-
tered upon these minutes that the new M.P. was greatly elated by the event,
and thus returned acknowledgements which, perhaps, may have been sincere:—

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF GREAT MARLOW.

By the Honour you have this Day conferred, in electing me one of your REPRESENTATIVES in
PARLIAMENT, I am raised to the highest of my Ambition.

The Manner in which you have bestowed that Honour, creates a double Obligation.

You have shut the Door against Tumult and Corruption; and while you have maintained Peace and
the Principles of our valuable Constitution, you have convinced the World that a Neighbour will succeed,
if he is supported by the INDEPENDENT VOTERS of MARLOW.

I congratulate you on this Triumph, and will make it the Study of my Life to enjoy it with you,
and deserve it.

I am

Your devoted Servant,

WILLIAM LEE ANTONIE.

Little Marlow, June 16, 1790.
Sacred to the memory of
William Lee Antonie,
of Colworth in this parish.
Born 28th February 1764.
Died 11th September 1818.
Faithful in the discharge of his public duties.
He served his country with independence
for seventeen years in Parliament.
Benevolence and integrity
marked his private character
and endear his memory.
He was the only son of William Lee,
of Totteridge in the county of Hertford
and grandson of that eminent and upright magistrate
Sir William Lee Knight,
Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.
Mr. Lee Antonie and Francis Duke of Bedford were at Westminster School together, and, in more senses than one, rowed in the same boat. They afterwards continued their intimacy, insomuch that Marlow was forsaken; and from 1802 our squire represented Bedford, conjointly with Samuel Whitbread, in three successive parliaments; he was, moreover, an active Major of the Bedford Volunteers. In public life he obtained esteem as an honest voter, though not addicted to speechifying; and, albeit a stiff Whig, conducted himself so that he maintained the enviable character of an independent country-gentleman—a valuable genus unknown to all other countries, and nearly extinct in this. His agreeably engaging manners, and unequivocally charitable disposition, rendered him popular; and there wanted nothing but marriage to his becoming the universal favourite of the county. He was heir-at-law to the Rev. Sir George Lee, and would have inherited the baronetcy and Hartwell estates, but that he died at Colworth in September, 1815, at the age of 51; having bequeathed Colworth, Totteridge, Medmenham, Little Marlow, and other lands at Lynn, in Norfolk, to his nephew, John Fiott, Esq. eldest son of his sister Harriet. A handsome tablet, designed and executed by the celebrated and classic Flaxman, was dutifully erected to his memory by his heir, Dr. Lee, in the chancel of Sharnbrook church, from which our Plate VII. is taken.

There is a striking likeness of Mr. Lee Antonie (No. 49) in the celebrated print called the "Wobourn Sheepshering," which was published in the year 1811. This elaborate engraving contains—besides an extensive group of gentry, oxen and sheep of many kinds, and lines of horsemen and carriages—portraits of the leading patrons of farming in that day; and, as they are all gathered to their fathers save the veteran Lord John, now Earl Russell, their names may be acceptable to the readers of my last chapter:

4. H. Hanmer. 10. Mr. Smith. 16. Lord Thanet.
5. Mr. Reeves. 11. Lord Dundas. 17. J. Conyers, esq.
As the death of Mr. Lee Antonie is dated 1825 instead of 1815 on a family pedigree that was put into my hand, it is also requisite to advert here to certain other errors which the cacography of a cursive copyist led me into, when occupied in compiling the *Ædes*. Discrepancies indeed are unavoidable where various documents and authorities are consulted which sometimes differ from each other, and even from themselves, on genealogical points. Hence I had considerable trouble in tabulating the Lee lineage (*Ædes Hartwellianæ*, page 96) from conflicting data; but, having since obtained access to the Hartwell parish register, which is complete in its baptisms and burials from the year 1550, a correction or two may be inserted that, however slight, are advances towards absolute accuracy. This register is also of interest in proving the stability of many families around, even though some of them have descended
from rank and station to a condition little removed from that of labourers. George Lee is enrolled as Thomas Lee's third son on the Heralds' College document; but the aforesaid register expressly shows him to have been the second, thus: "1637. Georgius filius secundus Thomas Lee Junioris, Domini de Hartwell, baptizatus fuit in ecclesia parochiali de Hartwell, 21° die Februarii;" and George's sister, who was also christened at the same font in January 1639,* is Latinized into Maria for Mary. Again the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Lee, the first Baronet, and Anne his wife, is called Frances by the genealogist, but is named Elizabeth in the record of her baptism on the 28th of July, Anno Servatoris 1662.

Among the minutiae of the genealogical table which I drew up, it may be observed that Anne daughter of the third Baronet became the second wife of Lord Vernon; from which union arose the compound relationships between the Lees, the Harcourts, and the Ansons, occasioning no small trouble and expense after the death of the Rev. Sir George Lee. It is true that that marriage strengthened the ties resulting from other espousals with branches of the Harcourt family; so that the first mother-in-law of Sir George Anson, the Hartwellian claimant, became aunt to the late Sir George Lee's father, and her second mother-in-law became aunt to his mother; but neither of these connexions afforded consanguinity to Sir George Anson with the family of Lee, he being merely the son of Vernon's daughter Mary (by his first

* The registers afford evidence that the papal innovations in the Church by the inhuman Laud and other prelates as to postures, victuals, vestments, and the like, were taking root about that time: "Whereas by reason of notorious sickness and infirmity of body, Thomas Carter, Vicar of Dinton, in y' county of Bucks, and Mrs. Jane Carter, his wife, with two of their children, William and Jane, may not use a fish diet without prejudice to their health: I, therefore, William Braig, curatt of Stone in the said county of Bucks, do grant unto the said Mr. Thomas Carter, his wife, and their two children, William and Jane, license to eat flesh this Lent season, during the continuance of their sickness and weakness, for the better recovery of their health, according to the purport and true meaning of the statutes in that case provided. In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name this second day of March, An'o Dom' 1635." The obligation to fast during Lent survived the Reformation, and was even renewed, though certainly not to a very oppressive extent, since some of the dispensations were granted not only to weak-stomached men, but also to their invited guests!
marriage) and her husband, George Anson, Esq. Anne died in September 1742, *a. p.* as stated in the table; and in 1744 Lord Vernon married thirdly Martha a sister of the first Earl Harcourt, and consequently aunt to his daughter Elizabeth, who was united to Sir William Lee, Bart. Lord Vernon by his third wife had issue Elizabeth, who increased the kin-entanglement by marrying George Simon, second Earl Harcourt, her maternal cousin.

My esteemed friend T. Tyringham Bernard, Esq. of Winchendon Priory, the present M.P. for Aylesbury, related to me in what manner the Lees forfeited the inheritance of the Nuneham property in Oxfordshire. The Rev. Mr. Baker, Rector of that parish, told him that George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, in conversation with his sister's husband, Sir William Lee, observed that, as neither himself nor his brother Field Marshal Lord Harcourt had any children, the Nuneham estates should descend to Sir William and his sons on condition of their taking the name of Harcourt. For this offer Sir William expressed many thanks, and no doubt sincere ones; but he sharply questioned the propriety of surrendering the appellative, Lee, for that of Harcourt, since the former was of far greater consideration. Offended at this remark, his lordship broke off the conversation; but very soon afterwards made a will cutting off his sister, Lady Elizabeth Lee, and her children, from all right of succession, not even leaving her a legacy, nor did he bequeath to his brother the Field Marshal more than a life-interest in his property. When he could no longer retain the family estates he left them to the Archbishop of York, Dr. Vernon, who was a relation of his wife's, and who appended the name of Harcourt to that of Vernon with becoming alacrity. Surprised at the contents of this will, the Field Marshal and Sir William Lee are stated by Mr. John Rose, the family solicitor, to have taken legal advice, but found that they could not set the testament aside. They, however, broke off all communication with the Vernonite widow of the testator, as she incurred the suspicion of being privy to the alienation of the property.

Meantime the Field Marshal cordially patronized his eldest nephew
THE LEES OF COLWORTH.

William and obtained a commission for him in his own regiment, in which they fought side by side during the harassing campaigns in Flanders, and the behaviour of the nephew was much to the satisfaction of the uncle, as shown by his letters to Sir William Lee. He testified great esteem for his younger nephew (George) also, by appointing him one of his executors, and bequeathing to him a mortgage which he held on the Hartwell estate for 20,000l. But the Rev. Sir George Lee died two years before his uncle, or he would have inherited other property also, according to some letters written to him by Lady Harcourt. Sir George, however, in terms of warm kindness left his noble uncle some legacies, which his lordship claimed and received, but soon afterwards he joined Sir William Anson in filing a bill in Chancery against Dr. Lee for winning possession of the manor of Hartwell! The right thus put forth was but a cobweb affair, yet the suit was so strenuously and continuously persevered in, that the defendant under advice of counsel submitted to a compromise, which, including costs, amounted to nearly 8,000l.; and so the Harcourt, Lee, Nuneham, and Anson ties were dissevered.

There is still an error or two more to notice in this portion of the Aides. In the foot-note at page 65 of that volume, it should have been stated that the patriarchal William Lee of Abingdon died in the year 1637, not 1737. His blazon was, Azure, two bends argent under a bend compony gules, in the centre chief a crescent argent for difference. There is moreover a misconception on page 37 of the same work, where it is stated that Sir William Lee presented the living of Little Marlow to the Rev. Thomas Martyn, but my informant must have been thinking of Edgware, for Martyn had been preferred to Little Marlow on the 23rd of December 1776, by his grateful pupil Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, that is, six years before the purchase of the estate for Mr. Lee Antonie.

Finally, there is an oversight on page 122 of the Aides, where—speaking of Demosthenes's throwing away his shield and cutting off from the conflict of Chæronæa—that event is erroneously printed as having occurred 1200 years ago, instead of 2200. Regarding the Hudibrastic couplet, which forms the
gist of that inquiry—and which had been assigned to Butler or Sir John Mennis—Mr. J. Yeowell gives the authorship to Goldsmith, and apparently with reason. In a work published in 1762 by John Newbery, *The Art of Poetry on a New Plan*, while admiring Ralphi's prudence in advising a timely flight, the popular bard of Longford amplified and paraphrased the couplet in question:—

And therefore I, with reason, chose
This stratagem t'amuse our foes,
To make an hon'orable retreat,
And waive a total sure defeat:
For he who fights and runs away
May live to fight another day;
But he who is in battle slain
Can never rise and fight again.
Hence timely running's no mean part
Of conduct in the martial art.

Here a curious fact occurs as to memory, whether regarded merely as that faculty of mind by which it retains the knowledge of past events, or the power of applicable remembrance by which such events are recalled to our thoughts for use. While pursuing the inquiry made in 1850 as to the authorship of "He who fights, &c." (*see Ædes*, pages 119 to 122), though there were faint scintillations of a former acquaintance with the subject, my particular conception of it must have been dormant. For on seeing Mr. Yeowell's contribution to "Notes and Queries" (July 25th, 1863,) the mental impression was at once restored, and it immediately recurred that I had often—very often—repeated the above verses in my boyhood. Ohimé! memory, imagination, recollection, idea, and reminiscence—through all their varieties—are liable to lamentable fits of inertia!

While, however, we admit of Goldsmith's claim, the original conception of the idea is as open to discussion as ever; and even the expansion of Butler's couplet was given in a foreign language upwards of half a century before Oliver's appeared. For in his edition of Hudibras, Dr. Zachary Grey notes
the following French verses presented by the Rev. Mr. Wharton, chaplain of a regiment in Flanders, to the heroic Prince Eugène: which must have been in or about the year of our Lord 1708:—

"une belle retraite,
La quelle, croyez moi, est le plus grand mystère
De la bonne conduite, et de l'art militaire;
Car ceux, qui s'envuent, peuvent revenir sur leurs pas,
Ainsi ne sont jamais mis hors de combat;
Mais ceux, au contraire, qui demeurent sur la place,
Se privent de tout moyen de venger leur disgrâce."

"E meglio, che si dica, qui fuggì, che qui morì."
CHAPTER IV.

ANOTHER VISIT TO THE HARTWELL MUSEUM.

And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.

§1. A FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE BY PHIDIAS.

A general description of the Hartwell Museum appears in the *Aides* (pages 135 to 144), wherein is set forth the loss sustained in its Greek department by Dr. Lee's considerate liberality in presenting the relics which he had obtained by excavation at Ithaca to the Society of Antiquaries of London. The same high spirit of self-abnegation has again deprived the classical part of the collection of another of its gems, but most assuredly in a το πρεπον direction. Honesty required me in that mention, to plead guilty of a sort of complicity in the affair; nor can I be altogether acquitted on the second count, for, urged by the special pleading of Mr. Austin Layard, of Nineveh renown, and retaining my conviction that all such disjointed items should be restored to their original situations, or deposited in a stable public institution, I certainly became an advocate for its removal to the national collection. The following are the circumstances:—

Under No. 4068 of the Hartwell Catalogue is this entry:—"Beautiful head, of Pentelic marble, with the hair gracefully represented, and one ear visible. The head is in half-relief out of the marble, in the best style of Greek art, and probably belonged to the frieze of the Parthenon. From Sig. Athanasi's collection, No. 946. Sold 1837."

An engaging peculiarity in the tournure of this head had frequently
A FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE BY PHIDIAS.

attracted my attention, and led me finally to coincide with Mr. J. Bonomi that it represented the youthful Hebe, torn from the eastern pediment. I therefore listened to the entreaties of Mr. C. F. Newton, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, and appealed to Dr. Lee to restore it to its proper place, where it would be of greater archaeological value. He at once acceded; and promptly wrote that very afternoon (January 25th, 1862), to offer it as a "humble contribution" to the Trustees of the Museum, through his friend Professor Owen. However, before its departure for London, I had it carefully photographed and the result passed over to the graver of Mr. Cobb. This is his copy:—

![Fragment of sculpture by Phidias]

We must not quit the Parthenon without referring to an incident which occurred in Athens a short time before my visit to that most interesting city;
and before its present motley improvements. All the world knows that there were two bitter currents of public opinion as to Lord Elgin's removal of the wondrous marbles from their glorious fane—that Fauvel and Lusieri waged an internecine war against each other—and that something was wrong regarding the effects of the defunct Mr. Tweddell; so that, after all that has been published, there can be no good reason to open up those matters again. Suffice it here to say, it was Dr. Lee who had an inscription cut and installed in the temple of Theseus to honour Tweddell. This was written by the Rev. R. Walpole; and the whole story is so well told in a letter from the learned doctor—then Mr. John Fiott—that we offer no excuse for inserting it here:—

My dear Walpole,

At length your inscription is engraved on a white marble slab placed over Tweddell’s grave. The marble is four feet ten inches long by three feet four inches wide. It is not of so good a quality or form, nor are the letters so well engraved, as one would wish; it is, however, the best which could be had; and, considering the difficulties and obstacles which were to be overcome, most persons are satisfied with it.

It appears that, when Lord Elgin was in Athens, he manufactured a long Latin inscription in honour of himself and of Tweddell, which was left with Lusieri, who had orders to engrave it and place it over Tweddell’s grave in the Temple. The latter deferred doing so from time to time; and, not having a good opinion of his Lordship’s Latin, he sent the inscription to Naples, where his relation, a learned father Daniele, bibliographer to the King, absolved it from all its impurities, and sent it back again considerably shortened. Much as he confides in this father, still even in its present state Lusieri neglected to place it upon marble, and, on arriving here, I found that nothing had been done. Upon sounding Lusieri with respect to his intentions it appeared that he was positively bent on beginning his corrected inscription immediately, and he offered to allow me to engrave mine under his on a very fine marble slab which he has for the purpose. I inclose you a copy of his inscription in its Neapolitan form; the original I have not seen, but am told that it was much longer. On my not acceding to this coalition, he proposed to me to engrave my inscription on the wall of the temple, as he declined to allow it to appear alone on his marble, as was my wish, and to suppress Lord Elgin’s entirely.

A deal of time was thus spent, but all to no purpose. Lord Byron entered most heartily into the cause, and supported your inscription; Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Foster were also with us. Nothing, therefore, remained but to act in defiance of Lusieri, and to act à l'Italienne, in secret, lest he should place his stone in the temple before we could get another ready.

The Disdari offered to sell any marble in the acropolis, but Athens could not furnish means to remove one thence on account of the size, and no person possessed a cart but Lusieri. A beautiful marble next fell

* It was rather grating to the ear lately on being told by a friend that he arrived in the Piræus, and proceeded from thence to Athens in an omnibus. Ye gods, heroes, and philosophers of Greece!
A FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE BY PHIDIAS.

in our way, and it required sawing through the middle, but no one in Athens had a saw but Lusieri. Both these plans were therefore abandoned; at last, by examining private houses, a slab was found in the house of an Albanian of convenient thickness; it was purchased, and, after two days' labour, it was dragged up and placed in the temple. Excellent masons as these good folks were formerly, yet no instruments were to be found in modern Athens to polish or plane it; we were therefore obliged to have it hammered as smooth as we could. Mons. Fauvel was so good as to take a deal of trouble and interest in the affair, and he drew the letters and marked them out in so clear a manner that it was impossible for the letter-cutter to make a mistake. There is only one person now in Athens of this latter description.

I believe Mr. Lusieri heard of our having gotten possession of the ground, while he was drawing the letters of his own inscription. He informs me that he shall certainly place his marble in the temple also, but I do not suppose that he will remove ours. It is placed exactly in the centre, as Mons. Fauvel was careful to have Tweddel's grave dug exactly there in the hopes of finding some remains of Theseus. It was placed there on the fifteenth of February, and finished on the twenty-second.

I was obliged to engrave the name, ΤΥΑΓΑΛΛ, above your inscription, as, during the last summer, Mr. Watson, a nephew of Mr. Wilkie of Malta, died in Athens, and was buried by the side of his countryman. We have been for this last fortnight endeavouring to find a marble to place over his grave, and to-day we have succeeded, having had a repetition of the same trouble as before. The inscription which will be engraved on Watson's marble is written by Lord Byron.

Believe me, &c. JOHN FRIOTT.

The Mr. Wilkie mentioned in the foregoing letter held the post of naval agent-victualler at Malta, and in early youth had been employed in the British Consul's office at Algiers, where he was associated with the celebrated Bruce, then sharpening his tools for travel. This gentleman related several anecdotes to me of Bruce's energy and skill in horsemanship, fire-arms, and befitting studies. In 1816 Wilkie re-visited Malta in extreme old age, and on my telling him that I was about to go to Benghazi, where the Abyssinian traveller had been, he smiled and said, "If you have any communication for Bruce let me be the bearer of it, for I shall soon join him;" and he died shortly afterwards.

§ 2. GREEK INSCRIPTION ON GOLD.

In the Αθές (page 192) I mentioned the gold plate with an opus mallei inscription—in somewhat archaic Greek—which had been found among the ruins of Canopus by the Bashaw of Egypt's navvies; and which had been pre-
sent by His Highness to Admiral Sir Sydney Smith in 1820. This plate is so thin as to be quite flexible, and was found between two vitrified tiles. It is six inches and four lines long, by two inches and two lines wide; and I am now happy to give the following accurate fac-simile of the inscription which was punched upon it:

[Image]

These words, be it observed, prove that Ptolemy Euergetes dedicated a temple at Canopus to Osiris in the names of himself and his queen Berenice—the lady of the stellar tresses. This king Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe—"of the gods brothers"—appears by the inscription to have married his sister, but assuredly Berenice was his cousin, so that probably the epithet was given only as a term of honour. Now it is pleasing to find vestigia which corroborate history; and here turns up an unexpected evidence of a goodly deed of Ptolemy the Benefactor, with which we were previously unacquainted. Everything relating to him is of value, for he was one of the greatest sovereigns who ever swayed a sceptre, whether considered as a hero, a legislator, a promoter of public good, a religious tolerator, or a zealous patron of literature and science. Indeed when we recall the acts by which his subjects enjoyed internal tranquillity—the address with which he obtained the original manuscripts of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, for the Alexandrian Library—his own liberal contributions thereunto—his noble restoration of the spoils which had been carried off by the detestable Cambyses—and his discrimination in inviting Eratosthenes to practise astronomy and
GREEK INSCRIPTION ON GOLD.

163

geodesy in Egypt—we cannot but avow that the dignified agnomen Euer-
gertes was most justly accorded to him.

I had given Mehemmed Ali the fac-simile of the gold plate which Sir
Sidney Smith conceded to me, as stated in the Αίδες; but in the mean
time Dr. Lee had procured another copy—from which the foregoing illustration
is carefully engraven—imitated on gilt cardboard accurately executed
at Paris, and which is now ensconced among the Egyptian relics in the
Hartwell Museum, although the record is in Greek characters.

§ 3. ANALOGIES OF EGYPT AND MEXICO.

This is a topic exciting grave meditation on pre-historic records. In the
Αίδες (page 181) mention is made of the resemblance of a Tlascaltecan lady
to a couple of small figures in the possession of Dr. Lee, and which were
brought from Egypt by the Duke of Northumberland. I also alluded to
certain coincidences of Egyptian and Mexican mannerism, which amount to
a correlation almost too tenacious to be the effect of mere accident. Such
was their triune worship, pyramidal style of architecture, mummyfying the
dead, hieroglyphic writings, making paper from vegetable substances, division
of the people into castes, similarity in their systems of astronomical notation,
and, though employing the precious metals profusely for ornamental uses,
their ignorance of coined money, both nations substituting nuts and seeds
for cash.* I also mentioned (page 211) the removal of a huge block of stone
by the Mexicans, on the authority of a manuscript shown me by Sir Thomas
Phillipps, as being precisely similar to the Egytian operations. Those observ-
ations as to their locomotive prowess might be strengthened by several
additions, which have recently been brought to notice, were such requisite here.

* This admirable invention, it seems, is due to a merchant-nation. The Phoenicians—according to
Alcianus, the wisest and most cunning of the barbarians—brought forward the coining of money. Neither
Pharaonic Egypt, nor Assyria, nor Babylonia, nor the Hebrew kingdoms, knew the use of coins: their
precious metals were bartered by weight.
Even so late comparatively as the Aztec ages, there are traces of still earlier customs in affinity with the Oriental world; for instance their worship of the flamingo and the ibis, their modes of barter, and their established grades of social rank. In the Aztec picture-writings preserved in the Museum at Mexico is a list of the tribute paid to the sovereign, the different articles being depicted with numbers against each to show the quantities to be severally exacted, as seen also in the Egyptian inscriptions.

The *uraeus*, or sacred asp, as a symbol of greatness when appended to the caps or crowns of Egyptian kings and queens, is so well known as to be barely citable here, except for its affording another clue in the argument before us. At page 185 of Mr. Tylor's recent work on Mexico, is a representation of a bas-relief on the pyramid of Xochicalco, which is repeated eight times on that edifice. Here we see a man seated somewhat in Eastern style, wearing a plumed helmet and eye-protectors, and from the front of his head-gear protrudes a serpent, just where in Egyptian sculptures the royal "basilisk" or *uraeus* is placed. This fact being very remarkable, we submit the two heads *in adversa*, as a numismatist would say:—

![Image from Xochicalco](FROM XOCHICALCO.)

![Image from Karnak](FROM KARNAK.)

Another step towards identity was the mutual custom of fitting the human body with the head of a strange beast or bird, in their representations. The
Egyptians, we know, made masks of papyrus and other substances, in the shape of heads of lions, wolves, hawks, and the like, which were worn by kings and priests upon occasion; and the late Duke of Sussex showed me a specimen from Karnak, neatly carved in sycamore wood, and entirely coated with polished turquoises. Etruria and Greece adopted masks for their actors, and very expressive some of them are, notwithstanding their fixed features and enormous mouths; the latter, however, are presumed to have contained some kind of apparatus suited to assist the voice, and surely the aperture is large enough for such a contrivance. So in Mexico we find that masks were anciently used in religious ceremonies, and they were made of stone, wood, or terra-cotta. A fine sample of their work, in brown lava, is given in Tylor's book; and, as it is somewhat cognate with an *oscillum* found at Herculaneum, and now in the *Museo Borbonico* at Naples, we will here place their respective portraitures:—

![Masks from Mexico and Magna Graecia](image)

At some of these indications of the probable existence of an ancient connexion between the peoples of Asia and America we cannot help wondering, however difficult to explain; but it is clear that they open up an extensive field for ethnological research. Among other relations, it is no small matter of surprise to find that much evidence is derivable from fragile pottery, the which is found to endure even where marble and brass have succumbed. Some of these wares were for ornament and some for domestic purposes; in both we are struck
with the similarity of taste and design in the fictile utensils, which is traceable in the aforesaid widely-separated regions, although—as we are not sure about the Aztec cogniscence of the cereals—their food, condiments, and drinks might have materially differed. On page 211 of the Ædes, we placed some "miniatu're" representations of vases transmitted from the East and West ancients; but, as these were considered rather too small for due comparison, it appeared desirable to reproduce them here on a larger scale; and to the two of Hellenic manufacture, which I acquired by excavation, a terra-cotta from Mr. Burckhardt Barker's collection enables me to add a Syro-Egyptian specimen. Here then will follow a curious, though inconsiderable, exhibition of cognate taste in ceramic flasks, among people who were divided by the Atlantic Ocean:—

![Hellenian](image1)

![Syro-Egyptian](image2)

The artistic glance will here remark the same arched eye-brow, and expanded forehead, in both these females, so much admired in days of yore as typical of intelligence; though our Anglo-Saxons rejoice more frequently in a rather horizontal brow, as indicative, perhaps, of calm reflection and steadiness of purpose. A similar partiality for natural foliage is shown in
both; and, though the fair Syro-Egyptian has a very Isis tendency, she yet suggests an arrival from Greece, rather than from the land of Ham.

Another cause of astonishment is the fact of the ancient Mexicans having made an extraordinary advance in astronomy; insomuch that they knew the cause of eclipses, and had a more accurate calendar—one better adjusted by intercalation—than those of the Egyptians or Greeks. This is altogether an enigma: but the indefatigable Humboldt went far to prove that the system of cycles in reckoning years, as well as resemblance in the signs used by the Americans and Asiatics, were too approximate for mere chance. Eliminating, therefore, casual features and local causes of customs in both hemispheres, we cannot but think the preponderance favours the hypothesis of there having been a communication between the old world and the new.

§ 4. CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS.

In this Section I propose to add a few new particulars, and also to correct some inadvertencies which have crept into the recently printed catalogue of
Dr. Lee's Egyptian rarities; as otherwise they would clash with my notanda. The learned Doctor commenced this collection while Travelling Bachelor from the University of Cambridge, under the conviction of its importance to history, chronology, and every branch of philological knowledge; to the furtherance of which he has most liberally contributed.

Numbers 81 and 82 of the said Catalogue are two figures of sycamore-wood, one $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches the other 7 inches in height: it is there mentioned that I presented them to the Hartwell Museum, but the account omits to state that they were given me by Sig. Belzoni, the zealous pioneer of Egyptian explorers. They formed part of a heap which was found in the chamber of the tomb of Oimenephtha I., in the sacred valley Beban al Malûk, who is presumed to have died B.C. 1190; but they are too thickly smudged with bitumen for a satisfactory insight of their pictorial characteristics: bushels of the said "heap" were used by the sharp-set explorers as fire-wood, and the hidden stores of many ages were exhumed for cookery purposes. No. 89, which I brought from Egypt, is the figure of a mummified lady in hard wood, probably acacia, 9 inches high, with one line of hieroglyphics down the front; and, though not of the best work, it is decorated with the black, yellow, red, and white pigments so well known for durability. The artists were very choice of their materials, as may be inferred from the pallet of the hierogrammat, or sacred scribe, in this museum (No. 371), which has circular depressions for the colours, and a long cavity for the pens or brushes.

These vestiges of Pharaonic times forcibly recall to mind an incident in my own span of life. When my ship arrived in England from the Mediterranean, in 1820, I found that Belzoni had returned from Egypt, and my old messmate Captain George Francis Lyon had recently arrived from Mourzuk in Africa, whither I had been instrumental to his being sent. On hearing of my proposal that a shore-party should proceed along the margin of the Greater Syrtis, and into the Cyrenaica, while the ship under my command coasted the same region, they both very handsomely volunteered to accompany me; and one afternoon I left
the Admiralty under a pleasing conviction that our project was to be carried out. But, presto! the whole scene quickly changed—Belzoni was summarily supplanted by his former travelling companion Henry Beechey; and Lyon, despite of his Arabic fluency, his Mohammedism, and his constitutional seasoning, was sent with Parry into the Arctic Circle; while Lieut. Frederick Beechey, from the Polar seas, was appointed to accompany his brother on the trip over hot sands and deserts. Alas! the ostensible prime-movers of this unexpected change of dramatis persona—Lord Melville and Sir George Cockburn, together with the above-named individuals—have all long since passed away.

No. 126 of the same Catalogue is the figure of a dog-faced baboon, the emblem of Thoth and of Nubia, impressed on a specimen of hard porcelain coated with blue varnish, which I procured in Alexandria, and afterwards consigned to the Hartwell collection. The strange creature is represented in basso-relievo, sitting on the hieroglyphical symbol for the syllable ma; and assuredly presents a queer object for worship, if we can believe there ever existed such bizarre adoration. But, though there are certain Egyptologists who talk glibly about a farrago of Egyptian divinities, animate and inanimate, natural and artificial, monkeys, dogs, cats, and less respectable deities, it seems more rational to deem them rather mere emblems of the moral virtues. (See Ædes, pages 159 to 169.) Having had no small practice in talking through the medium of an interpreter, spokesman, dragoman, moonshie, trudgeman, or what not, I well know the ambiguities and errors fallen into by people ignorant of each other’s language, religion, or philosophy; as with our early voyagers conversing among savages on abstruse topics by signs. Indeed it is doubtful from any transmitted evidence whether even the Greek writers on Egypt were conversant with the Egyptian tongue, or able to read the hieroglyphics.

The relic before us is; however, historically important, for on its other face is a single cartouch inclosing the characters which compose the nomen and pranomen of the renowned and glorious Rameses II., of whom more anon. He it was who sat for the great granite head now posited in the British Museum as
"Young Memnon;" a head* for which a space was prepared in the Weymouth when that ship was being laden with the architectural and other spoils which I had collected at Leptis Magna, on the coast of Barbary.

The composite baboonia-cynocephalus before us being both interesting and curious, and in order that the cartoon should be open to all readers, I here give as faithful a representation of it as photography and xylography can supply:—

Nos. 164 and 165 of the Lee Catalogue. Here a trifling error has been inadvertently made, from the similarity of rude sculptures in sycamore-wood, both 3½ inches high, both having a hole drilled through their plinth as if for fixing on their respective mummy-cases, and each bearing the figure of a hawk with a human head; but No. 164, by the twisted beard under his chin, represents a lord of the creation; while No. 165 is decidedly, as Vivant Denon would have said, "une femme bien prononcée." Now the first of these is registered in the book as my gift to the collection, whereas it was the second which I brought from Egypt; and therefore, in any future reprint of that Catalogue, they must exchange places. In the meantime we may state that

* When this weighty mass was about to be embarked at Malta, a self-sufficient military officer drawled out—"Memnon, eh? And pray who was Memnon?" To which my friend and chief, Admiral Sir Charles Penrose, sarcastically replied—"You cannot have forgotten the famous Turkish Aga, you must have heard of Aga-memnon!" There was more of reproof than pun in this.
No. 165 is the human-headed hawk, a composite animal that typifies the sacred soul, as may be gathered, says Mr. Bonomi, "from the pictures on the walls of the tombs, and in the funereal papyri, where this figure is often represented as flying towards the face of the embalmed body to re-animate it." Round the neck a Nilometer appears, as if suspended by a cord—the emblem of stability—considered to signify that the soul of the defunct ought to be indue with fortitude and hope when about to enter the hallowed Hall of Judgment. This is one of the many instances in which may be traced the Egyptian belief of the final resurrection and the Immortality of the Soul; indeed, the distinct allusions to a future state in the pictorial documents deposited with their dead, and the costliness of the ornamentation of their tombs, make it certain that they considered a chief part of the business of life was to prepare for another existence. Here is the hierogrammatic icon, or metaphor:—

The idea may have been elevated, but, in the representation of it, the official artist is utterly innocent of any expression of sublimity.
No. 186. In the preceding figure the Nilometer is on the breast of the creature, and therefore is not seen in this drawing; but we now submit the shape of a very perfect one, representing the pillar with gradient levels of division, surmounted by the cap of Osiris, with horns, but no disc. As before said, this instrument was regarded at once symbolical of stability and strength, and perhaps of fertility; whence, in allusion to the House of Judgment, one or more of these charms are found in the cavity of the chest of an embalmed person, or wrapped up in the linen bandages which encircle the upper part of the body, to inspire fortitude. The specimen before us is rather larger than the generality of these emblems, and is in the highest state of conservation; it was presented to me by Consul-General Henry Salt, in 1822.

The actual Nilometer was a pillar sixteen cubits high, marked with graduated divisions for showing the rise of water in the River Nile during its overflowings; and thereby determine the amount of tribute which the land-proprietor would have to pay during the inundation. The obvious Greek meaning of the name would bring the contrivance, or at least its present denomination, down to the time of the Ptolemies; but the Arabian writers assert that it was first set up by Joseph during his regency. The present Mekkias (measure) was erected after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs.

No. 193. The human eye, with certain appendages stamping it as the popular emblem of Osiris; probably significant of an all-seeing Providence, and, as such, connected with the idea of life, past and future, in the Egyptian mind. Moreover, it seems that it was worn as an amulet, to avert the dire effects of the widely-dreaded Evil Eye; and also to protect the wearer from
CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS.

mischievous demons. The annexed is a correct representation of the highly-valued talisman, in the favourite elongated shape:—

![Image of a talisman]

This is one of the largest and best specimens of the sacred symbol, in its simple form, that I have hitherto met with; wherefore it was selected for illustration in preference to a similar one—No. 194—which formerly belonged to me. It is made of fine hard porcelain, entirely coated with a blue vitreous glaze of the most durable nature.

As an omen of good fortune, this device was painted on the bows of their boats; and especially on funereal barges which conveyed dead bodies to the western bank of the Nile. In the third volume of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," opposite page 211, a yacht is represented with coloured sails copied from the tomb of the potent third Rameses of Thebes. On the larboard bow of this stately vessel is the eye of Osiris, with exactly similar appendages as those to the cut before us. The custom of carrying this badge is still retained in various countries, as in India and in the Mediterranean: for it continues to be found on the speronaras and scampavias of Sicily and Malta; and as well on Archipelagan boats as those which ply about the harbours of Valetta. That the primitive Etruscans and classical Greeks regarded the eye, and that the Romans adopted it for
their war-galleys, is evident from their coinage; the importance of which imagery must be my apology for introducing an exemplar in point, from my "Catalogue of Roman Large Brass Medals (1834)":

**Obverse.** DIVI IVLI, CAESAR DIVI F. IMP. *{Divi Julii, Caesar divi filius imperator.}* Two naked heads in opposite directions, representing Julius Cæsar and his adopted son; but as likenesses they possess less interest than those on No. II. The medal is in tolerable preservation, and was procured in Calabria in 1814. It is of the class called Colonial, which, from the many settlements made by the Romans, were necessarily of much diversity of character. At first they bore only the ox, the plough, the ensign, or other badge of colonization; but they were afterwards stamped with more curious types, and inscribed with the name of the colony, its prerogatives, alliances, immunities, and other circumstances. They were usually of second brass, with a few exceptions of large, and one—Nemassus—of silver.

**Reverse.** C. I. V. *(Colonia Julia Valentina).* The prow of a Pretorian galley, with a large eye on the bow, and what seamen term a "fiddle head." Upon this prow is raised a curious castle or superstructure, an early indication of the name of fore-castle: this appellation still remaining, though the fabric has long disappeared from the fore-part of our ships. The eye typifies Providence or the Deity, and is still retained upon some of the Mediterranean craft. It is of the remotest antiquity, and occurs perpetually as the symbol of the Sun, or Osiris, in Egyptian monuments. The custom of using it was probably derived from the East, for the Chinese are pertinacious in the practice, from the war-junk to the sampan:—"Heigh-yaw!" exclaimed a Fouki at Canton, whom I was questioning upon the subject, "how can ship see, suppose no hab eyes?" It also appears on the superb Etruscan vases which have been recently sent to London by Lucien Buonaparte; and that it was adopted by the early Greeks is proved in the "Supplicants" of Æschylus, where Danaus says,—

"I saw a ship, I mark'd its waving streamer,
Its swelling sails, and all its gallant trim;
Its prow with heedful eye observes its way,
Obedient to the helm that guides behind."

The properties of our wonderful organ of sight were palpable in the earliest days, and apparent to those who knew nothing of their physiological relations; hence originated some of the superstitions which are recorded on the first pages of history. Yet not a seer of the Ogygian ages could have regarded the symbolical Eye with greater veneration than did the sages of mediæval times; and an example of the omnipotent light in which it was then holden may be seen in the famous "Reliquaire de la Sainte Larme de Vendome," which is figured on page 78, vol. iii. of that magnificent work "Mélanges d’Archéologie," published at Paris in 1853.
CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS.

Having alluded to the vitrified surface of the eye (No. 193), it may be consistent to add, that in the *Ateles* (page 157) reference is made to the proficiency of the ancient Egyptians in glass-blowing at least 3500 years ago; and there is abundant proof of their being well acquainted with chemical agents as colouring matters—cobalt, antimoniate of lead, borax, minium, litharge, manganese, antimony, and other metallic oxides. Now No. 131 of this series shews the proficiency to which that ingenious people had attained in imitating precious stones; this being a surprising semblance of a gem—white, blue, green, and black—it was worthy of the scrutiny of Sir Henry De la Beche, who could only exclaim—"I am puzzled!" It represents a cow in a recumbent posture, bearing on its head between the horns a symbol of the solar orb, and the double ostrich feathers, indicative of truth and justice; by this it is seen that the spurious onyx is intended to typify Isis or Ator, for both those divinities were thus metaphorized.

The singular specimen of fused or compounded glass which belonged to my shipmate Capt. Henvey, is thus described by Sir G. Wilkinson *:

The quality and the distribution of the colours in Captain Henvey's specimen are strikingly beautiful; the total size is about 1-1/5 inch square; and the ground is of an amethyst hue. In the centre is a device consisting of a yellow circle, surrounded by light blue with a bright red border, and on the four sides shot forth light blue rays edged with white. Around this, which is isolated, runs a square ornament of bright yellow, divided into distinct parts, formed by openings in each of the sides, and at the four corners a beautiful device projects like a leaf, formed of a succession of minute lines, green, red, and white, the two last encircling the green nucleus, which meet in a common point towards the base, and terminate in almost imperceptible tenuity. The delicacy of some of the lines is truly surprising, and not less the accuracy with which the patterns are executed; and the brilliancy of the colours is as remarkable as the harmony maintained in their disposition: an art then much more studiously attended to, and far better understood, than at the present day.

* I beg also to refer the inquiring reader to an interesting essay on ancient Egyptian Glass, from the pen of the indefatigable T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., author of the well-known "History of Mummies" and the "Encyclopedia Egyptian." This gentleman, at my request, kindly opened, unrolled, and lucidly explained a mummy belonging to the United Service Museum, in January, 1849, to the gratification and instruction of a large party of officers, ladies, and general visitors. See No. 374 of the Lee Catalogue for a sample of the spoils obtained on that occasion.
Nos. 374 and 400 of the Catalogue, being the mummy and hawk, as herewith engraven, constitute but one subject. Osiris is here 18 inches high, covered with coarse pigment, and having vertical lines of hieroglyphics before and behind; that in front beginning with the usual formula, and the snake typifying "for ever:" the head is pierced to hold the emblematic horn and feathers. The bird covers a small cavity in the plinth, in which probably corn-seeds, a small papyrus, or other sepulchral gift, formed the deposit; but, in this instance, the hole had been already sacked when given to me by Vice-Consul Lee, at Alexandria, in 1822. Mrs. Smyth gave the group—if we may so term it—to Dr. Lee, at Bedford, in 1830, as a tribute to the Hartwell Museum; and here is its miniature:

A suggestive primeval record is accurately copied by Mr. Joseph Bonomi, under No. 415 of the catalogue; where it is also ably described. It is a well-
CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS.

sculptured head upon sandstone from Djebel Silsillis, in very low relief, probably intended to represent Rameses the Great—in whom we must recognise the renowned Sesostris of the Greeks—and the father of the Pharaoh of the Exodus; in fact the hagiographal Pharaoh for whom, under oppressive taskmasters, the Jews built the treasure-cities Pithom and Raamses mentioned in Exodus i. 2. This profile is apparently taken from a column in the great hall of the temple at Karnak; and to this fragment are also attached the arms and hand of the King making an offering of a cone, resembling, in form and size, one of those terra-cotta cones that are found in such abundance at Thebes. The whole will be best understood by the figures, and the explanation of them from the aforesaid catalogue; the dimensions of the larger column are expressed in French metres as well as English feet:

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

In order to explain whence these fragments were derived, it will be necessary to state, in the first place, that the roof of the Great Hall of the temple of Karnak is supported by 132 columns, ten of which are of the kind and dimensions of fig. 1, representing the full-blown papyrus; and
ADDENDA TO THE ADES HARTWELLIANAE.

the remaining 122 are of the form and dimensions of fig. 2, representing the bud of the same plant. During the reign of the Pharaoh whose likeness is here sculptured, the great temple of Karnak was subjected to certain repairs and extensive obliterations of the names and titles of more ancient Pharaohs, to make room for those belonging to Rameses II., as well as for representations of that celebrated Egyptian monarch making offerings to the national divinities. These fragments are actually pieces of some of those repairs and substitutions which were made at the time above stated, which, being in this instance only superficial, had fallen from their places, and were picked up by Mr. James Burton, out of whose collection they were bought by Dr. Lee. The accompanying wood-cuts have been engraved more particularly to explain from which of the two kinds of columns, and from what part of the column, these fragments were derived. It will be evident from the radius given by the portion left of the curve or circumference of the column, that the fragments could not have belonged to the larger column, whose diameter at the place where the figures occur is at least ten feet, so that, if they are derived from any column of this celebrated hall, it must have been from one of the smaller; and this is further corroborated by the fact of the decoration on the larger columns being in that style of sculpture peculiar to the Egyptians, as may be seen by some photographic views of the hall in this collection, and not in basso-relievo proper, as are these fragments. No. 3 is a representation of the whole figure as it occurs on these columns, showing the actual pieces of stone that were inserted into the column at the time of the repairs and obliterations which took place in that particular part of the great temple of Karnak in the reign of Rameses II., B.C. 1150.

A contemplation of this relic leads us to the interesting question as to the date of the flight of the Children of Israel, the decision of which, Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes, with becoming deference to other Egyptologists, "I leave to the learned reader, and shall feel great satisfaction when the subject becomes so well understood as to enable a positive opinion to be pronounced upon it." Then, after submitting his own idea respecting the Bondage Kings, he thus gives the Duke of Northumberland's view of the subject:—

It is extremely difficult to determine the date of the Exodus in Egyptian history from the want of sufficient data in the Bible, and from the incorrectness of names given by ancient historians; but the event is so important, that even an attempt to ascertain that date must be interesting.

The first text bearing on the subject is (Gen. xlvi. 5, 6), "Pharaoh spake unto Joseph saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee; the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell: in the land of Goshen let them dwell." (Gen. xlvii. 11), "And Joseph gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded." In this quotation it does not appear that the land was called Rameses when Pharaoh gave it to Jacob: his words are, "give them the best of the land," the remainder of the text is in the form of a narration by Moses. But the land was called Rameses when Moses wrote, and consequently it was so called before the Exodus. It probably received its name from one of the Pharaohs. We may there-
CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS.

fore conclude the Exodus did not take place until after the reign of a Rameses; and the earliest king of that name is distinguished among students in hieroglyphics by the title of Rameses I. Private individuals bore the name long before; but it is uncertain whether there was any older king Rameses.

"Now there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph." (Exod. i. 8.) This text would agree with Rameses I., who appears to have been the first king of a new dynasty, and might be ignorant of the benefits conferred on Egypt by Joseph. "Therefore they did set over them (the children of Israel) task-masters, to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses." (Exod. i. 11.) The last was the name of the Pharaoh, and it is remarkable that the prefix used to designate Rameses II. was compounded of Pi "the," and Thme "justice;" and, though the figure of the goddess Thme is introduced into the names of his father and of other Pharaohs, he is the first Rameses in whose prefix it occurs, and we may therefore conclude it was for this monarch that the Hebrews built the treasure-cities.

Another instance of the name so used is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo and Aristotle, who attribute the making of the Suez Canal to Sesostris, and Herodotus says that it entered the sea near the town of Patumus. Sesostris is now generally believed to be Rameses II., and the circumstance of his name being found on buildings near the canal gives another Pithom built by this king.

Lysiaschus mentions that "in the reign of Boccors, King of Egypt, the Jewish people being infected with leprosy, scurvy, and sundry other diseases, took shelter in the temples, where they begged for food, and that, in consequence of the vast number of persons who were seized with the complaint, there became a scarcity in Egypt. Upon this Boccors sent persons to inquire of the oracle of Ammon respecting the scarcity, and the god directed him to cleanse the temples of all polluted and impious men, and to cast them out into the desert, when the land would recover its fertility." This the king did with much cruelty.

If Boccors could be a mistake for the Coptic name OCIPI, with the article II. prefixed, it was Osiri, the father of Rameses II., who thus oppressed them. Again, the son of Rameses II. was called Pthamenoph. Josephus states that "the King Amenophis was desirous of beholding the gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had done; and, having communicated his desire to the priest Amenophis the son of Papis, the priest returned for answer, that it was in his power to behold the gods if he would cleanse the whole country of the lepers and other unclean persons who abounded in it; upon which the king gathered them together, and sent them to work in the quarries." Josephus relates in continuation that a revolt was the consequence of this measure, and, after some delays and difficulties, king Amenophis marched with 300,000 Egyptians against the enemy, defeated them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria, having previously placed his son Sethos under the care of a faithful adherent.

It is probable that by Amenophis Josephus meant Pthamenoph, and this opinion is twice confirmed; 1. By his son Sethos, the Se-pta of the hieroglyphics, which is the only instance of a king so called in the known series of the Pharaohs; and 2. When he describes Horus as one of his predecessors, for the grandfather of Pthamenoph succeeded to Horus, who was the only Egyptian monarch who bore that name.

If these corrections of names be permitted, six Pharaohs, who succeeded each other in regular succession, are mentioned either as a direct or a collateral evidence of the Exodus having taken place at this period,—1. Horus, one of the predecessors of Amenophis. 2. Rameses I., the new king, who knew not Joseph. 3 Osiri I. or Boccors, who oppressed the Jews. 4. Rameses II. who built Pithom and Raamses. 5 Pthamenoph, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. 6. Sethos his son, who was placed with an attendant.

From the many complaints of oppression in the Bible, it appears that the bondage was both severe and of some duration; these two reigns may therefore not be too long; but what, may be inquired, would be the effect in Egypt of an oppression of so numerous a population, and of their subsequent Exodus? For, even if
the number of "600,000 men, besides children," had not been mentioned, it is evident, from the previous account of their increased numerical force, that the Jews were a very large body. 1. To oppress and keep them in bondage required a powerful monarch and a warrior, and such were in an eminent degree Osiri L and Rameses II. 2. The labours of so great a population could not fail to be distinguished, and no Pharaohs have left finer buildings, nor in greater numbers, than these two kings. 3. A successful revolt could only take place under a feeble monarch, and such was Phamenoph, and the loss of so great a population would inflict a blow on the prosperity of Egypt, and cause a lasting debility. Such was the state of Egypt after the reign of Rameses II, when a sudden decline of the arts and power of the country ensued; and if, at the accession of Rameses III, they for a time re-appeared, and in great splendour, yet with this monarch the glory of ancient Egypt departed for ever.

Now this reasoning is so cogent and convincing, that—seeing the highest authorities differed by no less than 181 years in the important date of the Exodus, namely, from B.C. 1495 to 1314—I could not but adopt the Duke's theory. Still, wishing to know whether his Grace's opinions had since undergone any change, a note of inquiry was despatched, which brought an answer by return of post dated 22nd of September, 1863; and the following are excerpta—

I have seen no reason to alter my impression respecting the names of the Pharaohs, nor indeed of anything material since I formed an idea of them in Egypt. I have heard of some of Bunsen's theories on the subject, but they have not tempted me to read his book; he gives no reason to me to change, and therefore I do not. My opinion of the Pharaoh under whom the Exodus took place remains unchanged.

But it is not so easy to fix the date of the Exodus B.C., because the Egyptians had no fixed epoch; they had not the Hebrew A.M., nor the Roman ab urbe; the Egyptian date was only from the commencement of the Pharaoh's name, which may often be uncertain; as, for instance, when a King took his son as a partner on the throne, it was uncertain whether the son would count the years of his reign during his father's and his own reign; also, when there was a forcible insurrection, or a change of dynasty: in fact there is no satisfactory chronology in Egypt.

I think that the "Book of the Dead" proves that at that time the Egyptians fully believed in the immortality of the soul; but I do not think we possess a Book of the Dead sufficiently ancient. I have often pressed Birch, at the British Museum, to translate and print the part during the 17th dynasty of Egypt;* but, till now, we have it only of a late date.

The priests in Egypt collected their divine ideas from all nations; thus, from the outside Jewish nation they took the "Mysteries of Osiris," which was the tale of Cain and Abel, and

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* Mr. Birch informs me (Feb. 1864) that his translation of the Ritual has been for some time printed off, but its appearance has been retarded by waiting for type for the hieroglyphic portion. It will be published in the fifth volume of the work by the Chev. Bunsen on Egypt's Place in Universal History.
certain Egyptian relics. 181

commemorated in them the mystery of death—which is still the great mystery. And the Egyptian priests mixed in those mysteries Sanskrit words which are still used in Hindoo prayers, as Om, repeated as often as Amen in our prayers.

As you say, we want a reprint from authority, to show what we believe in Egypt.*

In the *Aedes Hartocelliana* (pages 192-3) mention is made of a sculpture representing Thoth, on obdurate basalt, from the ruins of Canopus, with the manner in which I procured it at Alexandria, as well as how it became installed in the British Museum; and my brief account is illustrated by a faithful drawing from the pencil of Mr. Joseph Bonomi. Carving on so indurated a stone being by no means common in the early days of Egypt, No. 419 of the Lee Catalogue was the more attractive, because it is also cut from green basalt, and is moreover of grave traditional interest. It consists in the upper portion of the statuette of an Egyptian King, whose name has been carefully erased from among the hieroglyphics in the columnar row at its back; while on the shoulders have been inserted, to the prejudice of former names, the nomen and prenomen of Pharaoh-Hophra, or Psammeticus III.—the unfortunate “Apris” of Herodotus (*Euterpe*, CLXIX.), denounced by the LORD to Jeremiah the Prophet, *circa* 600 years B.C. It is eleven inches high, and thus described in Dr. Lee’s Museum book:

The style of work is that of the period of the Psammetici; but this statue could not, in the first instance, have represented any of that family, for otherwise there would have been no necessity to have

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* It may appear fanciful to the gentle reader that a couple of old sailors should be corresponding upon Biblical chronology; but it will not seem so passing strange when he is reminded, that, in the early part of this century, they were both cruising on the Mediterranean station—the very alpha of mental retrospection. Besides my high esteem for the Duke through a long series of years for his attainments and amiability, a warm professional regard springs from the following decided coincidences:

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<tr>
<td>Sept. 1792</td>
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<td>Entry into the Royal Navy</td>
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<td>April 1810</td>
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<td>Lieutenant’s commission</td>
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<td>Commander’s do.</td>
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obliterated the cartouch on the shoulder containing the prenomen, which is common to all the Psammometrici. The conclusion then is, that this statue originally represented Pharaoh Necho, who reigned after Psammometricus I. (see Chronology and Geography of Ancient Egypt by S. Sharpe). The beauty of the work, and the hardness of the material, must always have made this piece of sculpture of great consideration; and it is interesting to know that both these Pharaohs, whether Necho, whose real image we suppose it to have been, or Hophra, whose name it bears, are mentioned in the Bible. Another circumstance gives to this fragment peculiar interest, which in a measure compensates for the loss of the features, and that is the certainty of the direction of the blow which has deprived us of the entire right side of the face: it was aimed at the beard, than which, according to the notions of the Asiatics, no greater indignity could be offered to the statue of the King. And now, when we take into consideration the great esteem in which this statue must have been held to have made it worth the labour of obliterating the former names, and inser- ting those of Pharaoh Hophra, together with the great beauty of the work, we may reasonably conclude that it occupied a conspicuous place among the statues of the Beth Shemesh, or some other of the houses of the gods of the Egyptians, which were broken at the time of the invasion of Cambyses, which happened thirty-three years after the death of Pharaoh Hophra.

An engraving has been made of the hieroglyphics on the shoulders, and of the whole fragment, to scale, and restored in outline, with the hope that its publication may bring to light the lower half, which probably exists in some other collection.

Mr. Samuel Sharpe remarks, that we know of no statues in basalt-rock before the reign of Psammometricus I. Therefore this statue, with the name of Hophra Psammeticus cut over a former name, was probably originally made for Necho, as both of the original names have been cut out. For the same reason it may be taken as evidence that the name which it now bears is that of a king who reigned after Necho; which, indeed, agrees with what we learn from the Bible, and other authorities, which tell us that Hophra was dethroned by Amasis, and was the same king as Psammometricus III., A.C. 591—566.

Such irrefragable corroboration as these cartouches afford, in bringing two of the Pharaohs of Holy Writ into what may really be termed palpable cognition, cannot but draw the deep attention of every educated reader; wherefore its figure and important details are annexed on the following page.

The gradual elucidation of these once-sealed pictorial characters, however it may be carped at in detail by various hyper-critics, derives some light from the mathematical origin of language: another instance of the truthful axiom that "knowledge is power." The study of human nature resembles a forest-tree springing from a hundred ramified roots, every one of which conveys to the trunk a portion of the requisite aid; and these several contributions, when duly concocted, send aloft the embryo of the fructification, which is, in fact, the end and aim of both animal and vegetable life. Man alone rises into the celestial sphere by his mysterious power of contemplating the possible future,
an expression that, like its congener infinite space, raises the mind above our mundane planet, until it feels the irresistible command of thus far and no farther!

No. 1. A representation of the fragment, its dimensions in English feet and inches.
No. 2. The prenomen of Hophra, Phraha-Hophra, or Hophra-Phaemonetic.
No. 3. The cartouch, containing the hieroglyphics for the letters P S M T K.
No. 4. The remains of the inscription on the columns at the back of the statue, in which the hieroglyphics that were contained in the ring or cartouch have been carefully obliterated.

No. 472 of the oft-cited Catalogue is an Egyptian vase made of a hard brown clay; it is 7½ inches high, of a flattened globular form, with a short
ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

neck, two handles, and two nodules for standing it upon. On the front and back there is impressed, in relief, the semblance of a full-blown water-lily within a circling ornament. It appears to be the true prototype of the punning device on the reverse of a denarius of Aquillius Florus, which had been considered to represent an expanded lotus. (See The Northumberland Cabinet of Roman Family Coins, page 16.) This flower seems to have been an object of high regard through all ages in the East, for it was even made use of as a kind of rallying symbol by the Sepoy mutineers in India, and cakes stamped with this emblem were widely distributed just before the dreadful outbreak in 1857.

At page 207 of the Ædes, a sepulchral stela of Theban limestone, curiously coloured, is described and figured as bearing the effigies of the wife, mother, and sister of one Mr. Pepi, each of them smelling a lotus; which shows that the flower was in favour at that early day, as well with the ladies as with the recording hierogrammists or Egyptian pundits. At page 182 of the same work, I alluded to the female choristers who attended Pharaoh's daughter* on her

* The father of this princess appears to have been the Shishak (Sheshonk-Shishak) of the Bible, and conqueror of Rehoboam, who plundered Jerusalem about four years after Solomon's death.

Wishing to obtain the best authority upon the above points, I wrote last spring to the learned S. M. Drach, F.R.A.S., who has elsewhere been introduced to the reader; and the following is an extract from his reply:—"In receipt of yours of the 12th inst. Believe me there is no man living to whom I am more bound to devote my humble abilities than to the gentleman whom I have now the pleasure of answering: therefore you will always find me ready to give my (perhaps too original) explanations of Scripture phrases to you, as well as other matters.

"On carefully reading the Hebrew original of Psalm xlv., and collating your remarks in p. 182 of the Ædes Hartwelliana, as also the Song of Solomon, ch. ii. ver. 1-2, I have many years ago thought that the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valleys ought to be the lily of Sharon and the rose of the valleys; but at a Royal Geographical meeting, the Rev. G. C. Renon told me that he understood Shoshannah (Anglicë rose) to be a yellow flower. However—"

"(1.) נֵרְנָה of Sharon is perhaps derived from נָב (betsel) an onion; whence Zireebel-Cipolla, &c. Comp. oignon in French for tulip-root (Numb. xi. 5): and the sandy sea-shore of Sharon south of Mount Carmel, subject to inundations, may correspond with its habitat; it may mean shade-loving (ץ הַנָּר), or be a foreign word incorporated. Thus, I read lately that the סְרָם (kurpus) of Esther, i. 6,—the green
CERTAIN EGYPTIAN RELICS.

espousals with Solomon, and who gave title to the XLVth Psalm. These gay ladies, it is presumed, were named Shoshannim—that is, lilies—on account of the lotus-lily worn as a head-dress while singing the erotic verses called forth by the joyful occasion. The mode of wearing this simple ornament is herewith shown; and instead of Shoshannim being a prophetic rhapsody, as too hastily asserted, it is, as I have said, "a poetic allusion at once to the country, the beauty, and the attire of the songstresses." Nor were those damsels altogether unmindful of the poms and vanities of this weak world, as evinced by their fine linen, necklaces, precious stones, gold chains, armlets, bracelets, anklets or bangles, false jewels, enamels, studs, and ear-rings, of all which we have the fullest testimony. Regarding the rich network of bugles or beads, which so frequently is found enveloping mummies over their linen cloths, a relic of the same taste pervaded the court of Youssuf, the late Basha of Tripoli; where, after an evening with his "songstresses" and dancers, I left the castle with a net-work of fragrant jasmines thrown over my shoulders, as a special mark of grace.

A very material article of an Egyptian lady's toilet was the scent-bottle, and the vessel which contained the preparation of antimony, oxide of manganese, or other substances to blacken the eye-brows and eye-lids withal, after the fashion of Jezebel when Jehu approached. This blacking remains in use over the Levant, under the name of kohol; and the "rosy-fingered Auroras" still stain their nails, tips of the fingers, palms of the hands, and their toes, with henna. The unguents and perfumes in request among those ladies were at once costly, odoriferous, and durable, being manufactured with articles selected from all the neighbouring regions; thus, when Joseph was sold by his brethren, we find that the Ishmaelites

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hangings, are really the Sanscrit (karpass) cotton, i.e. printed calicoes, which were then probably a royal rarity.—(In a recent newspaper.)

(2.) ḫšḥn is more likely a rose—from second verse, a rose amongst thorns. Shoshanna, the flower of Sosan (joy), ḫšḥn, &c.

2 B
who bought him, were carrying spicery and balm and myrrh to Egypt.

No. 489 is a perfect little vase made of the material usually termed alabaster; but to which—from its being a crystalline carbonate of lime—Werner gave the name of Arragonite, thinking it was first discovered in Spain.* This relic is 4½ inches high, and still contains a portion of brown matter which gives out an unctuous smell, residue of some costly-scented ointment. Indeed, such was the skill of the ancient Egyptians in the art of perfumery, and so strong was the odour of their produce, that some retained the scent for several hundred years: thus the Duke of Northumberland possesses an alabastron, between two and three thousand years old, which is still perfumed. These vessels were made at Alabastron on the Nile, whence they received the name. This word in the authorised version of the New Testament is rendered an "alabaster box," but it would have been better translated an "Alabastron jar." As the scent deposited therein was of very great price, the utensil containing it was not intended to be opened, but was to emit its fragrance through the porous substance of the vessel; hence the blame thrown upon the woman, who, in her pious zeal for our Saviour, broke the precious casket for immediate use, and thereby consumed in a moment that which would have endured for years. (See St. Matthew, xxvi. 7—13.)

The Land of Ham, in its ample remains of majestic structures, and by means of its pictorial legends, bears unequivocal evidence of power and civilization at periods too remote for our present knowledge to trace their growth. It is, however, an elevating inquiry, and, as an old poet sings,

'Tis link'd with sacred chronicles, where faithful records tell
Of Pharaoh's pride and punishment, and captive Israel.

* The most valuable, or rather invaluable, known specimen of Arragonite is the beautiful semitransparent sarcophagus found by Belzoni in the sacred Beban al Malk; it is 9 feet 5 inches in length, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and 2 inches thick, minutely sculptured both within and without with several hundred figures.
§ 5. FINDINGS IN NORTH AFRICA.

Perhaps the best way of opening this section will be, by reproducing an extract from "The Mediterranean," page 473, which alludes to my joining Lord Exmouth, in the spring of 1816, in Tunis Bay, where he was abolishing Christian slavery. "Here matters being amicably adjusted with the Bey, as they had just been with the Dey of Algiers, we sailed for Tripoli, where affairs were also amicably settled; and this beautifully moral cruise for ever quashed the odious white slavery, which had so long and so shamefully been submitted to. On the terms being ratified, I accompanied his Lordship when he made his take-leave visit to the Bashaw of Tripoli, and prevailed on him to make a formal request—which in this instance almost amounted to a condition—for me to be permitted to visit Lebida (Leptis Magna) after the departure of the squadron, there to examine some ancient architectural relics, which the Bashaw, at the instance of our Consul-General Colonel Warrington, had recently offered for the acceptance of our Prince Regent." This will account for my residence there, the excavations made, the shipments to England, and the opening of a road into Central Africa. My ordering a party of Arabs to open some graves to the west of the city occasioned, or may be supposed to have occasioned, the following rebuke from the manes of the ancient occupants:

Rash man, forbear! Withhold thy ruthless hand,  
And quit the spot where awful silence dwells;  
Cease o'er those slaves to urge thy harsh command,  
Tear not our sacred relics from their cells.

Why such a stigma on thy country fling,  
Thus Vandal-like to murder our repose,  
To gain at most a medal, vase, or ring,  
Which e'en, when found, no use of import knows?

And yet for trash like this, th'unburied bones  
Are cast dishonour'd to the Moslem's scorn:  
For this must honour'd thrones,  
And noble matrons, from their graves be torn!

Those fans and palaces, those massy walls,  
Those columns—symbols of our once high state,  
Show that the splendour of a nation falls,  
And that its glories yield, like man, to fate.

Aye, pause and ponder, while each object round  
Lends its encouragement to pensive thought,  
And feel that England, now with glory crown'd,  
May be, by destiny, to ruin brought!

Such meditation, on this lonely spot,  
Should tend to make thy depredations cease.

Go and partake thy homestead's happy lot,  
And let us Leptitani rest in peace.
No. 112 of the Hartwell General Catalogue is a fragment of Cipollino marble from Leptis Magna, which I lodged in the museum as a memorial of my African expedition; some of the larger fruits of which are to be seen at Virginia Water, in Windsor Park. The profusion of grey and red granites, porphyries, giall-anticos, and expensive marbles of every description, lavished in embellishing such a civitas Romanorum—so remote from the quarries that yielded them—is truly a matter for astonishment; the most noted incident in the history of that city being, perhaps, the Emperor Septimius Severus having been born there. It was therefore interesting that among the ancient coins exhumed or accidentally found by the Arabs in my employ, there was a fine one of this fortunate, vigorous, crafty, and most vindictive ruler, bearing sufficient data to prove its having been struck A.D. 195, and therefore before he was sole master of the empire. It is now in Dr. Lee's valuable cabinet, and is thus described in my "Catalogue of Roman Large-brass Medals," page 185:—

cccxxx.

Obverse.—L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. V. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator quintum). The laurelled head of the Emperor, characterised as above. This medal has a coat of bright green patina, forming the "arugo nobilis," it was found among the ruins of Leptis Magna in 1816.

Reverse.—P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. (PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE TERTIUM, CONSUL ITERUM, PATER PATRIS). In the field, s. c. (Senatus Consultum). The figure of Minerva, with the spear, the parma or little round shield, and helmet, of the celebrated palladium, failed to have been brought from Troy, and never exposed to public view. She stands exactly as on the web woven in competition with Arachne, according to the poet's description, and was allegorical of Providentia or Prudence.

Another large-brass coin in the same cabinet—No. CXXXII.—also picked up in
North Africa, is a fine Eternitas of that beautiful profligate, Faustina the elder: it was brought to me by a wandering Arab, in the Wadi Zemzen, near Ghirrza, in 1817, among lots of trash.

During the course of my explorations of Leptis and its neighbourhood, we were occasionally visited by Arab sheikhs of the Orfilli and Tuarick tribes, from the interior. They evinced much curiosity as to what the digging could be for; because, though some of the recovered sculptures were displayed to them, they did not scruple to assert that I must be hunting for money-treasure, seeing that, if we only wanted images, there were plenty to be had above-ground. Now these swarthy guests mostly confirmed a statement made to me at Tripoli by the notorious Mukni, Sultan of Fezzan, when Lyon and Ritchie were at Mourzâk; namely, that at a certain inland place called Ghirrza there were hundreds of perfect men, women, and children,* with camels, horses, and other animals, all turned into stone! My consequent vision of Nardoun and the petrified city of the Arabian Nights, my excited hopes, and then bitter disappointment on arriving at the mystic spot, are all narrated in the appendix to my "Mediterranean," so that it only remains to say a few words in reference to this tale.

It is about 30 years ago that I deposited a flat and rudely-carved human face, by some gone-by Ghirrza sculptor, in the Hartwell Museum, where it appeared as No. 350 of the Catalogue. The material constituting this relic was a slightly calcareous but compactly indurated sandstone, of a pale buff colour, which led to its being mistaken in a certain quarter for marble. Wishing to refer to it in March 1862, the fragment was missed from its place; and, after instituting a thorough but fruitless search, the following steps were pursued for repairing the loss: in the first place I wrote to the Council of the Royal United Service Institution, referring to my having presented their museum with two specimens of similar sculpture from Ghirrza, one of which—

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* A Frank in Tripoli, who was supposed to be a very knowing kind of a witness, assured Colonel Warrington that there were Roman soldiers at Ghirrza, carrying their muskets on their shoulders—"Soldati Romani, coi schioppi sulle spalle!"
owing to the above-mentioned casualty—I wished to be returned to me for replacing that which was lost or stolen from Dr. Lee, with a view to publication. After the next meeting of the Council, I received the following obliging communication from their worthy Secretary:

My dear Admiral,

Whitehall Yard, May 12th, 1862.

I have been desired by the Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th ultimo, and to say that they have great pleasure in acceding to your wish that the stone from Ghirza should be returned to you. Do you wish it sent down to St. John's Lodge, or are you going to make use of it in London?

Yours very truly, B. Burgess.

Arrangements were accordingly made, under which the gallant horseman was conveyed hither per railroad, photographed on the spot, and then turned over to replace the specimen lost from the museum. Here is the correct though homely semblance, one-half of the original size:
FINDINGS IN NORTH AFRICA.

Such were the men and such the horses, which, notwithstanding their diminutive dimensions and despicable execution, inspired the unfeigned admiration and respect of the Janissaries who accompanied me, as mentioned in my official report of that journey. (See "Mediterranean," page 484.)

The close coherence of this sandstone led to a rigorous scrutiny of its structure, which was followed by abundant evidence in proof of its being—with all the edifices, and the whole district where the material was quarried—a teeming universe of vitality! Still, not to leap at such a conclusion too hastily, I chipped a little slice from the horseman's back, and forwarded it to that intelligent microscopist the Rev. J. B. Reade, to be duly experimented on: the following is extracted from that gentleman's satisfactory reply of the 9th of December, 1862, from Ellesborough Rectory:—

The fragment of ancient sculpture from the north shore of Africa which you sent for examination is about 1½ inch in length, ½ an inch in breadth, and ⅛ths of an inch in thickness. Its weight is 48 grains, and it consists chemically of carbonate of lime with about two per cent. of silica. When the carbonate is wholly dissolved in hydrochloric acid the silicious laminae are obtained in great purity, and, under polarized light, they exhibit brilliant colours of every variety of tint. If the action of the acid be continued only just long enough to soften the mass, and to facilitate disintegration, upon slight pressure the whole structural arrangement becomes beautifully apparent, and leads at once to the conclusion that the fragment under examination is a small portion of coralline limestone. It is much less dense than the tubipore marbles of Derbyshire, which are susceptible of a good polish; but it is sufficiently hard and compact either for buildings or sculpture. A cursory microscopic examination shows that its general structure is tubular and coralline, though the small tubes and their orifices are partially concealed by innumerable minute crystals of carbonate of lime. When these crystals are removed by the action of dilute acid the tubes themselves are well displayed, and appear in relief on the surface. The binocular microscope with its striking stereoscopic effects here comes into play, and shows in its true character the imperishable masonry of the frail and ephemeral architects. By breaking up the mass and examining the fragments we find perfect spines with their attachments, tubes externally grooved and dotted, and when the tubes are open longitudinally the interior coralline septa are very apparent. The little fragment is therefore a silent record of coral life and enjoyment in an age separated from our own by an interval which we may think about, but cannot measure. All we know is, that the most magnificent African mausoleum of "the builder Man" is but a mere atom of the mausoleum of the "builder Worm."

The region around Ghirzza is, then, a wondrous marvel, resembling the
bed of 14 feet thickness in Germany recently examined by the Prussian naturalist Ehrenberg, and found to be entirely composed of the fossil remains of animalcula, 41,000,000,000 shields of which are required to fill a cubic inch; but Sir John Herschel, having favoured me with a dialogue which he has written upon Atoms, startled all earthling sympathies still more sensitively by this exciting peroration:—

For the benefit of those who discuss the subjects of Population, War, Pestilence, Famine, &c. it may be as well to mention, that the number of human beings living at the end of the hundredth generation, commencing from a single pair, doubling at each generation (say in thirty years), and allowing for each man, woman, and child an average space of four feet in height and one foot square, would form a vertical column, having for its base the whole surface of the earth and sea spread out into a plane, and for its height 3,674 times the sun’s distance from the earth! The number of human strata thus piled one on the other would amount to 460,790,000,000,000.

However astounding the foregoing facts as to the minuter species of the earth must appear to unprepared contemplation, sidereal immensity is even of greater infinitude. The distances of the comparatively neighbouring planets are easy of measurement and comprehension; but, to cross the awful gulf of space between them and the nearest fixed star, hic opus est. Still more from thence to clusters and remote nebule, distances are conjectured over which light flying along at the rate of 190,000 miles in a single second of time, yet has to rush on for hundreds or even thousands of years before reaching us. (See Speculum Hartwellianum, page 100.) The amount of miles computed on this basis, is beyond the practical cognizance of the human intellect. Such inconceivable numeration staggers the boldest mind, and even makes the imagination quail.

How utterly fathomless and inscrutable, then, to our limited perception and understanding, are the wonderful works and designs of the omniscient and omnipresent Creator and Preserver!
CHAPTER V.

HALF-A-DOZEN SKETCHES IN THE VICINITY OF HARTWELL.

Who not admire and seek such scenes? His view
And thoughts refresh on Nature's face, still new?
Revel 'mid sweets so pure, that not a stain
The luxury follows—sigh, regret, or pain?

It may be eligible to premise that five of the six subjects forming this chapter, were treated at their various dates, in compliance with the request of the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the County of Buckingham, and the several articles were printed in their "Records;" but, as they allude to topics which were in alliance with those of Hartwell, they are here re-produced—en réchauffé—with additions. The sixth paper, the Sieges of Boarstall, or rather a hasty sketch which I wrote of them, originally appeared in the United Service Journal for August 1842.

In the sequence they now follow, the first of these documents is a communication to the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, which was read to the Society and printed in the third number of their volume for 1855:—

§ 1. CONCERNING COLD HARBOURS.

"The following letter on the meaning of this name, of which so many instances occur in this County, and other parts of England, has been submitted to the Society by Archdeacon Bickersteth, to whom it was addressed by Admiral Smyth:—"
ADDENDA TO THE ΑΕDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Athenæum, November 11th, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR,

Before leaving home I directed another copy of my letter on the epithet, "Cold-Harbour," to be forwarded for your use in any way you may choose; and I cannot but think that procuring a list of all the places so called in the County would be worthy of your Society as an illustration of archaic geography, especially as they seem so connected with the Roman roads and diverticula.

Since my letter was written I have had some communications' on the subject, and the Rev. William Airy, of Keysoe in Bedfordshire, has added to my list. Among those he sent, he called my attention to "Serpentine" Green, about a mile north of Yaxley, saying: "This will amuse you; but it looked so like a translation of your origin of the name (Coluber) that I could not help setting it down."

So derogatory an adjective as "cold," in its usual signification, could hardly have been applied to some hundreds of places utterly unlike each other. It was therefore suggested to me that Caula arva—in British Cobail—meant inclosed or cleared spaces for cultivation among the woods and forests which formerly covered England. Herberwe, from passages in Layamon, seems in his time to have signified a station where soldiers rested on a march; and Chaucer uses it as a place of shelter, thus:

For, by my troth, if that I shall not be,
I saw nat this yere swiche a compagynie
At oynes in this herberwe as is now.

But these seem to be mere applications of a general designation. I, therefore, still think we must look to higher sources for the great prevalence of the term. At the early introduction of a true religion, might not the name be derived from Coll-Abor or Collis Arborum, whereon the idol was buried when his sacred grove was cut down?* This, which is a mere suggestion, is strongly countenanced in the immemorial "folk-verses" beginning with—

Some say the Devil's dead,
And buried in Cold-Harbour.

At all events a collection of accurate details may lead to a satisfactory result, and clear away what must at least be considered a curious archaeological puzzle.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Yours very truly,

W. H. SMYTH.

Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth.

* Having been asked a question on this subject, I have to remark that the idols of Pagan Saxondoni must have been made of wood, for otherwise the energetic priests who followed St. Augustine could not have succeeded in destroying them all; but, being of wood—stipites ingentes, more gentis, a rusticis colobantur—time co-operated in obliterating every trace of Teutonic heathenism.
CONCERNING COLD HARBOURS.

"The other letter, to which Admiral Smyth refers, appears in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for 1849. Having therein expressed his dissent from the opinion that cold was a colloquial form of coal, and that all the sites designated Cold-Harbour were coal-deposits, he continues":—

The first of these terms (cold) cannot be drawn from kohle, carbo, it perpetually occurring as a prefix to many localities close upon Roman roads without reference to fuel—as cold-blow, cold-broche, cold-camp, cold-comfort, cold-end, cold-ford, &c.; the second seems at first sight to be of Saxon derivation, from hereberga, a host-watch on a hill, statio militaris. From this, says Johnson, came our old word, harbrough, lodging; and from this usage of it, which obtained among the Germans also, the sense of it as an inn was adopted into several languages, as auberge by the French, albergo by the Italians, and herberg by the Dutch. Hence cold-harbour has been thought to mean any dwelling in an exposed situation; but, from the variety of sites on which these names are found, I cannot think that bleakness of situation is the whole cause of designation.

The curious epithet in question is of a far wider application than is usually imagined, for the known and recorded instances in England amount to several hundreds; many of these are in valleys, and of ready access on the banks of rivers, though there are others close to bold escarpments on the summits of inland eminences. As specimens of the first class, those in the marshes near Kingston-upon-Hull, and in the valley of the Thames, may be instanced; while the sites at Wrotham in Kent—Leith Hill in Surrey—Trowbridge in Wiltshire—and Marlow in Buckinghamshire, illustrate the second. And thus near London we have a Cold-Harbour on the high ground above New Cross, at Deptford, and a Cold-Blow farm on the flats below it; and I believe there are two or three others in that vicinity. A noted manor at Camberwell has been successively Cold-herbergh, Cold-abbey, and Cold-harbour; there is also another equally noted two miles north of Ware, in Hertfordshire. At Woolwich, a place by the Roman road is thus designated; and a well-known house on the north bank of the river, opposite to Erith, has immemorially been Cold-Harbour. Sometimes this so-called spot is on the margin of the water; but even there it may only mark the trajectus or ferry, as that on the turn of the great Icenild Street, near Venta Belgarum, between Wherwell Woods and the Winchester Downs.

Now it is not a little remarkable, that, though these places are found recurring along the line of the Chilterns, the Cotswolds, and other ridges, yet they predominate on or near the old Roman roads, sometimes where there is a rise in the ground, and often in the very angle where a turn in the direction becomes necessary, not only in the occasional and forced deviations of the main via, but also in those which were made for forming diverticula or cross communications. May not these ascents and winding turns therefore have been named after the significant tortuosities of the coluber? To be sure the word flexus was used by the old geographers, and that in question is nearly confined to Great Britain; but it may strengthen so obvious a suggestion to mention, that I well remember a trackway among the Gallura mountains in Sardinia having been called Colvari. And our own Calleva, the capital of the Atrebates, by the allowable inversion of b and v almost coluber, marks a diverticulum where no fewer than four Roman roads form a
junctio. But in throwing out this notion, or rather reviving it, for I have somewhere met the idea before, I am aware of the perils and delusions of etymology, and that a mere literal or phonetic resemblance in words is no real evidence of similarity of origin; nor can any derivation be safely treated unless it can be at least probably traced to its source. The shade of probability is in favour of the conjecture; yet it certainly is against the argument, though not conclusively so, that the expression is not met with in the Peutinger Map, or in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Nor does Domesday Book approach it nearer than Colebei, Collbeere, Colebi, and Collabero.*

Having been lately on a visit at Bury Hill near Dorking, my friend Mr. Barclay described an adjacent spot where many Roman and other relics had been found; and it presents to the eye a well-defined camp. The site of this station is near a Cold Harbour on the opposite eminence of Box Hill, at a decided diverticulum of the old military causeway called Stane-street, which is traceable through the country at a much lower level. The term Bury or Berry is also exceedingly prevalent, there being three principal ones in Surrey, besides many others, of which one may be cited near Andover, one close to Mansfield, and that at Bicester. Now herberga was a hill-watch, whence berga, burgh, bury, have probably been metaphorically used for watch-towers and stations on hills, natural or artificial: thus Burgh Castle, on the brow of an elevated plateau in Suffolk, may be cited as one of the finest relics of Roman fortification in the kingdom. The terms before us are sometimes juxta-posed: thus there is a place called Cold Harbour four miles below Swindon, near the turn which leads to the village of Broad Blunsdon, in the immediate vicinity of which is an ancient camp called 'Bury' Blunsdon. But there is no end of both designations, and they seem to admit of very semblable interpretation: yet even if we admit to cull cold from kalda—harbour from herberga—and bury from bury—there is still a plausible claim for the Colubrine derivative on the ground of priority. At all events it is palpably manifest that the coal-paradox is utterly inadmissible.†

But having once stepped over the hot ashes of conjecture, a wide field is presented to the imagination. Although the Romans and Anglo-Romans may possibly have used the term coluber as we now apply the word serpentine to designate a peculiar deviation, I am inclined, for more reasons than I need now state, to think that a popular prevalence of the name, even then, would be only a mere vestige of the once almost universal Ophite worship, the accurate history of which still continues to be a desideratum in Archaeology. The theory may be vague and disputable; but that this idolatry is of the highest antiquity, is proved by its being alluded to in the earlier Holy Scriptures; and it is known to have prevailed among the Chaldees, the Persians, and the

* Bishop Hall (Sat. v. i.) joins the two epithets:—

Or thence thy starved brother live and die,

Within the cold Coal-Harbour sanctuary?

† About 60 years ago one Nugaculus asked, in the Gentleman's Magazine, the meaning of the term Cold-Harbour? Some time afterwards, July 4th, 1793, he was answered by Viator A, who informed him of a small post-town in Suabia, called Kalte Herberge, the literal translation of which being Cold Inn, he considered that the inference was evident.
CONCERNING COLD HARBOURS.

Egyptians, as emblematic of the Sun, and Time, and Eternity. From the Orientals it descended to the Greeks, and from them to the Romans, among whom it became a type of Victory, Prosperity, and Health; and the Latin damsel who offered food to the serpent which he declined partaking of, was branded as unchaste, and underwent the ban of society. Time, however, wrought changes, and the serpent lost its divinity: yet, although the actual system of worship fell off, the type and prestige remained, insomuch that the emblem appears constantly both in arts and letters. Thus Tristan, the amiable Sieur de St. Amand, indignant on finding the reptile figured so frequently on the reverses of Imperial coins and medals, sagely imputes the practice to the time when the Devil had established his empire over men's minds, and artfully biased them in a blind adoration of the demoniac serpent,—"Et persuada aux Gentils qu'il estoit le Génie de Félicité, de Santé, Salut, et de Victoire, qui appellerent en suite ces démons detestables."

Under such views it will be conceded that the term "Cold Harbour" and the prevalence of its English application, merit a fuller consideration than they have yet received.

Thus we see that as yet inquiry is baffled, the inquirer re infectd, and the meaning of the term still a problem; nevertheless this philological quarry ought not to be lost sight of, however insignificant the result may prove to be. After the above remarks had been made public, several friends hastened to my assistance with unhesitating assurances of Cold Harbour's meaning this or that; still none of the attributions which have yet reached me can successfully resist the critical probe. Much stress has been placed on old Tusser's advice to the farmer, by those who believe he was talking about "arbouring" sheep in cold January as a Pointe of Good Husbandrie:

To arbor begun, and quicke setted about,
no ponding nor wading, til set be far out:
For rotten and aged may stand for a shep,
but hold to their tackling there do but a few.

So far from this being in point to our question, the very editor of "Tusser Redivivus, 1710," expressly says, "Quicksetted Arbors are now out of use, as agreeing very ill with the Ladies Muslins."

Aided by the Rev. Charles Lowndes and the Rev. Oury North, I procured many details respecting various Cold Harbours in this county, in
answer to a given set of questions; but can extract nothing carrying conviction from them. A specimen or two will be sufficient to evince the drudgery undergone in trying to track the designation to its lair:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Cold Harbour near Hartwell</th>
<th>Cold Harbour near Brill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The position or situation, and how near to a Roman road?</td>
<td>It is part of a farm S.E. of Heydon Mill, near where the Port-way joined Akeman Street.</td>
<td>It is situated between Rid’s-hill on the east, and Brill-hill on the west. No Roman road very near.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How far back is the name traceable on deeds?</td>
<td>It is recorded on very early muniments at Hartwell.</td>
<td>So called in the oldest maps of the county.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To what winds is the place exposed?</td>
<td>To all winds; but least to the north-east.</td>
<td>It is most exposed to the north-east winds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Is the exposure reckoned wet or dry?</td>
<td>A part liable to flood, and the situation is damp generally.</td>
<td>Very wet, and little attention to drainage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Is the site esteemed fertile or barren?</td>
<td>Perhaps half Cold-harbour may be termed very fertile.</td>
<td>Where drained, moderately fertile when the summer is a dry one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Of what nature is the soil—is it deep or shallow? Cold or warm?</td>
<td>Deep, 4 to 12 inches of strong mould, with clay, and gravel in some parts. The farm is rather bleak.</td>
<td>Very shallow, the subsoil being clay. Rushes luxuriate in many parts. Generally cold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. After how many years must the manuring be repeated?</td>
<td>Every third year, if mowed, or if it has been flooded.</td>
<td>The manuring ought to be repeated every year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. What is the average value of the harvests as compared with others?</td>
<td>Cold-harbour farm is considered to be equal in annual produce to any other farm in the neighbourhood.</td>
<td>The average value not so good as that of the neighbourhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How many acres are included under the name?</td>
<td>About two hundred.</td>
<td>One hundred and forty acres.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present tenant of Rid’s-hill Cold-harbour, during the first year of his occupation, had only six bushels of wheat off four acres of land; but this was owing to the bad—or at least indifferent—farming of his predecessor. The above-named questions were all promptly replied to, save the archaic part of No. 1, for—not knowing that the place was located between the Icknield and Akeman streets, and perhaps close upon an ancient madan or trackway—he gravely remarked that he had “never heer’d talk of a Roman road near the place.”
§ 2. ON THE PURSUIT OF ARCHÆOLOGY. THE ADVANTAGES OF "RUBBINGS" FROM INSCRIPTIONS.

My dear Sir,

I regret that a previous arrangement will prevent my attending the annual meeting of the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham; but a few words will express my pleasure in the steady advance of an institution, so well calculated to prove of very material local value. The day has passed when the antiquary was merely known by his longings for the possession of "suid nick-nacks," and trivial baubles of price and rarity; the pursuit of archæology has ripened into a science which contemplates the progressive development of man, and the aggregation of the race into families and communities: it has improved into characteristic investigations which, by inductive steps, throw such light on the obscurity of former periods by the consequent disclosures, that we can better understand the present, and enjoy a surer anticipation of the future. In a word, archæology is inquiry dealing with fact.

A judicious regard for antiquities may be justly deemed one of the peculiar attributes of a mind in tune; one which harmonizes with each of the intellectual pursuits of the human race. The study and researches after monuments and remains of the ancients, whether in buildings, sculpture, coins, inscriptions, utensils, weapons, or any other time-honoured legacies, are productive of much useful information to the public, and infinite instructive amusement to the person so employed. Indeed, archæology is an extensive science, since it comprehends in general all that has been known and done in every mode and ramification of life from the earliest ages: it therefore demands skill, taste, and industry. Numbers of the nobility have eminently proved their tasteful zeal in the cause; while many of the bishops and clergy—scholars by vocation—have worked well in this department, and the "fine old English gentleman" is prone to yield to its attractions. To army and navy adepts this is a valuable pursuit, since, while it relieves hours which might otherwise prove listless, it is able to assist history by properly directing its two eyes—geography and chronology—to the ends of accuracy and truth. Even second-chop antiquarian efforts are useful; for while the leaders are occupied with the religious, political, and domestic usages of persons, places, or things of remote times, and rendering them conformable to the principles of history, the tyro may be practically employed in marking the boundaries of states, the sites of cities, the fortifications, the cothons, and the ancient emporia. And that officers may thus become eminently useful, need we cite General Roy's Military Antiquities; the researches of Vallency, Grose, Rooke, or Pownall, Admiral Beaufort's Karamania, or the labours of Captains Graves and Spratt in the Levant?

There are breakers, however, on the horizon! The principal feature of the present age is strictly mechanical, the which—wonderful and beneficial as it undoubtedly is—displays no sympathy with by-gone or indeed any other times; for the sweeping march of Utilitarianism is rather reckless as to hereafter. 'Tis true that archaic sympathies must yield to political demands, and
ADDENDA TO THE EDES HARTWELLIANAE.

each year necessarily diminishes the land-marks of human occupancy in past ages; but surely wanton destruction is odious. The memorable threat of cutting through Westminster Abbey, so callous to the best feelings of human nature, was in itself quite sufficient to arouse the alarm and waken the vigilance of archeologists. Upon me the tocsin thus sounded struck with such force that, while occupying the post of Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, I frequently bestirred myself in calling attention to the accelerating advance of destruction upon our national memorials, by the continual encroachments of the civil engineer: added to which, from the blamable carelessness of certain local authorities—the recent alteration in the law of interment, and the heartless strides of heave-ahead-ism under its delusive flag of expediency, many of our monumental remains have already been totally effaced. Such destroying powers united must inevitably cause the utter loss of memoratives equally necessary to genealogy, chronology, and every other branch of historical evidence. Nor has the danger been allowed to pass unobserved; Kent, Bedford, and Surrey have vigorously taken the field, the Spalding Society is on the alert, and most of our counties are arming; and, above all, the greatest example is in the activity of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne, aided by the powerful patronage and intelligence of the Duke of Northumberland. That praise-worthy phalanx has not only undertaken the investigation of all the scattered materials jeopardized by the onset of improvement among its military posts, ancient towns, and castrametation, but is also bringing together numerous munimental evidences wherewith to elucidate and confront them.

Now it is obviously as essential for all our Provincial Institutions to be awake, as for the antiquaries of Northumberland; they are called upon to look to their local vestigia, and especially to collect authentic copies of the still-remaining brasses, incised slabs, and important lapidary inscriptions in their respective counties; which might easily be catalogued, and deposited safely for future inquirers. In a word the investigation of early remains, with the garnering of mute records, have become a duty; and systematic research must be greatly furthered by the proposed amendment of that arch-enemy to excavation—namely, the law of Treasure-trove. The necessity for these objects will presently appear; but in the mean time we may remind the beginner how valuable a series of names, dates, and facts is hereby obtainable, without the alloy of imaginary virtues which render the tributary lays of many modern tombstones so worthless; besides the unimpeachable illustrations of arms, costumes, cognizances, devices, and ornaments thus accruing. The sound antiquary has studiously to detect every possible error in copies of the title-deeds, conveyances, and documentary or inscriptive evidence of every kind; even though such might be deemed "charter-proof," they ought to be received under salutary doubt and prudent caution. All drawings by hand and autograph copying are liable to woeful and sometimes to ludicrous blunders: for the copier will inevitably follow conjecture upon doubtful or obscure marks, insomuch as to occasion a deplorable waste of time and stale learning among some of his readers. Even the pointing of inscriptions is so connected with the improvement and progress of language, that every one interested should as carefully copy the stops as the characters; besides which, the very form of the letters and monograms are often terse and significant. The Romans who dwelt in Britain sometimes placed marks of distinction at the end of each word, as may be seen in the numerous memorials preserved in our collections; but the present important usage
THE ADVANTAGES OF RUBBINGS FROM INSCRIPTIONS.

and practice of punctuation were unknown to them. Hence much inference as to the exact date of a monument may be gathered wherever such stops occur, even though the words may run in Latin. This will be the more evident when we recollect that the notes in question were not all introduced simultaneously—the comma, the interrogative, and the period preceded the semicolon, the colon, and the mark of admiration; nor do they all appear in use at the same time, till about the year 1600. Here then we have a range of circa two centuries and a half—from about the middle of Edward the Third's reign to the close of Elizabeth's—to watch the inscribing progress by, from the leaf in the verbal divisions of the earlier records to the stops and connecting ligatures of the more modern: and from the coarse uncial and Longobardic to the old English black letter and the Roman type.

Some very curious examples of the usefulness, and even the necessity, of attending to these minutiae have lately been brought to light in what are designated "palimpsest" brasses; or those whereon the sepulchral memorials of individuals in one generation have been displaced, or altered, in order to make way for those belonging to another. Thus a slab which might have been voted in honour of a deserving functionary, or which manifested the affection of a family, has, when the living generation had died out, or the relations were removed, been turned face downwards, and the new surface blazoned as pride or wealth dictated. Yet, happily for the ends of justice, the characters and attributes on the two sides are generally in such open and palpable antagonism, that to the practised eye truth remains triumphant. Of this species of cuckoo-piracy the specimen lately found in the chancel of Hedgerley church in this county, and described by the alert Mr. Albert Way, was a notable detection. In this case the first surface had been elaborately engraven in memory of an abbot, hight Thomas Totynston, who was gathered to his forefathers in 1312. Here his dignity reposed probably for more than a couple of centuries, when, all his friends having passed away, and Hedgerley becoming peopled by those who knew not Totynston, the brass was reversed, and its other surface richly incised to record the person and children of Dame Margaret Bulstrode, who died in 1540.

Now, stringent accuracy being the very sheet-anchor of transcription, and well knowing some lamentable errors in consequence of the oversights of copyers, I resolved whenever I should be under the necessity of making use of a votive record, or inscription of any grave import, to use every endeavour to obtain a rubbing or a cast; and, latterly, the new and beautiful process of photography has been successfully applied to this purpose in some cases. I might enlarge upon certain serious mistakes which have resulted from the hand-copying of our memorabilia, but we need here only dwell upon local bearings, and even on them the notice shall be brief. While engaged in writing the Aedes Hartwelliana, poor Perkin a-Leigh came before me, and his noted epitaph was extant in Camden, Browne Willis, Pennant, Lysons, and others; still, on close examination, I found that they all differed in a slight degree from each other. Though, on the whole, the differences were of no material import to the general meaning, the discrepancies were annoying, as evincing a want of that care which carries conviction; for what is worth copying at all, is worth copying correctly. And, as my son—Charles Piazza Smyth—was then travelling into the North, I prevailed on him to tarry at Macclesfield in order to make me a rubbing from the brass itself; and the inscription given in that work (page 94,) is the true reading.

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I will submit another instance also, as still more in point with the tenour of this communication. Just above the ancient piscina, on the left of the communion-table in Dinton Church, there is a small brass plate, engraved in Roman capitals, to the memory of Eleanor Hampden, the heiress of Hartwell, who was married to Sir Thomas Lee, and thereby conveyed to him the manor and appurtenances to which she had succeeded. Here the subject is of sufficient consequence, and the inscription plain enough through any spectacles; yet, instead of copying it accurately for his expensive County History, Dr. Lipscomb has printed it with a diminutive pica type (part iii. page 156,) thus:—

Here lyeth the bodie of ye Ladie Dame Elinor the Wife to Sr Thomas Lee of Morton Knt. who had issue between them 24 children. She departed this life the 6th day of April 1633.

Her children lost a mother at her death
The church a member, and ye poor a friend.

No antiquary could have expected so much inaccuracy in so recent a publication; and especially where there exists an easy access to the original.* Not only are the spellings, the contractions, the stope, the line lengths, and the diphthongs neglected, but, as I remarked in the Aedes (page 59,) the doctor has actually dealt a death-blow to the rhyme of the concluding couplet. From an excellent rubbing which was expressly made for me by Mrs. Smyth, the following are the exact words and measure:—

HERE LYETH THE BODIE OF YE LADIE DAME ELINOR
LEE WIFE TO SR. THOMAS LEE OF MORTON. KNT.
WHO HAD ISSUE BETWENE THEM 24 CHILDREN, & SREE DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 6TH DAY OF APRIL, 1633.
HER CHILDREN LOST A MOTHER AT HER END
THE CHURCH A MEMBER & YE POORE A FRIEND.

Shortly after this was printed in the Aedes, Dr. Lee caused a rubbing from the same brass to be made and mounted for his own collection at Hartwell House; but, on my mentioning that I was about to write to you on the subject, he kindly authorised my presenting it to the Architectural and Archæological Society, in his name; and it is herewith forwarded. Assuredly so flagrant a sample of gross inattention, as is thus exposed, shows the urgent necessity for a re-examination of

* In an interesting volume on the Forest of Dean, just published by Mr. Murray, the Rev. H. G. Nicholls has shown a curious and indisputable fact; for the evidence is from a "brass" of the fifteenth century, now in Newland Church. On this memorial it is clearly seen that the present custom of the men holding a stick between their teeth on which to fix a candle during their subterranean task—together with the scullcap, the peculiar mattock, the thick vestments, and the mineral hod—have continued identically the same among the miners of that royal forest for upwards of 400 years.
THE ADVANTAGES OF RUBBINGS FROM INSCRIPTIONS.

the various details hitherto given of the county's *vetusta monumenta*. Such an undertaking—and, with many, such a labour of love—allotted in parochial or other portions, is truly a legitimate aim for County Associations; and, by similar means, County Histories will become, as they ought, more and more useful and trustworthy in reference. Moreover, while these matters are under attention, strides will necessarily be made towards the desirable end of compiling an archaeological map of the county, showing the sites of the tumuli, monoliths, roads, passes, encampments, and relics of every description, whether pre-historic, British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Norman—which, to use Bacon's expression, "have casually escaped the shipwreck of Time;" and this is rendered the easier, inasmuch as our excellent Ordnance maps afford a correct basis.

It was my intention to have appended a few of my own "experiences" in this line, with respect to the readiest methods of making rubbings, and obtaining fac-similia in cases of difficulty; but, recollecting that the active Mr. John Williams, of Somerset House, is perhaps the most practised hand in England in that particular department, as well as in taking exquisite casts of gems and coins, I requested him to favour me with information regarding his process. In an immediate reply, this gentleman has very openly related his management, the which is so likely to prove useful to the antiquarian Tyro that I take the liberty of subjoining a copious extract.

I beg to remain, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

W. H. SMYTH.


Extract of the Letter from Mr. Williams:—

Somerset House, Sept. 19, 1858.

According to your desire I send you an account of my method of copying inscriptions on stone or brass with facility and perfect accuracy. I was led to its adoption by the following circumstances:—In the year 1832 I was engaged in the study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics; and, finding I could not depend upon the accuracy of printed or engraved copies of Egyptian monuments, I endeavoured to find out some method by which I might be able to copy mechanically, with rapidity and at the same time with perfect accuracy, such inscriptions as might be required. The result was the adoption of the method I am about to describe, and I may add that, during that and the four succeeding years I successfully copied the inscriptions on nearly the whole of the monuments then in the British Museum. I also copied those in the museum of Sir John Soane, including the celebrated Belzoni Sarcophagus, together with those in the possession of Dr. Lee, and in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, with many others in different private collections. These inscriptions, all of course the exact size of the originals, now occupy four large volumes, and were taken from some hundreds of monuments.

The following is the method which he adopted:—

A paper blackened on one side is prepared as follows:—Take a small portion of yellow soap, say about the size of a nut, rub it up carefully with water until it becomes of the consistency of thick paste, without lumps of any kind: to this add a sufficient quantity of black lead in powder; mix these intimately, adding a few drops of water, if necessary, to keep it of the consistency I have already mentioned, viz., that of thick paste. Spread this on the surface of paper of any kind, and scrape off as much as possible of the superfluous

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colouring matter. Suffer it to dry, and now again scrape the surface so as to remove all the composition that might come off in patches in the succeeding manipulation, the object being to leave on the paper an exceedingly thin film of black lead spread as evenly as possible over it; this when laid with the blackened side on white paper will leave a trace even by merely passing the finger nail over it.

This is the copying paper. In addition to which a piece of wood must be provided about six inches long, half an inch thick, and of about the same width; the end of this should be hollowed out so as to leave an edge projecting a little, shaped, in short, like this figure. The edge of the rubber can be applied readily to the paper, and is essential to the production of a good copy.

The paper I employed in making my copies was of the sort known to stationers as "double crown." This is a thin white paper of considerable size, and answers better than a thicker paper, as the structure of the latter frequently prevents the taking of many of the finer lines.

In order to copy an inscription with these materials we must first fix, by means of a little paste (shoemakers' stiff paste is the best) one of the sheets of double crown over the object to be copied; applying the paste at each corner of the sheet of paper will be found quite sufficient, as it is merely required to keep the paper in its place. Lay upon this a piece of the prepared paper with the blackened side downwards, and rub it on the back with the edge of the piece of wood. The black comes off readily, and covers all the prominent parts, while the inscription and other sunken parts remain white. The flexibility of the paper enables it to be applied in all directions, and consequently the copy can be made as sharp as possible; any parts that are imperfect can easily be retouched; and, as the blackened paper is not permanently fixed in any way, the progress of the work can be ascertained readily. When finished the copy is easily detached, and, if necessary, the traces of the paste used in fixing it can soon be removed with a wet sponge. The time occupied in copying an object is very short.

I may also add that, by using a lithographic compound for blackening the paper and transfer-paper for the copy, I was enabled to remove it to a lithographic stone, and thus multiply the copies ad infinitum.

** In order to spare certain feelings in this vicinity, I have forborne to instance the discreditable and rapid destruction of Quarendon Chapel and its interesting marbles (see *Aedes Hartwelliana*, page 62): a spoliation which cannot be imputed to railroads, or other improvements.

Time was when the antiquary had mostly to complain of the whitewash kings of "doing-up" churchwardens, but latterly they have taken to doing away. In 1852 my worthy correspondent Mr. Benjamin Williams, F.S.A. was so struck with the beauty of the sculptures on the tympanum of the south door of Tetworth Church, that he made a drawing of it, the engraving
from which appears in the Archæologia (vol. XXX. page 487), under date 14th of February, 1853. To this communication is appended a note—"Since this letter was written the church has been taken down, and this very ancient and interesting sculpture has been unfortunately destroyed."

Tetworth is a rural village in Oxfordshire, but on the borders of this county. It gives its name to a marly mould mentioned ante, at pages 42-3. W. H. S.

§ 3. CERTAIN RELICS FOUND NEAR AYLESBURY. WITH FURTHER REMARKS ON RUBBINGS.

St John's Lodge, 12-5-59.

My dear Sir,

From your having drawn my attention to the restigia discovered in this neighbourhood during the autumn of last year, I repaired to the site, which is on a farm tenanted by Mr. Edward Terry. By this, and an examination of the relics, I am able to state the following particulars; and, however scant they may be, I hope they will be found accurate, since they may therefore form a link in the chain of evidence which research has procured, or may yet procure, respecting the ancient occupation of this vicinity. Besides correcting archaic chorography, such incidents also generally afford a partial insight into the state and condition of those who preceded us, by yielding unequivocal traces of their forts and dwellings, the money circulated among them, the utensils and implements which they used, the weapons they brandished, the remains of the very animals they subsisted upon, and finally their modes of sepulture. It is therefore imperative that every vestige brought to light by design or accident should be duly substantiated and recorded, so that the diejecta membra may hereafter be embodied in a comprehensive whole.

Here I cannot but own to being somewhat perplexed that Aylesbury bears so slight a mention in our historic registers, seeing that according to the old Saxon Chronicle it was one of the strongest holds of the Britons: and it evidently must have been of capital importance, from its dominant position over the Vale to which its name is imparted. Yet successive waves of conquerors have swept over it; for we are encompassed with unmistakable evidences of protracted occupation by Britons, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and Danes; the two last of which peoples are well known to have had most ferocious and sanguinary encounters at Halton, Bledlow (Bloodyridge), and other hard-fought battle-fields, wherein indiscriminate massacre or hopeless slavery awaited the vanquished. Even of late years extensive "finds" of coins, pottery, arms, fibulae, armillae, beads, tesserae, and mattoni, have occurred all around; as for instance at Prince's Risborough, Ellesborough, Weston Turville, Mentmore, Little Kimble, Stone, Credon, and that severely-contested Saxon station Dinton, where tradition points to the sambucus humilis, or Daneswort, as a proof that the soil which nourished it had been drenched and saturated with blood of the Danes.* This spot appears to offer promise to the excavator, but there is little to

* The forays of the Danes were rather marked by rapine and massacre than a desire for settling: yet the adjacent Eythrop, Southrop, Souldrop, and Tythrop would seem, by the Danish terminal, to denote that they occupied those places.
be marked above-ground; in the Vale the boundaries for the greater part may have been formed of hedge-rows and ditches, which, as my late friend Hallam remarked, are among our oldest antiques; hence the little that offers to eye-search, the very ruins of the stations having disappeared—ipse periere ruinas. But on the adjacent Chiltern Hills there are mounds, barrows, entrenched camps, and fastenings of various kinds among its once impassable forests, which sufficiently prove the early importance of that fine mountainous range—the very Tora Vesta of the Britons. Of these places of security, perhaps the most interesting is Belinus or Kimble Castle, the reputed residence of the British King Cunobeline—Shakespeare's Cymbeline. This post is finely situated on a strong circular eminence above Velvet Lawn, and there seems no reason for doubting its traditional story. Indubitable certainty may yet reward inquiry; yet I cannot suppress my own chagrin on being told in Ellesborough that a man had recently found a beautiful coin in this castle, when, dreaming of the gold galloping horse and wheel of Cunobeline, I found that it proved—after being very carefully unwrapped from its swathing—to be a trumpery brass Nuremberg Token! To return—

Last autumn, in draining a field called Benhill, situate in the hamlet of Walton, between the two roads to Tring and Wendover, and just beyond the new cemetery, the workmen dug up a quantity of human and other bones, together with a corroded spear-head, and the neck of a terracotta vessel which had been painted black; and resembling the form of one represented in Artis's "Durobrivam Illustrated" (Plate xlvi. fig. 1), which was found at the Roman pottery-kiln, Nongate-field, Castor, in 1826. I was also shown the fragment of what seemed to have been the handle of a coarse amphora, or perhaps of one of the mortuary urns called ossuarium. These remains were found at about three feet deep, in a dark soil bearing an appearance of burning having been practised there,—a circumstance of no great weight in itself, since cremation and inhumation were contemporaneously in use among the Pagan Anglo-Saxons; although there was a difference in the sepultures of the Romans quartered in Britain, and the Romanized population of the island. Such was the "find;" but the space was not disturbed beyond the furrows necessary for drainage, so that the extent of eligible excavatable ground is still unknown. Indeed, after wandering over the whole site, I am not prepared to recommend any particular spot whereon to commence with the pick and the spade, except to continue the previous diggings when the present crop of beans is off the surface.

In examining the "find" in detail, the human bones and teeth were found to be in very fair condition, and indeed some of them perfectly sound: and there were parts of the antlers of two stags, a stag's entire head, some boar's tusks, and other intermingled bones,—most of which were collected and submitted to my inspection by Mr. Field of Aylesbury. No coins, medals, implements, tesserae, or foundations were discovered in the very limited extent which was opened; but the spear-head above-mentioned offers a clue upon which we may reason pretty positively. Being nearly flat, and no less than eighteen inches in length, it must be considered Danish; that people using spear-blades even longer, insomuch that they were more like swords on shafts than the usual spears. As it is unlike the pilum of the Lower-Empire Romans, the assegai of the Franks, the spiculum of the Anglo-Saxons, or the javelin of the Teutonic races in general, it may be accepted as an evidence of having been wielded by a fallen Dane; and it is therefore indicative of a fact and a period.
REMARKS ON BEN-HILL FIELD.

The name Ben-hill is no doubt derived from the long eminence which commands the valley between it and the Chilterns; Ben having been widely applied to elevated ground. The situation as a post is excellent, looking over the town of Aylesbury to the N.W., and the village of Weston Turville—where many Roman relics have been found—to the S.E.; and it commands a view of the country immediately surrounding it. Not far below, in the Friargate fields, Roman coins have been repeatedly found; some of which, picked up only last year, were brought here for my inspection: among them a denarius of Balbinus, bearing that emblem of concord, two right hands joined—the commissa dextera dextra—on its reverse, was so perfect as to be worthy of any cabinet. These pieces, however, form a very slight testimony as to the former occupants, for, Roman money having been the currency of the country for upwards of 400 years, it may equally as well have been hidden or lost by the Britons or Saxons, as by the Romans. Herein the ceramic art lends a powerful aid in determining the time and degree of civilization of a people whose history is lost; for fragile pottery has often proved even more durable than brass, thus countenancing Sir Thomas Browne’s thoughtful assertion that “Time conferreth a dignity upon everything that resisteth his power.” Thus it is to the plastic vases of the Etruscans and Greeks that chronology, art, and history are so deeply indebted; and the specimens found about here—although inferior in antiquity and art—cannot but be very useful to inquiry. From what has already been exhumed it is clear that the use of pottery continued among the Romanized Britons and Anglo-Saxons after the departure of the Romans: but instead of the usual red lustrous wares of the latter, the domestic utensils of the former are rather inelegant, exhibiting no great marks of much preparation before use; being generally made of coarse clays impressed more or less with mere zig-zag lines. Still, occasionally, better fetiche productions of the Romans are turned up in the neighbourhood, as, for instance, among the relics exhumed at Weston Turville in 1855, two patene and a caliculus were found of the red so-called Samian ware; both the glaze and paste or body of the material, however, render it doubtful whether they were fabricated in England. After all, Saxon art can only be rated as degraded Roman.*

Except in cases like the present, wherein every incident ought to be brought forward, I should hardly have mentioned, that among the bones found at Benhill were several specimens of the little fossil nautilus, of the Foraminifera kind approaching to the nummulite. Of these Mr. Field has preserved a good specimen. Snail shells are often found in such deposits.

On the whole the “find” offers as yet very little to reason upon; but still from this accidental discovery a probable conclusion may be arrived at, namely, that the hill was once the site of an encampment, very likely Anglo-Saxon; that outside this camp an engagement with the Danes had taken place, after which the slain men and horses were buried in the trenches where they fell; and that the bones of the deer, boars, and other ruminant creatures, indicate the pagan sacrificial death-meals—in which even horse-flesh bore a part. Hence the quantity of edible

* Two or three commonly-called lachrymatories, or tear-bottles, have been brought to me, with the popular error respecting them, and which supposition I elsewhere sought to demolish with a coup-de-plume: they are fetiche vessels which probably held unguals and perfumes; but could not, from the flatness of lip, have been intended to be applied to the eyes, as receptacles for the tears shed at funerals.
animals' relics found at all the cemeterial openings in every part of Pagan Saxondom, at which so many antiquists have gazed and unnecessarily marvelled. On this point my late regretted friend, Mitchell Kemble, speaking of the identity of the Anglo-Saxon obsequies with those of the Saxons who remained at their old seats on the Elbe, somewhat indignantly remarks—"There has been a good deal of nonsense talked in England about sacrifices and the like. Once for all, let it be known that the sacrificial flesh of the Germans was boiled, not roasted, and was eaten on the spot by those who partook of the sacrifice; which, at stated seasons, the chiefs and kings, if not the whole people, were expected to do. When Hakonr the Good was in bad odour with the Northmen, on suspicion of Christianity, he was made to pass the broth of boiled horse-flesh under his nostrils, and the people consented to take this as evidence that he had communicated according to the heathen rite."

The position of these grounds, in a military point of view, may have been of great moment in the intercommunication of a former day; for the great road called the Icknield Way—the Icenhelde Street of our early chronicles, and the Acknl Way of the present locality—ran between the Chiltern Hills on the south, and the Benhill eminences on the north. Nor was it only in far by-gone times that the site was thought eligible for contention, though the notices as yet hunted up are very scant.

In examining the fields about Walton, I am inclined to view the locality as the spot where Prince Rupert was stricken by Sir William Balfour, from the description in a rare quarto pamphlet printed by the Parliament in 1642, under the title of "Good and Joyfull Newes out of Buckinghamshire." It opens with a rather unexpected sneer at the then—somewhat as of late—prevailing appetite for news being supplied, without much regard to fact—"every man speaking according to his fancy and wishes, and divers sons of audacity and impudence, confidently committing many illegitimate conceptions of their owne to the publick view, which have no more affinity with truth than the opinions of Copernicus of the motion of the earth."

So much for the Benhill Field! We now turn to staid common-place facts, and among them I request permission for a word more in regard to the importance of "Rubblings."

In my former letter to you, while jotting down the Dinton Inscription, it struck me that its orthography, cutting, characters, diphthongs, and points, were so like to those of the doggrel lines upon the great Shakespeare's tomb in Stratford Church, that the artists of the two must have flourished contemporaneously; and even a suspicion arose whether the two productions might not have been by the same hand. On referring to Chalmers's edition of Shakespeare in 8 vols. 1826, I find those verses thus—in a form calculated to deceive, because the irregularities in the size and form of the letters induce an implicit belief that they must have been very scrupulously traced—

Good Friend for Jesus SAKE forbear
To d0o T-E Dust Enclosed HERe
Blesse be T-E Man † spares T-Es Stones
And curse be He † moves my Bones.

and this is exactly copied by others, even down to the recent edition of Charles Knight; while, as
an example of the inefficiency of eye-copying in these instances, the Rev. Alexander Dyce, so lately as 1857, not perceiving the ligature mark of coalition of letters which a rubbing would have made manifest, also prints blese for bleste.

It is probable that Chalmers borrowed the inscribed lines from Malone's well-known publication in twenty-one volumes, wherein they appear as above, with this remark:—"On his grave-stone underneath is the following inscription, expressed, as Mr. Steevens observes, in an uncouth mixture of small and capital letters." Here we have a curious proof that he, George Steevens—the malignant Puck of Shakspearian Commentators—could not have ever seen the monument which he so dogmatically described.

Not being, however, in the habit of giving in against my conviction, and feeling quite sure that there was no such unmeaning confusion of great and little characters on the actual slab, I wrote a few weeks ago to my excellent friend, Edward Fordham Flower, Esq., of the Hill, Stratford-upon-Avon, requesting him to procure me a rubbing from the original; and he kindly furnished me with the one I herewith forward, through you, for the Society's acceptance, having first secured the following accurate illustration of it:—

``

GOOD FRIEND FOR JESVS SAKE FORBEARE, TO DIGG THE DUST ENCLOSED HERE.
BLEST BE Y MAN Y SPARES THES STONES,
AND CURST BE HE Y MOVES MY BONES.
``

Poor Shakspeare! what had he done to deserve having this inane request and imprecation, served up in such sorry verse, fathered upon him?

To what I have already advanced respecting the necessity of accuracy in inscriptions of every kind, this communication may be closed with an illustrative incident in proof. My remarks in the last number of the Records of Buckinghamshire having been read by the Astronomer Royal, George Biddell Airy, Esq., that gentleman informed me of the recent wanton destruction of a church-monument at Playford, near Ipswich, which was of such local interest as to have been figured by Gough in his "Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain." This letter was dated from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, December 30th, 1858; and by the next morning's post I received another missive from him to this effect:—

I omitted at the proper time to mention the following instance of the great value of a rubbing for an inscription, as preferable to any copy by the eye.

A few years ago, when I decided on restoring Halley's tomb, I first had the inscription carefully copied by eye, and the date thus given for Halley's death was—

MDCCXLII

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ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Some qualms of conscience came over me, and for perfect restoration of the inscription, faults and all, I had a very good rubbing made. The date of death now came out—

MDCCXL

The two dots at the end would not have caught any lady's eye. But what could they mean? My good angel suggested that possibly the event occurred while custom was yet uncertain as to beginning the year in January or in March, and that possibly Halley died either in January or in February; and that the sculptor intended to cut—

MDCCXL

Or, as we should say in figures,—

1741-2.

And so it was. Halley died in January or February (I forget which), 1742, by present reckoning. And, but for this care, I should in the restoration have cheated Halley of a year of life.

Hoping this animated correction may act as a caution to those who are inclined to run and read, but that in their haste they will not overlook the curious hint about custom using a mixture of old and new styles, before the latter was enforced by law, I am,

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

W. H. SMYTH.


§ 4. ON A "DOUBLE-FACED" BRASS IN STONE CHURCH;

WITH A FEW GENERAL REMARKS ON THE DESECRATION AND ROBBERIES IN SACRED EDIFICES.

St. John's Lodge, 10—7—'60.

MY DEAR SIR,

An antiquarian acquaintance, who had seen my notice of the Hedgeley Palimpsest Brass (Records of Buckinghamshire, vol. ii. page 17), thinks that I might also have made mention of a similar relic in my own immediate neighbourhood, namely, one in the ancient church at Stone, which was excellently lithographed, and widely distributed by the Rev. J. B. Reade, the Vicar, a few years ago. It was accompanied by a representation of the circular Norman font, curiously sculptured in low relief of somewhat unusual character, consisting of several interlaced squares and circles, with various fishes, animals, and strange devices, introduced in the intervening spaces; and two human figures holding very peculiar weapons.
In reply to this charge I maintained that there was no parity in the examples; for by the word palimpsest is strictly understood a sort of parchment from which whatever was inscribed thereon might be erased, so as to admit of its being written on anew, the precise sense being repeatedly prepared for writing upon. From Cicero’s letter to Trebatius (Ad. Fam. vii. 18), we find that it was an ancient practice; but the wide re-introduction of the term (παλιμψετος) was by the celebrated Angelo Mai, in his sagacious gleanings among the old manuscripts of the Vatican Library, and especially in his discovery of the long-lost books of Cicero’s treatise De Reipublica, about forty years ago. Sometimes the readings on the front and the back related to different periods; and, by simply transferring such an incident from the parchment to brass, the designation has obtained, of which the Hedgerley instance is a notable specimen in point. The two faces, however, of the monumental tablet in Stone Church rather diverge in style and intention from palimpsests, since they vary but slightly in age, and not at all in execution. The upper one is inscribed to Thomas Gorne and his wife in the year 1520, while the under surface is to the memory of Christopher Tharpe. Now this latter, though a whole line is lost from the brass having been shortened for its second duty, bears characters and phraseology so similar to Gorney’s, as to make it clear that the dates of both must be nearly contemporaneous, though certainly those on the Tharpe side, from being rather coarser, would seem to be a little, and very little, older.

This brings us upon a point, which, to unpractised eyes, would appear to be an insuperable obstacle; namely, the recovery of the first date, Tharpe’s death, in order to confirm or repulse conjecture. Now we are free to confess that, in the instance before us, at a first glimpse there seemed to be very little clue, the vestiges of another line to the epitaph being so slight as hardly to arrest notice; but where there are marks there is hope. The monumental inscriptions of the time in question, were incised with a mannerism for conveying information in a brief and conventional form, they were therefore generally so worded that there was no great or conflicting variety either in their object or meaning, names and dates being the principal distinctive differences. This was eminently the case during the latter part of the medieval ages, insomuch that, on many marbles where words had been abraded, the absentees could be readily restored under able readers by means of those in preservation; and so fragments of letters can be put into their pristine form and arrangement, by a careful and proportionate estimate of their several parts. Thus the whole last line in the case before us, on the undermost inscription, as just stated, having been cut away—perhaps to shape the upper face to order—is not so readily made out, though, by a scrupulous comparison of the few bits.
or tops of the letters accidentally left by the cutter, with those on the upper lines, under the critical tutelage of my friend Mr. John Williams, we gather that Christopher Tharpe died on the 28th of September, 1514. Now, during the six elapsed years, it is more reasonable to suppose that the tablet had remained in the workman's shop unpaid for, than that it was so soon torn from the tombstone. However, here we submit the two inscriptions for the reader's own unravelling, with our assumed restoration of the missing line in open characters:

**The Upper Inscription.**

Here lyeth Thomas Gunynge Agnes his wife which they died the 24th day of May, and may God have mercy on her soul.

**On the Under Side.**

Of ye chancys pray for the soule of ye grate Tharpe which departed the 24th day of September y'ere of his deatheit may God 'couse soule wha have mercy.

In those troublous and detestable times—the civil wars of the Roses—instances of this kind were very frequent; a brass might be ordered for one of the red side, but, before it could be supplied by the maker, the property of the ordering party might be estreated, and the artist, having the plate left on his hand, would brush it up afresh for anyone else, perhaps of the white division. In like manner, it must be repeated, in the instance before us—though cast in more stable times—the dates of the two inscriptions being so near each other, renders the supposition that the earlier one was never set up, almost a certainty. Moreover it is well known that some peculiar, and possibly worthy, persons had brasses prepared during their lifetime, and under their own direction, with blanks left for the date of decease; and such spaces are found still remaining, since too often it happened that no one was forthcoming who cared to fill them in.

In these strictures it should be observed, that, by the term "brass," antiquaries mean a sepulchral memorial, or commemorative record of a person or persons—sometimes the tribute of a parish or of individuals to worth and merit, but more frequently they were family tokens. In either case we can rely pretty confidently on the good faith with which they exhibit the names and dates relative to the defunct; but the suspicion of palimpsest, or even double-face, has considerably shaken a portion of the reliance upon identity, and opened a road to mere inference. It is true that, for verifying epochs, brasses display all the varieties of male costume—ecclesiastic, knightly,
REMARKS ON THE DESECRATION OF SACRED EDIFICES.

213

academic, and civil—while those sacred to ladies show costly robes, pearl embroidery, and vestments powdered with ornaments so extravagantly as to prove that fashion then, as now, entertains no sympathy with taste; but the meddling with monuments thus complained of weakens faith—since the vital essence which renders history valuable is truth, of which the mainspring is a free discussion of all reliable means—nor does she even despise the evidence to be drawn from vain marbles. This, however, does not interdict the exercise of scepticism on costly preservatives of infamous characters. Every inducted disciple of Linus will agree with Bishop Hall, that—

Small honour can be got with gaudie grave,
A rotten name from death it cannot save.
The fairer tombe, the fouler is thy name,
The greater pompe procuring greater shame.

Yet, under all the disadvantages, there is a mine of information to be still worked in our monumental remains; and surely every good subject ought to be interested in the preservation of all the memorials of our illustrious dead, for the satisfaction and instruction of the living. Unhappily this has not been the case, especially in recent times; and, although we must angrily deplore the wanton mutilations of consecrated places, and the desecration of churches by the puritanical hordes of Cromwell, we are wrong in supposing that they were the only Vandals who injured our country, and tarnished its character by such spoliations. Ignorance and prejudice, to be sure, may have been more to blame than malice prepense or desire of gain, but in either case the motive can be no palliation of the public injury. Even in our own tolerant times, what flagrant assaults (archaeologically speaking) have been waged against public decency and feeling, by men of respectability and pretension to good education! In my last letter I alluded to the wanton destruction of the Felbrigg monument at Playford, an act which a valued correspondent informs me was "perpetrated by the ipses manibus of two clergymen; no ploughman, street-sweeper, or marine-store dealer would have done such a thing." And, in a recent letter from Mr. Albert Way, that energetic antiquary says: "When I offered, some twelve or fifteen years ago, to have the figure and canopy of the founder of Playford Church, which had been most violently torn from its resting-place, made good at my own expense, the incumbent declined to permit anything of the kind to be done." The excuse was truly iconoclastic, that, "if the brass of Sir George were fixed up in the chancel, it would distract the attention of his hearers during the service!" Were not the bellicose lion and unicorn of the royal arms also liable to this barbarous objection?

It will readily be conceded that many churches have been exceedingly well attended to—as Cockayne Hatley in Bedfordshire, St. Mary's in Warwick, and a few others—but they almost form exceptions to the general rule: instances of callous neglect, or reckless remodelling, are common over the length and breadth of the land, to an extent which would astonish the respective actors themselves. Two or three unquestionable facts will illustrate this: and the deeds, without perpetrators' names, will show that personality is not the object of our remarks.

* Sir George Felbrigg, founder of the church, was esquire of the body to Edward III. He was knighted in the Scotch wars in 1385, and died in 1400.
ADDENDA TO THE AEDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

In a later letter to me, Mr. Way observes—"Loose broken brasses in church chests are very apt to go astray. I made a long pilgrimage to Mildenhall, Suffolk, in 1836. There was a noble brass thereof of life size, which I knew only by the drawings of Mr. Kerrich, now in the British Museum. To my vexation the sexton only produced the feet—a fine pair of sollerets resting on a lion. He assured me that he had seen the head, and another piece about twenty inches long, within two months—but he supposed the ringers had stolen it, or that some gentleman from the 'Great House,' who had been looking at the head, had taken a fancy to it. Had this grand figure been fixed anywhere, or even screwed up against the wall, it had not thus fared with one of the most curious engraved memorial in the Eastern Counties. It seems to have been perfect in 1829."—Another intelligent correspondent, Mr. H. W. King, in a letter of last September, is indignant at the spoliation which the churches in Essex have undergone; in one of which, Downham, he actually saw a fine old helmet—torn apparently from Judge Raymond's tomb—being used as a mortar hod. He endeavoured to raise a hue-and-cry respecting the robbery of brasses from Chingford church, also, about two years ago: and his wrath is both warmly and justly excited by the treatment of the mortuary memorials of Admiral Haddock and his family at Leigh. This is the more galling, as my late worthy friend Admiral Otway, passing the spot and seeing the monumental tablet of so celebrated a brother-officer lying in fragments, requested it might be replaced at his cost; but it was not done. On this insult to the meritorious dead, Mr. King thus indignantly perorates:—

"We have traced the Haddock family, with some interruptions, from the reign of Edward III till the commencement of the 19th century. For nearly five hundred years the successive descendants have been born at Leigh, and their remains have found a last resting-place in that church and the church-yard. We may well believe that, irrespective of the feeling which has induced men in all times and all nations to desire that their bones should rest in the sepulchre of their fathers, the Haddons might very naturally wish that their remains should repose among a sea-faring people, by the sea-side, and upon an eminence overlooking the ocean, upon which they had passed the greater part of their lives, and upon which they had won renown. But their sepulchral memorials have well nigh perished. The most ancient monument does not now cover the bodies of those whose names it commemorates; and, while the destroying hand of time has nearly obliterated the inscriptions upon the vaults, the ruder and more destructive hand of man has demolished the mural tablet intended as a more especial, prominent, and enduring memorial of one who had conferred much honour upon his native place and county, and served his country with fidelity and bravery."

We need not, however, travel quite so far as Essex for examples of the non-conservation which is here deplored. Having lately read a statement in the work called "England Displayed," published in 1769, that many curious coins and medals, dug out of the ruins of old Verulam, were to be seen in St. Alban's Abbey Church, I was particularly desirous of ascertaining whether any evidences of Cunobeline or Offa were among them; and therefore lost no time in delaying to consult my friend the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, Rector of the Abbey Church, on the subject. In a prompt reply, that excellent antiquary observes—"I well remember, fifty to fifty-five years ago, that there were several coins, keys, spurs, a chalice taken out of a coffin, &c., which were in
Remarks on the Desecration of Sacred Edifices.

one of the lockers in the presbytery of our Abbey Church; but which have all, with the exception of the spur, disappeared. The spur is from Key Field, where one of our two great battles between York and Lancaster took place. And nothing less could result from the circumstance that, for years, the showing of the church was the perquisite of the clerk, who frequently sent his little flag of a boy to attend the visitors.” And, while speaking of our immediate neighbours, it must not be forgotten that the astute authorities of Luton wilfully melted down their old epitaphial metals for the construction of a new chandelier—the which, saith Gough, the feeling narrator, was a “cruel thing.” Well may the axiom obtain, from such-like examples, that literary records are more durable than monuments of marble or brass!

Every man of wholesome principle warmly regards his natale solum, whether it be in torrid, temperate, or arctic climes; a feeling which combines some of the best affections of human nature. Indeed a strong local interest naturally associates itself with every habitat, whether fertile or sterile; for even the Laplander supposes the bleak district of his birth may have been the site of the Garden of Eden—and so it is written. In recognition therefore of so pleasing an attachment to birth-place, the leading object of Provincial Societies should be to enhance that interest by a careful preservation of its memorials, and disengaging its recollections from doubt. Such is, and ought heretofore to have been, an acknowledged duty; and, although much may yet be done in so good a cause, the delay has been hopelessly ruinous in many instances. It is true that we have had many excellent conservators and topographers, whose doings evince both diligence and taste; yet it is patent that apathy and neglect have been stalking about unmoistened, to the premature loss of monuments and mummies, and the degradation of tradition by ignorance. A spirit at present, however, is abroad, which we may hope will arrest the further progress of this disreputable evil: and I again insist that an organic fulcrum of truth will be found in placing greater responsibility on our parish magnates. Nor would such a step be difficult, since all might readily be effected by the churchwarden under the eye of the incumbent; and when once adopted could be very easily continued. All sculpture, brasses, records, books, registers, arms, relics, and paintings—whether on stucco, wood, canvas, copper, or glass—should be borne on charge by each successive individual, under a stock-taking survey: and a further measure of securing them from danger, and foiling the robbers of the dead, will be found in collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof. Good rubbings of all remarkable inscriptions should be taken, in preference to transcribing them, since there never can be correct copying of such memorials by passing the matter to be copied through the mind. It were also well, if manageable, to institute a due supervision of funereal emblems and epitaphs, in order that the nuisance of turgid little monsters and risible rhymes may be abated.

But it is not parish officials alone who ought to be blamed, for the public in general have manifested a stolid indifference the while; and in some individuals this has been carried to an amount almost criminal. For example, about 30 years ago, when a worthy friend of mine was directing some repairs in Turvey Church, on the confines of this county, he wrote to the representative of the Mordaunt property (honours?) respecting the fine family tombs there,—Sir John and the three first barons, with the gallant Earl of Peterborough, two of whom repose under rich open canopies, supported by columns of the Doric order. To this courteous and
obliging application, Mr. Higgins received for answer (pigt meminisse), that he might mend the roads with them! And who can tell how the earnest intreaty now in hand begging the "improvers" to spare Guesen Hall, that very valuable memorial of ancient hospitality at the good city of Worcester, will be met!—But be it again remembered that it is the measures, not the men, of which we are speaking.

Some of these exposures relate to places beyond our borders; but have the Buckinghamshire authorities done their duty any better? The late shameful demolition of Quarendon Chapel and its interesting historiological monuments, as well as the existing state of many other local structures, and the apathetical neglect of our *monumenta vetusta*, form a disagreeable reply to that question. Not only has there been a laxity in the higher guardian authorities, but the deputy-assistant officials—down to vergers and sextons—have so slumbered at their posts, that the sacrilegious pilferer has broken the VIIIth commandment in open day, and committed depredations with comparative impunity. It is not that books* and brasses only have unwarrantably disappeared, but old arms and armour—as helmets, corsets, spears, swords, suits of mail, hauberks, and other relics—piously deposited in churches for conservation, have mostly found their course to the knicknackaterian shops of London. Mr. Albert Way, when visiting that noted mart Wardour Street, was credibly informed that a great proportion of the articles there exhibited for sale, had been supplied by chapmen from the Buckinghamshire churches, while those sacred sanes were being repaired, or rather "done up." A relic-loving friend, at once a literary veteran and an elder in the F.S.A. corps, has the walls of a staircase decorated with sepulchral brasses. Assuredly this is blameworthy: though a man of unimpeachable integrity in general dealings himself, he ought to have been aware that he bought them of those who unquestionably must have obtained such relics with the left hand—caitiffs who got them by means "not worshipful." This is saying the least of such dealings morally, but the legal axiom of to receiver and supplier expresses the matter more pointedly.

Now and then—albeit very rarely—it is ordered otherwise; for I have heard of a votive sword being replaced in a church near Aylsham, in Norfolk, after having been absent without leave for a considerable time; and my earnest correspondent, Mr. H. W. King, in a letter dated the 23rd of last month, says—"The engraving I send herewith represents a magnificent though sadly mutilated brass effigy, of life size, which I fortunately discovered and recovered in the year 1854, after it had been lost thirty years or more. It exhibits Sir John Gifford, who was buried in Bowers-Gifford Church, in the Essex marshes, A.D. 1348. I first learned of its existence from Dr. Salmon's *History of Essex*, published in 1740; and I also found a notice of it in a manuscript in the Lansdowne library (circa temp. Eliz.) On inquiry I found one person who had seen it in situ; but, for the space of ten years, I could gain no further tidings of it. I subsequently ascertained that it had been actually given away by the churchwarden of the parish, there being a resident rector at the time the sacrilegious robbery was perpetrated. The individual to whom it was thus made over was

*It is by robberies from church libraries that so many copies of Fox's *Martyrs* get into the bookmarket; and, not long since, a copy of the *Critici Sacri* was offered to Archdeacon Bickersteth, cheap! It was not difficult to opine where it came from.
REMARKS ON DESERATIONS OF SACRED EDIFICES.

the lord of the manor, who lived some sixteen miles away. On application to this gentleman, he immediately restored the spoil; and I regard it as a most fortunate circumstance that it fell into such hands, for, had it been left to the tender mercies of the churchwarden, I dare say it would have found its way into the melting-pot. I believe that this fine specimen of military panoply, in the best period of medieval art, is now securely preserved in the hands of the present rector; and it will be described in the forthcoming Monumental Brasses of England, by the Rev. Herbert Haines."

This account is the more gratifying, inasmuch as it so seldom happens that lost or stolen things of the kind are ever restored to their proper places. We have happily, however, another instance which is even now in the course of operation, and is at once meritorious and graceful: on the 30th of last March the following advertisement was published—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LEICESTER JOURNAL.

Sir,

Can any of your readers inform me where the brass, with the inscription given below, is taken from? I found it on a broker's stall in our market a few weeks ago: and should be happy to restore it to its legitimate locality.

Yours respectfully,

THOS. F. SARSON.

Here lyeth bryed Ye bodie of Rob.
Le Grye Esqr, sometimes Lord and Patron of this CHVRCH, sone to Christopher Le Grye Esqr. He marrie\n\nDaughter & Coheir to Tho. Ayre Esqr, by whom he had issue Christopher.
Dyed the 9th of Februaire, 158—

The last figure in the year is too much defaced to be distinguished.

That the heinous desecration of many churches of this interesting county is as much assignable to parochial negligence and individual cupidity as to any other cause or causes, is admitted by their historian, the Rev. W. H. Kelke, in the narratives recently published in our Records. There has been, assuredly, a greedy removal of sepulchral relics and other memorials during the repairs of sacred edifices; nor has the marauding appetite ever yet been satiated. In the church of this parish—Stone—a number of graven brasses, having become loose, were piled up against the wall of the vestry-room; but the present clerk told me that, "after the new roof was put on, he never saw them again." Common cases of sacrilege and coarse theft we know can be punished on conviction; but there are other acts equally offensive to propriety and the strict observance of \textit{museum} and \textit{tabernum}, which are permitted to pass unscathed. Several years ago, the incumbent of a church in the North built a new house in the country, and flagged his kitchen with tombstones taken from the churchyard. This, in all conscience, seemed to be bad enough; but, as if to out-Herod Herod, the minister of another church, in the same goody town, took up a number of tombstones from the consecrated place of burial, about two years since, and sold them for eighteen pence and two
shillings a-piece to a neighbouring stone-mason. This was treating the memorials of regard and affection as rubbish of their own, notwithstanding they had been paid for by others; but sometimes such removals have occurred because the monuments were considered to be obstacles in the way of improvement—as in many of the London funereal grounds: yet, in such cases, surely they might be placed in assigned spots of the precincts, as is done at the church of Stratford—truly Shakespeare's mausoleum. Even now, in the workyard of a respectable mason at Aylesbury, are some old gravestones torn (con permesso) from a neighbouring churchyard, one of which shows that, about one hundred and fifty years ago, Jacob Dell deceased at the ripe age of seventy-eight; and that, on the 16th of January, 1717, his wife died also aged exactly seventy-eight.

How far law or usage can authorise parochial officials—clerical or lay—to demolish or eject time-worn tombs and sacred memorials, or to transfer intra- and extra-mural inscriptions in their charge, is matter for very serious inquiry. At all events, such acts cannot be justified in principle; for, however unintentional of evil the motive may be, the deed at once insults the dead and injures the quick. Justice may one day be appealed to.

Though inimical to many of the Statutes in such cases provided, we could almost wish to insist on placing one or two of them under the tender mercy of 1 Edw. VI. cap. 20, § 10.

This matter is not so light or fanciful as superficial observers may suppose, since such silent memorials have often decided points of consanguinity, and facts in dates, with consequent claims to inheritance of property and titles; such being deemed admissible evidence in our law-courts, while printed and manuscript inscriptions are not. This was strikingly evinced about forty years ago, when Mr. Henry Nugent Bell, by the evidence of the fragments of an old tombstone, hunted up the Huntington dignity, and obtained the restoration of that noble earldom for Lieutenant Hastings of the Royal Navy. Moreover, the recent investigation by the House of Lords in the hotly contested and really great case of the Shrewsbury peerage, aroused attention to the insecurity of our churches for the preservation of monumental remains, as well as to the startling fact that many lapidary and other inscriptions are annually destroyed or tampered with. In the course of the proceedings in this grave inquiry it was proved that a colossal act of Vandalism and knavery had been perpetrated in Bromsgrove Church, Worcestershire, in that the alabaster Talbot monument had its raised letters designedly pared down and painted over, to efface all the evidence of lineage. This wilful felony was clearly established before the Lords, by Messrs. Roach Smith and Waller; and, though the obliteration had been made with infinite pains, both these able gentlemen succeeded in deciphering it independently of each other; and, fortunately for the ends of justice, their respective readings accorded—a damaging shot upon the fraud. Another occurrence, which took place also in the House of Lords, during the inquiry into the Tracy Peerage claim, was related to me on the evening of the day on which it happened, by Sir Charles Young, Garter, who was officially present. It appears that on this investigation a copy of the funereal inscription, which promised "to do the deed," was produced; and then, to clinch the bolt, the very gravestone itself. All now

* In the Navy, the stones used with sand for rubbing and scouring decks are called *holy stones*. This name is said to have been assigned many years ago when a large supply of those articles was received on board the Channel Fleet, of which a great proportion was found to consist of broken tombstones.
REMARKS ON DESECRATIONS OF SACRED EDIFICES.

seemed to be quite convincing; but, most provokingly for the claimants, after the eleventh hour the opposing party brought forward the identical person himself, who had been hired to execute the cited epitaph, and who made oath that he had graved the whole with his own hands. On this unexpected revelation, he was directed to make a fac-simile on the spot; a flat free-stone, and the necessary implements, being brought into court before the assembled peers. The old mason proceeded about his business with methodical coolness, to the dismay of the taken-aback party; and being offered a suggestion while at work, by one of them, as to an alteration of form in one of the letters, gruffly replied—"No; I shall cut this as I cut that;" pointing the tool at his first performance, which was lying beside him. The case was, of course, lost.

While the purity of necrological records has been thus tampered with for corrupt purposes, it has also been altered at times in a mere tricksome spirit, but with equal injury to public confidence; both of which evils had been impracticable under a better order of supervision. I may illustrate the latter charge by a pretty strong instance, in the which it was my lot to impinge on a curious allegation which had obtained general credence for many years. In a late visit to Hull, so justly famous for its whalers and other traders, among its various lions I was taken to see a remarkable tombstone in the pavement of a very noble edifice, Trinity Church. Upon this memorial is a shield inscribed with the distinguishing merchants' marks of that day, around which is graven—

HERE LYETH IN PEACE WALTER PECKE MARCHANT
ADVENTURER WHO DEPARTED HIS LIFE IN THE
FAITH OF CHRIST THE 8 OF IVLY AND D 1625.

and then I was surprised at finding the following words across the stone—

AND CATHERINE HIS WIFE WHO DIED 31 OF
JANUARY 1622.

In the last the absence of ligatured letters, wise instead of wyf, and the general appearance of the characters, betoken a later date than the first inscription, still not the lapse of a whole century. Although unused to tilt at reasonable tradition, I could not but be shaken; and, on closely scrutinizing the above numerals, 1628, the 2 has a most suspicious and untrustful aspect. At length, to the chagrin of my town-born hearers, I ventured to presume that some wag—one just capable of displaying wit on the first of April—by scraping a dash to the lower part of an ill-formed 9, has added 70 years to the time of Pecke's death. This indeed seems to be somewhat countenanced on a reference to the History of Hull, by my friend and local pilot, Charles Frost, F.S.A., wherein it appears that the Company of Merchant Adventurers for that port, of which Pecke is designated a member in the above inscription, was not chartered until the year 1577 (11th May, 9th Elizabeth). This alteration may have been made in mere pleasantry; but the place and the object render practical joking at once improper and mischievous, such matters being difficult of detection where time has silenced the voice of tradition. The quaint observation made by Fuller bears upon the like acts, though the old worthy aimed it at ostentatious eulogies on the interred, "He was a witty man who first taught a stone to speak, but he was a wicked man that taught it first to lie.*"

* It was well observed by a wit that, if some men could come out of their coffins and read the
Shortly afterwards, while still labouring under the abovementioned ugly suspicion, I visited Manchester, where an opportunity was kindly offered me of examining the registers preserved in the cathedral. In these truly authentic archives was a notice under date Julie 6, 1665, which awakened my scruples and mistrusts; yet, after a rigorous examination, I cannot but pronounce it to be perfectly genuine. It runs thus: "Elizabeth daughter to Francis Lyndley of Manchester, Esq. whose mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, and grandmother's grandmother, were all borne and are now living in this parish." Five generations co-existent!

These instances are merely brought forward in justification of the main argument, and to intimate the care and inviolability with which our time-vestiges ought to be preserved in order to their conveying truth to futurity, the course to be taken being neither troublesome, onerous, nor expensive. Had the local Archaeological Associations recently formed, but been embodied even a century ago, what ravages, now irreparable, might have been averted! The important design of such societies is not only to preserve memorials of interest, but also to collect substantiated facts and documents relating to county history and county families, to elucidate what is obscure, and to verify what is doubtful. It is therefore to be hoped that the excellent and useful spirit of conservatism which is now fairly afloat respecting records and relics will operate in keeping them from unhallowed clutches for the future—leaving ruthless Old Time as the only destroyer.

I beg to subscribe myself, &c.,

W. H. SMYTH.


* * * While writing the above, I received a letter from the zealous numismatist Mr. W. H. Huffer, F.S.A., a part of which is so much in keeping with what is here brought forward, that a mention may be added. This gentleman, in examining the old Gothic church at Hesale, near Beverley—once the head-quarters of the potent Percies—found that a remarkable brass had been removed from its original place. It is inscribed:—

Here under lieth Dame An Percy. Wriy
to Syl Henr Percy: to him xvi
Children. Which An departed the xix day
of December, the year of our Lorde Mil &
xi. On wohis soullis Jhu' hab merci.

Inscriptions on their tomb-stones, they would think they had got into the wrong graves. Dr. Freind was a noted master of sepulchral epigrams, whence Pope’s satirical epigram—

Freind, for your epitaphs I’m griev’d,
Where still so much is said;
One half will never be believed,
The other never read.
As my correspondent was desirous of learning something more respecting "Syr Henri" and "Dame An" I applied to the Duke of Northumberland, who courteously directed a search to be made among the documents at Syon House, but without success. However, his Grace—authorizing me to subscribe for him to the restoration of the Percy window—forwarded the only statement of pedigree which seemed to bear upon an otherwise silent case, and it is one from which information may yet be derived.

Having alluded in my last letter to Mr. Hallam's opinion respecting the antiquity of our hedges, it may be allowable to return to the subject for a moment; as it is one of considerable antiquarian interest.

Actual and documentary evidence unite in proving the great age assignable to many hedge-bounds in this county; and a full proof is afforded by the Creslow Pastures, a manor near Whitchurch. At the Domesday Survey this seizin was assessed at five hides, or, as the new authorities called them, carucates; which made its area nearly the same as at present—the contents of one of its fields measuring 156 acres, and another, called the Great Field, 310 acres. The surface therefore remains exactly as when these pastures were used for feeding cattle for the royal household in Queen Elizabeth's reign; in fact, the same under James Quarles in 1596 as in the hands of the worthy Richard Rowland in 1860. Indeed, both the meadows and mansion afford a treat to the antiquary; while the family of badgers, still lingering there, are worthy of the naturalist's attention.

In the reign of Charles the First the keeping of the Creslow Pastures was vested in Cornelius Holland, whom Browne Willis calls "a miscreant base upstart;" at the which, Lipscomb, who "esquires" the said miscreant, flares up and snarls. It is therefore within our province to give a description of the said Cornelius, from a book published in 1660, and intituled the "Mystery of the Good old Cause Briefly unfolded;" where, at page 13, a paragraph under the letter H—to which is prefixed a hand, to mark the man to have been one of the unhappy King's judges—has this passage:

\[ Cornelius Holland; his Father died in the Fleet for debt, and left him a poor boy in the \]
Court waiting on Sir Henry Vane, then Comptroller of the Prince's house. He was still Sir Henry Vane's Zanie, but now a comin with his Mr. for the revenue of the King, Queen, and Prince. This Pharisee was engaged with other Monopolists and Patentees, while they stood, his conscience scrupling not the means where profit was the prize. He was turned out of the office of the Green cloath for fraud and breach of trust (with the help of his Mr.) made himself a Farmer of the King's feeding grounds at Cresloe in Buckinghamshire worth 1800l. or 2000l. per an. at the rate of 20l. per an. which he discounted. He possessed Somerset house a long time, where he and his Family nestled themselves. He was Keeper of Richmond house for his Country retreat. He was Commissary for the Garrisons at Whitehall and the Mews; he had an office in the Mint, and, having ten children, he long since gave 5000l. with a daughter, after which rate we must conceive he had laid aside 50,000l. for portions; and was one of the King’s Judges, and one of the Commitee of Safety.

Unmerited success may sometimes attend unprincipled measures, but the trappings are nauseous; for it is only becoming “muddied in Fortune’s moat.” Dishonesty never yet attracted respect, or even approached thereunto among the veriest Mammonites. So much, therefore, for Mister Cornelius Holland, his preferments, and his ill-gotten wealth.

§ 5. A WORD MORE ON THE “DOUBLE-FACED” BRASS IN STONE CHURCH, &c.

St. John’s Lodge, 5—7—’61.

My dear Sir,

My last letter upon this subject has given rise to a question or two, to which answers may very readily be given. In the first place it was asked—and reasonably enough—how the lower line of the Gurney inscription could have been restored, seeing that only a few marks remained? Now, to clear it from the imputation of being mere guess-work, I will show that the approximation to date is founded on the principle enunciated by the experienced Mr. Williams.

It will be recollected by readers of the “Records” that I alluded to the aid which was afforded to research, by the mannerism and conventional form of the monumental inscriptions of that era; and the further proceeding before us may be thus stated for general information:—Upon examining the numeral (xviii) of the day, in the preceding line, it will be found that the v has a curved top which rises above the line. This is a keystone, for such a top is seen among the remains of the line in the place where measurement, and other indications, show the second figure of the date must have stood, and consequently proving it a v. As the first numeral was undoubtedly m, the year sought for must be somewhere between 1500 and 1620, the date of the inscription on the
other side, which, though a little coarser, bears internal evidence of being all but contemporary. If the remaining part had had another v in it, we must infer that the top would have been curled as in the cited xviii, and, consequently, rising above the line, a portion of it would have remained visible, as appears in the place of the second figure before mentioned: as, however, no such indication appears, it follows that the numeral v did not form any part of the remaining portion of the date in question. Hence it may be pronounced that it could not have been v—vi—vii—viii—xv—xvi—xvii—or xviii: in which series iv is not included, because, in the inscriptions of that time, four was represented under the more archaic form—iii. We are thus limited to i—ii—iii—iii—ix—x—xi—xii—xiii—and xiii. Now, when measuring the space where the v of mv must have been, and the place where the first letter of the word following the date (on) must have been, there is abundant room for the greatest number of these numeral letters. We may therefore—by a modified exhaustion—without scouring the shield too closely, or making any untoward hesitation, accept of 1514 as the true date of this portion of the brass.

In my former communication to you this inscription, and not the sculptures, was my only object in writing; but, from a cause which will presently appear, I might as well have said that there is a little group of six sons by the side of the effigies of Thomas, and there are three daughters represented behind Agnes. From the number and evident respectability of the Gurneys formerly located in this vicinity, I inquired of my old and esteemed friend, Mr. Hudson Gurney—so long the popular Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries—whether he was aware of there having been any connection between the Buckinghamshire and the Norfolk families of that ilk? Though now in his 86th year, I received an immediate and cheerful reply, in which, after a few general details, he thus proceeds:

There is the grant of the manor of Wendover by Stephen to Hugh de Gournai—and a re-grant to the seventh Hugh Gournay 1180—whose end was unfortunate. Going over from King John to Philip Augustus, he was attainted and confiscated in England; and the French Chronicle says of him: "Hoc anno Hugo de Gurnay capite mulcatus est, ut planus et manifestus prodictor.”

Of the Gurneys of Stone there are five descents given in the Escheats of Stone and Aylesbury in the reign of Henry the Eighth. In Cole’s Escheats and in Daniel Gurney’s notes I find—"Joseph Gurney, a baker in Park Street, London, says his family are from Stone or Bishopstone, near Aylesbury, where they had been settled more than a century (June 1831),” or rather from time immemorial. If I find more I will send it to you by another post.

In due time, that is, after further inquiry, the other post did bring a letter, and one so illustrative of the mena sana at his advanced age, that, in justice to our venerable antiquary, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of here inserting it:

Keswick, March 13th, 1862.

My dear Sir,

First returning you a thousand thanks for the tracts you have had the kindness to send me, I have to make unnumbered apologies for not having thanked you for them before; but the truth is that, now being in my 88th year instead of the 86th, as when you did me the honour to mention me, I am come to so much weakness both of mind and body that everything about me gets into inextricable confusion, and just able to
walk, but not able to stand above a minute or two, losing my memory most inconveniently, and my eyesight becoming very dim, I am unable to move about and pull down books for reference.

To begin with your researches at Stone. It is not quite creditable to the race that Thomas Gurney's family should have stolen Christopher Thorpe's brass within eight years after his death in order to appropriate it to Thomas Gurney's monument; and, if you will allow me, may I ask you an heraldic question?

I find no existing evidence of the use of armorial bearings either in France or England earlier than our Henry the Second. They are extremely rare in the reigns of Richard and John, came into use in that of Henry the Third, and were almost universal in England in that of Edward the First, but had not then got into Scotland. Now all the Norman Heralds give the arms of the Seigneuries de Gournay—De sable purpure, simply black. All our MSS. and Rolls in England give them. Pal of six or and azure. Our Norfolk branch have, Argent, a cross engrailed gules, from Sir John Gurney who accompanied Edward the First when Prince of Wales to the Holy Land. The pales are given to Gerard, who married the Conqueror's grand-daughter, and to his son Hugh, said to have been made Earl Gournay by William Rufus.

I know no seal of the pales earlier than ours of the cross in the reign of Henry the Third; and what I would venture to ask is, in your minute researches in the Church of Stone did you anywhere see any traces of the shield of the Gournays?

The six sons and three daughters of Thomas and Agnes being as pleureurs on the monument, and all their thighs-bones turning up, is a most curious circumstance. Was there ever any rubbing or sketch of the whole monument taken?

Speaking of heraldry, the silphium in your arms set me to musing, and to making inquiries of everybody I thought might know about it. It appears so entirely unaccountable that so valuable a medicinal plant, making a great part of the commerce of the Cyrenaica, should be lost. Dr. Dalrymple, who had just come from Palestine, told me there was a plant greatly resembling the medal of it, extremely common in the Holy Land, which they called the wild onion; and Sir Henry Holland thought it of the nature of the plant producing asafetida. Dr. Dalrymple said he would write to a friend at Beyrouth to get him a specimen of this plant, but I do not know whether he succeeded.

Your account of the old church of Constantine and your correspondence with Sir Richard Vyvyan, and Stonehenge being the burial-place of the succession of British Kings, is excessively curious, and what I am very much inclined to believe: and your lines on the double stars are excellent, and their philosophy not to be refuted. I can conceive nothing more absurd than the hypothesis that sun, moon, and stars were all created merely as lamps.

I dined with the Royal Society's Club in its commence ment. Its point of failure must have been that you had no time to talk of things before you broke up for the Society's meeting. I belong to only one dinner club, which I shall never see again. To my great astonishment I was elected to Johnson's Club, modestly calling itself "The Club." Every one presides in the order of the letters of the alphabet. The form of the election is said to be the only short sentence that Gibbon ever wrote, which is, "Sir, I have the pleasure to inform you that you have the honour to be elected to the Club." This came to my house on the Tuesday evening, signed "Brougham, President." The next day I went to the Levée, and before I could recover the perpendicular from a profound reverence to his most sacred Majesty King William, Brougham, standing in his robes and wig as Chancellor, and holding the Seals, seized me by the collar, and dragged me across the Duke of Gloucester into the circle of the ministers to ask me if I had received his letter. I conceive as singular a proceeding in a chancellor has not often been witnessed in a Court. The Club consists of from 30 to 35 members. The greatest number that ever dined there was 19, on the
admission of Sir Walter Scott, and the smallest number was one, when, on the day of the great run on all the banks of London in 1825, when Huskisson said the whole country was within half-an-hour of coming to barter, Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister, came to the Club as he was accustomed to do, dined alone, and signed his name for a bottle of Madeira. A singular historical anecdote.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours most truly,

HUDSON GURNEY.

To Mr. Hudson Gurney's account I may as well add that a very old charter among the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster is signed by Hugh de Gurnai, as one of the witnesses; and there is both internal and presumptive evidence that this same document was drawn up A.D. 1190, in the commencement of the reign of Richard the First. Moreover, in the Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus there are to be found, in the years 1384, 1393, 1395, 1402, and 1462, fines on the messuages, lands, and rents of Stone and Bishopstone, which thereby confirmed the rights and established the position of the Gurneys. Among the early records preserved in the evidence-room at Hartwell House, is a curious rent-roll dated on the 30th day of November, 1459 (38th Hen. VI.) in favour of D. Wiffs Gurney, de Bysshopheston.

It is plain that the family of the Gurneys was pretty numerous in this vicinity, for the name constantly occurs in the records of marriages, baptisms, and deaths; and it still exists around, though not in the same consideration. In endeavouring to trace when such a decadence might have occurred, a sad hiatus of 350 years comes to light; that is, between the time above cited and that of Henry VIII., in whose reign the laudable parish records were instituted. Numerous documents may have been preserved by the monks: but though monasteries were the safe-guards of religion and literature in the dark ages, they were also the strong-holds of superstitious bigotry and spiritual despotism, under which influence many of their manuscripts were garbled. I was therefore confined to the parish registers, the wading through which may not be deemed at all entertaining reading.* But those who view them only as a dry and dull series of insignificant names and dates are certainly not of that archaic taste which calls upon the grave to render up its still occupants, and re-animate them for the moment, thereby to throw a light upon circumstantial evidence—genealogical testimony which is still to be held in trust for future investigations—

They whisper truths in Reason's ear,
Would human pride but stoop to hear.

The earliest mention of this family in the parish register, nor could it well be earlier in such a record, is Francis Gurney, "sonne of Hen. Gournay the Younger," who was christened on the

* Under the date November 29th, 1763, is the curt entry—"A woman, name unknown, cook to the late Sir Thomas Lee." This uncouth record of the once most important personage in the household staff, may be imputed to her having been always addressed by the title of her calling. Just before this, in the same registry, when a daughter of Elizabeth Griffin was baptized, there is a revolting memorandum—"the father was hanged at Aylesbury some little time before, and the mother was traveling (tramping) on y' road." Ill-starred infant!
7th of October, 1538; and a "Margarett Gourney" was married in the following month. These entries are, of course, on the first leaf, for it was the same year in which the practice was ordered; and there is inferential testimony that they were then a family "well to do," as there are inscriptions and an altar-tomb of some of them; although it must be confessed that Francis Gurney only placed his mark to a Bishopstone deed, dated 1 August, 36 Eliz. (1594). They are entered repeatedly afterwards—ladies as well as gentlemen—as being buried according to that unpopular act of parliament (18 Car. II. cap. 4; and 30 Car. II. cap. 3) which was passed and practised upon in 1678, in woollen grave-clothes only—which a payment would have evaded. Pope has recorded the agitation that the decree occasioned in the dying moments of a fair one—

"Odious! in woollen! 'twould a saint provoke!"

Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.*

The observance of this compulsory enactment was strictly enforced, under the plea of thereby lessening the importation of linen from abroad and increasing the consumption of wool: and all the parish registers which I have examined bear ample proof of the carrying out of this law. Though no authentic notice has met my eye of the custom having been practised after the year 1789, the formal repeal was not obtained till 1814. While in full operation it was a most unpalatable regulation for submitting to: and as no corpse could be interred, nor any funeral ceremony be entered upon without the qualifying affidavit—which it was sometimes very difficult to procure—inconvenient delays often occurred, to the annoyance of domestic feeling. That all the provisions of the act had been complied with, had then to be certified by the minister; in default of which a fine of five pounds was to be levied on the goods and chattels of the deceased, or failing those, on the goods of the person in whose house the death occurred, or of any person concerned in the enshrouding of the defunct. The registration then—with the clergyman's 

* This was Mrs. Oldfield, the celebrated actress, who died in 1781. She, however, escaped the "odious woollen;" and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in a Brussels lace head-dress, a holland shift.
third daughter; and of Simon Mayne, whose autograph—save in the i for y—singly resembles that of his father the regicide, as shown on the death-warrant of Charles the First. He was permitted to enjoy the lands in Dinton, though they had escheated to the Crown. Beke, it will be recollected, was knighted by Oliver, but on the restoration of royalty he thought it prudent to drop his title, in order to facilitate his application for special indemnity under the great seal. The pardon thus obtained is in Dr. Lee's possession;† in its general provisions it follows not only the public act of indemnity and oblivion, but also enters into several particulars not provided for even by the wordy statute of 12 Car. II.; and it is drawn up with such point and precision as, apparently, to meet every possible case. An instance will show this:

Know ye, therefore, that we of our special grace & of our certain knowledge & mere motion, have pardoned, remitted, & released, & by these patents do pardon, remit, & release, to Richard Beke, of Haddenham, in our county of Buckingham, Esquire, or by whatsoever name or surname, or addition of name or surname, office, or place, the same Richard Beke be deemed, called or named, or lately was deemed, called, or named, all & all manner of treasons, crimes of lese majesty, lervings of war, rebellions, & insurrections, & conspiracies & misprisions of the same treasons, crimes of lese majesty, lervings of war, rebellions and insurrections, & all & singular murders, and killings, & slayings of men per insidias (by lying in wait), by assault or of malice aforesought, homicides, felonies, robberies, burnings of houses, depredations piratical, offences, crimes, contempts, misdemeanours, & transgressions, counselled, commanded, attempted, done, perpetrated, or committed by the aforesaid Richard Beke before the 10th day of June last past, &c. &c.

Three years after the date of these signatures, Sir Thomas Lee and Simon Mayne had the severe contested election for Aylesbury, upon which the House of Commons resolved that persons deriving benefit from Bedford's Charity in that town are thereby disabled from voting; which right was to be confined to householders not receiving alms.

This decision was equally unexpected and annoying to the vested birthright men, since they had been led to regard the Bedford bounty as a largess independent of all other charitable institutions of the town; and much dissatisfaction was evinced on thus reducing a number of freemen—pot-walloopers, in electioneering parlance—to the condition of mere paupers. But before the Reform

with tucker, double lace ruffles, and new kid gloves. (Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1731.) The fine was, of course, paid by somebody. It seems tyrannical to fulminate grave enactments for funeral habiliments. Near the communion-rails of Chetwode church, in this county, some coffins—apparently of ecclesiastics—were opened, the bodies in which were found to be wrapped in leather.

* As the only representative of the ancient Beke family, I cannot but cite Dr. Beke, the spirited and persevering Abyssinian traveller; one who, from his Nilotic investigations, may yet force the mighty and mysterious river to yield up its source. Indeed appearances indicate that one of the great geographical problems of all ages, the Caput Nili, is on the very point of being settled.

There are epitaphical inscriptions to the Bekes both in Haddenham and Dinton churches, but as those given by Lipscomb are not quite accurate, Dr. Lee had rubbings made from them.

† This very circumstantial document, perhaps the longest of its kind that is known, was printed at length in The Topographer and Genealogist, 1858, vol. iii. p. 164.
Bill was passed, the borough had long enjoyed an unenviable notoriety for stratagems not altogether right-worshipful in constitutional engagements; and corrupt practices in parliamentary candidates were openly and shamelessly carried on by all parties. Even so late as 1802, according to living testimony, the town-crier publicly announced the inn where voters were to apply for their fees of three guineas each from the agent; though some of the more wily puritan-men received a larger bonus, besides heavy guttling, from the election-money. To those who are not conversant with the local affairs of this part of the county, it may be necessary to explain what Bedford's Charity here means, in order to prevent any collision with the admirable benefaction at Bedford.* A gentleman of Aylesbury, John Bedford, by his will dated on the 12th of July, 1493 (9 Henry VII.), bequeathed a real estate for the perpetual use of the parish, in amending its highways and relieving the poor inhabitants. The bequest then consisted of a certain quantity of land and messuages, of the annual rental of 30l. It now consists of eleven dwelling-houses, and nearly 106 acres of land in and near the town, with 89l. in the funds—the present income being about 600l. per annum.

Another question which has been gravely asked, is to the effect of wondering how it was first known that this Gurney brass was "two-faced"? Now, although pretty well versed in the whole story, I thought the most advisable step would be to have it recorded in the ipsissima verba of the actual discoverer, the Rev. J. B. Reade, the former vicar of Stone, who brought its duplicity to light. On applying to this gentleman upon that and other points under consideration, he promptly returned the following details from Ellesborough Rectory:

I will gladly devote a portion of my solitude here to your service, acknowledging that you have claims upon me; but I must first thank you for your "excellent discourse," to use the stereotyped form of approval on the double-faced brass in the old church.

You apply the lignum so sharply to robbers of churches, that I think they would rather have a monument than an admiral standing over them. However, with respect to the Stone brass, there is clearly no case of Tharpe v. Gorney for the decision of your Court of Records (Acts, xix. 37). The worker in brass committed no robbery, and Tharpe was never a much-trodden-upon individual, in Stone Church at least, as Gorney is proved to have been by the trituration of his brass. In fact the fresh, and therefore somewhat coarser, character of the Tharpe inscription, satisfies me that his brass was never laid down; the edges of the letters are perfectly sharp, and their depth of cutting has not suffered from the feet of church-going people.

The double reading was discovered in 1844, when we restored the church. It was then necessary to remove all the tomb-stones on the floor of the edifice; and, lest the organ of acquisitiveness should be unduly excited in any wonderous antiquary, if we may describe a pilferer so mildly, I took all their brasses to the vicarage, and had them ultimately carefully replaced. A few of the best encrust tiles, having figures of swans, &c., remained in the church—or rather ought to have remained—but some wondering antiquary got hold of them. Other memorials of the time perished also. A new chancel, as you are aware, was erected; but the time-

* This most useful and liberal endowment is owing to Sir William Harpur and Dame Alice his wife, who, in 1556, left 13 acres of land—then on the skirts, but now in the heart of London—to Bedford, the knight's native town. It quickly improved in value, and in 1668 the annual rental was 99l.; then in 1836, when I was a trustee of its management, it amounted to the magnificent sum of 13,500l. per annum! And Bedford possesses lots of other charities—generally well-administered.
honoured features of the old chancel—too elaborate for the naked architecture of the modern builder—were ruthlessly destroyed. To my inquiry for the fine old sedilia, foliated canopies, and columns, &c., the reply was “Oh, Sir, the architect has ordered them to be brayed into sand!” I held my tongue for very shame and sorrow. No wonder that your holy places are disfigured by railway-roofing!

The discovery of the second inscription on the Gurney brass led our friend Thorpe, of Stone, to claim the grave as family property. It was therefore opened for the purpose of identification from coffins or otherwise, and, curiously enough, we found exactly as many pairs of thigh-bones as there are figures of the Gurneys—namely, the old people, six sons, and three daughters. No other part of the bodies remained, with the exception of a small portion of one of the vertebra; neither was there a trace of coffins or wood. All had perished. A striking comment on the words pulvis et umbra.

We also ascertained by thus opening the ground that Lipscomb is wrong—you will say as usual—when he asserts that the church is built “on an artificial mount, probably an ancient barrow;” for it is erected, beyond all question, on one of the natural sand-hills which are so common in the parish, and the lines of stratification in the sand below the grave, and on its sides, proved beyond mistake the character of the formation. No barrow of any kind had anything to do with it.

We get, however, by Lipscomb, out of Kennet, the accurate date of the consecration of the church, viz. 1st June, 1273 (2 Edward 1.); and it may amuse you to learn, on authority you will readily admit, that the chancel then consecrated had just been built, and not very well built either. At the time of our restoration of the church this dilapidated chancel found a restorer in the lay-improvisator Dr. Lee. I happened to be present when a portion of the wall at the south-east angle was taken down, and with my own hand I took from between two of the largest stones a silver penny of Edward the First; thus obtaining satisfactory proof that the chancel was built in the reign which had not long commenced. The weakness of the structure was found to arise from the fact of the south wall having no foundation! The lowest stones—and those of a crumbling kind—were placed only just below the surface; and the only wonder is that it had the power of self-support at all through upwards of 500 years.

As the chancel in question was not exactly square with the church, I proposed that the new south wall should stand four or five feet more northward, in order that the central lines of the church and chancel might coincide. On preparing the ground for this object, the workmen found a deep and well-laid foundation of a former wall, exactly similar in character to the foundation of the north wall of the chancel. There was no doubt in our minds as to this foundation having done duty in supporting the first chancel of the ancient church, and, being so, the continuity of the central line from east to west was in the first instance preserved. That continuity is restored with good effect in the present, or third, chancel, which does in fact stand upon the first foundations; for time would have been thrown away in an attempt to destroy the skilled labour of the close of the eleventh century. As a.d. 1150 is the date of the earliest historical notice of the church, there can be no doubt that the south porch and the massive pillars of the semi-circular arches are at least as early as 1100. Why a new chancel should have been built so soon as 1273 is a question of curious speculation. As the tooth of time could scarcely reach maturity in a couple of centuries, we must look for wanton destruction, accident, or design. The priests may perhaps have craved more room, with suitable and comfortable sedilia. At all events, a second chancel was then erected, and not improbably the transepts and tower also; and the formal consecration of the church, as St. John the Baptist’s, then took place.

Such is my story; and remember that it is virtually at your bidding that I write, and thus record for your amusement a few facts to which you will readily assign their archaeological value: but, as connected with some of the happiest years of my life, it is to me very cheering to be called upon to refer to them. The old parish and the old church are not to be forgotten places. “Many a time and oft” I may have given
most of these particulars to you _a viva voce_; but now I take a hint from your valuable paper, and transfer them, if they are worth it, to the safer keeping of the _litera scripta_.

With this lucid explanation, our remarks on the Gurney brass may be concluded; and I append a view, or rather, as an antiquated landskip-monger would have had it, a south-west prospect of the church itself; one of the last of our fanes that was "littered" with grass on its patron's day:—

By Mr. Readc's letter the saddle is placed on the right horse; and it will be seen that his conjecture of the "two faces" not being the result of fraud, or involved in sacrilege, coincides with my own expressed opinion. Indeed such numbers of mere double-faced and true palimpsest brasses have turned up of late, that, keeping all the inducements in view, I cannot but think if both sides could be examined, that a very large portion of these memorials would be proved to have been used twice. This nefarious custom might have originated in a singular view of economy; and cannot be put in parity with twice-laid deeds, conveyances, or other manuscript writings—wherein both the then scarcity and dearness of the proper materials may account for the practice. And here I take leave to present the society with a copy of the new application of lithography to rubbings, so ably carried into execution by Mr. Williams. The following brief notice will give all that I know about it; and, however little that may prove to be, it can in no way interfere with the value of the document.

Away in the West of England, and not far from the fair town of Helston in Cornwall, there
ON A "DOUBLE-FACED" BRASS IN STONE CHURCH.

is a small and rather obscure village named Constantine in all our maps and directories; though as it is vernacularly enunciated Constanz-finn, there seemed reason to suspect that the classic orthography has led us adrift from the real meaning of the name; which, as mining is still a principal occupation there, seemed more in allusion to stanneries and tin, than to the Roman appellation. Being fully aware of the peril of jumbling facts and fancies together, I submitted my conjecture to Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren, well known as the highest Cornish reference. The returning post brought me the following reply:—

The church of Constantine is a fine old building in the neighbouring granitic region of this district. It has always been supposed to have derived its name from Constantine the son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, and cousin to King Arthur by his alliance in marriage; who succeeded Arthur by his will as King of Britain in 542 A.D. (Speed, page 278.) Thus far as regards the existence of the man, who is moreover said to have reigned three years, to have been killed in battle by Aurelius Bocchus his successor, and to have been buried at Stonehenge.

It is remarkable that Speed, following older writers, names Stonehenge as the place of sepulture of those earliest Anti-Saxon Kings, who were constantly at war with the invaders. He names thirteen such kings from Vortigern to Cadwallader—from 400 and odd to 685 A.D., say 250 years: Constantine was the sixth of this dynasty, the predecessor of an equally violent tyrant.

I am surprised that modern antiquarians have not made more of the tradition about Stonehenge, as the sacred place of Britain, long after the arrival of Hengist and Horsa.

My excellent friend having thus demolished the baseless vision which I had called up, we will proceed with the story which brought the inquiry forward.

In the old church of that old village is a funereal brass, the obverse or visible part of which had immemorially commemorated a worthy gentleman and his wife, small in size, but standing beneath canopies, in Elizabethan habiliments. From a shield of arms between them, it may be inferred that he was one of the Gervis family; there exists, however, no inscription in proof, and on the whole there is reason to think he died circa 1570. Now it came to pass that Constantine church lately needed repairs, in consequence of which the said memorial was taken down from the place it had occupied for nearly 300 years; when, to the surprise of the spectators, it was found that the reverse bore the effigies of some person of note, and that it was a portion of a Flemish brass of superior workmanship, in exceedingly sharp preservation. From particulars in the boldly incised armour, and other indications, the date of this specimen is evidently towards the latter part of the 14th century—say between 1360 and 1380: but there is nothing to throw any light whatever on the name of the individual. Yet, though all written trace appears beyond reach, it is just possible that the arms on the surcoat might afford a clue. And here I cannot do better than quote Mr. Williams' own account of the steps which he took to ensure the discovery, and promote a general knowledge of so interesting an archaeological fact: his letter is dated 26th February, 1861—

This beautiful brass was exhibited at the first meeting of the Society of Antiquaries this session, at Somerset House, by Mr. J. G. Waller, and commanded very great attention. I obtained the permission of that gentleman to take a copy. As the reverse appeared to be of considerable interest, and Mr. Waller thought that the brass was about to be replaced in its original situation, in which case the
ADDENDA TO THE ÆDES HARTWELLIANÆ.

Obverse only could be visible, and as I could hardly expect to get a better example, I considered it a good opportunity to apply to it my process of rubbing, so modified as to enable me to produce a lithographic copy. The result is the lithograph in question, which I now have the pleasure of sending for your kind acceptance.

"I have had this process in view for many years, my first specimen of a lithographic copy of an object dating in December, 1834. The method appears to excite a great deal of attention; and, being very easy, and comparatively speaking not very expensive, I quite hope to see it adopted in cases of particular interest, as thus, with the labour of one rubbing only, authentic copies may be multiplied to any extent."

From what has been since heard, it appears that the Constantine brass has actually been restored to its place over the family commemorated on the obverse side, and there secured; so that the subject of Mr. Williams' excellent lithograph is once more concealed, probably for ages. In the great concern which this incident excited among antiquaries Mr. Albert Way has suggested, in a letter to me, that valuable palimpsests which accident or other cause may bring to light, instead of being again fastened down, should be supported by a hinge-apparatus, so that either side of the sculptures might be readily open to examination. He caused the plan to be adopted at Hedgerley, Bucks, following an example previously set at St. Margaret's, Rochester.

To the very natural inquiry as to how so fine a mortuary fragment—evidently in honour of some great man—should ever have got into so distant a region as Cornwall, it may be answered that, probably, it is a relic of the reckless spoliation of churches which took place in the Netherlands, a few years previous to the later date above given. In that calamitous time the infuriated mob of fanatical reformers broke into the various sacred fauces, mutilating and destroying everything around them, and tearing up the brasses that bespoke the merits and services of the individuals buried there. The laboured reminiscences thus wantonly desecrated by iconoclastic plunderers were sure of a ready sale, from the known superiority of the then manufacture of metal in the Low Countries—called latten, brass, or cullen (Cologne) plate: the dealers in such articles took them, of course, to the best markets. Hence we may account for the presence in England of the curious specimen under our consideration: and for the existence of such numbers of bi-monuments.

Of this enough: but in closing such a lucubration it is impossible to view the sacrilegious callousness, and dishonest perversion, with which the sacred memorials of one generation have been desecrated, to glorify a squad of unknown interlopers of another, without recollecting the beautiful lines in Pope's pathetic elegy on an unfortunate lady—

So peaceful rests, without a stone, or name,
What once had beauty, titles, wealth, and fame.
How lov'd, how honour'd once, avails thee not,
To whom related, or by whom begot;
A heap of dust alone remains of thee,
'Tis all thou art—And all the Proud shall be!

I beg to subscribe myself, &c. W. H. SMYTH.

§ 6. THE SIEGES OF BOARSTALL, A TALE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Having observed that the sieges of Boarstall are either left untold by our popular historians, or are merely alluded to in general terms, a rapid sketch of those events may be welcome to many of our readers. The several memoirs of Fairfax are silent upon the subject, as also is even the valuable manuscript of his services kept at Leeds Castle in Kent. A few interesting letters of this popular general were collected by the industrious Edward Cooke, which, falling afterwards into the possession of Dr. Lipscomb, are published in his County History. A recent visit which we made to that oft-contested spot, has induced a re-examination of all the available authorities within reach, and the following concise narrative is the result.

Boarstall was a castellated mansion on the borders of Bernewood Forest, in Bucks. It was erected by Nigel, a celebrated forester, to commemorate his slaying a tremendous wild boar which was the terror of the neighbourhood, and had long interrupted the sports of Edward the Confessor, who occasionally resided at Brill in the vicinity. The learned Bishop Kennet, in his Parochial Antiquities, considers this tradition as confirmed by sound authority, and refers to a chartulary of Henry VI. for the bestowal of a shield of arms to the slayer of the nuisance:—
Moreover it appears that the continent monarch was so highly pleased with the exploit that he rewarded Nigel with the estate of Boarstall, that is, a grant of woodland and the custody of the Forest of Bernewood, his Majesty reserving the rights of herbage and hunting, i.e. vert and venison. The King moreover presented him with a huge horn tipped with silver-gilt at each end, with wreaths of leather forming a band to hang it about the neck. There is also an ancient brass ring bearing a rude impression of a horn, with a plate also of brass having a horn engraved upon it, and smaller plates with fleurs-de-lis, still remaining in custody of the lords of the property. At our inspection they were hanging on the staircase at Sir Thomas Aubrey’s residence—Oving—and considered as a charter or instrument of conveyance, never to be alienated under pain of excommunication.

All that now remains of this mansion is a large gate-tower with turrets at the angles, sufficiently complete and spacious to have been occasionally the residence of some of its late owners. It is now the property of the highly-esteemed Sir T. D. Aubrey, Bart. of Llantrithyd in Glamorganshire,
whose family have been in possession of it about a century and a half; and it is remarkable that this manor has passed without alienation or forfeiture through a succession of heiresses, from a period prior to the Conquest, with a strong presumption of its still descending to a female.*

Boarstall was fortified and embattled by Sir John de Handlo in 1312, and the gate-house tower remains a capital specimen of the solid architecture of that period. The principal entrance is under a massy arch on the north side, with a paved approach over a still-existing moat of considerable depth in parts of it, the which was probably made in 1735, when the more ancient ingress by a draw-bridge was altered. The gateway is secured by strong doors, with ponderous hinges, studs, and plates of iron. The interior, though clean and commodious, is rather gloomy; and, besides one large apartment on the two principal floors, consists of small rooms communicating by narrow passages through thick walls, and by spiral staircases of stone with groined roofs.

At the breaking forth of King Charles's troubles, Boarstall, Brill, and all this part of the county became highly important from its station between his loyal city of Oxford and the nursery of patriots around Aylesbury. Indeed here the Civil War may be said to have opened by the Earl of Essex's attack on the royal garrison at Brill, in which action Hampden commanded a regiment of foot; and, in the summer of the following year, that remarkable man lost his life in a skirmish with Prince Rupert on Chalgrove-field in the neighbourhood. The district was a political nest of hornets. Hampden's well-known residence was on the adjacent Chiltern Hills, while Cromwell, who, by an intermarriage of his grandfather's, was a sort of deputy-assistant cousin to the admired patriot, often sojourned at the Chequers, a mansion immediately adjacent to Hampden House, and which was afterwards presided over by his daughter Frances. The notorious lawyer Thomas Scott resided at Heydon Hill; Cornelius Holland held the Creslow manor; at Dinton dwelt the arch-regi-

* This was printed in 1842; and, on the death of Sir Thomas in 1856, the title of the Aubreys becoming extinct, the property was passed over to the Trustees of Mrs. E. S. Ricketts, of Dorton, the late Baronet's surviving niece.
cide Simon Mayne, and the dwellings of the Ingoldshys, Serjeants, Goodwyns, Peters, and Martins were almost within sight of each other. We can hardly make this enumeration without recollecting that at Over-Winchendon lived Lord Wharton, who took so zealous a Parliamentary part in those troubous times, until he was satisfied with the King's concessions; but, like all others, he found there was no stopping a whirlwind when once set in motion. The evidence of this nobleman respecting the battle of Edge Hill was very characteristic, for, mentioning the fact that, before the royal forces had done any execution upon them, three or four of the Parliamentary regiments fairly bolted, he said: "There were that ran away, Sir William Fairfax's regiment, Sir Henry Cholmley's, my Lord Kimbolton's, and, to say the plain truth, my own!"

Boarstall was established as a garrison for King Charles from the outbreak of the civil commotions; but about the end of March 1644 it was resolved by the royal advisers to relinquish it, in order to make all possible concentration at Oxford. The plan, however, had hardly been carried into execution than it was discovered that the step was a serious oversight, for the Parliamentary garrison at Aylesbury, having felt the effects of their opponents being in possession of the place, immediately occupied it. Of course it shortly followed that, as soon as the King's forces had left Oxford, and the Parliamentary forces and Walloons were withdrawn, the new garrison of Boarstall inflicted little less vexation than those soldiers had done, by obstructing the passage of provisions, and by other annoyances. These injuries occasioned serious complaints from the people of the neighbourhood to the Lords of the Council, and were moreover made an excuse for not complying with the royal commands as to labourers, &c. It was therefore resolved by his Majesty's divan to regain the hold—a step to which the Lords were encouraged by Colonel Gage, who undertook its reduction. For this purpose Clarendon tells us they appointed a chosen party of infantry, left there (at Oxford) by the King, with three pieces of cannon and a troop of horse of the town, who, by the break of day appeared before the place, and, with little resistance, got possession of the church and outhouses, and then battered the mansion
with their pieces of ordnance. This unlooked-for attack produced a parley, which ended in the surrender of the house with the ammunition, one cannon, and much good provision of victual for horse and man, the garrison having liberty to retire with their arms and horses—very easy conditions for so strong a post. "This advantage," the historic Chancellor continues, "was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer, and two or three common men. Here Colonel Gage left a garrison that did not only defend Oxford from those mischievous incursions, but nearly supported itself by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamshire, besides the prey it frequently took from the neighbourhood of Aylesbury."

Thus Boarstall was regained for the Royalists, and placed under the able command of the gallant Sir William Campion. The terms of capitulation really appear—even to modern minds—to have been extremely favourable; but it is stated, on the authority of Sir Edward Walker, that, when the house was attacked, Lady Dynham, who resided there, "conscious of her disloyalty, stole away in disguise." Unfortunately for the monarchical cause this was not the only lady who bore rancour to King Charles; for the staid formalities of his court seem to have alienated almost as many as did his fatal resolution to govern and levy money without parliaments. He was assuredly highminded, amiable, and accomplished; on the other hand his absorbing attachment to prerogative made him imperious and arbitrary in his demeanour. The exalted opinion which he entertained of royal dignity engendered a cold and offensive stateliness; and his unmanly insolence to Sir Henry Vane, Colonel Whaley, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, for fancied direspect, must have acted as much against him in some quarters as did his prorness to illegally "raising the wind" in others. Warburton mentions, in his notes on Clarendon, that the King's manners were not good; and that he spoke and behaved to ladies with indecency in public. Such, unhappily, were his blemishes, and they bore him bitter fruit; but he certainly possessed none of that sanguinary vindictiveness imputed to him by some writers, and which ought to have been proved before singling him out as a warning to despotic tyrants.
The Parliament was somewhat indignant at the fall of such a post; and, in the following year, Boarstall and its vicinity again became the scene of several sharp skirmishes between the contending parties. In May an attempt to reduce the place was made by the thrice-valiant General Skippon, who was rebuffed, and, as worthy Fuller would have said, skipped off again. This drew such vexed attention that the place was directly afterwards invested by Sir Thomas Fairfax himself at the head of a formidable force, well provided with the requisite munitions. No sooner had he "sat down" than he thus summoned Campion, under the date of June 3, 1645:

Sir,—I send you this summons before I proceed to farther extremities, to deliver up to me the house of Boarstall, you now hold, with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein, for the use and service of the Kingdom, which, if you shall agree unto, you may expect civility and fair respect, otherwise you may draw upon yourself those inconveniences which I desire may be prevented. I expect your answer by this trumpet within one hour.

The brave Sir William, having successfully repulsed one assailant, was not a man likely to yield up his charge on an invitation so abruptly given; and therefore he instantly answered—

Sir,—You have sent unto me a summons of a surrender of this house for the service of the Kingdom: I thought that such had been long ere this very stale (considering the King's often declarations and protestations to the contrary), now sufficient only to cozen women and poor ignorant people; for your civilities, so far as they are consonant to my honour, I embrace; in this place I absolutely apprehend them destructive not only to my honour but also to my conscience. I am therefore ready to undergo all inconveniences whatsoever, rather than submit to any, much less to those so dishonourable and unworthy propositions; this is the resolution of, Sir, yours, &c.

The crispness of this reply does not appear to have entirely interrupted the courtesy which ought ever to relieve the rigours of military intercourse, although it may have provoked a denial to a delicate request. It would seem that some proposals were made for the removal of Lady Campion from Boarstall, upon the prospect of a lengthy siege and its extremities, for on the same day Fairfax addressed the following letter to the beleaguered governor:

Sir,—It is much against my mind to be thought guilty, in the least measure, of any act that hath but the colour of denial to a request that is so civil, and which to many may seem most reasonable; but,
being at present so far engaged in a design upon your house, which I hope speedily to effect, I cannot, without much prejudice to the encompassing thereof, grant what you desire; but if your lady, or any other gentlewoman there, should fall into my power, I assure you I shall take care that the like cruelty may never be used by any of this army which hath lately been executed by some of yours at Leicester; and shall remain your servant, &c.

The receipt of this letter closed the correspondence, and both sides prepared themselves accordingly, the one to obtain possession and the other to repel assault; and there seems to have been a couple of days expended in making demonstrations. At length a vigorous attack was made on the 6th of June, and the contest waxed very warm; but Sir William gallantly repulsed the assailants, killed many officers and soldiers, and effectually liberated his garrison. It appears that the brunt of the struggle was on the rear of the mansion; for the Waler petard, which had been used with such signal success by the parliamentary forces in blowing open the castle of Arundel, had utterly failed at the gates of Boarstall. Artillery in general, however, was most awkwardly managed in those days; and even Milton makes sad work of the agency of his “devilish enginery.”

Sir Thomas Fairfax retreated, first to Brickhill and thence to Newport Pagnell; and the King received the gratifying tidings of his having been “beaten off with loss” at Boarstall, as his Majesty marched through Harborough from Leicester. It is, therefore, undeniable that this unexpected repulse was deemed a very important event in the unhappy contest; so that the quaint mention of it by Clarendon—whom we have just quoted as to the value of the post—is rather curious. Fairfax, he says, attempted “to take a poor house near Borstall, and was beaten from thence with considerable loss, so that he drew off his men, very little to his honour.”

When the besieging force decamped, Sir William exerted his means to put the place into a still better state of defence, in anticipation of another visit; and apparently with success. Symonds, one of the King’s train, seems to have thought so; for he notices its condition on the 28th of August, 1645, in these somewhat Uncle-Tobyish terms—“This day we marched to Borstall house, belonging to Lady Dynham. Sir William Campion is governor. There is a
pallizado, or rather a stockade, without the grasse: a deep grasse, and wide, full of water; a pallizado above the false-bray: another, six or seven feet above that, near the top of the curten."

In extracting the really authentic letters which we have given of Fairfax and Campion, it is to be regretted that Dr. Lipscomb has reduced the orthography to his own time, since it thereby loses an essential type of chronology. Now we find that in the opening of the year 1646 things were ripening, and the "Most Excellent Sir Thomas Fairfax, England's Champion, and taker of 146 Towns and Castles," was again awake in the neighbourhood; and we are enabled to give a passport entirely in his autograph—recollecting that he had three distinct forms of spelling his name, ff, f, and F:—

Suffer the bearer here of Capt. Wood, with his horse and sword bagage and necessaries, to pass ye guards to Bristrom in Ox fordshire without let or interruption and handing engaged himselfe not to bear arms against the ye liant without his first render himselfe a profess. Give under my hand, and sealed the 25th of March 1646.

[Signature]

To all Office and
Governor under my
Comand."
But the bone of contention in these parts—Boarstall, was still coveted by the self-styled national magnates; and, accordingly, in the spring of 1646, it was once more invested by Fairfax, with so numerous and well-appointed a force as to ensure success. Campion saw his position with a soldier's eye; and, on being duly summoned, desired permission to send a messenger to Oxford, and ascertain the opinion of the King's Commissioners. To this request Fairfax replied:—"I should be as willing to doe any civilitye for Sr Wm Campion as any man; but must not neglect ye duty of that trust I owe to ye Parliament. I doe wonder he shouulde stand upon such niceteyes as his desire to send a letter to ye Governor of Oxon about ye surrendering ye garrison of Borstall; I knowe it is not fitt for me to permit such a thing." He also deputed Major Shilburne to show Campion a despatch he had received, on his pledged honour, respecting the approaching submission of Oxford, the fall of which city was now inevitable. These circumstances, and the natural repugnance to a needless effusion of blood, induced Sir William to call a council of war to consider the exigency, the members of which unanimously assented to the "rendition" of the castle. This step was taken on the reasons here assigned, and there being, moreover, no possibility of relief; but not at all influenced by fear of Lord Wharton and several other waverers, who were "much sett" against the governor, because he was "soe obstinate."

Boarstall was accordingly surrendered on very favourable terms, and thenceforward was one of Cromwell's garrisons till the utter defeat of the Royalists, when Lady Dynham returned and took up her residence. As to the gallant Sir William Campion, whom Fairfax, in his despatch to the Parliament reporting the fall of the fortress, styled "a very faire enemye," he was continuously employed on the King's service, and often protected the people from plunder and violence. Wretched, indeed, was the condition which those places had to endure wherever the rival forces came, whether to plunder or to protect the unfortunate inhabitants. The Earl of Essex, writing from Brickhill, observed that the Parliamentary army could only move by slow marches, "so that the country suffers much wrong, and the cries of the poor people are infinite:"
what with arbitrary exactions, pillage, wanton havoc, forced labour, and malevolent imprisonment, their bitter cup was full. Campion exerted himself to moderate these evils, but at length was unhappily killed in a sally at the siege of Colchester; he was in the 34th year of his age, and was buried in St. Peter's Church in that town, amidst universal regret, on the 16th of June, 1648. Peace to his manes!

Without pretending to give judgment upon the usurpation of Cromwell, we may remark that its consequences became glorious by his wise administration, which made England formidable by sea and land, and procured her some valuable territorial acquisitions—Jamaica to wit—with many commercial advantages which she still enjoys, or did till expediency, relinquishment, and concession became paramount in our councils. But how could the vigour of that government be questionable where Cromwell was the head; where the courts of judicature were filled by Hale, and other known men of integrity; where Blake was the Admiral; Fairfax the General; Whitlocke the Lord Keeper; and Milton, Thurloe, and Marvel the Secretaries; besides boasting such men as Ayscue, Waller, Usher, Hobbes, Harvey, and Simon the preses of medallists.

We have no intention of entering critically on the acts of those troublous days; yet, in a sketch of this description, it may be remarked that Cromwell displayed great skill as a general for the age he appeared in, and considering the disadvantage of his not having been a soldier till twice twenty winters had passed over him. But his military exploits exceeded those of all his "regular-bred" contemporaries; and he managed an army amounting on the whole to over 50,000 men with a firm grasp. He also infused spirit by raising its standard of respectability, in recruiting from the freeholders and farmers, instead of clogging his ranks with "decayed serving-men and tapsters." Considerable countenance was given to render military life palatable, and the pay per diem was raised to the following scale; money being then worth about twice as much as at present, besides which, from the comparative absence of luxury, less expenditure was necessary:—
THE SIEGES OF BOARSTALL, A TALE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Cavalry. s. d. Infantry. s. d.
Captain . . . . . . 10 0 Captain . . . . . . 8 0
Lieutenant . . . . . . 6 0 Lieutenant . . . . . . 4 0
Cornet . . . . . . 5 0 Ensign . . . . . . 3 0
Quartermaster . . . . . . 4 0 Sergeant . . . . . . 3 4
Corporal . . . . . . 3 0 Corporal . . . . . . 1 4
Trumpeter . . . . . . 3 0 Drummer . . . . . . 1 4
Trooper . . . . . . 2 6 Private . . . . . . 0 10

At page 126 of this volume, my surprise was expressed that no relics were preserved of John Hampden, even in his domicile; but it is otherwise with Oliver Cromwell, his intimate friend and relation; for, besides the authentic portraits of him, the coins and medals by the inimitable Simon are bearing his likeness to posterity. In that venerable mansion, Chequers Court, there are Cromwellian tokens of various kinds, all of which Lady Frankland Russell kindly shows and ably describes. There is Noll as a child, and in mature age; his mother, and his wife; his two sons, and his four daughters; together with effigies of several others of the Protectorate. Here are also his trusty sword, his chair, his slippers, and a mask taken from his face: and Mr. Joseph B. Reade's reply to my request relative to the weapon (2nd June, 1862,) merits insertion:—

I have now the pleasure of forwarding to you a drawing of the Protector's sword photographed ad vivum. Whether this sword or another took the life of the Earl of Derby of that day it is needless to determine, but it is a curious fact in the family history at Chequers Court that one fifth great-grandfather cut off the other fifth great-grandfather's head. In the celebrated painting by Cooper of the battle of Marston Moor—from which contested field I have sent relics to the Museum at Halifax—the hero is represented on his charger cheering his men, with this identical sword raised high in air, but wielded with the left hand, the sword-arm being disabled, and in a sling. It is true that tradition may have its weak points, but I am quite prepared to stand by the family story of the old chair and Noll's sword, "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," as the sturdy enthusiast would no doubt have called it. But I must not say a word to a sailor against the celebrated author of the "Navigation Act."

You threaten to apply to me the instrument of death under which so many have fallen; but I hope your only salutation will be, "Rise, Sir Joseph!" It will be a great event in the quiet history of a country parson, to be knighted by an admiral with old Noll's sword.

In the following illustration it will be at once seen that Mr. Reade's beautiful photograph is well treated by the graver of Mr. Thomas Cobb. The
sword-blade is 30 inches in length by 1\frac{1}{4} inch wide; the ornamental steel guard is lined with buff leather, and of small size, the opening being \frac{4}{5} in. wide, tapering to 2 inches. The hilt is 4\frac{1}{4} in. long, covered with fine interlaced cane-work.

Two other swords of Cromwell having fallen under my own cognizance, may also be registered here. Of these the one marked A in the following cut is now in the United Service Institution, where it is thus registered, "No.
1279. Basket-hilted cut-and-thrust sword used by Oliver Cromwell at the siege of Drogheda, 10th September, 1649, on which occasion, his troops having twice mounted the breach, and twice been repelled, he led himself the third time, and was victorious. The blade bears the marks of two musquet-balls. This sword was inherited by the donor Joshua S. Simmons Smith, Esq. as a collateral descendant of the Protector." The blade is 32 inches long and 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) broad, with a hilt 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in length.

While this weapon was reposing in glass case C, between the swords of Nelson and Wolfe, it came to pass that the Duke of Wellington, paying our Museum a visit, seized upon that of Cromwell, and, handling it, remarked "He had a strong wrist, eh!" As a better opportunity could not offer itself, his Grace was instantly reminded that as yet we possessed no sword of his, and how much we should prize such a gift. He very good-naturedly replied that we should have "the one I wore at Waterloo,"—at least so it was understood. Weeks, however, passed away, then month after month, without the arrival of the expected present, and I was repeatedly pressed by our Council to learn the reason why. At length an opportunity offered, as shown in the following letter of the 29th of June, 1850:—

My Lord Duke,

As Chairman of the Council of the United Service Institution, I feel obliged to address your Grace on a matter of such delicacy that nothing but necessity could have driven me to the measure.

We have just completed a very compact lecture theatre, and a large gallery for the reception of the elaborate model of the Battle of Waterloo by the late Captain Siborne, the arrangements for securing which are advancing with renewed vigour.

On a visit to Syon House a few days ago the Duke of Northumberland questioned me as to our progress, and remarked that there was an impression on the Council that your Grace had promised to favour the Institution with a sword; adding that, when the Waterloo Gallery should be thus honoured, he himself would present the telescope used by Napoleon on the 18th of June, now in his possession.

Under so strong a circumstance I have considered it best, before mentioning it elsewhere, to put the question before your Grace, and shall be proud of your Grace's commands on the subject. I have the honour, &c.

To this letter I received an answer of so characteristic a tenor for a warrior in his 82nd year, that I must insert it here. It is dated July 3rd, 1850:—
F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Captain Smyth. He has received his letter of the 29th ult.

The Duke is still under the necessity, and is capable of performing service, and of wearing his sword on duty. As long as he is so situated he does not think it would be respectful to the United Service Museum, to lodge there a sword as the one worn by him.

Now for the brand B, which is also a cut-and-thrust weapon of 31½ inches length of blade. In his County History Dr. Lipscomb only says that a sword, reported to have belonged to Cromwell, was left at Dinton when he slept there whilst the King was besieged in Oxford; but, in Murray’s Hand-book for Buckinghamshire, published in 1860, it is asserted: “Among the pictures [at Dinton Hall] is a very fine portrait of Oliver Cromwell, who stayed here while Charles I. was at Oxford; and the estate is held by tenure of his sword, the same which he used at Naseby.” As these and certain other statements were rather at variance, I wrote to my old friend the Rev. J. J. Goodall as to the facts of the story. He returned for answer on the 20th of May, 1862:

You ask whether the assertion is correct as to the tenure of our ‘‘manor of Dinton, with Ford, Upton, and their dependencies’’ being held by Oliver Cromwell’s Naseby sword? The fact I believe to be this, namely, that the weapon is an heirloom to Dinton Hall for ever, and passes from one owner of the hall to another, simply as such, without regard to any particular family.

In that light my father constantly spoke of it with unswerving confidence. In my younger days, when with my brothers—we were four unruly youths—we were permitted to hack and misuse to absolute destruction a small collection of what I now know must have been, some of them at least, interesting weapons, co-eval with the general use of armour, wavy or flamy brands pre-
dominating. Old Noll's sword was, however, comparatively (strictly indeed so far as injunctions went) kept from our clutches.

I have heard my father more than once say that, when he first knew the sword, it was even then in a corroded state, but carefully kept in a green silk cover, with a baize cap for the hilt. Attached to it was a long slip of vellum, the closely written legend on which was beyond deciphering from damp, rust, and much handling; but, whatever it may have been, it certainly ought to have been preserved.

However, in order that you may scrutinize it at your leisure, the sword is herewith duly made over to your daughter's talented hand, whose delineation of it will doubtless confer a yet further honour upon it.

You are aware that Simon Mayne and Dick Ingoldsby were natives and residents in the parish of Dinton. It is recorded of Mayne, then lord of the manor, that, besides being a regicide, he was greater as a committee-man, in which office he contrived to "lick his fingers" to good purpose. * Cromwell slept at the hall occasionally during the siege of Oxford. Putting these circumstances together, there seems at least great probability of intimacy and a bond of mutual usefulness between the said Simon Mayne and the Lord Protector, which might conduce to giving tokens of regard for each other.

Among the Cromwellian vestigia still existing in this region there is one of considerable interest in the possession of Dr. Lee. It is a thin duodecimo volume in time-stained vellum binding, containing an Arabic version of Cardinal Bellarmin's Dottrina Christiana; and the local tradition was, that, while Colonel Cromwell held Cambridge for the Parliament, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, a student there, of meditative peripatetic habits, was given to wander about the country with this little book in his pocket to study. As the military marshalling interfered with those walks, he appealed to Cromwell; who forthwith, it is said, took the volume and wrote a permit inside the cover, which enabled him to pass and repass the town-gates at his pleasure. Cromwell was then commanding the horse of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire under the Earl of Manchester. Thomas Cooke, Edward Clenche, and James Thompson, who also affixed their signatures to the pass, were members of the Cambridge Parliamentarian Committee. † In the following February (1643-4, though

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* Mr. Goodall here alludes to the before quoted Mystery of the Good Old Cause, wherein Mayne is thus handed up:—"One of the Long Parliament, a great Committee-man, wherein he licked his fingers, was one of his Prince's cruel Judges, and a constant rumper to the last."

still written 1643), a second pass was given by the Earl of Manchester himself. The first document is of a strong reddish-brown colour; the later renewal in black ink, now faded very pale; this fac-simile represents both—

April 4: 1643
Suffer the bearer hereof Mr. Abraham Whetlock to pass your gards as often as he shall have occasion into and out of Cambridge towards Mr. Gilbert or any other place and the same your warrant. This 27 of Feb: 1643.

Tho: Coke, Attorney
Sam: Thompson, Esq:

Left Mr. Abraham Whetlock pass your gards as often as he shall have occasion into and out of Cambridge towards Mr. Gilbert or any other place and the same your warrant. This 27 of Feb: 1643.

* Over the upper pass, at the extreme of the page, there is written in very pale ink, "Apud Landward [ex?] olibus d. Jo: Cotton, 1643." This Sir John Cotton of Landware was not even of the same family as the eminent antiquarian collector Sir Robert Cotton: their arms and crests differed.
THE SIEGES OF BOARSTALL, A TALE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Here we see how Cromwell spelt his name, though Hume and others invariably write it Cromwel. The other three signatures are of civilians who were members of a Committee of Public Safety, sitting at Cambridge for the Eastern Counties. Cooke appears to have been a member of the noted Long Parliament in 1640; but neither of the three figure in the delectable biographical sketches by the author of the Mystery of the Good Old Cause; wherein he mildly announces that Cromwell, "the scourge of God, is gone to his own place, and let his memory be accursed for ever." Surely this would be hard upon Oliver if he acted under divine behest!

But what about Whelocke, the owner of the book under discussion? I very soon made out that he was one of the learned scholars who assisted Brian Walton in his famous Polyglot Bible, 1657; that he became a leading professor in the University; and that he was not, as asserted, a Fellow of the Royal Society. Being anxious, however, to know something more about this worthy, I had recourse to Mr. R. H. Major of the British Museum; and from him received a ready and full answer dated October 3rd, 1861, of which the following is an extract:—

I have lighted on the funeral oration over Abraham Wheelock preached in St. Botolph's Aldergate on Sept. 25, 1653, by Dr. William Slater. He is described as "late Professor of Arabick and Saxon in Cambridge;" "Batchelor in Divinity, many yeares fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge;" "Continuing without interruption a constant and peacefull son of the Church of England;" "being so eminent a linguist," "to his custody and oversight were committed the rich treasures of learning laid up in the choice library of the University of Cambridge, and about two and twenty yeares past, beyond his owne expectation, though not beyond his merit, he was chosen the first publique professor and reader of Arabick there, a lecture first founded at the sole and proper charges of an eminent and truly religious gentleman of this citie of London . . . Mr. Alderm. Thomas Adams, who ever since continued it by his bounty to him of full 40l. per annum constantly paid . . . . To this worthy citizen . . . . must be added the example of a noble knight . . . Sir Henry Spelman . . . who at his owne cost first erected about ten yeares past a Saxon lecture in the same university, establishing it by an annual pension of 20l . . . . and this lecture also was first publicly read by this same professor, both which he discharged with so compleat abilities as found acceptation of all, admiration in many, hopes of imitation but in a few. Yet this was not all . . . his goodness became still diffusive . . . even to the most distant and remote nations, for which purpose he spent himselfe, as a candle in the socket, to the very last blaze, whilst he was here, publishing the foure Gospels of our Saviour with acute and solid annotations in the Persian tongue, in the progresse of which work it pleased God to call him home to his happinesse.
with himself in Heaven."—And I am heartily glad it did, for I thought that extract was never coming to an end.

A very profuse smattering of Anglo-Saxonism has been poured forth, in various quarters, for the purpose of swamping the Nigellian origin of Boarstall; but apparently without greatly damaging that popular story. Dr. Lipscomb sums up with considerable moderation, saying—

Without disputing the tradition of the boar, the name of Burghstall, as it was often anciently written, might have been applied to the stables belonging to the royal seat on Burgh-hill (stall being among the Saxons synonymous with stable), thus affording a reasonable conjecture in regard to its derivation, without wandering into the regions of romance. Hearne has a curious passage relative to the etymology of Boarstall. "The people of Borstall," says he, "are mighty pleased when any one tells them that Borstall is the same with the Saxon word which signifies a seat on the side of a hill, which exactly answers to this place." "Borpstal, clyca, a little hill wherein any thing is built; a seat on the side or pitch of a hill, as that at Whitstable in Kent, called Borstall."

Surely here is little to shake Nigel. Lipscomb's stables, being over two miles from the royal palace, were neither handy nor convenient; and would ill accord with riders, grooms, or horses. As to Hearne, he must have been dreaming of Sussex, where the term Borstal is used for a narrow track or roadway among the steep ascents of the Dunes; for the site of our Boarstall is a mere field, so flat that the waters in the moat and adjacent decoy-pond have no motion; nor is there any rising ground nearer than Muswell-hill, a mile and a half off. Yet the zealous antiquary, Hearne, had actually walked to the spot in 1716, and thus records his pilgrimage:—

From Studley I went to Boarstall, a mile and a half further, on purpose to look at a distance upon the great house, famous for its being a garrison in the late rebellion. I say at a distance, because I did not care to ask to go in; the present family of the Aubreys that live there being great enemies to the hereditary succession for the sake of which I am a sufferer.* It is an old house, moated round, and every way fit for a strong garrison. At the north end is a tower much like to a small castle. The chapel or church is at the east end of the house; but I could not go into it, the clerk living at a great distance from it, and the keys being kept at the great house. I was mightily pleased to see this house, though only at a distance.

* The industrious antiquary here alludes to the college offices which he held at Oxford, and which he resigned through his conscientious scruples at taking the oaths of allegiance to George the First.
THE SIEGES OF BOARSTALL, A TALE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The abode thus reconnoitred by Thomas Hearne in 1716, was demolished by Sir John Aubrey, the sixth baronet—the same who so recklessly destroyed the interesting family mansion at Llantrithyd, in South Wales. Boarstall-house had been rebuilt by the Dynhams, and was represented as a plain structure in the Tudor style, at some distance from the tower-gateway: the observant Browne Willis, however, calls it a "noble seat." The site of the habitation, offices, and garden, containing about three acres, was encompassed by a wide and deep moat, three sides of which still remain. Within this moated area are some fine old holly-trees; and at the south-west corner of the inclosure stands a magnificent and venerable elm, within six or eight feet of the moat on two sides, and only four or five feet above the level of the water, constituting the chief sylvan ornament of the place. The remains of stabling and out-houses are partly used as a farm-dwelling. The wall which separated the house from the churchyard, containing the ancient doorway through which the inmates of the mansion passed to and fro, is still remaining; and the whole may be very fairly comprehended on inspecting Kennet's map.

Boarstall parish contains 3,080 acres, principally meadow, pasture, and woodland; with a population of 250 persons, and a rateable value of £2,279. The village is small, and situated about two miles to the westward of Brill, on the road from that place to Oxford. It was a chapelry to Oakley, and belonged to the priory of St. Fredeswede in Oxford, but was made parochial in 1418 by the Bishop of Lincoln, with a reservation of the honour due to the mother-church, and a yearly acknowledgment of one shilling to the Vicar of Oakley. Since the time of King James the First, the impropriation and advowson passed with the manor, subject to the same entail as the manorial estate. The old church was apparently not an imposing edifice without, but a fair place of worship within. In 1660, it received a substantial repair at the expense of Lady Penelope Dynham, from which time it remained unheeded, until, having become utterly dilapidated, it was rebuilt on the original foundation by Sir John Aubrey, in the year 1818. This church, which greatly resembles Bishop Kennet's draught of the former one, consists of a chancel and nave; and is exteriorly but a plain
building, without a tower or belfry of any kind—"exhibiting," as Dr. Lipscomb observes, "an unusual instance of a church, with rights of sepulture and marriage, utterly destitute of provision for complying with the ecclesiastical canons." A well-toned bell, however, on the south-western turret of the tower-gateway, is wont to serve the parish with the usual church-calls and notices. Within the nave are vestiges of the old fittings, and some interesting mural tablets; while in the churchyard many of the tomb-stones evince great age, and, though nearly illegible, would reward examination to the explorer of local genealogy.

Having told Sir T. D. Aubrey that it behoved me to repair again to Boarstall, for a further reconnoitre of the grounds previous to concluding this sketch, that excellent baronet kindly entreated me to delay the visit till "next spring," when we could all go together and partake of a pic-nic there. This event never came to pass, procrastination, as in many other instances, proving the uncertainty of mundane affairs; for Sir Thomas fell ill and died, to the infinite regret of his numerous friends and acquaintances. He reposes in Boarstall Church—Requiescat in pace!
LECTORI BENEVOLO

AUCTOR SALUTEM.

A few details are due to Dr. Lee for having complimented my literary "labours" by giving all the printed works a berth in the Hartwell Library, and the manuscripts of the papers which I communicated to that useful publication, the "United Service Journal," a place in his extensive autographic collection. The latter are handsomely bound in 26 folio volumes, and there are moreover the charts and plans of my Mediterranean surveys based upon upwards of 1,200 maritime positions from my own astronomical and chronometric determinations.

On a recent visit to his manuscript-room, I found my documents were being excellently put in order by Mr. W. H. McAlpine, of the Probate Register Court, Doctors' Commons, who is occupied at intervals in drawing up a catalogue raisonné of the Hartwell books in the law department. While examining this new arrangement, the idea suddenly occurred, that, being then busy printing a local volume, it would be appropriate to furnish a list of these writings as an appendix to the book. This is the more eligible inasmuch as it also enables me to add an occasional remark where circumstance demands it. Indeed charges anything but truthful are extant in print; and "perchaunce" at a future day some antiquist "with spectacles on's nose" may ferret them up, and disinter them to my probable detriment.

Regarding the numerous essays for the "United Service Journal," they resulted from a sort of promise made to my good colleagues on the first establishment of that professional periodical—the which succeeded beyond our expectations I would have placed my signature to the whole of my contributions, but the friendly editor, Major Shadwell Clerke, thought that, with the majority of readers, great part of the interest would lie in the mystery with which uncertainty is clothed. Being pressed with other work, it must be confessed that some of these papers were rather hastily produced, insomuch that there was not sufficient time for me even to see the "proofs" of them; and, though they were correct in the main, I had now and then the vexation to find rather awkward typical mistakes.
Several of the scientific discussions, having since been in part made use of elsewhere, are here omitted: the principal of those are entitled, "Cursory Remarks on Comets," "A bit of Astronomical News," "Halley and his Comet," "Story of the new planet Neptune," &c.

From what perhaps may be deemed a cacoethes scribendi, I had occasionally written some snatches of fugitive rhyme and various letters on nautical science for the "Naval Chronicle," "Purdy's Nautical Memoirs," and Baron de Zach's "Correspondance Astronomique," but my first regular book was launched in January 1824. Since then my pen has not been idle, as the following list of my press-works will testify. They are here placed in chronological order and classified arrangement:

Published and Privately Printed Books.

1824.

A Memoir descriptive of the Resources, Inhabitants, and Hydrography of Sicily and its Islands, interspersed with antiquarian and other notices. 4to. London: Murray.—This was published while I was again abroad on service; and it was kindly pulled through the press by my excellent friend William Jacob, Esq., F.R.S. As the work may possibly yet be referred to, it is as well to notice two or three errors that were overlooked in the correction:

Page 4. "The highest barometrical index I have observed in very severe weather," should have been serene.

Page 22. The tunny-nets "moored east and west," ought to have been moored.

Page 83. "Force on them a monstrous kind of anarchy, a sort of monarchy without a head, or a republic without a king." This should be a republic with a king.

Page 211. "As in the conquest of the Erymanthian War," was written Erymanthian Boar.

This volume, of which the Admiralty subscribed for 100 copies, was favourably noticed in various reviews. Critics, however, are somehow allowed to pull a book to rags, and "nothing extenuate," while they refrain from impugning the author's private character, without a tittle of evidence to warrant their malicious attacks. But in the "Monthly Review" for July 1824, page 232, it is written:

The religion of the country, its festivals, its ceremonies, its clergy, and its monastic orders, have been so often described, that we must wholly pass over Captain Smyth's remarks on that important head. He notices also the striking analogy between the Pagan and Roman Catholic polytheisms: but he has evidently availed himself of the elegant and valuable treatise of Mr. Blunt, —an obligation which might have been repaid by an acknowledgment.
APPENDIX.

No sooner did Mr. Jacob read this unjustifiable assertion, than he addressed the following letter to the editor of the said Review:—

I beg to state to you, that Captain Smyth left England in June, 1821, and on his voyage to the object of his present expedition, reduced the materials he had formerly collected, into the form in which they are now before the public. The manuscript was conveyed to me in November or December, 1821, and remained in my hands till it was committed to the press. It is thus impossible that Mr. Blunt's book, published in December, 1822, whatever may be its merits, could have been seen by my friend Smyth when he wrote his own.

Such an assurance from a well-known man of honour and integrity, ought to have produced an expression of regret in the editor, for having admitted so unfounded an attack into his pages. But no, in the very next number of his periodical the gentleman thus prevaricates:—

We spoke on this subject according to the evidence (?) then before us, and we now give to our readers the above additional testimony. In the absence of our coadjutor, who wrote the article on Captain Smyth's book, and who is now at a great distance, we cannot add any further observation.

1828.

*Sketch of the Present State of the Island of Sardinia.* 8vo. London. Murray.—This book escaped pretty well from the critical tomahawk; though a heavy compiler thought it *resembled* La Marmora's work on the same Island; from whence it may be safely opined that he had read neither. It would not be strange, however, that two works on the same subject, at the same time, by two officers in constant communication with each other, should bear a similitude.

1829.

*The Life and Services of Captain Philip Beaver, late of His Majesty's Ship "Nisus.*" 8vo. London. Murray.—This book was very fairly treated by the reviewers. My object in writing it was, to hold up to our juniors the conduct of a consummate officer, as well as to commemorate his worth in our naval records. For this purpose I was favoured by his sister, the late Mrs. Gillies, with an accumulation of his logs and correspondence.

1834.

*Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large-Brass Medals.* 4to. Bedford: Webb. Privately Printed.—This "labour of love" was warmly greeted, not by antiquaries only; and I was strongly urged to publish it. At
length I told Messrs. Hawkins and Barnwell, of the medal department of the British Museum, that, if they could find a publisher who would engrave all the coins to my satisfaction, I would present the book to him.

In Mr. Hobler's *Records of Roman History* (page 234,) is a passage worded thus—"The Domitia in Admiral Smyth's cabinet I need only mention for the purpose of saying, without any the least disrespect to him, that it certainly is not genuine." Now, lest any one should imagine that this implied my having vamped a spurious coin, it is proper to show the *ipsissima verba* which were printed a quarter of a century before these *Records* appeared. For in my Catalogue, page 74, it is written—"In saying that this rare medal is in perfect condition, I cannot entirely omit my doubts as to its being really genuine. Indeed, I may say with Eckhel that it has not the look of antiquity; a vexatious *Patavinity* interferes with its apparent purity of legend, edge, and other usual tests, and recalls to mind the fraudulent brothers who headed the *fulsarii* of the XVI century."

Last spring I was unexpectedly complimented with the following official document, dated Hartwell House, April 29th, 1863:

At a meeting of the Council of the Numismatic Society assembled on the invitation of John Lee, Esq. LL.D., F.R.S., President of the Astronomical Society, it was moved by W. Boyne, Esq, F.S.A., and seconded by J. B. Bergne, Esq. F.S.A., and John Lee, Esq. LL.D.

I. That a vote of thanks be given to Admiral W. H. Smyth, F.R.S., &c. &c. for his excellent work on "Large-brass Roman Coins;" being a detailed catalogue of a cabinet now belonging to Dr. Lee—a work in its character unique, in that it, alone of numismatic memoirs, combines a scientific description of each coin, with historical and interesting notices of the various personages commemorated on them.

II. That an expression of the pleasure the Council have had in examining the valuable collection be conveyed to Admiral W. H. Smyth, with the hopes that a life, so long and so usefully devoted to many branches of scientific research, may long be spared.

W. S. W. VAUX, President Num. Soc.
FRED. W. MADDEN, Hon. Secretary.

1860.

*Nautical Observations on the Port and Maritime Vicinity of Cardiff, with Occasional Strictures on the Ninth Report of the Taff Vale Railway Directors. Cardiff. Privately Printed.*—In this book is detailed the origin of the now flourishing Bute Docks; and it was written to repel certain insinuations made by the Railway Directors, who were desirous of getting that goodly float under their sway. Now, as I had advised the Marquis of Bute where to excavate for his harbour, and was afterwards badgered for two days before a Committee of the
APPENDIX.

House of Commons, on desperately slight pretences, it became due to the public to circulate this statement. It is a pleasure to add, that all my predictions of success are fully verified, as may be concluded by the remarkable increase of the population in that town. These are the census returns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>6,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>18,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>32,421</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and now estimated at upwards of 46,000, with ample employment for all!

1844.

_A Cycle of Celestial Objects, for the use of Naval, Military, and private Astronomers._ Observed, Reduced, and Discussed by W. H. S. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Parker. The first volume is intituled _Prolegomena_, or preliminary discourses to freshen the tyro in the history and progress of this exalted science: besides the treatment of some practical matters worth knowing. The second volume is designated the _Bedford Catalogue_, as it contains all the results which I deduced at Bedford, from nebulae, clusters, double stars, and binaries, to the amount of 850. This publication, to which I devoted some years, was really undertaken in aid of the "bookless" amateurs in ships, garrisons, or gazebos; but it has also crept into the standard observatories of Europe and America. It obtained the gold Newtonian medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1845.

After this work had been some time out of print, various letters, from various quarters, came dropping in calling for a second edition of it; and copies were repeatedly advertised for. At length an earnest letter appeared in the _Astronomical Register_, which I thought required an answer; and therefore replied to the editor as follows:

_SIR,_

In reply to your correspondent X.Y.Z., (page 112 of No. 7,) and in answer to various inquiries as to my _Cycle of Celestial Objects_, I am happy to announce that another edition of the work is in preparation, by a very capable and experienced friend. This gentleman is first re-examining all the stars and nebulae contained in the Cycle, with a powerful achromatic telescope of 9½ inches aperture, most efficiently mounted, as a necessary prelude to printing.

The proposed work will also embody the later observations contained in the _Speculum Hartwellianum._

_I am, Sir, &c.,_  
W. H. SMYTH.

_St. John's Lodge, 3, 7, 63._

_In the next number of the said Register, the following question was asked, which, as weather and occupations are involved, cannot yet be replied to:_

2 l. 2
APPENDIX.

THE BEDFORD CATALOGUE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ASTRONOMICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

Admiral Smyth’s letter in the last number of your publication must, I am sure, have aroused a feeling of unmixed pleasure in the minds of all professional as well as amateur astronomers; his statement also, that the observations contained in the Speculum Hartwellianum are to be embodied in the new edition of the Bedford Catalogue, will add not a little to the desire universally felt for the possession of a copy of this new issue. I must acknowledge that a feeling of excitement, akin to impatience, has been awakened in me by the perusal of Admiral Smyth’s letter, and I hope he will confer on us a further favour by informing us when we may expect the re-publication of a work which has already been so much approved.

I remain, Sir, obediently yours,

W. G.

Liverpool, August 12, 1863.

1851.


The origin of this book is unfolded in the introductory letter to Dr. Lee, commencing—“Few people will be more surprised than yourself, on opening these pages, at the miscellany here compounded. It is true that you were informed that my object was to indite an account of the Hartwell observatory; but it became impossible to draw that up without vivid recollections of a mansion in which the writer has passed so many, and he hopes useful, hours, and of an estate to which he has been so many years a trustee, under Act of Parliament.” The description was consequently at my own discretion.

On the whole this work was mildly reviewed by the Plural Units, and very favourably received, both by topographers and astronomers.

1854.

The Mediterranean—A Memoir Physical, Historical, and Nautical. 8vo. London. Parker and Son.—To this book the Royal Geographical Society’s gold medal was awarded; also it was recognised with favour by the naval community and the reviewers as a good production. Indeed, when out of print, the hydrographer to the Admiralty, Rear-Admiral Washington, was about bringing out a new edition expressly for the Board; but he sickened and died, and the affair stands over.

Meanwhile a German translation, by Dr. C. Böttger, appeared, under the title of “Das Mittelmeer,” also styled physical, historical, and nautical; and thus he argues in his preface, pour jeter de la poudre aux yeux—
Amongst the materials which have assisted me, I must mention, before all, the Mediterranean by Admiral Smyth, an excellent book, dedicated to Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, to which I have already alluded in the introduction to the physical geography of the sea. A great part of this book has been woven into mine in a faithful translation. If any one should therefore think that my book is not a self-existent work, I acknowledge it for half of the material, and have no further wish than that my German elaboration (bearbeitetong) of the Memoir of that distinguished Admiral should be found comprehensible and readable. But as the whole plan, and the arrangement therefrom, belong entirely to me, together with the other half of the work, and important facts added on almost every page of the part taken from Smyth, the charts and the wood-cuts almost without exception, and as moreover my book, even with closer printing and larger size, contains one hundred pages more than Smyth's, it would be manifestly an injustice to call my book simply a translation of Smyth's. The excellent, important work of the noble Admiral has inspired me with my idea, and lifted me over many difficulties, otherwise insurmountable to a philologist in the middle of Germany, who ventures on the description of the thalassic world, which, as he believes, lies far from him only in space.

So says—and perhaps thinks—Dr. Böttger; but mark how a plain tale will rumple the plumes which he has thus assumed:—

"Das Mittelmeer" is all but identically the same in plan and details with my book; it contains only 148 pages out of the whole 576 which are not in mine, that is, one quarter instead of half, which by his convenient reasoning he reckons to be his share, and these are eked out by sowing his tares among my wheat—from sources good, indifferent, and bad—it being his aim to expand and mine to compress. All my hard-worked out tables, the latitudes, longitudes, currents, tides, heights, magnetic variations, symbols, and soundings, the result of continuous labour and many thousands of observations, together with my operose roll of Mediterranean fishes, are snatched up and appropriated by him without an hour's fatigue of any kind. Moreover he has acquired the trick which our trading reviewers are such expert hands at, namely, culling various long passages for text type, and then adding a short paragraph in small print, to induce a belief that the latter was the only quotation. And surely the compiler of such a work must have a conscience as flexible as an india-rubber ring, to warn off poachers thus—

Der Verfasser behält sich das Recht der Uebersetzung vor.

Such being the true conditions of the case, how say ye, gentle readers?

1856.

Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Family Coins belonging to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G. 4to. Printed for private circula-
tion.—This contains the elucidation of 768 silver denarii, struck by Roman consuls or families; and the numismatic world received it as a graceful token of the duke's liberality. It was mercifully and even kindly treated by those reviewers who noticed it.

All the coins herein referred to belong to the period of 330 years, namely, between B.C. 280 and A.D. 50, and comprise the names of every family that attained public distinction between those dates. Of the 160 families treated of, 14 were pure patricians, 26 patricians with plebeian branches, 7 equestrian, 91 plebeian, and 22 whose order and rank are uncertain.

In the appendix to this book, is a reprint of the essay On Tradesmen's Tokens, by which I formerly showed the hollowness of the modern "Bedford-born" to be the exclusive recipients of the charities of the noble Harpur Fund. These tokens are now lodged in the British Museum as witnesses, if ever again wanted.

1860.

Speculum Hartwellianum, or the "Cycle of Celestial Objects" continued at the Hartwell Observatory to 1859. 8to. London: Nichols. Privately printed. This volume shows the extraordinary progress of astronomy between the years 1844 and 1859, in which brief period, besides the surpassing discovery of the planet Neptune, the multiple rings of Saturn and his eighth satellite, and no fewer than 55 planetoids were added to our system.

I had long recommended a more formal and regular attention to the colours of double-stars, and in this book repeated my exhortation. It is therefore gratifying that the first sound result comes from my son, the Astronomer Royal for Scotland, in that he has determined the very extraordinary periodic changes in 95 Herculis. We shall, I hope, know something more on this head anon.

In the reception of this volume there was no cause to grumble with critics, or to be disappointed by the astronomical world's deficiency of acknowledgment.

1860.

Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Society Club. 8to. London: Nichols. Printed for the Club, with an appendix-sheet added in 1861.—This is a performance somewhat forced upon me by my excellent club-mates, for I was then deeply engaged in bringing out the Speculum Hartwellianum. To say the truth I "dodged" it till, at a pretty full meeting one Thursday, it was good-naturedly moved by my old and esteemed friend Sir Roderick Murchison that I should be appointed their historiographer, and the motion was carried so vehe-
mently (con rispetto) that further resistance would only have been unavailing. Therefore, as a clincher, at the next Anniversary Meeting held on the 24th of June, 1858, it was proposed and carried unanimously: “That Admiral Smyth be requested to prepare a history of the Club from its commencement to the present time, and that the Treasurer be authorised to transfer to the Admiral all the documents now in his possession.” The official papers were accordingly sent and strictly overhauled, with this book as the result. It has been copiously reviewed, but not in a manner to signify.

1864.

Addenda to the Ædes Hartwelliana. 4to. London: Nichols. Printed for private circulation.—This work is the completion of my account of the Manor of Hartwell after a residence of twelve years on the spot, during which my observations and inquiries have been incessant, and I hope not without fruits of interest and importance; but how it will be received, and how it may be criticised, remain to be seen, for it is only just handed over to the inquisitors.

Typical error. Page 35, line 12, for Blunder, read Bunder.

Translations.

1855.

Popular Astronomy: by François Arago, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Sciences. Translated from the original by Admiral W. H. Smyth and Robert Grant, Esq. Two vols. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.—Though there was an interval of three years between the appearances of these volumes, for the sake of unity they are here tied together.

Having been consulted as to a purchase of all Arago’s works, and given a free opinion thereon, in which time has justified me, his “Popular Astronomy” was one of the works which I recommended as likely to be most useful, although his extreme national prejudices render him untrustworthy in historical points. Without going into further details, it was finally settled that I should render it into English assisted by the excellent historian of Physical Astronomy. This compilation, illustrated by numerous plates, is at once amusing, instructive, and widely miscellaneous, evincing Arago’s admirable perspicuity of style, although, in the higher parts of astronomical knowledge, he must be read with caution.
History of the New World, by Girolamo Benzoni, of Milan, showing his Travels in America from A.D. 1542 to 1556, with some particulars of the Island of Canary. Now first Translated and Edited by Rear-Admiral Smyth, K.S.E., D.C.L., &c.—And again, gentle reader, you must be troubled with another plain tale, showing how any critical zany may pitch into a writer, there being as yet no society for the prevention of cruelty to innocent authors—

Ye gentlemen of England—who sit and read at ease,
How little do ye think upon— vexations such as these.

It came to pass that the Hakluyt Society wished me to translate Benzoni for them; and, well knowing that my trusty Wife (nata in Napoli) could aid me to render his lame orthography and ill-written archaisms, I readily undertook the task. It therefore followed that in due course the manuscript was delivered in and printed, together with many notes in illustration, from my own personal experience; and, altogether, we held it to be pretty well done. The volume was of course returned to the Society's library, and there was every indication of satisfaction with the result.

But, while reposing in this pleasing hope, a friend informed me that I was to be smote on the hip in a forthcoming number of the "Notes and Queries;" adding that, on hearing the reason, he could not resist laughing in scorn, and pointing out the falsity of the charge. This probably caused the enemy to trim their strictures, which are thus somewhat jumbled; but the calumny still remains as the leading article of No. 100 of the second series; and, as I am the only exemplar to the title, it is therefore proper to lodge my letter to the editor, as a caveat against future misunderstandings. Here it is—

In the Notes and Queries of this day's date (22nd Nov., 1857), I am made the "instance in point" of a fraud which one of your correspondents thinks it his duty to expose, namely the dishonestly translating a book from a different language from that which it professes to be written from—in fact, that I preferred to translate Benzoni from the Latin instead of the Italian, as both translations tally. The words have, I believe, been softened,—but the article bears the unmistakable title—"On Translations from Translations."

Now in the Introduction to that work I expressly stated—"but the book was reprinted seven years afterwards in a small octavo form, and this is the one used in the following translation;"—and, by the way, in such cases, second editions, under the author's eye, are generally to be preferred.

After a declaration like this, and with the approbation of the whole Hakluyt Society, is it
probable that an officer could have been guilty of so dirty an untruth? It is not with a view of condescending to answer such a gratuitous assertion that I now hastily address you,—but to ask whether such a notion could have occurred to any honest mind in the kingdom?

I readily join your correspondent in thinking Translations from Translations are mean and mischievous; but the insinuation that the book just published by the Hakluyt Society is one of them, is equally absurd, malignant, and false. I am, &c.

The ends of justice required that this letter should have led the van of the following number of the "Notes and Queries;" instead of which, a semi-demi sort of apology was inserted in small type in the Notices to Correspondents. I therefore, for the cause of truth, thought it necessary to forward a copy of the charge, and of the above letter, to the Council of the Hakluyt Society; and shortly afterwards received the following satisfactory announcement from R. H. Major, Esq., their Honorary Secretary:

We held our Hakluyt Society Council yesterday; when I read your letter, and I was directed to write to you in the warmest terms I possibly could to assure you that the Council was perfectly satisfied with the manner in which you had executed the task which you had so kindly undertaken on their behalf, and that they could not for a moment allow the integrity of your translation of Benzoni from the second Italian edition to be impugned, or in any way compromised in their opinion, by any expressions in the article inserted in the "Notes and Queries."

They also desired me to express their great regret that any such article should have appeared, by which, intentionally or not, your feelings should be wounded by the sense of an injustice having been committed.

Allow me to add that, for my own part, it is with great satisfaction that I find myself the medium of conveying these expressions to you.

1887.

Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men, by François Arago, Member of the Institute. Translated by Admiral W. H. Smyth, the Rev. Baden Powell, and Professor Robert Grant. 8vo. London. Longmans and Co.—This volume contains M. Arago's autobiography, revealing rather too much self-satisfaction, and, perhaps, love of romance. Then follow elaborate Eloges of half-a-dozen first-rate French savans of that day, with biographic sketches of William Herschel, Thomas Young, and James Watt; treated in a very pleasant and instructive style, with copious insertions from the articles which used to be so attractive in the pages of the well-known Annuaire of this lucid writer. But it must not be concealed that his overweening nationality, and even prejudices, lead him into
uncandid dicta and occasional misrepresentation. Our notes will show that the translators found themselves called upon, in such cases, to dissent from the author—as well in opinion as in fact.

It forms a closely printed volume of 607 pages; and the several portions were thus, on due consideration, allotted:—

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The Royal Society.

1832.

On an Error respecting the Site and Origin of Graham Island. Philosophical Transactions. With a Chart.—This was merely my statement, as a referee, to the Council; but it was read to the evening meeting on the 9th of February, and thus reported in the Literary Gazette:—

"ROYAL SOCIETY, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, President, in the Chair.—A paper by Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., F.R.S., on the new Volcanic Island in the Mediterranean was read. The President, in submitting this valuable communication to the Society, stated that it was written as a Report to the Council upon Dr. Davy's paper on the same subject a few weeks ago; but that the Council viewed it as containing so much original and important matter, nautical as well as more generally scientific, that they had determined upon its being read as a separate paper. Captain Smyth's deductions, in this communication, satisfactorily refute the unfounded theories so widely extended by Prévost, and other continental writers, as well as those of some of our own countrymen, on the subject of the geological origin of this singular island."

1833.

A Report on the Performance of the Fluid-Lens Telescope constructed for the Royal Society, on Professor Barlow's Principles.—This paper was read at the evening meeting of December the 12th; together with the reports of Sir John Herschel and Professor Airy, the other two referees in the case. These statements are published, at full, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 15.
APPENDIX.

1834 (and other years).
Several communications, on various matters, to the Council of the Royal Society, principally on astronomical and professional subjects.

1852.

_The Scientific Career and Services of Baron Alexander von Humboldt._—This was drawn up at the request of the Council, to accompany their award of the Copley Medal to my friend and correspondent the veteran philosopher. This paper, and the Baron's acknowledgment to me, are published in the Society's volume of "Proceedings" for the time.

_Society of Antiquaries._

1828.

_Notice of some Cyclopean Remains at Goza, near Malta._—This brief description of what the natives term the "Giant's Tower," is accompanied by three plates engraved by Basire. It was read to the evening meeting held on the 8th of May, and is published in the twenty-second volume of the Archæologia.

1830.

_An Account of an Ancient Bath in the Island of Lipari._—This paper, which was read to the Society of Antiquaries on the 14th of January, was accompanied by the present of a very accurate model of the whole. The account is published, with three illustrative copper-plate engravings, in the twenty-third volume of the Archæologia.

1845.

_On some Roman Vestigia recently found at Kirkby Thore, in Westmoreland._—This paper relates to a "find" on the high road between Appleby and Penrith, in building a new bridge over the Troutbeck, at Kirkby Thore; an important station of old. The description is interspersed with faithful wood-engravings of some of the objects, in illustration of the text.

1847.

_Catalogue of the Society's Coins, Medals, and Tradesmen's Tokens._—This list was drawn up for insertion in a general Catalogue of the Antiquities, Paintings, and Curiosities under the Directors' charge. The exact inventory was the pro-
duction of Mr. Albert Way; and we soon found reason to regret that such an excellent precaution against loss had not been carried into execution long before; the official minutes reporting some valuable gold and silver coins, sculptured tablets, and other articles as given, but which have not turned up.

1848.

Description of an Astrological Clock belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of London.—This relates to a handsome table-clock which had once belonged to Queen Bona (Sforza), wife of Sigismund King of Poland, but had remained hidden for years in our cellar-storeroom. It is published in the thirty-third volume of the Archæologia, with full particulars of its train and structure.

1849.

On the Designation of "Cold Harbour." In a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.—This inquiry as to the origin of the very curious name, was written when Mr. Arthur Taylor's dissertation upon Ancient London was discussed. It was read on the 11th of January, and is printed in the thirty-third volume of the Archæologia.

1849.

On certain Passages in the Life of Sir John Hawkins, temp. Elizabeth.—This was written in the cause of Truth, as well as in defence of an excellent and useful Sea-Worthy; much to the gratification of the late Admiral Sir Charles Napier. It was read at the evening meeting held on the 7th of June; and appears in the thirty-third volume of the Archæologia.

1851.

Supplement to the Description of the Society's Astrological Clock. In a Letter to the President.—A further examination of this horological relic occasioned a fuller illustration of the subject to be necessary; and the essay before us, with its faithful engravings, was the consequence; especially as in the meantime I had obtained Her Majesty's permission to scrutinise the clock at Windsor Castle, which Henry VIII. had presented to the unfortunate Anne Boleyne. This description was read on the 9th of January, and is published in the thirty-fourth volume of the Archæologia.
APPENDIX.

1852.

Catalogue of Roman Coins presented to the Society by the Rev. R. E. Kerrich, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo.—This is a careful selection from 3777 coins, of which the present consisted; and the introduction embodies my two reports on them to Lord Mahon and the Council. They had been collected by the donor's father, the late well-known antiquary, the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, travelling bachelor for the University of Cambridge in the year 1771.

1863.

Digest of the Tables of Tidal Observations off Dover.—This was an analysis of the recent researches into tides and tide-streams in the Dover Channel, made by the Admiralty at the instance of Earl Stanhope, President of the Society of Antiquaries. His Lordship and the Council having requested me to scrutinise these operations, I kept to that branch only in forwarding the digest to the Society; yet I could not but perceive that the Astronomer-Royal beat his antagonists hollow in reasoning on the landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain, B.C. 55.


1830.

Account of a Private Observatory recently erected at Bedford.—This narrative of my operations has been, I am happy to state, of much use to amateurs, as evinced by results; it was read to a meeting of the Astronomical Society on the 10th of December, and published in their Memoirs. The trial of the Vertical Collimator therein recorded, was followed by the award of the gold medal to Captain Henry Kater, for his invention of it.

1836.

Observations of Halley's Comet; by the Foreign Secretary of the Society, and published in the ninth volume of their Memoirs.—This is a faithful record of one of the most pleasing occurrences which can befall the practical astronomer, namely, the return of a wanderer—equally grand and mysterious—to its appointment in August 1835; and there is every reason to infer—from the number and quality of the observations then taken by various persons, and our increased knowledge of the planetary perturbations which it sustains—that this wonderful body will answer its next muster to within an hour or two.
APPENDIX.

1845.

Observations of γ Virginis, accompanied by Mr. Hind's Elements of its Orbit. By the President of the Society.—This was a new epoch for following up the orbit of that very remarkable system; and was handed in to refresh the memories of practical amateurs, to the necessity of multiplying observations where results might prove to be, to double stars, what the above-mentioned Halley's comet is, among that class of bodies. The orbital elements with which Mr. Hind favoured me—especially in node, inclination, eccentricity, and period—are gratifying, because they show that we are all on the right beat at last.

1846.

Address to the Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society on the award of their gold medal to the Astronomer Royal.—This was given to Mr. Airy for his reductions of the Planetary Observations made at Greenwich between the years 1750 and 1830; thereby rendering them available for general use. It is a work in which the zeal, ability, and judgment of the author are eminently conspicuous.

Besides these contributions, there are various observations of mine, made between 1830 and 1858, published in the Society's "Memoirs," or in their "Monthly Notices." It was moreover my lot, during a long service on the Council, to record the yearly havoc with which death thinned our ranks; being requested, I assisted to draw up, for the Anniversary Reports, necrological sketches of those worthies—British and Foreign—with whom I had had a personal acquaintance. They are these:

Allen, William
Bauza, Don Felipe
Beaufort, Admiral Sir F.
Beechey, Rear-Admiral
Blackwood, Captain R.N.
Boguslawski, Professor
Brioschi, Carlo
Cacciato, Nicolò
Cerquero, Don Sanchez
Clerke, Major Shadwell
Foster, Captain R.N.
Franklin, Captain Sir John
Gambart, Monsieur Jean
Graves, Captain R.N.
Hall, Captain Basil, R.N.
Horsburgh, Captain E.I.S.
Hunt, Rev. Dr. Philip
Kater, Captain H 12th Regiment
Oriani, Professor
Owen, Vice-Admiral W. F.
Pasley, General Sir Charles
Pechell, Rear-Admiral Sir John
Ponn, Professor
Powell, Reverend Baden
Raper, Lieutenant R.N.
Rigaud, Professor
Shirreff, Rear-Admiral
Stanley, Captain Owen, R.N.
Sussex, H.R.H. Duke of
Tindal, Sir Nicholas C.
Visconti, Colonel Ferdinand
Wolfe, Commander James
Zach, Baron von
APPENDIX.

Royal Geographical Society.

1830.

Prospectus for the Establishment of the British Geographical Institution.—As a few of us had agreed in London that a Geographical Society was absolutely necessary, and there were volunteers enough to commence with, the moment of getting home I wrote this notice, had it printed in Bedford, and circulated it to the amount of 350 copies. The desired Society was immediately formed, and has on the whole proved eminently useful, though bordering too much on a mere travellers' institute. But this will be again referred to anon, when upon the autobiography of the late Sir John Barrow.

1831.

On the Columbretes, Volcanic Rocks on the Coast of Valencia in Spain.—This paper was read to the newly-formed Society on the 10th of January, and published, with a plate, in the first volume of the Geographical Journal. My main object in writing it, was to shew that we ought not to take everything for granted; for here, on a coast known from pre-historic times, and supposed to have been well surveyed by Toñino, we find a singular group of volcanic formation, one a distinct crater of elevation, hitherto undescribed. In fact, on making a survey of them, I assumed the right of a discoverer, by naming the islets and rocks after Spanish officers of eminence in nautical science.

1850.

Allocation on the Presentation of the Royal Awards for the Encouragement of Geographical Science and Discovery.—The first of these was to Colonel J. C. Fremont, in recognition of his masterly journeys over the Rocky Mountains to California; the second to the Rev. David Livingston, for his discoveries in the interior of South Africa, and especially of the large lake of Ngami. Then the

Anniversary Address to the Royal Geographical Society of London.—In this address I endeavoured, to the best of my ability and means, to show the Society what the practical geographers were doing in all parts of the world.

1851.

Allocation on the Presentation of the Royal Premiums for the year 1851.—Of these the first was awarded by the Council to Dr. George A. Wallin, of Finland,
in approbation of his travels in Arabia, and the second to Mr. Thomas Brunner for his arduous, and dangerous, exploration of the Middle Island of New Zealand. These notices were followed by the

Anniversary Address to the Society.—This in tenor resembled my last address, but was summed up by the apparent state, and advanced prospects, of the science of Geography; and its several branches.

••• In each of those annual addresses to the Geographical Society I distinctly alluded to the probable springs of the Nile as to be expected somewhere at the back of Mombas, and in the second was even rather brusque upon some of those persons, who had fallen into the heresy of that river’s source having been recently detected, about seven or eight degrees north of the line. I had been drawn towards this inquiry ever since my own journeys in North Africa, as far back as 1816; and in 1837 endeavoured to promote an expedition from the east coast of Africa to the reported extensive lake in the interior. This was to be undertaken by my friends Captain W. Turner, R.N., and Mr. W. Bollaert; the first having beenseasoned on the African Station, and the second trained in South America, both were known to be admirably adapted for the enterprise. It did not, however, from causes over which I had no control, take effect.

Thus the matter rested till the stirring announcement of the discovery of snow-capped mountains inland of Mombas; in which latitude, the line of constant low temperature being estimated at 17,000 feet, made it almost patent that the affluents of the Nile would be thereabouts. My words were: “These intelligent and persevering missionaries were rewarded with the discovery of Killimandjaro; and, since I last addressed you, with Kenya, another stupendous eminence crowned with eternal snows. Now, though Ptolemy’s data—grounded on Herodotus, Marinus Tyrius, and the reports of merchants and travellers—cannot be greatly relied upon, these elevated ranges appear to be in the vicinity where the source of the Bahr-al-Abyad, or White Nile, will be found.” This conviction, be it known, was entirely my own, and was entertained by me, many years before Dr. Beke had taken the field in which he has made so meritorious a stand • In continuation my avouchment ran: “I shall not here allude to the controversial disputes which have so greatly mystified the rise and course of that

• See my official letter to Rear-Admiral Sir C. V. Penrose, from Tripoli, 7th April 1817, in “The Mediterranean,” page 456.
APPENDIX.

wonderful river, the Nile, but most unhesitatingly express my own conviction that No European Traveller, from Bruce downwards, has yet seen its true source. It still remains an important geographical problem, one which will never be satisfactorily solved till successive explorations have shown which is the main stream that gave birth to that mighty river. Till then we must still say, "Ignotum, plus notus, Nile, per ortum."

Such were our ponderings in 1851, and the recent splendid achievement of Speke and Grant has shown that we were nearing the mark. But, while rejoicing at their safe return to England, and rendering all honour to their great discovery of the main outfall of the Nile, we cannot but remark, that there are yet laurels to be gathered in ransacking that very promising mountainous district for the source, or sources, of the most interesting stream in the world.

1854.

Hints to Travellers.—As I have ever held that all travellers, worthy of the designation, would furnish themselves according to what they would feel to be their capacity, these hints are not intended to teach the use of instruments, or the art of surveying. They were written at the request of the Council, and chiefly contain some matters springing from experience, and therefore perhaps worth the Tyro’s knowing. They appear, together with similar papers by my friends and colleagues, in the twenty-fourth volume of the "Geographical Journal."

United Service Journal.

1829.

Letter from Archytas, on the existing state of Hydrography.—My view herein was mainly to correct the impressions which might have been made by a paper in the first number of the new periodical, at a time when the readers were alert—erectis auribus—for information on the subject.

On Telegraphic Communication.—These remarks from Archytas were advanced when it was a matter of pride that the Admiralty, by means of semaphores, could send a message to Portsmouth, and receive an answer back in thirty-three seconds of time. But about that epoch, a really marvellous application of abstract science to practical uses, was casting its shadow before. This was
the sagacious course of experiment which resulted in the electric telegraph, a wondrous means by which information can travel with the swiftness of thought, from place to place, whether over the land or under the sea!

*Reflections by Archytas on the British Navy.*—These are merely some cursory remarks arising from reading two interesting naval letters of 1513 sent to me by Mr., now Sir Henry, Ellis, of the British Museum.

1. A popular View of Meteorology and its Practical Uses to the Seaman.
2. Disasters at Sea, and their Prevention.
3. On the Use and Importance of the Barometer at Sea.—These are three papers in which Archytas attempted to draw the attention of navigators to a very important branch of physics, for which he was personally thanked by Beaufort, Heywood, Franklin, Parry, and other naval officers, as the *nomme de plume* was not meant as a disguise.

Among the peculiar local winds, between the mention of the harmattan and the typhoon, the South American blast ought to have been inserted. This is the noted Pamparro, a violent gusty wind in the vicinity of the Rio de la Plata. It is so named from the interminable plains called *pampas*, over which it sweeps from the Andes, acquiring strength as it passes till it becomes a very hurricane. It may be guarded against by watching the oscillations of the barometer, which always experiences a precursory fall. During the Pamparro's advance the air is dry and oppressive, the atmosphere turbid, and dense clouds are gradually rolling onwards. Its general direction is from the south-west, and its continuance very irregular; but, while its fury lasts, clouds of dust, enveloping innumerable winged insects, are carried out to sea. So, in the account of the typhoon off Manilla in 1805, where "swarms of flies" are mentioned, the words "followed by a dense cloud of locusts" ought to have been added to complete the picture.

*Discovery of the Fate of La Perouse.*—These additional particulars of the celebrated French navigator were warmly received by the maritime community, for the loss of his ships possessed a similar interest to that, which we have had cause to feel recently with regard to Franklin's hapless expedition. The materials for drawing up this account were lent me, for that purpose, by Captain Dillon, the navigator who made the discovery.

*The United Service Museum.*—This paper was intended to further an object
which I had long held in view, having written to Mr. Croker so far back as 1819 on the eligibility of adding a museum to the Admiralty library, instancing the East India House as a precedent. The proposal was kindly received, but fell to the ground. The scheme, however, had been somewhat matured when this paper was published—several minor "agitations" took place, a formal meeting was called on the 19th of December 1829, and the United Service Institution was founded. The following were the officers present:—

Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart.
Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Taylor
Captain Francis Beaufort, R.N.
Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N.
General Sir Samuel Bentham.
Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. D'Aguilar.
Lieutenant-Colonel Grey.
Sir Robert Kerr Porter.
Captain Garvock.
Commander Downes.
Captain Cooke.
Captain Shadwell Clerke.
Lieutenant W S. Hall.

Sir Herbert Taylor commenced by stating "That, having by the desire of the original proposers of an United Service Museum had the honour of submitting to his Majesty the objects of this Institution, he had been honoured with his Majesty's commands to signify to this Meeting, and to those who might become Members of the Institution, his Majesty's gracious and high approbation of the undertaking, and of the principles on which it was proposed to conduct it." The following resolution was therefore most respectfully agreed to: "That Sir Herbert Taylor be requested to convey to his Majesty the humble, dutiful, and deep-felt acknowledgements of this Meeting for the additional mark—just made known to them by his first Aide-de-Camp—of his Majesty's most gracious and paternal consideration." The Sovereign's good will was a powerful lever.

At the close of this meeting a nucleus was at once formed for the goodly project, in the presentation by Commander Downes of 60 cases of Natural History specimens, and my own gift of rare and useful professional books, models, antiquities, minerals, fossils, arms, and other curiosities. Some of the minerals, as the block of sulphate of strontian, the crystallized yenite, and the varieties of the pietra dura, were probably unique in state; while among the shells, the British Museum could not show a specimen to vie in perfection with our paper nautilus.

On the Maritime Supremacy of Great Britain.—The opinions here vented were in consequence of some inchoate meddings in naval affairs, by power without knowledge—an element often pregnant with mischief.

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APPENDIX.

Letter from Sam Sprit to the Heditur, on certain Nautical Grievances.—Though most of our papers to this periodical were didactic, and others agro-dolce, there were matters which could be best entertained in the seria mixta jocis style. Sam Sprit was, therefore, an occasional correspondent.

Sketch of the Services of the late Major Herbert Beaver.—Among the documents sent to me by the intelligent wife of Dr. Gillies, when writing the notice of Captain Philip Beaver (see page 257), were some memoranda respecting their brother the Major. These I thought, with the result of further inquiries in various quarters, sufficiently interesting to be lodged in the professional journal. The sketch consists of two compressed papers.

Dibdin’s Sea Songs.—This retort was called forth by rather an ill-natured attack, in “Blackwood’s Magazine,” on the author of some of the best songs that ever disseminated good feeling among sailors; as numerous officers will avouch.

1830.

Naval Gunnery.—The opinions here enunciated will now be dubbed the dreams of one of the “Old School”; and truly since the paper was published, a taste for tremendous guns has crept in, loading our vessels with a weight in the aggregate beyond the just proportion which that weight should bear to the displacement of the ship. Sir Howard Douglas says, in a note on the subject, which he kindly sent for my perusal, in May 1853:

I think that when once a position for close action is obtained, the ship which can pour into and through the other the greatest number of shot in the shortest time, must carry the day. Much I fear that enormous sums of money have been wasted in providing those heavy armaments by which our ships are now overloaded, and that we have adopted the batteries and magnitudes of vessels to an untried description of armament; that we have imitated from the French a perilous system of warfare, which will, more or less, fall into disuse in war, and that we shall then, when change of system is least admissible, have to revise and reform, if not abandon, that system.

Here then are two of the “Old School” in comparative agreement. Monster guns are, however, in the year 1863, still in the ascendant!

Death of a Corsican Chief.—This is a faithful translation of a paper which was handed to me in Corsica; being the extraordinary narrative of the daily feelings of Luc' Antonio Viterbi, who had then recently starved himself to death,
in order to escape the guillotine. Bread, water, wine, and soup were taken to
his cell daily; but he continued resolute in his determination. My preliminary
remarks exhibit a phase of Corsican clanship extant in 1820.

_Sam Sprit to the Heditur._—Here Sam informs the Editor of a trumpery
book which had just been launched; and which was professedly written to put
down the injudicious predilection—among boys—for sea-life.

_Memoir of Sir Charles Vincimone Penrose, K.C.B., Vice-Admiral of the
White._—This is a necrological tribute to one of the most amiable, able, and
accomplished officers that ever paced a quarter-deck.

_The Story of Ja'far, son of the Sultan of Wadai:_ in three successive papers.
—Towards the close of 1828, Dr. Lee showed me a document which he had
received from our mutual friend Mr. Baker, so well-known at Aleppo, but then
Consul-General of Egypt; and which, on perusal, the Rev. J. Renouard thought
worthy of being printed. On reading the narrative I was so struck with its
internal evidence of veracity, from statements which were familiarly known to
me, that the task was irresistible. In arranging the matter thus placed in my
hands, I adhered as closely to my friend's manuscript as the forms of publication
admitted of; and such illustrative remarks as occurred to me the while, were
subjoined in the form of notes to the text.

After this "story" had been some time printed, M. Jomard, President of
the Geographical Society of Paris, kindly forwarded to me the _Voyage au Ouaday_
of the Sheikh Ibn-Omar el-Tounsy; it was translated by Dr. Perron, who per-
suaded this 'Ulemâ of Cairo—despite of religious scruples—to write down his
reminiscences. In the preface to this work, and in his letter to me, he remarks
that the "Story of Ja'far" is an _opusculum peu connu_; yet the journal in which it
appeared had a circulation of three thousand copies per month. However, from
the Sheikh's narration—with other communications both oral and written from
Messrs. Barker, Warrington, Dupuis, and Barth,* I have tracked our Prince for

* Few are the events which worry the memory in nomadic life. Dr. Barth assured me that when he
arrived at Ghirrza, from Timbuctoo, the Arab tribes of the neighbouring wadys had not forgotten my visit
to them forty years before. They hoped my _liberality_ had not injured my means: said liberalit consisting
of merely paying for what I required and bought of them, though furnished with a bashaw's potent tezkereh,
and accompanied by a party of well-armed janissaries.
nearly twenty-three years after his sojourn in Egypt; but since 1850 he suddenly disappeared from the stage,—a matter of no great surprize.

The King's Own.—Here we have an impartial review of a clever "sensation" novel from the, afterwards, prolific pen of Captain Frederick Marryat, R.N.

In noticing this and other works of the kind, I have necessarily made allusions to the graphic powers of Smollett as a sea-novelist; but in praising him, it is rather with a view of pointing out the visible change that has spread over popular literature. Instead of the rounded periods, skilful delineations, and powerful diction of a De Foe or a Fielding, we have the slang, turgid humour, and repugnant familiarity of the fast writer. Decency has, however, gained largely, for the spirit of the age checks the pruriency of even its rear-rank quill-drivers. We could wish a large portion of Fielding, Smollett, Swift, and Sterne, were utterly extirpated; and there are even passages in professed moral writers of that day which are repulsive to good taste; but since we cannot expurgate, we must e'en take them "with all their imperfections on their head." Addison and Goldsmith—much to their credit—are exonerated from the charge.

A General Description of Algiers.—In 1830, intense interest was displayed in the public mind, with regard to the French expedition to Algiers; and as very many of the said public viewed the said Algiers as merely a piratical city, I wrote off this description, to show what a rich and healthy region was about to be brought under the benefits of civilization and Christianity.

Sam Sprit to the Heditur.—Here Sam palavers on the nonsense of Rodney being taught by a landsman how to break the line; and on 10-gun brigs.

1831.

Sketch of the Career of the late Captain Peter Heywood, R.N.—This is a biographical notice of an esteemed and excellent officer who, in early life, had nearly been sacrificed to causes originating in the severe tyranny of an upstart martinet. I had known Heywood, and his moral worth, for many years.

A Galley Yarn.—My friend Captain William Broughton commanded the Primrose, of 18 guns and 125 men, on the coast of Africa, in 1830. On the 7th of September he brought to close action, and carried by boarding, the large Spanish slaver Veloz Pasagera, of 20 guns and 180 men, of whom 46 were
APPENDIX.

killed and 20 wounded; while the Primrose's loss was only 3 killed and 13 wounded. The captured ship had 550 miserable slaves on board.

Captain Broughton's excellent official letter is before the public; but some additional particulars, cooked to the sailor's taste, from the ingredients with which he supplied me, will be found in the poetical ditty.

On the Discipline of the Mercantile Marine.—These thoughts sprung from reading a book on the subject from Captain Christopher Biden, the well-known Beach-master at Madras: added to which, the outrageously mutinous conduct of the crew of the Inglis, an East-Indiaman, was being recklessly palliated by certain "Gentlemen of the Press," and some pestilential sea-lawyers.

Naval Battles.—This is an attempt to place certain saddles on the right horses. But at the time it was written, in the summer of 1831, mark ye, I was pondering over the powers of steam; and though I thought for a time that it might only be used as a light division to carry off winged ships, or drag up shy-cocks, I could not but foresee a great change approaching. In a word, I pronounced to my naval friends, that if provided with a shot-proof mastless lump, which could be propelled twelve knots, I would run at any three-decker's broadside, and cut her in two. This was then bantered at as a stravaganza, but we at last, in 1863, know a little more upon this point; so that the following conclusion to "Naval Battles," will now be read without indulging a sneer—

Futurity is inscrutable—but is such a matchless display of human art as a Grand Fleet, in line-of-battle, together with all the patriotic daring and practical energy of British sailors, doomed to succumb to some gigantic wedge, propelled under the direction of a dozen stokers, by a few chaldron of coals? Ohe!

Theory of the Universe; comprising Strictures on Commander Woodley's "Divine System."—This was published to stem the course of a volume which could not but be mischievous, especially in the hands of self-sufficient men.

On Naval Timber.—Much of the trouble of these two papers, and my anxiety for a provision of timber, might have been spared, could I have foreseen that in little more than thirty years we were to have an iron navy!

The Bounty again!—Sir John Barrow having written a popular book on the
eventful "Mutiny of the Bounty," published in the well-known collection inti-
tuated "Murray's Family Library," in which were some allusions to my account
of Captain Heywood, these additional facts became necessary, to clear up any
misapprehensions on the untoward subject.

On Naval Literature.—Towards the close, or, as the Yankees have it, the fall
of 1831, so many excellent professional publications fell under my notice, that I
felt called upon to express the gratification they afforded me.

On Commander Woodley's Divine System of the Universe.—This reply was
evoked by Captain Woodley's angry pamphlet, in answer to the strictures we had
made on his book; as, indeed, we were in duty bound.

1832.

Naval Operations of the Burmese War.—As Major Snodgrass, in his book,
appeared to have ignored the fact of naval co-operation, these statements, undeni-
ably authentic and just, were published as a reminder.

A word upon "Youngsters."—These thoughts were written when recommen-
dations were rife to send grown gentlemen to sea instead of youngsters; in order
to act "as they do in the Army." Hood, Nelson, Duncan, Jervis, Sidney Smith,
and others of our days, all entered the Navy at about twelve years of age.

Cavendish, or the Patrician at Sea.—Such was the title of a gross scandal on
the naval service, published in three volumes as a sea-novel, in which vulgar
personality and scurrility marched hand-in-hand. Herein some far-fetched notions
—not worth the carriage—are enunciated regarding the service, but which are
evidently beyond the pale of the author's knowledge or comprehension.

Sam Sprit at a Masquerade.—Sam here ventures his opinion, rather sar-
castically perhaps, upon one or two of the then ruling passions at Malta.

Sebastian Cabot.—Having read a volume of deep research and spirit on this
great navigator—said to have been written by Mr. Biddle, an American—I could
not but communicate my pleasure on perusing it, to those who are really in-
terested in the progress of geographical discovery.
APPENDIX.

An Officer's Affidavit.—Oaths and affidavits were great evils to conscientious officers, when these remarks were published; but soon afterwards—perhaps only by a fortuitous coincidence—they were superseded by a form specified as a declaration. "Sworn or unsworn," said Bacon, "is all one to an honest man," while no rascal was ever stayed by an oath.

On the Nautical Almanac.—Previously to the great remodelling of this eminently useful national work, there arose a few bitter intestine broils respecting the merits and demerits of the existing ephemeris. The guns of some of the combatants were too heavy for their scantling; for with all its shortcomings, the "Nautical Almanac" was never—as they asserted—a contemptible publication, which its world-wide circulation sufficiently proved.

The Voyage of Hanno.—The Periplus of Hanno the Carthaginian, being the oldest "log-book" extant, and relating to one of the earliest voyages of discovery, I considered it desirable to lodge it in a professional journal. The savage biting Gorillae which they encountered at the Southern Horn (near Sherbro island), have recently become familiar to the public, by Mr. Du Chaillu's importation of them, from nearly the same neighbourhood.

On the Occult Principle.—There is so clear a connection between galvanism, electricity, and magnetism—as between ice, water, and steam—that they must be regarded as different aspects of the same agent; and to call attention to the wondrous effects of their influences, this summary was written.

On Plague and Quarantine.—At this time certain polemics were deriding the dangers of contagion, "comme un vain songe;" and were for abolishing the detentions of Quarantine, even before we could ascertain whether other powers could be induced to discard it. There can be no doubt the Quarantine Laws are vexatious restrictions on commerce, mischievous in the hands of a sinister government, oppressive to personal freedom, and in many respects unavailing. Yet as there is still reason to hold that the Oriental plague is contagious—provided there be circumstances favourable to its transmission—a well-modified Quarantine may be expedient, at times, to avert danger.

Sam Sprit's Visit to Portsmouth.—Sam here recounts his feelings on finding a French squadron, under Admiral Villeneuve, anchored at Spithead.
1833.

On Breaking the Line.—This is an examination of Sir Howard Douglas's excellent memoir on "Naval Evolutions," a work to be relied upon: it was sent to the Journal to aid in destroying the *equine nidus* which the astute Dean of Faculty had conjured up in the "Edinburgh Review," about Clerk of Eldin; a claim which is lost even upon the Marines.

On the Atlantic Currents.—My late esteemed geographical mentor, Major Rennell, was the first writer who carefully distinguished the currents from the drift-water; having zealously employed himself, even to extreme old age, in scrutinizing the courses of oceanic streams: and the work here introduced to the service is a valuable contribution towards a perfect system of the phenomena.

On Steam Navigation.—The musings in which, show our early cогitations on the mighty power about to be introduced into naval warfare; and manifest how brittle a course it is to prophecy. For who could have foreseen in June 1833, when this was published, that within thirty years—what with iron ships, iron armour, and monster ordnance—sea warfare would become entirely revolutionized! My own visions regarding steam rams and wedges, were actively working; but I thus adverted to the more general nautical opinion—

Some of our officers consider that the revolution in naval warfare, now effecting by steamships, may not be of so sweeping a nature as we have ventured to predict, but rather that they will become merely an auxiliary force to the line-of-battle—towing up the tardy, placing the fighters broadside on, and rescuing the disabled. But in our view of the case, it is not merely the system of tactics which is changing, for the whole *arcana* of attack and defence, the principles as well as the practice, may experience an alteration; yet it is one which will give the most civilized nations the greatest advantage, and the superiority of knowledge to physical power will be more remarkably exemplified than ever.

And in the opening of this paper, though so vast an alteration could not have been foreseen, I thus alluded to probabilities—

A similar change will no doubt follow in maritime warfare; and the glorious pomp and consequence of a fleet will dwindle to the hulls and chimneys of a horde of steam-boats. The force and direction of the wind, in forcing the line-of-battle, will no longer enter into the elements of calculation, nor will calms suspend the moving power. The future contests will be rather military than naval; and the running-down system of the ancient galleys, with the weight and velocity of
fortified stems directed against the broadside of their opponent, as the vulnerable part, is likely to cramp the late practice of raking.

Still, though the introduction of steam diminishes, to a certain extent, the value of superior seamanship, let it ever be borne in mind that the best reared men will ever gain the day: sea-legs and judgment must continue in request.

_The Failure at Brest in 1694._—In wading among the “Minutes” of the Antiquaries, I lighted on the following passage, at a meeting of Council of that body, holden on the 10th of November 1787:—

Mr. Waller gave in a copy of an extract of the will of the late Edward Bridgen, Esq., late Treasurer to the Society:—

“To the Society of Antiquaries, London, the glass in my parlour, formerly belonging to General Tollemache (Talshash), who fell under King William; but if the Society don’t accept, or fix up the same in six months, then I beg Mr. Brand Hollis will accept the same.”

Finding the circumstance was utterly unknown at the Antiquaries, I inquired of the late Mr. Disney—successor to the Hyde, near Ingateston in Essex, the residence of Mr. Brand Hollis, for intelligence about the absent “glass,” without effect. A consequence of the inquiry, however, was a re-examination of the descent upon Brest, and the drawing up of the paper here enrolled. To this we may add the popular General’s last letter, from the original in my possession:

_(The General’s Letter._)

Sir,

I am arrived here, but not in a condition to write to you. Our design upon Brest has miscarried, the enemy being too well prepared to receive us. On Thursday the 7th, the fleet came into Carnaret bay, the next day I debark’d our land forces in order to land them. I found the enemy intrenched, and had two batteries of cannon within one hundred paces where I landed, the engagement was very hot for an hour. Wee not being able to maintain that post, it was thought fit to return to the ships. That which relates to the sea service in that action I refer to my Lord Berkeley, who in the evening called the Flag Officers to know their opinion what was further to be done. It was resolved that we should not attempt bombarding the town, and that the fleet return to Torbay or St. Helens. The particular of the killed and prisoners ye Earl of Macclesfield will give you an acct of. No persons of note are lost but ye French Engineer Lamott. I desire you will send this letter to Mr. Blathwayte.

I am, Sir,

Ye humble Servant,

THO. TALMASH.

Plimouth, ye 11th June.

2 o 2
Modern Greece—Exploits of Kanaris.—This relates the daring achievements of that scourge of the Turks; and is mostly based on the *viva voce* communications to me by Kanaris, and some of his patriotic brothers-in-arms, taking due care to cross-question the 'cute and sometimes fanciful Hellenians.

On Nautical Astronomy.—This was launched to inform the Service of the improvements made in the "Nautical Almanac," instituted by the Committee for reforming it; with remarks on various methods of obtaining longitude at sea.

1834.

The Polar Lions.—A more cheerful greeting on the part of the public never was called into action, than when Captain John Ross and his nephew arrived in England, so long after they had been given up as lost in the Arctic regions. Publicly and privately *feted*, they were the "lions" of the season; though, as the uncle himself good-humouredly told me, he overheard in a shop that he was "more like a bear than a lion."

Naval Officers' Widows.—A flapper to remind some of our astute Senators that they might burn their fingers in meddling with what they knew nothing about; so much depending on the source whence the funds were derived, in order to their appropriate distribution.

Thoughts on Impressment.—In the summary process of impressment in our late wars, justice and humanity were entirely lost sight of in the sense of immediate danger; and in gaining the great end, the cruelty of the means seemed to be justified. Amidst the discussions on this subject, it is a source of regret that more has not been done, with the direct view of obviating a return to this odious practice in dire necessity: it still remains a vexed question.

Biographical Sketch of the late Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cunningham, K.C.B.—Many of the anecdotes here related were communicated, *a viva voce*, to me by this excellent officer himself; and the facts may be implicitly relied upon, as connected with the public service.

The late Admiral Sir Edward Thornborough, G.C.B.—At the request of this Admiral's son, Captain Edward Le Cras Thornborough, I drew up this notice for the Journal; and I acceded the more readily, because he had just made a
APPENDIX.

present of one hundred pounds to that noble institution, the Royal Naval Club of 1765, in furtherance of its benevolent donations to widows and orphans.

The late Admiral Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, G.C.B. — At the close of this tribute to my lamented commander, I mentioned King William's intention of placing a monument to the memory of his shipmate and friend, in the chapel of Greenwich Hospital. This was erected soon after my paper was published, and the circumstance bespeaks—or rather proves—the kindly and warm-hearted estimation entertained by the nautical sovereign.

The monument is from the chisel of Chantrey, and is hewn out of a block of pure white marble about nine feet in height, surmounted by an animated bust of the deceased; immediately in front is the following simple and affecting inscription, the original for which was written in his Majesty's own hand:

This Marble is erected by
KING WILLIAM IV.
To the Memory of
Admiral Sir RICHARD GOODWIN KEATS,
G.C.B.
GOVERNOR OF THIS HOSPITAL,
Who was his Majesty's shipmate and watchmate on
board the Prince George, of 110 guns,
In which the Admiral served as Lieutenant,
and the King as Midshipman,
from June, 1779, to November, 1781.

IN COMMEMORATING
This early period of their respective careers, the
King desires also to record his esteem for the
exemplary character of a friend,
And his grateful sense
of the valuable services rendered to his country by a
highly distinguished and gallant Officer.
Died April 5, 1834. Aged 77 years.

Pirates and Piracy.—This enterprising system of robbery having constantly adhered to navigation and commerce, like a remora, it was thought a brief narrative of that career of vice would not be out of place in the Journal; especially as both the practice and the suppression exhibited a direct impulse upon nautical
prowess. From the earliest times to t'other day, I marshalled them out in a series of seven papers, in the following order; and they were published at intervals between July 1834 and November 1835—

1. Pirates of the Classic and Medieval Ages.
2. The Usocchii, or Pirates of the Adriatic.
3. The Fibustiers and Buccaneers.
5. The Barbary Corsairs.
7. The modern Marooners.

The greater facility of intercourse, and there being now few parts of the world where pirates can retreat to with any hope of security, have, in a great measure, cleared the ocean of professional free-booters, though sea-thieves may yet lurk about, despite of the increased vigour and promptness of justice.

Naval Tactics.—Notwithstanding the new power which, it is predicted, will alter "everything," the practical conditions of Naval Tactics must still be studied by our best officers. Although sea-fights offer such conflicting and circuitous stratagems, that they seem irreducible to rule, to assume them as such is a fatal mistake; and it is equally as great an error to suppose that courage alone is sufficient for the exigencies. To such we recommend the wise reply of Alexander—recorded by Arrian—when Parmenio wished him to risk an action with the Persian fleet. In our present paper we have noticed Père Hoste's well-known work; and as the main objects and principles of strategy will remain unbroken by any changes in the practical means of warfare, we recommend an extract from his preface to all earnest officers—"Sans l'art des Evolutions, un Général ne peut disposer que très imparfaitement de son armée, soit pour s'opposer à propos aux ennemis, soit pour les enfoncer, les couper, les doubler, les éviter, les forcer au combat, et les poursuivre."

On Colonies and Colonization.—The British Colonial Empire is without a parallel in history; affording ample means of providing for a superabundant population, and creating new markets for our commerce. Yet about the time that our strictures were published, loud murmurs were vented on our colonial expenditure, coupled with vague threats of interference; quite overlooking that a great portion of the so-called expense of retaining our colonies, is, in fact, an
APPENDIX.

expenditure to which—in order to retain our commerce—we should still be liable, even if some of our goodly possessions were abandoned.

Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew, G.C.B.—In mentioning the magnificent bequest made to this officer, we inadvertently called the lady who made it Mrs. Carew, instead of Gee—a mistake the more extraordinary, inasmuch as we had visited her some years before. The following official minute will, however, set all this matter right:—

Whitehall, June 28th (1828).—The King has been pleased to grant unto Sir Benjamin Hallowell of Beddington Park, in the county of Surrey, and of Orpington, in the county of Kent, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Commander of the Royal Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and a Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, his royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may, in compliance with a clause contained in the last will and testament of Anne Paston Gee, late of Beddington Park and Orpington aforesaid, widow, deceased, take and use the surname of Carew, in addition to, and after that of Hallowell, and bear the arms of Carew, quarterly, with those of Hallowell

1835.

On Nautical Surveying.—For nearly a couple of centuries the greatest maritime nation in the world laboured under the imputation of producing the worst sea-charts; and we have more than once attempted to assign reasons for so discreditable a distinction. In the first place, it does not seem to have been generally admitted that science was at all necessary to knowledge; a singular error, and one deeply injurious to hundreds of officers, who might otherwise have been relieved from the pains of monotony and the penalties of idleness, by engaging in pursuits where satiety is unknown. The second serious mistake was the supposition that Masters in the Navy were capable of supplying every required hydrographic information. How persons so slenderly educated could be expected to render such an important duty, in addition to stowing the hold—superintending the spars and gear—inspecting the warrant-officers' indents and expenses—attending to the ground-tackle and moorings—inditing the log—and being at every one's call, is truly unreasonable; and the consequence has been that, though evincing great skill as seamen, pilots, and navigators, with considerable merit in making remarks on roadsteads, tides, currents, and winds, they have rarely produced a chart, or even a plan, worthy of publication—and have scarcely fixed the latitude or longitude of any place with ultimate precision. This assertion is not to be weakened by citing the names of Cook, Spence, Whitby, or Thomas, since
they are more known as surveyors than masters; and, at best—reckoning their numbers—they only form the exception to the rule.

Naval science has, however, reached a high degree of utility, and promises much further advancement: but it is less the effect of any direct encouragement than from the example of a few to whom the evils of ignorance were obvious. At this period a "Treatise on Nautical Surveying," by Commander Belcher (now Rear-Admiral Sir Edward), appeared, which gave me an opportunity of uttering a few experienced opinions on the same topic.

About this time I proposed to simplify hydrography by a new arrangement of the waters of the globe; and, though my scheme has not yet taken effect, the projected divisions may here be reproduced:

- The Arctic Ocean and Antarctic Ocean.
- North Atlantic Ocean and South Atlantic Ocean.
- North Pacific Ocean and South Pacific Ocean.
- North Indian Ocean and South Indian Ocean.

Strictly maintaining these classes as oceans, will allow of great latitude in naming and apportioning the lesser seas; besides affording an excellent opportunity of dismissing that vague but common term—"The South Sea."

"Pale memory," as Falconer has it, reminds me that poor Sir John Franklin wished me to cut a zone round the aqueous globe, and call it the Inter-Tropical Ocean; but that was inadmissible to the simplicity of my arrangement.

On the Composition and Tendency of Modern Naval Novels.—This was an attempt to abate the nuisance of the personalities indulged in, even by our best naval novelists, two of whom were my friends; but it is the writers—not the men—who are here indicted. Some of the flimsier degree were well satirised in a burlesque called "The Admiral's Daughter," published in the "New Monthly Magazine" shortly afterwards. Theodore Hook was delighted to show me a letter which he received on this head, wherein an innocently witless correspondent informed him that the Captains of the tops do not dine with Admirals, that ships do not mount guns on their binnacles, nor can even Admirals leave their commissions to sons-in-law,—he assumes that the editor has therefore been imposed upon, for he who wrote the tale could not have been a seaman; as was further proved by such expressions as "smite my quarter-deck," "dowse my starboard," "shiver my yard-arm," "reef my anchor," and the like!
APPENDIX.

On the Registry and Regulation of Merchant Seamen.—These opinions were started when the professional circles were busily arguing the merits of Sir James Graham's "Bill," in which, as we then stated, there is no new light. It is a truly momentous question, for if we cannot procure men in the hour of need, no other advantages can then compensate the evil.

On Circular Sterns for Ships of War.—At the time this dialogue between a supposed pair of naval officers—equally plausible and equally positive—was written, "round sterns" were the rage of the day; and our finest ships were being transmogrified, at enormous expense, by shifting and irresponsible Boards. 

"Mais hélas! "On a changé tout cela."

Cursory Observations on Naval Architecture.—The efforts to advance this important branch of knowledge were generally cramped under the official prescriptive dispositions of the leaden Navy Boards, whose formal objection to improvements ran, "that their adoption would be contrary to the established regulations of the service." But the conduct of the British Government in 1832, by destroying the only institution in this great maritime kingdom where the scientific principles of ship-building were taught, attached to itself the barbarous distinction of stamping Naval Construction as a mere empirical art.

Economy of a Man-of-War.—Such is the title of a series of essays which were written to represent the official personnel of a royal ship, as known at that time; but in the interval of a quarter of a century most unexpected alterations have occurred, and the homogeneity—so to speak—of the quarter-deck broken into. Besides adding to the former "walkers" of that parade, not the least striking innovation is the increase of gold lace and frippery, agreeably to the taste of the day; while orders and medals are also common enough. It was once thought more honourable to merit a decoration and not receive it, than wear one without deserving it; but such sentimentality has evaporated. 

The first of these papers, "The Midshipman," was published early in 1836, and the last, "The Captain," in the spring of 1837; but, having been urged to add the Admiral—though he can hardly be included among the officers proper of a ship—we shewed him out in 1845. Our ratings therefore stand thus:—

* When some one told Admiral Payne that he was to be knighted, he exclaimed, with affected indignation, "No, no, by G——, not without a court-martial."
APPENDIX.

1. The Midshipman. 5. The Master.
2. The Chaplain. 6. The Marine Officer.
3. The Purser. 7. The Lieutenant.
4. The Surgeon. 8. The Captain.

On a Society for Naval Improvement.—The founding of a Society with this object was agitated when the Admiralty were about to abolish the Naval College at Portsmouth, and had already dispersed the School of Naval Architecture. These notable retrenchments rendered it desirable that such an institution should be taken into consideration; but the powers were opposed.

On Marine Insurance.—On a rumour that an inquiry would be instituted on the subject, this signal was thrown out; and, conceiving, as we do, that the defective construction of trading-ships, the incompetency of masters, the inefficient equipment, and the awful loss of life and national property, are, in a great degree, ascribable to the sordid self-interest cherished at Lloyd's, we think our sentence is moderate. It is a rank impiety, to designate those shipwrecks which are clearly the result of man's cupidity and incapacity, as the "act of God"—the beneficent and omnipresent Dispenser of all blessings.

1837.

A Voice from the Fleet.—There had been "great cry and little wool" in sea matters, and high expectations of even slight amendments were reduced to dejectedness. The year 1837 therefore opened with these murmurs, in hopes of their attracting the attention of one or two of certain naval Members, who appear to be habitually deaf when in the House of Commons.

On Naval History: with Strictures on Captain Brenton's Work.—What has been generally termed Naval History is the dealing with incidents and events, rather than examining into motives, causes, and consequences; wherefore "Annals" had been a more appropriate designation for such productions—nor need any writer be averse to follow in the wake of Tacitus.

Some of these professional compilations have been rather severely carped at, and perhaps more time and reflection on them would not have been misapplied. However, despite of all shortcomings, we subscribe—ex animo—to the assertion that our writers exhibit both candour and principle in their details. For a con-
contrast to this, look to the history of the same events as pictured by the fanciful pen of Mons. Thiers. The French themselves admit the inexactitude and fanfaronnade of this unscrupulous politician; but why hesitate to apply the more fitting epithet —barefaced falsehoods?

Towards the end of these strictures, speaking of Lord St. Vincent, a curious oversight occurred in the printing, namely, for "himself a bachelor," it should have been "himself a Benedict."

A Biographical Sketch of Captain Dampier.—An early appreciation of the great nautical abilities of this extraordinary man, together with the acquisition of some important manuscripts relating to him, induced me to write this memoir: and it presents incidents brimful of instruction. In the hope of obtaining affluence, he embraced an evil cause; and in almost everything he undertook—despite his courage and capacity—the conclusion was disastrous to the last degree, as though it were a judgment for having adopted such a course. Looking, however, to the redeeming points of his character, he is entitled to a seaman's highest consideration; especially when the habits of the time in which he lived, and his dissolute associates, are remembered. Shortly after I had completed this sketch, I sent a copy of it to the active-minded Captain Basil Hall, who, in a letter, dated 22nd November, 1837, replied thus:—

Thanks for your pamphlet about Dampier. I have, however, already carefully read and studied every word of it in the U. S. Journal, and was greatly interested and instructed by the perusal. You probably did not recollect, or did not know, that I had taken especial pains to record my opinion of the said worthy. I really do not remember in which of my books the passage is, though I think it is in a work I wrote on South America. It relates to the land and sea breezes, and I quote his words—which are exceedingly eloquent, and more descriptive of the phenomenon than anything I had ever read: and I steal some one's phrase who calls him the Prince of Voyagers. I should certainly not have mentioned this circumstance at all, had you not talked of expanding your notice in a fresh edition. In which event, perhaps, you might think it worth while to do me the honour—for I really should feel it such—to add my hearty testimony to those voyagers you quote, who are proud to pay their homage to this wonderful fellow.

When fallacies once obtain, they are difficult to eradicate. After I had circumstantially described his death in Coleman Street, London, A.D. 1715, the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica still adheres to the hackneyed story, asserting that after the return of Woodes Rogers, in 1711, “nothing further is known of the life of Dampier; and we are equally ignorant of the place and time
of his death." A man signing himself "Leonidas" (why unknown?) wrote rather a crisp letter to the editor, asking why, if our hero departed this life in 1715, Admiral Hardy should so distinctly affirm that he died in the East Indies, on the 24th of February, 1700. To this question we can only reply—non so.

In consequence of a doubt expressed in another quarter as to the date of the navigator's birth, the Rev. Rowl. Huyshe, vicar of East Coker, was written to; and his answer, dated 5th of February, 1839, gave us the following extract from those authentic registers—the parish records:—

1652, the 8th of June. Baptized William the sonne of William Dampier and Joane his wife.

The vicar kindly added—"our registers are old, and I have no doubt but that on a closer inspection I may be enabled to discover more entries of the name." It further appears that our Dampier was christened by the Rev. William Walwyn, a very orthodox royalist, who afterwards published a sermon, which he preached at East Coker, on the 24th of May, 1660, as a pean for the restoration of Charles II.; it was intituled God save the King.

1888.

The Cinque Ports.—This designation was given by the Normans; though an association of maritime towns for mutual aid in those parts was anterior to William's invasion. The account here given, resulted from an antiquarian penchant for the tales of our early naval exertions; and the fall of those towns from their high estate is as much to be attributed to the long-continued retrocession of the sea, which has injured or ruined their harbours, as to any moral decline.

On Nautical Superstition.—Bayle has rightly said that "La crédulité est une mère que sa propre fécondité étouffe tôt ou tard." The credulity and prejudices of a people are inseparably connected with their intellectual advance; and as the latter enlarges, the former will diminish—for they are to each other as a curve and its co-ordinate lines. Now if a disposition to believe more than is warranted by reason, be the real meaning of superstition, then, to a certain extent, the existence of this faculty in the hardy tar is pardonable. With slight powers of observation, and still less reflection, he is not an adept at tracing causes; and his tales are therefore generally of the squall, the fight, or the phantom. His mind is also primed for impressions, by the witch of Endor, and the sublime but appalling ghost which
appeared to Eliphaz. Jack, however, is not the only credulous man of Her Majesty’s lieges, for Lord Byron—a bit of a fatalist himself—tells us:

I merely mean to say what Johnson said,
That in the course of some six thousand years,
All nations have believed that from the dead
A visitant at intervals appears:
And what is strangest upon this strange head,
Is, that, whatever bar the reason rears
'Gainst such belief, there’s something stronger still
In its behalf, let those deny who will.

On Naval Biography: Strictures on Sir John Barrow’s Life of Lord Howe.—These strictures were evoked by some rather loose opinions given by Sir John, on the composition of the naval administration, which is viciously at variance with reason. They also treat of the retirement of Senior Captains, a measure which has since been carried into effect—a consequence of the long peace.

Earl St. Vincent and Captain Brenton.—The life of one of our greatest Admirals, written by a sea Captain, was too momentous a book to escape being reviewed in a professional journal; and, as we had long been of opinion that the severity of Lord St. Vincent had aggravated the aversion of sailors to the Royal Navy, the integrity of history demanded a modification of Brenton’s éloge. Hence the overhaul, which, however, was made strictly under Othello’s injunction, to—

Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.

A Recollection of Tobago.—Dining on a day with my valued friend Sir Francis Beaufort, a guest remarked he had once heard, that I commanded an Indianman before entering the Royal Navy; and was somewhat surprised on learning that, though I had sailed to both the East and West Indies, I was barely seventeen years of age on entering his Majesty’s service. Having thereupon recounted the effect made on a youthful mind on my first visiting a man-of-war—the Centaur, of 74 guns—it was resolved (nem. con.) that the narration would be a welcome bit of chat for the U. S. Journal; whereupon I wrote this morceau of autobiography.

On Nautical Inventions and Naval Improvements.—This is a series of papers contributed, as reminders, to the Journal, between the years 1839 and 1847—
a rife period of novel introductions—as occasion demanded. In them—among others—the following subjects are briefly discussed; namely—

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<td>Screw Propeller</td>
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<td>Ship Manoeuvrer</td>
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1839.

_A call to Men of all parties on the State of the Navy._—The opening of this year called up much inquietude, and we trust our ululation was not unheard. After drifting to leeward for several years, we were then as defenceless as our most designing enemies could desire; and all true Britons were impressed with such a sense of our danger—or _panic_ as our false economists blindly choose to call it—that it was urgently necessary to sound an alarm. There can be no doubt of the enormous expense attending our high position, and the propriety of strict economy, therefore, is unquestionable; but there is a point beyond which economy cannot be carried without sacrificing efficiency, and it is matured judgment alone that can decide where that limit lies.

_An Examination of the Law of Storms._—A lucubration intended to draw attention to the rotatory action of the wind in West India hurricanes, since called cyclones. This direction must have been long known, as we mentioned Captain Langford describing the storm as veering from the north to the northwest, and thence southerly, and losing its fury as it comes up to the south-east. This agrees with what Bryan Edwards states in his History of Jamaica, a century and a quarter afterwards—"All hurricanes begin from the north, veer back to west-north-west, west, and south-south-west, and when got to south-east, the foul weather breaks up." The fact of the cyclonic motion of these gales was probably long familiar to seamen; in Ramsay's allegorical discourse, built up on St.
APPENDIX.

Paul's transportation to Rome, published in 1681, he thinks the term Euroclydon "seems to import much of the American hurricane in it, which, rising in the east, whirls towards the north, and thence to the west, and, gathering force round the compass, comes to its fullest mischief in the south."

A Passage in the Career of Sir Sidney Smith.—From a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Sidney, I became aware of his zeal and sagacity, and that though a determined, he was a generous enemy to our foes. His defence of Acre was really marvellous; for he sustained during sixty days, with an open breach through which fifty men could march abreast, nine vigorous assaults, made by some of the bravest troops in the world, and most gallantly repulsed them all. On the extension of the Order of the Bath, Sir Sidney, Lord Exmouth, Hallowell, Rowley, Gambier, Hardy, and other "Giants of those days," were decorated with the second class, the K.C.B.-ship. A picture of this, placed by the side of another which might now be drawn, would exhibit a downward tendency—

——— that was, to this,
Hyperion to a satyr.

"The fountain of honour," said Bacon, "should not run with a waste-pipe."

1840.

Admiral Sir Henry Trellope, G.C.B.—In one of the Noctes Ambrosianaæ, the Ettrick Shepherd is made to say—"I canna conceive a mair sacred, a mair holy task, than that which a man taks upon himself when he sits doon to write the life and character of his brither mon." And truly, though this was written at the request of Sir Henry's brother, the late Rear-Admiral George Barne Trellope, I felt a revulsion in feeling bound to recount the veteran's death.

Captain J. C. Ross's Antarctic Expedition.—It was considered that the verbose, though well-drawn, instructions to Captain Ross required a vernolana, and this was it. Herein, be it remembered, the strange innovation was made, of calling the variation of the compass the declination! For the feeling of seamen on the point, see Lieutenant Raper's sarcastic remarks in the "Nautical Magazine" for July 1844, under the head of "Scientific Impertinences."

1841.

Raper's Navigation.—It was with great pleasure that I wrote a notice of this
excellent work, for the author's mathematical knowledge and varied acquirements
eminently qualified him for such an undertaking. Moreover, the foundation of it
was laid when he was under my command in the "Adventure," as stated in the
necrological memoir of him, published by the Royal Astronomical Society. The
success of the book has fully verified my predictions, and justified my strong re-
commendation of it to all practical navigators.

Voyages of the "Adventure" and "Beagle."—It was impossible to resist re-
viewing the narrative of these important, useful, and interesting voyages, seeing
that the commanders were my friends, many of the officers and men had sailed
with me, and my old ship, the "Adventure," was recommissioned at my instance
by the Admiralty, for the pendant of Captain King. Not the least part of the
value of these volumes is owing to the magnificent views of Mr. Charles Darwin,
on the phænomena and dynamics of the geology of the regions visited—

Quench'd volcanoes, rifted mountains,
Oceans driven from the land,
Isles submerg'd and dried-up fountains,
Potent empires whelm'd in sand.

Anson's Expedition.—This remarkable cruise, undertaken a century before
the voyages of King and Fitzroy, shows so great a difference in essentials and
object, that it was deemed proper to give this detailed reminder; and it is more-
over a stirring narrative that will ever interest the true sailor.

1842.

The Sovereignty of the Seas. A salute for 1842.—About this time, the
inane murmurs of the "peace-at-any-price" school, had induced our chapmen-
politicians so far to carp at the expense of self-preservation, as to obtain concessions
from government which imperilled the safety of the kingdom.

This paper was pretty widely read, and freely commented on; but in quoting
it, an observant writer—perhaps from its being imperfectly expressed—appears
to have mistaken our view of the operation of the National Debt; which, though
morally an evil incubus, has politically wrought good. The existence of this
"mill-stone," in its present magnitude, is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the in-
fluence of the same cause which conduced to the development of our industrial
energies, on the mighty scale that was witnessed during our struggle with the first Napoleon; when Europe was shaken to her centre.

On Telluric Magnetism.—The observations of Arago at Paris, and Kupffer at Kasan, confirmed the fact that magnetic disturbances occur simultaneously at places widely separated from each other; the perturbations in this instance being noticed at two stations differing in longitude above forty-seven degrees. Hence arose the organisation of the magnetic observatories mentioned herein; and their progress is still steadily advancing, insomuch that posterity will most probably erect the edifice of which we have only laid the foundations.

This paper was published in March 1842, and was hardly in circulation when I received a letter from Johann Lamont, of Munich, dated on the ninth of the preceding February. Had it arrived in time, the following extract would have been added, on account of its importance:

It is a curious fact that those who have been so diligently employed in comparing magnetic observations, made at distant stations, never thought of comparing two magnetometers in the same room, or in the same house, to see whether they agreed perfectly in their indications. On making the experiment, I found that in general they do not agree; this led to the discovery of a defect in the instruments usually employed, and to the construction of a new system of magnetic instruments. Further details are to be found in the description of the magnetic observatory of Munich (Ueber das magn. Observatorium der K. Stern warte bey München), which I shall send with first opportunity.

I have compared the observations made during the magnetic disturbance of Sept. 25, 1841, at Toronto, St. Helena, Trevandrum, and the Cape, Greenwich, Munich, and Hohen-Peissenberg. I find that in the whole phenomenon there is no agreement between distant stations; even in Greenwich and Munich the motions are not simultaneous. There is, however, one great oscillation of horizontal force forming a minimum about noon, and a maximum in the evening, which may be considered as common to all stations, supposing that a maximum in northern latitudes corresponds with a minimum on the south of the equator.

On comparing the perturbations observed at different places, I think one remarkable result may be deduced, viz., that there is a proportion between the ranges; for instance, in declination the range at Toronto is thrice as great as at Munich, in St. Helena only one-third of the range at Munich. The range at Greenwich, I suspect, is more than thrice that of Munich.

LAMONT.

On Oceanic Surf.—In treating of the action and reverberatory motion of the South Atlantic rollers, and narrating the case of a sloop-of-war, there is an error in the commander’s name, owing to the statement made by an officer on the Cape Station. The “Julia” was under the command of the late Captain Jenkin Jones, who, with four men, had landed when the fatal roller set in. Poor Robert Hay wore his pendant in a 10-gun brig called the “Delight,” on the same station, and
when last seen was caught in a terrible squall off the Mauritius. There could be no doubt but that she foundered with her gallant chief and crew, for not a vestige of her ever turned up. O those Tennies!

_A Yarn about Sharks._—Professor Henslow, of Cambridge, having enunciated that every story about the young of vipers, or other creatures, getting into their dam's mouth when danger threatens is the result of optical fallacy—a mere deceptio visus, I told him a fact relative to a shark we had caught at the Seychelles Islands. This led to other tales of the Squalidae—those enemigos de los Christianos, as Spanish sailors call them—as to their celerity, retention of life, powerful dental machinery, penchant for human cates, their mermaid purses, and the like; which ended in a promise to write this paper, which I hope will confirm the opinions of Plutarch, Elian, and Oppian. It happened that Mr. H. E. St. Quintin—a retired naval surgeon who was assistant-surgeon in the "Marquis Cornwallis" at the time we pounced upon the shark in question—read the statement, and thus commented upon it in a letter from Thorpe-Hamlet, near Norwich:

I perfectly remember the incident, but can add little to the story so well and so accurately told. I may, however, say that the animal having fairly run out the original small line attached to the hook by which she was caught, the lead-line was bent on to it, by which means probably the capture was effected; for in getting the fish alongside, it was discovered that in its struggle it had twisted the line in numerous circumvolutions round its body, thereby impeding resistance. It required twelve men to hoist it on board, the Captain having ordered that no more hands should clap on the tackle-fall than were quite sufficient to the task. As stated, thirty-eight young ones were collected on the deck, but a scramble having taken place on their first appearance, some six or seven were kept back by the sailors, perhaps unintentionally. A sucking-fish was found adhering to one of them, a full evidence of its having been "out to sea." The head, tail, and almost all the flesh being cut away, the spine continued for a long time to make very strong convulsive movements. When Greenway (a grown midshipman) and myself were placed breast to breast, the expanded jaws passed easily over us both.*

* A few months after my paper was published, and in the same year, a most grievous incident occurred. Having entered Captain William Cornwallis Symonds as a candidate for the Athenæum Club, when the time for his election approached, I was served with the usual announcement by the Secretary. Not having seen him for some time, I wrote to his father, Sir W. Symonds, then Surveyor of the Navy, to ask about him. The reply was truly afflicting; that fine and energetic young man had proceeded to New Zealand, and was swimming near the shore, when a shark suddenly pulled him down. The monster was soon afterwards taken, and a portion of the remains was found in its stomach.
APPENDIX.

Hygeia's Visit to the British Fleet.—On the ocean, the unavoidable detriments of sea-life in night-watches, broken rest, exposure to atmospheric changes, and promiscuous crowding of berths, are perhaps balanced by regularity, cleanliness, and discipline. And when sickness prevails, the naval "doctors" unremittingly stick to their patients till they obtain—

With mind in good order, of health such a stock,
That their pulses beat seconds as true as a clock.

Although we are not at all disposed to advocate the institution of Sumptuary Laws, we cannot but congratulate the Service on the march of temperance in our Fleet. Part of this movement is owing to individual exertion; but much is undoubtedly due to the spirit of the age, in which we have seen duelling, swearing, card-playing, wine-bibbing, and some minor blemishes, become fainter and fainter. Under the influence of certain pernicious though authorised customs, vitiated habits had obtained in our ships, as well as over society at large, and vice, under intoxicating agents, was endowed with sufficient energy to induce crime, misery, and social degradation. But what an onus dwells with the Government which directly forwarded intemperance, by the administration of large spirituous potations! From habituating both men and boys to a quart of grog per diem, ought not some of the State purveyors to have shared in the punishment, which followed all the consequent disorders?

Nelson vindicated from Vanity in his last moments.—When once a falsehood has obtained, it is difficult to expunge. The authors of Knight's "Pictorial History of England" (vol. iv. page 190,) allude to this letter as of "very little consequence, it being quite certain that Nelson disregarded the precaution suggested to him, and that the stars on the embroidery of his coat attracted the bullet which killed him." I differ toto caelo from these gentlemen, since it is not the mere killing of the hero which is the great point of the question, but the clearing his character from the bombastic fustian so falsely attributed to him. The idea of a British Admiral going below to dress, when standing towards an enemy's fleet! There was no available precaution suggested, for, as stated, the firing had commenced when Sir Thomas Hardy made the remark about the coat to which the star, or stars, were stitched: nor was it the embroidery which was aimed at, but the epaulette, part of which was actually driven in by the bullet.

* Two or three years after this had been published, Sir Harris Nicolas told me he had recently seen the coat in which Nelson was shot, and that four stars were sown on it; adding—"Hardy ought to have
APPENDIX.

The Last of the Pandoras.—The death of Mr. D. T. Renouard, formerly of the Pandora, and the loan of his papers from my valued and learned friend the Rev. George Cecil Renouard, his brother—Vicar of Swanscombe—led to this further intelligence in the eventful tale of the Bounty Mutiny.

The recent Operations in Lycia.—The beginning of strife is like the letting out of waters, and these waters being troubled I made an attempt to pour oil over them. It was matter of regret to me, that two such zealous and competent men as Graves and Fellows—both my friends—should have had any disagreement to ruffle them, since their object tended to the same end, whatever was the medium through which they severally viewed it: they had obtained some very valuable relics for the British Museum, and it was scarcely worth while to quarrel as to the precise mode of getting them away. The animus of contention was, as to whether Fellows was to blame for the destruction of perhaps the finest monument in Xanthus, or the seamen of the Beacon, who acted under his orders. The late Edward Forbes, then naturalist of the Beacon, made a sketch of the Lycian hero mourning over the fragments of his sepulchre, and ejaculating—

Middle-age fellows first disturb'd my ashes,
Then modern Fellows knock'd my tomb to smashès.

1843.

The Advance of Steam-Navigation.—This dissertation was translated into French, and made its appearance in the March number of the Revue Britannique, 1843. The whole—despite of technicalities—is very fairly transfused from one language into the other; but Mons. Amédée Pichot, in a note, shews that he was at sea respecting its parentage—"Nous pensons que l'auteur de l'article qu'on vient de lire doit être le capitaine Basil Hall lui-même."

The Pandora again!—Shortly after the appearance of my lucubration on the "Last of the Pandoras," Mr. W. B. Edwards, of Stamford, nephew of the commander of the unfortunate ship, very kindly sent his uncle's papers for me to overhaul at my leisure. Justice, therefore, demanded a few more words in order to arrive at an ultimatum conducting to truth.

been more particular, but your account is confirmed." It will be recollected that this relic was purchased by Prince Albert, at the instance of Sir Harris, and presented to Greenwich Hospital.
APPENDIX.

Dry-Rot and its Remedies.—This most insidious disease had been creeping over our shipping, to the vast expense of the nation, and the danger of her seamen. It behoved our people to spare no pains or labour in staying the evil—

Nothing can be quite done well,
Unless you take some trouble;
But once done well, will always tell,
You save that trouble double.

Hurricanes of the Atlantic.—These are a few additional particulars to my former examination of the Law of Storms; with facts and diagrams in furtherance of the rotatory theory of hurricanes, and the mode of meeting them.

A Word on Professional Clubs.—This was a reply to certain clamours which branded these institutions as Sybarite palaces, and nurseries of effeminacy. Now, a good club means a well-arranged association, and therefore is a good thing, and with the present march of society somewhat indispensable. The accommodations are on a large scale, and in superior style, yet at the same time at the minimum of cost; owing as well to the number of members, as to there being no profit required on the expenditure. They constitute a social improvement.

On Lightning Conductors.—A volunteer essay on a deeply important subject, intended to call attention to the useful doings of the Parliamentary Committee, and to Mr.—now Sir—Snow Harris, whose conductors seem to be perfect.

The Goodere Tragedy. A Tale of the Sea.—Having visited the scene of the diabolical murder of Sir John Dinely Goodere by his brother, I was induced to re-examine the various documents, and draw up this account of the horrid transaction, in all its disgusting wickedness.

A Glance upon Spain: with a Recollection of the Siege of Cadiz.—This was a series of papers, springing from my recollections, and actual experiences, of a very eventful period of the late war with France. The first of these jottings was printed in November 1843, and the last in April 1844.

1844.

France and Morocco.—The intentions of France, as then indicated by the conduct of Marshal Bugeaud and Prince de Joinville, seemed so bent upon the
APPENDIX.

conquest of Morocco, that I bestirred myself to show the importance of what they coveted; for I had a pretty fair personal acquaintance with the subject.

The Mary Rose; and the French Historians.—Justice to our naval history, aye, and even to Henry the Eighth, required that the assertions of Du Bellay, De Longei, and Père Daniel, should be overhauled; and it is to be hoped that they are here effectually refuted. The incident itself is full of interest.

1845.

A Seaman's Visit to Windermere.—There are principles and feelings of humanity that seem to be set aside in these days of utilitarian philosophy, when pecuniary interests are held to be the main objects of life. But with all due regard for machinery, and admiration of its wondrous applications, it is impossible not to wish for an occasional seclusion. Hence this contribution to the Journal.

The "Athénien" and the Skerki.—The perils to which sea-life is exposed are proverbially not only without number, but also without intermission; yet it is certain that a man of vigilance and resource reduces the danger, and a vessel, under good navigation and seamanship, may defy the elements—generally speaking—with impunity. It is therefore most desirable that correct accounts of ship-wrecks should be added to naval literature; and, as it fell in my way to learn various particulars relating to the unfortunate "Athénien," this paper was published, notwithstanding a professional repugnance to a portion of it,—

But they breathe Truth that breathe their words in pain.

The Skerki Rocks, as shown elsewhere, are the abraded "Aræ" of Virgil, and form the crown of the submerged plateau which I discovered between two profoundly deep basins, and named, from our ship, the Adventure Bank. My opinion that this remarkable feature proved Sicily to have been once united to Africa, has been abundantly confirmed by the geological researches of the eminent Dr. Hugh Falconer, in the vicinity of Palermo, especially in and about the caves of Monte Griffone, where he discovered vast quantities of the relics of African animals. In illustration of the argument we may give an extract from a cheerful letter which he wrote to Mrs. Smyth on the 17th of November 1863, in reply to an inquiry:—

I found a great many of the existing mammals of Africa in the shape of fossil remains in the Sicilian caves. The question immediately arose, how did they get there? African elephants
might possibly have been imported; but the hyenas, how came they? Man would not have been so foolish as to have imported them to prey upon his sheep and goats, and even upon his own children. They could not possibly swim across the broad channel between Sicily and the African coast; therefore they must have travelled by land. Admiral Smyth's invaluable soundings immediately indicated the lay of the land. "Adventure Bank" stretches in a broad shoal westward from Marsala to meet a corresponding shoal stretching eastward and to the north from Africa, leaving only a very narrow channel between, i.e. Admiral Smyth's Channel. This was evidently the direction of the old land, which, within the modern period, connected Sicily with Africa. The channel is nowhere apparently less than 100 fathoms deep, which interposes a difficulty as to where the precise line of connection ran—whether by the Skerki shoal, or straight across from Ras Addar to Marsala. This is a point upon which the Admiral is most competent to give an authoritative opinion, and in his presence I would not have to say a word about it.

To me one of the most remarkable circumstances in the case is, that some of the Sicilian cave animals do not now occur in North Africa. They are restricted, or nearly so, to South Africa. The spotted hyena, for instance, is not now found further north than Abyssinia, if even got there; while it abounds near the Cape of Good Hope.

The Admiral asks me for the "itinerary of the alarmed herds." I will give him Mr. Babbage's stamping hypothesis.* The hippopotami by thousands were disporting themselves in the Bay of Palermo. The land began to rock, and the sea to rise in mountain waves of translation. The animals were terror-struck, but, being mathematical hippopotami, their instinct led them to flee in the line of least resistance, which was in the direction of Monte Grifone. The converging herds were pressed into a dense mass. The front rank were pushed into the cave of San Ciro, and the rest of them against the steep rocks. The hind ranks, finding the way was stopped, mounted on the backs of the middle ranks—like shepherd's dogs—others upon their backs, till at last they contrived to tramp and stamp each other to death. One sturdy hippopotamus alone remained, and he, disdaining to survive his kindred, scrambled up the cliff and precipitated himself upon the mass of carcasses below, after having sung a melancholy dirge:—

Place me on Grifon's marbled steep,
    Where nothing save the waves and I
May hear our mutual murmurs sweep;
    There, pig-like, let me grunt and die,
The last of hip-po-po-ta-mi.

* Mr. Babbage's "Observations on the Remains of Human Art mixed with the Bones of Extinct Races of Animals," was read to the Royal Society, at the Meeting held on the 26th of May 1859.
could imagine the iron age of the navy was advancing so rapidly. Practically conversant with the power of steam, he doubtless would have proposed an organization under which to fight; but he died, and the British fleet is still without any authorized regulations on that paramount subject.

The late military historian Sir William Napier, alluding to my comparative statement of losses in land and sea fights, contends that the estimate cannot be fairly made. In the naval battle every man in the fleet is a combatant, while the military one may be fought by about half the force enumerated, when the necessary posts and hangers-on are included in the enumeration. For example, at the battle of Salamanca, one of my citations, the left wing of the army—amounting to upwards of 13,000 men, and composed of two crack divisions—was destined to be idle spectators throughout that glorious day; much after the manner of the lee-ships at the battle of the Nile, that master-piece of Nelson's skill.

Kolahpoor and Sawnunt-Warree.—Colonel Harvey of the 14th Light Dragoons wrote me from India on this paper: "There is no fault to be found. You have infused great interest into the subject, and our colonel feels extremely obliged for the article, as must all the Third Brigade, of whom the 22nd were Napier's own regiment." When I mentioned the "looting" of villages in 1845, the word was printed in italics as little known: unhappy it requires no distinction now, custom having rendered it rather common of late.

Nelson's First Visit to Naples.—The writing of this account was accompanied by poignant feelings, as it shews that a consummate naval chief, remarkable for judgment, foresight, and decision in his profession, may be fatally overcome by female wiles. It is not unlike watching an eclipse of the sun.

A word upon the Trade Winds.—This was a slight attempt to point out the probable limits of the perennial trade-winds, their curious phenomena, and their important consequences, arising from causes coeval with the world.

Nelson's Second Visit to Naples.—The intentions of our immortal hero may have been pure and good, but, by his fatal error, Prince Caraccioi and seventy other Neapolitan subjects included in the capitulation were hanged. My view of the matter was quoted by that distinguished officer Captain Toup Nicolas, against that of Sir Harris Nicolas, his brother, in the able letters signed Brut Justitia, which appeared in the United Service Journal (Part iii. 1845).
Thoughts upon Tides.—A self-satisfied and complacent writer, who easily rids himself of the old system by branding everything in it as either impossible or absurd, drew forth these remarks. His grand conceit is, concerning the sun’s preponderating influence in tidal movements; and he brings forward a lot of figures to prove that its interference ought to be much greater than the moon’s. Its attraction of course is so; but the tides are owing to the inequality of the attraction on different parts of the globe, and this inequality is known to increase as the distance diminishes.

Matthew Hanley, a sea-ballad.—Superstition, or irreligious religion, as poor Burton dubbed it, is disappearing so rapidly, that the old story of Matthew was furbished up for general information, before her final exit from the fleet.

On Manning the Navy.—A topic to which, in a seaman’s eye, all other considerations are, in comparison, of secondary consequence to the general welfare; for every free-born Briton must acknowledge that the hardship and degradation of impressment has no parallel in this country. The question is tough and knotty, and one from which, I am free to say, I hardly see my way out; but it is of vital solicitude to the interests and security of Great Britain; and how we are to lay our hands on 20,000 or 30,000 experienced seamen on a sudden emergency, still remains for solution.

1846.

The Submarine Propeller, or Archimedeian Screw.—As the paddle-wheel propulsion necessarily deprives a man-of-war of a portion of its gun-decks, the screw propellers are objects of supreme importance to the Royal Navy; and I naturally took great interest in the investigations detailed.

Lampedusa and its Legends.—So many readers of the gentle Shakspeare located Prospero in the “still vexed Bermoothes,” that, being pretty sure the enchanted island whereon Italians were wrecked on their passage from Tunis to Naples was Lampedusa, I wrote this paper in evidence.

The latest Legend of Lampedusa.—The mala fama of Lampedusa occasioned its port to be so little frequented as to become a refuge for pirates, privateers, and other discreditable and lawless lupi di mare; but of all the sea-wolves in our last great war, the Maltese were among the most nefarious.
Marvels in Marine Natural History.—In this paper we recounted all that we know for certain of the sea-serpent; but two years afterwards, a monster of this order was officially reported to the Admiralty as having been seen by Captain M‘Quhæ, and the officers and crew of the Dædalus frigate. But, though Professor Owen stepped forth, and cut up the narrative stock-and-fluke, many a stout-hearted tar would join in the orison:

From sea-dogs and unicorns, things with no puny horns,
Sea-snakes carnivorous, good Lord, deliver us!

On the Currents of the Ocean.—About six years after I had made the remarks on the depths of the ocean in this paper, Captain Denham, of H.M. Ship Herald, on her passage from Rio de Janeiro to the Cape of Good Hope, obtained soundings in 7706 fathoms, or nearly 7·7 geographical miles, of 60 to the degree. This is the greatest profundity yet obtained.

Incidents in the Career of a Surgeon’s Mate.—This is a bit of autobiography of great interest, and especially so to us, who recollect that the title of Surgeon’s Mate was of equal value with that of Assistant Surgeon. Before our time the trap had, however, been baited, for in 1782 appeared—An authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captains Cook and Clarke, in his Majesty’s ships Resolution and Discovery. By W. Ellis, “Assistant-Surgeon” to both vessels. The Monthly Review, in noticing this book, repeats “Assistant-Surgeon to both vessels! Mercy for the book that has occasion for such a pitiful puff. Who is not aware that the Navy knows no such officer, and that Surgeon’s Mate was Mr. Ellis’s proper title?” This is the first mention of the Assistant-surgeonship I have met with; but the title and distinction are now officialized.

In the above paper we objected to the increase of lace and frippery on our quarter-decks; the evil, however, is still advancing, and there are certain injudicious meddlers still at work on the overcharged theme—Rank and Uniform.

Biographical Sketch of Admiral Thomas Mathew. Having resided close to the mansion built by Mathew near Llandaff, I was induced to inquire into his career, and the papers here given are the result. Paul Whitehead, on Mathew’s trial, observed that a court-martial and a martial court are by no means synonymous terms. Sir George Lee had both fees and “refreshing fees” in this affair.

1847.

Restrictions on Whewell’s Inductive Sciences.—These remarks were intended to meet the conceited fallacy of levelling the higher powers of the mind, by which
great discoveries are made, to those very inferior powers which serve to apprehend and apply them. Bacon remarked, that in the sciences the originators go furthest, but in the mechanical arts their followers.

The Autobiography of Sir John Barrow.—As Sir John was somehow considered to be the founder of the Royal Geographical Society, this work was reviewed, and a copy of the overhaul sent to the author; wherefore the statement towards its close, is the succinct and truthful history of that circumstance.

Owing to some inattention at the helm, the Society was yawning rather listlessly, when, in order that a proper course should be steered, I took hold of the tiller for a couple of years, and then—having seen the barkee fairly afloat again—resigned it into the able hands of my excellent colleague Sir Roderick Impy Murchison. Sir Roderick was succeeded by the Earl of Ellesmere, and Geography prospered to a degree from which it is not likely to fall. Meantime I had been repeatedly asked to the Chair again; but both the distance of the residence to which I had removed, and the nature of some employment I engaged myself upon, precluded me—for it was not a roi fainéant that was wanted, but one who could attend to the duties. At length Lord Ellesmere, in a letter from Bridgewater House, March 28th, 1855, would have overcome all scruples, were they surmountable, by the courtesy of his request,—

A great favour to myself, and an enormous benefit to the Geographical Society, would be conferred by your consent to resume your former office of President on my approaching extinction.

I am aware of the obstacle of your habitual residence in the country. From some of the inconvenience I might possibly be able to relieve you, by making my house subservient to the interests of the Society, which, unless ordered abroad for medical or other reasons, I should be willing to do for the sake of such an advantage to the Society as your vigorous direction of its real business.

1848.

Captain Johnson, and the Mariner’s Compass.—The magnetic needle had long been an object of professional interest; but about this time its irregularities and seeming vagaries in iron ships demanded most serious attention. Therefore, when Captain Johnson’s Treatise on Compases was published, these remarks followed, to draw the observance of navigators.

On Coals for the Steam Navy.—The increased and still increasing consumption of fuel in general, is an object of paramount concern, and one to which un-
ceasing attention must be devoted; as well by the philanthropist as the political economist. Indeed, of the various mineral substances with which we are acquainted, none, perhaps, are more important in advancing our productive, industrial, and national prosperity than that of Coal. Why waste such an incalculable blessing? It is idiocy to believe that the fields destroyed grow again.

_A chapter upon Anchors._—There is a wonderful difference between the baskets full of stones and the bags filled with sand, to which vessels rode in Ogygian ages, and the complete as well as handsome instrument used for that purpose in the present day; and, having witnessed some telling experiments, I considered it eligible to deliver my sentiments thereon.

_A Requiem upon Duelling._—When this was sent forth, there was a torrent of invective against an acknowledged social nuisance, but without suggesting any efficient remedy for wrongs which led to the commission of "qualified murder." The Duello, though doubtless a grave moral offence, is one which can co-exist with a tolerably high moral standard; and its existence—however unnecessary now—has been useful to society at large in past ages.

1849.

_A Hint on the Navigation Laws._—A lapse of fifteen years finds me still of the same opinion. Truth untainted by faction is difficult to obtain in State measures; and it is perhaps as dangerous to aim at perfection through expediency, as it is impossible of attainment. There is no human policy, however wise it may be, which is wholly free from blemish; and it is only after duly weighing all sides of a question, that any statesman—worthy of the name—decides for or against it, according as the apparent good or evil preponderates, or abstains altogether, when the balance is not decidedly in favour of the proposed experiment. But in multiple legislation, strict policy is often neutralised by clamour; and the spirit of adventure—unfortunately too prevalent in a commercial country—is generally characterised by more boldness than wisdom. In the late discussions, the navigation law might have been dealt with as an exception to the abolition of the restrictive system, on the grounds of its having constituted a special and essential element of our national security. Even Adam Smith, so eminently the preces of free-trade and economic science, observes—"As defence, however, is of much more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation is, perhaps, the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England." Yet it has been allowed to pass away!
APPENDIX.

At the present time it is useless to inveigh against the Act of Parliament which applied that heavy sledge—the repeal hammer—to the demolition of the Navigation Law, so long the boasted palladium of our naval supremacy, since looking back may dim what is before us; and when we cannot retrace our steps, it is advisable to make the best of a bad bargain. In some of the modifications, and in a disposition to raise the position of the Merchant Service, there is much to palliate innovation; though by annihilating the apprentice system—that wise arrangement as a cheap and sure nursery of seamen—an amount of evil was engendered, which has not probably yet reached its acmé, and is likely to prove of serious anxiety at a future day.

Reliquiae Nelsoniane.—Change of name in the Journal, and a change of editor having occurred, these Adventures of Nelson were my last contributions to that publication; albeit I held myself free to vent an expression in it now and then. Having thus intruded my ideas about the matériel and personnel of the Royal Navy for twenty years, in the hope of being useful in drawing the attention of the service to them, I left the field to others.

In bidding adieu now, it is in hope and wishes for the best; but not without a little apprehension as to certain relaxations in the lucidus ordo of a man-of-war. Without a due subordination, no ship upon the ocean is either efficient or safe; for beyond good order and discipline all is tyranny; and fine men may be brutalized by contemptible commanders, as diamonds may be transmuted to charcoal. Freedom and comfort can easily be rendered suitable to a ship, though what is licentiously termed “liberty and equality” cannot. Requisite toil and unavoidable danger never render a true seaman dissatisfied, especially where he finds his officers are up to the mark; but he recoils like a rusty caronade under needless work, intemperate language, and a manifest disregard of his common and essential convenience. We trust this will never be lost sight of by leaders of the new, or any other, school.

Fare thee well, gentle Reader; yet, even at the age of 76, I cannot, after our long intercourse, bring myself to say—for ever!

Postscript.

Sardinia.—Lady Mary Wortley Montague complained how a few years made such a difference in places, that the assertions of travellers incurred doubt;
or words to that effect. Now assuredly in my volume on Sardinia, I gave, to the best of my ability, a faithful picture of the island; but, while closing this book, I have received a letter from the intelligent Mr. William S. Craig, our Consul-general at Cagliari, dated the 29th of October, 1863, from which the following satisfactory passage may be quoted:—

Sardinia is changed greatly since the time of our excursions in it. A liberal constitutional government has replaced the rusty old Spanish régime—property has been made absolute—the decimo has been abolished—the priests confined within their proper limits, both as regards the possession of property and the more impartial administration of justice. A stop has been put to the cultivation of those evil weeds—nuns and friars; and the system of juries adopted. Our coasts are being well provided with lighthouses—ports have been decreed for Tortoli and Bossa—and we are to have a railway from this to Iglesias, as well as to Oschiri, and from thence to Porto Torres and Terranova. In a word, we are going ahead so wonderfully that you would scarcely know us again. The only complaint is heavy taxation; but the Sard suffers with patience, so long as he has hopes of better days coming.
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE APPENDIX.

Address of 1846 to the Astronomical Society, 270
——- of 1850 to the R.G.S. 271
——- of 1851 to the R.G.S. 272
Adventure and Beagle's Voyages, 296
Ædes Hartwicliana, 280

——— Addenda to, 263

Affidavit, An officer's, 281
Algiers, Description of, 278
Anchors, A chapter on, 308
Anson's Expedition, 296
Antarctic Expedition, J. C. Ross, 295
Arago's Popular Astronomy, 263
—— Biographies of Scientific Men, 265
Archimedes Screw-propeller, 305
Archytas on Hydrography, 273
—— on Telegraphy, 273
—— on Meteorology, 274
—— on the British Navy, 274
Astrological Clock, Description of, 268
—— Supplement to, 268
Athénien and the Sherki, 302
Atlantic Currents, On the, 292

Awards to Fremont and Livingstone, 271
—— to Wallin and Brunswick, 271

Barrow, Sir John, Autobiography of, 307
Beaver, Captain, Life of, 297
—— Major Herbert, Sketch of, 297
Benzoni's History of the New World, 294

Bounty, The, again, 279
Breaking the Line, 293

Brest, Failure at, 283

Burmeese War, naval operations, 280
Cabot, Sebastian, 290
Cardiff, port and vicinity of, 258
Carew, Sir Benj. Hallowell, 287
Catalogue of Roman Large Brass Medals, 257

Catalogue of Roman Family Coins, 261
—— of the Antiquaries' Coins, 267
—— of the Kerrich Coins, 269
Cavendish, a sea-novel, 280
Cinque Ports, On the, 292
Circular sterns, On, 289
Cuba, A word on, 301

Coal for the Steam Navy, 307
Cold Harbour, On the designation, 268
Colonies and Colonization, 286

Columbretes, Volcanic Rocks, 271
Coriscan Chief, Death of, 276
Cunningham, Sir Charles, 284
Currents of the Ocean, 306

Cycle of Celestial Objects, 259

Dampier, Biographical Sketch of, 291
Dibdin's Sea Songs, 276
Dry Rot and its Remedies, 301
Dwelling, a Requiem on, 308

Fluid-lens Telescope, 265
France and Morocco, 301

Galley Yarn : Taking a Slaver, 278

Geographical Prospects, 271
Giant's Tower at Gaza, 267

Goodness Tragedy, The, 301

Graham Volcanic Island, 266

Halley's Comet, Observations on, 269
Hanley, Matthew, a ballad, 305
Hanno, The Voyage of, 281
Hawkins, Sir John, 268
Heywood, Captain Peter, R. N. 278
Hints to Travellers, 273

Humboldt, Scientific Career of, 267
Hurricanes of the Atlantic, 301
Hygeia's Visit to the Fleet, 299

Impressment, Thoughts on, 284

Jafar, The story of, 277

Kanaria, Exploits of, 284
Keats, Sir Richard Goodwin, 285

King's Own, A novel, reviewed, 278

Kirkby Throse, Roman Vestigia, 267

Kolapoore and Sawant-Warree, 304

Lampedusa and its Legends, 305
—— Latest Legend of, 305

Lightning Conductors, 301

Lipari, Ancient Bath at, 267

Lycia, recent Operations in, 300

Man-of-War, Economy of a, 289


Marine Insurance, On, 290
—— Natural History, Marvels in, 306

Mariner's Compass. Captain Johnson, 307

Maritime Supremacy, On our, 275

Mary Rose, The, 302

Mathew, Admiral Thomas, 306

Mediterranean, Memoir on the, 290

Mercantile Marine, Discipline of the, 279
Appendix.

Nautical Almanac, 281
Astronomy, 284
Surveying, 287
Superstition, 292
Inventions and Improvements, 293

Naval Gunnery, 276
Battles, On, 279
Timber, On, 278
Literature, On, 280
Officers' Widows, 284
Tactics, 286
Novels, Tendency of, 288
Architecture, On, 289
History. Captain Brenton, 290

Improvement, Society for, 290
Biography. Lord Howe, 298
Tactics, Thoughts on, 303

Navigation Laws, A Hint on the, 308
Navy, On Manning the, 305
Necrological Notices for R.A.S. 270
Nelson vindicated from Vanity, 299
Nelson's first visit to Naples, 304
second visit to Naples, 304
Nelsoniana Reliquiae, 309

Observatory erected at Bedfor, 269
Observations of γ Virginis, 270

Oceanic Surf, On, 297
Occult Principle, On the, 281
Pandora, last of the, 300
Pandora, The, again! 300
Penrose, Sir Charles, Memoir of, 277
Pérouse, La, Fate of, 274
Pirates and Piracy, 285
Plague and Quarantine, 281
Polar Lions, The, 284
Raper's Navigation, 295
Registry of Merchant Seamen, 289
Royal Society Club, History of, 282

St. Vincent, Earl, and Captain Brenton, 293
Sam Sprit, on Nautical Grievances, 276
— — on a Trumpery Book, 277
— — on Breaking the Line, 278
— — at a Masquerade, 280
— — his Visit to Portsmouth, 281
Sardinia, present state of, 257
Sharks, a Yarn about, 298
Sicily and its Islands, 256
Smith, Sir Sidney, 295
Sovereignty of the Seas, 296

Spain, a glance upon, 301
Speculum Hartcellianum, 262
State of the Navy, 1839, 294
Steam Navigation, On, 282
— — Advance of, 300
Storms, the Law of, 294
Surgeon's Mate, Career of, 306

Telluric Magnetism, 297
Thornborough, Sir Edward, 284
Tidal Observations off Dover, 269
Tides, Thoughts upon, 305
Tobago, a Recollection of, 293
Trade-Winds, a Word upon, 304
Trollope, Sir Henry, 295

United Service Museum, 275
Universe, Theory of the, 279
Capt. Woodley's System of the, 280

Voice from the Fleet, 290

Whewell's Inductive Sciences, 306
Windermere, Visit to, 302
Youngsters, a Word upon, 280
## INDEX.

An asterisk prefixed refers to a foot-note.

| Abele trees, in Hartwell Park, 21 | Amount of inclosures, 19 |
| Able Seamen reared in the Akbar, 31 | ——— of lessons at school, 28 |
| *Acland, H. D., married Mrs. Robinson, 131 | Amulets worn against demons, 173 |
| Acorns dangerous to pigs, if in profusion, 78 | Analogies of Egypt and Mexico, 163 |
| Accuracy in names important, 4 | Analysis of water at the Willow Spring, 4 |
| Adams encouraged Arabic, 249 | Andirons explained, 124 |
| Adams' and Leverrier's new planet, 31 | Androm. nebula and triple star, 80 |
| Adolphe, painter of Prince Frederick, 145 | Angel, gold, of Charles, 15 |
| Adventure, H. M. S., paid off, 24 | Anglo-Saxon or Old English, 5 |
| Ædes Hartwellsianæ cited, 1 | Anglo-Saxons good husbandmen, 106 |
| —— referred to for many names, 3 | Anglo-Saxon attack on Nigel, 250 |
| —— on geology, see p. 20 to 29, 39 | Angon, or Frank spear, 206 |
| —— p. 75 to 80, jobation on Lipsecomb, 137 | Animals who preceded Man, 49 |
| Age of scholars, 28 | Anodonta mussel, 21 |
| Agricultural machines costly, 102 | Annual Register for 1825 consulted, 150 |
| ——— ——— Associations do little, 109 | Ansons connected with the Lees, 158 |
| Airy, Astron. Royal, restored Halley's tomb, 209 | Anson, Sir W. claimed Hartwell, 155 |
| ——— Rev. W. on Cold Harbour, 194 | Antiquaria, the mother of History, 12 |
| Akbar Reformatory ship, 31 | Antiquaries, Society's Proceedings, 195 |
| ——— frigate, her history, 32 | ——— of the present day, 199 |
| ——— under jury mast, 34 | Anti-Saxon Kings, 231 |
| ——— reduced in rank, 37 | Antonie, Lee, moved from Totteridge, 149 |
| Akerman, Mr. J. Y. his paper in 1850, 9 | ——— W. Lee, his bequests, 151 |
| Alabaster miscalled Arragonite, 186 | Anxiety for news on the Indian station, 33 |
| ——— ——— Talbot monument, 218 | April still changeable, 59 |
| Alabastron, a town on the Nile, 186 | ——— farming very important, 62 |
| Aldrovandi, description of peacocks, 4 | Aqueous agency in former times, 47 |
| Ale, Aylesbury, once famous, 22 | Aquillus Florus, lotus on his coin, 184 |
| Alexandrian Library, 162 | Arabian Nights, vision of the, 189 |
| Alington Castle in Kent, 183 | Arabic fluency of Captain Lyon, 169 |
| Alphabetical list of archaisms, 5 | ——— and Saxon Professor, 249 |
| Amenophis wished to see the gods, 179 | Archeologia, vol. xxxiv. referred to, 9 |
| Ammonites mentioned by Mantell, 43 | **ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTANEA**
Archeological Society of Bucks at Quarendon, 131
Archeologists and Rubbings, 199
Archaists still extant, 5
Arithmetic, how far taught at school, 28
Aristotle quoted on the Suez Canal, 179
Armory, Hartwell, 122
Armorial bearings, their date, 224
Arms in a lozenge in memory of a lady, 134
Army pay raised by Cromwell, 242
Arragonite, supposed from Spain, 186
Artillery, awkward during the Civil War, 239
Ashlar-stone at Littleworth, 16
Ashmolean Museum, inscriptions, 203
Asp Watch slopes resembles Silphium, 224
Astronomers reap good observations in November, 79
——— find good nights in December, 82
Astronomical attractions in January, 53
Asylum, its height above the sea, 48
Athanasius's collection of Marbles, 158
Athens robbed by Lord Elgin, 160
Attestation of inventory at Hartwell, 124
Aubrey, Sir T. possessed Beastsall, 234
——— Sir J. destroyed Beastsall, 251
August, Sextilis of the Romans, 71
——— allows of no holidays, 73
——— labourers well paid, 73
Augusta did meddle with politics, 146
Augustus, Octavia, named the month, 71
Autograph of Simon Mayne, 226
——— of Richard Beke, 226
——— of Thomas Lee, 226
——— pass, 248
Authority for going to school, 27
Authorities consulted for prices, 102
Authorship of "He who fights and runs away,"
(Edes, p. 119-122.) 156
Autumnal Equinox is stormy, 74
Aylesbury, its antecedents, see Edes, 3
——— Church-tower, 22
Aylsham, a brass restored to it, 216
Aztec picture-writings in Mexico, 164
Baboonia-cynocephalus or Thoth, 170
Bacon cited against Common-land, 17
Baptismal font in Stone Church, 211
Barker's, Mr. B. collection of pottery, 166
Barley, how much per acre, 90
Barnlike school, 26
Barnes and Rickes, contents of, Hartwell, 122
Barometer most variable in January, 53
——— small range in February, 56
——— pretty steady in April, 59
——— has a less range in May, 68
——— very regular in June, 66
——— in July as in June, 69
——— in August nearly like July, 72
——— moderate and slight variation in October, 77
——— much the same as in October, 79
——— tolerably steady in December, 82
Baron, B. engraver of P. Frederick, 145
Barons, thanes, vavasors, &c. 105
Barrington on the goldfinch, 8
Basch of Egypt gave inscription, 162
Baubles and nick-nackets now despised, 199
Bean-aulm stabled by women, 76
Beans, how many quarters per acre, 90
Beaufort's Karamanias, 199
Beckles, Mr. discovered marsupial relics, 40
Bedford Charity by W. Harpur, 228
——— Duke of, and Lee Antonio at school, 151
——— Gaol, theft of three walnuts, 30
*——— Schools, &c. 24, 228
Bedford's Charity in Aylesbury, 227
Beech, former forest of, 3
——— leaf impervious to moisture, 79
Beeches, pride of the county, 61
Beechey, Lieut. F. from the Polar Seas, 169
——— Mr. H. deputed to Barbary, 169
Beer famed in Aylesbury, 22
*Beke, Dr. the Abyssinian traveller, 227
Bell, Nugent, on Huntingdon title, 218
Bellarmine's Doctrina Christiana, 247
Belzoni, the pioneer of Egypt, 168
Benhill, site of ancient graves, 206
——— derivation of, 207
Berlin Royal Society in defence of birds, 97
Bernard, T. Esq. of Winchendon, 15
INDEX.

Bernard, T., M.P., conversant in pedigrees, 154
Bernwood Forest near Boarstall, 233
Berries ripening indicate autumn, 75
Bess, Queen, her legendary drives, 16
Beware of oppressing the poor, 108
Bible instruction at school, 28
Bickersteth, Archdeacon, on Quarendon, 180
——— addressed on Cold Harbours, 193
Berton, formerly spelt Berton, 128
Biography of Sir Henry Lee, 188
Birds, migratory, not always regular, 52
——— chirruping in February, 56
——— singing blithely in March, 58
——— building in March, 59
——— building or hatching in May, 64
——— less vociferous in June, 67
——— not entirely silent in December, 82
——— defended, 95
——— a list of nearly 100 birds, 98
Birkenhead Float, 31
Bishopstone, the lower part of the green sand, 41
Bitt of the Akbar sent to St. John's Lodge, 55
Black, Mr. his Catalogue of Documents, 110
——— attests probate, 117
Black marble slab at Quarendon, 182
Blake under Cromwell, 242
Boarstall, United Service Journal, 1842, 183
——— in the Civil War, 233
——— various meaning, 250
*Boats in the foreground of sea-fights, 187
Boc, British, and Bwc, Saxon, 3
Bombay, the Akbar built at, 35
Bones exhibited by Mr. Field, 206
Bonomi, architect of new schools, 29
——— his opinion of Hebe, 159
——— on Pharaoh Necho, 182
Booth, Rev. J. presenting antique find, 13
Bordars or cottagers, (see Ædes,) 105
Bourbon's pier, action there, 36
Bowman's chamber furniture, Hartwell, 121
Bowers Gifford, brass restored, 217
Box trees on Velvet Lawn, 61
Boys put on premature work, 25
Boy of thirteen imprisoned at Bedford, 30
Brasses of Stone Church stolen, 228
Bread, how to be earned, 37
Brewery, Aylesbury, 23
Brewing in October famed, 76
Brick-field near Hartwell, 40
Bridge in Hartwell Park, 20
Brill near Boarstall, 238 and 251
British Museum, its numerous hieroglyphs, 203
Broomgrove monument, 218
Brounham, Chancellor, 224
Browne, Sir T. quoted on time, 207
Bruce, his energy and zeal, 161
Buckingham, Browne Willis on, 3
Buckingh., or Saxon squatters, 4
*Buckland, Dr. and the practical farmer, 88
Bucolic rights should be preserved, 17
Bunder-head at Bombay, 35
Buonaparte, his iron grasp, 33
Burgess, Capt. his answer on sculpture, 190
Burial ground opened 1756, 20
Bury, or Berry, its application, 196
*Butt, a measure of land, 5
Butts, Upper and Lower, fields at Stone, 13
Butts ordered in every parish, 13
Butler's chamber, Hartwell, 122
Bute, Lord, in connection with Augusta, 143
——— audience of P. Augusta, 146
Byron, Lord, about Tweddell, 160
Cesar, no roads before his invasion, 12
Caley, Mr. on weekly wages and price of wheat, 103
Calleva, four roads meet at, 195
Cambyses, the detestable, 162
Camden quoted on Buckingham, 3
——— in favour of Hart-well, 4
Cameron, Lady Vere, residing at Hampden House, on the Chilterns, 126
Campion's defence of Boarstall, 236
Campion, Lady, besieged at Boarstall, 239
——— styled “a faire enemy,” 241
——— unreasonable, 241
——— killed at Colchester, 242
Cancer, sun in, in June, 65
Cannonière frigate chased, 38
Canopus had a temple to Osiris, 162
"Caput Nili" nearly discovered, 227
Capella, the brilliant, in March, 58
Captatores verborum to be avoided, 25
Capping islets left by the waters, 41
*Carter family permitted to eat meat, 153
Cartoon or cartouche depicted, 170
Cartouches explained, 183
Castle, modern antique, 1758, 12
Catalogue, No. 81 and 82, 168
——— No. 89, 168
——— —— No. 112, Cipollino marble, 188
——— —— No. 186, (Ædes, p. 159-169,) 169
——— —— No. 131, vitrified cow, 170
——— —— No. 164 mistaken for 165, 170
——— —— No. 165 typifies the soul, 170
——— —— No. 186 emblem of fortitude, 172
——— —— No. 198, human eye emblem of Osiris, 172
——— —— No. 371, scribe, 168
——— —— No. 374 and 400, one object, Osiris, 176
——— —— No. 419, statuette on basalt, 181
——— —— No. 472, brown terra-cotta vase, 183
Catholic Clergy held farms, 101
Cattle at Hartwell, 123
Cattieuchlan tribe ousted, 4
Causeway from Hartwell to Aylesbury, 109
Cavity pay under Cromwell, 243
Celtic Britons, Romans, &c. 12
Cemetery, ancient, found at Stone, 10
Ceolre or Saxon husbandman, 105
Chair and sword well engraved, 244
Chalk of the Chiltern Hills, 41
Chalgrove field, monument, 126
——— field, death of Hampden, 235
Chambers, three, furniture, Hartwell, 121
Champion of England, Fairfax, 240
Chancery suit and compromise, 155
Change in sea-terms, 36
Chanterey derived an idea from Quarendon, 151
Charles I. his coins found at Hartwell, 14
——— II. restoration, 20
——— visited Sir J. Bollase, 150
——— pardoned R. Beke, 227
——— —— his character, 237

Chatham, Lord, maligned the Princess, 143
Chequers Court, seat of Lady F. Russell, 243
——— Chiltern, 235
Children, short time at school, 25
——— not always like parents, 144
Chiltern Hills, furrowed by streams, 40
——— raid against squirrels, 100
——— have many Cold Harbours, 195
——— Hampden House, 255
Chirograph of a final concord, 111
Chorister of Pharaoh's daughter, (Ædes, p. 182,) 184
Chorographical nomenclature, 3
Christian slavery abolished, 187
Christianity favoured women and children, 104
Christians fasted on the 1st of January, 52
Christmas day fatal to squirrels, 100
Church of Hartwell, (see Ædes, p. 12,) 19
——— of Boarstall, 251
Cicero on parchment palimpsests, 211
Cicero's de Reipublica recovered, 211
Civil war, its effects here, 14
——— dealt blows on every hearth, 110
——— detestable, 212
——— Boarstall, important, 235
Civilization increases knowledge, 108
Clarendon's invectives against Hampden, 125
Clarendon Press engaged with enlogies, 142
—— undervalued Boarstall, 239
Claudius Gothicus, coin found, 13
Clay intermixed with shelly limestone, 42
Clerestoried nave of Quarendon, 130
Climate and its monthly phenomena, 50
Clint, Captain, at Liverpool, 30
Clopton, Sir H. made three miles of road, 109
Clubs originated by Anglo-Saxons, 106
Coals, amount of, consumed by the French, 15
Coats of Arms universal temp. Edward I. 224
Cobb, Mr. T. engraved head of Hebe, 159
—— engraved Cromwell's sword, 243
Cobbett's admiration of good gardens, 95
Cockerell sided with Flott, 160
Cockayne Hatley well cared for, 218
Cockburn's, Sir G. strange appointments, 169
Coins long unknown, 168
INDEX.

Colchester saw Campion fall, 242
Cold Harbour farm all grass, 92
Cold Harbours in records, 193
Colnes, consult for Furzeys, 223
Colver in Sardinia, 195
College of Arms in England and Scotland, 148
Collingwood recorded in rhyme, 52
Cologne plates esteemed, 232
Colworth, seat of the Antonies, 149
Comet, Donati's, will not see harvest home, 76
Comparison of food and labour, 101
——— of 1080 and 1860, 107
Compound connections by marriage, 153
Confirmation of Aedes and Speculum, 51
*Conspiracy against Humphrey Morice, 138
Constantine in Cornwall, 224
——— or Constam-tim, 281
Conquest, thence to 1864, 2
Conqueste by the Emperor in August, 71
Constellations near meridian in January, 54
——— to be observed in February, 56
——— to be observed in March, 58
——— in April, 60
——— in May, 64
——— in June, 65
——— in July, 69
——— in August, 72
——— in September, 74
——— best seen in October, 77
——— in November, 80
——— in December, 83
Contested election at Aylesbury, 227
Convictions of juveniles injurious, 29
*Cook to Sir T. Lee, name unknown, 225
Cooke, the Rev. E., got Hampden's autograph, 126
——— T. his signature, 248
*Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, 247
Coppices felled in December, 83
Corn sowed upon the ground, Hartwell, 122
Cornish, Admiral Sir S., of Colworth, 149
Cornus ammonis, their abundance, 45
Cornwallis first name of the Akbar, 32
Correlation of Morton and other Lees, 129
Cotoneaster, a Welsh plant, in June, 67

Cotswold Hills have many Cold Harbours, 195
Cottagers suffered by inclosures, 18
Cottages immorally crowded, 18
Cottage gardens assigned, 19
——— gardening useful to the labourer, 94
——— life depreciated in Bucks, 94
Cottages of the industrious, 95
Cotton family, 248
County histories valuable, 203
Court of Common Pleas throws light, 112
Court-cubberd, its meaning, 124
Court adherents call the Princess Augusta mean, 141
Cray-fish, fresh-water, 21
Creator, his works inscrutable, 192
Creslow manor, its legend, 15
Creslow pastures unaltered, 221
**'Critici Sacri' offered cheap, 216
Cromwell's Bible in Hampden Library, 126
——— Puritans not the only Vandals, 213
——— vigour, 242
Cromwell began war late, 242
——— chose men well, 242
——— slept at Dinton, 247
——— thus spelt, 249
Crook, Walter, an intelligent farmer, 5
Crops in good ear in June, 66
Crosses adopted also by Teutons, 10
Crow-keepers loud in April, 62
Cuckoo heard in April, 61
——— birds in Shakspeare, 70
——— piracy on grave-stones, 201
Cut bona too hastily demanded, 51
Culloden Papers pro Frederick, 140
Cumobelyne, Shakspeare's Cymbeline, 206
——— his furniture not elegant, 125
Curfew harsh, 106
Cottle, his advice adopted, 1 and 12
Cycle represents a gazebo at p. 74, 54
Cyprides, swimming by cilia, 42
Cyrenaica explored, 168

Daffodils remind one of Shakspeare, 58
Dalrymple found Silphium in Palestine, 224
Daniele, bibliographer at Naples, 160
Danish spears resembled swords, 206
Date of the Exodus disputed, 180
— of Halley's death, 209
— of Peck's death altered, 219
— in Roman numerals, 222
— of Stone Church, 229
*Dean, Forest of, old customs extant, 202
Death of Lee Antonie in 1815, 152
December's Sun in the Tropic of Capricorn, 81
Decree of the Court of Chancery, 111
Defence of Birds approved by Farmers, 95
De la Beche, Vale of Aylesbury, 89
— — — — on Egyptian glass, 175
Dell, Jacob, his grave-stone on sale, 218
Demosthenes fought at Chersones, b.c. 400, 155
Denmark and Nelson, 37
Denton, Sir A. married into the Hampdens, 115
Dentaria bulbifera, rare, 61
Denniston by violent streams, 41
Descrination of Sacred Edifices, 210
— — — — — of churches, 217
Deserted Village, 101
Destruction of birds in Prussia, 98
*Diamond ring in the Musgrave family, 142
Dinton and Shakspeare’s inscription, 208
Dinton Hall Museum, 246
Director of the Society of Antiquaries, 200
Disintegration of the Earth, 43
Diverticule on Roman Roads, 194
Divi Julii, his coin bears an eye, 174
Dodgson pro Frederick, 141
Dogs, too many, endanger sheep, 59
Dog-days in July, 71
— — — — — — end 11th of August, 72
Dog-faced baboon, emblem of Thoth and Nubia, 169
"Doing-up" often destructive, 204
Domesday Book attests the Normans, 13
— — — — — on Creslow, 221
Domestic life shown by inventories of goods, 118
Dottrina Christiana in Arabia, 247
Double-faced Brass in Stone Church, 210; a
word more relating to, 222
Douglas, author of Nenia Britannica, 12
Drach's, Mr. answer relative to the rose, 184
Drainage attended to in April, 62
Draining must be attended to in October, 78
Dreary weather in November, 79
Dress included in some inventories, 118
Dressings for each crop, 87
Drogheda, siege of, 245
Drunkenness corrected by gardening, 94
Duncan, Dr. in defence of birds, 97
Ducange praises peacocks, 4
Duke of Northumberland and Smyth, their similar
progress in the Royal Navy, 181
Duty, its importance, under canvas or funnel, 36
Dyce, Rev. A. incorrect inscription, 209
Dyke, Sir T., F.R.S. Kent, 149
Dyham, Lady, at Boarstall, 237
— — — returns to Boarstall, 241
Dyngies room furniture, Hartwell, 121
Earthworm, its utility, 43
East India Directors ordered the Akbar, 35
Edgehill, see Lord Wharton, 236
Edgeware presented to Rev. T. Martyn, 150
Edinburgh Review con. Frederick, 140
Educational demand low, 23
Edward VI. see his tender mercy, 218
Edward the Conquesser at Brill, 233
"E'er around the huge oak," 84
Egerton, Sir P. on the Pleuropholis, 44
Eggs begin to be laid in houses, 57
— of birds to be destroyed, 96
Egypt and Mexico show one origin, 164
Egyptian structure over a spring, 22
— — — resemblance to Mexico, 163
Egyptian relics, 168
— — — dates uncertain, 180
Ehrenberg on animacula, 192
Elator family food for birds, 96
Elder in full flower in June, 68
Elements the same in animals and plants, 50
Elgin, Lord, his marbles, 160
— — — — his inscription on Tweddell, 161
Ellis, Sir H. on Aylesbury beer, 22
Elizabeth, Queen, midnight legend, 15
Elizabeth's cattle fed at Creslow, 221
INDEX.

Emblems not always idols, 169
"E meglio che si dica qui fuggi," 157
Enalia saurian by Professor Owen, 45
Enemies to birds, 99
"England displayed " on Verulam, 214
Engraved monuments not trustworthy, 203
Enstone, its History by Mr. Jordan, 127
Entomostraceous crustacea, 42
Enumeration of the epithet "Cold," &c. 195
Epaulettes now abound, 37
Epitaph, "Here lies Fred," &c. 141
——— cut, but restored, 211
Epiary hospitality on the decline, 79
Equestrian statue at Hartwell, 143
Equinox windy, (see Ædes), 57
——— abounds in wind, 74
Erastosthenes invited by Evergetes, 162
Errors relative to birds, 95
——— in the Ædes by a curious copyist, 152
——— in Catalogue of Hartwell Museum, 168
Essex, Earl of, on the Army, 241
Ethnology should turn W. and E. 165
Etruscans regarded the eye as a badge, 178
Etymology of Britain by Camden, 9
Eugene, Prince, in Flanders, 157
Evaporation exceeds the rain, 60
Evergetes the benefactor, 162
Everest, Sir G. knighted in 1882, 148
Evergreens show their value in November, 80
——— increase in value December, 82
Evil eye, widely dreaded, 172
Examiners often unilateral, 26
Exhaustive agriculture not in Bucks, 98
Exmouth, Lord, in Tunis Bay, 187
Exodus ruined Egypt, 180
Expense of searching for water, 48
Eyebrow arched, both in the W. and E. 166
Eye of Osiris on ships' bows, 173
Eyes of the Ichthyosaurus by Mantell, 45

Fagots made up in December, 88
Fairfax MSS. in Leeds Castle, 233
——— took Boarstall, 238
——— his autograph letter, 240

Falconer pro Frederick, 141
Fallows must be looked to in April, 62
——— to be attended to in July, 71
Farming occupations in January, 57
——— in May, 65
——— and proportional harvest, 198
Farms of moderate size, 84
———, list of them, 85

Fasting during Lent after the Reformation, 153
Faustina, her Æternitas, 189
Fauvel, M., French Consul, 160
Feast of Fools engendered plough witches, 55
February, see Shakspere, 55
Fees of knighthood in 1752, 147
Fellbrigg monument destroyed, 213
Female line in the Aubreys, 235
Ferruginous isleta or bottom of green sand, 41
Festival, school, annual holiday, 28
Fibula, bronze, found at Stone, 10
Field-work in September, 75
Field, Mr. had some relics, 206
Find on lowering the road at Stone, 11
——— the latest, near Peverel Court, 13
——— of English coins at Hartwell, 14
Finds are still numerous, 205

Findings in North Africa, 187
Fiotto, Mr. J. raised a tablet to Tweddel, 160
——— J. nephew of Lee Antonie, 151
Fishes in a fossil state, 42
Fitzton on the Vale of Aylesbury, 39
Flamingo worshipped in the W. and E. 164
Flowers apparently capricious, 52
——— beginning to bloom in February, 56
——— blowing in March, 58
——— abound in May, 64
——— in June, list of, 66
——— in July, 70
——— in August, 73
——— still blooming in September, 75
——— few in November, 81
Foliage equally admired in W. and E. 166

Forays of the Danes, 205
Forbes, Professor E., examined Hartwell fossils, 44
Foremast men furnished by the Akbar, 31
INDEX.

Fore-bits of the Akbar, 35
Forgiveness of the past yields a new life, 37
" For he who fights," &c. assigned to Butler, 156
Foster sided with Fiott, 160
Fowler, Mr. A. K. of Aylesbury, 6
—— ploughed 7 acres per diem, 91
—— made to be a farmer, 92
Fox, Mr. opposed to Princess Augusta, 146
*“ Fox’s Martyrs,” stolen copies sold, 216
Frederick, Prince, two opinions of, 138
—— like George his father, 143
Freehold yeomanry are swamped, 18
“ Frenchies,” their habits at Hartwell, 15
Fresh-water limestone near St. John’s Lodge, 44
Friargage field, site of ancient coins, 207
Frigate school at Birkenhead, 34
Frittillary, or frogcup, in April, 61
Frost, C. Esq. on History of Hull, 219
Fruitarianism aim of animals and vegetables, 182
Fruits abundant in June, 67
—— end in September, 74
—— should be more encouraged, 94
Fuller on lying inscriptions, 219
Funeral oration of Whelocke, 240
Funereal brass at Constantine, 231
Gage, Colonel, took Boarstall, 236
Gallery furniture, Hartwell, 121
Garden duties in January, 54
—— produce abundant in July, 69
Garner, Hartwell, contents, 122
Garret, upper, Hartwell, 122
Garter, insignia of, at Quarendon, 131
Gate-tower of Boarstall, 234
Gault accompanies green sand, 40
Gazebo represented on p. 74 of Cycle, 54
Gemini, Sun in, in May, 64
Genealogy esteemed by Palgrave, 3
—— of the Lees, (Ædus, p. 96,) 152
Genius too often conceit, 26
Geography enlarged topography, 2
Geology, Climature, and Husbandry, 39
George II. hated his eldest son, 138
—— —— abused his daughter-in-law, 141
George II. his statue in Hartwell Park, 145
Gervis, tomb of one of the family of, 281
Ghirzza sculpture lost, 189
Ghost stories in the vicinity of Hartwell, 15
Gifford, Sir J. his brass given away, 216
Glover, Leonidas, pro Frederick, 159
Goldsmith quoted, “ For he who fights,” &c. 156
“ Good and Joyful Newses,” &c. 208
Goodall, his excavations at Dinton, 12
—— Rev. J. his letter, 246
Gorney and Tharpe on one Brass, 211
—— inscription, how restored, 222
Gournays, their colours, 224
—— made Earl by William Rufus, 224
Grades of rank similar in the West and East, 164
Graffe at Boarstall, 240
Granville, Lord, no favourite with Augusta, 146
Grapes out of doors ripen in October, 77
Gratifying up, mode of ploughing, 6
Grave-clothes required to be woollen, 226
Graves “ whisper truths in Reason’s ear,” 225
Gravestones sold for 1s. 6d. each, 217
Great nations have most inequalities, 108
Great chamber at Hartwell, furniture, 121
Great Marlow, Lee Antonius, M.P. 150
Greater Syrtis to be explored, 168
Green sand in the Vale, 40
Greek inscription on gold, (Ædus, p. 192,) 161
Greeks regarded snakes as emblems, 197
Grendon Underwood famed for bad roads, 185
Griffin, R., Fees of Honour, 148
Guesten Hall in danger, 216
Gurney, dates of their rotuli, 225
Gurney, Hudson, his great age, 223
—— V.P.S.A. referred to, 223

Habitiments valuable in former days, 118
Haddock monuments destroyed, 214
Hail seldom occurs here, 86
*Hall, Bishop, mentions Cold Harbour, 196
—— —— “ The fairer tombe,” &c. 213
—— his “ Bying Satyr,” 17
Hallam on permanence of hedges, 206
—— on hedges, 221
INDEX.

Halley's tomb at Lee, restored by the present Astronomer Royal, 209
*Halliwell's Ancient Inventories, 124
Ham, land of, its majestic remains, 186
Hammered money under Charles I. 14
Hampden, Richard, married E. de Luton, 110
——— Alexander, the last at Hartwell, 110
——— Alexander, plaintiff, Verney defendant, in Chancery, 111
——— Michael, his widow's will, 112
——— Little, manor of, 112
——— Sir A., his supposed son, 114
——— John, his signature, 127
——— El. married Sir T. Lee, 127
——— Elinor, heiress of Hartwell, 202
——— his seat on Chiltern Hills, 235
——— no relics of him, 243
Hampden Parva annexed to Hartwell, 19
Hampdens bring smooth water, 109
Handlo, Sir J. fortified Boarstall, 235
Harcourt, Field-Marshal Lord, 154
Harcourt's seal, a peacock, 4
Harcourt Farm at Stone, 85
Harcourts connected with the Lees, 153
*Harpur endowment in Bedford, 228
Harrison, Miss, of Dinton, 11
Hartwell set forth before, 1
——— illustrated by a seal, 4
——— Parish, 16
——— Rectory and Park, 19
——— transfer of it not found, 111
——— Museum now has the gold inscription, 163
Harvest mostly finished in August, 73
——— home little observed, 71
——— when usually carried, 93
——— proportioned to farming, 198
Hawk covering seeds or small papyrus, 176
Hawkins, E. medal in his collection, 137
Hawtree's chamber, Hartwell, 122
Hay, when cut, 91

* Hay harvest in June, 66
Head from the Parthenon, restored, 158
Hearne, a zealous antiquary, 250
"Heart of South Britaine," 3

Heathen cremation at Stone, 11
Heathens feasted on the 1st of January, 52
Hebe, head of, in marble, 159
Hedges should be cut in April, 62
——— often very permanent, 206
Hedgerley, instance of piracy, 201
——— palimpsest brass, 210
——— brass hung on hinges, 232
Hell-fire Club, ardent spirits, 149
Helston, Cornwall, near Constantine, 280
Hennas, a dye still in use, 185
Henry II. earliest date of coats of arms, 224
——— VI. bestowed arms on Nigel, 233
——— VII. price of labour, 100
——— VIII. decree against birds, 95
Henrey, Commander, his beautiful specimen of Egyptian fused glass, 175
Herschel, Sir J. on population, 192
Hervey, Lord, con. Frederick, 189
Heydon-hill, seat of T. Scott, 235
Hieroglyphs, once sealed characters, 182
——— of royal names, 183
Higbie's chamber, Hartwell, 122
Higgins, Mr. L. repaired Turvey church, 216
High farming not pursued in Bucks, 93
Hillesdon ransacked by the Parliament, 115
* Hinckley, R. married Mrs. Acland, 131
Holland, C. held Creslow, 221
——— his numerous possessions, 222
*Holystones afloat, origin, 218
Homes, stately, of England, 1
Home, the love of, beneficial to art, 2
Honey, little made in Bucks, 94
Hophra or Psammaticus III. 182
Horn bestowed on Nigel, 234
Horse-chensnus flower in May, 64
Horse-broth, a test of Christianity, 208
Horseman rudely sculptured, 190
Horses eating their heads off, 92
——— their valuation in 1570, 125
Horton, J. former game-keeper, 14, 15
——— S. employed in the Meteorology, 51
Hours of school attendance, 27
Household books to bear the Bitt, 38
*Howe's action by Loutherbourg, 137
Huffam, Mr. on Hessle Church, 220
Hull, History of, on Walter Pecke, 219
Human head on animals in the W. and E. 164
—— beings born, their amount, 192
Human-headed hawk on the soul, 170
Humboldt showed cycles both in W. and E. 167
Husbandmen observant of weather, 50
Husbandry requires activity in October, 78
—— Around Hartwell, 84
Hibernating reptiles retire in October, 78
Hypothosis of old and new world united, 167

Icknield-way south of the Chilterns, 208
Ibis worshipped in the W. and E. 164
Ichthyosaurus plano-concavus, 45
"Il giusto peia più che il troppo," 125
Immortality of the soul, 180
Implement of husbandry, 102
"Improvement" often misapplied, 218
Improvidence corrected by gardening, 94
Inclosure of land, (see Asdes, p. 7,) 16
Indenture of a Will by M. and A. Hampden, 112
Independent voters of Marlow, 150
India, an eye still a talisman in, 173
Inequalities in the people unavoidable, 108
Infantry pay under Cromwell, 248
Infinite space like infinite time, 183
Ingoldsby's former seat at Waldridge, 61
Inner Chamber at Hartwell, furniture, 121
Insect swarms injurious in May, 64
Insects begin to fly, 57
—— swarm in April, 62
—— begin to be injurious, 59
Inscription on gold from Egypt, 162
Instruction given in the Akbar, 31
Internal Notices, 104
Inventory roll of Sir A. Hampden's goods, 117
—— and valuation of goods at Hartwell, 118
Inventories of church property, 215
Isopoda or water-fleas, 42
Israelites constructed grand temples in Egypt, 180
—— built cities for Pharaoh, 179
"Is this the mighty ocean?" 15

Italian version, "E meglio che si dice," 157
Ithaca, relics presented to Society of Antiquaries, 158
Ithuriel's spear dispels visions, 18
"Its prow with heedful eye . . ." 174
Itinerary of Antoninus, 196

Janissary guards to Ghirrza, 191
January typified by Janus, 52
Jasmine, net of, at Tripoli, 185
Jemsetjee Bomanjee, a Parsee, 32
Jewels imitated by the Egyptians, 175
Johnson's criticism on Shakespeare, 125
—— Club, 224
Johnston, Admiral, commanded Cornwallis, 82
"Joined stooles" explained, 124
Jordan's Parochial History of Enstone, 127
Joseph bought by spirit-merchant, 186
Josephus quoted on Amenophis, 179
Judith, wife of Sir G. Lee, (Asdes, p. 114,) 187
Julius I. ordained Christmas Day in December, 83
July instanced for its long day, 68
June praised by Spenser, 65
Justices' justice at Bedford, 30
"Juvenales ludi" of the Romans, 76

Keene commenced the bridge, 21
Kelke, Rev. W. H. on desecration, 217
Kemble on Saxon obsequies, 208
Kennet quoted by Lipscomb, 229
—— refers to Nigel, 233
—— his map of Boarstall, 251
Keswick, seat of Hudson Gurney, 223
Key to Roman numerals, 222
Kimbell, Hampdens of, (Asdes, p. 56,) 110
——, Great, manor of, 112
Kimmeridge clay, a lower stratum, 40
—— —— described by Mantell, 43
King, Mr. on the Haddock family, 214
King's forces at Oxford, 236
Kirk, engraver of medals, 137
—— engraver of twelve medallots, 142
Kitchen flagged with tombstones, 217
Knighthead in his house, A. Hampden was, 114
Knighthood fees of 1862, 149
INDEX.

Kohol, a black dye, still used, 185
KOINA ΦΙΛΩΝ by Bishop Hall, 17

Labour, how paid 200 years ago, 100
Labourers should be shielded from want, 108

•Lachrymatories, an error, 207
 Lancaster Herald’s monograph, 132
 Language, ignorance of, leads to error, 169
 ————, its mathematical origin, 182
 Lansdowne MSS. 874, on Quarendon, 132
 Laplander calls his home Eden, 215
 Large-brass Roman medals, 188
 Lassell, Mr. of Sandfield Park, 31
 •Laud, the inhuman prelate, 153
 Lavater bums ominous, 144
 Laws of Settlement by Mr. Pigott, 108
 Lay-improvisor of Stone, 230
 Layamon on Herberwe, 194
 Layard, Mr. of Nineveh celebrity, pleaded for the
 British Museum, 158
 Lease month is September, 76
 Leaves drop fast in October, 78
 Lee, Dr. conclusions shown to, 1
 ———— discovered English coins, 14
 ———— Rev. Sir G. opened the boys’ school, 26
 ———— Dr. and Mrs. their awards, 27
 ———— Dr. offered to rescue Quarendon, 132
 ———— Dr. his early interest in Egypt, 168
 ———— Sir W. advocated inclosure, 16
 ———— inclosed with ease, 19
 ———— patronised mangel-wurzel, 91
 ———— Sir T. married Eleanor Hampden, 110
 ———— Sir Thomas of Morton, 1570, 127
 ———— Sir T. tablet in Dinton church, 202
 ———— W. of Abingdon, died in 1637, 155
 ———— G. 1637, was second not third son, 153
 ———— Frances, should be Elizabeth, 1662, 153
 ———— the great Sir Henry, of Quarendon, 128
 ———— Sir Henry, (Ædes, p. 62.) his tomb, 131
 ———— Sir Anthony, his arms restored, 132
 ———— Sir Henry, and Anne Vavasour buried to-gether, at Quarendon, 134
 ———— Sir G. his career, (Ædes, pp. 66 to 80,) 136
 ———— interview with Princess Augusta, 147

Lee, Rev. Sir G. survived Lee Antonie, 151
 ———— Sir W. declined the name of Harcourt, 154
 --------- served with Lord Harcourt, 155
 ———— Mr. Consul at Alexandria, 176
 LEES OF COLWORTH, (Ædes, pp. 63-66), 149
 LEES OF QUARENDON, (see Ædes, p. 58,) 127
 ———— of Quarendon and Morton connected, 128
 Leeds Castle held Fairfax MSS. 233
 Left-hand purchasers of relics, 216
 Legacy duty founded on former Inventories, 117
 Le Grys, his brass for sale, 217
 Leicester party extolled the Princess, 141
 ———— Journal about Le Grys, 217
 Leigh, the Haddocks resided there 500 years, 214
 Lepers to be cleared out of Egypt, 179
 Leptis magna in Barbary, 170
 ———— excavations, 187
 Letter “for Dr. Lee after I am dead,” 138
 ———— to Mr. Walpole about Tweddel, 160
 Lettsom quotes Sir W. Lee on Mangel-wurzel, 91
 Leverrier’s and Adama’s new planet, 81
 Libraries increased, homesteads decreased, 118
 Lichfield cathedral, Chantry’s sculpture, 181
 “Licking his fingers,” meaning of, 247
 Life at sea with a flag in view, 33
 Lightning frequent in July, 69
 Lilies, the, seat of Lord Nugent, 132
 Lincoln, Bishop of, did duty at Hartwell, 20
 ———— Dean and Chapter, on Quarendon, 180
 Link of the Lees of Quarendon and Hartwell, 129
 Lipecomb, his risible error, 137
 ———— wrong on Stone church, 229
 ———— on Cromwell’s sword, 246
 Literary conglomerate, defence of birds, 97
 Littered with grass—Stone church, 229
 Lithograph from rubbings, 232
 Littleworth, its legend, 16
 Llantrithyd, seat of Sir T. Aubrey, 234
 ———— destroyed by its owner, 251
 LOCAL SCHOOLS, 23
 Localities of Cold-Harours, 198
 Locations of Cold-harbour, various, 195
 Locke’s brickfield, or Wallbridge Piece, 44
 Lockhart, Rev. A. seconded Sir G. Lee, 36

2 T 2
INDEX.

Lockhart, Mrs. patronised girls’ school, 26
London’s abuse of Princess Augusta, 143
Longobardic uncial inscriptions, 201
Lords inflicted the scourge on Serfs, 106
Lotus, expanded on a small vase, 184
Lotus-lily worn on the head, 185
Low wages of the peasantry, 25
Lowndes, Rev. C. aided on Cold-harbours, 197
Lubrication of the Bitt-head, 36
Lullington Castle, Sir T. Dyke, 149
Lunatic Asylum in want of water, 47
Lusieri, Lord Elgin’s artist, 160
Lutwidge, Mr. Secretary to Commissioners, 47
Luzon, island of, in a typhoon, 38
Lyon, Captain, returned from Mournuk, 168
Lysons quoted on Buckingham, 3

Macclesfield inscription, (Ædes, p. 94,) 201
Madan, ancient, or trackway, 198
Magnates of the Mersey river, 36
— self-styled National, 241
Magnentius, his coin at Stone, 11
Mai on the Vatican Library, 211
Major, R. H. British Museum, 249
— copied records on Quarendon, 132
Manchester, five generations co-existent, 220
— Earl of, 248
Mangel-wurzel, how many tons per acre, 90
Mannerism in inscriptions, 212
Manorial Lords benefit by inclosures, 17
Manuring, in what proportion used, 89
Manuscripts liable to error, 200
Marble slab not to be had in Athens, 161
March once the leader of the year, 57
Marly sands, or Portland sand, 40
Marquis Cornwallis, name of a ship, 35
Marsupial remains in the S. W., 40.
Martyn, Rev. T. presented to Edgware, 150
— preferred to Little Marlow, 155
Mary Hampden, her signature, 114
Maseros commends the humanity of the Normans to their serfs, 107
Marks worn in Mexico and Egypt, 165
May eulogised by Shakspeare, 63

Mayne, Simon, resided at Dinton, 227, 236
— a Committee-man, 247
Mazagon Point at Bombay, 35
Mechanism must not overpower, 199
Medal, Talbot and Morecock, 137
Medals for service, few formerly, 36
— Catalogue of Roman large-brass, 188
Medalllets in honour of Princess Augusta, 142
— of Princess Augusta described, 143
Medmenham bought for Lee Antonie, 149
Mediterranean, an eye still a talisman, 173
Mekkias, measure in Arabic, 172
“Mélanges d’Archéologie,” 174
Melville’s, Lord, strange appointments, 169
Memorandum of political consultation, 146
Members of Cromwell’s Court, 242
Mennon, or Thoth, 170
Memorials of Hampden, 125
Memory, lapse of, 156
Merry-making season, Christmas, 83

*Metal long bartered by weight, 163
Meteorology, (Ædes, pp. 14 to 19, Speculum, 10th chapter,) 50
Method of taking rubbings, 203
Mexican resemblance to Egypt, 163
Mexico and Egypt show one origin, 164
Michaelmas the season for all leases, 76
Microscope on an African limestone, 191
Microscopic remains require examination, 46
Migratory birds, some depart in September, 74
— swallows congregate in October, 78
Mildenhall, the brass in pieces, 214
Milton eulogises May, 63
Milton’s “devilish engine,” 239
*Mining implements, Forest of Dean, 202
Minorities merge into majorities, 23
Missals often useful in meteorology, 51
— call November the type of good cheer, 79
Mock-orange, or Syringa, in June, 67
Money frequently buried in Civil War, 14
Monkhouse, Rev. W. on vic, 8
Monumental Brasses of England, 217
Mordaunts, careless of family honour, 215
Moric, Rt. Hon. Humphrey, 138
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Indexed Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Mortgage on Hartwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>*Morton, vestiges of the mansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mounds revealing former denudation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>&quot;Muddied in Fortune's moat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Mukni, Sultan of Fezzan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Mummifying in Mexico and Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>*Mummy opened at United Service Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Muniments of Hartwell on inclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>*Murray's Forest of Dean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Museo Borbonico at Naples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Museum of Hartwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Mushroom 32 inches in circumference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Musgrave, Sir G. against squirrels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Muswell Hill near Barnstall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Mysteries of Osiris, or Cain and Abel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Mystery of the good old cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>Nasby sword of Cromwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Nautilus, fossil, from Benhill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>National School opened 1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Nature's constancy the wonder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Naval action in 1745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>Navigation Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Nebule, their distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Nell Gwynne, the witty and frail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Nelson recorded in rhyme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>Nelson's sword</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nenia Britannica, by Douglas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nero, his assassination at Tythorpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>Netherland churches spoliated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>*Nerva's coins bear the poppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Newcastle, its Antiquarian Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>———— Duke of, deceived all mankind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>*Newland Church, Forest of Dean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Newton, Mr. C. F. British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Nicholson, Rev. Dr. on St. Alban's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>Nigel erected Barnstall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Nigellian origin of Barnstall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Nightingales still linger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Nilometer set up by Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>———— a Greek term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Norman proverb on villains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Normans winked the conquered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>North, Rev. O., aided on Cold-harbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Northumberland, Duke of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>———— (Ædes, p. 181)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>———— his theory on Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>———— theory confirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>———— on Hosele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Northumberland antiquaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>November depicted in green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Nugent, Lord, endeavour to find Hampden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>———— his interest in Quarndon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Number of boys in the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Nuneham, how forfeited by the Lees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Nuts for winter use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>———— and seeds used as cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>October retains its name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Odes on Prince Frederick's marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>&quot;Odious in woollen&quot; laws severe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Odo, Bishop, was turbulent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Ogygian ages revered their seers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Oimeneaphtha I, his tomb by Belzoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Old chamber at Hartwell, furniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Old-English or Anglo-Saxon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Oldfield, Mrs. horrified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>Old Noll's sword at Dinton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Om or Amen in Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Omen, an eye on a ship's bow a good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;Omne ignotum pro magnifico est&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Omnibus at the Piraeus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Omnium gatherum cram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Onyx typifies Isis or Athor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Oolite series in the Vale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Ophite worship elevated snakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Orfelli tribe of Arabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>Orthography marks the date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Osiris or Horus had seen the gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Oscillum found at Herculaneum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Osiris I left magnificent buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Osiris and hawk with hieroglyphics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Oxyth, St. born at Quarndon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Over-Winchendon, Lord Wharton lived at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Oving, seat of Sir T. Aubrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Owen, Professor, on the Enalio-saurian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Owlswick, manor of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Philanthropy to train the destitute, 33
Philological remains scanty, 9
Phoenicians introduced coin, 163
Phrenology stamps parentage, 144
Physical features of the Vale, 40
— elements of the district, 86
Pic-nic proposed at Boarstall, 252
Pigeons, few kept now in Bucks, 94
Pigott, Mr. G. G., his Laws of Settlement, 108
Pilum, Lower Empire spear, 206
Pitcairn, going thence in an omnibus, 160
Pit-shafts in Stone described, 9
Pits worked for sand and stone, 46
Pitt's audience with Princess Augusta, 146
Plan of Hartwell church, 20
Plastic vases are very enduring, 207
Plate II. shows the pre-historic state, 48
Playford Church injured, 209
Pleuropholus found by Sir P. Egerton, 44
Plough Monday ushered by a procession, 55
Ploughing, how and when, 88
— how often required, 89
Politics of Buonaparte, 33
Pollarded trees great eyesore, 22
Polyglot Bible by Walton, 249
Poor rates increased by inclosures, 18
*Poppy represented on Roman coins, 67
Porcelain eye coated with glaze, 173
Porch of St. John's Lodge, and cable-bitt, 36
Porteous, Bishop, lands Charles II. 13
— — — — — — — his eulogy of the Court, 142
Portland beds at Littleworth, 41
Portrait said to be of J. Hampden, 126
Post mortem directions by Lady Lee, 188
Potatoes ignored as a crop, 93
— disease in, 1845, 93
Potter's mark on fittle vessels, 10
Pottery unites Mexico and Egypt, 165
Powdering-trough, its meaning, 124
Pre-Adamites mentioned by Mantell, 43
Prebendal farm near Aylesbury, 85
Price of the Akbar in 1807, 35
— of labour at different periods, 100
— of provisions should regulate labour, 101

INDEX.

Oxen over-fed, a mistake, 109
Oxford diocesan schools, 24

Pageanties in honour of Elizabeth, 134
Palgrave's estimation of topography, 3
Palimpsest slabs, 201
Pallet for colours and brushes, 168
Palmy days before the inclosures, 108
Pandora's box flattens in a sailor's life, 34
Panegyric bursts like a bubble, 143
Pardon of R. Beke, 227
Parish Register, error in, cleared up, 115
— on Sir A. Hampden, 115
— of Hartwell, 152
— under Henry VIII., 225
Parliamentary troops injuries, 241
— address by Lee Antonie, 150
— forces at Oxford, 236

Parnassian road at school, 29
Partridges begin to fly in June, 67
Pastimes of the Anglo-Saxons, 106
Pattern on Egyptian glass, 175
Pauperism should be checked, 18
— on the increase of, in Bucks, 94
Peacocks heraldic ornaments, 4
Peacock's head erased, Hampden's seal, 4
Penurious compensation for injuries, 106
Pellcwr, Sir E., Commander-in-Chief, 35
Pendle, variously used in different counties, 42
Percy monument at Hesle, 220
Perfumes, ancient, costliness of, 185
Periwinkle in bloom, 58
Perkin's Legh, his noted epitaph, 201
Permit to go in and out of Cambridge, 247
Peterborough tombs neglected, 215
Petrifactions at Ghirza, 189
Pettigrew's Life of Dr. Lettsom, 91
— — — — — — — History of Mummies, 175
Pentinger Map, 196
Peverel Court built by J. E. Bartlett, Esq., 13
— — — — — — — red friable sands, 41
Peverel found the people improved, 104
Pharaoh of Holy Writ made palpable, 182
Pharaonic times recalled, 168
INDEX.

Prices, wheat cheaper, cattle dearer now, 102
Prince Frederick, (Ædes, p. 117), 145
—— Regent, sculptures for the, 187
Princess of Wales abused and extolled, 141
Printed calicoes, Karpass, in Sanskrit, 185
Priscian's head broken on grammar, 25
Probate of Alexander Hampden's will, 117
Probus, second-brass of, at Stone, 11
"Pro capitn lectoris," from Camden, 9
Progress and Time, wondrous allies, 24
Pros and Cons on Prince Frederick, 139
Protector's sword described, 243
Providence created sparrows, 98
Provincial Institutions must awake, 200
—— Societies, their duty, 215
Psalm lxi. Solomon's espousal, 185
—— (See Ædes, p. 182). On the Song of Solomon, 184
Ptolemy Evergetes worshipped Osiris, 182
Punctuation, its commencement, 201
Purbeck shales and limestones, 40
Pyramidal taste in Mexico and Egypt, 163
Quarrendon, its appurtenances, 128
—— once a royal mansion, 128
—— destruction of, (Ædes, p. 62.), 129
—— the ruined interior, 180
—— Chapel renewed by Sir. H. Lee, 133
—— leased to Mr. du Pré, 135
*—— Chapel, (Ædes, p. 62.), 204
Quarles held Creasow in 1596, 221
Queen's Champion from the Record, 133
Queries sent to the farmers, 86
Questions put to the schoolmaster, 27
Questions on Cold-harbours, 198
"Quicksanded Arbors" alluded to, 197
Radiation of heat slight in May, 63
Rain, the amount large, 69
Raising a villain dishonours God, 107
Ralph's prudence, timely flight, 156
Rameses II. his nomen and praenomen, 169
—— I. reigned before the Exodus, 179
—— II. called Pthameneph, 179
Rameses II. left magnificent temples, 180
Raptures on the royal marriage, 142
"Rash man forbear" from the tombs, 187
Rathbones active for the Akbar, 81
Reade, Rev. J. B. photographed vases, 9
———— analysis of limestone, 191
———— his letter on Stone, 228
———— if knighted at Chequers, 243
Reapers should be secured in September, 74
Records of Bucks archeology, 193
—— of Buckinghamshire, 209
Recovery of 1520 acres, anno 9 James I. 111
—— of 1440 acres, anno 14 James I. 111
Red-breast in full song in December, 82
Reformatories for children, 29
Regicides, a knot of, around Dinton, 236
Relics presented to Society of Antiquaries, 158
Relics near Aylesbury, 205
Religious persuasion in schools, 24
Renouard, Rev. G. C. on Shoshannah, 184
Reptiles very active in June, 68
Residence of twelve years in Hartwold, 1
Restorations of Quarrendon, 136
———— by Evergetes, 162
Restoration of inscriptions, 211
Retrospection of early life, 34
Revelations of Geology, 49
Reviews, how compounded, 2
Reward to the destroyers of birds, 96
Rhymes eulogizing Aylesbury beer, 22
—— inspired by trip to Liverpool, 30
Richards, letter from Capt. H. L. 34
Richmond, H. possessed by Holland, 222
*Ricketts, Mrs. inherited Boarstall, 235
Ring, hart engraved upon a, 11
Roads improved by Agnes Hampden, 109
Robin-redbreast ever cheerful, 55
*Robinson, Rev. W. his children, by Chantrey, 131
Rochester, brass hung on hinges at, 232
Rogers, his "Plaees of Memory," 34
Romans introduced peacocks, 4
Roman invasion, no roads earlier than, 12
Romans, Romanized the Britons, 12
Roman costume imitated by our kings, 145
Romans regarded the eye as a type, 173
—— snakes as emblems, 197
Romano-British inscriptions, 200
Rose, Mr. J. Solicitor of the Lees, 154
Rose or lily, from the Hebrew, 184
Rotation of crops, 87
Rowland, R. holds Creslow, 221
Roy, his Military Antiquities, 199
Royal Society's Club, defect in, 224
Rs, three, omnipotent, 24
Rubbing superior to other copies, 133
—— preferred to copies, 199
—— of a tablet at Dinton, 202
—— how best taken, 204
—— further remarks on, 205
Rubby stone, cheap material for walls, 46
Runiculars to be sowed in February, 57
Rupert, Prince, stricken, 208
—— on Chalgrove field, 235
Rural scenes praised, 39
Russell, Lady F. interested in Quarendon, 135
—— Earl, contra Frederick, 140
—— Earl, only survivor of 98 gentlemen, 152
—— Lady F. relics of Cromwell, 243

Sacredness dedicated to tombs, 232
St. Alban's Abbey Church neglected, 214
St. John's Lodge first rising ground, 40
St. John the Baptist, Stone church, 229
"Sainte Larme de Vendôme," 174
St. Mary's, Warwick, perfect, 213
St. Matthew, xxvi., on value of scent, 186
St. Swithin brings rain in July, 69
Salmon's History of Essex, 216
Salt, Consul General in 1822, 172
Sand and clay both very useful, 46
—— good for keeping vegetables and fruit, 80
*Sacrophagus of Arragonite, 186
Sarson, Mr. T. his inquiry on Le Gry, 217
*Saxondom idols of wood, 194
Saxon Chronicle says little on Aylesbury, 205
—— art inferior to Roman, 207
Scent used by ancient ladies, 185
Science requires strict comparisons, 51

Scientific agriculture partially understood, 88
Scott's Romance of Ivanhoe, 128
Scott, William, enulogised Sir H. Lee, 134
—— resided on Heydon-hill, 235
Scourge of God, i.e. Cromwell, 249
Sculptrure by Phidias at Hartwell, 158
Sculptures reared into sand, 229
Sea of Antiquity abounds in rocks, 9
Seal, a deer drinking engraved on, 4
Secretaries under Cromwell, 242
Seed sowing, when and how much, 90
Self-help recommended, 25
Semi-lunar's frame battered, 36
September shews a receding temperature, 74
Septimus Severus born at Leptis, 188
Sepulchral Monuments by Gough, 209
—— brasses lining a staircase, 216
Serfdom softened by the spread of Christianity, 104
Serentine Green, from Coluber? 194
Serpent-worship in the Scriptures, 196
Servii or Servi were the lowest class, 105
Severe frosts not usual in December, 81
Sextills our month of August, 71
Shakspere mentions the taylor-bird, 8.
—— describes January, 52
—— on the Daffodil, 58
—— calls April spongy, 60
—— on flowers, 70
—— on December, 81
—— on Imogen's bedroom, 125
—— visited Quarendon? 135
Sharnbrook, burial-place of Lee Antonie, 151
Sharpe's Chronology of Egypt, 182
Sheep used to be in danger from dogs, 59
—— in Hartwell, and value, 123
—— fothered in Quarendon, 130
Sheep-shearing late in June, 68
Shelley pathetic on winter, 84
Shells in these waters, 21
Sheshonk, Shishak of the Bible, 184
Shilburne, Major, sent to treat with Campion, 241
Shoeham, or lilies, 185
Sidereal numbers beyond human, 192
Sieges of Boarstall, 236
INDEX.

Sclapium in the Smyth arms, 224
Similarity of progress between two friends, 181
Sirius brilliant in February, 56
Sir G. Lee, Prince and Princess of Wales, their intercourse, 186
Situsula or bucket found at Stone, 10
Skeletons, many discovered at Stone, 11
Sketches around Hartwell, 138
Skippin failed at Boarstall, 238
Slabs or plates turned over, 201
Smashing up the soil by Mr. Fowler, 92
Smith, Rev. R. relative to inclosure, 16
——— C. R. on growing fruit, 94
——— Sir Sidney, gave the inscription, 162
——— Messrs. on the Talbot tomb, 218
Smollett, pro Frederick, 140
Smyth, W. W. strata of the Vale, 39
——— Admiral, memorialist of the Lees, 129
——— Professor Piazzzi, his rubbing, 201
Snail-shells often mixed with bones, 207
Snake-cup, in Mexico and Egypt, 164
Snow-drop and other early flowers in January, 54
Soane Museum, Belzoni sarcophagus in, 203
Socon were freeholders, 105
Society dinners engrossed by partizans, 109
Sodality of Hartwell at the Conquest, 104
Some say the Devil’s dead,” 194
Somerset House possessed by Holland, 222
Song of Solomon, answer of Mr. Drach, 184
Songstresses gaily attired, 185
“So peaceful rests without a stone,” 232
Soul believed immortal in Egypt, 180
Sound antiquaries, 200
Sovereigns to be pitted, 142
Sparrow-clubs to be put down, 97
Spears marked the nation, 206
Speed’s remarks on the nation, 206
Spelman quoted on Buckingham, 3
——— founded Saxon Lectures, 249
Spiculum, or Anglo-Saxon spear, 206
Spiders weave busily in September, 75
Springs mentioned in AEdes, (p. 14,) 47
——— their various qualities, 48
Spur only remains at St. Alban’s, 215

Squirrels accused of destroying the buds of trees, by
Sir George Musgrave, 99
Squirrels persecuted at Little Hampden, 100
Stability of families; see Parish Register, 152
Starlings depart in December, 83
Stars, clusters and others, 192
Stationery at Parish School, how supplied, 29
Steam works wonders says the Bitt, 96
——— cultivator, 91
Stepping beam-haulm in September, 75
Stela, a family group on a, (AEdes, p. 207,) 184
Stercorary heaps too near the dwellings, 85
Stone, its pit-shafts opened, 9
——— and Hartwell School, 26
——— church restored in 1844, 228
Stonehenge, a place of sepulture, 231
Story of the Akbar, 35
Strabo quoted on the Suez Canal, 179
Strata of human beings, 192
Stratford inscription by Chalmers, 208
——— by E. F. Flower, Esq. 209
Stratford Church, a good example, 218
Street Arabs reformed at Liverpool, 30
Strike of the secondary strata, 40
Strutt in future would be at a loss, 18
Stubble to be ploughed in February, 57
**“Stryfe betwene Somer and Wynter,” 70
*Snaubian Kalte Herberge, 196
Subscription for restoring Quarendon, 135
Summons from Fairfax, 238
Sun in Leo in June, 68
——— in December enters Capricorn, 81
——— serpent emblem of the, 197
Sunday-schooless intended to better the poor, 18
Swab or epaulette was formerly rare, 37
Swallows come in April, 61
Swine-piece or third-brass coin, 11
Swine fattened for a prize, 109
Swords in the United Service Institution, 244
Symbols or coins of Charles L 14
Symonds describes Boarstall, 239
Syon House, the Duke’s promise, 245

Tablet to Lee Antonie, at Sharnbrook, 151
INDEX.

Tablet to Tweddell's memory, 160
Tacitus de Morib. Germ. 106
Talisman in the form of an eye, 173
"Tam artibus quam armis," 33
Taste and industry in Archaeology, 199
Taylor, David, an exemplary lad, 24
Teutones adopted the cruciform shape, 10
Tegge, a deer in its second year, 124
Temperature in June rather below July, 66
Tempora mutantur about birds, 96
Tenantry, hereditary, in this manor, 84
Terry, relics on his farm, 205
Tenure of Dinton by a sword, 246
Terra cotta vases from the West and East, 166
Testament read at school, 28
Tetworth clay, source of fertility, 42
———— sculpture destroyed, 204
———— (Archeol. vol. xxx. p. 205.) 487
Teutonic source of Anglo-Saxon, 5
———— interment at Stone, 11
Tharpe and Gorney on one brass, 211
Thame, the river, bounds the manor, 84
Thermometer, lowest mean in January, 53
———— slightly rising in February, 56
———— much advanced in April, 59
———— high, but varies greatly in May, 63
———— mean high, but very variable in July, 69
———— in August like July, 72
———— lowers in October, 77
———— falling in November, 79
———— still has a great range in December, 81
Thigh-bones of the Gorneys, 224
Thompson, J. his signature, 248
Thorpe, George, of Littleworth, 16
Thoth, represented by a dog-baboon, 169
———— in basalt, (Ædes, pp. 192 and 193.) 181
Threshing has always been in October, 77
Tides, their cause, 36
Tillage taught at the school, 27
Timber to be felled in March, 59
Time and Progress noiseless allies, 24
———— serpent emblem of, 197
Tithes commuted in 1776, 19
———— of Quarendon belong to Lincoln, 135
Tlascaltecan lady, similar to Egyptian, 163
Tombstones would astonish the dead, 210
Topography or minute geography, 2
Totteridge Manor, Sir W. Lee, L. C. J., 149
Towered chimneys show good hospitality, 118
Town residence interferes with country, 63
Toynbee, Mrs. her view of the bridge, 20
"Train up a child..." 30
Treasure captured, 1745, 137
Treasure-trove, the law on, 200
Trees beginning to bud in March, 58
———— come into leaf in April, 60
Trigonis clavellata, fine specimen, 45
"Tring, Wing, and Ivanhoe," 128
Trinity Church, Hull, 219
Trinkets, ancient, found at Stone, 10
———— distributed on Frederick's marriage, 142
Tristan indignant at the cobler emblem, 197
Triune worship in Mexico and Egypt, 163
Troops at Edge Hill ran away, 236
Truth difficult to find amid partisans, 141
Tuatric tribe of Arabs, 189
Tubular and coralline limestone, 191
Turkey or Levant trade, 138
Turn-over ploughing to be exploded, 92
Turnips the chief seed in June, 68
Turrey, the Peterborough tombs, 215
Tusser, on good husbandrie, 17
———— caution for August, 73
———— advice to secure reapers, 74
———— on the care of pigs, 78
———— advice to farmers, 197
Tweddell, Mr. the quarrels about him, 160
Two-faced brasses originated in economy, 230
Tylor's, Mr. recent work on Mexico, 164
United Service Institution, Council of, 189
United Service Museum, 246
Unpaid magnates too severe, 29
Utopian visions on schools, 24
Vale of Aylesbury marks distant epochs, 39
Value of Hartwell and Hampden Parva, 19
Vane, Sir H., Comptroller, 222
INDEX.

Vanhattem, Sir J. at Dinton, 12
Vases, (Ædæ, p. 211, here enlarged,) 166
Vavasour, Anne, once frail, 134
•Vavasours came with the Conqueror, 134
Vegetation brilliant in May, 64
Vegetables plentiful in June, 67
— — — still abundant in November, 80
Velocity of heavenly bodies, 192
Velvet-lawn on the Chilterns, 61
—— — — , Cunobeline, 206
Verbal divisions, various, 201
Vernin very active in June, 68
•Vernacular names of plants, 70
Vernal Equinox, (see Ædes,) 57
Verney, Sir E. possessed land here, 119
Vernon, Lord, married into the Lees, 153
—— — — took the name of Harcourt, 154
Vertebrae peculiar in the Enatio, 45
Vetusta Monumenta of Counties, 203
Villains or copyholders, 105
—— — and serfs miserably servile, 107
Violets perfect in April, 60
Virgidiarmium, by Bishop Hall, 17
Virginals not invented by Queen Elizabeth, 119
Vitrified surface, (Ædæ, p. 187,) 175
Volunteering of Lyon and Belzoni, 169
Voters had a publice bonus, 228
Vyyyan, Sir R. on Constantine, 224

Warburton, on King Charles to ladies, 237
Wardour Street, receptacle of thefts, 216
Warren, Admiral Sir J. B., had Medmenham, 149
Warrington, Col. Consul General, 187
Wasps, the queen should be sought, 62
—— — — nests easily destroyed in April, 62
—— — — are rampant in August, 72
Water obtained at various depths, 47
Waterloo fought on a Sunday, 126
—— — — sword worn at, 245
Watson buried near Tweddel, 161
Way, Mr. A. offered to repair a monument, 213
—— — — detected piracies, 201
Waynepeck's chamber furniture, Hartwell, 121
Wz, the dread plural unit, 2
Wealden formation in Sussex, 41
Weather in August good for fruit, 72
Weeds blooming in April, 60
—— — — require burning in April, 62
Weed-month, Saxon for August, 73
Wellington, Duke of, 245
—— — — letter from Duke of, 246
Wendover, granted by H. de Gournai, 223
Wenman, Sir T. married into the Hampdens, 115
Westminster Abbey threatened, 200
Weymouth, store-ship at Leptis, 170
Whatton, Lord, buried money, 14
—— — — Rev. Mr., gives a French version, 157
—— — — Lord, not feared, 241
Whatton Hill, formed of marly sand, 40
Wheat looks bright in March, 38
—— sowing, the chief work in December, 81
—— how much per acre, 89
—— ripe in August, 92
—— its price at various epochs, 102
—— — — quantity required per week, 103
Whelocke, Arabic scholar, 247
Whirlwinds, the fact of, 36
Whitewashing over relics, 204

“Who not admire such scenes?” 193
**“Who was Memon?” A Turkish Aga! 170
Wife of Sir H. Lee buried at Aylesbury, 154
Wiggs, J. averse to the introduction of steam, 91
—— — — explanation of Britannia, 92
INDEX.

Wilkes, John, possessed land here, 86
Wilkie of Malta, intimate with Bruce, 161
Wilkinson, Sir G. on Egypt, 173
Will of Michael Hampden's widow, 112
——— Alexander Hampden in extenso, 115
Williams, Mr. J. expert in rubbings, 203
——— Mr. B. copied Tetworth, 204
——— Mr. J. restored an epitaph, 212
Willis, Browne, abuses C. Holland, 221
Willow Spring led to the Asylum, 49
Winchendon Priory, its legend, 15
Winds in March, bad for coughs, 58
Wind chiefly S W. in July, 68
Wine-month synonym for October, 76
Winter inflicts many hardships, 84
"Winter's Tale," "till a hot January," 52
Witchcraft still believed in, 16
Woburn sheep-shearing, a print, 151

Wolfe's sword in the U. S. Museum, 245
"Wonders of Geology" quoted, 43
Woodman, master of the village school, 8
Woolhouse, at Hartwell, 122
Woollen grave-clothes repealed 1814, 226
Wording of epitaphs show the age, 212
"Works and days" not always regular, 51
Wright, Thomas, on the word uric, 8
Wyatt finished the Hartwell bridge, 21

Yellowe chamber at Hartwell, furniture of, 121
Young, Rev. N. of Quainton, 127
——— Sir C. restored Sir A. Lee's arms, 132
——— Sir C. on the Tracy Petrage, 218
Yousuf, Bassa of Tripoli, 185
Zanie applied to Cornelius Holland, 222
Zealot of rebellion, epithet for Hampden, 125
Zoilus appropriates other peoples' brains, 2

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